

The Printed Book in Brittany, 1484–1600

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 14

The Handpress World

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The Printed Book in Brittany, 1484–1600

by
Malcolm Walsby



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2011

On the cover: Du Clos's device and motto.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Walsby, Malcolm.

The printed book in Brittany, 1484-1600 / by Malcolm Walsby.

p. cm. -- (Library of the written word, ISSN 1874-4834 ; v. 14. The handpress world ; v. 8)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-20451-5 (alk. paper)

1. Printing--France--Brittany--History--16th century. 2. Printing--France--Brittany--History--Origin and antecedents. 3. Books--France--Brittany--History--1450-1600. 4. Books and reading--France--Brittany--History--16th century. 5. Early printed books--France--Brittany--16th century--Bibliography. 6. Brittany (France)--Imprints--History. I. Title. II. Series.

Z145.B8W35 2011

686.20944109'031--dc23

2011016208

ISSN 1874-4834

ISBN 978 90 04 20451 5

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For their advice and help, I would like to thank Annie Charon of the *École des Chartes*, Clive Griffin of Trinity College, Oxford, and Philip John of the University of St Andrews as well as Ian Maclean of All Souls College, Oxford. Thanks are also due to Sandy Wilkinson of University College Dublin and to Diane Booton for sharing some of her research on the Breton manuscript world. The many discussions I have had with Andrew Pettegree on the shape and evolution of the European print world have helped me form a far more coherent and better contextualised argument; they have also been very enjoyable indeed.

I would also like to thank all the many librarians and archivists who have helped me during my research into their collections. In particular, I am grateful to Sarah Toulouse of the *Bibliothèque Municipale de Rennes*; Michael Widener, Rare Book Librarian at the Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School, and Rozenn Davenel of the *Bibliothèque Municipale de Vitré*. Use of archival sources was facilitated by Bruno Isbled of the *Archives Départementales de l'Ille-et-Vilaine*. I also owe a debt of gratitude to two genealogists Odile Habert and Jacques Rouziou who kindly shared some of their discoveries with me. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the help given by the Tourist Office of Tréguier who provided me with photos of the plaque that is the start point of this book.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AD: Archives Départementales.
AM: Archives Municipales.
AN: Archives Nationales, Paris.
BM: Bibliothèque Municipale.
BnF: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
BnF Fr.: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrits Occidentaux, Fonds Français.
FB: Pettegree, A., Walsby, M. and Wilkinson, A. S., *French vernacular books. A bibliography of books published in the French language before 1601* (Leiden, Brill, 2007).
ISTC: Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue. www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/index.html.
lt.: Livres tournois¹

¹ The *livre tournois* was the basic currency in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century France and was subdivided into 20 *sous*, each *sous* being worth 12 *deniers*. Other currencies included the *livre Breton* and the *écu*, both of which fluctuated in value when compared to the *lt*. The *écu* was worth 36s 3d in 1498, 40s in 1516, 45s in 1533, 50s in 1551 and 60s in 1574 (Potter, D., *A History of France 1460–1560: The Emergence of a Nation State* (London, Macmillan, 1995) p. xvi). The Breton *livre* was generally worth 1.2 *livres tournois* but precise equivalences are difficult (Leguay, J.-P., *Fastes et malheurs de la Bretagne ducale, 1213–1532* (Rennes, Ouest France, 1982) p. 237–8).

INTRODUCTION

On the mediaeval walls of the town of Tréguier, next to the western gateway, there is a large twentieth-century plaque that proudly commemorates the first book printed in the town. A few feet from the cathedral dedicated to the Breton saint Tugdual, it proclaims that Tréguier, the see of a diocese and the capital of the Trégor, was one of the very first Breton towns to boast a printer's workshop.¹ The first printed book, an edition of the customs of Brittany, was published in the town as early as 1485. It is surprising to discover that the development of the presses was so precocious in what was, even in the fifteenth century, little more than a small episcopal town on the north coast of the duchy. The presence of printers in the town in the incunabula era is certainly worthy of commemoration, but the public celebrations of this achievement, the plaque and civic pride all mask an uncomfortable truth for historians of Brittany. Despite an early and comparatively wide-spread smattering of incunabula in the duchy, the printing community found it extremely difficult to build on these initial achievements.

Though the art of printing books was developed and refined in Germany two decades before it became established in France in the 1470s, the French presses rapidly made up for lost time. The commercial vitality of Paris and Lyon made these cities into two of the most important and prolific centres of production of printed books in Europe. With the notable exception of Venice, no other cities came close to the output of the Parisian and Lyonnais presses in the sixteenth century. Unlike in England, the development of printing in France was also marked by the appearance of many regional presses. All the major towns and regional capitals, such as Rouen, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Tours, Orléans or Poitiers established durable centres of printing activity during the first hundred and fifty years of print, as indeed did many of the smaller towns. Nevertheless, throughout this period, Paris was to remain a dominant force in the French print world. Lyon was the only

¹ The plaque commemorates the quincentenary of the first Breton presses. The engraved text reads: "Tréguier, cité épiscopale et capitale du Trégor, fut une des toutes premières villes de Bretagne à accueillir un atelier d'imprimerie. Une impression de "La Coutume de Bretagne" y fut réalisée en mai-juin 1485. C'est aussi à Tréguier que fut imprimé en 1499 le "Catholicon", premier dictionnaire français-latin-breton".



Figure 1: *Plaque commemorating the first books printed in Tréguier.*

other centre that accounted for a significant proportion of the kingdom's printed output. France never moved towards the German model of many equally matched rival centres of print competing to provide books for a growing readership.²

² On the differences between national print cultures see Pettegree, A. & Hall, M., 'The Reformation and the Book: a reconsideration', *Historical Journal*, 47, 2 (2004),

Analysing the development of printing in Brittany in this wider context is particularly interesting. The printing experience of this populous and culturally rich region has never been adequately explored, nor has anyone sought to explain its failure to make a contribution to the first age of print commensurate to its size and political influence. The fact that printing appeared in the duchy of Brittany precociously early has helped to mask how limited was the development of the industry over the following half century. It was only in the second half of the sixteenth century that two healthy centres of print developed in a sustainable way. By embarking on this study of the development of print in what became one of the main constituent regions of the French nation, we shall be able to analyse how the ebb and flow of the French Religious Wars gave a new impetus to the presses. By comparing the Breton experience with that of other French regions, this study aims to challenge some of the prevalent assumptions about print culture in the provinces.

The particular situation of Brittany in the late mediaeval period gives the study of the book in the duchy an added dimension. Brittany was not an integral part of the French kingdom. During the second half of the fourteenth century, the dukes of Brittany had successfully asserted the region's independence. As France struggled with the onset of the Hundred Years War and turned to face the English invader, so Brittany sought to distance itself from the French crown. After the death of Charles of Blois at the battle of Auray in 1364, the dynasty of Montfort finally emerged victorious from the Breton war of succession and gradually established a fully autonomous state. Successive dukes were careful to maintain a diplomatic balance between France and England and this enabled them to profit from the weakness of the French monarchy. By the time a more pro-French stance was adopted after the peace of Chantocé in 1431, the duchy had achieved an unprecedented degree of independence. An integral part of this process had been a move towards a more rigid and stratified administrative and political system, largely inspired by the example provided by the French court.

Brittany in the late fifteenth century was a populous and prosperous country. It is estimated that by 1500, the duchy was home to over one million inhabitants, more than a number of other European states

785–808 and more recently Pettegree, A., 'Centre and periphery in the European book world' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (2008).

such as Bohemia and Scotland and much the same as Portugal.³ Economically, the duchy exported grain and cloth and had developed strong trade links with neighbouring seafaring countries and in particular Spain, England and the Low Countries. Brittany's geographic location also placed it at the heart of one of the major European seafaring routes which encouraged the development of trade.⁴ At least four towns – Rennes, Nantes, St Malo and Vitré – played a prominent role in international trade and, after the end of the Hundred Years War, the duchy enjoyed a period of increasing prosperity.

Scholarship and the printed book in Brittany

The particularities of Breton political history have ensured that this period has attracted considerable attention from local scholars. But this local interest has not by and large led to a sophisticated analysis of the early history of print in the region. There is nothing for Rennes or Nantes to compare with the pre-revolutionary lists of books published in the town of Bourges as early as 1683.⁵ For Breton presses, we are reliant on works researched and written after the upheavals of revolutionary France and the destruction and dispersal of collections these events entailed. The first research in the field was carried out by a nineteenth-century Breton bookseller who drew up lists of printers who were known to have worked in Rennes. He also enumerated the works they had printed, relying largely on editions that he had sold on in his own bookshop.⁶ His compilation set the tone for most of the ensuing publications on the early history of the printed book in Brittany. A contemporary bibliophile undertook much the same research into the printed production of the other main Breton city, Nantes.⁷ Over the decades that followed, scholars concentrated on enhancing the known

³ Le Page, D., & Nassiet, M., *L'union de la Bretagne à la France* (Morlaix, Skol Vreizh, 2003) p. 18.

⁴ For a detailed picture see Touchard, H., *Le Commerce maritime breton à la fin du Moyen âge* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1967).

⁵ Catherinot, N., *Annales typographiques de Bourges* (Bourges, 1683).

⁶ Jausions, A., "Catalogue des imprimeurs de Rennes", BM Rennes Ms. 685 – this is probably a copy made by La Borderie of the original papers now kept in the abbey of Solesmes in Sarthe.

⁷ Guéraud, A., Notes on the history of printing and book-selling in Brittany, BM Nantes, Ms. 2066.

corpus of early printed books without on the whole subjecting the press to a more sophisticated analysis.⁸

The one exception to this trend was the three-part article written by the Benedictine canon Dom François Plaine on the origins and weaknesses of printing in Brittany in 1876.⁹ This chronological overview of the development of the presses in the duchy was completed when the history of the book was very much still in its infancy. His work, like many others of his time, emphasised local achievements and he insisted heavily on the special place their imprints occupied in the hearts of the Bretons.¹⁰ A decade later, the famed historian of the duchy, Arthur Le Moyne de La Borderie undertook what to this day remains the most detailed research into the history of Breton printing. Like many early bibliophiles, La Borderie was a collector as well as a scholar. In the course of his life he was able to obtain many of the books on which he wrote. This valuable collection is now unfortunately split between the *fonds ancien* of Rennes's municipal library and the *réserve* of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in Paris.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, La Borderie helped create the "Société des Bibliophiles Bretons". Under his leadership, the society gave a distinctively Breton focus to the study of the early history of printing. This fitted in perfectly with the prevalent nationalist historiographical current that dominated much of late nineteenth-century writing in Brittany. In a fundamental study on the first tentative steps of print in Brittany entitled *L'imprimerie en Bretagne au XVe siècle. Etude sur les incunables bretons*, La Borderie insisted on the distinctiveness of incunabula produced in the duchy: "they are in character different from most of the incunabula of other French provinces and therefore must be ranked separately".¹¹ Whilst this encouraged the close examination of the first age of print in Brittany, it did so by

⁸ A typical example of this is Gautier, T.-F.-A., *Histoire de l'imprimerie en Bretagne* (Rennes, F. Péalat, 1857).

⁹ Plaine, Dom F., 'Essai historique sur les origines et les vicissitudes de l'imprimerie en Bretagne' *Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée*, 38 (1876) 241–258, 354–371 & 458–465.

¹⁰ He notably suggested: "On ne trouverait peut-être aucune province en France où les imprimeurs aient joui à un égal degré auprès de leurs concitoyens de l'estime et de la considération publiques" *ibid.* p. 251.

¹¹ "Elles ont un caractère qui les distingue de la plupart des incunables des autres provinces de France, et leur assure un rang à part." La Borderie, A. Le Moyne de, *L'imprimerie en Bretagne au XVe siècle. Etude sur les incunables bretons avec fac-simile contenant la reproduction intégrale de la plus ancienne impression bretonne* (Nantes, 1878) p. VI.

artificially isolating the Breton book world from the rest of the kingdom and, indeed, from the rest of Europe.

Like many of his predecessors, La Borderie chose to concentrate on the enumeration and description of surviving volumes. This was also true of a series of articles on early printing in Brittany that he gathered under the generic title *Archives du bibliophile breton*.¹² These articles, gathered together in the four volume collection, covered a wide chronological range from Breton incunabula to describing printing in eighteenth-century Saint-Pol de Léon. Most pertinent for our purpose were the two long articles devoted to printing in Nantes and in Rennes in the sixteenth century.¹³ These represented the first detailed analysis of books printed in the period. Once again though, La Borderie concentrated on giving bibliographic descriptions of the volumes he identified accompanied by a few biographic details on the printers who had produced them. These articles, to which one must add his manuscript notes now in the archives in Rennes, though useful, are in reality too limited in scope to provide an overview of the printed output of the Breton presses.¹⁴ This is all the more true since many new discoveries have been made since the nineteenth century.

In the twentieth century, Michel Duval was the first historian to attempt an interpretative and scholarly study of various aspects of the early history of the printed book in Brittany. In a series of four articles published in local historical journals, he looked in some detail at various important themes such as the business connections that sprang up between Breton and Norman booksellers in the first decades of the sixteenth century. In a separate study, he delved into the minutiae of the printing in Rennes of the first customs of the duchy in 1485. Although considered to be the most comprehensive study of early modern print culture in Rennes during this period, in truth the topic could only be treated in a summary fashion in the seventeen pages he devoted to the subject.¹⁵ A particular weakness of Duval's work is that

¹² La Borderie, A. Le Moyne de, *Archives du bibliophile breton. Notices et documents pour servir à l'histoire littéraire et bibliographique de la Bretagne* (Rennes, J. Plichon, 1880–1907).

¹³ Op. cit. respectively in tome I, pp. 43–123 and in tome II, pp. 10–142.

¹⁴ La Borderie's notes are kept in the Archives Départementales d'Ille-et-Vilaine: 1 F 939 to 1 F 943 (Notes on Breton authors), 1 F 964 to 1 F 970 (Notes on printing in Brittany) & 1 F 1066 (Notes on the history of printing).

¹⁵ Duval, M., 'Les origines de l'imprimerie à Rennes. Pierre Bellesculée et la première édition provinciale de la coutume de Bretagne (1485)' *Communication à la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*, 4 juillet 1951; Duval, M., 'Le livre et sa

he pays little attention to the second half of the sixteenth century or to the relationship between Rennes printing and that of the publishing industry in other parts of the duchy. This was probably one of the reasons why he failed to appreciate the importance of the effects of the wars of religion on the duchy and why he entirely omitted the question of the pamphlet exchange with Nantes during the wars of the Catholic League.

Since Duval's work was published, the only studies of note on the book in Brittany were published as part of the celebrations in 1985 of the quinqucentenary of the appearance of the printed word in Brittany - an event that created a brief flurry of excitement amongst local historians. The most obvious manifestation of this renewed interest was a special issue of the journal *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* devoted to the book in Brittany. A strong field of specialists contributed a series of very diverse articles to this volume. In his discussion on what could be learnt from the early attempts to establish a press at Bréhan-Loudéac, Michel Simonin went as far as to announce a forthcoming publication on the theme of the book in Brittany. But this study unfortunately never saw the light of day.¹⁶ In fact, of the authors who took part in this collective volume, only Gwen Le Menn continued to publish articles on the development of printing in Brittany. His studies concentrated on rare instances of printing in certain towns during the Ancien Régime or on specific cases of printing in Breton.¹⁷

diffusion en Bretagne dans la première moitié du XVI^e *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*, 32 (1952) 31-61; Duval, M., 'Les libraires normands en Bretagne au XVI^e siècle' *Nouvelle revue de Bretagne*, 7 (1953) 375-385 and Duval, M., 'Imprimeurs et libraires à Rennes au XVI^e siècle' *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* LXII (1985) 111-127.

¹⁶ Simonin, M., 'Les leçons de Bréhan' *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* LXII (1985) 99-110.

¹⁷ Le Menn, G., 'Bibliographie bretonne. Qui furent les premiers imprimeurs de Quimper (xvii, siècle) ? Leurs impressions' *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère* (1978); Le Menn, G., 'A la recherche des anciens ouvrages imprimés en breton' *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation des Côtes-du-Nord* CVII, (1979) 121-137; Le Menn, G., 'Les poèmes en breton et en français du Quimpérois François Moeam (1553, 1554)' *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère* (1980); Le Menn, G., 'L'apparition des colloques et la réimplantation de l'imprimerie en Basse-Bretagne' *Etudes celtiques* XVII (1980) 269-374; Le Menn, G., 'L'imprimerie des franciscains de Cuburien (Morlaix, vers 1575-1585)' *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* LXII (1985) 129-135 and Le Menn, G., 'L'imprimerie à Tréguier (Xv^e siècle - XX^e siècle)' *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation des Côtes-d'Armor* (1987)

Why, over five centuries after the first printers opened workshops in Brittany, has there still not been a thorough study of the place of the printed books and the role of the presses in the first age of print? Undoubtedly the absence of a monograph on the subject is at least partly a consequence of our very incomplete knowledge of the early history of the Breton and French book world. In a recent study of Reformed print, Jean-François Gilmont underlined the importance of large scale bibliographic research in contextualising our understanding of the printed book.¹⁸ This is something that has been wholly absent for the francophone world. Though the first comprehensive bibliography of works printed in England and in English during the first age of print was published in the 1920s, most other European nations did not have comparable tools until relatively recently.¹⁹ Major national bibliographical projects have now made good this deficiency for important centres of print such as Italy and Germany.²⁰ But France has had no such nationally-sponsored research programme. Historians of the French book have instead had to rely on a group of mostly incomplete regional studies. For Paris, this took the form of two series of publications emanating from a body of research initially carried out by Philippe Renouard in the nineteenth century. These are now being published under the auspices of the *réserve des livres rares* of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*.²¹ For Lyon the standard bibliography is still the volumes compiled by Henri Baudrier at the end of the nineteenth century. This census remained very incomplete and has since become the object of a second series under the direction of Sybille von Gültlingen.²² For the rest of France, scholars have relied on the thirty

¹⁸ Gilmont, J.-F., *Le livre réformé au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2005) p. 119.

¹⁹ Pollard, A. W., & Redgrave, G. R., *A Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English books printed abroad 1475–1640* (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1926).

²⁰ The Italians have developed a database known as Edit16 – *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo* – whilst in Germany they have VD16 – *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 25 vols. (Stuttgart, 1983–2000). Both are now available online.

²¹ Moreau, B., *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, Service des Travaux Historiques de la Ville de Paris, 1972–2004)

²² Baudrier, H., *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle* (Lyon, Librairie ancienne d'Auguste Brun, 1895–1921) and Gültlingen, S. von (ed.), *Bibliographie des livres imprimés à Lyon au seizième siècle* (Baden-Baden, Koerner, 1992–2006).

volumes published under the generic title *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*.²³

It might be tempting to believe that by unifying the various pre-existing bibliographies one might have a good general understanding of French print. But the lacunae left by such an approach would be too great. The different working practices adopted by each bibliography have made it virtually impossible to have a precise idea of the comparative importance of each centre of print. The very recent publication of a comprehensive bibliography of French vernacular books has helped to solve this problem. Along with the forthcoming volumes on books in Latin printed in France, it represents the first national bibliography of French books printed before 1601.²⁴ It is arguable that we are now better placed than ever before to understand the role and place of Breton printing in a national and supra-national context. Much of the research that has led me to reconsider the role of printing in Brittany was undertaken in conjunction with my work on this project at the University of St Andrews. The statistical comparisons I have been able to present here draw on the wealth of information accumulated over the past fifteen years by scholars working under the aegis of these projects.

The national and international context within which the Breton presses evolved is of central importance to most of the themes developed in this book. In this context, I have had particular occasion to compare the Breton book world with that of other francophone regional centres that have been the focus of the *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*. So it is important to have some understanding of the way in which this important project was organised. Each volume was entrusted to an individual scholar with detailed knowledge of the local library holdings. In consequence, the quality of coverage differs widely from one volume to another. Because the descriptions of the editions were made without any explanatory texts, we are not told why the editor has attributed certain volumes to

²³ *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*. (Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1975).

²⁴ Pettegree, A., Walsby, M. and Wilkinson, A. S., *French vernacular books. A bibliography of books published in the French language before 1601* (Brill, Leiden, 2007). For a full description of the French book project, see my 'Les Premiers Temps de l'Imprimé Vernaculaire Français' in P. Aquilon (ed.) *Le Berceau du livre imprimé. Autour des incunables*, (Brepols, Brussels, 2008). Similar volumes will appear for books in Latin printed in France.

a particular printer or place of printing. Unfortunately, the volume dedicated to Breton centres of print is one of the most incomplete.²⁵ As a result of the new bibliographical work undertaken for this study, we have been able to double the known corpus of editions in comparison with the Breton works identified by the *Répertoire bibliographique*. These are listed in a bibliographical appendix at the end of this volume.

A large part of the confusion that has clouded our understanding of the Breton print world emerges from the failure to distinguish books printed for a Breton bookseller from books printed in Brittany. Virtually all the studies of the printed book in Brittany underemphasise the role played by books printed outside the duchy but that were sold to a Breton readership. To clarify the precise role of each protagonist in the Breton book world, I have therefore drawn up a concise dictionary of the printers and booksellers active in the duchy in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The entries in this prosopography include the known dates of activity of the printers, their addresses, their contacts in the book world and the editions with which they were associated. Many of these books, particularly in the early period were published without the printer being named either on the title page or in the colophon. A large part of my research has therefore involved the attribution of these volumes through typographical analysis. To this end I have constructed a database of the typographic material used by Breton printers as well as all the woodcuts, devices and ornaments to which they had access. Thanks to this iconographic database, it has been possible to recognise and attribute many books that bore no specific indication of their place of printing and that have previously been catalogued as *sine nomen*, *sine datum*. This work has also thrown new light on the practices of printers in the duchy.

The systematic examination of on-line, printed and old card-catalogues in a large number of libraries has enabled me to locate and examine copies of both known and new editions as well as discover hitherto forgotten printers and booksellers. The royalist printer Jean du Clos was previously completely unknown to scholars of the printed book. He does not feature in any of the major national or regional

²⁵ All the centres of print are dealt with in volume 19 with the exception of the town of Vitré which was included in the following volume. The final volume, number 29, is formed by a plethora of addenda, though for Brittany this simply involved listing extra exemplars of previously described editions.

bibliographies. My survey of extant editions and archival material has enabled me to establish that this printer was active in Rennes at the end of the sixteenth century and printed at least three works. One of Jean du Clos's contemporaries in Rennes, Michel Logeroys, is a good example of how our knowledge of the output of some of the Breton printers has progressed. In the *Répertoire bibliographique* there are just eleven editions listed under his name. My research has added a further twelve editions to that corpus, transforming our understanding of his role in the final decades of the sixteenth century.

Alongside the localisation of surviving books I have also made use of numerous manuscript sources. It was surprising to discover that existing works on printing in sixteenth-century Brittany paid scant attention to the additional archival information available in Rennes, Nantes and Paris. Foremost amongst these manuscript sources are the holdings of the municipal archives in Nantes. The series HH (agriculture, industry and commerce) is particularly interesting as it contains many of the registers drawn up for the Ruiz, a rich merchant family who exported large quantities of books to Spain via the Breton port. The accounts of the goods exported to Spain survive for the central part of the century (1548–1566) and provide valuable information on the trade links that booksellers in Nantes maintained with other printing centres such as Lyon. Other series of manuscripts provide unique references to the commissioning of works that no longer survive today, whether it be books ordered by religious communities or by the municipality. A similar trawl through the municipal archives of Rennes delivered some references, though fewer than were found in Nantes.

I have also made use of manuscript collections outside Brittany, particularly the huge collections of *fonds Français* of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the *Archives Nationales*. In the *Archives Nationales*, the most useful documents for this study are the notarial records kept in what is known as the *minutier central*. The details of transactions between printers have been systematically preserved in boxes containing all the cases of a specific notary: these are ordered chronologically. The municipal library in Rennes also contains a manuscript inventory of the library of the Breton historian Bertrand d'Argentré. This is a fantastic source that lists almost 3,000 books. Finally, the archives of the *parlement* of Brittany that are kept in the *Archives Départementales* of the Ille-et-Vilaine in Rennes have also yielded important information.

The history of the book

Almost since the inception of moveable type and of the press, much has been written on the appearance of printing and on the expansion of the print industry during the ensuing centuries. But it is only since the publication of Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin's seminal monograph on the coming of the printed book in the late 1950s, that there has been a dramatic rise in the quantity, as well as an improvement of the quality, of scholarship devoted to the development of print culture.²⁶ The seminal importance of French historians to the development of the new discipline was underlined by a series of studies by scholars such as Roger Chartier, Frédéric Barbier and Annie Charon. Outside France, Elizabeth Eisenstein's accessible study of early print history, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, published in 1979, was another important milestone. In this work, Eisenstein made an influential case for the revolutionary impact of print as a catalyst for some of the most fundamental movements of intellectual and cultural change.²⁷ This book, though not unanimously well-received, sparked considerable debate about the characteristics and consequences of the invention of printing on early modern society – a debate which is still on-going.²⁸

Moving beyond these broad questions, recent scholarship has also directed renewed attention to a number of important consequences of the invention of print. In the wake of Roger Chartier's research, defining readership has become a particularly fashionable topic.²⁹ In more recent times, the actual production and distribution of books has returned to the forefront of historical analysis.³⁰ Yet a number of aspects

²⁶ Febvre, L., & Martin, H.-J., *L'apparition du livre* (Second edition, Paris, Albin Michel, 1999). On this see in particular the forthcoming article by Frédéric Barbier: '1958: Henri-Jean Martin et l'invention de la "nouvelle histoire du livre".'

²⁷ Eisenstein, E. L., *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979).

²⁸ See the articles in a high-profile American journal: Grafton, A., 'How revolutionary was the print revolution?' *American Historical Review* 107 (2002) 84–86, Eisenstein, E. L., 'An unacknowledged revolution revisited' *American Historical Review* 107 (2002) 87–105 & 126–128 and Jones, A., 'How to acknowledge a revolution' *American Historical Review* 107 (2002) 106–125.

²⁹ See in particular Chartier, R., *Lectures et lecteurs dans la France de l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, Seuil, 1987).

³⁰ See for example the theme of the recent conference held in Paris: "Passeurs de textes: imprimeurs et libraires à l'âge de l'Humanisme", 30–31 March 2009 and the two conferences held in St Andrews in 2008 and 2009 entitled "The Book in transition."

of the trade are still to be thoroughly investigated. If we are to attempt a more holistic view of the operation of the book trade we need to mix two very different types of research, bibliographical analysis and detailed examination of surviving archival documents. The pioneering work of Annie Charon on the print industry of Paris in the mid-sixteenth century showed the use that could be made of Parisian notarial archives.³¹ But unfortunately this did not give rise to a large number of similar studies for other towns or periods. Though there have recently been a number of works concerned with the book trade in a national context, this should not obscure the extent to which many business models and trading patterns are still but sketchily understood.³² This is particularly evident when one looks beyond the main centres of print.

At the end of his contribution to the celebrated first volume of the *Histoire de l'édition française*, Pierre Aquilon wondered whether it was even possible to map the evolution of the provincial presses.³³ If Aquilon had intended this as a challenge to his historians of the book, few came forward to undertake the necessary detailed work. Critically, recent research has so far failed to look at printing in the wider context of the bookselling and book ownership. For provincial France, there are no detailed studies that seek to analyse simultaneously the role of local booksellers, printers and readers. And yet looking at all three elements together is vital. In particular, it would be absurd to try to understand the place of the presses without considering the part played by those who sold books: the two were not just related, they were complementary. This is all the more important since the concentration on place-specific bibliographies has encouraged the implicit suggestion that these books constitute the corpus of printed material available to local readers. But this was far from the case. The

The Printed Book in the post-incunabula age, 1500–1540” and “The Book Triumphant: the book in the second century of print, 1540–1640”.

³¹ Charon, A., *Les Métiers du livre à Paris au xvie siècle: 1535–1560* (Geneva, Droz, 1974).

³² Cf. Raven, J., *The business of books: booksellers and the English book trade, 1450–1850* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007) and Mann, A. J., *The Scottish book trade, 1500–1720: print commerce and print control in early modern Scotland: an historiographical survey of the early modern book in Scotland* (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 2000).

³³ He wrote “Existerait-il d'autre part une évolution spécifique de l'édition provinciale ?” in his “Les réalités provinciales” in Martin, H.-J. & Chartier, R. (eds), *Histoire de l'édition française* (Paris, Promodis, 1983–1986) I, 351–363 at page 363.

books made available by local booksellers mixed books published locally with works shipped in from further afield. The vitality of the bookseller network directly shaped the activity and prospects of local printers. The failure to study these two activities simultaneously critically undermines our understanding of provincial printing.

One of the peculiarities of existing literature on the printed book in Brittany has been the overwhelming emphasis placed on printers at the expense of local booksellers. The reasons for this are, I think, mainly anachronistic. There is, first of all, a modern conception that printing, as opposed to bookselling, was a more “noble” occupation. Whilst the process of printing involved physical creation and has sometimes been compared to an art form, the selling of books was a more mercantile occupation and involved base considerations such as stock management and the calculation of profit margins. But this emphasis contrasts sharply with contemporary realities. In the sixteenth century, the fundamental part the bookseller played in the process of producing a printed text was both understood and appreciated. The author Etienne du Tronchet wrote to the Parisian bookseller Lucas Breyer describing his occupation eloquently as the purveyor of the paper “qui habille le cœur, l’esprit, et l’ame, et les sauve de toutes iniquitez et adversitez mondaines”.³⁴ Indeed, the editorial role of many booksellers was central to the preparation of a high quality edition. In financial terms, the power wielded by the booksellers certainly put them in a superior social stratum. We know that in Lyon, for example, a bookseller paid on average 300 *lt.* in taxes whilst a printer paid only 18 *livres*.³⁵

Provincial regional identity plays an important part in the scholarly tradition in France. This helps explain why printers have traditionally lain at the heart of research on the book trade. Determining where a book was physically created has been a matter of local cultural pride. This sentiment has led some historians to expend quite considerable effort to “prove” that a bookseller was actually a printer and that this or that book was indeed printed within certain geographic borders. In Brittany, this has led to the most dubious of attributions. Arthur Le Moyne de La Borderie was insistent on the role of the Papolins as

³⁴ Du Tronchet, E., *Lettres missives et familiares* (Paris, Lucas Breyer, 1569) FB 17706 [BM Grenoble, Rés. F 2274], letter 214.

³⁵ Péligré, C., ‘Les éditeurs lyonnais et le marché espagnol aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles’ in Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, et al., *Livre et lecture en Espagne et en France sous l’Ancien Régime: colloque de la Casa de Velázquez* (Paris, A.D.P.F., 1981) 85–93 at p. 86.

printers in Nantes in the first half of the sixteenth century, a view he reiterated despite the well-founded doubts expressed by Emile Picot in a review of the original book.³⁶ La Borderie at least tried to base his argument on existing evidence, but claims made by other authors were more far fetched. Jean-François Luco happily asserted that the Vannes bookseller, Guillaume Brunel, must have been a printer since it was impossible to prove that he had not printed anything.³⁷

This study of the printed book in Brittany seeks to redress this imbalance in our understanding of the roles played by printers and booksellers. It also seeks to enhance our knowledge of the workings of a secondary print culture by analysing both the economics of provincial book production and the dissemination of the printed book within the duchy. The first part of this book explains why the first presses disappeared so quickly, despite the precocious planting of printing in several Breton locations. We will pay particular attention to the establishment of a flourishing network of booksellers which, far from encouraging the creation of a sustainable local print industry, in fact posed a serious threat to its long-term survival.

When the printing press returned to Brittany, it eventually found a firm foothold in one of the duchy's two largest cities, Rennes. The experience of the printers of this town will be contrasted to those of Nantes, where the presses were far less successful. Yet despite this, Nantes was home to a flourishing book trade. To shed light on this aspect of the Breton book world, this study will also focus on the mechanics and economics of producing and obtaining books. If we look at contemporary collections we will see that local readers had access to a wide range of reading material printed both locally and further afield. The strong links between the Breton readership and other centres of print will also be considered through the particular prism of Breton authors, many of whom had their works published almost exclusively outside the duchy. But even if they favoured publishers in the largest centres of typography, Paris, and Lyon, their books still made their way in large numbers into the libraries of Breton

³⁶ La Borderie, *Archives du bibliophile breton* pp. 59–64. And see Emile Picot's refutation in his review: *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* (1881) 212–215.

³⁷ Lepreux described this type of logic as emanating from "le domaine de la fantaisie": Lepreux, G., *Gallia Typographica ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution – Bretagne* (Reprinted, Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1989) pp. 276–7.

collectors. These collections also included considerable numbers of manuscripts. The continuing vitality of manuscript production is an important aspect of the first age of print, and investigations of manuscript sources in this book throw additional light on this interesting phenomenon. In contrast, the native tongue of many of the duchy's inhabitants, Breton, made far less impact on the local book world, despite the efforts of important local figures to encourage printing in the region's second vernacular language.

The rise of Protestantism had a deep impact on sixteenth-century French printing, as it did in most European countries. Many printers and booksellers chose to convert to the new faith and this often had a profound effect on both their output and the books they stocked in their shops. It will therefore be particularly interesting to see how Protestantism affected the book world of a staunchly Catholic region like Brittany and look at how those who did convert dealt with the difficulties inherent to their choices. The outbreak of the wars of religion and the subsequent violence had little effect on Brittany before the wars of the Catholic League that followed the assassination of the Guises in 1588. The final decade of the century was, however, marked by a conflict that ravaged much of Brittany. Perhaps surprisingly, this served as a catalyst for change, revolutionising the way in which the Breton presses functioned and allowing the emergence of a more vibrant print culture. This last part of the century also affords us the opportunity to analyse the effect of the fierce rivalry of the two main towns of the province, Rennes and Nantes, on the book industry.

When the proud municipality of Tréguier erected their monument to the origins of Breton typography in 1985, they naturally gave no hint of the challenges and tribulations that would face the industry in the subsequent century. It is perhaps, therefore, surprising that Breton print emerged strengthened and renewed from one of the most destructive periods of French history at the end of the sixteenth century. New regulations for the press at the beginning of the seventeenth century in both Rennes and Nantes look forward with confidence to a regional print industry which through many twists and turns had finally established a secure foothold in France's most western province.

CHAPTER 1

A FALSE DAWN. THE INCUNABULA ERA

In the wider European context, the appearance of the presses in Brittany was surprisingly rapid. The printing industry first appeared in France almost twenty years after the first works came off Gutenberg's press. In 1470, the theology faculty of the Sorbonne in Paris invited a trio of German printers to settle on the university's premises to print works that would be of use to their students. This workshop concentrated at first on satisfying the demands of a very specific scholarly and Latinate audience. But the Paris market was potentially very large and other printers quickly seized the opportunities provided by the extensive demand for books in the city.

The rapid development of the Parisian industry encouraged printers to try their luck in other French towns. Foremost amongst these was Lyon that had long been an important trading centre. It was there that the first book in French was printed in 1473. Over the ensuing two decades, the number of print centres in France rose rapidly. A press was established in the southern city of Albi in 1474. This was followed by the introduction of a press in Toulouse in 1476, Angers in 1477, Poitiers in 1479, Rouen in 1487, Troyes in 1489 and Tours in 1491. To the north, the first presses in the Low Countries were established in Aalst in Flanders and in Utrecht, both in 1473. Across the Channel, William Caxton printed his first books at Westminster in 1476. As printers' workshops appeared throughout Europe, the business of printing books developed into a fully blown industry with its own rules, codes and practices. The arrival of the presses led to a significant rise in the number of printed volumes available to the literate public. The printed book became an increasingly commonplace object and its widespread acceptance encouraged the development of new presses.

The duchy of Brittany soon followed the lead given in the kingdom of France in introducing printing. The first book to be printed in Brittany was published at the end of 1484 in Bréhan-Loudéac, a large village in the centre of the duchy. Thereafter the presses spread quickly through the rest of Brittany: Rennes had a press in 1484, Tréguier in

1485, Lantenac in 1491 and Nantes in 1493.¹ This rapid proliferation of the presses made Brittany into one of the regions where the printed book seems to have had both the most immediate and most widespread impact. With five different places of incunabula print for just over one million inhabitants, Brittany compared favourably with the kingdom of France (26 for approximately 14 million inhabitants) or England (4 for 2.5 million inhabitants).²

The swift adoption of the printed word in the duchy would not have seemed incongruous to contemporaries. Despite its comparatively peripheral geographic situation, the duchy was no provincial backwater. In the late fifteenth century, the Breton economy had profited from a period of sustained growth that brought prosperity to its urban elites and the local nobility. Political and cultural circumstances also favoured the early appearance of presses in the duchy. Brittany was effectively an independent state. During the fifteenth century, the dukes had overseen the emergence of an increasingly developed administrative system. This meant the creation of new legal and political structures and a strengthening of the ducal court, both of which encouraged the emergence of a thriving cultural scene.

In the century that preceded the arrival of the presses, dukes John IV and John V had been keen to encourage artistic production in Brittany. They had in particular sought to develop the playing and composition of music at their court.³ The cultural life of the whole court blossomed as artistic creation became increasingly synonymous with political power.⁴ High profile intellectual figures were invited to the Breton court: Vincent Ferrier, for example, who was famous throughout Christendom for his public preaching, came to the court on the express request of John V in 1418. The presence of such cultural icons also encouraged the emergence of local authors. Foremost

¹ Hitherto the most comprehensive though still incomplete list of Breton incunabula was given in La Borderie, A. Le Moyne de, *L'imprimerie en Bretagne au XVe siècle. Etude sur les incunables bretons avec fac-simile contenant la reproduction intégrale de la plus ancienne impression bretonne* (Nantes, Société des bibliophiles bretons et de l'histoire de Bretagne, 1878) 1–3. He identified 22 works – the list of known Breton incunabula imprints is now over 50% longer – see Appendix II.

² In addition to Caxton's Westminster press, books were printed before 1501 in London, Oxford and St Albans.

³ La Laurencie, L. de, 'La Musique à la Cour des Ducs de Bretagne aux XIVe et XVe siècles' *Revue de musicologie* 14 (1933) 1–15 at pp. 2–3.

⁴ Lomenec'h, G., *Chantres et ménestrels à la cour de Bretagne* (Rennes, Ouest France, 1993) in particular p. 45 and following pages.

amongst these was the Breton-born poet Jean Meschinot. Meschinot spent much of his life at the court of the dukes of Brittany and was on the payroll of all the dukes from Francis I in 1442 to Anne of Brittany at the end of the century. His poetry earned him much renown throughout the francophone world as one of the foremost *Grands Rhétoriqueurs*. His masterpiece was the *Lunettes des Prince* written for the dukes of Brittany between 1461 and 1464. This text swiftly made the transition from manuscript to print. The work proved so popular that it was published in eight distinct editions before 1500 and a further fourteen in the first four decades of the sixteenth century. This made it one of the most published works in French in this period.^{5,6}

The dukes were not the only source of cultural patronage within the duchy. Throughout the century, successive dukes invested heavily in religious architecture as a way of strengthening the legitimacy of their position in the duchy. This encouraged others to commission works that embellished churches all over Brittany.⁷ As in any other region, there were also a number of the ecclesiastical institutions that had traditionally been at the heart of the transmission and preservation of texts throughout the middle-ages. Bishops and abbots have been described as playing a vital part as the promoters of print. They often assumed the triple role of author, editor and censor, as well as patrons of the presses.⁸ In this context Brittany seemed to be particularly well equipped, having nine bishoprics and over 30 monasteries of note.⁹ Added to this, two powerful aristocratic families had emerged during the fifteenth century, the houses of Laval and Rohan. Both had encouraged the development of cultural life inside and outside the duchy. The Lavals had enlisted the services of the historian Pierre Le Baud whose histories of Brittany and of the barons of Vitre were widely

⁵ On this work see Meschinot, J., *Les lunettes des princes* (ed. Martineau-Genieys, C., Geneva, 1972) and the entries listed in Pettegree, A., Walsby, M. and Wilkinson, A. S., *French vernacular books. A bibliography of books published in the French language before 1601* (Leiden, Brill, 2007) FB 37654 to 37681.

⁶ Gérard Lomenec'h described the court as a "véritable creuset artistique, [qui] suscite des travaux et passe quantité de commandes" (*Chantres et ménestrels* p. 154).

⁷ Prigent, C., *Pouvoir ducal, religion et production artistique en Basse-Bretagne, 1350–1575* (Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1992) p. 165 and following pages.

⁸ Péronnet, M. 'Les évêques français et le livre au XVI^e siècle: auteurs, éditeurs et censeurs' in Aquilon, P., & Martin, H.-J., *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance* (Tours, 1988) 159–169.

⁹ See *La division du Monde contenant la déclaration des provinces et régions d'Asie, Europe, et Africque* (Paris, Alain Lotrian, 1539) ff. 49–64 [Wolfenbüttel Herzog August Bibliothek, T 13 8o Helmst.].

known and appreciated.¹⁰ The family had employed Sébastien Mamerot, a prolific writer, who translated Benvenuto da Imola's *Le Romuléon*, and the *Chroniques Martiniennes* for Louis de Laval-Châtillon. Mamerot was also the author of the *Passages d'Outremer* and the *Histoire des neuf preux et des neuf preuses*.¹¹ Overall, the family commissioned more than thirty manuscripts in the course of the fifteenth century. Jeanne de Laval, who had married René II d'Anjou is known to have owned and commissioned a large number of works.¹² The house of Rohan similarly commissioned a number of manuscripts such as the famed "Grandes heures de Rohan".¹³

During the fifteenth century, the duchy had also experienced significant urban development. This offered a potential new market for booksellers. The growth of the main towns went hand in hand with the appearance of more significant administrative structures and commercial vitality. During the economic boom of the fifteenth century, the duchy witnessed other important changes which helped increase the potential readership for books. In 1460, the dukes obtained the papal bull necessary for the creation of a University in the city of Nantes. Francis II's letters promulgated the following year formally established the university with separate faculties of law, theology and medicine. All those involved with the university, both students and instructors, would need texts. The growth of urban and ducal bureaucracy also led to the creation of numerous administrative positions that provided opportunities for educated men and the number of lawyers in the duchy increased substantially. These factors, alongside the presence of an already numerous nobility, created a propitious environment for a local book market. The trade in printed books could build on the

¹⁰ See his *Compilation des cronicques et ystoires des Bretons* with the arms of Hélène de Laval and dedicated to her husband Jean de Derval, Paris, BnF Fr. 8266.

¹¹ *Le Romuléon* by Benvenuto of Imola is dedicated to Louis in 1466, Paris, BnF Fr. 364–7; *Chroniques Martiennes*, explicitly translated by Sébastien Mamerot for Louis in 1458, Paris, BnF Fr. 9684, *Les Passages d'Outremer faits par les François contre les Turcs depuis Charlemagne jusqu'en 1462*, dedicated to Louis de Laval-Châtillon circa 1474–5, Paris, BnF Fr. 5594 and the *Histoire des neuf preux et des neuf preuses* dedicated to Louis in 1472, Vienna, Österreich Nat.-Bibl. Cod. 2577–8.

¹² See the list given in Legaré, A.-M., 'Reassessing women's libraries in late medieval France: the case of Jeanne de Laval' *Renaissance Studies*, 10 (1996) 209–236. Jeanne bequeathed her books to other female members of the family in her will (ibid. p. 228).

¹³ Thomas, M., *Les Heures de Rohan: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, manuscrit latin 9471* (Montrouge, Draeger frères, 1973).

achievements of a flourishing manuscript market that had also witnessed rapid growth in the fifteenth century.¹⁴

The press at Bréhan-Loudéac

It was in this favourable context that the presses first appeared in Brittany. But it would not have necessarily been expected that the first printers should set up their workshop not in the vicinity of the ducal court or in one of the two largest towns of the duchy but in the small village of Bréhan-Loudéac. The press was brought to Bréhan by the local lord, Jean de Rohan, lord of Le Gué de L'Isle. Jean was a member of one of the junior lines of the house of Rohan, though certainly not, despite his prestigious surname, "un haut représentant de la féodalité" as suggested by one local scholar.¹⁵ With an income of approximately 1,400 *livres* per annum Jean de Rohan belonged to the wealthy nobility, but this annual revenue fell far short of that of the main noblemen of the duchy.¹⁶ The workshop was never intended to support a major centre of print. Jean de Rohan was one of a number of figures whose fascination with the new technology brought printing to a location that would prove unable to support a viable printing industry. The geographic location of Bréhan-Loudéac was particularly unpropitious, situated in the very centre of the duchy in the middle of the Breton countryside and over a day's travel from any significant centre of population. Its viability depended entirely on the continued patronage of its noble founder whose resources were ultimately too limited to maintain it for an extended period.

¹⁴ Jones, M., 'L'aptitude à lire et à écrire des ducs de Bretagne à la fin du Moyen Age et un usage précoce de l'imprimerie' *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*, LXII (1985) 37–53 notably p. 48.

¹⁵ Plaine, Dom F., 'Essai historique sur les origines et les vicissitudes de l'imprimerie en Bretagne' *Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée*, 38 (1876) 241–258, 354–371 & 458–465 at p. 246.

¹⁶ His revenue is known thanks to the roll of the muster held at Moncontour in 1480 – though this must be used as an approximate evaluation rather than a precise calculation, see Nassiet, M., 'Dictionnaire des feudataires de l'évêché de Saint-Brieuc en 1480' *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation des Côtes-d'Armor*, 124 (1995) 7–86. The same year Jean II de Rohan received approximately 12,000 *livres* from his lands (see Gicquel, Y., *Jean II de Rohan (1452–1516) ou l'indépendance brisée de la Bretagne* (Paris, Coop Breizh, 1994) p. 218) whilst Guy XV de Laval received 8,000 in royal pensions alone in 1481 (see Walsby, M.N., *The Comtes de Laval 1429–1605: Land, Lineage and Patronage in Late Medieval and Renaissance France* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Kent at Canterbury, 2001) p. 57).

The first press was worked by the printers Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès and, in number of titles printed, was to prove more productive than any other in the incunabula period within the duchy. Our knowledge of the origins of the first Breton printers is very sketchy. Unfortunately, no manuscript documentary evidence whatsoever survives and all we know is derived from the books themselves.¹⁷ At this stage of the development of printing, book had also not yet adopted the standard features that meant that printers would be clearly identified on a book's title page or at the end of the text (the colophon). So to identify the handiwork of this workshop we are obliged to rely on an analysis of the typographical material of the surviving books themselves.

The Bréhan-Loudéac editions all share the same characteristics of type, paper and size. This demonstrates the limited range of typographical material at the printers' disposal. This unity of production emphasises the small scale nature of the enterprise and the limited ambitions of the workshop. The works were well printed, the page setting was done with care but some inaccuracies and misjudgements in the quantity of ink applied to the type betray the workmen's limited experience. Analysis of the type also gives an indication of how the first printing material made its way to Brittany. According to Michel Simonin, the types used in the production of the Bréhan imprints resembled those of Arend de Keyser in Oudenaarde circa 1480. The similarities have led him to conclude that the type used by Breton printers was modelled on the Dutch rather than French tradition. Simonin thought it possible that the type reached Brittany via Rouen. He saw some similarities between the device used by Robin Fouquet and that of Norman printers and this led him to suggest that Fouquet may well have come from Rouen.¹⁸

The establishment of the press in Bréhan was further encouraged by the presence of two paper mills in the vicinity of the village. These were owned by the lord of Le Gué de L'Isle, the patron of the press. The proximity of the river Lié ensured that water – a vital ingredient in the

¹⁷ Some historians have sought to identify the printer Jean Crès with a homonymous man who served one of Jean de Rohan's cousins over a decade later in a different part of Brittany. However, we have no proof whatsoever that the two men were the same person.

¹⁸ Simonin, M., 'Les leçons de Brehan' *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* LXII (1985) 99–110 at p. 109.

making of paper – was plentiful. This had enabled the paper mills to develop long before print. They would have purveyed paper to local stationers, probably mainly for administrative use. The role of the mills in encouraging the development of the press in Bréhan should not be underestimated. The availability of paper meant that the sourcing of the most expensive element in the production of printed volumes was simple.

Once all the basic elements for the press had been gathered together, what remained to be determined was which books should be printed. The following table lists the titles that we know were printed in Bréhan-Loudéac.

Table 1: Incunabula printed in Bréhan Loudéac by Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès

1.	<i>Le trepasement de nostre dame</i> . December 1484
2.	Jean de Meung, <i>Les loys des trespassez, avecques le pelerinage</i> . 3rd January 1484 (=1485 n.s.)
3.	Francesco Petrarca, <i>La patience de Griselidis</i> . 18th January 1484 (=1485 n.s.)
4.	Alain Chartier, <i>Le breviaire des nobles</i> . 25th January 1484 (=1485 n.s.)
5.	Pierre de Nesson, <i>Oraison à notre-dame</i> . 27th January 1484 (=1485 n.s.)
6.	<i>Le songe de la pucelle</i> . January 1485
7.	Denis le Chartreux, <i>Le miroir d'or de l'ame pecheresse</i> . 6th March 1484 (=1485 n.s.)
8.	Ludolphus de Saxonia, <i>La vie de Jesuchrist</i> . 30th April 1485
9.	<i>Les coustumes et constitutions de Bretagne</i> . 3rd July 1485
10.	Aristoteles, <i>Le secret des secretz</i> . circa 1485
11.	Pierre Michault, <i>La dance des aveugles</i> . circa 1485

A high proportion of these books were new editions of works that had already found a print edition elsewhere. Five of these incunabula had a theme that could be characterised as being broadly religious, four were works of literature, one was a legal handbook and one was a classical text. Six were in verse and five in prose.

The bare enumeration of titles can, however, disguise an inherent imbalance in the press's production. Two of these works were of

substantial length whilst the rest were much smaller. One of the major weaknesses of much work on early print is that we rely too heavily on data of works published and number of editions. But this is not the whole story if we want to get a sense of how the printing press functioned at the time. A single substantial project might demand as much press time as a considerable number of much shorter works. In order to factor this into our analysis we need not only to analyse the number of works published but also their size. The best way to address this question is to consider the amount of paper used in their production. This is done by establishing the number of sheets of paper that each imprint required. The reams of paper produced in the mills were cut by printers into sheets that fitted onto the press. Each sheet was then printed and folded to form the pages of the book. The number of times the paper was folded determined the size of a book. For a folio volume, the paper was folded once, for a quarto imprint it was folded twice and for an octavo it was folded once more. This means that we can calculate the number of sheets that would have been necessary to print each copy of a book so long as we know the format and length.¹⁹

In the case of the Bréhan press, eight of the eleven imprints listed above would have required two sheets of paper or less for each copy. Two, *Le miroir d'or de l'ame pecheresse* and *La dance des aveugles* were slightly more substantial volumes as they would have needed 15 and 11 sheets respectively. But all of these works were dwarfed by the printing of the final title, the customs of Brittany. This one work of jurisprudence would have required more paper than all the other imprints put together (59 sheets for each copy).

The shorter works seems to have been mainly intended for a courtly audience and were all printed over a very short time span, from December 1484 to April 1485. Eight works in five months seems a significant production, but this in fact only represented a small investment in raw materials and workshop expertise. It is also notable that all these works were published in French. Not a single item was printed in either Latin or Breton. These works were clearly intended for a noble readership.

The one text that does not fit this pattern was the laws and customs of the duchy of Brittany. As we have noted, this was a much larger undertaking than the rest of the works printed by Robin Fouquet and

¹⁹ For example, the *Floret en francoys* printed by Pierre Bellescullée in 1485 is comprised of 40 unnumbered leaves (a-e8) in quarto. Each copy would therefore have required 10 sheets of paper.

Jean Crès. Whilst the other texts were all for religious edification or leisure, the laws and customs of the duchy had a very practical legal use. Lawsuits were an omnipresent feature of late mediaeval and early modern society and affected in particular Brittany's numerous nobility. The copies that survive are often heavily annotated by the lawyers who used them: "broüillé, noté, et marqué" was how Noël du Fail described one such copy.²⁰ There was a robust market for a work that could guide both laymen and lawyers through the complexities of custom law. Six editions of the custom were printed in Brittany in the incunabula period alone. This represented a sixth of the entire production of the presses in the duchy. This was an example of a large book that Breton printers could take on with a fair assurance of a secure return on their investment.

This could have been a seminal moment in printing in Brittany. The publication of the customs showed the desire to print books that had a practical everyday use. It also suggested a shift towards the development of a press that followed the requirements of the market rather than one that was highly dependent on patronage. However, in such a context Bréhan-Loudéac was hardly the ideal place to undertake such a venture. The printing of the customs seems in fact to have been the final work to be produced in Bréhan-Loudéac as no other volume bears a date later than July 1485. Because the customs required almost sixty sheets, the production of this edition would have probably monopolised the press for a period of at least four months. This large venture undoubtedly demonstrated the limitations of the Bréhan press. Instead of being the start of a viable printing industry it was the end of the abortive first appearance of the presses in Brittany.

Lantenac

The partnership of Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès in Bréhan-Loudéac had clearly been an unequal one. In all the incunabula that have survived, Fouquet was named first and Crès second. This was not the only indication of Fouquet's seniority. In seven of the ten surviving colophons, the line "Robin Fouquet" was printed immediately below the colophon. In six of these editions, these were the final words of the

²⁰ Du Fail, N., *Les contes et discours d'Eutrapel* (Rennes, "pour Noël Glamet de Quinpercourtin", 1598) FB 17200 [Author's private collection] pp. 7.

book. In contrast, Jean de Crès's name only appeared once in this context, yet again under Fouquet's name. It is interesting that the book in question was the customs of Brittany, the last of the Bréhan imprints. It perhaps prefigured the rise in importance of Jean Crès. Whilst Robin Fouquet disappeared definitively from the world of printing after this edition was produced, Crès is associated with two further editions. For though the customs marked the end of printing in Bréhan-Loudéac, Jean Crès did not abandon the trade immediately. Instead, he chose to continue as a printer and moved less than ten miles north to Lantenac.

When Jean de Rohan's appetite to sponsor a printing workshop on his lands waned, Robin Fouquet left Brittany. De facto, Jean Crès became the owner of the press and of the typographic material that they had used to print the Bréhan-Loudéac incunabula. He took these with him to Lantenac where he attempted to resume printing. In his overview of Breton incunabula, Arthur Le Moyne de La Borderie noted two works printed by Jean Crès in Lantenac: *Les sept pseaulmes en franczoys* and *Le doctrinal des nouvelles mariees*.²¹ The *sept pseaulmes* has neither printer's name, place of printing, nor date. In contrast, the colophon of the *doctrinal* indicates that it was published in Lantenac on 5th October 1491 and featured for the first time Crès's printer's device. Jean Crès was clearly trying to develop into an independent printer and emerge from under the shadow cast by Fouquet. Crès's choice to settle in Lantenac tells us how he thought that he could revive his trade.

The village of Lantenac is close to the town of La Chèze and only a few miles from Bréhan. The village was dominated by the Benedictine abbey founded in the twelfth century. The abbey was an obvious alternate source of patronage for Crès. Monastic houses had played a vital role in the circulation of texts and the copying of manuscripts in the Middle Ages. Their schools, libraries and scriptoria were the main centres of learning in the early Middle Ages, and though their importance

²¹ La Borderie, *L'imprimerie en Bretagne au XVe siècle* p. 97–8. I agree with the analysis of La Borderie and of Brunet in his *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres. 5e édition* (Paris, Firmin Didot frères, 1860–1865) that suggests that *La tres celebrable digne de memoire et victorieuse prinse de la cite de Granade* (s.l., s.n., [1491]), FB 23388 [BnF, Rés. YE 1154 (7)] was not printed in Brittany. The typographic characteristics of this edition are very different from the other editions contained in the volume. (For a contrary viewpoint see Plaine 'Essai historique sur les origines et les vicissitudes de l'imprimerie en Bretagne' p. 463).

had dwindled, they retained a key role in the dissemination of ecclesiastical texts and, indeed, were still the main source of new theological commentaries.²² In the early stages of the printing industry, ecclesiastical authorities encouraged the arrival and development of the press in provincial centres. By commissioning the printing of theological texts they provided many presses with a vital source of income.

Monastic establishments were less prominent in this movement than most of the universities and bishops, but there are nevertheless some instances of monastic patronage in the first century of print, as was illustrated by the printing of some works on the premises of the monasteries. Thus, for example, the monastery of Cluny in Burgundy sponsored the printing of a missal and breviary, for the use of their monks in 1492 and 1493.²³ But unlike the works printed in Cluny, the books that came off Jean Crès's press in Lantenac did not have a particularly local interest nor did they mention the monastery. The works were not written or edited by a local monk, nor did the texts themselves have a Breton origin. The terms of Jean Crès's move to Lantenac are unclear, but it was clearly only a modest success since we only know of two editions that he published there. It would seem that Crès went to Lantenac more as a speculative move to obtain patronage rather than with any assurance of financial help. In contrast to the books printed for Jean de Rohan, nowhere in the two books is a patron mentioned. The monastery was obviously not interested in the possibility of taking over the press. The Lantenac episode is a sad epilogue to the initial spurt of Bréhan printing. It was an unsuccessful attempt to breathe new life into an unsustainable venture.

Printing in Tréguier

Beyond the presses of Bréhan and Lantenac, the incunabula production of Brittany involved three other centres: Tréguier, Rennes and Nantes.

²² The mendicant orders alone consistently accounted for over sixty percent of known biblical commentaries produced in Paris and Oxford from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century: Verger, J., *Les gens de savoir en Europe à la fin du Moyen Age* (2nd edition, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1998) p. 124–125.

²³ *Breviarium Cluniacense* ([Cluny, Michael Wenssler], 1492), ISTC ib01137600 [BnF, Rés. B 27937] and *Missale Cluniacense* (Cluny, Michael Wenssler, 1493), ISTC im00635600 [BnF, Rés. B 308] that were printed for Jacques d'Amboise, abbot of Cluny. Other examples include the Cistercian monastery of Larivour where the abbot Jean de Luxembourg called on a printer from the nearby town of Troyes on 1546 and 1547 (see FB 7811, 7812 and 35573).

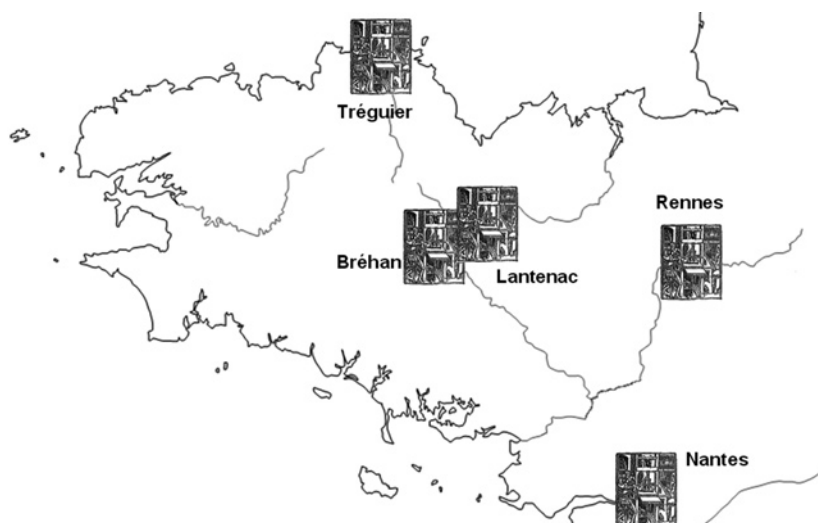


Figure 2: *Incunabula centres of print in Brittany.*

Both Rennes and Nantes were major cities but Tréguier was a much smaller town. Tréguier owed its importance to its status as the see of one of the nine bishoprics of the duchy. The bishopric had been the source of a number of manuscript commissions. The Cathedral accounts list a number of books that were bound for the library during the fifteenth century.²⁴ This suggests the existence of a booksellers' network in the town. But in fact the production of the first press that settled there had little to do with ecclesiastical matters. Known only by his initials, Ja. P., the printer began by printing an edition of the customs of Brittany. As we have already noted, printing the customs was a substantial task. The volume produced in Tréguier has 636 pages printed in-octavo and would have required 40 sheets of paper per copy. Accordingly, the printer split the job in two, finishing the main body of the customs on 17 May 1485 before adding "les constitucions establissement de Bretaingne" on 4 June.²⁵

²⁴ See for example the amounts paid for the binding of the "legendaire des sept saintz" and of the "vertus de monsieur saint Yves" in the accounts for 1468–1469 and 1469–1470 printed in Tempier, D., 'Documents sur le tombeau, les reliques et le culte de Saint Yves' *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique des Côtes-du-Nord*, 2 (1885–1886) 5–76 at p. 6 & 8.

²⁵ See the two colophons on ?5v and M7v. Both of the surviving copies are imperfect: British Library, IA 43703, and BnF, Rés. F 2187.

The production was very limited and we know of only two titles printed in Tréguier by Ja. P.: this edition of the customs of Brittany and a work of popular piety, the *Belle doctrine et enseignement que saint Bernart envoya a Ramon*. Though it bears no indication of either printer or place of printing, this second work, known only thanks to a single surviving copy in the duke of Aumale's collection in Chantilly, has correctly been identified as having been produced in Tréguier.²⁶ The text is a French translation of the *Epistola super gubernatione rei familiaris* written by the twelfth century author Bernardus Silvestris but, as is the case here, often misattributed to St Bernard of Clairvaux. The work was popular in the late fifteenth century and by the time the Tréguier version had been printed there had already been a French vernacular edition by Johannes Schilling in Vienne under a slightly different title.²⁷ The text is a series of didactic proverbs that form a short moral manual of just four folios. Though this was the last work known to have been printed by the mysterious Ja. P., the presses soon returned to the town. In 1496, a new printer, Jean Calvez, had settled there, though the nature of the items printed was very different to those that had previously come off Breton presses.

For a long while, it was thought that Tréguier offered a rare example of the printing of administrative texts in fifteenth-century Brittany. Even before the introduction of printing, the ducal court had shown interest in employing new techniques to increase the speed and efficacy of administrative business. On 6 May 1483, duke Francis II made provision for the crafting of what is known as a dry stamp, a wood-block facsimile of his signature which would be used to authorise official documents. Care was to be taken that the signature be as close a likeness of his autograph as could be achieved: he had “naguères fait faire engraver et imprimer nostre signet le plus conforme que possible”.²⁸ The process was nothing new: Henry VI of England had used this

²⁶ Léopold Delisle mistakenly believed the work to be a Bréhan-Loudéac imprint (*Chantilly. Le Cabinet des livres imprimés antérieurs au milieu du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1905) n° 244), the “Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke” database correctly identified it as a Tréguier imprint (see also the ISTC record n° ib00382200); see appendix C.

²⁷ Bernardus Silvestris *L'espistre que mon seigneur saint Bernard fist et l'envoya a Raymon seigneur du chateau Saint Ambrois* (Vienne, Johannes Schilling, circa 1477), FB 47995 & ISTC n° ib00382150.

²⁸ Ducal letters, 6 May 1483, AD Loire-Atlantique, E 128 n°6 quoted in Jones, ‘L’aptitude à lire et à écrire des ducs de Bretagne’ 37–53.

system some decades earlier, but it did show a readiness to adopt new techniques germane to printing in the highest rungs of the Breton state.

Despite the initial interest shown by the ducal administration in techniques such as woodblock signatures, there had been no attempt to adopt printing in any official capacity. Laws and ordinances remained manuscript, relying on the efficient system of multiple copyists that had developed across Europe in the late middle ages.²⁹ This was unfortunate for the printers for had Breton authorities used the press in this way it would have enabled them to find more settled employment in the main towns of the duchy. It is in this context that the discovery in the late nineteenth century of a series of printed ecclesiastical ordinances signed by Breton bishops might have been so significant. Between 1496 and 1507, we know that at least 11 such texts printed for two successive bishops of the diocese of Saint Briec. When announcing the discovery, Léopold Delisle formally identified these short texts as having been produced by Calvez's workshop in Tréguier.³⁰ Such small tasks offered an important lifeline to provincial printers such as Calvez as they ensured that they could have a continuous source of revenue. By printing texts that would have taken little more than a day's work, the printer could ensure a rapid return on his investment.

However, the identification of these works with the Tréguier press has since been refuted. It is now clear that the items were produced by a number of different workshops. The material used certainly confirms that these pieces did not come from Calvez's press, even if some of the new attributions are less than convincing.³¹ But even if he did not print these particular works, Calvez was still keen to take on jobbing work of this character. In 1511, Calvez published some of Louis XII's ordinances in a short booklet that represented only eight folios in the small

²⁹ This was certainly in place by the fourteenth century in France, as was belatedly acknowledged by Elizabeth Eisenstein in the later edition of her standard work: *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communication and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997) p. 46.

³⁰ See the list given in Delisle, L., 'Mandements épiscopaux imprimés à Tréguier au XVe siècle' *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 61 (1900) 59–70 at p. 60. Exemplars of these editions are currently to be found in the Vatican library.

³¹ Michelini Tocci, L., 'Incunaboli sconosciuti e incunaboli mal conosciuti della Biblioteca Vaticana' in *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro De Marinis* (Verona, Stamperia Valdonesa, 1964) III, 177–228.

in-octavo format.³² He happily printed single sheet items. When Anne de Bretagne entered Tréguier, Jean Calvez was asked to print and paint copies of the duchess's heraldic symbol, the ermine, "pour semer par les rues à l'entrée de la Royne en ceste ville".³³ This suggests that as early as 1505, the local municipality was willing to pay for the production of printed broadsheets that were effectively distributed free of charge.

Calvez was thus certainly ready to take on short local commissions, but this never prevented him from undertaking larger projects. The best known of these is the trilingual *Catholicon* that was taken from a manuscript owned by churchmen in Tréguier. This edition has been the focus of much interest as it was the first printed book to contain Breton. Initially written in 1464, the *Catholicon* reused the title of Johannes Balbi's well known mediaeval Latin dictionary, but, in fact, owed little if anything to this eponymous work. This *Catholicon* was a Latin / French / Breton dictionary compiled by a local author, Jean Lagadeuc. Lagadeuc was a priest in the diocese of Tréguier who composed the dictionary to help those unfamiliar with Breton, indicating that his work was primarily aimed "ad utilitatem clericorum novellorum britanie".³⁴

The dictionary is in fact a Breton to French and Latin dictionary, a tool for new members of the clergy.³⁵ The role of Auffret de Quoatqueveran, a canon of Tréguier cathedral, who added a prologue printed in the version set by Jean Calvez has led to some disagreement amongst scholars. Some have suggested that he was only the owner of a manuscript copy of Lagadeuc's work, whilst others think that he was in fact a co-author of the dictionary. Whatever his precise role, the fact that Auffret was named in the colophon of the work gives us a clear indication that the text was created as a manuscript in the vicinity of Calvez's workshop. The variety of works printed by Calvez marks him out as an

³² *Les ordonnances constitutions et statutz du roy et duc faictz ou moys de febvrier 1511*, (Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1511) FB 35175 [Nantes BM, C563 R].

³³ Lepreux, G., *Gallia Typographica ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution – Bretagne* (Reprinted, Rennes, 1989) p. 141. The payment was made in 1512.

³⁴ Lagadeuc, J., *Le catholicon en troys langaiges scavoir est breton franczoyz et latin selon l'ordre de labcd* (Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1499), FB 32488 [BnF, Rés. X 253] a1v.

³⁵ On the *Catholicon* in the context of other contemporary French dictionaries see the analysis of Jean Shaw: *The Printed Dictionary In France Before 1539* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1997) at 2.5.7.

enterprising printer who was willing to engage in the printing of very different types of book. By taking on a variety of works such as the ordinances of Louis XII and a grammatical manual published in 1501, Calvez was able to keep his shop in business for over twenty years: he was the longest serving of the first generation of Breton printers.³⁶

Incunabula printing in Rennes and Nantes

In contrast to the success of Calvez in Tréguier, in the major cities of the duchy the presses enjoyed only sporadic success. The first work to be printed in Rennes was completed on 26th March 1485, only a few months after the first book, *Le trespasement de nostre dame*, had been published in Bréhan. The work produced in Rennes was far more substantial than the two-sheet Bréhan imprint; it was an edition of the customs of Brittany almost thirty sheets long. Work had undoubtedly begun on the preparation and printing of the Rennes imprint before Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès had set about preparing their first edition. The edition of the customs was also produced with a different type of business model to that adopted by Fouquet and Crès. The colophon to the edition tells us that it was printed “a la requeste et despens de Jehan hus”.³⁷

Jean Hus or Hux was a wealthy merchant and burgher of Rennes.³⁸ As part of a well established family, he would have possessed the capital to pursue a business opportunity in this new and potentially lucrative industry. The template followed was similar to that adopted in Lyon where the merchant Barthelémy Buyer had financed the workshop of Guillaume Le Roy. In Lyon, the alliance of business funds and of typographers led to the development of a vibrant print culture, but Rennes did not enjoy Lyon's strategic location. The Breton city was situated some way from a major trade axis such as the Loire. This first Rennes imprint, did not give rise to a flurry of publications. It is also

³⁶ Sintheim, J., *Composita verborum* (Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1501) [The only known exemplar of this edition that was kept in the municipal library of Saint-Brieuc is now lost] & Louis XII, *Les ordonnances constitutions et statuz du roy et duc faictz ou moys de febvrier 1511* (Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1511) FB 35175 [BM Nantes, 211100 / C563 R].

³⁷ *Coustumes, stilles et establissemens de Bretagne*, (Rennes, Pierre Bellescullée and Josses for Jean Hus, 1484 (=1485 n.s.)) FB 7471 [BnF, Rés. F 1771] '8r.

³⁸ Jean-Pierre Leguay describes him as a “mercier bien connu”: ‘La confrérie des merciers de Rennes au XVe siècle. Contribution à l'histoire économique et sociale de la ville de Rennes’ *Francia*, III (1975) 147–220 at pp. 159 and 210.

interesting to note that this is the only book that refers to Jean Hus. In fact, even in this Rennes edition of the customs there are two variant states, one of which does not include the lines attributing the initiative of undertaking the publication to Hus.³⁹ It is unclear if the willingness of Hus to fund a printer's workshop was a result of his interest in having the customs printed or if this speculative venture into the new industry did not meet his expectations. Our knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the workshop is also limited; little is known of the printers, Pierre Bellescullée and Josses. After the printing of the customs, Josses disappeared completely, whilst Bellescullée embarked on the printing of a less ambitious work, the *Floret en franczoys*. The *Floret* does not bear the name of any patrons, and Bellescullée probably came to the conclusion that he could find better business opportunities elsewhere. He relocated to Poitiers, where printing was already well established. Once Pierre Bellescullée left Rennes in late 1485 or early 1486, nothing more was printed in the city until 1524.

In Nantes, the presses appeared almost a decade later than in Rennes. From 1493 to 1509, seven works were printed in the town. Five were by Etienne Larcher who had settled in Nantes in the "rue des Carmes près les changes" in 1493 to print Jean Meschinot's masterpiece, *Les lunettes des princes*.⁴⁰ Meschinot's work was very popular and was reprinted many times.⁴¹ It was a large work that would have required almost 28 sheets of paper per copy. Consequently, it was an interesting and audacious choice for a first venture. Yet it clearly proved to be an auspicious start since Larcher reprinted the work the following year.⁴² After this, however, Larcher reverted to tried and tested legal and religious works: an edition of the customs of Brittany, a book of ducal ordinances and statutes, a book of hours for the diocese of Nantes and the statutes of the diocese. All his editions appeared between 1493 and 1499 and after this we only know of Guillaume Larcher, probably his son or brother, who produced a missal for Nantes in 1501, using the same material as

³⁹ See the copy kept in the BnF, Rés. F 1770 (FB 7474).

⁴⁰ Meschinot, J., *Les lunettes des princes* (Nantes, Etienne Larcher, 1493) [BnF, Velins 2233] FB 37656.

⁴¹ See the edition by Christine Martineau-Genieys (Droz, Geneva, 1972) and the editions listed in Pettegree, Walsby and Wilkinson, *French vernacular books*: FB 37654 to 37681.

⁴² Meschinot, J., *Les lunettes des princes* (Nantes, Etienne Larcher, 1494) [fragments: BM Le Mans, RIB 015] FB 37658.

Etienne.⁴³ How successful these ventures were is open to speculation since we know of no further printing in Nantes by the Larchers.

There is, however, some uncertainty surrounding the actual role of Larcher in the printing of the books that bear his name. The material used in the editions that purport to have been produced in his workshop was very sophisticated. The production of the book of hours for the diocese of Nantes was typographically complex and would have required great skill. With this in mind, it has been suggested that much of what was printed could more correctly be attributed to a Parisian printer, Jean du Pré. Du Pré was a very experienced printer and he is known to have printed works outside Paris: he was responsible for the publication of works printed in provincial towns such as Chartres and Abbeville. Travelling to Nantes to print a few editions would certainly not have daunted him.⁴⁴ His connection to Larcher is circumstantial. Du Pré had already published what is generally recognised as being the first edition of the *Lunettes des Princes* in 1492, a year earlier than Larcher. But there is also far stronger evidence. The typographical analysis of the works that appeared under Larcher's name shows that the material used corresponds to that employed by Du Pré in Paris.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Larcher and Du Pré were closely related. In 1504, after Du Pré's death, a document drawn up in Paris refers to "feu maistre Jehan Larcher, dit Dupré, en son vivant libraire, demourant à Paris, et Estienne soy disant son frère et héritier d'icelluy deffunct".⁴⁶ Jean seems therefore to have adopted the surname "Du Pré" - a decision that has obscured the fact that they were in fact brothers.

If we take all these elements into account, it is unsurprising to find that the business relationship between Larcher and Du Pré was strong.

⁴³ No surviving copy of this edition is known, see La Borderie, A. *Le Moyne de Archives du bibliophile breton. Notices et documents pour servir à l'histoire littéraire et bibliographique de la Bretagne* (Rennes, J. Plichon, 1880–1907) I, 46.

⁴⁴ See Jean du Pré's role in works printed in Chartres in 1482 (Langlois, M., *Le Missel de Chartres imprimé en 1482* (Chartres, E. Garnier, 1904)) and in Abbeville in 1486 (Pouy, F., *Recherches historiques sur l'imprimerie et la librairie à Amiens: avec une description de livres divers imprimés dans cette ville* (Amiens, Lemer aîné, 1861) p. 68–69).

⁴⁵ See, for example, the attribution given by the ISTC to *Statuta Synodalia celebrata in ecclesia Nannetensi die 23 Maii an. 1499*, [Paris, Jean du Pré for Etienne Larcher in Nantes] printed c.1499 (ISTC no. 00749600).

⁴⁶ AN Y 5233 f. 111 quoted in Renouard, P., *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers, graveurs, fondeurs de lettres, relieurs, doreurs de livres, faiseurs de fermoirs, enlumineurs, parcheminiers et papetiers ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1901) pp. 80–81.

But without archival evidence it is virtually impossible to ascertain whether Du Pré lent typographic material to his brother or whether he actually helped Larcher print the works. The document also shows that by 1504 Larcher had abandoned printing in Nantes and relocated to Paris. It would seem that once he was in Paris he did not work again as a printer. This would further encourage us to think that he probably lacked the expertise needed to print the works that appeared under his name. The setting up of a book of hours was a difficult task as it involved using not just movable type but also a range of illustrations that had to be fitted alongside the text. Had he acquired sufficient knowledge to carry out this task, it seems unlikely that he would have readily abandoned the trade. Even if Larcher had lacked the capital to set up his own Parisian workshop, he could have joined Du Pré's successful business. His failure to do so is good evidence of his limitations as a typographer.

When analysing the printing of Etienne Larcher, Arthur Le Moyne de La Borderie suggested in his seminal *L'imprimerie en Bretagne au XVe siècle* that Anne de Bretagne played a direct role in the long term introduction of printing into the duchy.⁴⁷ He recognised the sporadic nature of much of Breton incunabula production. But when he examined the first items printed in Nantes, he drew a sharp contrast with the books produced in Bréhan-Loudéac, Tréguier, Lantenac and Rennes. In La Borderie's eyes, the arrival of the presses in Nantes marked a significant change in the production and distribution of the printed word in the duchy. According to La Borderie, the establishment of a press in Nantes marked the beginning of a continuous line of printers in that town. He attributed this new success to the keen interest and active patronage of Anne de Bretagne. La Borderie pointed out that the first work that was printed in Nantes was Jean Meschinot's *Lunettes des Princes*. This text glorified the ducal house of Montfort. La Borderie reasoned that as Meschinot heaped praise on Anne's parents, it must have been commissioned by Anne. She was, he noted, "très-amie des poètes, et qui se plaisait à entretenir par tous les moyens la flamme du patriotisme breton". He concluded "de là on est induit à croire que cette princesse provoqua ou du moins favorisa l'établissement de Larcher à

⁴⁷ La Borderie, *L'imprimerie en Bretagne au XVe siècle*. Though he does not sign the work and claims in the introduction that "c'est une oeuvre collective" (p. xii), his authorship is widely recognised.

Nantes”.⁴⁸ But this claim cannot be substantiated. The achievements of the Nantes presses were, in fact, very limited. After the departure of the Larcher press from the city, we know only of three items printed over the following seventy years. In Nantes, as in Rennes, the attempt to establish a printing industry had failed.

The failure of print

The list of incunabula print centres in the kingdom of France highlights the particularity of the Breton experience. Elsewhere, printers often set up shop in large conurbations or along important trading routes as was the case in Toulouse, Angers, Poitiers, Rouen, Troyes and Tours. There are few other examples of books printed in very small towns such as Bréhan-Loudéac, Lantenac or Tréguier. In other areas where similarly ephemeral presses appeared, such as Albi in south-western France, the failure of the presses has been attributed to the town's isolation and the small population of the surrounding area.⁴⁹ These traditional explanations are not sufficient to explain away the failure of the Breton presses. The Breton presses collapsed despite their location in a populous and culturally dynamic region.

Printing had reached Brittany fewer than fifteen years after Paris. Yet this remained a very superficial achievement. The rapid geographical progression through the duchy was not reflected in the printing of a large body of works. Taking all of the production of the presses enumerated above, we know of fewer than thirty Breton imprints for the entire incunabula period. Although five centres of printing can be identified in fifteenth-century Brittany, none of them achieved any durability. The fragility of the achievements of the printers is exemplified by the press that Jean Crès first set up in Bréhan and then had to move to Lantenac. Its failure and haphazard life after the output of the first year is economically unsurprising. Set up in the countryside rather than in one of the main Breton towns it was heavily dependent on

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 101. He repeats this idea in the conclusion (p. 123). This claim is dealt with more fully in my ‘The printed book in Brittany during the reign of Anne de Bretagne’ in C. Brown (ed.) *The Cultural and Political Legacy of Anne de Bretagne* (Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 2009).

⁴⁹ Desachy, M., *Incunables albigeois: les ateliers d'imprimerie de l'Aenas Sylvius (av. 1475–c. 1480) et de Jean Neumeister (1481–1483)* (Rodez, Éditions du Rouergue, 2005).

patronage and never found an independent market that could justify its existence.

The tale of the first Breton presses highlights the failure of a certain type of printing. The nature of the books produced in Brittany during the incunabula era contrasted quite sharply with those coming off the presses in places such as Paris or Lyon. In Paris, the initial focus of interest of the first printers was a scholarly market. Ensclosed in the Sorbonne, the first Parisian printers, Michel Friburger, Ulrich Gering and Martin Crantz sought to satisfy the needs of the university readership that Johannes Heynlin, the rector of the university and Guillaume Fichet, a doctor of theology, had identified when they had invited the printers to set up a press in 1470. Their first books were theological and Latinate. In contrast, in Lyon printing rapidly moved into the vernacular. The first Lyon printer, Guillaume Le Roy had settled in Lyon on the invitation of Barthélemy Buyer, a wealthy merchant, and his output was very different from that of the Parisian presses. Le Roy printed popular vernacular works such as *La legende dorée*, *Le miroir de vie humaine*, or indeed his first book, *Les merveilles du monde*.⁵⁰ The failure of the Breton presses was economic: they did not find a market to sustain them and were instead forced to rely on the enthusiasm of their patrons. This was a business model that had clear limitations and one which condemned the presses to a short lifespan.

The works that were printed by the Breton presses in the incunabula era were aimed at a very local market. All the editions were in French with the exception of just two works. These were the trilingual *Catholicon* and the *Statuta Synodalia celebrata in ecclesia Nannetensi*, the only work entirely in Latin. Only the trilingual *Catholicon* contained any Breton. These choices of language tell us something about the intended readership. Some of the printing towns such as Bréhan and Tréguier were situated in what were predominately Breton-speaking lands. A substantial proportion of the less well educated population of western Brittany would have been mainly, if not solely, Breton speakers.⁵¹ But as in the rest of the duchy, the nobility was

⁵⁰ Jacobus de Voragine *La legende dorée* (Lyon, Guillaume Le Roy & Barthélemy Buyer, 1476), [British Library, IC 41504], FB 30541 & Sanchez de Arevalo, R., *Le livre intitulé le miroir de vie humaine* (Lyon, Guillaume Le Roy & Barthélemy Buyer, 1477), [British Library, IB 41506], FB 47396. *Les merveilles du monde* imprimé à Lyon vers 1473 par Guillaume Le Roy [Inc. 2734 2o], FB 37642. See also Aquilon, P., 'La Bible abrégée' *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 2 (1972) p. 152.

⁵¹ See Jones, M., 'The Use of French in Medieval Brittany' in Guyotjeannin, O., (ed.) *La langue des actes. Actes du XIe Congrès international de diplomatique (Troyes, jeudi*

predominantly francophone. It was the language spoken at the courts of the dukes and that of the main aristocratic families of the duchy such as the Lavals, the Rohans and the Rieux. Furthermore, though much of the university-educated minority would have known both French and Latin, only serious editions of classical texts or theological books would have been published in Latin. French would have been the language of choice for the leisure reading of all the educated elite. The majority of these books were therefore intended for this audience, books to be read as entertainment or for self improvement.

This emphasis on vernacular imprints is also reminiscent of other early print cultures such as England. The output of William Caxton, for example, was heavily dominated by texts in English. Like his counterparts in Brittany, Caxton was printing primarily for an elite readership. In both cases, this meant that the provision of large Latin editions for the university and ecclesiastical markets that dominated European incunabula production was left to the main centres of print. In this respect the Breton presses were following a wider trend. The domination of French was characteristic both of provincial France and of the relative importance of vernacular print in many secondary print areas in Europe. Similar linguistic trends are visible in countries of a comparable size such as Portugal or Bohemia.⁵² It is noteworthy that these territories were also all situated some way from the main centres of European book production.⁵³

Table 2: Typology of editions printed in Brittany before 1501

	Jurisprudence	Religious	Belles Lettres	Other	Total
Editions	8	11	7	2	28
%	28.57	39.29	25.00	7.14	100

This point emerges even more clearly if we examine the Breton imprints by subject group. Although they included a substantial number of works of jurisprudence and religious works, these were not

11-samedi 13 septembre 2003) (Éditions en ligne de l'École des Chartes, numéro 7) <http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/sommaire163.html>.

⁵² Barbier, F., *L'Europe de Gutenberg. Le livre et l'invention de la modernité occidentale* (Paris, Belin, 2006) p. 192

⁵³ These were mainly situated in the "Paper Valley" – an area that stretched from London to Lombardy and comprised both the Rhine and Rhône valleys: Barbier, *L'Europe de Gutenberg*, p. 220.

intended for a particularly scholarly audience. Six of the eight works of jurisprudence were editions of the customs of Brittany and two were ordinances. There were no theoretical works of general jurisprudence, no editions of the works of recognised authorities such as the *Corpus juris civilis* of the emperor Justinian whose description of his reforms of Roman law was to prove an extremely popular text amongst jurists of early modern Europe. Closer inspection of the religious titles offers a similar result: all of the eleven works could be classified as popular piety. The imprints include a book of hours, works in verse such as *Le trespasement de nostre dame*, and manuals on how best to live: “vous destruisiez le corps devant le temps de ses jours et mettez à mort l’ame”.⁵⁴

The only classical text that was printed was *Le secret des secretz*, a vernacular edition of the *Secretum secretorum*, a pseudo-Aristotelian text that had achieved great popularity in mediaeval Europe. But the version printed by Robin Fouquet and Jean Cres was not a translation of the entirety of the work and certainly had no humanist pretensions. The text they published began with a clumsy introduction before picking up the text without warning in the second half of the work when the author discussed the subdivision of the year in four seasons. After giving a synthesis of the discussion, the Bréhan edition then jumps to the end of the *Secretum secretorum* to concentrate on the section on physiognomy before stopping as abruptly as it started. This cut down version of the text was not unknown and, indeed, the same text was published in Paris in the same year.⁵⁵ This edition of the *Secretum secretorum* encapsulates the type of work produced in Brittany: the vulgarisation of the treatise rendered it both accessible and entertaining. It is striking also that so many of these works were in verse rather than prose. These were books intended for entertainment or for self improvement rather than serious works of scholarship.

The texts printed in Brittany have far more in common with works produced in a number of smaller print cultures than those coming off

⁵⁴ This warning was issued in *Le miroir d’or de l’ame pecheresse*, a work which on its title page confirmed the intended nature of these books as being “tres utile et profitable”.

⁵⁵ *Le secret des secretz* (Paris, [Antoine Caillaut], circa 1484) [BM Besançon, Inc. 763], FB 1742. On the various translations and adaptations of the text prior to printing, see Monfrin, J., ‘La place du *Secret des secrets* dans la littérature française médiévale’ in Ryan, W.F. & Schmitt, C. B. (eds) *Pseudo Aristotle, the Secret of Secrets. Sources and Influences* (London, Warburg Institute, 1982) 73–113.

the presses of Paris or Lyon. The Breton presses dealt with two distinct types of works. The first were texts expressly requested by a patron, such as Jean de Rohan, lord of Le Gué de l'Isle, who wished to have the book printed locally. The role played by the printer was largely passive. Sometimes, the patron would actually have procured the copy manuscript which the printer then set up in type. Otherwise, printers published materials that they may have chosen themselves but of a type that would appeal to their noble patron.

The second type of work were books that had a clear local readership and where local demand was sufficient to justify sequential editions. The customs of Brittany and books of popular piety fit into this pattern. These were more speculative market ventures and seemed to offer printers rather more freedom of action. In reality, though, the limitations of the market drastically reduced the genuine freedom of such choices. Etienne Larcher may have published two editions of Jean Meschinot's *Lunettes des Princes* despite the existence of eight other known incunabula editions but this was an unusually popular work. Here he could calculate that the Paris printers who also printed this work would find a sufficient market in their own city and would have been able to resign the secondary Breton market to Larcher.⁵⁶ But this was an exceptional case. For the most part, the Breton book world was dominated by imported text and this inevitably circumscribed the opportunities of local printers.

Printing and selling

Although printing had reached Brittany early, the presses never created a strong local print culture. This does not mean to say that people were not reading or that they did not rapidly become used to seeing and buying printed books. But those which were available to them would have been printed elsewhere and shipped into the duchy.

The selling of printed books clearly pre-dated the arrival of the presses in Brittany. The volumes would have initially been sold by the same people who had sold manuscripts. Networks of booksellers had thrived in the later Middle Ages and, initially, printed books simply

⁵⁶ There were two editions of the *Lunettes des princes* published in Paris before Larcher's editions, by Jean du Pré in 1492 and by Le Petit Laurens and Pierre Le Caron in 1493.

fitted into existing patterns, though it has been argued that they soon outgrew “the narrow channels of the manuscript book market”.⁵⁷ Many individuals and local institutions created texts and laws that were distributed in manuscript form. The transformation of these manuscripts into printed items, however, remained very rare. This failure to convert manuscripts into print was not dictated by a lack of demand. There was, for example, a rising need for numerous copies of large legal volumes that cried out to be printed and distributed in the major centres of population. Booksellers made such that they supplied printed books that addressed the areas of greatest need, but these were volumes that were not produced in Brittany. This would have been particularly true in Brittany where there is little evidence of a well-established complex of booksellers in the fifteenth-century.

One of the problems facing booksellers and printers was that the late-fifteenth century was a period of profound political instability in Brittany. Events now conspired to imperil the generally upward economic trajectory that had characterised the previous century. After decades of prosperity, stability and internal peace, the late 1480s and early 1490s saw considerable upheaval. The disappearance of the duchy of Burgundy as a powerful political entity deprived Brittany of a natural ally that served as an effective counterweight to their common neighbour, the kingdom of France. With France’s traditional enemy, England, engulfed in the midst of a bloody civil war, the duchy stood very much alone against its heavyweight neighbour. This was perhaps the reason that duke Francis II launched what has become known as the “Guerre folle”, an initiative that sought to forestall any French military action. As a tactic, the move was disastrous. The military campaign was singularly unsuccessful and served only to draw attention to the continued threat posed by an independent Brittany to France. In the words of the later count of Laval, Guy XVI, the duchy had become a source of constant concern for the French monarchy, a doorway for its enemies “qui vous enfonçoient jusques dedans le cœur du Royaume, qui tenoient la clef de voz portes”.⁵⁸

Over the following years, Brittany became the focus of a number of military campaigns culminating in the battle of St Aubin du Cormier.

⁵⁷ Lehmann-Haupt, H., *Peter Schoeffer of Gernsheim and Mainz. With a list of his surviving books and broadsides* (New York, L. Hart, 1950).

⁵⁸ Argentré, B. d', *Histoire de Bretagne, des roys, ducs, comtes et princes d'icelle* (Paris, Jacques Dupuys, 1588), FB 1685 [Rennes BM, Rés. 786] p. 1164.

Here, the Breton troops were comprehensively routed. The death of duke Francis II later that year further weakened the duchy. The resumption of hostilities during the first years of Anne de Bretagne's reign led to a highly disruptive series of events including the siege of Rennes in 1491 by French troops led by François de La Trémoille. The presence of the troops in the duchy made it difficult for local merchants to ply their trade and made the circulation of books hazardous. Even when the French troops had been explicitly told to respect private property, the damage inflicted was considerable.⁵⁹ The resolution of the conflict brought a welcome return to peace and stability. The arrival of the royal court in the aftermath of the struggle, and the marriage of Charles VIII to Anne de Bretagne, did help to reinvigorate some parts of the Breton book trade. The king is known to have commissioned from a Nantes bookseller a breviary worth 45 *sols tournois* for a local clergyman.⁶⁰ But such orders were sporadic and could not reverse the lasting damage of the war. In such conditions, it was far safer to print books elsewhere and import them into Brittany than to set up a new workshop.

The importance of the trade in books printed outside the duchy was already evident prior to the arrival of the first press in Brittany. Here we have the evidence of a fascinating case brought by the Breton bookseller Guillaume Touzé in 1480. In this lawsuit, Touzé obtained letters that condemned a former acolyte, Guillaume de l'Espine, who had been one of his itinerant booksellers. The case revealed the breakdown in the agreement they had reached to ensure the distribution of books in lower Brittany. Touzé had arranged that, for a stipend of 10 *livres bretons*, L'Espine would offer the books for sale for a period of six months. After this time, L'Espine was to hand over the money he had received for the books. The initial outlay by Touzé was clearly considerable since he valued the books he handed over to L'Espine to be worth at least 500 *livres bretons*. If Touzé's account is to be believed, L'Espine was successful, selling a large number of books. But when the six months were up, L'Espine simply refused to hand over the money he had made to Touzé.

The deal is interesting as it demonstrates the manner in which books were distributed in the duchy. L'Espine himself was little more than a

⁵⁹ See Guy XV de Laval's letters to Charles VIII, 20 June & 4 July [1488], in La Trémoille, L. de, (ed.) *Correspondance de Charles VIII et de ses conseillers avec Louis II de La Trémoille pendant la guerre de Bretagne en 1488* (Paris, 1875) n°129 & 148.

⁶⁰ Payment to Guillaume Le Tasseur, 1491, AN KK 76 fo. 81 indicated in Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs* p. 290.

book peddler: Touzé claimed that he was a “vacabund” and that he had no fixed abode. The officials certainly seemed to think that L’Espine was a shady character since they ordered his immediate arrest should he be caught in their jurisdiction.⁶¹ In this context it is significant that Touzé felt comfortable entrusting someone like L’Espine with books that had such a high aggregate value, a clear sign that at this point there was not alternative means of bringing the books to his customers. In other words, at this date there was no fixed network of booksellers’ shops throughout the duchy. Those stationers who had serviced the far more limited trade during the manuscript era could not cope with the increasing demand for printed books in the years that preceded the planting of the presses in Brittany. The rise in the number of volumes produced across Europe thanks to the invention of printing was dramatic and it required a seismic change in the distribution networks to ensure that the book producers continued to find buyers.

According to the account registered in the ducal court, L’Espine peddled books for Touzé over a huge area – described in the act as “en Basse-Bretaigne et ailleurs en ce pais et duché”. But this sort of arrangement could only be a temporary solution. This itinerant trade soon gave way to a stronger and more active network of resident booksellers. If the printing presses that had settled in so many different locations in the fifteenth century in the duchy ultimately failed, it was paradoxically in part because of the increasing success of the printed book. Even before printing was established in Brittany, books were being imported from outside the duchy. This in turn led to a strengthening of the bookseller network. The increasing influence of local booksellers was particularly detrimental to the prospects of local printers. The booksellers stocked large numbers of high quality Paris and Lyon imprints that could be produced in large print runs ensuring that the item cost of each book was low. These were terms of trade with which the undercapitalised Breton printers simply could not compete. In the nascent printing industry, the interest of printers and booksellers thus quickly diverged. Enterprising Breton booksellers, by procuring books from other sources, created an environment too competitive for the small local print shops.

⁶¹ The document is partially transcribed in La Borderie, A. Le Moyne de, ‘Notes sur les livres et les bibliothèques au moyen âge en Bretagne’ *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes*, III (1862) 39–53 at pp. 49–50 from AD Loire-Atlantique, B 9 fo. 180.

CHAPTER 2

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE PRESSES

We know of over a hundred works printed between 1500 and 1523 that feature the name of a member of the Rennes or Nantes book trade either on the book's title-page or in its colophon. This might seem to imply that there was a modest but continuous production emanating from Breton presses after the initial outburst of editions in the incunabula era. In fact, inspection of the books themselves shows that of these works only nine were actually printed within Brittany. The vast majority of these editions were printed elsewhere but destined to be sold by Breton booksellers. A typical example of this phenomenon was an edition of a text of particular interest to Breton readers, a history of the kings and dukes of "Great Britain" and of Brittany. The title page proclaimed only "On les vent a Renes chiez Jehan Mace pres saint Saulveur a l'enseigne saint Jehan l'evangeliste et a Caen chiez Michel Augier pres le pont saint Pierre". This has led it to be identified with Rennes. Yet the book was in fact printed in Normandy: the colophon reveals that the book was printed "a Rouen par M. Pierre Olivier demourant audit lieu pres l'esglise saint Vivien".¹

The analysis of the entire corpus of books published in the period 1500 to 1523 shows that not a single book was printed in Rennes and that only five came off presses based in Nantes. Such figures contrast sharply with those compiled from the analysis of the editions that mention those towns on the title page or in the colophon. We know of over a hundred editions that state that they were sold by the Rennes bookseller Jean Macé during this period, but they were all printed outside the duchy. Over these years we find books printed in Caen, Rouen and Paris for Breton booksellers. The business relationship which connects them is revealed by the names of Breton booksellers on the title page, in the colophon or by their device used somewhere in the book.

¹ *Les croniques et genealogie des tres nobles roys, ducz et princes tant de la Grant Bretaigne que de la petite avesques les tresexcellentes victoires et triumphes d'iceulx roys et princes faictes sur les rommains jadis leurs tributaires et sur toutes autres nations*, (Rouen, Pierre Olivier, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1510) [BnF, Rés. Nb 290] FB 20331.

Printing Breton material outside Brittany was a lucrative commerce that attracted a number of different printers. By the beginning of the sixteenth century such foreign imprints had become commonplace. The customs of Brittany were printed at least six times in the duchy during the incunabula age. Yet the first surviving edition of the customs of Brittany came off the presses of the Parisian printer Guillaume Le Fèvre on 23rd September 1480. Thus, over four years before the first book was produced by Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès in Bréhan-Loudéac, printed copies of the customs could have been available in the stalls of Breton booksellers. The edition does not indicate in any way where the book was to be sold or what its market was to be. But it seems unthinkable that the very first print-run of this legal handbook was not meant at least in part to be sold to the very market that would have needed this vital work of reference.

The edition was printed in the smaller octavo format to make it more portable and was clearly destined to be of practical use to lawyers and notaries. The copy that is kept in the municipal library in Rennes demonstrates that Breton lawyers were indeed very keen to have such a tool at their disposal. This copy bears two manuscript inscriptions which indicate that this copy was in the hands of Olivier du Chastellier, lord of la Hautays, and his wife Olive du Boisbaudry in 1575.² Olivier du Chastellier was a Breton nobleman whose main land was situated approximately half way between Rennes and Châteaubriant in the parish of Tresboeuf. He pursued a legal career and, a year after he had inscribed his name on the customs, he was named councillor in the Breton Parlement before being promoted to the prestigious position of *président à mortier* in 1594.³ A large number of customs of Brittany were printed outside the duchy during the sixteenth century, but only one does not have the name of a Breton bookseller either on the title page or in the colophon.⁴ The Breton market for the books was thus virtually always openly acknowledged.

² *Les coustumes et establissemens de Bretagne* (Paris, Guillaume Le Fèvre, 1480) [BM Rennes, 76795 Rés.], FB 7470. The inscriptions read "Olivier du Chastellier", "Olive du Boisbaudry" and "1575".

³ Saulnier, F., *Le Parlement de Bretagne, 1554–1790, répertoire alphabétique et biographique de tous les membres de la Cour, accompagné de listes chronologiques et précédé d'une introduction historique* (Rennes, J. Plihon et L. Hommais, 1909) I, 225–6.

⁴ The edition in question is the *Coustumes, constitutions, establissemens et ordonnances de Bretagne* printed for the Paris based consortium of Jean Cornillau, Jean Adam, Jean Bienayse and Jacques Ferrebouc in 1521: FB 7487 [Harvard Law Library, N BRIT 90 521].

Books of hours

Unlike the customs, very few books of hours were printed in the duchy. There clearly was a Breton market for such works of popular piety. The short religious texts produced by Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès show that there was a local demand for this type of book. In fact, it could be argued that because of the wider appeal of books of hours, they were likely to have a larger market than the very successful customs of the duchy. The first books of hours to be produced for the Breton market were commissioned and sold by the bookseller Pierre Regnault of Caen who had a bilingual “Hore beate Marie virginis” printed that ended with the colophon “Cy finent les heures a l’usage de Renes” in around 1489. This was apparently successful enough to warrant a second book of hours dedicated to Rennes about eight years later again commissioned by Regnault and probably printed in Paris by Etienne Jehannot.⁵ The first printed book of hours intended for use in Nantes were similarly produced in the incunabula era but unlike those produced for Rennes, they were produced in Brittany by the printer Etienne Larcher in Nantes.⁶ But Larcher’s decision to print a book of hours for Nantes did not start a long series of locally produced editions; it was in fact the only book of hours printed in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Brittany. The analysis of the books of hours used in the duchy helps us identify why certain books were not produced in the place they were read.

Identifying all the editions of books of hours printed in the sixteenth century is an extremely difficult process. Typically, such books of popular piety were used by generation after generation, often opened and read at least once a day as the owners prayed and sought either guidance or forgiveness. The consequence of such intensive use was often the physical deterioration of these well-loved volumes and many now only survive in incomplete copies, sometimes in short fragments of a few unbound leafs. Printers often tried to strengthen the books by printing them on vellum rather than on paper. This was a costly venture but one that ensured that the pages would not tear as easily.

⁵ *Hore beate marie virginis* (Paris, Pierre Regnault, circa 1489) [BM Rennes, 85163 Rés.], FB 29349 & *Horae ad usum Redonensem* (Paris, Etienne Jehannot for Pierre Regnault, circa 1497) [B. Abbaye de Solesmes], FB 29350 – the attribution to Etienne Jehannot was made by Torchet (number 444).

⁶ *Heures à l’usage de Nantes* (Nantes, Etienne Larcher, 1498/9) [BM Nantes, 998-6-1], FB 29149. See also P. Thoby ‘Les Heures à l’usage de Nantes’ *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de Nantes et de la Loire-Inférieure*, 78 (1939) 192–225.

Nevertheless, a substantial number of editions of books of hours now survive only in one incomplete copy, a state of affairs that suggests that an even greater number must have been printed, and that many have simply disappeared over the centuries. These circumstances mean that reconstituting the corpus of Breton books of hours is a particularly difficult task as any enumeration would inevitably omit a large number of editions for which we currently know no surviving copies.

A number of fragments of sixteenth-century book of hours printed for Breton use have turned up in the bindings of other books. Three such discoveries were made in the binding of copy of a book of customs of Brittany printed in 1531.⁷ Paul Lacombe dated them all circa 1530 and inserted these editions in the list of books of hours printed in Rennes on the basis of the inferred place of printing of the customs. However, he does recognise that the fragments' provenance is problematic since the final line of the customs' title page claims that the work was printed "ex carracteribus Parrhisiiis".⁸ But it is dangerous, in any case, to attribute the religious works on the basis of the legal text with which they were bound. All the works refer to Rennes and they could easily have been bound by any bookseller who stocked works of interest to the Breton market. Using fragments of unsold or outmoded copies was commonplace when binding a book and in no way indicates that the books of hours were printed by the same printer as the customs. It does, however suggest that the bookseller who fashioned the binding stocked material relevant to Brittany and it is plausible that the book was therefore bound in Rennes. The first two fragments have the running title "ren." implying that the books were for the use of Rennes, whilst the last fragment has no such indications and could therefore plausibly apply to a different bishopric. It is not likely that these editions would have been printed in Rennes. Léopold Delisle speculated that they were probably printed in Caen presumably for Pierre Regnault, though this inference is not explicitly made by Delisle.⁹

⁷ *Heures à l'usage de Rennes* (s.l., s.n., Circa 1530) [BnF, Rés. F 23684] and *Heures à l'usage de Rennes* (s.l., s.n., Circa 1530) [BnF, Rés. F 23685]. The volume in which they were found is the *Coustumes establissemens et ordonnances du pays et duche de Bretagne* (Paris [for Rennes, Jean Baudouin], 1531) [BnF, Rés. F 1769], FB 7490.

⁸ "leur origine est donc très incertaine": Lacombe, P., *Livres d'heures imprimés au XVe et XVIe siècle conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Paris* (Nieuwkoop, B. de Graaf, 1963) n° 523. I discuss the question of the attribution of the works signed "ex carracteribus Parrhisiiis" later in this chapter.

⁹ Delisle, L., *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen avant le milieu du XVIe siècle suivi de recherches sur les imprimeurs et les libraires de la même ville* (Reprinted in Amsterdam, Gérard Th. van Heusden, 1969) n° 215.

Certainly nothing allows us to conclude that they were printed in Brittany. On the contrary, it is likely that they had been imported into Brittany in much the same way as the customs.

The buoyant market for books of hours is demonstrated by their continued printing for Parisian and Norman booksellers. In Paris, books of hours for the bishopric of Nantes were printed by Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre in around 1502 and the same bookseller commissioned another edition in 1515.¹⁰ The same combination of printer and bookseller were also responsible for a book of hours for Rennes in 1502 and Simon Vostre had another version published five years later.¹¹ Pierre Regnault in Caen also continued to produce books of hours for Brittany: Léopold Delisle in his essay on early printers and booksellers in Caen identified three books of hours printed for Rennes before 1550.¹² The economic rationale behind the production of these books of hours was simple. For Parisian and Norman printers used to catering for a large variety of regional and even national markets, adapting existing books of hours for Brittany came at very little extra cost. Philippe Pigouchet and Simon Vostre produced books of hours for Cambrai and Besançon, neither of which were situated in the kingdom of France, as well as editions of the Sarum use for the English market. These printers also provided volumes for a large number of French bishoprics to say nothing of the numerous printings of the generic *Horae ad usum Romanum*.

The basic texts were the same in every book of hours. Printers simply adapted each edition by adding a small number of extra items dedicated to saints that were prominent in the diocese where the books were to be sold. The similarities between certain variants were demonstrated by the book of hours produced by Antoine Vérard in Paris in 1508. These hours have been identified as being initially printed for Chartres, but the 1508 edition has a generic title page that gives no

¹⁰ *Heures à l'usage de Nantes* (Paris, Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre, circa 1502) [Musée Dobrée, Nantes, 690 2780] FB 29150 & *Heures à l'usage de Nantes* (Paris, Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre, circa 1502) [Musée Dobrée, Nantes, 690 2775] FB 29151.

¹¹ *Heures à l'usage de Rennes* (Paris, Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre, circa 1502) [BM Rennes, 11578 Rés.], FB 29351 & *Heures à l'usage de Rennes* (Paris, Simon Vostre, 1507) [indicated in Moreau, B., *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, Service des Travaux Historiques de la Ville de Paris, 1972–2004) I, 99], FB 29352.

¹² Delisle, L., *Essai sur l'imprimerie et la librairie à Caen de 1480 à 1550* (Caen, Henri Delesques, 1891) p. 40 and his *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen* n° 213–215.

indication of the bishopric for which the print run was initially conceived. The printed text also features a blank in the colophon that was sometimes filled by a manuscript inscription that transformed the hours so that they could be marketed as serving other bishoprics than that for which it had initially been intended. Thus some exemplars that survive today show that the edition was rendered more generic by selling them as hours for the usage of Paris (as per the copy in Amiens) or Rome (as per the copy in Cambridge).¹³

The versatility of the main text and of the expensive woodcut illustrations that were commonplace in all books of hours made for economies of scale that played into the hands of the larger Parisian printing houses which could produce them for a large number of dioceses. Their costs would be significantly lower than those of a Breton printer who would only print works for the much more modest market of the nine small Breton dioceses. An added disincentive for Breton printers lay in the fact that many Bretons were quite happy to use books of hours for the use of other bishoprics and in particular the generic editions created for either Paris or Rome. At the start of the seventeenth century the collection of the cathedral church of Tréguier contained mainly printed books for the usage of Rome. The inventory that was drawn up included “Six misseaux dont il y a deux in follio et quatre in quarto, tous à l’usage romain de l’impression de Paris”, “Cinq antiphoniers in quarto dudict usage romain” and “Deux grands bréviaires in folio pour les deux temps, à l’usage romain”. The latter were clearly much used, since the inventory indicated that they were all “un peu usés et deschirés”. The collection even contained books for the use of the bishopric of Chartres, though in this case they were “escriptz et nottés a la main”.¹⁴

Jean Macé and the Normandy book trade

One of the reasons that the Bretons were so willing to rely on the importation of books was the fact that the quality of the typesetting and production was vastly superior to anything that had been printed

¹³ *Heures à l’usage de Chartres* (Paris, Antoine Vêrard, 1508), FB 29035, for the “Paris” copy: BM Amiens, Rés. 96A and for the “Rome copy”: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.

¹⁴ The inventory of the sacristy of the cathedral was drawn up on 19 January 1626: Tempier, D., ‘Documents sur le tombeau, les reliques et le culte de Saint Yves’ *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique des Côtes-du-Nord*, 2 (1885–1886) 5–76 at pp. 26–7.

within the duchy. If the quality of the output of the best Parisian printers was widely accepted as being second to none, the Norman printers were also keen to stress that their craftsmanship was of the highest standard. In the preliminary section of Vergil's *Buccolica* printed by Laurent Histingue for the booksellers Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, the quality of the printing is much praised. With some pride, Michel Angier wrote a short celebration of the superior value of the books he commissioned: "Provida que docti sudavit cura Hostingui || Tersa cothurnati musa maronis inest || Quis fuit augustus toto celebratus in orbe || Quem timuit vario barbara terra metu || quis. saloni-nus erat".¹⁵ In fact, the bookseller did not just write a few lines in appreciation of the quality of Laurent Histingue's output: he had encouraged the printer to leave Rouen for Caen at his bidding by subsidising his move with his own money.¹⁶ The partnership that Angier, Macé and Histingue were to enjoy was very fruitful. Between 1508 and 1526 the booksellers and printer were to oversee the production of a large number of texts that varied from vernacular editions of the customs of the duchy of Normandy to the printing of classical Latin works.¹⁷ Though the quality of the works produced was a powerful incentive to import the books from outside the duchy, in fact the connection between Caen and Rennes had already been established for a number of years before the arrival of Histingue in the university town.

The foremost bookseller serving the Breton market was Jean Macé. This was true both in terms of the quantity of editions commissioned and in the breadth and variety of the texts produced during the absence

¹⁵ Vergilius Maro, P., *Buccolica Virgilii, cum commento* (Caen, Laurent Histingue for Michel Angier and for Jean Macé in Rennes ca. 1518) [BnF Rés. p Yc 1648] at g6r. Histingue was also complimented for his production of Baptista Spagnuoli's *Parthenice Mariana*: "Non possum non vehementer tuum laudare consilium. Laurenti ingeniosissime, quo singula Baptiste Mantuani opera tue impressioni committenda sapienter constituisti" (Caen, Laurent Histingue for Michel Angier and for Jean Macé in Rennes ca. 1518) [BM Caen, Rés. A 9] at a1v (see also Delisle, L., *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen* I, 33).

¹⁶ On Laurent Histingue and his arrival in Caen see *ibid.*, II, xlvii and following pages. Georges Lepreux in his *Gallia typographica, ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France, depuis les origines de l'imprimerie jusqu'à la Révolution, Province de Normandie* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1912) pp. 459–460, simply summarises Delisle's work on Histingue, admitting: "Je n'ai rien à y ajouter".

¹⁷ See the works listed by Pierre Aquilon in his *Bibliographie normande: bibliographie des ouvrages imprimés à Caen et à Rouen au seizième siècle* (Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1980–1986).

of the printing presses from Brittany. The Macé family mainly resided in Normandy where successive generations played a vital role in the development of a strong print culture. Foremost amongst these was Robert Macé (sometimes referred to by the diminutive “Robinet”). As the official bookseller of the University of Caen, he helped ensure that book production in Normandy did not go the same way as the presses in Nantes and Rennes. The quality of the printing he commissioned and his readiness to enter into business partnerships with other booksellers from other towns created a business model that would be continued by his three sons. Indeed, many other booksellers learnt their trade in the Macé workshop. Michel Angier was one of his apprentices whilst Macé’s son, also called Robert, had as apprentice possibly the most famous sixteenth century printer of all, Christophe Plantin.¹⁸ It is unclear how Jean and Robert Macé were related, though from the dates at which they were active it would certainly seem that they were of the same generation and possibly brothers.¹⁹ The two worked closely together, making use of the same woodcut device for their many common projects.



Figure 3: Robert Macé’s device appropriated by Jean Macé.

¹⁸ Delisle, *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen* II, LXIX.

¹⁹ Delisle suggests (*ibid.* p. XXVII) that Jean Macé was either Robert’s father or his elder brother – but I have not found any proof that Jean ever had a dominant

Robert Macé used this quite distinctive device on a number of occasions but after his death it was inherited by Jean. He initially made use of the device without any alterations and so, for example, when he commissioned Adrianus Carthusiensis's *De remediis utriusque fortune* from a Rouen printer in 1506, his name and address appeared beneath the late Robert's device.²⁰ But as time passed he had the device adapted: the original initial "R" in the woodcut was chiselled out to resemble an "I". As the original device already incorporated the arms of Brittany, the altered device suited Jean perfectly.

The continuing trade in books after the death of Robert Macé and the rise of Michel Angier proved that the system that the Macé brothers had set up was profitable enough to survive the change of partner. But it was not without difficulties as others sought to profit from their successful ventures. For instance, the authorities in the town of Avranches tried to exact a charge for each cartload of books that passed through the town. This was a toll that the booksellers were quick to challenge. Avranches was on the road that linked Caen to Rennes and the route was unavoidable if the carts were to remain on relatively well maintained roads. The monies that the authorities wished to levy would have seriously reduced the profitability of the partnership. To combat these exactions, Robert appealed to the courts on the grounds that as the official purveyor of the University of Caen he should be exempt of such charges.²¹ The vigilance of booksellers who sought to maintain low transport costs was instrumental in ensuring the wide distribution of new editions produced outside Brittany.

The continuing vitality of the connexion with Normandy stands testament to the ability of the main print centres to export books into the duchy. The exchanges with Caen are the most easily traced because of the explicit role that Jean Macé had in the commissioning of a large number of works at a time when the presses had disappeared in Rennes. But there is also evidence of similar links with other centres of printing. We have already seen that Philippe Pigouchet and Simon Vostre produced books of hours for the use of the main bishoprics of the

position vis-à-vis Robert. On the contrary, Robert is virtually always named first on the title pages and colophons of the editions that they co-commissioned. Furthermore they were active over a similar period (1502–1524 for Jean, 1499–1506 for Robert).

²⁰ Carthusiensis, A., *De remediis utriusque fortune* (Rouen for Jean Macé in Rennes) [Leiden UB, 652 G 20] the book does not name any other booksellers.

²¹ The document is not dated, but was probably written circa 1505, see Delisle, *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen* I, 81–82.

duchy and that editions of the region's laws and customs were also published in Paris for sale in Rennes and Nantes.

The publication of such works further afield stands testament to the strength of trading links with the kingdom of France in the first decades of the sixteenth century. That a printer in Paris or Normandy would be willing to undertake the printing of substantial works such as the customs of Brittany or books of hours, for example, demonstrates that they were confident that they would be able to recuperate their costs. Having to ship and sell on to Breton booksellers a large proportion of the copies printed was clearly not a dangerously speculative move – as we will shortly demonstrate. Indeed, it was relatively easy to ship books to the market place in Brittany from far further afield.

Nantes and the printed book

Unlike in Rennes where the presses were initially active for only just over a year, books were printed for almost a decade in the other main town of the duchy. Incunabula printing in Nantes had been a more successful venture. But after the Larchers had moved to Paris at the start of the sixteenth century, we only know of four works printed in the city in the following two decades. These four editions were all of minor importance and were printed by three different workshops, demonstrating the weakness of local printers and the difficulties they faced as they fought to establish themselves. The first of the Nantes imprints was a commission for the bishop of Dol, Mathurin de Plédran, by an otherwise unknown printer, Guillaume Tourquetil. This was the first printing of the statutes of the bishopric of Dol and had been done at the behest of the bishop. Plédran was closely identified with the printing as was demonstrated by the fact that the entire title page was devoted to his coat of arms.²² This was symptomatic of the limited ambition demonstrated by the printer. He was a competent typographer, as we can see by the clever use of typographical ornaments in the final section of the book. But the work does not have the trappings of similar volumes that were appearing in these years in the main printing towns. Not only does Tourquetil's name only appear in the colophon, the volume does not have a separate title or even a heading. The appearance of the book was still primitive.

²² Plédran, M. de, *Statuta synodalia* [*Statuts synodaux de l'évêché de Dol*], (Nantes, Guillaume Tourquetil, [1509]), [Rennes BM, Rés. 11814].

The next work we know to have been printed in Nantes was an ordinance of the duchy's Parlement that was just two folios long. It was printed anonymously for local booksellers, the Papolins: the secondary role of the printer is very evident.²³ Over the following two years two more books were printed in the city. The printer, Jean Baudouyn, was to have a deep impact on printing in Brittany, though the works he published in Nantes showed the industry's reliance on religious patronage. The first, a book of hours, is known only thanks to a reference in an eighteenth-century history of Nantes.²⁴ The second was also a religious work, but was specifically aimed at members of the clergy. It was commissioned by the bishop of Saint-Malo, Denis Briçonnet, to be read to all parishioners.²⁵ But, as far as we are aware, after printing two works in as many years in the city, Baudouyn stopped printing. He was to reappear six years later in Rennes in 1524. His failure in Nantes and his departure marked the end of printing in the town for decades. After Baudouyn's printing of the *Instruction des curez* in 1518, the next Nantes imprint we know of came off the press of Jacques Rousseau in 1572. In other words, there were no presses active in the city for over half a century.

Yet, as was the case in Rennes during the first two decades of the sixteenth century, the disappearance of the presses did not equate to the absence of the printed book. On the contrary, the printed book became increasingly important in the development of trade to and through the city. The most obvious sign of the healthy sales of books was the printing of editions that explicitly named Nantes booksellers on the title page. In much the same way as Jean Macé had operated in Rennes, a number of Nantes booksellers sought to commission and import volumes that dealt with Breton issues. During the absence of the presses (from 1518 to 1572) we know of twelve such editions either from surviving copies or from manuscript references. This represents a relatively small number of items (fewer than one every four years) and the figure certainly appears derisory when compared to the large number of editions commissioned by Jean Macé in Rennes during the

²³ *Ordonnances faictes en Parlement tenu a Vennes*, (Nantes for Antoine and Michel Papolin, [1516]), FB 41061 [Nantes BM, 211106 C564 Rés.].

²⁴ Travers, N., *L'Histoire civile, politique et religieuse de la ville et du comté de Nantes* (Nantes, Forest & Pesron, 1836–1841) – there are no surviving copies of this Baudouyn imprint.

²⁵ Gerson, J., *Instruction des curez pour instruire le simple peuple* (Nantes, Jean Baudouyn, 1518) FB 22726 [B. Ste Geneviève, 4o BB 239 inv. 462 Rés.].

two first decades of the sixteenth century. The nature of the works further underlined differences with Jean Macé's experience: the editions commissioned by Nantes booksellers were all legal and religious texts of specific interest to a local readership. Seven of the books were works of jurisprudence such as the customs of Brittany or laws relevant to the duchy. The five remaining works were manuals, breviaries and books of hours, four of which were for the use of Nantes and one for the southern Breton bishopric of Vannes.

The subject matter of these works reveals the limited aspirations of the Nantes booksellers. The books they commissioned were those that would normally offer commercial opportunities to local workshops. This was the case for editions of local ordinances or non-illustrated religious texts. Such publications required only a relatively superficial grasp of printing techniques and small up-front costs. The works commissioned by Nantes booksellers met the basic requirements of the local readership without ever offering them anything new. These were tried and tested markets the needs of which, prior to the disappearance of the presses, had been adequately met by local printers. These editions were commissioned by no fewer than six different booksellers: Antoine and Michel Papolin, Olivier Ganeraux, Pierre Bodin, Mathurin Papolin and Gabriel Le Plat. The division of such a small number of editions amongst such a large number of booksellers meant that no one took the significant financial risk of commissioning a large number of books. Their outlook was conservative: all the books were editions of texts that had already proved their popularity. At no point did any of these booksellers seek to introduce works that did not have a practical function and a readily identified readership. They preferred to ignore completely the possibility of producing books for new markets, whether it be a readership interested in recreational books or in news items.

The books Nantes booksellers did commission underline the growing links between Breton booksellers and Parisian printers in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Here we can call upon archival evidence that elucidates the relationship between the two groups. In 1518 and 1524 a consortium of Nantes booksellers placed two orders for breviaries for the diocese of Nantes.²⁶ Both these orders appertained to breviaries for the diocese of Nantes. The sizes of the print runs were

²⁶ Coyecque, E., 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier parisien pendant le cours du XVI^e siècle (1498–1600)' *Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France. Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* XX–XXIII (1893–1896) no. 76 & 465.

750 and 650 respectively, some way below the probable average of 1,000 for books in this period. The printing was to take place on a single press and three forms were to be used by day at a daily rate that rose from 45 *sous* to 60 *sous* over these six years. It is also interesting to note the involvement of the same printer in both cases, Jean Kerbriant, a Parisian printer whose Breton name suggests that his contacts with the duchy were not just economic. The relatively small print runs, the spreading of the risk between a number of different booksellers, as well as the nature of the works underlined the unadventurous approach of the members of the Nantes book trade.

The Angers connection

This conservatism contrasted markedly with the more enterprising attitude adopted by a bookseller who resided outside the duchy, Philippe Bourgoignon. Though based in Angers, Philippe Bourgoignon played an important role in the commissioning of editions to be sold in Brittany. His place of birth is not known and though it has been suggested that he was probably originally from Brittany, further research has unfortunately not enabled me to confirm this hypothesis.²⁷ All the archival and printed evidence places him firmly in Angers. Bourgoignon was already established in the town by the 1520s, living in the parish of Saint-Pierre in the centre of the city where he played an active part in the life of the town.²⁸ An archival document relating to the transaction conducted between Bourgoignon's widow and his heirs gives us some background information that allows us to put his business in context. From this document it seems that Bourgoignon was very much ensconced in Angers where his trade had enabled him to make a decent enough living. When Philippe Bourgoignon's eldest son, Charles, bought up Philippe's second wife's share of her husband's "meubles, marchandises, debtes et douaire et choses qu'elle avoyt ou eust peu demander esdits biens" in 1559, he had to pay the considerable sum of 1,200 *livres tournois*. But Bourgoignon's ambitions were not

²⁷ This is suggested in the relevant article in Port, C., *Dictionnaire historique, géographique et biographique de Maine-et-Loire et de l'ancienne province d'Anjou* (2nd edition, Angers, H. Siraudeau, 1965–1996).

²⁸ He was, for example, a witness at the wedding of André Dandres and Ambroise Turpin, two inhabitants of Angers: Parish register, 27 December 1547, AD Maine-et-Loire, 5E5 320.

limited to Anjou. The same document attests to the strength of the ties that linked Angers and Nantes and highlighted Bourgoignon's commercial interests in Brittany, since it transpires that his daughter married Nicolas Gervays, a merchant based in Nantes.²⁹ Such trade connections were not rare. The two towns were linked by the Loire and the Maine rivers that were vital mercantile channels that facilitated the movement of goods. But unlike many other Angevine booksellers, Bourgoignon sought to make the most of these connections.

An active member of the local book world, from the very beginning Bourgoignon was able to look beyond Angers and its immediate vicinity. In the 1520s, he had married Nicole de Bougne, undoubtedly the daughter of the Angevine bookseller Charles de Bougne who had commissioned a variety of works in the incunabula era and early sixteenth century.³⁰ The marriage brought Bourgoignon into Charles de Bougne's immediate entourage and offered him a vital set of contacts in the wider book world. During his career, Charles de Bougne commissioned works from a number of important printers from Paris and Rouen and worked with booksellers in both Rennes and Nantes.³¹ By marrying De Bougne's daughter, Bourgoignon entered a network of printers and booksellers that gave him an invaluable edge over his competitors. Bourgoignon certainly used this network and followed in his father-in-law's footsteps by working with some of the major Parisian printers of the day.³² It is noteworthy that most of the editions that he commissioned were destined for Brittany. Philippe Bourgoignon's interest in the Breton print world illustrates the perceived profitability of the bookselling opportunities in the duchy in the 1540s and 1550s. He clearly felt that there was a sufficient gap in the market for a bookseller based in Angers to commission editions primarily of interest to

²⁹ Transaction between the heirs and widow of Philippe Bourgoignon, February 1558/9, AD Maine-et-Loire 5 E 2 (with thanks to Odile Halbert who communicated this document to me).

³⁰ See the entry devoted to him in Pasquier, E., *Imprimeurs et Libraires de l'Anjou* (Angers, Editions de l'Ouest, 1932) pp. 111–114. Charles de Bougne was active in Angers from 1494 to 1530.

³¹ See for example the edition of the customs of Maine and Anjou printed in Paris by Etienne Jehannot for Charles de Bougne in 1499: FB 1390 & ISTC ic00953150 [New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 79747 1] as well as the edition of the customs of Anjou printed by Martin Morin in Rouen also for Charles de Bougne circa 1509: FB 1371 [BM Rouen, Inc p 69].

³² See Baron, E., *In titulum de servitutibus libri octavi Pandectarum notae* (Paris, André Wechel for Philippe Bourgoignon in Angers, 1538) [B. Ste Geneviève, 4o F 647 inv. 967 (1)].

a Breton readership. The value of this opportunity to Bourgoignon was such that virtually all the books that bear his name were primarily meant to be sold in Rennes or Nantes.

In contrast to the manner in which Charles de Bougne had operated, these editions were not explicitly shared with Breton booksellers; Bourgoignon was generally the only bookseller named on the title page. As early as 1540, he commissioned an edition of the customs of Brittany which the title page declared was to be sold in Rennes and Nantes for Philippe Bourgoignon.³³ Bourgoignon had not set out on this task lightly and was aware of the dangers of embarking on such ventures. The previous year he had obtained a privilege from the Breton Parlement with the promise to provide an edition that would publish the customs “bien et correctement, et en beaux caracteres”.³⁴ Additionally, he also sought a privilege from the king for three years for any edition of the customs of Brittany as “il doubte, que apres ladicte impression faite, aultres que luy les vouldissent semblablement imprimer ou faire imprimer, qui seroit par ce moyen le frustrer de ses labours, fraiz, et mises”.³⁵ Both of these privileges were printed in full and occupied the first five pages that followed the title page. Bourgoignon’s fears that his publication of the customs would spark rival editions seem to have been justified. The next full edition of the customs of the duchy that we know of appeared in 1543, barely respecting the three years of exclusivity promised in the privileges.³⁶

The availability of the books in both Rennes and Nantes also raises the question of the distribution of the editions in which Bourgoignon invested. Almost all the books published for Bourgoignon advertised his responsibility with the same formula: “On les vend a Rennes et a Nantes pour Philippes Bourgoignon, libraire jure de l’universite d’Angiers”. This makes clear that, whilst the stock was owned by Bourgoignon, he did not himself run the bookshops where they were sold. Bourgoignon would have made his stock available to independent

³³ The exact expression was “a Rennes et a Nantes pour Philippes Bourgoignon, libraire jure de l’universite d’Angiers”.

³⁴ The privilege is dated 23 October 1539: *Coustumes generales des pays et duche de Bretagne* (Angers, Philippe Bourgoignon, 1540), FB 7493 [BM Rennes, Rés. 89858 (1)], A3r–v.

³⁵ The privilege is dated 22 November 1539: *ibidem*, A1v–A2v. See also the *Catalogue des actes de François I* (eds Marichal, P. et al., Paris, 1887–1910) n°11292.

³⁶ *Coustumes generales des pays et duche de Bretagne* ([Rouen, Nicolas Le Roux, for Thomas Mestrard in Rennes], 1543), FB 7496, [Harvard Law Library, N Brit 90 543 (1)].

booksellers who could then charge commission as they would with any other books in their stock. This is confirmed by the title page of a 1553 edition commissioned by Bourgoignon which stated that the text had been printed for Bourgoignon but that books were to be sold in Rennes, in this case explicitly mentioning the shop of Thomas Mestrard.³⁷ Mestrard had started out as a bookseller and had previously developed connections to a number of different printers and booksellers in the main centres of print including Nicolas Le Roux in Rouen, Jean Petit and Jacques Kerver in Paris.³⁸ He had also managed a print workshop in Rennes, but he was obviously also happy to act as a vendor for the edition printed for Bourgoignon in Poitiers. This instance of having a bookseller of one provincial town (Angers) commission an edition in another town (such as Paris or Poitiers) and have it explicitly distributed in two further towns (Rennes and Nantes) remains unique in sixteenth-century French print. This complex marketing structure appears for the first time in 1540 and was obviously a success. Bourgoignon used the same business model up until 1558, the final year of his life.

Bourgoignon's investment in the Breton print world dominated his publishing career. We only know of two works he commissioned that were not intended for the Breton market, a work written by the bishop of Arras and a Latin judicial manual.³⁹ Certainly, Bourgoignon did not believe that the same opportunities existed within his home town and we do not know of any editions associated with Bourgoignon that were destined for a purely Angevine readership. This was all the more surprising when the Angevine focus of some of Charles de Bougne's commissions is considered. Bougne had mainly invested in local customs and works of local significance such as Bourdigne's history of Anjou.⁴⁰ The importance of Bourgoignon's involvement in the Breton market extended beyond that of a simple commissioning bookseller since the

³⁷ *Edicts du Roy touchant les matieres civiles dont n'y a appel de Parlement de Bretagne* (Poitiers, Enguilbert de Marnef for Philippe Bourgoignon and sold by Thomas Mestrard in Rennes, 1553) FB 25435 [BM Rennes, 76807 (2)].

³⁸ See the text of the agreement between Jean Lermangier and Jacques Kerver, 6 January 1540, AN Minutier Central, étude LXXIII, carton 1.

³⁹ The aforementioned Baron, E., *In titulum de servitutibus* and Richardot, F., *La reigle et guide des curez, vicaires et tous recteurs des eglises parochiales* (Angers, Philippe Bourgoignon, 1556) FB 45960; there is no known surviving copy of this work.

⁴⁰ Charles de Bougne had co-commissioned an edition of Jean de Bourdigne's *Hystoire agregative des annalles et cronicques d'Anjou* – a work printed in Paris by Antoine Couteau in 1529 (FB 7042 – BM Angers, Rés. H 1996).

dedication of the 1540s customs certainly credited him with an active role in the preparation of the final text. Qualified as “bibliopole hic celeberrimus”, he basically fulfilled the functions of an editor; “ut tantisper coeptum laborem intermitterem, dum rerum indicem perlecto cursim libello colligerem”.⁴¹

The precise role played by Bourgoignon in the production and sale of the editions that featured his name on the title page needs to be determined. His part in the process seems to overlap with, but substantially differ from, the traditional activities associated with a bookseller who would commission works so that he could sell them in his own bookshop. Bourgoignon had a strong editorial role; he prepared the text that was to be printed and presumably funded the printing of the edition before ensuring that the works were distributed to booksellers who would look after the sales of the volumes. His role was therefore somewhere between the scholar who edited a text and the investor who identified a profitable hole in the market. It does seem a damning indictment of Breton and in particular Nantes booksellers that it was an Angevine bookseller who made the most of the commercial opportunities that the specific Breton judicial system afforded. Bourgoignon was clearly an ambitious bookseller and the royal privilege that he included in his edition of the customs of the duchy stands testament to his good business connections. Bourgoignon’s influence extended beyond the editions for which he was specifically responsible as was evident from an examination of editions that did not mention him either on the title page or in the colophon. Thus, an edition of royal ordinances printed in Rennes by Jean Georget for Thomas Mestrard contains an excerpt of the privilege that reveals that the request was put forward by Philippe Bourgoignon in conjunction with Thomas Mestrard.⁴²

This book was printed in Rennes, but the typographical material employed in the editions produced for Bourgoignon show that the vast majority were not printed in Brittany. Not all the editions indicate where Bourgoignon had his books printed but the colophons show that he was prepared to use a variety of different printers active in different towns. The colophon of the 1543 edition of the customs of

⁴¹ *Coustumes generales* a1r.

⁴² *Ordonnances royaulx sur le fait de la justice et abbreviation des proces en ce pays et duche de Bretagne*, (Rennes, Jean Georget for Guillaume Cheveau, [1539]), FB 21403, [BM Rennes, Rés. 89858 (3)] H4r.

Brittany states that it was printed in Paris by Etienne Caveiller, but the edition published under his name ten years later was printed in Poitiers by Enguilbert de Marnef. In both cases, Bourgoignon selected experienced and highly-skilled printers; something he was clearly very proud of.⁴³ Etienne Caveiller is known to have printed over a hundred works between 1533 and 1543, though he was rarely named on the title page.⁴⁴ Enguilbert de Marnef was from a renowned printing dynasty that had workshops in both Paris and Poitiers. Bourgoignon's decision to have his books printed in Poitiers rather than Paris or Lyon was interesting since it was a smaller print centre that relied on roads rather than fluvial haulage. Though the Poitiers presses were known for being very active, this meant that transporting the books would have been a more complicated business. The existence of strong trade routes to and from both Paris and Lyon gave these cities a further competitive advantage. This is the only book that I have been able to identify that was printed in Poitiers explicitly for a bookseller from another town. The presses undoubtedly printed works that they then sought to distribute throughout western France, but this was clearly a new type of venture for them. This edition of the customs printed in Poitiers for an Angevine bookseller who sold the works in Rennes and Nantes would have represented a complex operation involving members of the book trade in at least four different towns. That this complicated arrangement was possible and financially viable demonstrated that by the mid sixteenth century the books trade routes were well established and working smoothly.

Books in transit

Books were commissioned by Breton booksellers in a number of different towns situated outside the duchy. But these editions printed in Caen, Paris, Poitiers, Rouen or Venice only represented a fraction of

⁴³ In one privilege he boasted that the edition was produced on "beau papier" (*Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict, ordre et stile de plaider par escript en ce pays et duché de Bretagne* (For Philippe Bourgoignon in Rennes and Nantes, 1553) FB 25460, [Harvard Law Library, N Fran 132 553] Aa2v–3r.

⁴⁴ See Renouard, P., *Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie, puis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle* (Paris, A. Claudin, 1898) and see the works attributed to his workshop in the relevant volumes of Brigitte Moreau's *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle* (Paris, Service des Travaux Historiques de la Ville de Paris, 1972–2004).

the works available to Breton readers. Local bookstalls were packed with books that were printed outside the duchy. It is by no means easy to determine precisely which other works the booksellers stocked where nothing indicates a specific connection to a Breton bookseller. These volumes were not explicitly printed for a local readership. For the vast majority of such editions, Brittany simply represented a secondary market that offered a useful complementary source of sales. Most of the print run would have been sold in the city where the books were printed or in a wide variety of regions. The transit of these editions from one town to the next is hard to follow. In such circumstances, the historian relies heavily on manuscript evidence and in particular on booksellers' inventories. However, there are no extant fifteenth or sixteenth century inventories for Breton booksellers and we have, instead, to turn to other archival documents. In this regard we are more fortunate and there are valuable sources that emphasise, in particular, the availability of editions printed in Lyon.

Lyon was the second city in France to embrace printing after Paris and the new industry flourished in the town. As a pivotal part of the European trading network, Lyon had developed large fairs and a substantial population of merchants and financiers. Despite lacking a *Parlement* and a University, in many ways it was the perfect place for printers to settle. It offered both the necessary capital investment to print expensive and ambitious projects as well as the vital infrastructure to ensure that the distribution network would reach far beyond the confines of the kingdom.⁴⁵ This enabled Lyon printers to provide books for foreign markets and notably for Spain. The long distance distribution of books had become a crucial feature in the sale of increasingly large print runs. Booksellers and printers who oversaw the production of editions rapidly realised that to sell their stock as quickly as possible they needed to search for markets situated beyond the immediate surrounding regions. In the incunabula era, the example of the chronicles of Nuremberg printed in 1493 show how it was possible to build up a vast network of distribution that extended as far as France and Italy.⁴⁶ For Spain this long distance trade was of particular

⁴⁵ For more on the economics of printing in Lyon in the second half of the century see the recent thesis by Matt Hall: *Lyon publishing in the age of Catholic Revival, 1565–1600* (PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2005).

⁴⁶ Zahn, P., 'Die Endabrechnung über den Druck der Schedelschen Weltchronik (1493) vom 22. Juni 1509. Text und Analyse' *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1991) 177–213.

importance. Despite a rapid adoption of the printed book, production stagnated during the first decades of the sixteenth century. The difficulty of obtaining paper made printing expensive and Spain became increasingly dependent on imported books.

One of the main trade routes used to ferry barrels of books printed in Lyon to Spain took the consignments through Brittany. First of all, the books were taken by road to Moulins and Nevers. From there the books were taken to the shores of the Loire and transported down river to Nantes. Nantes was an important trading hub that acted both as a point of departure for local and French goods as well as a doorway through which foreign goods entered into the kingdom. The port was very lively with consistently high shipping activity. A contemporary document noted that the salt taken from the bay and from the nearby marshes of Guérande alone accounted for five to six thousand boats a year.⁴⁷

Even though Breton seafarers were present in most major Atlantic ports, the particular focus of Breton commerce was the exportation and importation of goods to and from Spain.⁴⁸ Nantes, in particular, thrived thanks to this trade. For the book trade, the town represented a logical staging post at which the barrels of books could be transferred from a river boat or land-based transport onto a sea-faring vessel that could then take the goods along the French Atlantic coast to northern Spain.

Foremost amongst the merchants who took care of the Spanish importation of books printed in France were the Spanish family of Ruiz. The Ruiz dealt with a whole variety of commodities that they shipped to Spain. This mainly involved cloth, wheat and salt but included a number of other goods such as rolls of paper.⁴⁹ They also took care of much of the printed matter destined for the Iberian market. The strength of intellectual exchanges between Spain and Lyon was one of the salient features of sixteenth and seventeenth-century book trade.⁵⁰ That the Ruiz were instrumental in developing the

⁴⁷ Travers, *L'Histoire civile, politique et religieuse* II, 342.

⁴⁸ Touchard, H., *Le Commerce maritime breton à la fin du Moyen âge* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1967) p. 213.

⁴⁹ Henri Lapeyre in his *Une famille de marchands: les Ruiz. Contribution à l'étude du commerce entre la France et l'Espagne au temps de Philippe II* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1955) lists all the main commodities they transported (pp. 505 to 577).

⁵⁰ The point is forcefully made in Etayo-Pinol, M. A., *L'édition espagnole à Lyon aux XVIème et XVIIème siècles selon le Fonds Ancien de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon – Part-Dieu* (Thesis, University of Lyon III, 1991).

connection is evident from the account books that survive in the municipal archives in Nantes.⁵¹ The registers are a unique source for understanding the internal workings of the business of ferrying books from the point at which they were produced to where they were to be sold. The accounts contain the names of the printers and booksellers involved in the printing of the texts as well as those to whom the books were being shipped. This allows us to plot with certainty the trade routes the merchants used. The documents also reveal some of the business connections that were so fundamental to the development of the book trade in France.

The Lyon printers and booksellers named in the register include some of the most powerful members of the book trade. These included Gaspard de Portonariis, Jacques de Millis, Claude Senneton, Charles Pesnot, Guillaume Rouillé and the heirs of Jacques Giunta. Together, these members of the Lyon book world account for well over a thousand editions. In the context of the export of volumes to Spain, it is also noteworthy that a substantial proportion of the editions with which these booksellers were associated were written in Latin. This made these editions particularly suitable for sale in non francophone countries. The importance of the Ruiz is emphasised by the fact that the list features stock provided by the two dominant booksellers for this type of trade, Rouillé and Giunta.⁵² We also know that Lyon was one of the main centres for the production of books in Spanish outside Spain.⁵³ The accounts also refer to a number of Parisian printers, most notably Gilles Gilles and Oudin Petit who were also keen to export books to a country so heavily reliant for its printed matter on foreign imports. The books were destined for booksellers all over Spain. The Ruiz registers mention not only booksellers from coastal towns such as Bilbao, but also many situated much further inland in Medina del Campo, Burgos, Salamanca and even Seville.

In the context of the Breton book world, the business activities of the Ruiz are of interest not only because the books transited via the Loire

⁵¹ See the papers and registers covering (with some lacunae) the period 1548–1564: AM Nantes, HH 189 to 193.

⁵² They were amongst the nine most important Lyon booksellers involved in the export of books to Spain for the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Etayo-Pinol, *L'édition espagnole à Lyon* p. 15.

⁵³ We know of at least sixty works printed in Spanish in Lyon: see the bibliography of Spanish books developed by Sandy Wilkinson: *Iberian Books. A bibliography of books printed in Spain and in Spanish before 1601* (Leiden, Brill, 2010).

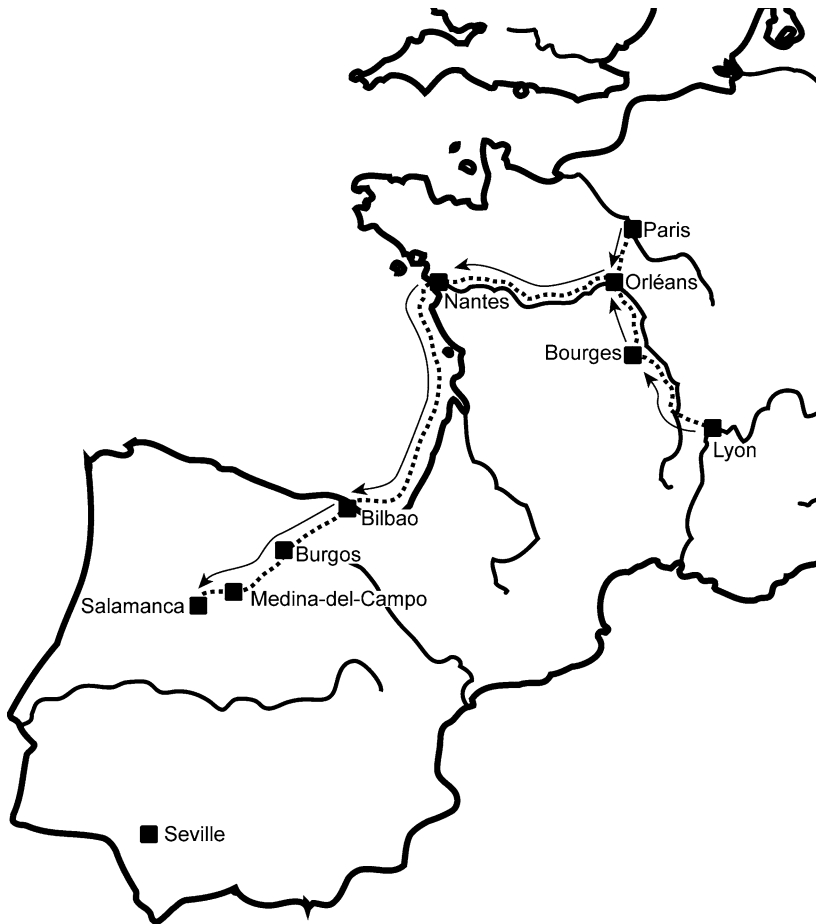


Figure 5: Route used for the export of books from Lyon and Paris to Spain.

There were four main stages for the volumes that travelled from France to Spain and at each stage other booksellers were involved. First, the books would be transported over land to the Loire where they would have been met by a local bookseller. The books from Paris followed the consecrated route that took goods down to Orléans. There, they were safely received in the town by a figure of some standing in the local book trade such as the printer and bookseller Eloi Gibier. The books from Lyon would often arrive in Bourges where a less well-known figure, Nicolas Pilabena, would ensure that they were safely sent on down the Loire. They would then make their way to Nantes where another

bookseller would receive them. The accounts reveal, for example, that in 1560 Mathurin Papolin was particularly involved in the trade. His name was mentioned a number of times stating that he had received various consignments of “balas de libros”⁵⁴ His role was further explained in one of the entries that reads “una bala de libros laqual medio por el aqui Matelin Papolin para envialle a Carlos Pesnot”.⁵⁵ The books would then make their way to Bilbao where another bookseller would send them on to their final destination. The trade was thus a complicated affair that required both high levels of organisation and many different protagonists.

The registers held by the Ruiz indicated precisely the number of bales and, in the margin, reproduce the identifying symbols with which each of the bales would have been tagged: this was presumably to enable rapid identification during transit (see Illustration 1). Though the Loire was doubtlessly easier to navigate than the much quicker and narrower Rhône, the route was nevertheless perilous. Consignments of books and paper were obviously extremely vulnerable to water damage. The Ruiz seem to have used both bales and barrels on their boats as the terms appear side by side in the accounts, but the books are generally counted in bales.⁵⁶ The Ruiz clearly had an intimate knowledge of the French trade. One of the entries gave Oudin Petit’s exact address, stating that he was a “librero en Paris en la rua de San Jaques a la flor de lis dor”. There was also a degree of anxiety about the possible heterodox religious opinions expressed in the books.⁵⁷ Despite this, the transit of these bales of books continued throughout the sixteenth century. The correspondence of Jan Poelman, a bookseller in Salamanca for the Plantin-Moretus press, contained a number of references to books from Antwerp and Paris passing through the Breton port on their way to Spain.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ “Libro de las mercaderias que con la gracia de dios se enbian a España”, 1548–1564, AM Nantes, HH 189 fo. 109.

⁵⁵ Entry for 4 November 1560, AM Nantes, HH 189 fo. 125.

⁵⁶ Typically, an entry would refer to other goods in the barrels. See for example the entry for “3 balas de libros et barriles de tinta” on 23 September 1560, AM Nantes, HH 189 fo. 121.

⁵⁷ See the entry for 31 December 1561, AM Nantes, HH 189 fo. 148 and Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands*.

⁵⁸ Robben, F. M. A., *Jan Poelman, Boekverkoper en Vertegenwoordiger van de Firma Plantin-Moretus in Salamanca, 1579–1607* (Antwerp, De Gulden Passer, 1994) See, for instance, the account of bales arriving in Bilbao from Breton ships in 1587: pp. 196–7.

Local sales

We would expect that a bookseller like Mathurin Papolin with such numerous contacts in the Lyon book world would have made the most of the commercial opportunities this trade offered. With access to the stock of so many high profile printers and booksellers, Papolin would have been able to offer a wide variety of books in his stall. The importance of this trade to the Nantes book world can be seen in the relatively high number of books printed in Lyon during the sixteenth century that survive in the municipal library at Nantes. When using of this type of data one must be aware of possible distorting factors, such as the effect of large donated collections or the desire of many libraries to purchase books printed in their region. But the peculiar history of the collections of the French municipal libraries makes such analysis more trustworthy. The collections were initially assembled from the volumes of the monastic libraries that had been confiscated during the revolution.⁵⁹ The vast majority of their sixteenth-century books entered into their collections via such confiscations. The analysis provides useful data on the degree of penetration of books from different centres of print into provincial France. When using this technique to analyse the present day vernacular holdings of Nantes's municipal library we find that the percentage of works produced in Lyon in that collection was five percent higher than the equivalent percentage of comparative libraries of the northern half of France such as Le Mans, Rennes or Amiens.⁶⁰ In fact Lyon imprints are comparatively over-represented in patrimonial collections all along the Loire valley compared to equivalent collections situated further north. Lyon books did not just transit through Nantes. Lyon booksellers had found a good secondary market in the town.

One of the reasons for the success of Lyon imprints in Nantes was economic. The cost of shipping of the books from Lyon to Nantes was low. Thanks to the Ruiz accounts, we can calculate these costs with some accuracy. We know that in one specific case, the price of sending

⁵⁹ For more on this see the essay by Andrew Pettegree 'Rare books and revolutionaries: the French Bibliothèques Municipales' in his *The French Book and the European Book World* (Leiden, Brill, 2007) pp. 1–16.

⁶⁰ This data is derived from the University of St Andrews French Book Project database.

a volume came to just 15.6 *deniers tournois* or 0.065 *livres tournois*.⁶¹ This is a very interesting figure, though unfortunately the use we can make of it is limited because we lack some vital parameters concerning these volumes. It is impossible for us to work out the exact cost of shipping volumes of any given edition since the price would vary in function of the size of the book. It is inconceivable that sending twenty 500 page folio books would cost the same as sending twenty 80 page octavos. In the absence of precise titles it is nevertheless worth underlining the very small cost of taking books from Lyon to Nantes relative to the final price of the volume. This had important consequences for the printed book in Brittany. It highlights how easy it would have been for printers based in Paris or Lyon to export their books into Brittany. The volumes could easily have been sold in the duchy with very little mark up. Thus a book would cost roughly the same price whether it was sold in the town where it had been printed or in Brittany. To put the cost of shipping into context, a privilege delivered by the *Parlement* of Paris in 1568 for a Parisian edition of the king's ordinances stipulated that the price of an unbound 87 sheet octavo version could not exceed 25 *sous tournois* (1.25 *lt.*).⁶² The price of a larger more luxurious book would have been far higher. When Robert Estienne printed a catalogue of his own books in the 1540s, the prices varied from a few *deniers* for the smallest of pamphlets up to 10 *lt.* for his large Latin bible.⁶³ This would have meant that the cost of shipping such a work would have represented less than a hundredth of the original price of the bible. It certainly meant that the cost of delivering a large batch of valuable books to Nantes was insignificant relative to the intrinsic value of the goods.

One of the reasons that booksellers were able to transport volumes at such low costs was the fact that their consignment was protected by

⁶¹ This is based on the cost of sending 21 books from Lyon to Nantes (1 *lt.* 7s 4d). Lapeyre commented "on est étonné de voir combien des transports longs et peu commodes revenaient bon marché" (*Une famille de marchands: les Ruiz* p. 570).

⁶² *Les edicts et ordonnances du Roy treschrestien Charles IX* (Paris, Robert Estienne, 1568) FB 11869 [BnF, F 25903], '1v.

⁶³ Estienne, R., *Libri in officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regij, partim nati, partim restituti et excusi* (Paris, Robert Estienne, 1546) [BM Chaumont, 8 CC 5 p]. The dictionary in question was a huge folio often bound in two volumes. The collation shows just how large it was: '4 a-z8 aa-zz8 aaa-zzz8 A-E8 F10 G-Z8 AA-II8 KK6 LL-ZZ8 AAA-ZZZ8 Aa-Zz8 AAa-ZZz8 AAAa-NNNn8 OOOo4. Estienne, R., *Dictionarium seu Latinae linguae thesaurus* (Paris, Robert Estienne, 1543) [Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Fol BL 185].

a string of laws that promoted the free movement of books within the kingdom of France. In 1513, the Parisian printers had obtained from the crown the right to be exempted from a whole host of taxes. The royal letters stipulated that books should be “francs, quittes et exempts de tous peages, travers, chanfors, couture, chef d’oeuvre, imposition foraine, hault passage, et generalmente de tous autres subsides quelzconques, quelque part que lesdictz livres soyent transportez, par eau ou par terre parmy nostre royaume ou hors iceluy”.⁶⁴ These dispositions were further reinforced in the later edicts of Henry II in 1553 and Charles IX in 1565 that confirmed the exemption of “les livres imprimez et non imprimez” from tolls on the rivers: it was emphasised that they had been “tant et si avant privilegiez qu’il n’est besoin d’en dire autre chose”.⁶⁵ It is clear that from the very start of printing the movement of books was helped by such exemptions, which encouraged the development of strong trading connections.

Nantes was well situated, as was recognised by the papal bull that created the town’s university. The text signed by Pius II described Nantes’s ideal geographic position close to the sea and on the Loire; a river that was navigable for two hundred miles and that linked the town to many French regions.⁶⁶ But the town’s strategic position that allowed it, in the pope’s words, to encourage study and intellectual exchanges, was also a significant disadvantage for printers who wished to settle in the town. The large number of merchants who transited via the city meant that Nantes would have been an easily accessible market

⁶⁴ Confirmation of the letters of Louis XII by Francis I, 27 October 1516, in *Les loix, ordonnances et edictz des tres-chrestiens rois de France, et de la court de Parlement* (Paris, Gilles Corrozet, 1558) FB 21115, [Berlin SB, 2o Ebd 75–8], ff. 178–9.

⁶⁵ Edict of 23 September 1553: *Edict du Roy verifié en la cour de parlement par lequel est déclaré, toute librairie exempte de traicte, imposition foraine, hault passage, et autres droicts* (Orléans, Eloi Gibier, 1573) FB 25724, [Paris, BnF F 46810 (5)], and edict of 23 July 1565 in *Arrest de la Cour de Parlement, confirmatif d’une sentence du Seneschal d’Angiers par lequel est fait défense de prendre ou exiger aucun peage sur la librairie et autres, à l’encontre des fermiers du péage de Tancre* (Orléans, Eloi Gibier, 1565) FB 41374 [BM Lyon, Rés. 337969].

⁶⁶ “ad quam flumen Ligeris spatio ducentorum milliarium et ultra navigabilis a partibus regni Franciae; et deinde ad portum maris ipsi civitati Nannetensi multum accommodum tendit et per quod omnia humanae necessaria et ad eandem civitatem navali et carbosorum usu vehi possunt, et in qua aeris viget temperies, victualium ubertas, ceterarumque rerum ad usum vitae humanae huiusmodi pertinentium copia reperitur, plurimum desideret fieri et ordinari per eandem sedem studium generale in qualibet licita facultate”: *Creation, institution, fondation et privileges de l’université de Nantes par le pape Pie second et par François second et dernier duc de Bretagne* (Nantes, Veuve Pierre Dorion, 1650) [BnF R 8305] p. 9.

for Parisian or Lyonnais booksellers even if there had not been a thriving book export business towards Spain. Furthermore, the volume of traffic would have kept transport costs low as competition would have been intense. Analysis of the accounts of the Ruiz family between 1557 and 1564 shows that over that period over a thousand bales of books transited through Nantes on their way to Spain: almost 90% of these books were originally printed in Lyon.⁶⁷

The continuing business links between Rennes and Paris are proof of the ability of large centres of print to continue to dominate provincial printing. Even when the presses had returned to Rennes, the Parisian printers and booksellers severely limited the scope of their development. In 1540, the very powerful Parisian bookseller, Jacques Kerver, showed the extent of Parisian influence on the Breton book trade when he tried to recover some of the debts owed to his late father-in-law, Jean Petit. Jacques was particularly successful: he had inherited the bookseller's business set up by his father, Thielmann, and continued by his mother, Yolande Bonhomme. By the end of his career he had risen to become one of the official booksellers of the University of Paris and had acquired lands around Paris. His marriage into another of the main book dynasties, the Petits, brought with it increased contact with his Breton counterparts. He attempted on more than one occasion to recover a debt of 70 *lt* from the Rennes bookseller Thomas Mestrard. When initially unsuccessful, he then called on Jean Lermangier, another bookseller who was based in Rennes. Thanks to this second bookseller he was able to put increased pressure on Mestrard as Kerver officially empowered Lermangier to pursue the indebted bookseller.⁶⁸

In such circumstances, most printers and booksellers would have been far more worried about their ability to sell their stock than they would about any additional costs incurred by the transportation of books, even when this involved quite distant locations. Establishing a strong distribution network became a priority for many important printers and booksellers. The low costs involved with exporting the books would have encouraged them actively to engage in the business of selling their books ever further afield. For printers based either in Paris or in Lyon, Brittany represented an easy secondary market where currency problems were trivial and where they could trust a network

⁶⁷ Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands: les Ruiz* p. 594.

⁶⁸ Notarial minutes, 6 January and 4 February 1540, AN Minutier Central, étude LXXIII, carton 1.

of relay booksellers who often had many contacts within their own book fraternity.

The use of the relay bookseller in Brittany would have helped the development of a strong book culture and would have made printed books easily available to a Breton readership. But choosing books from a bookstall was not the only way that a Breton could acquire works printed elsewhere. For most of the editions that were printed outside the duchy, booksellers would probably not have thought that there was a sufficiently important market to import a batch of volumes speculatively. In such cases, an inhabitant of Rennes, for example, could have asked a local bookseller to have a copy sent to the duchy with a batch of other books. He could also contact the original bookseller or printer directly. That this quickly became common practice in sixteenth-century France was demonstrated by a template letter included in a book of model letters to be adapted for everyday use. The letter entitled “Un quidam rescrit à un libraire de Paris” showed how a provincial reader would write directly to a Parisian bookseller to obtain certain volumes. The letter written from a remote location, “en loingtains païs”, requested “certain petis livretz” as well as some volumes that he wished to have “bien proprement et mignonnement reliez et expediez”.⁶⁹ By sourcing the books directly, readers based anywhere in Brittany could obtain any volume they wished, a system further facilitated by the proliferation of booksellers’ catalogues.⁷⁰

The strength of the booksellers’ network, and the increasingly large number of works printed in the main centres of print made the maintenance of printing presses in Brittany difficult. A printer had to deal simultaneously with the desire of printers in other towns to export their works to Brittany, and with Breton booksellers who had developed a lucrative model of selling books printed elsewhere. The arrival of a new press would inevitably be considered as a source of competition for well-established members of the book trade. To succeed, a printer

⁶⁹ Durand, P., *Le stile et maniere de composer, dicter et escrire toute sorte d'epistres ou lettres missives, tant par response, que autrement* (Paris, Jean Ruelle, 1556), FB 17951 [BnF, Rés. P Z 474] ff. 49–50. This work proved to be very popular and it went through a number of different editions from 1553 to 1584 (see FB 17949 to 17959).

⁷⁰ Early French examples of such catalogues include those published by Parisians printers Robert Estienne (*Libri in officina Roberti Stephani*) and Simon de Colines: *Libri vaenales in bibliopolio Roberti Stephani typographi regii, tum ab Henrico Stephano patre, tum à Simone Colinaeo eius vitrico excusi* ([Paris, Robert Estienne, 1546]) [BM Chaumont, 8 CC 5 p. 3].

had to rely on a minimum number of assured sales. This was essential in order to carve out a sufficiently large share of the printed book market to survive in the face of the powerful existing booksellers' network. In this context, it is interesting to see how the presses did manage to re-establish a presence in Brittany.

CHAPTER 3

THE REBIRTH OF PRINTING

Printing returned to Rennes in 1524 when Jean Baudouyn set up his workshop. But it was only over the course of the following decade that the printing industry achieved a degree of permanence. During these years the political circumstances of the duchy changed dramatically. The union of Brittany and France concluded in 1532 meant that the duchy lost all semblance of independence and simply became a province of the kingdom. Brittany retained its own specific institutions and customs but lost any genuine autonomy. The crown was careful to maintain a veil of Breton control and the successive governors appointed by the French kings were either chosen from amongst the elite of the local aristocracy or from a pool of great noblemen with significant interests in the duchy. Similarly, the statutes of the Parlement stipulated that half the members had to be of Breton origin to maintain the specificities of Breton law.

The period that followed the return of the presses also marked a significant shift in the print culture of Brittany. After over two decades of almost complete reliance on books printed outside the duchy and imported by Breton booksellers, a viable domestic alternative became available. However, this revival of local printing did not discourage Breton booksellers from commissioning and importing books from other major print centres. The number of texts that were printed in Rennes accounted for a tiny proportion of the texts produced in France and this left gaping holes in the market that were filled by Parisian or Norman imprints. But it did change the attitude of even the most successful of commissioning booksellers, Jean Macé. After a career of over twenty years when the books he sold in Brittany were all imported, Macé suddenly decided to embrace the resurrection of a local press.

Jean Baudouyn

Jean Baudouyn's printing of a *Liber Marbodi* in 1524 marked the return of the presses to Rennes after an absence of almost forty years. We know little of Jean Baudouyn's origins or how he became a printer.

He briefly ran a printing press in Nantes from 1517 to 1518, but this does not seem to have been a very successful venture: only two books are known from this period of Baudouyn's activity. Baudouyn may not even have been a native Breton. In his book on printing in Bordeaux, Louis Desgraves mentions the presence of a master printer called Jean Baudouyn in 1514. But it is impossible to ascertain whether this referred to the same printer. Baudouyn was a common name.¹ The absence of any works printed by this Baudouyn in Bordeaux makes the link tenuous at best. Furthermore, the Baudouyn active in Nantes and Rennes seems to have had close contact with the Parisian book world and none with Bordeaux.

An analysis of the type used in Rennes by Baudouyn shows that he had bought a set of typographic material closely copied from that previously used by Berthold Rembolt. Rembolt worked in Paris from 1494 to 1518 either on his own or in a partnership with one of the first printers of the city, Ulrich Gering. The ornate letters used by Baudouyn were clearly inspired by those employed by the Parisian in the early sixteenth century.² The material in question was certainly used in works printed as early as 1502 and as late as 1512, before being replaced with a new set of ornate letters.³ He also employed characters that were used by André Bocard in a legal text in 1508.⁴ The use of this material by Baudouyn and his imitation of the Badius device on the title page of some of his works would seem to indicate a Parisian origin rather than a link with Bordeaux.

¹ Desgraves, L., *Bibliographie Bordelaise. Bibliographie des ouvrages imprimés à Bordeaux au XVI^e siècle et par Simon Millanges (1572–1623)* (Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1971) p. 5. My reluctance to identify the Breton printer with his Bordeaux counterpart is also based on my own research. We know, for example, of a Jean Baudouyn who lived close to Nantes and was the *châtelain* of Varades (a lordship owned by the baron of Ancenis) from 1502 to 1513 (See the accounts held in the AD Loire-Atlantique, E 278). Another Jean Baudouyn lived in Rennes where he had his son baptised in December 1510 (Baptismal register of the parish of St Sauveur, 1501–1518, AM Rennes, GG STSA 1 f. 86v).

² The set of Rembolt's letters are printed in Jennings, O., *Early woodcut initials containing over thirteen hundred reproductions of ornamental letters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries* (London, Methuen, 1908) p. 230.

³ See the initials used in *Omēlie divi Gregorij super Ezechielem* (Paris, Ulrich Gering and Berthold Rembolt, 1502) [St Andrews UL, TypFP.A98GG] and Cyprian's *Opera* (Paris, Berthold Rembolt and Jean Waterlooese, 1512) [St Andrews UL, GHF33.e (1)].

⁴ Justinian *Codex imperialis* (Paris, André Bocard for Jean Bonhomme, Thielman Kerver and Jean Petit, 1508 (=1509 n.s.)). See Renouard, P., *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle. Bocard-Bonamy* (Paris, Ville de Paris, 1991) p. 33 and Pl. 11–13.

An examination of the first work to come out of the new Breton workshop, the *Liber Marbodi*, sheds valuable light on the circumstances that made possible the return of the presses to Rennes.⁵ This imprint was originally commissioned by the local bishop, Yves Mahyeuc in 1524. Mahyeuc, who had been named bishop of Rennes in 1507, was well connected. He served as Anne de Bretagne's confessor from 1491 until her death in 1514 and in 1513 had dedicated a book to her longstanding rival, Louise de Savoie. By the time the *Liber Marbodi* was published, he was also a humanist of some distinction. He was well acquainted with the printing world and had previously written a short religious treatise that had been published in Paris in 1513.⁶ Mahyeuc had good humanist connections: in 1510 the distinguished Parisian printer Josse Badius published a work with a dedication to Mahyeuc.⁷ In Rennes, the bishop had amassed a considerable library that contained both printed and manuscript works.⁸ He stood out as one of the main Breton intellectual figures of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. His patronage of the press would turn out to be his most enduring legacy to Breton literary culture.

Mahyeuc's financial role in the production of the *Liber Marbodi* was made clear on the title page of the Rennes edition. It explicitly recognised the patronage of the bishop and named him alongside the bookseller and the printer of the edition. The decision to have this work printed by a Breton printer, despite Mahyeuc's prior involvement with some of the most prestigious Parisian printers of the time is interesting. The key to understanding why this happened is provided by the text itself. Marbode was an eleventh-century bishop, whose works retained a surprising popularity in the sixteenth century. But it was

⁵ *Liber Marbodi* (Rennes, Jean Baudouyn for Jean Macé, 1524) Tome 19 of the *Répertoire bibliographique* on page 44 gives only one known copy (BnF, Rés. p YE 1533), my research has brought to light three further copies: Glasgow University Library, Sp. Coll. Ferguson Al y 8; Musée Dobrée de Nantes and Bodleian Library d'Oxford, Vet. E1 e22.

⁶ *Questio perpulchra qua investigatur si meritum ex-existenstis in prosperis amplius sit quam illius qui fert patienter adversa* (Paris, Jean Petit, circa 1513) [BnF, Rés. D 5137 (3)]. On Mahyeuc see A7r–A8r.

⁷ *Opera complura sancti Hylarii Episcopi hac serie coimpressa* (Paris, Josse Badius, 1510) [Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 915 G].

⁸ Toulouse, S., 'À la recherche de la bibliothèque d'Yves Mahyeuc. Les Dominicains de Rennes et leurs livres au XVI^e siècle' in A. Pic and G. Provost (eds) *Yves Mahyeuc 1462–1541. Rennes en Renaissance* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010) 151–158.

Marbode's role as bishop of Rennes that piqued Mahyeuc's interest. The connection with an illustrious predecessor added to the prestige of the current occupant of the see, a connection explicitly drawn on the book's title page which referred to Mahyeuc as "episcopi non minus eodem Marbodo digni". The choice of a Breton bookseller, Jean Macé, and through him of a printer based in Rennes, seems have been symbolic. It enabled Mahyeuc to associate himself even more explicitly with Rennes, the see he shared with Marbode.

"Ex carracteribus Parrhisiis"

For Baudouyn, the commissioning of the *Liber Marbodi* was an opportunity and he clearly wished to make the most of it.⁹ *Liber Marbodi* is one of only two works that explicitly named Jean Baudouyn as a printer in Rennes. However, scholars have long debated whether these were the only works undertaken by Baudouyn's press. Because the issue is so important to our understanding of the place of the presses in the Breton book world of the late 1520s and early 1530s, it is necessary to look at this in some detail. The works that are the subject of the disagreement regroup some imprints featuring the line "ex carracteribus Parrhisiis" at the bottom of the title page and some unsigned editions.

The expression "ex carracteribus Parrhisiis" appears on five editions. It simply signified that the books were printed using Parisian type and gave no indication of where they might have been printed. Three further works can be added to this corpus, including a breviary recently acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France that was printed for the use of the Benedictine monastery of St Melaine in Rennes.¹⁰ Published in 1526, the work does not have any indication of printer or bookseller on the title page and is devoid of colophon but the typographic material is consistent with that of the other unsigned editions.¹¹ A second work using similar materials, the 1535 edition of William Manderston's *Moralia*, was also printed without indication

⁹ For more on Mahyeuc see my 'Yves Mahyeuc, Jean Baudouyn et l'implantation de l'imprimerie à Rennes' in Provost, G. (ed) *Rennes en Renaissance. Autour d'Yves Mahyeuc* (Rennes, 2009).

¹⁰ *Ordo breviarii, secundum usum incliti monasterii sancti Melanii, ordinis sancti benedicti prope Redonis* ([Rennes, Jean Baudouyn], 1526) [BnF, Rés. B 27701].

¹¹ The most obvious connection are the ornate E on a1 recto, the ornate I on t8 recto and the ornate D on bb4 verso all of which can also be found in the *Liber Marbodi*.

of printer.¹² Finally, an edition of a history of Brittany needs to be added to this group that does not carry the designation “ex carracteribus Parrhisiis” but which seems to emanate from the same workshop.

The whole corpus was printed between 1526 and 1535. None of these editions have any other indications on the title page or in the colophon of who the printer might have been. All employed Gothic “lettre bâtarde” type. Of this body of eight works, six were specific to Brittany: two missals, a breviary, two customs and one edition of Bouchart’s history of the duchy. All eight titles were books of significant length. Each would have necessitated at least twenty sheets of paper per copy. If these books were indeed printed in Rennes, their attribution would suggest a far more active printing industry than is otherwise evident.

The editions have variously been assigned to Baudouyn in Rennes or to a Caen printer. Arthur Le Moyne de La Borderie supported the claim of Baudouyn. He nevertheless drew an unflattering portrait of the printer that was unhelpful to his case. Describing him as “un glorieux, un vantard”, La Borderie mocked him for claiming to be the “primum et unicum calcographum et impressorem” of Rennes on the title page of the *Liber Marbodi*, despite the incunabula that had been printed in that town.¹³ This is unfair: it is quite possible, given the long interval since a printer had last been active in Rennes, that Baudouyn would have been unaware of the local printing during the incunabula era.¹⁴ That Baudouyn was proud of his typographic knowledge is undoubted: the use of a printing press as his device on the title page of the *Liber Marbodi* was a way of associating himself with one of the foremost printers of the day, Josse Badius, who also used a similar device depicting his workshop.¹⁵ But the question of Jean Baudouyn’s character brings little to the debate over the works he may or may not have printed during his stay in Rennes. It is through typographical

¹² Manderston, W., *Moralia* ([Rennes, Jacques Berthelot], 1535) [St Andrews UL, TypFRE B35BM].

¹³ La Borderie, A. *Le Moyne de Archives du bibliophile breton, notices et documents pour servir à l’histoire littéraire et bibliographique de la Bretagne* (Rennes, J. Plichon, 1880–1907) II, 35.

¹⁴ Lepreux, G., *Gallia Typographica ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines jusqu’à la révolution – Bretagne* (Reprinted, Rennes, 1989) pp. 21–2.

¹⁵ Roberts, W., *Printers’ Marks. A Chapter in the History of Typography* (London, G. Bell & sons, 1893).

analysis that we will be able to understand the merits of the different cases put forward.

The case for Caen

Despite La Borderie's decision to recognise Jean Baudouyn's paternity of the unsigned editions, his viewpoint has not been adopted by most bibliographers. Since Le Borderie published his essays, many have been quite dismissive of this attribution.¹⁶ Instead, the consensus seems to be that these books must have been produced in Caen. Lepreux was the first to disagree with La Borderie. Though he conceded that some works were probably printed in Brittany, he argued that the works that bear the line "ex carracteribus Parrhisiis" should not necessarily be attributed to the same printer. His objection was that the sale of used Parisian type was a common phenomenon during this period and that therefore they could have been printed in a wide variety of locations. He also stated that some editions, and in particular Jérôme de Hangest's *Moralia*, could not have been printed by Baudouyn, though without explaining his reasoning.¹⁷ He suggested that it was bizarre that Baudouyn refused to put his name on the title page or in a colophon of any of the works he printed after the *Liber Marbodi*. Following Lepreux, Léopold Delisle went one step further and integrated all the works into his list of books published in Caen prior to 1550. Pierre Aquilon, though more cautious in his attribution, agreed with Delisle. He inserted the titles in a specific section that he entitled "Atelier de Laurent Hostingue" in the relevant fascicule of his *Bibliographie normande*.¹⁸

The attribution of these books to Caen is undoubtedly consistent with the strong business relations that had developed between Brittany and Normandy in the first decades of the sixteenth century. But the key piece of evidence in this case is the colophon of the *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Redonensis* printed in 1531. This work features the line "ex carracteribus Parrhisiis" on its title page but also has a long colophon

¹⁶ La Borderie, *Archives du bibliophile breton* II, 45 & Lepreux, *Gallia Typographica* p. 24.

¹⁷ The editions "[ne] peuvent pas lui appartenir": Lepreux, *Gallia Typographica* p. 24.

¹⁸ See Delisle, *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen* II, n° 125, 126, 201, 243, 288 and 330 and Aquilon, P., *Bibliographie normande: bibliographie des ouvrages imprimés à Caen et à Rouen au seizième siècle* (Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1980–1986).

that clearly states that the book was recently printed for three booksellers, Michel and Girard Angier and Jacques Berthelot of Caen.¹⁹ Although there is no indication of who printed the work for these booksellers, this has been deemed to be sufficient proof. Yet if we examine this question closely, the attribution seems far less certain. From surviving evidence, we do know that the 1530s were not a busy commissioning period for the Angier family. We know of only 5 vernacular works commissioned between 1530 and 1539, and none of these editions were actually printed in Caen itself. As far as can be ascertained, we do not know of a press active in the town in this period, despite the presence of a number of booksellers.

Additionally, despite the use of Parisian typeface, the workmanship displayed in these unsigned editions was not consistently of the highest standard. The missal for the usage of the bishop of Rennes printed in 1533 was described as being “d’une très-sévère simplicité d’exécution” with illustrations “d’un style très-archaïque”.²⁰ Jérôme de Hangest’s *Moralia*, for instance, resembles some of the less well-executed output of newly established provincial presses. As with Baudouyn’s *Constitutions nouvelles*, the simplicity of the workmanship is manifest: the imprint does not contain any devices, culs-de-lampe or even any catchwords. Both these editions also made only a perfunctory use of signatures. In fact, in both cases the first gathering remains unsigned. In other words, these editions were stripped of many of the usual typographical elements that would have been commonly employed by most experienced printers. It certainly seems to rule out attribution of the unsigned publications to the more sophisticated workshops, such as that of Laurent Hostingue, who was rightly praised for the high-quality editions he produced.

It also seems unlikely that a well-established figure in the western book trade such as the Caen bookseller Michel Angier was instrumental in the production of the “ex carracteribus Parrhisiis” books. Perhaps the strongest evidence for this comes from the fact that all other editions attributed to him included either his name or his mark. There is no reasonable basis for Angier suddenly deciding to sell his books

¹⁹ On E4r: “recentissime impressi. Impensis Michaelis et Gerardi Anger, necnon Jacobi Berthelot Cadomi commorañ.” The colophon is only to be found in the copy kept in the municipal library in Vitré (T 190).

²⁰ Alès, A., *Bibliothèque liturgique: Description des livres de liturgie imprimés aux XVe et XVIe siècles, faisant partie de la bibliothèque de S.A.R. Mgr Charles-Louis de Bourbon* (Paris, A. Hennuyer, 1878–1884) pp. 242–3.

anonymously; it was a move that would have made little economic sense for a renowned bookseller officially endorsed by the university of Caen. Yet the proof that led Lepreux categorically to state that some of the unsigned books were produced in Caen hinged on Michel Angier. The edition in question was Jérôme de Hangest's *Moralia* printed in 1529. This imprint does not contain any printers' or booksellers' marks but there is a dedication to Michel Angier.²¹ However, just because the dedication was made to Angier it does not signify that this edition was printed in Caen or even commissioned by him. There are many instances of dedications by or to a printer or bookseller that were reprinted in different editions throughout the sixteenth century by other completely unrelated printers.²²

The author Jérôme de Hangest was from the nearby town of Le Mans in Maine. He was a popular preacher whose *Moralia* had already been printed by a number of different printers by the time this edition was published. Hangest was particularly celebrated in the region and he was known to have preached in other towns of western France.²³ It is thus highly plausible that there may have been a previous edition of this work printed in Caen or Rouen for Michel Angier of which no copies survive. Delisle enumerated over three hundred works printed in Caen prior to 1550 and Pierre Aquilon's research has further underlined the importance of the Norman presses.²⁴ Yet many other editions were published by Angier for which there are today no known surviving copies. The numerical importance of these lost editions is emphasised

²¹ Hangest, J. de, *Moralia* ([Rennes, Jean Baudouyn], 1529) [BnF, Rés. p R 240].

²² See for instance Denis Sauvage's translation of Giambattista Gelli's *La circé* (Paris, Charles Macé, 1572) [Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8o BL 32472], FB 22468, where the dedication by the Lyon bookseller Guillaume Rouille to Catherine de Medici initially printed by him in his 1550 edition of the text (FB 22457 [BM Aix-en-Provence, C 6122]) is repeated on a2r–3r.

²³ A number of other editions printed before 1529 survive, notably those printed in Paris for Jean Petit in 1519 [BM Dole, TH 1236 Bis 3], 1521 [BnF, Rés. R 678 (2)], and in the same city by Nicolas Crepin in 1524 [BM Châlons-sur-Saône, Rés. 4o 385] and for Pierre Gaudoul in 1526 [BnF, Rés. D 85565]. Hangest preached in Laval to great effect as was reported by the contemporary chronicler Guillaume Le Doyen when in 1526 the bishop of Le Mans "Nous envoya son bon vicaire / Iherosme de Hangest pour faire / Mectre Lutheriens en feu" (*Annales et Chroniques du pais de Laval et parties circonvoisines* (ed. Morin de La Beauluère, L.-J., Laval, 1859) p. 207).

²⁴ The Caen imprints are fully listed in the second tome of Delisle's *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen* whilst a more succinct and incomplete list is given in *Essai sur l'imprimerie et la librairie à Caen* – though the former contains items that had little if anything to do with Caen (see for example n° 258). For the more recent compilation put together by Pierre Aquilon see his *Bibliographie normande*.

by the recent discovery of no less than eleven unknown Rouen and Caen imprints bound together in a single volume in the collections of the University of Pennsylvania Library.²⁵

This suggests that the unsigned edition of the *Moralia* could easily have been reprinted from an older Caen imprint preserving the earlier dedication. It should not surprise us that a Breton printer should prefer to use this version of Hangest's work. The pre-existing ties between the Norman printers and booksellers and the Breton book market make this a logical choice. Furthermore, the dedication to the bookseller, referred to as "intetegerrimo viro Michaeli Angerio amico suo" and "Cadomensis emporij bibliopole", was made by the text's editor, Guillaume Le Rat of Avranches. Though Le Rat did have connections to the Norman book world, it is perhaps also significant that Le Rat's hometown was only a few miles from Brittany.²⁶

Such contextual arguments are important. But the attribution of the unsigned editions including the "ex carracteribus Parrhisiis" titles mainly hinges on recognising the typographical material employed in these editions. The issue is made more difficult by the fact that the books signed "ex carracteribus parrhisiis" do not have a unity of style or of typographic material. The first thing to note is that the material was not the same as that used by Laurent Hostingue during the previous decades. The missal for the diocese of Rennes which forms part of this group contained music printing too sophisticated for Hostingue's workshop. Neither the type nor the ornamental woodcuts feature in works signed by Hostingue when he was printing either in Caen or in Rouen.

Another work in the group was a folio edition of the *Grandes chroniques de Bretagne* by Alain Bouchart published in two variations in 1532 and 1541.²⁷ We learn quite a lot about the enigmatic anonymous

²⁵ Hirsh, R., 'Rouen and Caen imprints, ca. 1510–1520' *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1976) 190–193. One of the works was co-commissioned by the Breton bookseller Jean Macé and was printed by a previously unknown Norman printer, Jean Moulin: *Interrogationes doctrinae* (Rouen, Jean Moulin for Jean Macé of Rennes, Michel Angier of Caen and Richard Macé of Rouen, ca. 1515) [Pennsylvania UL, FC 5 M 3118.511n (6)].

²⁶ Le Rat was also the editor of Lanfranc, *In Berengarium Turonensem hereticum de corpore et sanguine Domini dialogus* (Rouen, for Jean Petit, 1540) [BnF, C 3284 (1)] and authored *De Christi Jesu sanguine sacrosancto ... oratio* (Rouen, L. Bouvet, 1541) [BnF, C 4504 (2)].

²⁷ Bouchart, A., *Les grandes cronicques de Bretaigne* (s.l., 1532) FB 6570 [B. de l'Arsenal, 4o H 4846]. The colophon on zz6r simply states "reveues bien au long, et nouvellement imprimees". Bouchart, A., *Les grandes annalles ou cronicques parlans*

workshop if we compare these works with three other attributed editions published in the same period. The first folio edition of the text was printed in Paris in 1514 by Jean de la Roche for Galliot du Pré.²⁸ There then followed a Caen edition (1518) commissioned by the bookseller Michel Angier, who is named in the final two lines of the title page and again in the colophon.²⁹ The second Paris edition (1531) was printed by Antoine Cousteau again for Galliot du Pré who was also named on the title page and in the colophon alongside Jean Petit. His device and motto “Vogue la guallee” were printed just underneath the colophon.³⁰ In contrast to these confident attributions, the two latest editions have no indication whatsoever of where or by whom they were printed. All five editions were large folio editions with rubricated title pages and woodcut illustrations.

These were all major undertakings of a prestigious nature, as is indicated by the naming of the booksellers who had invested in the Caen and Parisian editions on their respective title pages. The complete absence of any indication of place or printer on the two later editions led me to inspect them more closely and compare them to the Caen and Paris editions. The two unattributed editions are in fact very similar. The 1541 edition has a distinctive title page and an extra section added at the end of the volume (signatures A-B6) to cover the years 1532 to 1541. But the rest of the volume is in fact simply the 1532 edition “refreshed” to make it more appealing to a later readership. Clearly, by the start of the 1540s the printer of the 1532 edition still had a large stock of unsold copies.

Understandably, he must have been worried about the chances of selling off the remainder of his stock when the title page clearly indicated that the book included “toutes les choses advenues jusques en lan mil cinq cens xxxii”. He therefore removed the existing title page and

tant de la grant Bretagne a present nommee Angleterre que de nostre petite Bretagne (s.l., 1541) FB 6572 [B. de l’Arsenal, 4o H 4847]. The colophon on B6v simply gives the year in which it was published.

²⁸ Bouchart, A., *Les grandes croniques de Bretagne* (Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1514) FB 6566 [B. Mazarine, Rés. 6300 B]. The colophon is on hh7v. On this edition see Auger, M.-L., ‘Variantes de presse dans l’édition de 1514 des “Grandes chroniques de Bretagne” d’Alain Bouchart’ *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes*, 141 (1983) 69–90.

²⁹ Bouchart, A., *Les grandes cronicques de Bretagne* (Caen, Michel Angier, 1518) FB 6567 [B. de l’Arsenal, 4o H 4845]. The colophon is on ZZ3v.

³⁰ Bouchart, A., *Les croniques annalles des pays d’Angleterre et Bretagne* (Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1531) FB 6568 [B. de l’Arsenal, Fol. H 2845]. The colophon is on SS3v. The edition was shared with Jean Petit – see FB 6569.

replaced it with a new page that not only bore a later date, but also reworded the title and promised to offer “tout jusques en lan de present mil v cens xli”. But the whole exercise was not executed with great skill. The rubrication on the title page is poor, the lines inked in red are not well aligned with the black ink lines, and, in all the copies I have been able to consult, leaf zz6 is missing. In the original version this was the final leaf of the book and contained the colophon. It was therefore inappropriate for the later 1541 edition, but instead of replacing the pages with new text, the printer simply removed the leaf and neglected to insert a replacement sheet.³¹ The additional text bound after zz6 is not typographically identical to the main part of the volume. The type is slightly different and has 50 lines to the page rather than 52 as in the earlier edition. But the 1532 edition does use the same ornate initials and it was probably added by the same workshop or by one that had inherited both the original material and stock.

A summary comparison of these two variations on the 1532 edition with the other existing folio editions underline that they must have come from different workshops. The Paris editions use a single column of text per page rather than two and employ a different style of ornate letters and woodcuts. Similarly the Caen edition employs a different set of letters and illustrations. As for the text, all the variants seem to follow the initial edition by Galliot du Pré and were probably set up by a compositor from a printed copy. This supposition is made all the more likely by the fact that in all the editions, the same scenes have been illustrated with woodcuts. For instance, the settlement issued by the duke Pierre II to the dispute over precedence between the house of Laval and the house of Rohan was illustrated in all the editions, though with very different woodcuts. In the Parisian edition the printer chose a woodcut depicting the duke on his throne in front of his estates (f. cccv verso and cxviii verso). In the Caen edition he was receiving a nobleman alone in front of him on bended knee (f. clxxxv recto) whilst in the unattributed editions the duke was shown issuing a warning to a nobleman standing with three other figures (f. clxxviii recto).

The comparison of the woodcuts suggest that it is unlikely that the unsigned edition was created in the Caen workshop of Laurent Hosingue or his inheritors as the “*ex carracteribus Parrhisiis*” edition

³¹ This is certainly the case in the copies in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (4o H 4847), the British Library (806 e 12) and in the BnF (Rés. LK2 445).

does not feature any of woodcuts present in the Caen edition. Woodcuts were expensive to produce, all the more so for provincial printers who generally would not have had immediate access to skilled woodcut artists. Even in Paris and Lyon, woodcuts tended to be re-used, often as decoration, or to fill blank space, and so frequently completely out of context.³² It is therefore extremely unlikely that a re-edition of a text by the same workshop would not have used at least a few of the same woodcuts or some of the same ornate initials.

The examination of the typographical material, as well as the analysis of the other evidence I have given, suggest that these works were not printed in Caen. Certain letters of the upper case (notably the “A”) and lower case (notably the “v”) bastard Gothic type in the unsigned editions do not correspond to those generally used by Laurent Hostingue.³³ This means that the works could not have been published by the Norman workshop most influential in the Breton market. We now have to cast our net wider and, in particular, look at the possibility that these books were printed in Rennes.

The case for Rennes

Any attribution of these works is rendered tentative by the absence of information about the identity of the printer in the books themselves. The only definite indications we have that name a printer come from a privilege granted in favour of Jean Baudouyn that is printed in two successive editions of the customs of Brittany printed in 1528 and 1531.³⁴ The letters that were delivered by Francis I in 1525 stipulate that the privilege was valid for one year. They were originally published in the second work bearing Jean Baudouyn's name, a short legal work entitled

³² The use of *passe-partout* illustrations was very common during the first decades of the sixteenth century, see for example the cases cited in Seguin, J.-P., *L'information en France de Louis XII à Henri II* (Geneva, Droz, 1961) p. 11.

³³ This is also the case for the type used in the edition of Juan de Florès's *Jugement d'amour* that has been ascribed to Caen (see Kemp, W., 'Une édition clandestine du *Jugement d'amour* de Juan de Florès (vers 1530) dans l'univers du livre à Caen et à Rouen' *Memini Travaux et documents*, IV (2000) 137–157 and the illustration of the final page p. 157).

³⁴ *Coustumes establissemens et ordonnances du pays et duche de Bretagne* ([Rennes, Jean Baudouyn], 1528) [BM Rennes, Rés. 76801], FB 7489 and *Coustumes establissemens et ordonnances du pays et duche de Bretagne* ([Rennes, Jean Baudouyn], 1531) [Bnf, Rés. F 1769], FB 7490. The text of the privilege was reprinted in full in both editions.

La constitution nouvelle, stille et ordre de pledoyrie par escript du pays et duche de Bretagne printed in same year as the privilege was given.³⁵ By the time the two editions of the customs were printed in 1528 and 1531, the letters were technically no longer valid. The privilege would have been reprinted to confer additional authority to the edition, and suggests that either the books were produced by the same workshop or that they were simply refreshed editions.

When the two editions are compared, it is immediately obvious that the 1531 edition was completely reset typographically, though it was very much based on the early version. In both cases the type is rubricated on the title page, using the same technique of printing the first line in red ink and then every alternate line thereafter. Though throughout the books, different ornate letters have been used and the text is arranged slightly differently, the content of each page nevertheless corresponds almost perfectly. It is clear that the 1531 edition was set up by someone using the old 1528 edition as a copy text. It is probable that both editions were printed in the same workshop. The re-use of the same woodcut of the adoration of the magi completely out of context in both volumes reinforces this assumption.³⁶ It is also unlikely that Baudouyn's privilege would have been printed in an edition completely unrelated to Baudouyn. The privilege characterised Baudouyn as a "personnage expert et entendu ou fait d'imprimerie" and vaunted "ses experiences oudict art de imprimerie". It was not an assertion that would readily have been repeated by a printer unconnected to his workshop.

The case that Jean Baudouyn printed the other volumes of the "ex carracteribus Parrhisiiis" group has largely been based on the two privileges in the editions of 1528 and 1531 in which he is named as the printer. Yet this poses the problem of why Baudouyn did not put his name on the title page or in a colophon in these volumes. La Borderie put forward the rather bizarre argument that Baudouyn ceased signing his works because he was too proud to associate himself directly with his imprints, something credibly refuted by Lepreux. But Lepreux did not, however, make a strong enough case for another attribution.

³⁵ *La constitution nouvelle, stille et ordre de pledoyrie par escript du pays et duche de Bretagne* (Rennes, Jean Baudouin for Jean Macé, 1525) [BnF, Rés. p F 8], FB 7445. The privilege is printed on [a]1 verso and [a]2 recto.

³⁶ In both cases the woodcut is printed on #4 verso, following the main text of the customs.

He readily conceded that Jean Baudouyn's presence in the privileges of the two volumes of customs means that one must attribute these works to him. But he also suggested that the phrase "ex carracteribus Parrhisiis" could have been used by more than one printer.³⁷

The unity in style suggests that these editions must have been produced by the same workshop. In the two Rennes imprints in which Baudouyn does appear on the title page, the *Liber Marbodi* and the *Constitution nouvelle, stille et ordre de pledoyrie*, he is named alongside the experienced bookseller Jean Macé. In both cases, his name was actually buried in a relatively long description of the book's content, rather than placed under the printer's mark or title page illustration. This is reminiscent of the fact that Baudouyn's surviving Nantes imprint does not mention the printer at all on the title page or in a colophon at the end of the book. He is only named between brackets on the verso of the title page. Yet, in the French print world, printers and booksellers were featuring in an increasingly prominent manner as the layout of title pages changed. This suggests a lack of commercial shrewdness on his part. Perhaps, Baudouyn felt the need for an experienced partner to keep him abreast of these critical design changes. It is also worth noting that neither the woodcut of the printing press nor the coat of arms with which he illustrated the *constitution nouvelle's* title page bore either his name or his initials.³⁸ Marketing was never at the forefront of his concerns.

The device Baudouyn used on the title page of the *Liber Marbodi* was a reworking of one of Josse Badius's famous woodcuts of a printer's workshop. Baudouyn's connection to the Parisian book world was clear both here and with his adoption of type modelled on that of Berthold Rembolt. The use of the phrase "ex carracteribus Parrhisiis" explicitly drew attention to this connection with the sophisticated Parisian typography. But for all these aspirations and the seriousness of the books published on this press, Baudouyn was never more than a part-time printer. Like many provincial printers in the early sixteenth

³⁷ This solution has also been adopted by Pierre Aquillon who attributed some of the books to the workshop of the Rouen printer Richard Hamillon and others to the successors of Hostingue in Caen.

³⁸ The arms are those used by Claude de France, duchess of Brittany in 1515 (*Parti d'azur aux trois fleurs de lys d'or au lambel d'argent et écartelé d'azur à trois fleurs de lys d'or et d'hermine*) and not those used by her son, the dauphin François (sometimes known as Francis III of Brittany), who was duke at the time the works was printed. This suggests that the material used was not new.

century, the profits engendered by the sale of their imprints were rarely sufficient to guarantee a comfortable revenue. Baudouyn instead found a more reliable income as “huissier” of the chancellery of Brittany, a role similar to that of the court bailiff. It is instructive that it was with this title that he sought and obtained his privilege from Francis I to print the customs of the duchy.³⁹ This implies that printing was not his main source of revenue. It may also suggest that Baudouyn was probably not well versed in the more mercantile aspects of bookselling. In his first two Rennes imprints, this was something that would have been taken care of by the veteran bookseller Jean Macé.

Typographic evidence

The analysis of the typographic material is a vital part of the attribution of anonymous works.⁴⁰ In this case, the task is made more complicated by the lack of signed Caen and Rennes imprints for these years. In Rennes, Baudouyn employed three different sizes of type in the execution of the two editions he signed. Yet the analysis of the material used in the unattributed editions is still very revealing. It is worth starting with the works attributed to Baudouyn because of the privilege. The type used by Baudouyn on the title page of his *Liber Marbodi* and that employed in the production of the title page of the 1528 volume of the customs are identical. This medium “lettre bâtarde” Gothic type is employed in other unsigned copies as well as in the missal of 1533 that contains the colophon with the names of three Caen booksellers. It is also possible to piece together the corpus of distinctive ornate capitals that illustrate all these volumes. Together, this typographic evidence presents a strong case for connecting these imprints with Baudouyn’s workshop.

The fact that there are no documents or imprints that name Baudouyn after 1525 makes the attribution of these works directly to him problematic. It has been suggested that he continued to be active up until around 1531 when La Croix du Maine suggested that a “Jean Baudouin”

³⁹ *Coustumes establissemens et ordonnances du pays et duche de Bretagne* ([Rennes, Jean Baudouyn], 1528) [BM Rennes, Rés. 76801] f. 205 verso.

⁴⁰ See most recently the two studies by Hendrik Vervliet: *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance: Selected Papers on Sixteenth-century Typefaces* (Leiden, Brill, 2008) & *French Renaissance Printing Types. A Conspectus* (London, Bibliographical Society, 2010). Unfortunately neither of these works looks at Gothic types.

had also printed a text on the death of Guy XVI de Laval in Angers.⁴¹ But the attribution of this particular work to Jean Baudouyn is not straightforward; the only copy we have of this text is incomplete, the first gatherings are missing and no printer or bookseller information survives.⁴² The remaining gatherings in fact show that the work was not printed with Baudouyn's material. Close examination of the type reveals that the material employed was an exact match with that used by Simon Dubois's workshop in Alençon in the very same year.⁴³ The proximity of Alençon to Laval certainly makes this imprint a credible alternative attribution.

The surviving copy could be a different edition of a print that originally appeared in Angers. The connection to Angers can be ascertained from the text, but it does not involve Baudouyn. After the end of the main text, there are a final few lines that start "Richard pour quelque vent que vous oyez venter / Soiez hardy tousjours faire imprimer / Livres nouveaulx vitemment les fault faire". This is undoubtedly an indication that an edition of this book was printed by or for Richard Picquenot who was the only known printer active in Angers during these years.⁴⁴ It is possible that an edition of the work was also printed in Rennes, where Guy XVI de Laval had been captain of the town, lord of the *vicomté*, as well as lieutenant general, admiral and governor of Brittany.⁴⁵ We also know that Picquenot had already reproduced an edition of a judicial text that Baudouyn had printed in Rennes, replicating exactly the layout of the original title page.⁴⁶

⁴¹ La Croix du Maine, François Grudé, sieur de, *Premier volume de la bibliothèque du sieur de la Croix-du-Maine, qui est un catalogue général de toutes sortes d'auteurs, qui ont écrit en François depuis cinq cents ans et plus* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1584) p. 219. The lack of certainty over the date ("1531 ou environ") suggests that La Croix du Maine did not see a copy of this work. Pasquier identified this Jean Baudouyn with the Breton printer: *Imprimeurs et Libraires de l'Anjou* (Angers, Editions de l'Ouest, 1932) p. 89.

⁴² Daniel, J., *L'ordre funèbre triomphant et pompe pitoyable tenue à l'enterrement de feu M. le comte de Laval, admiral de Bretagne et lieutenant du roy* ([Angers, 1531]) [BM Laval, 30927 – gatherings C and D only].

⁴³ See for instance the type used in Marguerite d'Angoulême *Le miroir de lame pecherresse* (Alençon, Simon du Bois, 1531) FB 36280 [BnF, Rés. Ye 203].

⁴⁴ See the section devoted to Picquenot in tome 26 of the *Répertoire Bibliographique* pp. 45–47 and the remarks in my forthcoming article 'Le livre imprimé humaniste dans l'ouest de la France'.

⁴⁵ Walsby, M., *The Counts of Laval: Culture, Patronage and Religion in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007) at pp. 84–91.

⁴⁶ Cf. the two editions of the *Constitution nouvelle* printed in Rennes by Baudouyn for Jean Macé [1525] and in Angers by Richard Picquenot for Pierre Bodin in Nantes [1526]. Baudouyn had obtained a privilege that was valid for a year (see La Borderie, *Archives du bibliophile breton* p. 58).

If we accept the fact that the funeral lament cannot be attributed directly to Baudouyn, we are left with an absence of named printers in Rennes between 1526 and 1535. This time span fits perfectly that of the unsigned “ex carracteribus Parrhisiis” imprints. In addition, we can point to a surviving legal document which indicates the presence of a working press in the city during this period. In 1531, a pressman was involved in a violent altercation that ultimately led to his death.⁴⁷ We do not know how active this press was and what it printed. Most likely, this was the press which published the anonymous group of works which we have now with some confidence assigned to Rennes.

By 1535 a new printer, Jacques Berthelot, began producing books in Rennes. Berthelot had previously been a bookseller in Caen and in this capacity had been named as a partner in one of the unsigned editions, namely the missal of 1533 which was to be sold in a number of Caen bookshops including his. His arrival in Rennes was marked by the appearance of his device or his name in the colophons of a number of his books. The book that first places Berthelot in Rennes was an edition of the ordinances of the Breton *Parlement* promulgated at a sitting in Nantes in September 1535.⁴⁸ The date of publication was not given but it is safe to assume that the interest for such a text would have coincided with the ordinances’ promulgation. The work was a short pamphlet of sixteen leaves printed in octavo. But the care Berthelot put into the production demonstrates that he was already an experienced typographer.⁴⁹ Berthelot is not named anywhere in the text, there is no colophon and the title page only includes the bookseller’s name, but his device does appear on the final page, with his initials and a woodcut of saint James.⁵⁰ His tendency not to sign his early imprints extends also to the edition of Manderston’s *Moralia* dated 1535. This edition uses the exact same type and ornate initials as the editions signed by Berthelot but the colophon only bears the date at which the printing was finished.⁵¹

⁴⁷ The case is dealt with at greater length infra in chapter 5.

⁴⁸ *Ordonnances et constitutions sur le faict, ordre et stille de pledoyer par escript et abbreviation des proces tant en matiere civiles que criminelles* (Rennes, Jacques Berthelot for Thomas Mestrard, [1535]) FB 41062 [Nantes, Musée Dobrée 265].

⁴⁹ The text with the arms of the late duchess of Brittany, Claude, Francis I’s first wife. The arms are those used by Claude after her husband’s accession in 1514 until her death in 1524: *Parti d’azur aux trois fleurs de lys d’or et écartelé d’azur à trois fleurs de lys d’or et d’hermine*.

⁵⁰ This device was previously mistakenly identified as being that of the Angers based bookseller, Philippe Bourgoignon: Polain, M.-L., *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Musée Thomas Dobrée* (Nantes, Musée Dobrée, 1903) n° 266 p. 151.

The presence of Berthelot in Rennes as early as 1535 is certainly logical: his last appearance in the colophon of a book printed for him and for Michel and Girard Angier of Caen is dated 18 April 1534.⁵² Furthermore, we know that Berthelot was active in Rennes in 1536 since the next set of ordinances he printed were dated.⁵³ The importance of Berthelot's arrival in Rennes to our understanding of the unsigned editions lies in part in the material he employed. Crucially, both the type and typographical material he used were directly inherited from Baudouyn.⁵⁴ He also adopted the same technique of rubrication as had been employed in the unsigned "Ex carracteribus Parrhisiis" editions. Every other line was printed in red ink except for the address section in which, in this case, only the place where the books were to be found and the name of the bookseller were highlighted in this fashion. Berthelot therefore faithfully adopted both the practices and material used by Baudouyn.

The interlude between Baudouyn's signed editions and the beginning of Berthelot's printing in Rennes corresponds exactly to the dates during which the "ex carracteribus Parrhisiis" editions were published. They employed some of the same typographical material that was used in the town before and after this period. It seems perverse to argue that this material was moved from Rennes to another city and back to Rennes a few years later. Therefore, it seems safe to assume that the material remained in the town in the intervening years.

The transformation of the presses

The analysis of these editions considerably refines our understanding of the importance of the arrival of Jean Baudouyn in Rennes. He was

⁵¹ Manderston, W., *Moralia* ([Rennes, Jean Baudouyn], 1535) [St Andrews UL, TypFre B35BM].

⁵² See *Missale ad usum ecclesie Arbecensis* (Caen for Michal and Girard Angier and Jacques Berthelot, 1534) [BM Avranches].

⁵³ *Ordonnances royaulx sur le fait, ordre et stille de plaider par escript en ce pays et duche de Bretagne* (Rennes, Jacques Berthelot for Julien Macé, 1536) FB 21355 [B. Sainte Geneviève, 8o F 428 inv. 3553 (2) Rés.].

⁵⁴ See for example the Gothic Gaillarde script (60mm × 2mm: 2.5mm) used by Berthelot in *Ordonnances royaulx sur le fait, ordre et stille de plaider par escript en ce pays et duche de Bretagne tant en matieres civiles que criminelles*, (Rennes, Jacques Berthelot for Julien Macé [and Thomas Mestrard], 1536) FB 21355 [Paris, Bibl. Sainte Geneviève, 8o F 428 inv. 3553 (2) Rés.] which is the same as that used by Baudouyn in his *Liber Marbodi*.

not a printer who simply came to Rennes to print a vanity project dear to the local bishop. Unlike Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès' s work in Bréhan-Loudéac for Jean de Rohan, lord of Le Gué de l'Isle, and then by Jean Crès's activity in Lantenac, for the local monastery, the Baudouyn workshop sought to develop a wide repertoire of works. He stayed in Rennes and printed a substantial number of large projects that required real investment. The presses did not have the dynamism of the more successful centres of provincial print that had established themselves in places such as Rouen or Toulouse. The scope of the texts that came off Baudouyn's presses was limited and his projects sought to meet the requirements of just two main target audiences: the legal community and the ecclesiastical order. It nevertheless represented a real break with previous attempts to establish the presses in the duchy.

As a result of the typographical analysis, we can now recognise the importance of his workshop. After Baudouyn's arrival, presses and typographic material were always to be found in Rennes. This was a major difference from the achievement of previous Breton printers. The first decades of the printed book in Brittany are indicative of the complex issues that surround the printing and selling of books in the first age of print. The initial attempt to create a print culture in the duchy during the years that followed its first tentative implantation in the 1480 failed because of the inadequate business plans of the first printers. As the example of the Bréhan-Loudéac imprints demonstrated, the Bretons were able to source all the necessary elements and develop the technological knowledge that was essential in the creation of a printed book. The Breton presses produced works that were certainly technically good enough to pass muster and that sometimes even included crude woodcuts to enhance the reading experience.

With strong business connections and a touch of audacity, a leading figure in the Breton book distribution network such as Jean Macé was ideally placed to make the most of the new possibilities offered by the burgeoning trade in printed books. When such a pivotal figure in the Breton book world chose to source, and sometimes directly commission, his books outside the duchy, it was all the harder for Breton printers to survive. As a bookseller based in Rennes, Macé identified potential markets within Brittany and paid for the printing of a large number of editions in Rouen or in Caen specifically designed for a Breton readership. The business connections he enjoyed with booksellers in other areas of the duchy such as in Morlaix or in Nantes meant that he became very influential. His decisions had wide-ranging

consequences for the development of a robust local press. In this context, it is unsurprising but nevertheless of fundamental importance to note that the first settled press that flourished in the post-incunabula era was initially invited to Rennes by Jean Macé. When he invited Baudouyn to come to Rennes, Macé offered something that, arguably, he alone could ensure in Brittany: a distribution network throughout the duchy.

When Yves Mahyeuc commissioned this work, Baudouyn was safe in the knowledge that his initial foray into printing in Rennes would not have the same risks as the venture he had attempted in Nantes a few years earlier with limited success. The cost of production was underwritten and the distribution was taken care of. What Baudouyn did that previous printers in similar positions had hitherto failed to do, was to grasp the opportunity and search for works to print and readers to sell to. He certainly lacked the natural business connections and market knowledge of Jean Macé, as was proven by his failure to sign his works. Yet Baudouyn did develop a business model that reduced his reliance on a single patron and moved instead to the very different world of speculatively printing books for a greater number of readers. There are perhaps two main material factors that helped Baudouyn in his designs. The first was the disappearance, shortly after the printing of the *Liber Marbodi*, of Jean Macé. This left a considerable gap in the market and one which Baudouyn clearly sought to fill. The second more material factor that encouraged him in his venture was that as an officer of the Breton Parlement, Baudouyn had a certain level of financial security. It also meant that he was in a singularly privileged position to undertake the printing of ordinances and to publish legal handbooks. With a large potential legal readership, this constituted a significant advantage over competitors within Brittany or beyond.

Apart from Jean Baudouyn, the only other printer to understand the need to diversify their output seems to have been Jean Calvez of Tréguier. Calvez was able to secure a variety of commissions from different sources but this remained a modest achievement. Perhaps competition from Paris or Rouen was less fierce in a town as remote as Tréguier than it was in the large conurbations of Rennes or Nantes. But even there the survival of a local press was not assured. If there was reduced competition in Tréguier, there was also a much smaller potential readership. The last work by Calvez that we know of is dated 1512

and was the final work printed in Tréguier in the sixteenth century.⁵⁵ Baudouyn, in contrast, managed to find a suitable successor in Rennes and pass down his press and type so that printing continued to be a feature of the city's cultural life throughout the sixteenth century.

Printing in Rennes

After Jean Baudouyn, Jacques Berthelot took on the mantle of printer in Rennes. For a few years after 1535, Berthelot was the sole printer active in the town. Berthelot's success as a bookseller in Caen meant that he had already considerable experience in the business of selling printed books. The local matter that formed the basis of many of the texts that he printed before 1535 meant that he would have also established a network of contacts in the Breton book world. His arrival in Rennes was a logical step as he moved to fill the void left by the disappearance of both Jean Macé and Jean Baudouyn. But he was by no means the dominant member of the Rennes book community. The secondary position Berthelot occupied in the printed ordinances of 1535 demonstrates that his role was initially mainly to print works for commissioning booksellers such as Thomas Mestrard.

That short work was also the first that named Mestrard and clearly it represented as much of a step into the unknown for the bookseller as it did for the printer. But, unlike Berthelot, Mestrard's position as one of the leaders of the Breton book trade was secure. He had set up his stall near St Michael's gate in Rennes, a location that had two main advantages. First, it was where Jean Macé had established himself so successfully and where, over the previous decades, local buyers had become used to going to purchase books. Second, St Michael's gate was close to the court of justice of the town and, therefore, well situated for the legal community that probably represented the single largest source of orders for booksellers.

Mestrard appears in the Rennes book world sometime before Berthelot. A contract passed by the bookseller in 1533 with the Parisian Jean Petit showed that he had set up shop in the town at least two years

⁵⁵ The next item to be printed in Tréguier came off the presses in 1677. See Le Menn, G., 'L'imprimerie à Tréguier (XVe siècle – XXe siècle)' *Bulletin de la Société d'Emulation des Côtes-d'Armor* (1987).

earlier, though at this point he does not seem to have been interested in commissioning works himself.⁵⁶ Mestrard had developed strong connections within the local book community before he set up his own bookstall. The same document also refers to a first marriage that he had contracted to the widow of Raoullaud Le Franc. We know nothing of Raoullaud, but it seems logical to assume that he was a close relative of one of the town's other booksellers, Sulpice Le Franc, who was known to be active in Rennes in the 1520s and early 1530s.⁵⁷ When Jacques Berthelot arrived in Rennes, Mestrard would therefore have already been comfortably ensconced and venturing into the printing of books would not have represented a particularly bold departure.

Whether or not Mestrard played an active role in encouraging Berthelot to relocate, he certainly made the most of his presence in Rennes. The partnership Berthelot and Mestrard developed made good business sense. It allowed Mestrard to build on his strong position in Rennes and look to export texts of interest to a Breton readership throughout the duchy. For Berthelot, who had already been associated with printing for Brittany, this also represented a positive move. But the connections between the two were not simply mercantile. By 1533, Thomas Mestrard had remarried, this time to a woman named Jeanne Robin and we know that Jacques Berthelot's wife was called Marie Robin, possibly Jeanne's sister. As was the case with the Macé dynasty, family connections reinforced commercial ones. This was a trait shared with the larger centres of print as is evident with the complex interwoven genealogies of the various Parisian printing and bookselling dynasties.⁵⁸ In the case of the Mestrard and Berthelot partnership, their shared output remained comparatively modest. We know of only three works before the death of Berthelot in 1541, though Mestrard continued to work with his widow, Marie Robin, after this date.⁵⁹

Once Berthelot was established in Rennes, he did not print exclusively with Mestrard. Instead, he developed a portfolio of active Breton booksellers that included figures such as Julien Macé (probably the

⁵⁶ The original contract is referred to in the agreement between Jacques Kerver and Jean Lermangier, 6 January 1540, AN Minutier Central, étude LXXIII, carton 1.

⁵⁷ Ibidem and see Le Franc's entry in the register of booksellers and printers (appendix A).

⁵⁸ John, P., *Printing in Paris, 1570–1590: A bibliometric analysis*. (Ph.D. Thesis, University of St Andrews, 2011) Appendix B.

⁵⁹ This partnership resulted in the publication of three additional editions.

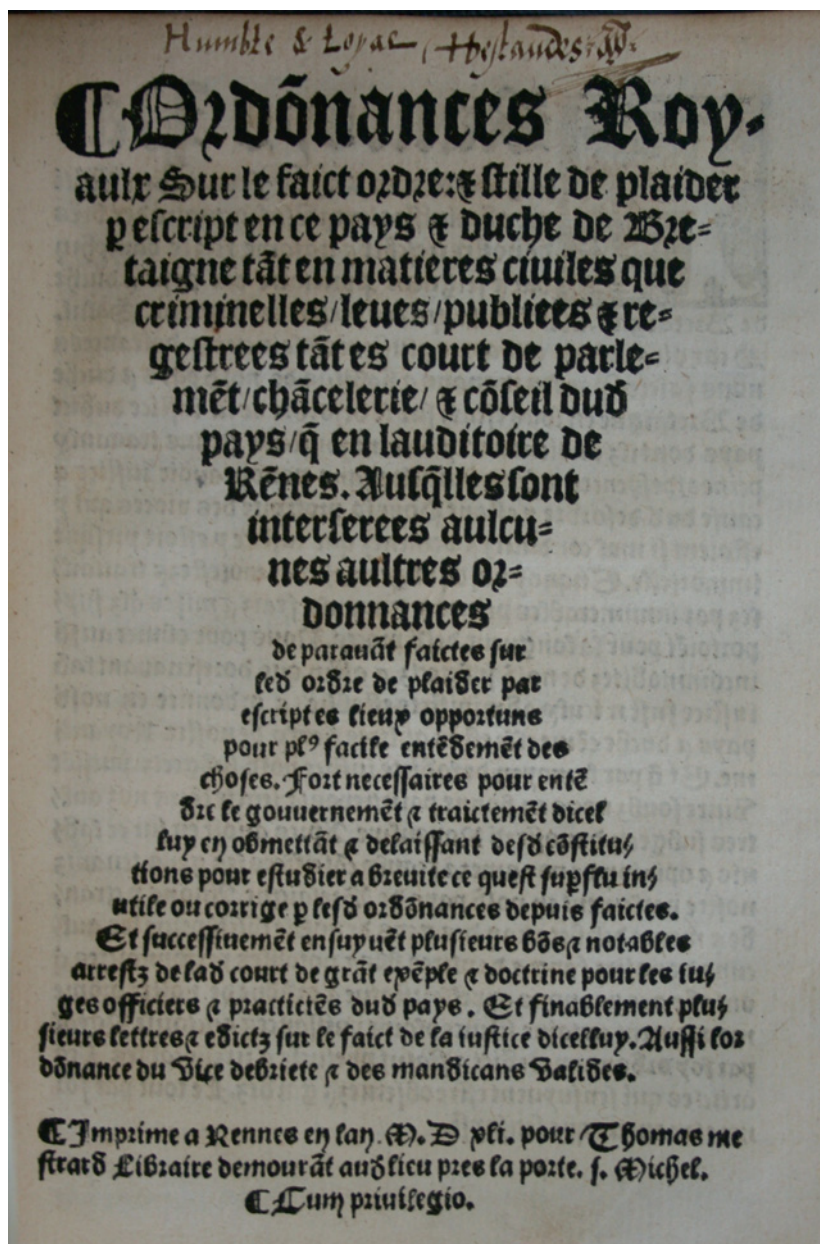


Figure 6: Ordinances printed for Thomas Mestrard in 1541 (BM Rennes).

heir of Jean Macé) and Guillaume Cheveau. Conversely, Mestrard did not solely rely on the output of Berthelot's press. By 1539 a second printer, Jean Georget, had set up shop in Rennes and offered an alternative source of printed material. In fact, over the course of the lifetime of Jacques Berthelot, Thomas Mestrard used this new press as much as he did that of Berthelot. If we go by surviving editions, Jean Georget was a more prolific printer than Berthelot.

Georget's arrival in Rennes demonstrated the vitality of the print culture that had developed since Yves Mahyeuc had encouraged the return of the presses to Rennes in 1524. Fifteen years after this event, for the first time, the town boasted two separate printers' workshops functioning simultaneously. Nor did the death of Berthelot change this state of affairs. In the first instance, the Berthelot press was briefly continued by his widow, Marie Robin, though it is unclear how far she was personally involved in the printing of the books that bore her name. What is certain is that she soon decided not to continue Berthelot's role as a printer, preferring instead to concentrate on the business of selling books.

Yet the press, the type and all the printer's material were neither dispersed through sale nor were they left in the Berthelot workshop, unused. It was Thomas Mestrard who took up the press and turned from being a bookseller to a printer, despite never having printed anything during the two previous decades he had spent in the book trade in Rennes. For the first time in 1544, Mestrard no longer styled himself simply as a bookseller on the title page of the works that he was associated with and instead described himself as an "imprimeur et libraire".⁶⁰ Mestrard did not immediately take over as a printer and there seems to have been a period of hesitation during which no one used Berthelot's material. When Marie Robin had a work printed in 1542, the title page clearly stated that she simply sold the work rather than having printed it and there was no colophon to give an indication of the identity of the printer.⁶¹ When Thomas Mestrard decided to have a series of royal ordinances printed in 1543, he called on the services of the Rouen printer Nicolas le Roux.⁶² This connection was made easier for Mestrard

⁶⁰ *Coustumes generales des pays et duche de Bretagne* (Rennes, Thomas Mestrard for Marie Robin, 1544) FB 7497 [BnF, Rés. Z DON 594 (89)].

⁶¹ "Veneunt Rhedoni domi Marie Robin viduae Jacobi Berthelot": Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples *Moralis* (Rennes, for Marie Robin, 1542) [BnF, Rés. p R 237].

⁶² *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict, ordre et style de plaider par escript en ce pays et duche de Bretagne* (Rouen, Nicolas Le Roux for Thomas Mestrard in Rennes, 1543) FB 21550 [Harvard Law Library, N Brit 90 543 (2)].

by the presence of members of the Norman book world in Rennes. Mestrard himself was to employ Norman typographers such as Pierre Régnier in his workshop. Régnier had trained in Rouen and after a few years in Rennes returned to Normandy to pursue his career with Nicolas le Roux, even following him to England.⁶³

With the continuing possibility of having works printed in Rouen or in Paris and the presence of Jean Georget as a local alternative, it is surprising that Mestrard decided to take up printing after over twenty years as a bookseller. But this was a choice that clearly made financial sense. After initially referring to himself as both a bookseller and a printer, Mestrard abandoned the title of bookseller in some of the works he subsequently published and was simply referred to as a printer. Despite Mestrard's adoption of Berthelot's printing press, the period 1542 to 1555 was very much dominated by Jean Georget. The editions printed in Rennes in the years that preceded Georget's arrival for the most part made available locally produced legal works and books of popular piety. Georget continued to provide editions of the ordinances produced by the *Parlement* of Brittany and other courts of justice, but he also diversified. As early as 1541, he undertook the printing of Jean Bouchet's work *Les triumphes de la noble et amoureuse dame*.⁶⁴ This was a very popular work that had first appeared in 1522 and subsequently went through a large number of different editions printed in Paris, Poitiers and Louvain.⁶⁵ The existence of only one partial copy of this Georget edition in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* highlights the fact that when establishing the printed output of provincial printers it is necessary to be aware of the poor survival rate. The sole surviving copy was printed on vellum, a much tougher material than paper that would have increased the book's resistance to repeated reading and rough handling. And yet this unique copy is incomplete, lacking at least eight gatherings, proof that such popular editions of literary texts could easily be read to destruction.

The surviving printed output of Jean Georget demonstrated that he worked with a surprisingly large variety of Rennes booksellers. Apart from producing works that featured only his own name on the title

⁶³ Griffin, C., *Journeymen-Printers, Heresy, and the Inquisition in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005) pp. 134–154.

⁶⁴ Bouchet, J., *Les triumphes de la noble et amoureuse dame et l'art de honnestement aymer* (Rennes, Jean Georget, 1541) FB 6783. The only known surviving copy of this edition is an incomplete vellum exemplar kept in the *Réserve* of the BnF: Vélins 586.

⁶⁵ See the editions and variants listed in FB under Bouchet, Jean: n° 6652 to 6838.

page, he printed books for three different booksellers: Jean Lermangier, Thomas Mestrard and Guillaume Cheveau. This was a highly significant moment. For the first time, we see a shared edition that involved only Breton booksellers. In other words, editions were now published using the capital of a group of booksellers based in Rennes rather than being part or wholly financed by booksellers from further afield. The three booksellers had in effect established a company to co-finance the commissioning of this work from Georget. This was already standard practice in Paris and Lyon. Each bookseller could request that a proportion of the copies of the edition that they were co-financing be printed with a title page that featured their own bookseller's device and address. Thus when some royal ordinances promulgated in 1539 were printed by Jean Georget, three different variants were produced. The first featured Guillaume Cheveau's name, device and address on the title page.⁶⁶ The second was published for Georges Cleray and the third with Thomas Mestrard's details.⁶⁷ In all three cases the setting of the title page was identical with the exception of the bookseller's address at the bottom. The Mestrard issue also contained an extra gathering of four leaves added on at the end of his copies. The rising complexity of the Rennes imprints can be seen as proof of the growing maturity of local print culture.

⁶⁶ *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict de la justice et abbreviation des proces en ce pays et duche de Bretagne* (Rennes, Jean Georget pour Guillaume Cheveau, [1539]) FB 21403 [BnF, Rés. F 867 (2)].

⁶⁷ *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict de la justice et abbreviation des proces en ce pays et duche de Bretagne* (Rennes, Jean Georget pour Georges Cleray, [1539]) FB 21402 [BM Rennes, 76805 (2)] and (Rennes, Jean Georget pour Thomas Mestrard, [1539]) FB 21404 [BM Rennes, 76804 (3)].

CHAPTER 4

A NEW BUSINESS MODEL

Institutional support was a critical factor in the development of a vibrant local printing press. The return of the presses to Brittany was not easy to sustain; the continued strength of the booksellers' network meant that these provincial printers had to compete with cheap high-quality imprints from Lyon, Paris and even further afield. By the mid 1540s we know that wealthy Parisian booksellers such as Robert Estienne were printing catalogues that offered a wide variety of imprints at a range of prices. Estienne's 1546 catalogue was 52 pages long and listed a wide variety of titles. The catalogue contained everything from large Latin-French dictionaries costing three *lt.* a piece to a recent translation of the works of Euripides that cost no more than one *sou*.¹ There was no way a regional printer could compete with this type of output at this price. With local booksellers importing large quantities of books into the duchy, Breton printers had to devise a business model that would enable them to carve out their own share in this market. This they did in two ways. In a highly competitive environment, they had to focus on works with a particularly robust local readership. The costs involved in producing large books were substantial with outlays that would only be reimbursed when the book came to the market after weeks or sometimes months in production. The initial capital investment was beyond most private enterprise unless they could be absolutely certain of recuperating these costs. Beyond this they hoped to forge close connections with local institutions that might provide them with commissions. Institutional patronage was vital to provincial printers because it provided them with the day to day income necessary to survive. Many of the books that they provided for these institutional customers were small texts which helped ensure cash flow while the more ambitious projects went through the press.

In many French provincial towns printing presses relied on municipal or ecclesiastical institutions for much of their trade. The municipal

¹ See Estienne, R., *Libri in officina Roberti Stephani typographi Regij, partim nati, partim restituti et excusi* (Paris, Robert Estienne, 1546) [BM Chaumont, 8 CC 5 p].

archives of the town of Bourges show that the town itself paid for the printing of a number of short works. These often simply relayed the proclamation of an edict of tolerance or some other piece of legislation, but it was clearly considered important locally to ensure that such texts were widely distributed. By supporting a local printer, the municipality was able to circulate these acts rapidly throughout the town and neighbouring area.² The city council in Caen were equally dutiful in following the king's instructions: the registers of the town deposited in the Archives Départementales have a number of locally printed ordinances mixed in with the manuscript communications between the court and the city. By preserving the printed works that they commissioned with their official documents the city provided proof that the king's instructions were quickly followed.³ Finally, in Aix a heavily annotated exemplar of the *Constitutions Royales et Prouvensalles* now kept in Leiden University Library shows that official institutions could be closely involved in the printing process. The Leiden copy of this important legal text features a large number of manuscript corrections and annotations as well as the signatures of officials from the Aix *parlement*. This mix of print and manuscript annotation served to authenticate the printed text. The direct involvement of the institution in the printing of the *Constitutions* showed how closely printers and officials could work in the production of such legal publications.⁴

Similarly, ecclesiastical institutions played a vital role in the development of regional presses. This is a well-recognised feature of the incunabula era, but in many ways the Church's role in the sixteenth century was even more fundamental. During the first decades of the sixteenth century, the bishopric of Rouen, probably the wealthiest in the country, actively encouraged the growth of the local press by ordering large

² See Jean Jenny's articles, most notably: 'L'imprimerie à Bourges jusqu'en 1562 environ. Etat provisoire de la question' *Bull. Philol. Et hist.* (1969) II 867–902, 'Une dynastie d'imprimeurs Berruyers aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: Les Levez. Essai d'inventaire du matériel décoratif' Boucher' *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire du Berry* 100 (1989) 53–58 & 'L'imprimerie à Bourges à la fin du XVIe siècle et au début du XVIIe siècle: Les Levez imprimeurs, les Lauerjat, Libraires seulement' *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire du Berry* 118 (1994) 3–28.

³ See in particular the registers 1 B 2 and 1 B 3 in the AD Calvados in Caen that mix both manuscript and printed documents.

⁴ *Les constitutions royales et prouvensalles faictes et ordonnées par le Roy en la rection de sa court souveraine et parlement de Provence* (s. n., s. d., circa 1533) FB 44904 [Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek, 316 B 27] and see my 'Between Print and Manuscript: The *Constitutions Royales et Prouvensalles* in Leiden University Library' *Omslag* (2006) 9–10.

print runs of anti-Protestant texts. As early as 1520 the local bishopric ordered the printing of texts with substantial print runs of some 1600, 1800 or even, on at least two separate occasions 2000 copies.⁵

Bishops played a central part in encouraging the development of the presses in a number of cities. Their role was multifaceted: they acted as authors, but also as editors and as investors.⁶ The full extent of this influence becomes clear if we study the dedications offered by authors, editors and translators in the opening gatherings of sixteenth century French books. The number of books dedicated to leading churchmen (and to churchwomen) is immediately striking. The Cardinal of Lorraine received over a hundred dedications in French language editions alone.⁷ The Cardinal also acted as patron to the printer Jean de Foigny in Rheims who became a Catholic publisher of considerable importance during the second half of the sixteenth century.

These examples from other regions lead us to identify four main institutional structures that could have provided financial backing to printers: municipal, ecclesiastical, legal and educational.⁸ The specific strengths and weaknesses of such institutions in Brittany had a direct effect on the survival, nature and development of the presses in the duchy.

Ecclesiastical patronage

The Church was traditionally one of the main sources of patronage for those involved in the creation or transmission of the written word.

⁵ See the references to Louis Bouvet in the accounts of the archbishopric of Rouen from 1516 to 1542: AD Seine-Maritime, G 118 to 234, indicated by Georges Le Preux, *Gallia typographica, ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France, depuis les origines de l'imprimerie jusqu'à la Révolution, Province de Normandie* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1912) pp. 87–89 and also by Pierre Aquilon in *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle: 14e livraison* (Baden Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1973) pp. 66–72.

⁶ Péronnet, M. 'Les évêques français et le livre au XVIe siècle: auteurs, éditeurs et censeurs' in Aquilon, P., & Martin, H.-J., *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance. Actes du XVIIIe colloque international d'études humanistes de Tours* (Paris, Promodis, 1988) pp. 159–169.

⁷ Taken from the data collected by the St Andrews French Book project (see www.uustc.ac.uk).

⁸ For a more in depth discussion of this in the wider provincial context see my article 'The vanishing press in provincial France' in Kemp, G. and Walsby, M. (eds.) *The book in transition: the printed book in the post-incunabula age, 1500–1540* (Leiden, Brill, 2009).

Its position as the main source of conservation and duplication of manuscript works remained unchallenged throughout much of the middle ages. By the fifteenth century, this dominance had weakened with the rise of lay interest in manuscript texts. For all that churches, monasteries and other ecclesiastical institutions remained an important market and source of patronage for printers and booksellers.

In Brittany, ecclesiastical bodies did not wield the same power nor did they have the same financial means as many of their counterparts in the kingdom of France. The bishoprics of the duchy were small and appear comparatively impecunious when measured against the richer ecclesiastical benefices such as the bishoprics of Rouen, Rheims or Langres. A contemporary list of payments due to the Pope on the appointment of an abbot or bishop gives us an overall idea of the relative resources of the Breton bishoprics.⁹ Only one of the Breton bishoprics had to pay more than the average amount of just over 2,500 florins: this was the bishopric of Dol that owed much of its wealth to its substantial lands in the duchy of Normandy. The other Breton sees owed much small amounts.¹⁰ None of the other Breton benefices belonged to the elite group of some 43 French institutions that were required to pay 2000 *lt.* or more.

As we have seen in the case of the production of the *Liber Marbodi*, we do know of some specific instances in which a bishop actively patronised the presses. But these remained few and far between. Even when the bishops looked to have missals, statutes and other religious texts printed, they were generally printed outside the duchy. The actual role of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in deciding where these works were printed was undoubtedly small. Their main interlocutor for such affairs would have been one of the local booksellers who would then, presumably, have decided where to have the texts printed. The accounts of the *Hôtel-Dieu* of Nantes show some isolated examples of patronage of the presses, though often the precise dispositions are not set out. We learn that the *Hôtel-Dieu* ordered the printing of a series of pardons sent to local parishes, but no names of either possible printers or intermediaries were given.¹¹

⁹ Signot, J., *La division du Monde contenant la déclaration des provinces et régions d'Asie, Europe, et Aphricque* (Paris, Alain Lotrian, 1544) FB 47976 [B. Ste Geneviève, 8o G 38 inv. 1616 Rés.], ff. 49–64.

¹⁰ The text gives the following amounts for the Breton sees: Dol: 4000 florins, Rieux: 2500 florins, Nantes: 1500 florins, Rennes and St Malo both 1000 florins, Léon and St Brieuc 800 florins, Tréguier: 460 florins and finally Vannes just 350 florins.

¹¹ Accounts of the *Hôtel-Dieu* of Nantes, 1532–1540, AM Nantes, GG 706.

The various churches in the duchy could also be a source of patronage. During previous centuries, they had commissioned manuscript works from local scribes, sometimes at considerable cost.¹² However, in the age of print, parish churches used local booksellers to obtain works printed further afield and not in Breton workshops. The accounts of the church of Our Lady in Morlaix reveal how parish churches obtained the books they needed from local booksellers. When, in 1549, the church sought to acquire three missals and a breviary, the church contacted one of the town's booksellers and paid the equivalent of 8 *lt.* and 2 *sous* to have the volumes sent from Paris. When it was decided in 1561 that one of the large breviaries used in the church needed to be bound, they again paid the local bookseller to have the work done.¹³ The ecclesiastical market was of prime importance to booksellers. The appetite for printed books in the monasteries of the duchy can be demonstrated by examining contemporary notes of ownership in copies that survive today in the local Bibliothèques Municipales. Some of these books reach these collections remarkably soon after their publication. A folio edition preserved in the municipal library in Rennes has a manuscript note dated 1486 that indicates that the Dominican convent of Bonne-Nouvelle in Rennes had acquired an edition at most a year after it was printed in Brescia.¹⁴ Together the accounts and provenance details illustrate the vitality of the demand for printed books. They also emphasise the central role of the bookseller as the purveyor of printed material and, more generally, of everything that appertained to books.

Municipal structures

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, the municipal structures in western France were not as developed as elsewhere in the kingdom. Under the dukes of Brittany, Rennes and Nantes had only gradually

¹² See for example St Martin of Vitre's contract for the production of a missal in 1402: Booton, D.E., 'Notes on Manuscript Protection and Valuation in Late-Medieval Brittany' *The Library*, VII (2006) 127–153 at p. 127.

¹³ Le Guennec, L., 'Un libraire morlaisien au XVI^e siècle. Bernard de Leau' *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère*, LIII (1927) 11–32 at p. 12.

¹⁴ Foresti, J. F., *Supplementum chronicarum* (Brescia, Boninus de Boninis, 1485) [BM Rennes, Rés. 2711] see Toulouse, S., 'À la recherche de la bibliothèque d'Yves Mahyeuc. Les Dominicains de Rennes et leurs livres au XVI^e siècle' in A. Pic and G. Provost (eds) *Yves Mahyeuc 1462–1541. Rennes en Renaissance* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010) 151–158.

attained a degree of independence. It was only in the second half of the sixteenth century that these towns began to develop strong administrative structures.¹⁵ The slow development of municipalities was not just a feature of Brittany; towns such as Laval in Maine that had been under the control of a local lord experienced similar difficulties in asserting their independence.¹⁶ But the gradual strengthening of municipal institutions in Breton towns was important for local printers.

Typically, municipalities commissioned short texts destined to have the most ephemeral of existences – generally edicts and ordinances. These texts were not intended to be sold on the stalls of Breton booksellers; rather the entire print run was paid for by the town. The imprints would then be distributed to ensure that the message contained in the text would be communicated to the highest possible proportion of the local population. This was often done through the use of broadsheets, single sheet items printed on one side only, that could be posted up in strategic locations. The volume of production of such single sheets is difficult to evaluate: the very nature of these items meant that only rare examples survive. As a printing phenomenon, their importance to small provincial printers should not be underestimated. They were easy to execute and their preparation and printing would have required no more than a day. They could therefore have been undertaken by local printers alongside the production of larger more complex texts. Even a printer with a single press could easily have halted production of a more ambitious project to ensure the printing of a broadsheet.

A methodical survey of the municipal deliberations of the two main Breton cities demonstrates that during the second half of the sixteenth century, the developing municipalities grasped the opportunities offered by the printing press to communicate with the population of their own town. Though only two Breton broadsheets survive, the archives show that a number of broadsheets and ephemeral editions were commissioned and produced. Thanks to this evidence, I have been able to establish that a further seven such texts were produced on the express request of the towns of Nantes and Rennes. None of these broadsheets, whether they survive or not, are included in any of the existing bibliographies of printing in Brittany.¹⁷ Typically,

¹⁵ Laronze, C., *Essai sur le régime municipal en Bretagne pendant les guerres de religion* (Paris, Hachette, 1890) analyses the cases of Rennes, St Malo and Nantes.

¹⁶ On this see Walsby, M., *The Counts of Laval: Culture, Patronage and Religion in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007) pp. 88–9.

¹⁷ See appendix B.

this information was presented in a distinct section of the municipal accounts, sometimes entitled “Le imprimeur”. An archetypal entry describing the payment of a municipal commission was presented thus:

A Nicollas des Maretz, maistre imprimeur en ceste ville de Nantes, la somme de quarante solz tournoys pour avoir imprime du commandement verbal de messieurs de ladite ville cinquante commission [sic] de messieurs du siege presidial d'icelle qui ont este envoyees es

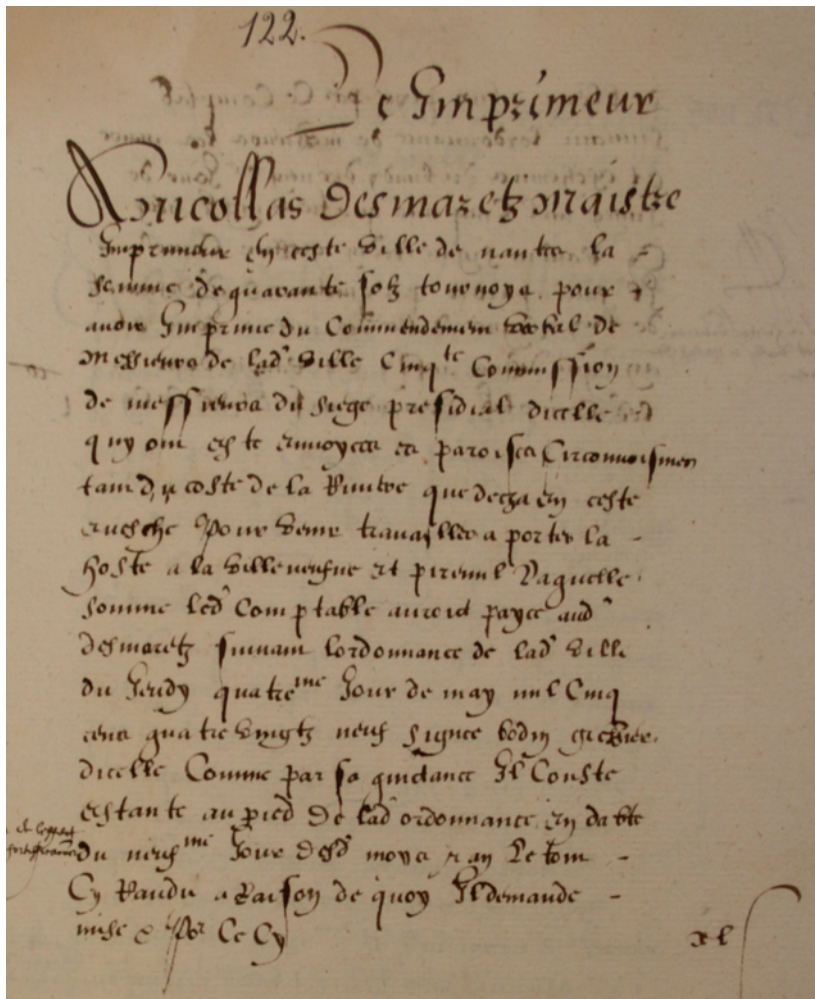


Figure 7: Payment of the town of Nantes to the printer Nicolas des Marestz.

paroises circonvoisines tant du coste de la riviere que decha en ceste evesche pour venir travailler a porter la hoste a la Villeneuve et Piremil laquelle somme ledit comptable auroict payee audit des Marezts suivant l'ordonnance de ladite ville du jeudy quatriesme jour de may mil cinq cens quatre vingtz neuf signee Bodin, greffier d'icelle, comme par sa quittance il couste estante au pied de ladite ordonnance en dabte du neufiesme jour desdits moys et an. Le tout cy randu a raison de quoy il demande mise et pour ce cy xl s.¹⁸

These entries in the registers give us many fascinating insights into the practical workings of such commissions. They first of all show the close relationship between the local printers and the municipal hierarchy. The printing of this text was done after a verbal exchange; at no point did Nicolas des Marezts request that the commission be written down and signed. There was evidently a large degree of trust between the two parties - and this despite the relatively recent arrival of des Marezts in the town.¹⁹ The entry also tells us something about the distribution of the sheets once they had been printed and handed over to the municipal authorities. The texts were to be handed out to all the nearby parishes of the bishopric so that the information contained could be communicated to the widest possible audience. The entry also informs us of the size of the print run and of its final cost to the town. Put together with the information we have for other such commissions (when the details are included in the accounts), this gives us an idea of the income a printer could have derived from undertaking this type of job.

The table shows the information we can gather for the town of Nantes. The print runs vary from a comparatively modest 50 copies to the far more substantial figure of 600 at the very beginning of the seventeenth century. The price per copy (worked out for the sake of comparison in *deniers tournois*) seems to have varied quite substantially - though this might also be due to factors for which we do not have any information. It is conceivable that the "Ajournelements" printed by Pierre Doriou in 1602 were very short texts requiring little paper, whilst the "Commissions du sénéchal de Nantes touchant le fait de Montagu" could easily have been poster size prints. The data does, however, give

¹⁸ Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1586–1589, AM Nantes, CC 127 fo. 122.

¹⁹ Des Marezts is known to have been working in Rennes just three years earlier: see Bertrand d'Argentré's *Coutumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne* (Rennes, Nicolas des Marezts for Pierre Bretel, 1586), FB 7519 [BM Rennes, Rés. 10849].

Table 3: Texts commissioned by the town of Nantes

Date	Printer	Title	Copies	Price (Lt.)	Per item (dt.)	Source
1577	Jean Gaudin	Ordonnances pour le fait, reiglement et pollice des gens de guerre tenants les champs	not given	7	N/A	AM Nantes CC 125
1577	Jean Gaudin	Ordonnances et commissions, touchant la geauge de la fustaille mesrain et sercle	200	5	6	AM Nantes CC 125
1588	Nicolas des Marestz	Commissions du sénéchal de Nantes touchant le fait de Montagu	100	5	12	AM Nantes CC 128
1589	Nicolas des Marestz	Commissions du siège présidial pour venir travailler a porter la hoste	50	2	9.6	AM Nantes CC 127
1589	Nicolas des Marestz	Commissions pour la contribution des munitions de vivres aux gens de guerres	90	3	8	AM Nantes CC 127
1589	Nicolas des Marestz	Commissions du sénéchal de Nantes touchant le fait de Montagu (second print run)	100	5	12	AM Nantes CC 134
1602	Pierre Doriou	Adjournemens requis pour le remboursement des devoirs du sol et liard pour pot	600	8	3.2	AM Nantes CC 348

us an approximate evaluation of the cost of commissioning a broadsheet in Brittany: the municipality would have had to budget around 10 *deniers tournois* per broadsheet.

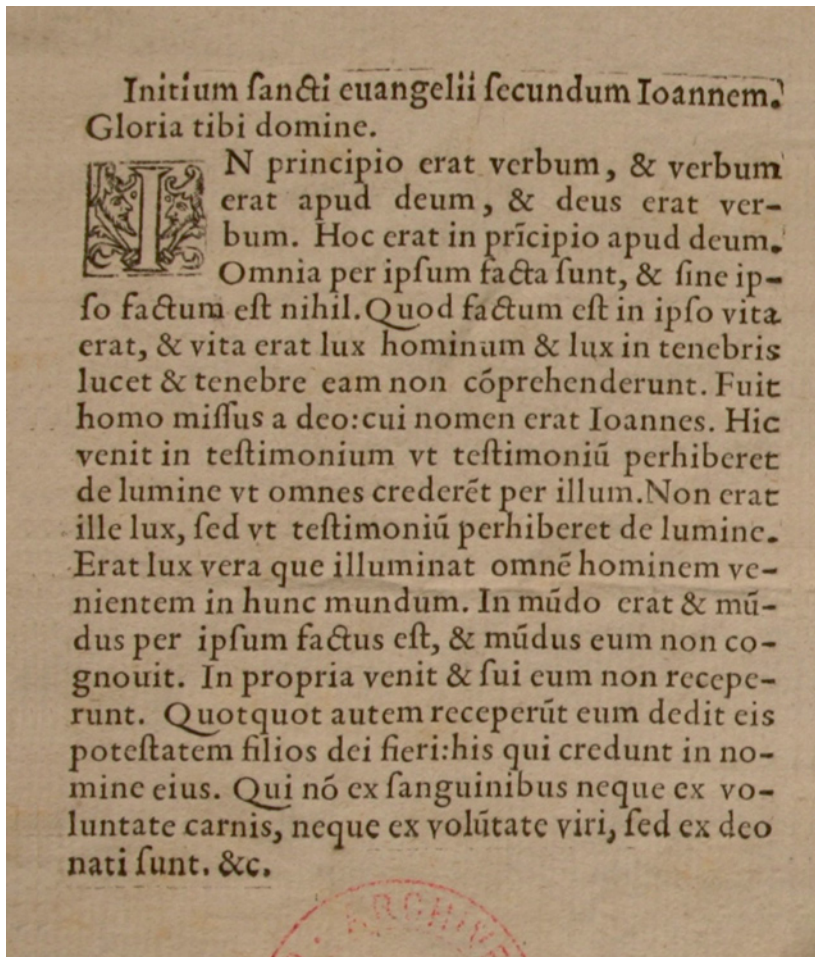
This information is exceptionally important precisely because so very few of these broadsheets survive. In other parts of Europe, broadsheets are not so rare: over 3,000 surviving example can be listed for the sixteenth-century Low Countries, and there are also a very large number in the archives of German imperial cities.²⁰ Because so few survive for France it is easy to imagine that such broadsheet ordinances were not a part of the local print tradition. The evidence for Brittany suggests this was not the case: they have simply disappeared. Multiplied through the many municipalities in France with access to a local printer, the overall volume of such works must have been very considerable.

The increasing importance of having a local printer who would print the decisions of the town council was well recognised. Unlike in Rennes where Julien du Clos became an important printer of ordinances, Nantes struggled to develop a robust local print industry. To circumvent the problems in communication this could pose they encouraged a printer to settle in the town by seeking to appoint an “imprimeur ordinaire”. This resulted in the arrival of Jacques Rousseau in Nantes in 1570. But Rousseau was an ambitious printer and rapidly sought to develop his trade. Integral to this approach was to renew the type he was using. As soon as he arrived, he sent a request to the town authorities in which he explained that he needed a loan. He emphasised that the “travail, peine et labour” that he was to undertake would be best achieved with “l’augmentation de diversité de caracteres” and a “changement de lettres”. All this was costly, and he requested that they help finance the venture. He further explained that the better type would also encourage more local authors to have their works printed. To entice the town to invest in his workshop, he sent them a proof of two different sizes of type.²¹ It is a sign of the authorities’ commitment to the development of a local industry that they in the end agreed to this request.

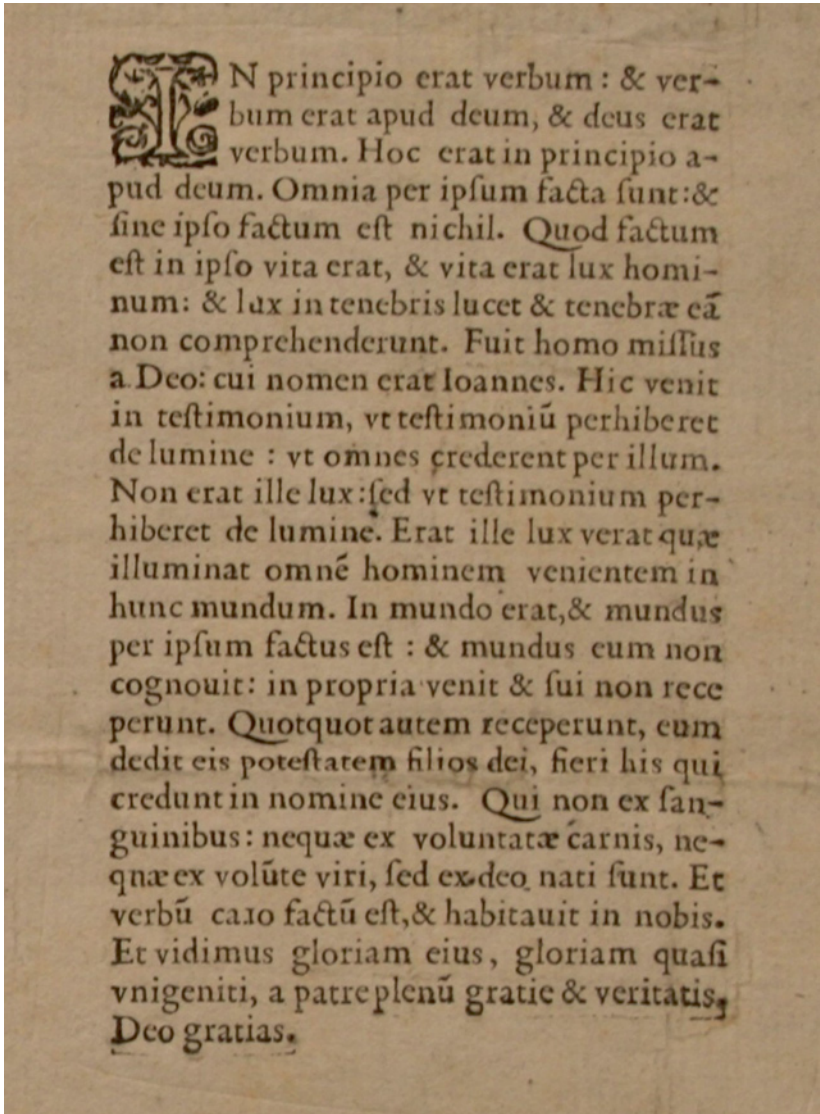
²⁰ See the cases enumerated in Pettegree, A. & Walsby, M., *NB: Netherlandish Books. Books published in the Low Countries and in the Dutch language abroad before 1601* (Leiden, Brill, 2011).

²¹ Request by Jacques Rousseau to the town of Nantes, [1570], AM Nantes, BB 148. It is thought that Rousseau needed 200 *livres* from the town.

The municipalities were also important to the booksellers as a source of business. Again, the best place to find proof of the relationship between members of the book trade and the town are the surviving account registers. The section often entitled “Le libraire” in these registers details the more expensive items of expenditure. These mainly (but not exclusively) involved two facets of the bookseller’s trade: their role as stationers and as bookbinders. A number of different booksellers provided paper to the town that was used for their accounts and other registers. They also undertook the binding of manuscript volumes for



Figures 8 & 9: Proofs submitted by Jacques Rousseau to the town of Nantes.



the municipality. The thought given to these bindings is emphasised by the fact that they were invariably described in the entries, though often quite succinctly.²²

²² See for instance the “papier reliee couvert de cuir et ung aultre petit papier aussy relye couvert de parchemin” Register of accounts for Nantes, 1586–1589, AM Nantes, CC 127 fo. 121.

In the accounts I have examined, only once do the booksellers appear in their role as sellers of books. The municipality's need for books on an institutional level was very limited: most of the members of the council would have relied on their private collections. However, in 1580, the town of Nantes decided to buy a general work of law in two volumes. The details of the edition are unfortunately not given in the entry: the work is simply referred to as "deux vollumes et cahiers des ordonnances generales de France". This could have referred to any number of different editions, but it seems unlikely to have been a work printed in Brittany.²³ It is clear that, more than simply being used as a working reference copy, the books were also a matter of some civic pride. The binding "en peau de cuyr de veau rouge et dore en relieure de Paris" transformed the two volume legal text into a luxury set. This was demonstrated by the high price that was charged for the volumes' binding. The sum of 8 *écus* and 50 *sous tournois* (or 26.6 *lt.*) represented over three times the cost of any of the printing jobs directly commissioned by the town in the sixteenth century.²⁴

The town of Nantes did seriously consider buying a large private collection of printed books at the end of the century. The town organised a substantial bid of 1200 *écus* to acquire the books which were clearly intended to form the basis of a large municipal library. Surviving documents detail the preparations being made to pay for a guardian and a concierge to keep the books. Income was also earmarked to adapt some of the city's buildings to receive the collection. It was stipulated that the established layout of the collection as set out in the inventory would be respected. The original classification of the books would also be preserved.²⁵ As we shall see in more detail later, the town in the end failed to fulfil its obligations because of the outbreak of the wars of the Catholic league. But this does not detract from the fact that the town's elites were clearly ready to invest heavily to establish a large local library.²⁶

²³ See the editions listed in FB at numbers 21035 to 21153. The only Breton edition that could have met this description was *Edicts et ordonnances royaux publiees et receues au pais de Bretagne*, (Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1570) FB 21136 [BM Rennes, Rés. 88568].

²⁴ Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1578–1580, AM Nantes, CC 126 fo. 82r.

²⁵ Municipal deliberations, 17 November 1588, AM Nantes GG 692 n° 2 & 3.

²⁶ Municipal deliberation, 19 June 1589, AM Nantes GG 692 n° 37.

The Breton parlement and estates

The decades during which the presses were absent from Brittany coincided with a period of institutional uncertainty for the duchy. If the French crown had assumed a governing role, the caution with which it proceeded and the continuing theoretical independence of the duchy led to a degree of institutional paralysis. Many of the administrative structures that had been put in place by the dukes remained active but underdeveloped. Even during the reign of Anne de Bretagne, many previously vital institutions were reduced to secondary importance as the crucial decisions on the future of the duchy were being made elsewhere. Symptomatic of this was the lack of interest which the leading nobles of the province showed in the meeting of the Estates. Thus the battle for precedence in the Estates between the houses of Laval and Rohan that had enlivened the proceedings of this institution in the second half of the fifteenth century all but disappeared. Count Guy XVI of Laval did not hesitate to send representatives to the Estates of 1501 rather than attend in person.²⁷ In such circumstances, the role of governor, effectively the king's representative, assumed more importance but such government afforded little help to the printing business. Though it might seem counterintuitive, it was the official union with France in 1532 that instigated a series of reforms that strengthened the administrative and judicial structures of the duchy. This led to the development of semi-autonomous institutions that were capable of supporting the nascent print industry.

Foremost amongst these royal creations was the Parlement of Brittany. The establishment of the Parlement transformed the business landscape for the Breton book trade. It represented a signal opportunity for aspiring printers; the Parlement registered texts and passed judgements that could be printed. It was also a source of patronage and transformed the local market for the printed word. Henry II created the Breton Parlement through his edict signed in March 1554 in the castle of Fontainebleau.²⁸ In doing so he was both reviving the traditional Breton supreme court of law that had existed in the days of

²⁷ Walsby, *The Counts of Laval* p. 164.

²⁸ On the edict of March 1553/4 see the group of documents surrounding the foundation of the Parlement, AM Rennes, FF 248.

the Montfort dukes of Brittany and innovating by giving the province judicial autonomy.

To a certain extent, the new Breton institution was modelled on the Parlement of Normandy, set up in Rouen a few decades earlier. There were other judicial structures in the duchy prior to the Parlement's creation, but the institution transformed the judicial workings of the province. Previously, Brittany had relied on the Grands Jours to resolve the more intractable law suits. The Breton Grands Jours were tribunals created by duke Francis II on 22 September 1492 and confirmed by Charles VIII on 14 November 1492, less than a year after his marriage to Anne of Brittany. The institution was slightly modified over time but it kept its basic format: important cases were tried by a special court that operated each year between 1 September and 5 October in either Vannes or Nantes. This was a small scale operation that failed to get through a sufficiently large number of cases and the legal backlog was increasingly problematic. The new Parlement was designed to change all this.

The Parlement strengthened the market for legal works in the duchy and encouraged the integration of lawyers from outside Brittany. At its creation, it was filled by 16 councillors and a number of other officials and sat in bi-yearly sessions of a few months each. The increasing importance of the institution was reflected by the fact that instead of moving between the old ducal strongholds of Vannes and Nantes, the Parlement spent one session in Rennes and one session in Nantes, moving between the two largest urban centres of the duchy. It was composed by a mixture of local and "foreign" councillors: royal administrators were careful to maintain a balance between Bretons, who were still viewed with suspicion, and lawyers from Paris, Tours, Poitiers and Angers. This meant the influx of a new and highly educated legal professional class that was more accustomed to working and living alongside a thriving printing industry. Furthermore, the number of councillors rose to 40 by 1556 and by 1581 the court comprised twelve presidents, 68 councillors, and 18 other officials. Eight further councillors were added in 1586 and two more in 1599.²⁹ It thus became a large institution that gathered in and around it the judicial elite of the

²⁹ Carré, H., *Essai sur le fonctionnement du parlement de Bretagne après la Ligue (1598–1610)*. Thèse présentée à la Faculté des lettres de Paris (Paris, Quantin, 1888) p. 14.

duchy and attracted into Brittany a new educated and financially active population. The length of the sessions also increased until by the end of the century the Parlement in practice sat continuously throughout the year.

The booksellers were first to profit from these changes. The rise in demand for texts meant that more books could be imported and sold to a stronger local market. How strong is evident from examination of the considerable private libraries amassed by members of the legal profession resident in Brittany during this period. A good example of this is provided by the library put together by René de Bourgneuf. Bourgneuf was born in Paris but he became a councillor in the Parlement of Rennes at its creation. Over the following decades, he settled in Brittany and collected a large number of volumes from all over Europe. Many volumes of this substantial collection are still to be found in Breton libraries.³⁰

The Paris Parlement recognised the significance of the creation of the Breton Parlement and remonstrated to the king that this reduced its power and authority. The appeal fell on deaf ears and the Breton institution went ahead more or less as planned.³¹ Over the sixteenth century, the printers profited greatly from the Parlement's activity. Julien du Clos's production shows just how avidly the presses printed new edicts, ordinances and rulings. He printed 14 items of this type in just two years (1566 and 1567) and this surviving corpus undoubtedly represents just a small proportion of what was actually printed. These were all short pamphlets of the type which tended to be rapidly damaged and discarded. All of the above-mentioned extant 14 editions only survive in a single copy, bound together in one volume in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*. It is sobering to think that if this single collection had not survived, we would know nothing of du Clos's activities in this area during this period. Clearly, most imprints of this type would not have been bound together in robust volumes in this way and would have been lost.

In contrast to the Breton Parlement, the estates of the duchy did not commission many works even though they were active throughout

³⁰ Bourgneuf's books are analysed in more detail in chapter 6.

³¹ See the case made by the Parisians and Henry's answer in AN X1a 1578 folios 478, 530 and 582.

this period. But we do know of one major project that was funded by the Estates: a new history of the duchy which they commissioned from one of Brittany's leading scholars. The creation of a comprehensive history of the duchy was not a new endeavour. Anne de Bretagne had commissioned precisely this type of work from Pierre Le Baud at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Le Baud's history of Brittany and of the Bretons was only printed in the seventeenth century and, though it circulated widely as a manuscript, it did not attain the higher profile of a printed edition.³² In contrast, Alain Bouchard's *Les grandes croniques de Bretagne* were printed in 1514 in Paris and thereafter reprinted on a number of occasions.³³ But by the second half of the sixteenth century, the inadequacies of this work were becoming clearly apparent, and in search of a more accurate and professionally documented history the estates approached Bertrand d'Argentré, one of the foremost figures of the Breton legal elite. They promised Argentré the princely sum of 6,000 *livres* to be paid to the author after the work's completion. But this case of institutional patronage also demonstrated some of the inherent dangers of such commissions: the estates defaulted on the payment of the money. Though Argentré's history was initially printed in the early 1580s and again in 1588 by Jacques du Puys in Paris, in 1609 Bertrand d'Argentré's son, Charles, was still waiting for part of the debt to be paid off.³⁴ Instead of paying Argentré, the Estates cheekily insisted that they would only fulfil their obligations "au tems qu'il aura fait paroistre une nouvelle edition de l'histoire de Bretagne".³⁵ Charles therefore saw through another edition of the text, printed in Paris in 1618, at which point he at last obtained the sum that had initially been promised to his father almost forty years earlier.³⁶

³² See for example Le Baud, P., *Compillation des cronicques et ystoires des Bretons* BnF F.Fr. 8266.

³³ Bouchard, A., *Les grandes croniques de Bretagne* (Paris, Jean de La Roche for Galliot du Pré, 1514) FB 6566 [BnF, Rés. Lk2 442] and FB 6567 to 6574.

³⁴ Argentré, B. d., *L'histoire de Bretagne* (Paris, chez Jacques du Puys, 1588) FB 1685 [BnF, Résac. fol Lk2 446].

³⁵ Compendium of the decisions taken by the estates of Brittany, BnF F. Fr. 8300 p. 411 – entry for 25 September 1609.

³⁶ Ibidem. Entry for 3 November 1618. The work was published as a third edition revised and corrected by Charles d'Argentré by Nicolas Buon in Paris [BnF Résac fol Lk2 446 C].

Schools and the university

The only university of the duchy was established in Nantes in the fifteenth century. The pope awarded letters for the institution's creation in 1460 and the following year, the then duke, Francis II, formally laid out the founding statutes. In its first year the university attracted a decent number of students. The first intake comprised just under eighty.³⁷ It is difficult to establish how many students continued to attend the university over the following years since the institution's archives have not survived. The new university was certainly successful enough to worry some of its nearest rivals.³⁸ Despite this success, it is important to stress that the student population in Nantes represented at best only a small fraction of the total number of Bretons who went to a university. At the start of the fifteenth century, there were around 570 Breton students in French universities every year.³⁹ The rise in student numbers during the next two centuries would have meant that there were many Bretons who chose to go to other more prestigious institutions such as the Sorbonne in Paris.

The statutes of the university of Nantes as set out by Francis II made special provisions for the selection of official booksellers and bookbinders. The main university officers were encouraged to "eslire, choaisir, nommer et instituer, deux libraires, qui seront clers et relieurs de livres, bien cognoissans et experts". The two booksellers were expected to double up as binders, a characteristic that was not uncommon in the provincial towns. The booksellers not only derived prestige from this position but also some very valuable privileges. They were affiliated to the university, a status that allowed them to enjoy the same rights as the university's staff.⁴⁰ In practical terms this enabled the booksellers to come under the direct protection of the duke, to be exempt from having to house troops and, most importantly, it freed them from all the dues and tolls that were normally applicable to goods entering

³⁷ Dom Travers, who gives us these figures, saw the rolls in the eighteenth century but unfortunately only mentions the first intake: Travers, *L'Histoire de Nantes* II, 120.

³⁸ Both Poitiers and Angers were worried about the new university: Nassiet, M., 'L'université de Nantes et ses facultés (1492–1735)' in Emptoz, G. (ed.) *Histoire de l'Université de Nantes 1460–1993* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2001) pp. 32–47

³⁹ Verger, J., *Les universités au Moyen Age* (Leiden, Brill, 1995) p. 155.

⁴⁰ *Creation, institution, fondation et privileges de l'université de Nantes* article III, p. 15.

the city.⁴¹ The close relationship of the booksellers to the university was illustrated by the personal connections between some of the university's staff and members of the book trade. When the Nantes bookseller Vincent Hucet sought a godfather for his daughter in 1596, he asked the rector of the university, Louis Mesmieres, to perform this role.⁴²

The Breton university was an obvious market for booksellers and printers; as early as the start of the sixteenth century, we know that a bookseller of Caen had identified it as a destination for some of the editions that he commissioned. Robert Macé, who was the official bookseller of the university of Caen, complained of the charges being levied by zealous officials in Avranches. The university of Caen took up his case and wrote to the provincial officials in Rouen explaining that their action would cause disruption to the books "quos ad Nannetensem Universitatem ac reliquas Britannie partes pertrahit".⁴³ The disruption would have been all the more problematic since, unlike in Caen, the university in Nantes did not have its own library.

Unlike some of its European counterparts, the university of Nantes was not endowed with specific funds for the acquisition of books nor did it profit from any significant donations that could have been the basis of a university collection. This was certainly problematic and it has misled historians who have taken this evidence of the overall weakness of the book trade in sixteenth-century Nantes.⁴⁴ The absence of a library was acutely felt at the time by members of the university and when a large library was sold at the end of the sixteenth century, members of the university tried to encourage the town to acquire it for them. A university representative argued at some length and in rather baroque style that such a collection could play a fundamental role in establishing an academic library:

L'université qui est mere nourrice de toutes sciences liberales n'a peu moins faire que d'essayer pour tous moyen à conserver une si excellente progeniture, ce que certainement elle a preveu ne se pouvoir faire que par la conservation de ses livres, lesquels ayant esté d'une si louable

⁴¹ Martin, G., *Histoire de l'enseignement du droit en Bretagne jusqu'en 1735* (Rennes, Fr. Simon, 1910) pp. 114–119. These original rights were confirmed by a decision of the Breton Parlement in 1572: see the note in BnF Fr. 21815, p. 220.

⁴² Françoise Hucet was baptised in Nantes on 20 September 1596: Baptismal register of the parish of Saint-Denis, 1588–1615, AM Nantes, GG 45.

⁴³ See the recommendation drawn up by the university of Caen circa 1505, Delisle, *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen* I, 81–82.

⁴⁴ Nassiet, 'L'université de Nantes et ses facultés' pp. 32–47.

affection et avec une si grande multitude recueillis par ung homme singulier aux langues et admirable en doctrine, c'est la moindre chose que cette ville puisse faire que pour une eternelle memoire de sa vertu, de ses armes propres luy vouer, dresser et eriger un trophée au lieu mesme ou cette reputation luy est demeurée acquise, duquel honneur il demeuroit et tout frustré si les muses par luy de si longue main cheries et qui avoient avec luy contracté leur domicile estoient de nous si estrangement et avec une cruauté et impiété plus que barbare forbannies et deschassées de cette nostre cite, seule en ceste province qui soit decoree et ornee d'une université.⁴⁵

The collection was obviously highly valued. The insistence that it was the town's duty to save the library from dispersal showed a clear understanding of how it could enhance the university's standing. But the university's incapacity to bid for the books stands testament to the institution's limitations. Despite this, the university remained, however, a good source of business for local booksellers. Booksellers also stocked a selection of stationary: paper, ink, quills, and other writing implements that all students needed to acquire. As the university booksellers were also required to know how to bind books, they offered students and staff a whole array of services beyond their role as purveyors of printed books. Though it is unlikely that the university's official booksellers were, in practice, able to sustain a monopoly over the furnishing of stationary to the whole student population, it would have formed a vital part of their trade.

The university, its staff and its students, represented an important market for booksellers. But the staff and the more successful students also commissioned the printing of a number of texts. By the final decades of the sixteenth century, the doctoral students of many European universities began to have short summaries of their thesis published by their institution's assigned printers. There are a number of extant printed theses produced in Copenhagen and later in Leiden and other Protestant faculties.⁴⁶ The Paris faculties did not have their students print their dissertations, but this was not simply a case of Protestant versus Catholic tradition. In Toulouse, archival sources indicate that theses were printed in the city, though we know of no surviving copies.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Request to the town from the university, 17 November 1588 printed in Travers, *L'Histoire civile, politique et religieuse* III, 10.

⁴⁶ See those listed in Pettegree & Walsby *Netherlandish Books* (Leiden, Brill, 2010).

⁴⁷ This is mentioned by Clive Griffin in his *Journeyman-Printers, Heresy, and the Inquisition in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 163. The reference is from the trial of Pierre de Rinz.

The recent discovery of a large collection of dissertation summaries from Louvain demonstrates that the Catholic university in the Low Countries also required candidates to print the proposition for debate. These were circulated in advance to members of the faculty and perhaps also posted in public places. This was certainly the procedure in Basel, where Thomas Platter supplicated for his doctorate in the medical faculty.⁴⁸ A single volume of Louvain dissertations recently discovered in Paris contains 230 items, all unknown to the compilers of the Belgian national bibliography. Prior to this discovery we only knew of one Louvain dissertation published during the sixteenth century.⁴⁹ As with the Du Clos ordinances, it is a signal reminder of how dependant we are on chance survival for our knowledge of some vital aspects of print production. But were students in Nantes also following this model and sending their shortened dissertations to the printers? The proceedings relating a quarrel between one of the university's official booksellers and one of the two colleges of Nantes throw valuable light on the question.

The case that came before the court of the *Prévôté* of Nantes towards the end of the sixteenth century is known thanks to a long document minuting the arguments put forward and the judgements delivered.⁵⁰ Though the text is lengthy, it is vital to present it in some depth since it offers a unique perspective on the relationship between the university and the book world. The case set the printer and bookseller Pierre Doriou against the principal and regents of the College of Saint-Clément as well as two other booksellers, Vincent Hucet and François Boucher.⁵¹ As often happened during such proceedings, a variety of issues were raised during the hearing and led to the intervention of a representative of the university. The case began with Doriou asserting that all the posters and books used in the lectures and lessons given in the college should be printed by him as he was both one of the university's booksellers and the king's official printer in the town. However, he had noted

⁴⁸ Le Roy Ladurie, E., *Le siècle des Platter 1499–1628. Tome I: le Mendiant et le Professeur* (Paris, Fayard, 1995) 455–6.

⁴⁹ The theses are simply catalogued under the heading "Quoestio [sic] theologica": BnF, D 9526.

⁵⁰ See Maître, L., 'Une procédure universitaire au collège de Nantes contre le monopole des libraires au XVI^e siècle' *Annales de Bretagne*, 22 (1907) 224–238. The original document is in the AD Loire-Atlantique.

⁵¹ On the college of Saint-Clément see Maître, L., *L'Instruction publique dans les villes et les campagnes du comté nantais avant 1789* (Nantes, Veuve Camille Mellinet, 1882) pp. 159–184.

that one of the town's other booksellers, François Boucher, had been commissioning works outside the province and had been importing them in to sell to students. Doriou therefore requested that Boucher and all other booksellers be banned from having these books printed elsewhere and that Boucher be fined for his initiative. He also claimed that his works were cheaper than those printed elsewhere. He asserted that he was ready to guarantee that he would not ask for more than six *deniers* for each sheet printed in Latin, despite the fact that Boucher was selling them at over three times that price.

The principal countered that Doriou rarely visited the college and that if he wished to find out what books were needed he should pay them a monthly visit. The bookseller Vincent Hucet joined in the criticism of the printer. He explained that over the past twenty years as an official bookseller to the university he had imported the books and paper required by the students from Paris and other towns of the kingdom. Hucet insisted that Doriou had no right to prevent this trade and that he should still be able to provide the books used in the schools. It was also suggested that Doriou charged two and a half times more than printers elsewhere. The printer explained that this was not the case and that his works were more precise and needed no corrections. The representative of the university joined in and backed Doriou. He accused the principal and regents of the college of favouritism in this as in other matters as they sought to develop a monopoly.

The intervention of the university's representative further infuriated the college hierarchy. It refuted these new claims and, as an example of Doriou's overcharging, it was explained that a thesis produced by one of the university's dialecticians only covered a sixth of a sheet and yet they were charged two and a half *écus* to have them printed. This was a very high price: in Angers they cost just 50 *sols* (a third of the price). When confronted by the students and asked to sell the dissertations for a lower price, Doriou retorted that he would prefer to wipe his posterior with them than sell them any cheaper. The printer explained that he had been told that he would sell 24 copies but that only ten or twelve students actually turned up, leaving him badly out of pocket. He also tried to discredit Hucet's intervention, to which the latter witheringly answered that Doriou should have greater respect for his masters in the trade; he had been a printer and bookseller when Doriou was not even an apprentice.

The case illustrated the importance of the educational market for booksellers and printers alike. Supplying both the university and the

colleges was essential to members of the book trade. The publication of printed posters and thesis represented a valuable source of business for Doriou. As is the case for Toulouse, none of these Nantes imprints survive. The published text was a heavily abbreviated form of the thesis. It was often split into two parts. First there was a concise *disputatio* which laid out the arguments of contrasting viewpoints on a specific question. This was later followed by a *determinatio* in which the student laid out his thesis in response to the debate. This system was not an invention of the Renaissance university; it built on the scholastic methodology developed throughout Europe in the late mediaeval era.⁵² But what was new, was that by the last decades of the sixteenth-century, these texts began to be printed. The surviving copies of such texts taken from the dissertations of students of the new Protestant University of Leiden enable us to establish the main characteristics of this type of production.⁵³ The printed items were very formulaic, only rarely extending beyond one gathering of eight pages in quarto. A remark made in the Breton proceedings indicates that the thesis summary represented a sixth of a sheet. This presumably means that a single sheet was cut into six broadsheet copies.⁵⁴ In such formats, these imprints had little chance of survival unless they were consciously collected and, typically, bound into large volumes with other similar texts. This unfortunately does not seem to have happened for the early printed thesis defended in Nantes.

Beyond Nantes, the sixteenth century also saw a strengthening of the Breton school structure. In Rennes, the lack of a university did not mean that the educational structures were underdeveloped. The creation of a college in the sixteenth century was a source of particular municipal pride. The question of how to give local children the opportunity to have a proper education was of great importance to the municipality. In the earliest surviving registers of the deliberations of the town council, a school is mentioned as being run by two masters in

⁵² Cf. the description given in Rijk, L. M. de *La Philosophie au Moyen âge* (Leiden, Brill, 1985) at pp. 100–101.

⁵³ See in particular the copies bound together and preserved in Trinity College Library in Dublin (see volumes BB. hh. 18 and BB. hh. 23) and the huge collection of the Universiteitsbibliotheek in Leiden.

⁵⁴ The sexto format was not unknown but it seems unlikely to have been the case here. For uses of the sexto format in a seventeenth-century edition see Rawles, S., 'More sextos: two editions of Zinzgref's *Emblematum ethico-politicorum centuria*' *The Library*, 3 (2002) 317–320.

a house owned by the town.⁵⁵ By 1520, it was recognised that one school was not sufficient and the town representatives unanimously agreed that another house should be bought to open a second school.⁵⁶ In 1522, a request was presented to the count of Laval asking him to broach with the king the subject of creating a college in Rennes, noting the high costs such an institution would involve.⁵⁷ The town also wrote to obtain the Pope's permission and the college of Saint Thomas was created.⁵⁸ By the end of the century, the college had a principal, regents as well as a growing contingent of "escolliers, pentionniers et leurs serviteurs".⁵⁹ The strengthening of the school system meant the development of a substantial market for educational books, an opportunity recognised by contemporaries. Noël du Fail wrote of the "*Donats, Cato pro pueris*" and "*de Rudimens, et Despauteres, et autres petits et menus livrets*" that Rennes booksellers sold in large numbers.⁶⁰ These represented the standard school books popular in virtually every part of Europe in this period. The *Ars minor* of Aelius Donatus and Cato's *Disticha de moribus* were mediaeval classics that retained their popularity despite disdainful criticism of more recent Humanist educational theorists. The *Rudimenta* and Despauterius's grammatical works were more recent compositions. Large numbers of these texts were produced throughout Europe. The thousands of editions that survive represent only a portion of what was a far larger trade. They were a solid bedrock on which much of the printing industry could depend. In Brittany, the editions sold by local booksellers would probably mainly have been published in Paris.

The contribution of Saint Thomas's college to the intellectual life of Rennes would have inevitably led to the development of a strong relationship not only with the bookseller's network but also with the local printing industry. Its influence and renown spread rapidly as we can see from increasing numbers of references in locally printed books. Among those associated with the college was the poet Nicolas Debaste. Debaste was not originally from Rennes or even from Brittany. He was

⁵⁵ The first entry on this matter is dated 28 December 1512: Deliberations of the municipality of Rennes, 1512–1528, AM Rennes, BB 465 fo. 2v.

⁵⁶ 28 December 1520, *ibidem* fo. 80r.

⁵⁷ 22 December 1522, *ibidem* fo. 144r.

⁵⁸ See the note of 30 March 1526 (=1527 n.s.), *ibidem* fo. 263r.

⁵⁹ Register of accounts for the town of Rennes, 1600, CC 945 ff. 49v–50r.

⁶⁰ Du Fail, N., *Les contes et discours d'Eutrapel* (Rennes, "pour Noël Glamet de Quinpercortin", 1598) FB 17200 [Author's collection] p. 351.

born in Gallardon, a village to the north east of Chartres. Prior to arriving in Rennes, he had spent two years teaching in Paris after which he had moved to Orléans where he had initially intended to study law. But, contrary to his own expectations, Debaste only spent seven months there before moving on to Rennes where, he had reliably been informed by a friend, he could just as easily study law as if at university, not least because of the presence of the Breton *parlement*. Upon his arrival, he took up teaching once more and dedicated two years to Saint Thomas's during which time he was able to write his most famous work, the *Passions d'amour*.⁶¹ This collection of poems included verse written by some of his colleagues as well as a local medical doctor. Debaste's own contribution featured a piece dedicated to the town's bishop, Aymar Hennequin, as well as for the *parlement*, and Bertrand d'Argentré.⁶² The assembled texts appealed to many possible patrons and placed the work in the most favourable context possible to achieve sales and attract sponsorship.

Competition with Paris

The different institutions contributed to the development of the Breton presses to varying degrees. Institutional patronage was a vital aspect of the development of a financially viable local print industry in Brittany after the return of the presses in the late 1520s and early 1530s. The scale of this transformation becomes evident when we observe the statistics of production in the second half of the century (see appendix B). But the success of the local presses was also a direct consequence of their ability to respond to the gauntlet thrown down by the powerful print centres of Paris and Lyon. Both these centres of print were able to produce very high quality works at low cost. Their access to major trading routes and cheap transportation by water further reinforced their advantage. It certainly meant that during the first half of the sixteenth century smaller print cultures found it hard to compete. In London, Thomas Cromwell was said to have recognised the value of Parisian printing in a conversation with the French ambassador,

⁶¹ Debaste, N., *Les passions d'amour* (Rennes, chez Robert Godecart, 1586), FB 15318 [BM Rennes, Rés. 11365. The biographical information comes from the dedication by the author to Cheverny's eldest son, M. d'Esclimont (ff. 2r–3v).

⁶² Ibidem ff. 47r, 47v–48r and 50r.

commenting that “printing is finer there than elsewhere”. He recognised the commercial power of the Parisian book trade lay in the “great number of printers and abundance of paper, books are there dispatched sooner then in any other country”.⁶³ This encapsulated many of the advantages of France’s two main centres of print over their rivals. For the small world of Breton print, such opponents were fearsome: the books printed in Lyon and in Paris were stocked by Breton booksellers and competed directly for the same market. Yet in certain specific areas, the Breton printers gradually learnt how to develop a local advantage that helped them survive.

As we have already noted, with the return of the presses, the battle to supply the duchy’s book market intensified. The booksellers had grown accustomed to importing printed books from other towns, and particularly books from Caen, Rouen, Lyon and Paris. The sale of books printed in Paris in the stores of Rennes, Nantes and the other major towns of the duchy was clearly a very profitable business and one that continued to thrive despite the emergence of local printers. The Rennes presses of Berthelot, Mestrard, Georget and Du Clos concentrated on providing books for well-defined local markets. But as the local presses put down more secure roots, they also began to take on more ambitious projects. This brought them into direct competition for the first time with the main centres of print. This new source of competition was a change that the Parisian book trade, in particular, resented.

A Breton printer would have easily recognised that for a specific type of work he would have a number of small but not insignificant advantages over his counterparts in other parts of the kingdom. This was especially the case for texts that were written or compiled in the duchy itself. Here, the printer had a unique opportunity to obtain exclusive rights to supply works whose primary audience would have been Bretons. This he could do by directly petitioning the local Parlement. And these were precisely the fields into which Breton printers did venture. But the hard-nosed Parisian booksellers were certainly not going to give up this lucrative market without a fight.

As we have seen the production of compilations of the laws and customs were the most common texts printed for Breton consumption in the early days of Breton printing. In Rennes, Julien du Clos had made the market his own in the 1560s and 1570s following a number of

⁶³ British Library, additional manuscripts 33514 f.9.

successful forays into legal printing. By 1580, Du Clos had already printed a whole series of editions of the customs of Brittany in a number of different formats. He produced one folio edition (1576) four quarto editions (1567, 1568, 1570 and 1571) and one octavo edition (1574) of this popular legal text. The customs constituted by far his most ambitious project: the 1568 edition for example required 313 sheets of paper per copy and represented a significant undertaking.⁶⁴ This operation would have occupied a single press for the best part of a year. An edition of 800 copies would have consumed over 520 reams of paper. Printing such a large work necessitated months of preparation. Du Clos would have been working with a small number of staff since the workshop's output was modest, unlike printers in larger towns such as Paris and Lyon. But Julien du Clos was a very talented printer. Unlike many of his predecessors in Rennes whose works were often clumsily set out and who used slightly crude type, he demonstrated a very sound technical knowledge of printing. Typically, he was at ease when mixing different types, for example employing roman, italics and civilité on the same title page.⁶⁵ It was noteworthy that the Breton jurist Bertrand d'Argentré agreed to have his works printed by du Clos. Argentré had been critical of much that was published and complained of one of his texts that too often the original "a esté corrompue par les imprimeurs et escrivains, et de fautes si immedicables, qu'il est mal aisé d'en tirer sens qui puisse contenter ceux qui en cherchent l'effect".⁶⁶ Such criticism of printers and printed editions was not rare; Clément Marot had made similar complaints in his preface to the works of François Villon decades earlier.⁶⁷ But Du Clos's arrival marked a significant change in the quality of books produced in the duchy. His editions were typographically much more sophisticated than any other Breton imprints. Argentré was very happy to have his works published under his aegis and continued to do so for a number of decades.

Du Clos's continued production of new editions of the customs of the duchy incorporating Argentré's commentary demonstrated the

⁶⁴ Argentré, B d; *Coustumes generales du pais et duche de Bretagne* (Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1568) [BM Rennes, Rés. 89859] (A4 A-Z4 Aa-Zz4 a-z4 aa-hh4 ii2).

⁶⁵ *Coustumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne* (Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1581) [BM Valognes, C 6444 (1)].

⁶⁶ Argentré, B d; *Avis et consultation sur les partages des nobles de Bretagne* (Rennes, Julien du Clos pour Jean Goderon, 1570) [Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 4o J 1497] B2r.

⁶⁷ Marot commented "je ne scay duquel je doy plus avoir pitié, ou de l'oeuvre ainsi oultrement gastee, ou de l'ignorance de ceulx qui l'imprimerent": Villon, F., *Les oeuvres* (Paris, Galiot du Pré, 1533) FB 51072 [BnF, Rés. Ye 1297] A3r-v.

strength of local demand for such legal handbooks. But the text of the customs had been drawn up during the ducal era and was increasingly antiquated. To resolve this problem, the Breton *parlement* decided to review its constituent articles, to include new passages and amend existing ones by taking into account more recent cases. This process, mainly undertaken by Bertrand d'Argentré at the *parlement*'s behest, was coming to an end in 1580. As we have noted, Argentré had already published works with Julien du Clos and the printer clearly enjoyed a close relationship with many members of the *parlement*. It is therefore unsurprising that Julien du Clos undertook to prepare an edition of the amended text of the customs. Du Clos was aware of the importance of this new edition for his business: his output was dominated by legal texts and the revised customs had all the hallmarks of a guaranteed bestseller. It was unthinkable that the many legal officials and lawyers would not want a copy. A wary printer, Du Clos had previously consistently sought protection from pirate editions of the text. As early as 1564 he had appealed to the *parlement* and obtained a privilege that was to last for six years. He further strengthened his monopoly of editions of the customs by petitioning Charles IX during his stay in Châteaubriant, some 30 miles to the south of Rennes, at the beginning of his tour around France. This second privilege not only gave him the right to print the customs but also covered all edicts and ordinances registered and promulgated by the Breton *parlement* for a duration of ten years.⁶⁸

The prospect of publishing a large work of reference that was certain to appeal to a wide readership also piqued the interest of other booksellers and printers. As we have already noted, large volumes with big print runs assured substantial profit margins. Typically, this was the sort of book that was printed outside the duchy. The revised customs were certainly of interest to one of the main Parisian booksellers, Jacques du Puys. Du Puys first made his mark in the book world in 1560 and over the years that followed concentrated on the production of tried and tested bestsellers. He produced mainly Latin and French dictionaries, school books and an edition of the psalms translated by Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze.⁶⁹ In 1567 he produced his first

⁶⁸ See the *Coustumes de Bretagne* (Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1567–1568) FB 7504 [BnF, F 13699] a2r–a2v for the first privilege and a3r–a3v for the second. Subsequent editions also contained these privileges.

⁶⁹ Estienne, R., *Dictionarium latino-gallicum* (Paris, Jacques du Puys, 1561) [BM Rennes, 659], *Les cent et cinquante pseumes de David* (Paris, Jacques du Puys, 1562) [no known surviving copy, see Girard 2 – 450].

book of customs, but for the rest of the 1560s and early 1570s his output mainly consisted of large format favourites, adding to his repertoire, for example, the works of Plutarch.⁷⁰ It was only in 1574 that he ventured for the first time into the business of having books printed for a predominately provincial market. The book of legal commentaries on Norman law that was produced under his aegis represented a somewhat speculative venture but it was clearly a success as he issued a reprint of this text four years later.⁷¹ Emboldened by this experience of printing regional legal books, he decided to undertake the production of a similar text for Brittany. The continuing popularity of reprints of the duchy's customs would have been encouraging as would have the fact that there had not been a full edition since 1576. As was the wont of Parisian printers when undertaking an expensive venture of this type, Du Puys sought and obtained a privilege from the king on 26 April 1580 with the typical threat of "confiscation et amende arbitraire" for any who dared to transgress.⁷²

Du Puys and Du Clos were not the only ones considering an edition of the revised customs of the duchy. In Nantes, the printer Jean Gaudin was also interested by the project. Much as Julien du Clos had done in Rennes, Gaudin also printed some legal texts, though his output was far more modest. He was also less well connected in the Breton legal world, relying instead on the relationship he had with the municipality of Nantes for institutional patronage.⁷³ To pursue the printing of the customs, Jean Gaudin also sought and obtained by letters delivered on 10 April and 29 May 1580 an exclusive permission from the king to print the text. Unlike his two rivals, Gaudin aborted his projected edition of the customs. Julien du Clos learnt of Gaudin's edition when the royal letters that he had requested were sent to the Breton *parlement*

⁷⁰ Du Moulin, C., *Le grand coustumier general contenant toutes les coustumes generales et particulieres du royaume de France et des Gaules* (Paris, Jacques du Puys, 1567) [Leiden UB, Meijers 6 B 5] & for example Plutarch *Les vies des hommes illustres grecs et romains* (Paris, Jacques du Puys, 1572) [Paris BnF, Résac. J 20332].

⁷¹ Terrien, G., *Commentaires du droict civil tant public que privé observé au pays et duché de Normandie* (Paris, Jacques du Puys, 1574) [BM Rennes, 2323] and the same text (Paris, Jacques du Puys, 1577) [Caen, Bibliothèque du Musée des Beaux Arts, Mancel 85].

⁷² *Coustumes generales des pays et duche de Bretagne* (Paris, Jacques du Puys, 1581) [Washington, Jacob Burns Law Library, KJV264 B74 1581].

⁷³ In 1577–1578 he was given 5 *lt.* to print ordinances "touchant la geauge de la fustaille, mesrain et sercle" and 7 *lt.* to print copies of the king's ordinances regulating the conduct of his soldiers: Municipal accounts for the town of Nantes, AM Nantes, CC 125 fo. 127 & fo. 82v.

for ratification. Du Clos immediately took drastic measures to make sure that there was no competing Nantes edition that could have undermined his sales. The Rennes printer appealed directly to the king for a privilege to print the customs, but the text went further than the usual generic warning to other printers and booksellers. Instead, the letters specifically named Gaudin and forced him to cede his rights to Du Clos. The Rennes printer made sure that these new letters were rapidly registered by the Breton *parlement*.⁷⁴

Had Julien du Clos any knowledge of Jacques du Puys's edition in Paris? The privilege du Clos had obtained did not make an explicit reference to the Paris edition in the way it did for the version that Jean Gaudin wished to print in Nantes. What it did do, however, was prohibit the sale of any other editions by booksellers, repeating the point that it forbade "à tous aultres du ressort d'en vendre ny distribuer aultres que celles qu'il auroict imprimé" four times in the text of the privilege's registration. Yet Jacques du Puys would have envisaged this publication with the full intention of selling a large number of works in Brittany. The Parisian printer clearly found out about Du Clos's venture late in the day and the Breton printer's refusal to back down and the ease with which he obtained the necessary privileges made things difficult for Du Puys. Du Puys appealed to the crown to overturn the privileges. In his request he set his case out in clear terms, explaining that "par un subtil moyen un certain imprimeur de Rennes nommé Julien du Clos, avoit trouvé moyen d'avoir les susdites Coustumes nouvellement reformees, et fait imprimer et pretend empescher ledit du Puys". Exactly what these subtle means that du Clos was accused of employing were not made clear and was probably little more than an indication of how indignant Du Puys felt. The condescension is also made clear by the formulation "un certain imprimeur", thereby inferring that Du Clos was of little consequence. Jacques du Puys certainly did enough to convince the Parisian authorities of his case and he obtained a second privilege, which was given on 5 July 1581. This privilege explicitly named du Clos and the particulars of their disagreement before concluding: "à ces causes avons de rechef permis audit du Puys, de imprimer ou faire imprimer lesdites Coustumes ainsi que bon luy semblera, et defenses audit Julien du

⁷⁴ Henry III's letters of 6 May 1581 were registered on 5 August 1581, AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 1 B a 9 ff. 56–57.

Clos, de n'empescher le dit suppliant comme a plein appert et est declaré esdites lettres".⁷⁵

Despite the categorical nature of this privilege, Julien du Clos continued undeterred. It was now unclear who was legally allowed to print the text. The conflict touched on the complicated issue of which *parlement* had the right to deliver privileges that would be valid in Brittany. It is possible that Du Clos sought to circumvent the problem of conflicting privileges by including an additional text which he proudly advertised on the book's title-page. He declared that the customs that were "nouvellement reformees et redigees par escrit, par les commis-saires du roy, et les deputez des estats dudit pays" that had since been registered in the town of Ploërmel "en la congregation et assemblee generale des gens desdits trois estats, au mois d'octobre, 1580" now included "les usances particulieres d'aucunes villes et lieux dudit pais". On 5 August 1581, he duly obtained a privilege to protect this edition that threatened to punish other printers with "confiscation, amende arbitraire et despens dommages et interests", though it did allow the customs to be included as part of a larger compendium.⁷⁶ This text was a commercial success that allowed him to publish a second edition in the same year with significant differences in the typographical set up of the title page and an entirely new pagination.⁷⁷ The threats with which Jacques du Puys tried to intimidate du Clos were not sufficient to deter the Breton printer, particularly as he did nothing to demonstrate that he intended to carry them out. The production of the customs was a vital part of Du Clos's trade and the reformation of the customs in 1580 meant that members of the legal profession who owned a copy of the pre-1580 customs would now need to obtain more up-to-date editions. Julien du Clos duly reprinted the customs in both 1582 and 1583 and again these were genuinely different versions, not just old stock refreshed with a new title-page. This meant that the text was reset as is

⁷⁵ The privilege is reprinted *in extenso* in the *Coustumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne* printed by Jacques Du Puys for the Rennes bookseller Robert Godecart in 1581, FB 7521 [Harvard Law Library, N BRIT 90 588] 67v.

⁷⁶ Privilege valid "fors pour inserer seulement au grand Coustumier general de France": *Coustumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne* (Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1581) [BM Valognes, C 6444 (1)] sign. 44r. The suggested penalty was a generic phrase used in most French privileges in the sixteenth century.

⁷⁷ *Coustumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne* (Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1581) [BM Rennes, Rés. 15667]. The Valognes copy is signed "a8 e8 i8 o8 u8 aa8 ee8 i8 o8 u8 a-z8 A4 A-C8 D4" and foliated ff. [76] 188 [28], whilst this edition is signed "[12 aa ea ia oa ua A-Q6 R8; A-H6 I-K4]" and paginated pp. [44] 208; 112.

clear from the changes made to both the collation and the pagination.⁷⁸ Julien du Clos would have undoubtedly continued to make the most of this lucrative vein had death not intervened.

An interesting footnote to this exchange between Du Clos and Du Puys is provided by the production of Bertrand d'Argentré's history of Brittany. It has long been thought that in 1582, Julien du Clos undertook the first printing of Argentré's monumental history commissioned by the provincial estates. The original imprint was, however, the subject of much disquiet as the passages that dealt with the more recent history of Brittany were considered to be too anti-French. The unflattering light Argentré cast on the final decades of Breton independence attracted the attention of the authorities and the edition was heavily censored. The book was banned and Argentré was instructed to revise the text. It has never been entirely clear whether Du Clos ever in fact published this first edition with these contentious passages. We know of no surviving copy of this imprint. Historians and bibliographers suggested that the authorities stepped in before the printing was finished and ordered that the partially printed copies be destroyed. This would explain the existence of a number of incomplete copies of an uncensored edition containing the critical passages. All these copies lacked the original title page, the tables and the indexes.⁷⁹

Some of these surviving copies were sold with a later title page dated 1588 under the name of Jacques du Puys. At this date, Du Puys did indeed produce an edition of the revised text of Argentré's history of Brittany. But though both books were produced in folio they have very different characteristics: the supposed Du Clos edition required far more paper (1164 pages as opposed to 831).⁸⁰ The title pages of both versions were identical and conceal the variation in text to perfection

⁷⁸ *Costumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne* (Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1582) [Paris BnF, F 4016] ã8 ã4 A–T8 a–k8 l4 and pp. [24] 304 [168]; *Costumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne* (Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1583) [BM Nantes, 6954 Rés.] ã8 ã4 A–N8 O6 a–h8 i4 and pp. [24] 220 [134].

⁷⁹ See for example: Miorec de Kerdanet, D.-L., *Vie de Bertrand d'Argentré, jurisconsulte et historien breton* (Rennes, Duchesne, 1820); Brunet, J.-C., *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres. 5e édition* (Paris, Firmin Didot frères, 1860–1865) I, 419–420; Betz, J., *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle. 19^e livraison: Morlaix, Nantes, Rennes, Saint-Brieuc, Tréguier, Vannes* (Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1975) p. 68: 36. See also appendix C.

⁸⁰ Argentré, B. d', *L'histoire de Bretagne, des roys, ducs, comtes et princes d' icelle* (Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1582) FB 1685, [BnF, Résac. FOL LK2 446 A] & Argentré, B. d', *L'histoire de Bretagne, des roys, ducs, comtes et princes d' icelle* (Paris, Jacques du Puys, 1582) FB 1686, [BnF, Résac. FOL LK2 446].

to the unsuspecting eye. How was this possible? The copies printed by Du Clos that were saved could have made their way into Du Puys ownership along with the new text. He would then have decided to re-issue them under his own name for a small group of interested individuals. This would have been a dangerous thing to do. Could the person who had inherited Du Clos's stock have decided to play a final trick on Du Puys by associating him with this banned edition?

The prospect is intriguing, but unfortunately, this attractive fable does not stand up to close examination of the copies. The censored copies are typographically different from any of the works printed by Julien du Clos. The material used is instead consistent with other editions printed for Du Puys in Paris around the same time.⁸¹ The surviving copies therefore belong to an earlier uncensored Du Puys edition.⁸²

This does not preclude there having been an early Du Clos edition of Argentré's history. Du Clos published a number of the jurist's works and would have been a logical first port of call. An eighteenth century sales catalogue does refer to such an edition, though this may be based on a misattribution.⁸³ Certainly, the surviving incomplete editions do not provide a solution to this mystery.

⁸¹ The Roman Great Primer type (114 mm × 2 mm: 3.5 mm) is the same type used in the edition printed in Paris for Jacques Du Puys in 1588. The ornate A on MMm4v is the same as that in the 1588 edition on AAAAAAa1v. The ornate header bar on a1r is the same as that on Aijr of the Du Puys 1580 edition of Du Tillet's *Recueil des roys de France, leurs couronne et maison* (FB 17669). The signatures also follow the same lettering system as that used in Du Puys's books. See M32 in appendix 3: "Books mistakenly attributed to Breton printers or booksellers".

⁸² See also the points made in Kerhervé, J., 'Écriture et réécriture de l'histoire dans l'*Histoire de Bretagne*' de Bertrand d'Argentré. L'exemple du Livre XII' in Tonnerre, N.-Y., (ed.) *Chroniqueurs et historiens de la Bretagne du Moyen Âge au milieu du XXe siècle* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2001) 77–109.

⁸³ See *Illustrissimi et excellentissimi Ludovici Henrici, comitis Castri-Briennij, Ludovico XIV à secretis, et ad Romam legati, bibliothecæ, ad ejusdem filium Constantiæ in Normannia episcopum pertinentis, catalogus: A catalogue of the library of His Excellency Louis Henry de Lomenie, count de Brienne* (London, James Woodman and David Lyon, 1724) ESTC T36991.

CHAPTER 5

THE BRETON BOOK WORLD

Printing books was about much more than just the pressing of a humidified page onto a rank of inked mobile characters. For the presses to be successful, they relied on a variety of other processes some of which needed to take place before the book was completed and others that had to be accomplished after the printing was over. They involved a variety of people of whom only a small proportion could be identified from the printed text alone. They included publishers, master printers, apprentices, companions as well as booksellers. All of these protagonists had different levels of responsibility in the production and distribution of a printed book.

As soon as it was decided to produce an edition it was necessary to locate and acquire the basic primary materials. In some cases the presence of a nearby centre of production could make the sourcing of these materials very straightforward. In the incunabula era in Brittany, this was the case in Bréhan where the most expensive element, the paper, came from a mill situated within the very same village. But even when the sourcing of the paper was this simple, it was still necessary to have a significant initial investment. Though transport costs were low, the paper still had to be bought and other raw materials such as ink had to be furnished. The wages of those involved in the production of the books also needed to be paid. The source of the necessary investment varied. In the simplest of cases it could be provided by a single patron, as in Bréhan. Elsewhere in Brittany, the money came from a variety of other sources such as local business men. The availability of such funds to set up a press was often crucial: buying a press, a set of type and some woodcuts required a significant outlay. It was often simpler to pay an established printer to move with his existing material and set up shop in a new town. But such initial financial support was insufficient to ensure the long term survival of a workshop.

The second essential element for the success of print was the development of a business model based on the distribution and sale of the items produced. Once a press had obtained financial backing for its initial venture, it was imperative that it transform its practices

to become less reliant on one-off commissions provided by local backers. The vagaries and inconsistency of such funding could not guarantee enough business in a region such as Brittany. Identifying or creating a market that would persuade a printer to produce works speculatively for the wider public was a vital step. This was true even if the works so produced were inexpensive items with small profit margins. But this was a step that the vast majority of the early Breton printers were unwilling to take. With high quality mass produced (and therefore cheaper) printed books being imported into Brittany, the competition was strong. A local printer had to find niche markets in which he could realistically compete.

Papermakers and the printed book trade

The paper or vellum on which the ink was printed represented the highest cost faced by a printer as he prepared to embark on the production of a book. The sourcing of this primary material was therefore an issue of vital importance. Vellum was an extremely expensive material and generally reserved for luxury editions and special presentation copies. We know only of isolated examples of copies printed in Brittany on vellum. These include a luxury edition of a popular work of fiction and a book of hours for Saint-Malo.¹ Parchment makers had been active in the duchy from the fourteenth century onwards, but the small number of copies produced on vellum would have made the local sourcing of this material a secondary issue. On the other hand, the sourcing of the paper that was used for all other books was vital.

The production of high quality paper depended on the availability of its two main constituent parts: suitable cloth rags and ample, swift running water. Brittany was renowned for its cloth trade. Centres of manufacture such as Vitré and Quintin exported their production far beyond the kingdom of France.² The quantity of water in a region known for the high level of precipitation certainly was not a problem

¹ Bouchet, J., *Les triumphe de la noble et amoureuse dame et l'art de honnestement aymer*, (Rennes, Jean Georget, 1541) FB 6783 [BnF, velins 586] and *Heures a l'usage de Saint Malo*, (Rennes, Pierre Le Bret, 1560) FB 29870 [BnF, velins 2861 (1)].

² The vitality of the cloth trade is shown by the diary of a merchant of Vitré, Jean de Gennes (BnF, Fr. Nouvelles Acquisitions 1723), and by the regulation of the trade in that town by Guy XVI and Guy XIX de Laval (respectively on 26 January 1527 (n.s.) and 20 July 1577, AN AA 55).

either. All the necessary conditions for the production of paper were therefore fulfilled and there were a number of active Breton mills in the sixteenth century. In the early eighteenth century, a letter written by an official deplored the pitiful quality of the paper produced in the duchy. It was, in his view, some of the worst paper produced in the kingdom.³ It was suggested that this was in great part due to the fact that all the worthwhile cloth was destined for export, not for the paper mills. But this did not apply to the earlier output of the paper mills: inspection of the extant Breton paper shows a sharp decline in quality in the centuries since the first printed books.⁴

Paper had been produced in France for around a century by the time printing became established in Brittany with a particular centre of production in Champagne in eastern France. Though the introduction of paper mills to Brittany has not been precisely dated, we do know that by the fifteenth century there were a number of mills in different parts of the duchy. Near Fougères in the most easterly part of the duchy there were paper mills as early as 1440, whilst near Morlaix in the west the mills also appeared in the fifteenth century.⁵ The production of paper here was so successful that local merchants were able to undertake the exportation of reams to England by the early seventeenth century.⁶ In contrast, the achievements of the early paper mills of eastern Brittany seem to have been more limited. A number of documents identify mills that had been active in the sixteenth century but that had ceased to function by the seventeenth century.⁷

The relationship between parchment makers, papermakers and printers is difficult to establish because of the lack of archival evidence. For example, despite the recent efforts of Jacques Duval, the probable

³ Duval, J., *Moulins à papier de Bretagne du XVIe au XIX siècle: les papetiers et leurs filigranes en Pays de Fougères* (Paris, L'Harmattan, 2006) p. 20.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 221.

⁵ Renault, G., 'La papeterie et l'imprimerie à Fougères' *Bulletin et mémoires de la Société Archéologique et Historique de l'Arrondissement de Fougères*, XII (1968–1969) 85–108 at p. 85 and Bourde de la Rogerie, H., 'Notes sur les papeteries des environs de Morlaix depuis le XVe siècle jusqu'au commencement du XIXe siècle' *Bulletin Historique et Philosophique* (1911) 312–363.

⁶ See the instances of Morlaix watermarks noted in Heawood, E., 'Paper used in England after 1600: I The Seventeenth Century to c. 1680' *The Library*, XI (1930) 263–299 and his further comments in 'Paper used in England after 1600' *The Library*, III (1948) 141–142.

⁷ This was the case for the mill at Hédé and at Les Rochers; Duval, *Moulins à papier de Bretagne* p. 220. Duval demonstrates that other paper mills were built in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

kinship of the Rennes printer Jean Georget and a dynasty of homonymic papermakers active near Fougères in the mid seventeenth century has never been proven.⁸ Nevertheless, despite the lack of incontrovertible evidence, there was clearly a close relationship between local papermakers and the printers and booksellers. The paper that was used for books printed in Bréhan came from the local paper mill. The patron of the press, Jean de Rohan, had established the mills prior to the arrival of the press. The printers' presence in the village was undoubtedly linked to the easy availability of paper. The relations between the papermakers and local booksellers are perhaps easier to identify. It was at the behest of the Rennes bookseller Jean Lise that a paper mill was built in 1440 and it was still run by that family in the early sixteenth century.⁹ As booksellers also often acted as stationers, they would have been the main distributors for much of the mills' output. The similar address given by parchment maker Rouart Arbaud in 1480 and the bookseller Jean Macé in Rennes just over two decades later is an indication of the proximity between the trades, though in this case any direct connection between them remains elusive.¹⁰

The price of the paper produced by the Breton mills would have determined whether printers would have made much use of this local stock or imported reams from further afield. As we have seen in the case of the exportation of books printed in Lyon by the Ruiz, the marginal costs of transport were low. Much of the cargo transported to the Iberian Peninsula consisted of paper produced near places such as Thiers, a small town in the Massif Central to the east of Clermont Ferrand. In 1552, this commerce represented over 2,000 bales of paper of varying quality that transited via the port of Nantes on their way to Spain.¹¹ The availability of large quantities of paper produced outside the duchy would have provided strong competition for local mills.

⁸ Duval, *Moulins à papier de Bretagne* pp. 155–156.

⁹ Le Duc, A., 'Les moulins à papier : une industrie seigneuriale' in Barral i Altet, X. (ed.) *Artistes, artisans et production artistique en Bretagne au moyen âge* (Rennes, Université de Haute Bretagne, 1983) 299–300 and Renault, 'La papeterie et l'imprimerie à Fougères' at p. 85. Duval notes that the mill seems to have disappeared by 1542 (*Moulins à papier de Bretagne* p. 79).

¹⁰ Booton, D.E., 'Notes on Manuscript Protection and Valuation in Late-Medieval Brittany' *The Library*, VII (2006) 127–153 at p. 131.

¹¹ Figure compiled by Henri Lapeyre in his *Une famille de marchands: les Ruiz. Contribution à l'étude du commerce entre la France et l'Espagne au temps de Philippe II* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1955) p. 565 from the Ruiz business accounts (AM Nantes, HH 190).

In 1576, we know that the highest quality imported paper was worth 27 to 28 *sous* a ream.¹² The only prices quoted within Brittany that we know of are those charged by booksellers as they sold on their paper. This is a very imperfect guide as it includes the bookseller's hefty profit margin and referred to retail rather than wholesale price. Furthermore, most of the paper sold on was cut and bound to the specifications of each client.¹³ There are a few examples of unbound paper being supplied to local institutions. In 1586, the Nantes bookseller Pierre Doriou sold twelve quires of paper to the town for 60 *sous tournois*, which worked out at 100 *sous* per ream, more than three times the wholesale price.¹⁴ Unfortunately none of the entries detail where the paper was originally sourced by the bookseller, but it is unlikely that the local production would have been sufficient to meet the needs of both the bookseller/stationers and the rising demands of the printing industry.¹⁵

Printers and typographers

The dynamics of the early Breton presses can only be inferred from the few surviving documents and the general practices of sixteenth-century printers. Contemporary accounts from the larger, more prestigious printing houses paint a vivid picture of the early modern book industry. We know that well-established printers with international reputations and wide readerships across Europe would operate multiple presses. Consequently, there could be a substantial number of people working for them at any one given time. The exact figure of the operational staff would vary in conjunction with the size and quantity of the editions undertaken. The data available for the celebrated business set up by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp shows that he could have up to sixteen presses all active concurrently, which required a huge team of some 52 pressmen and compositors.¹⁶ It is thought that

¹² Ibidem, p. 564.

¹³ Instances of such sales are given in the accounts of the town of Nantes for 1592 and 1594 when the bookseller Pierre Doriou sold three bound volumes of blank paper: AM Nantes, CC 141 fo. 107.

¹⁴ Accounts of the town of Nantes, 1586–1589, CC 127 fo. 121.

¹⁵ This is also the conclusion reached by Diane Booton ('Notes on Manuscript Protection' p. 136).

¹⁶ See the figure for 1574 in Voet, L., *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*.

Robert Estienne in Paris had at most five or six presses working simultaneously, though this would have depended on the number of large scale projects he had undertaken.¹⁷

With regard to the Breton printers, it is unlikely that most of the time they employed more than just a single press. Even in a much larger print centre such as Geneva, in 1563 most of the printers had just one of two presses and only two had more than four.¹⁸ Interestingly, the texts that set out the statutes of the Nantes book trade at the beginning of the seventeenth century stipulated that each printer needed to have at least two presses in his workshop.¹⁹ This might be construed as a disincentive to newcomers in the context of an expanding industry; a measure introduced by established printers to ward off potential rivals. Certainly, it is unclear how applicable it would have been in the sixteenth century when the presses were struggling to survive. As the case of Parisian presses show, most simple publications did not require more than a single press.²⁰

The operation of this single press required a number of workers to make it function smoothly. We can get some idea of the workings of the workshops from the woodcuts taken from sixteenth-century books. They show the inside of a printer's shop and help give us an idea of how many people a single press would have necessitated. The best known amongst these illustrations is the early sixteenth-century printer's mark of Josse Badius. This device was adapted for use on the *Liber Marbodi* by Jean Baudouyn without the specific motto and the initials of Badius.

This illustration employed in the printer's first Rennes imprint shows three men in the printer's workshop: the compositor and two pressmen; one who worked the press itself and one who applied the ink. The question for modest print centres such as Rennes and Nantes was how many of these people were essential and could the press be worked by fewer employees. There is, for example no reason why the printer could not double up as a compositor and as a proof reader. However, it

The Management of a Printing and Publishing House in Renaissance and Baroque (Amsterdam, Van Gendt & Co., 1972) II, 335.

¹⁷ Armstrong, E., *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer: An Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1954) p. 46.

¹⁸ Ibidem, pp. 46–47.

¹⁹ Article 7, Pied, E., *Les Anciens corps d'arts et métiers de Nantes* (Nantes, A. Dugas, 1903) pp. 101–124.

²⁰ The printing of 650 breviaries in 1518 was done by a single press in the workshop of Jean Kerbriant in Paris, Coyecque, E., 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier parisien

seems unlikely that that the role of compositor could be combined with that of a pressman. A critical issue here was the need to work with humid paper. The paper had first to be dampened to enable the ink to make a clear impression on the paper's surface. After a sheet had been printed on one side, it was hung up in the workshop to allow the ink to dry. But in order to have both sides of the sheet clearly printed it was necessary to print the second side before the paper had dried out completely. So later on the same day, after all of the print run for the first side of the sheet had been finished, the pressman would proceed to the printing of the second side of the sheets. To achieve such a process within the time constraints imposed by the drying of the paper the press needed to function at a certain minimum speed. The compositing of the second form had to be carried out whilst the first side of the sheets was being printed. All this meant that a group of at least three people (a master printer and two co-workers) had to be operating the press. Most presses probably also employed a boy to hang up and then stack the sheets as they came off the press. They seldom featured on illustrations of the workshop but they provided an extra pair of hands to keep the press operating smoothly.

We do not have any documentary evidence to establish the exact numbers involved with the Breton presses. The pressmen, compositors and typographers were never mentioned in the books they helped produce and, because of their mainly modest social standing, there is virtually no archival evidence of their presence. This paucity of information means that here, as in other regions of Europe, these artisans generally remain shadowy figures.²¹ However, two documents do testify to the presence of companions and journeymen involved with the Breton presses. A letter of remission delivered by the ducal authorities gives us a first insight into the lives of these often invisible but absolutely essential protagonists of the book production of the duchy.

The issuing of letters of remission was a regal right that had, during the late middle ages, been the preserve of a small clique of powerful counts and dukes who enjoyed virtually boundless judicial authority within their own lordships. The increasingly powerful French monarchy

pendant le cours du XVI^e siècle (1498–1600)' *Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France. Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* XX–XXIII (1893–1896) no. 76.

²¹ See Griffin, C., *Journeymen-Printers, Heresy, and the Inquisition in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 15.

gradually sought to reduce the number of potentates allowed to issue these letters though influential aristocratic families such as the counts of Laval continued to exercise this right up until the end of the fifteenth century.²² By the time of the union of Brittany to France, such privileges had all but disappeared and virtually all the letters were registered in the local *Parlement*. The letters were generally given as a means of pardoning violent crimes and in particular murders. Used correctly, they are a wonderful source that informs us of many aspects of French early modern society for which there are very few other records.²³ This is certainly the case for the study of the Breton print world, since a letter of remission registered in Brittany detailed the case of a violent crime committed by two journeymen, named in the document as Jean Blouet and Berdellet.

In September 1531, François Desrues, a *sergent d'armes* (a local judicial official), asked for remission after intervening a few months earlier to ensure the arrest of the two men who stood accused of having killed one man and injuring a priest. Having travelled to meet a friend in Saint-Jehan-sur-Coasnon, just to the north of Rennes, Desrues heard that the two fugitives had been seen in the village and that they had caused further injury and unrest. Desrues went straight to the scene of the affray and confronted Jean Blouet in an attempt to bring him to justice, but Blouet was unwilling to give himself up. The account details how the sergeant tried to pacify him with the flat of his sword but Blouet simply turned and ran. Desrues chased him to a field close to the village where Blouet produced a “poinson” or punch with which he threatened his pursuer. Despite the fact that the sergeant had his sword drawn, Blouet then threw himself on him and hit him over the head with the punch, leaving him covered in blood. Desrues called for help and his assailant was overpowered, tied up and taken to the nearby jail in Saint-Aubin-du-Cormier. But Blouet had been severely injured during the altercation and died a few days later of the wounds he had received. Because of his part in the fight, Desrues was also arrested but, fearing the consequences of his actions, he escaped from the jail with

²² Walsby, M., ‘Préférer miséricorde: La violence et les lettres de rémission des comtes de Laval au XVe siècle’ *Oribus*, 56 (2002) 39–46.

²³ On the dangers of using these documents see Davies, N. Z., *Fiction in the Archives Fiction in the Archives Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1987). A recent analysis of their content is provided in Stuart Carroll’s study: *Blood and Violence in Early Modern France* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2006).

the help of a number of accomplices. Having realised that this made him look particularly guilty, he appealed for letters of remission that were duly issued.²⁴

The men's profession is given in the document as "poasliers" a term generally given in the context of the set expression "poislier de pressoir" – the man who worked the press. What is more, the events took place on Saint John of God's day ("Saint Jehan Porte Latin", 6th May), traditionally the patron saint of booksellers and printers and more generally of all those who worked in the book trade.²⁵ This could have meant that they had been drinking, though the text does not state that they were inebriated. The presence of a "poinson" or punch in the hand of Blouet further completes the picture: the punch was an essential tool in the creation of movable type.²⁶ There can be little doubt that both Blouet and Berdellet worked in a printer's shop probably in the nearby town of Rennes. The very physical work of working the press would have made Blouet a formidable opponent, certainly consistent with Desrues's account in which he was overpowered despite having a sword.

The fact that these letters of remission place two pressmen in the vicinity of Rennes in 1531 is interesting. No surviving books explicitly mention on their title page or in their colophon that they were printed in this year, nor is there any archival evidence that refers to printing being undertaken anywhere in Brittany at this time. Their presence, therefore, gives further weight to the argument that the works bearing the line "ex caracteribus Parrhisii" were printed in Rennes. The continued presence of typographers and journeymen demonstrate a vitality of the Rennes print culture that is hard to deduce from a census of surviving editions.

Foreign archives can also help us reconstruct the shadowy world of the journeyman printer. The vagaries of chance offer us an unusual

²⁴ The letter is kept in the register of such letters, AD Loire-Atlantique B 33 n° 47, and is transcribed in an appendix to Nicole Dufournaud's *Comportements et relations sociales en Bretagne vers 1530, d'après les lettres de grâce royale* (Mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Nantes, 1999).

²⁵ Saint John's role as patron saint of booksellers and printers has been explained by his popular name "Saint Jean Porte-Latin" because of the omnipresence of Latin books: Pouy, L. E. F., *Recherches historiques sur l'imprimerie et la librairie à Amiens, avec une description de livres divers imprimés dans cette ville* (Amiens, Lemer ainé, 1861) p. 7. See also Dufournaud, N., *Comportements et relations sociales* p. 60.

²⁶ The punch was used to stamp the impression of the letter to be cast that was placed in the bottom of the mould.

degree of information on the career of one otherwise unremarkable figure, Pierre Régnier. Régnier's peripatetic career is recorded in the registers drawn up by the Spanish inquisition that have been analysed by Clive Griffin.²⁷ The inquisitors took down full details of the careers of those they interrogated in their search for religious heterodoxy. These include the story of Régnier, a Norman of modest social origins who had started his career in Rouen where he was an apprentice to a local printer. He moved to Rennes in order to work as a typographer with the Breton printers Thomas Mestrard and Jean Georget. This sojourn in Rennes lasted for three or four years most probably during the mid to late 1540s. Though Thomas Mestrard had started out as a bookseller as early as 1535, using other presses including those of Nicolas Le Roux in Rouen, he only started to print his own works in 1544.²⁸ From Rennes, Régnier returned to Rouen before moving to London, Lyon and finally Spain.

His peregrinations, and those of other workmen who fell foul of the Spanish inquisition, show how uncertain and transitory was the working career of many who manned the presses. When work was short they could be let go; when the press was busy, others could be recruited from the large mobile population of semi-skilled artisans milling about the city. This volatility ensured that there was always more contact between different centres of printing than would be apparent if we only had regard for the better known masters who dominated the industry (and have left most imprint on the record) in places like Paris and Lyon. In both places, the dominance of a small inner core of established families gives the impression of a rather settled and conservative working environment. Even here, though, the turn over of personnel among the employees in the workshop would have been much greater than appears from surviving documentation.

Régnier was one of many artisans who moved through the Breton print world, often remaining for only a very short time. Work was uncertain and unpredictable, and such men had to be prepared to live from hand to mouth. But men like Blouet and Régnier were essential to an industry that, for all its pretensions to an elevated status, involved

²⁷ Régnier's career is fully examined in Griffin, *Journeyman-Printers, Heresy, and the Inquisition* pp. 134–154.

²⁸ The first evidence we have of Mestrard acting as a printer was in his *Coustumes generales des pays et duche de Bretagne* (Rennes, Thomas Mestrard for Marie Robin, 1544), FB 7497 [BnF, Rés. Z DON 594 (89)] when he styled himself “imprimeur & libraire” on the title page.

hard physical work. Though we can identify by name over 70 members of the book trade in the duchy in this period, this would have only represented a small proportion of the much wider community involved in the production and sale of printed items that must have been four or five times as large.

Booksellers and bookbinders

Booksellers were by far and away the largest constituent part of the Breton book world. The prosopography that I have drawn up shows that approximately 60% of those I have been able to identify worked solely as booksellers. But this represents only a small proportion of the total number active in the book trade. Whilst printers left physical traces of their endeavours by leaving their names on the editions that they printed, booksellers generally did not. There were a number of booksellers who commissioned editions and who had their names included on the title page or the colophon of these volumes: Jean Macé is the most prominent example. However, these represented a small minority of the booksellers active in Brittany in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Typically, a bookseller would simply engage in the business of stocking and selling books rather than take part in the process of producing editions. Consequently, the only traces we can find of these vital protagonists in the distribution of the printed word in the duchy are those that have survived through references in the municipal and departmental archives. This means that the figures of booksellers and printers that we can derive from surviving data exaggerate the comparative importance of printers. Yet the bookseller's role was vital to spread the written word and their network covered most of the towns of the duchy by the mid sixteenth century.

The archival work recently undertaken by Diane Booton on the Breton manuscript market has demonstrated that there were *libraires* active in the duchy before the introduction of print.²⁹ Serving in a ubiquitous role that often mixed the positions of stationer, manuscript seller, scribe or any role that involve the written word, it was not until

²⁹ On this theme see in particular her forthcoming article: Booton, D.E., 'From script to print: the changing role of the *libraire* in late medieval Brittany' *Pecia*, VII (2008).

the end of the fifteenth century that the *libraire* became mainly identified with bookselling. In Brittany as elsewhere the selling of printed books took an increasingly large place in their business as the European production of printed volumes rose. Their role in sourcing books and commissioning editions made them into the pivotal figures of the local book world.

It can be assumed that by the late sixteenth century all Breton towns had a resident bookseller. Though our sources are generally poor, the case of the relatively minor town of Morlaix on the northern coast of Brittany helps us understand how the booksellers worked beyond the two main cities of the duchy. The first bookseller we know of who was active in the town was Richard Rogerie in the early sixteenth century. Rogerie was originally from the village of Hudimesnil, a few miles to the east of Granville. He learnt his trade in Caen where he became an apprentice to Robert and Jean Macé in 1502.³⁰ His apprenticeship was supposed to last three years, and it was probably at the end of this period that he moved to Morlaix. Rogerie was actively involved with the production of three editions that show that his role as a bookseller was not simply limited to the town in which he had settled, but also extended to nearby places. His manual for the diocese of St Brieuc was also sold locally in front of that town's cathedral, where presumably Rogerie had a stall.³¹ Rogerie was also careful to maintain his connections with the Norman book world where he had learnt his trade. For two of the three editions, he was associated with Michel Angier of Caen and clearly maintained his ties with the Macé dynasty.

By the 1540s, we know that another ambitious bookseller, Bernard de Léau, had risen to prominence in Morlaix. In 1543 Léau commissioned from the Parisian printer Didier Maheu a missal for the use of Paris which was to be sold in Morlaix.³² Fifteen years later, the same bookseller was associated with another text printed in Paris. This time the text was more obviously printed for a local market.

³⁰ Contract between Rogerie and the Macé brothers, 12 January 1501 (=1502 n.s.), in Delisle, L., *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen avant le milieu du XVI^e siècle suivi de recherches sur les imprimeurs et les libraires de la même ville* (Amsterdam, Gérard Th. van Heusden, 1969) II, 107–8.

³¹ *Manuale ad usum ecclesie Briocensis*, (For Michel Angier in Caen and Richard Rogerie in Saint-Brieuc, [1505]). There is no known surviving copy.

³² *Missale ad usum ecclesie Parisiensis noviter impressum ac emendatum*, ([Paris], Didier Maheu for Bernard de Léau in Morlaix) [British Library, C 36 1 10].

The Breton-language edition of the mystery of Saint Barbara was a comparatively long book printed in traditional gothic type.³³ But the production of more Breton editions became possible with the arrival of a press in the Franciscan monastery of Cuburien, a few miles to the north of Morlaix. Founded in 1458, the monastery had risen to fame in the early 1570s because of the presence of Christophe de Penfentenyou. Generally known under the French translation of his surname, Cheffontaines, he was elected Minister General of the Friars Minor and published a number of books in some of the main centres of print between 1564 and 1586.³⁴ The arrival of the printing press in the monastery was perhaps instigated by Cheffontaines, though we have no proof that he played any part in the process. As a native Breton speaker, he was certainly aware of the difficulties faced by those for whom “le langage François est estranger”.³⁵ But he did not have his works printed in the monastery and, in 1575, Cheffontaines was busy organising from Rome the printing of his works in Antwerp by Christophe Plantin.³⁶ Whatever the reasons for the arrival of the press in Cuburien, we do know that Bernard de Léau made good use of the new printing press. Though some of the editions did not bear the name of a bookseller, two of them mentioned Léau explicitly and it is inconceivable that he did not play some part in their distribution.

That Léau would have some role in the sale of the books that came off the monastic press was not just a result of his geographical proximity, but also a consequence of his commercial success. Léau was clearly an important bookseller who enjoyed good connections in Paris. He would have been an obvious contact point for those who wished to sell books in the Breton-speaking parts of the duchy. Léau was notably successful and innovative. But he was not the only bookseller operating in a town the size of Morlaix. On 18 March 1579, he was named as a godfather to Anne Louarn, daughter of the bookseller Jean Louarn, also of

³³ *Aman ez dezrou buhez Sante Barba dre rym evel maz customer he hoari in goelet breiz*, (Paris, for Bernard de Léau in Morlaix, 1557) FB 2712 [British Library, C 40 b 49].

³⁴ See the entries in FB 12972 to 12992.

³⁵ See Cheffontaines's foreword in his *Chrestienne confutation du poinct d'honneur* (Paris, Claude Frémy, 1568) FB 12973 quoted in Rougeart, J., *Oeuvres complètes* (1578) (Ed. Magnien-Simonin, C., Geneva, Droz, 1988) p. cxxv.

³⁶ See the letters addressed by Plantin to Cheffontaines on 30 April 1575 and 14 June 1575: n. 623, 624 and 634 in Rooses, M. and Denucé, J. (eds), *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin* (Nendeln, Kraus reprint, 1968) IV, 273–5 and 290.

Morlaix.³⁷ Despite this competition, Léau's business seems to have flourished, so much so that he found himself able to take on staff and in his will in 1580 he mentioned Jean Mallet, a servant who worked for him in his shop.³⁸ By the early 1580s, his properties included his premises, a separate house, a garden in Morlaix, a number of lands as well as "quelques rentes".³⁹ Clearly, selling books was a profitable business, even in such a remote location.

The part played by other sources of income in Léau's wealth is unclear. The sale of books was not the only role of most provincial booksellers. If some of the booksellers based in the large print centres of the kingdom such as Paris and Lyon could concentrate on the sale and commissioning of books, in the smaller cities most of the booksellers were also simultaneously stationers and, often, bookbinders. In particular, booksellers were generally the main purveyors of paper and parchment. In Brittany, this multiple role is well demonstrated through some of the surviving archives. When the municipal authorities in Nantes were seeking to create a book containing all the names of the major municipal figures, both past and present, they turned to a local bookseller, Gratien Certain.⁴⁰ He was asked to create a book that could be the subject of some civic pride. It was made with vellum pages and beautifully bound "de cuir de veau tainct en noir et dore sur la ouverture fermant a crochet de cuivre". Just over a month later, the mayor and aldermen of the town decided that though this was already luxurious, it was not quite ostentatious enough. They instructed Certain to proceed to a series of further embellishments; the bookseller was to rule each page in red ink and to gild every leaf.⁴¹ Booksellers did not just purvey books, paper and parchment; they tailored each item to the needs of each individual client, binding works following the exact

³⁷ Le Guennec, L., 'Un libraire morlaisien au XVI^e siècle. Bernard de Leau' *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère*, LIII (1927) 11–32.

³⁸ The original expression was "serviteur de boutique de librairie" see his will of 8 August 1580 partially published in Marzin, J., 'Quelques testaments des XV^e et XVI^e siècles. Archives de l'Hospice de Morlaix' *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère*, 37 (1910) 27–64 at pp. 62–63.

³⁹ Act of 1 July 1581 in Le Guennec, 'Un libraire morlaisien' at pp. 20–1.

⁴⁰ It was to contain the "noms et surnoms des maires, eschevins, procureurs, scinditz et greffiers de ladite ville qui ont este depuis la creation de la mairye et qui seront pour l'advenir" in the register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1578–1580, AM Nantes, CC 126 fo. 83.

⁴¹ Ibidem. The original orders were respectively dated 15 December 1580 and 19 January 1581.

specifications of their client and decorating them when necessary. They provided a personalised service that encompassed manuscript books, printed sheets and reams of paper as well as bindings and everything else that accompanied them.

The manuscript world

Before the introduction of the printed book into Brittany, the duchy was home to a number of scribes and illuminators who principally worked for the main ecclesiastical institutions and local lords. In the early fifteenth century, we know of a number of scribes who worked at the behest of the Cathedral of Rennes and others such as the church of St Martin in Vitré.⁴² The presence of the ducal court and powerful aristocratic families were also an important source of patronage. The house of Laval was responsible for a wide range of commissions that included works of popular piety, popular chivalric tales and instructional works such as the mirrors for princes.⁴³ Other patrons ranged from the influential house of Rohan to lesser noblemen, such as Guillaume de Sévigné or François de Kerboutier.⁴⁴ As has been noted elsewhere, the appearance of the printing presses did not immediately destroy the market for manuscript books.⁴⁵ The market for manuscripts did not overlap perfectly with that for printed books. Manuscripts could be luxury products costing far more than printed books, often using parchment and more suitable for illuminated illustrations.⁴⁶

A lot of the books produced as manuscripts after the arrival of the printed book were items that could not have easily been produced to

⁴² Booton, 'Notes on manuscript production' p. 138.

⁴³ See for instance the book of hours given to Guy XIV's wife in 1430 (Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum, LA 237), the *Songe du verger*, for André de Laval-Lohéac (circa 1450), *Catalogue de beaux livres anciens et modernes n°47* (Paris, Librairie Lardanchet, 1953) n. 2329, and the *Livre du Gouvernement des Princes*, by Gilles Romain translated in Vannes in 1444 "par le commandement de tres puissant seigneur le conte de Laval" (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5062).

⁴⁴ See chapters 16, 17 and 19 in Deuffic, J.-L., *Notes de bibliologie. Livres d'heures et manuscrits du Moyen Âge identifiés (XIV^e-XVI^e siècles)* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2009).

⁴⁵ Pettegree, A., *The Book World of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2010) Chapter 1.

⁴⁶ By the end of the fifteenth century, over a third of all manuscripts were still being produced on parchment: Bozzolo, C. & Ornato, E., *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Âge. Trois essais de codicologie quantitative* (Paris, Editions du CNRS, 1980) pp. 66–67.

the same high standard had they been printed. Luxury illuminated books continued to be commissioned, as was demonstrated by the sumptuous pontifical created for the bishop of Rennes, Yves Mahyeuc, in the 1530s.⁴⁷ This was not, however, true in all cases. Some books that remained in manuscript form could have easily made their way into print. Laure Hayart, a priest originally from Ploërmel, never had his translation of Aristotle's ethics published despite living in Paris. The translation circulated sufficiently widely in manuscript form for La Croix du Maine to be aware of it and to include it in his survey of French books.⁴⁸ Similarly, in the early 1570s the well published author and translator, Jean Louveau, who lived in La Roche-Bernard, was content that his translation of Machiavelli's *History of Florence*, dedicated to the count of Laval, remained in manuscript.⁴⁹ Jean Legeay, who came from eastern Brittany, wrote both an elegy of Guy XVII de Laval in the late 1540s and a history of the house of Espinay over twenty years later, neither of which was ever printed.⁵⁰ The survival of a strong manuscript culture and the circulation of such texts was in part a reflexion on the limitations of the local print industry. But even in centres of print such as Paris, the late sixteenth century saw the widespread circulation of manuscript texts. Pierre de L'Estoile's chronicle of events in Paris during the last decades of the sixteenth century stands testament to the large number of texts that circulated exclusively as manuscripts.⁵¹

The differentiation between manuscript and printed works was less clear in contemporary collections than it is today. Sixteenth-century readers would not only list manuscripts alongside printed works in their inventories, but also bind them together so that the same volume

⁴⁷ The manuscript was created between 1528 and 1541, BM Rennes, Ms 1278.

⁴⁸ La Croix du Maine, F. Grudé, sieur de, *Premier volume de la bibliotheque de la Croix du Maine qui est un catalogue general de toutes sortes d'auteurs, qui ont escrit en François depuis cinq cents ans et plus, jusques à ce jourd'huy* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1584), FB 31761 [BM Strasbourg, K 121].

⁴⁹ Machiavelli, N., *Histoire de Florence* (ca. 1575), BnF, Fr. 19018. The manuscript was dedicated to Guy XIX, count of Laval.

⁵⁰ Legeay, J., *Au lecteur de bonne volonté sur les louanges des grandes alliances, antiquité, singularités de l'illustre florissante et très heureuse maison d'Espinay*. The original is lost. A partial copy survives in the AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 5 J 168. For more on this see Walsby, M., *The Counts of Laval: Culture, Patronage and Religion in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007) pp. 94–95.

⁵¹ See the numerous instances in L'Estoile, P. de, *Registre-Journal du règne de Henri III* (ed. Lazard et Schrenck, Geneva, Droz, 1997) and *Journal de l'Estoile pour le règne d'Henri IV* (ed. Martin, G., Paris, Gallimard, 1958).

would contain a mix of both. The municipal library in Rennes holds a volume that contains a sixteenth-century manuscript bound between two Plantin editions.⁵² Pages were sometimes specifically set up by printers in order to allow the juxtaposition of the printed and manuscript word. In the simplest instances, this occurred on official forms where blanks were left for specific details to be entered manually. Thus in 1596, a series of forms were printed in Nantes as part of an effort to ensure that the town continued to be well supplied despite the wars of the League. In this case, the name of the addressee as well as the quantity and nature of the goods they had to supply were all filled in by hand.⁵³ But these hybrid productions did not just involve such short and simple print jobs. The maps and almanacs printed in Le Conquet demonstrate how this technique was used to create complex and reliable guides for seafarers.

Map printing

The maps and almanacs produced by sixteenth-century Breton cartographers are difficult to categorise as the process employed techniques taken from both print and manuscript traditions. They were hybrid productions that could mix woodcuts, movable type and hand-written annotations. One of the most notable aspects of the creation of Breton maps is that they were printed by specialist printer-booksellers. Rather than rely on the existing network of printers and booksellers active in the major towns of the duchy, the maps printed in sixteenth-century Brittany were produced in a strategically placed port on the western tip of the peninsula. The “Raz de Saint-Mathieu” had long been a famous cape for European seafarers. It was a dangerous but unavoidable passage for those seeking to navigate up from the Atlantic coastline of France, Spain and Portugal towards the northern ports and in particular those off the Channel and the North Sea. The port of Le Conquet, conveniently situated close to the Raz, rapidly became an important commercial centre as well as a favourite target for marauding pirates.⁵⁴

⁵² “Symphosii, poetae veteris et elegantissimi, aenigmata”, BM Rennes, Ms 239.

⁵³ [*Ordre de faire provision pour les habitants de Nantes*], ([Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz, 1596]), AM Nantes, FF 187. The form is reproduced in Croix, A., *La Bretagne aux 16e et 17e siècles. La vie, la mort, la foi*. (Paris, Maloine, 1981) II, 1267.

⁵⁴ Michéa, H., ‘Le passage du raz de Saint-Mathieu à la fin du Moyen-Age’ *Bulletin technique du Bureau Veritas* 67 (1985) 324–333.

With so many boats using the port as a stop-off point on their journey round the tip of Brittany, it was a perfect place to sell maps that helped navigators plot their course around the often treacherous coastline. There was also much interest locally in this type of work. A copy of Pedro de Medina's renowned *L'Art de naviguer* translated by the navigator Nicolas de Nicolay and printed in Rouen thus made its way very rapidly into the collection of Bernard Le Verge from "Kernaffrant pres Conquer en Bretagne".⁵⁵

The first cartographer to have produced maps in Le Conquet was Guillaume Brouscon. Brouscon was simultaneously the author, cartographer, printer and seller of the maps. So far, specialists have been able to identify six maps that were produced by Brouscon though it is possible that some other anonymous maps were also from his workshop.⁵⁶ The works produced in Le Conquet comprised a map and a nautical almanac, generally formed by a perpetual calendar of moveable and fixed feasts, tidal tables and charts as well as a number of compass roses, some of which mixed elements of print and manuscript.⁵⁷ Typically, the map itself would be a large woodcut with Brouscon's name and the place of production impressed on a large sheet. The map was then further improved by a myriad of place names that were added manually after printing, sometimes in a tiny and virtually illegible hand. In early surviving examples, the calendar was written and illustrated by hand, but in later versions, a mix of woodcuts and manuscript annotations seems to have become the norm. Brouscon's output seems to have been concentrated over a short period, 1543 to 1548, but was distinctive with his use of Breton saints in the calendar. The quality of the map-making was certainly appreciated by contemporaries. One of the Brouscon volumes made its way into the possession of Sir Francis Drake who was moved to comment that Breton maps were "the best and most numerous".⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Medina, P. de, *L'Art de naviguer* (Rouen, chez Guillaume Pavie, 1573) FB 37396, Edinburgh UL, JA 820 (1).

⁵⁶ See the lists given in Dujardin-Troadec, L., *Les cartographes bretons du Conquet. La navigation en images 1543-1650* (Brest, Imprimerie commerciale et administrative, 1966) and Michéa, H., 'Les cartographes du Conquet et le début de l'imprimerie. Guillaume Brouscon, une vie pleine de mystère' *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère* (1986) 329-347 at pp. 337-8. On this see also Carné, G. de, 'Les cartographes du Conquet' in Barral i Altet, X. (ed.) *Artistes, artisans et production artistique en Bretagne au moyen âge* (Rennes, Université de Haute Bretagne, 1983) 71-72.

⁵⁷ For an in-depth description of an almanach see Marcel, G., 'Sur un almanach xylographique à l'usage des marins bretons' *Revue de Géographie*, 47 (1900) 267-278.

⁵⁸ Dujardin-Troadec, *Les cartographes bretons* p. 103, see also the facsimile: Howse, H. D. (ed.), *Sir Francis Drake's Nautical Almanack 1546* (Cambridge, 1980).

Brouscon was followed at Le Conquet by another cartographer and printer, Jan Trodec. We know of three nautical almanacs designed and printed by Trodec from 1576 to the end of the century. The gap of over twenty years that separates the last dated volume printed by Brouscon and the first one published by Trodec was perhaps a result of the almost complete destruction of the port of Le Conquet by the English in 1558.⁵⁹ It is also perhaps the result of the poor survival rate of such almanacs. It is unclear how many copies of each version were originally produced, but it was probably the circumstances in which they were used and kept that led to their destruction. A sixteenth-century seafaring vessel would not have been an environment conducive to the conservation of anything made of paper. Trodec's production was not as innovative as Brouscon's and he often simply reused the templates designed by his predecessor, simply updating the data where necessary. But the existence of almanacs created by Trodec shows the continued vitality of the market for such works in the second half of the sixteenth century, despite the existence of more formal guidebooks, known as routers, produced in the main centres of print.

This mix of print and manuscript show the limitations of Le Conquet cartographers as printers, but the mix of woodcut and movable type would have required a high level of skill that few contemporary printers would have possessed. The correct setting of images and text on a same page was a recurrent problem for printers. Le Conquet workshops clearly decided that the mix of woodcuts and manuscript annotations gave them greater freedom. It enabled them to make their maps and almanacs more precise than had they sought to print the entire booklet.⁶⁰ These maps and their accompanying calendars, roses, tidal tables and charts demonstrate the diversity of the works created in the duchy. They also show how the use of the press could come to complement rather than replace manuscript production. For a sixteenth-century reader, book culture comprised a mix of manuscript, printed and hybrid books which customers seemed to regard as virtually interchangeable. For most of them it was the function rather than the means of manufacture which was the determining factor.

⁵⁹ This is suggested in Dujardin-Troadec, *Les cartographes bretons* p. 106.

⁶⁰ The technical difficulties of adding in illustrations to a printed page are discussed in McKitterick, D., *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order 1450–1830* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 88–9.

The Breton world outside Brittany

The Breton contribution to the wider printed book culture was not limited to the books and maps produced within the duchy. Aspiring members of the local book world were willing to travel outside the duchy to learn their trade or establish themselves. The Bretons' proximity to the sea had made them into natural traders. The numerous exchanges they had with other regions often led Bretons either to settle abroad or spend considerable amounts of time in foreign cities. The cloth trade was vital to the Breton economy and in particular to towns such as Vitré. This had strengthened ties with many other European trading cities and particularly with Flemish towns. In 1511, a merchant of Vitré noted in his diary how he had welcomed a young lad from Brussels who had been sent to him by his nephew who had settled in the Low Countries.⁶¹ The exchanges thus involved a lot of emigration and immigration that was propitious to the departure of Bretons who wished to enter into the book trade elsewhere.⁶²

We know, for example, that the London printer Julian Notary was in fact originally from Vannes.⁶³ His career extended from the final years of the incunabula era through the two first decades of the sixteenth century. During this time he is known to have printed 34 works and eight of his bindings survive.⁶⁴ Another, better known case is that of Jean Brito (or Jan Brulelou). Much work has gone into analysing Brito's career since, for a while, it was suggested that he could have preceded Gutenberg by printing the first works in 1450s Flanders. Inevitably, perhaps, much was made of his Breton origins by nineteenth-century

⁶¹ This was clearly done to help the youngster gain all-round experience; the merchant noted that he had been sent for two years "pour apprendre le langage et pour aller a l'escolle". See the entry in Jean de Gennes's journal dated 16 February 1511/2, BnF Fr. Nouvelles Acquisitions 1723 fo. 11.

⁶² This was not a new phenomenon: see the cases listed by Jean-Luc Deuffic in his chapter entitled 'Une diaspora bretonne des artisans du livre (XIV^e–XV^e siècles)' in *Notes de bibliologie. Livres d'heures et manuscrits du Moyen Âge identifiés (XIV^e–XV^e siècles)* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2009) pp. 275–299.

⁶³ Referred to as "impressor librorum et stacionarius, de parochia sancti clementis extra barras novi templi London", he was described as being from "Civitate Veneti": Welch, C. E., 'Julian Notary and Andrew Rowe: Two Contemporary Records' *The Library* XI (1956) 277–278.

⁶⁴ Deuffic, J.-L., 'Un imprimeur et relieur breton à Londres: Julian Notary (ca 1455 - après 1523)' *Pecia* VI (2004) 141–156.

compatriots.⁶⁵ Brito was born in Pipriac, a village approximately half way between Rennes and Nantes, but moved to Tournai where he initially worked as a calligrapher before relocating to Bruges. It is there that he is known to have become a printer but only by the mid 1470s and certainly not two decades earlier.⁶⁶ Yet these examples are not typical. Most of the Bretons who wished to enter the printed book world went to Paris.

The geographical origins of many of the printers and booksellers are difficult to determine. Most French names are not generally region specific. However, we are lucky that Breton names are often very distinctive, not least because of the fact that many surnames originally derived from the Breton language and not from French.⁶⁷ A close look at the members of the Parisian book trade reveals a surprising number of booksellers and printers of Breton origin. The well-established Parisian printer Jean Kerbriant is one such example. His abiding interest in the Breton book world was illustrated by his involvement in a consortium of booksellers in Paris and Nantes that sought to print and distribute some 650 copies of a breviary for the usage of the bishopric of Nantes.⁶⁸ Others explicitly revealed their origins on the books they printed. Prigent Calvarin worked as both a printer and a bookseller in a career that lasted almost fifty years. During this time, he used as a device a woodcut that included in its centre a shield with the printer's name and half a fleur-de-lis adjoined to half an ermine, the heraldic

⁶⁵ See Gilliodts Van Severen, L., 'L'Oeuvre de Jean Brito, prototypographe brugeois' *Annales de la Société d'émulation pour l'étude de l'histoire et des antiquités de la Flandre*, X (1897).

⁶⁶ Gautier, J.-F., *Jean Brito de Bretagne en Flandre* (Pipriac, Association Kistinenn, 1985) and Guérin-Guillonnet, M., 'Jan Brito de Pipriac. Premier Breton imprimeur' *Bulletin et mémoires de la société archéologique et historique du département d'Ille-et-Vilaine*, CIV (2001) 1–36.

⁶⁷ A certain amount of caution is required: some authors have asserted that the Kerver dynasty were of Breton origin "comme l'indique son nom" (see the comments of the abbot Luco quoted in Lepreux, G., *Gallia Typographica ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution – Bretagne* (Reprinted, Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1989) p. 277). Thielmann Kerver was, in fact, from Koblenz (Renouard, P., *Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie, puis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle* (Paris, A. Claudin, 1898) pp. 223–5).

⁶⁸ Coyecque, E., 'Inventaire sommaire d'un minutier parisien pendant le cours du XVIe siècle (1498–1600)' *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* XX–XXIII (1893–1896) at XX (1893) pp. 126–7.

symbol of Brittany.⁶⁹ Other Parisian booksellers with Breton origins included Guillaume Anabat, a pivotal figure in the works of popular piety in the first decade of the sixteenth century and Yves Quilleveré.⁷⁰ Philippe Danfrie, a multit talented engraver and printer who is known to have devised no less than eight different *civilité* types, was also originally from Brittany.⁷¹

The notarial archives of the town of Paris sometimes reveal the terms and conditions on which Bretons found a way to enter the Parisian book world. The survival of the records of the notaries is haphazard, but they do contain the terms of a contract drawn up between the aspiring youth, Yves Herry, and one of the *Parlement*'s official booksellers, André Berthelin. Herry was originally from the parish of Taulé, a village situated a few miles to the west of Morlaix on the northern coast of Brittany. Aged seventeen, he had left his native region and made his way to Paris where, "pour son prouffict et gainger sa vye au temps advenir", he decided to enter the book world as a bookbinder. To achieve this aim he entered into a three year apprenticeship with Berthelin. The clauses of the contract were simple: Herry promised to serve his master with diligence and loyalty and, in return, Berthelin undertook to teach him the trade and skills required to become a bookbinder as well as accepting to feed and clothe him adequately.⁷² It was not rare for young men from provincial France to seek to enter into apprenticeships with Parisian printers, booksellers and bookbinders, but the vast majority of these apprentices came from the regions in the city's immediate vicinity.⁷³

Books in Breton

The Breton language was only spoken in the western half of Brittany, and even in these parts the language had gradually retreated amongst the elites. If Breton was spoken by the majority in the countryside,

⁶⁹ Renouard, P., *Les marques typographiques parisiennes des XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1926).

⁷⁰ See the short entries devoted to both of them in Renouard's *Imprimeurs parisiens* pp. 5 and 358.

⁷¹ See Vervliet, H. D. L., 'An Unknown Civilité-type by Philippe Danfrie (1561)' *The Library*, XXIX (1974) 111–114.

⁷² Minute of contract, 29 May 1544, AN, Minutier Central, étude LXXIII carton 5.

⁷³ Most of the apprenticeships noted by Renouard in his *Imprimeurs parisiens* featured young Picards, Normans, Tourangeaux or Champenois.

French and Latin dominated in written records and we know of no administrative documents drawn up in Breton during the middle ages.⁷⁴ The ducal court was francophone and, by the late middle ages, French was the only language used in legal courts throughout Brittany. The social elites followed the lead given by the dukes in using French, relegating Breton to the ranks of a much spoken but rarely written language.⁷⁵ This emphasis on French explains the domination of French language printing in the duchy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The only local imprints to be printed in Breton in the sixteenth century came off the press set up in the monastery of Cuburien. The works that this press produced all sought to appeal to the spectrum of society that would have struggled with French language imprints. Most eye-catching was an edition of the lives of locally honoured saints: saint Eflam, saint Catherine, saint Francis and saint Barbara. In Brittany, the saint was considered to be the opponent of the sorcerer.⁷⁶ As elsewhere, the saints were supposed to have miraculous powers, and their popularity in the duchy was extraordinary. Bound up with local rituals, the Church sought increasingly to integrate popular beliefs into the cult of the saints in order to draw the local population towards a more orthodox set of beliefs.⁷⁷ The printing of the lives of particular saints in Breton fitted into this wider context. The production of a Breton version of Jean L'Archer's *Miroir de la Mort* also played on the very specific place of death in Breton popular culture.⁷⁸

Printing in Breton was thus very much a tool used by the Church to influence the population of western Brittany. To this end, the Church authorities also put their weight behind the production of a number of Breton works by Parisian printers. As we have already seen, the trilingual dictionary that was printed in Tréguier in 1499 was initially drawn up as a tool for the local clergy. The book was sufficiently successful to warrant a further edition printed in Paris before 1520 and a third

⁷⁴ Jones, M., 'The Use of French in Medieval Brittany' in Guyotjeannin, O., (ed.) *La langue des actes. Actes du XIe Congrès international de diplomatique (Troyes, jeudi 11-samedi 13 septembre 2003)* (Éditions en ligne de l'École des Chartes, numéro 7) <http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/sommaire163.html> part 6.

⁷⁵ Ibidem parts 8 and 9.

⁷⁶ Croix, A., *Cultures et religion en Bretagne aux 16e et 17e siècles* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1995) p. 167.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, pp. 173–186.

⁷⁸ For more on the very particular role of death in Breton society see Alain Croix's wonderful *Doctorat d'Etat* on the subject: *La Bretagne aux 16e et 17e siècles. La vie, la mort, la foi*. (Paris, Maloine, 1981).

edition also printed in Paris, but this time, in 1521, for the bookseller Yves Quilleveré. Quilleveré was originally from the Breton speaking diocese of Léon.⁷⁹ Both editions were, presumably, produced with the aim of exporting virtually the entire print runs to the duchy. Quilleveré also published at least one other work in Breton which had a more obvious Catholic theme nine years later. His mystery play entitled *Aman ez dezrou an Passion* was printed in 1530 and, as had been the case with the *Catholicon*, it was a fairly substantial work, but one printed in the easy to use octavo format.⁸⁰ Later in the century, Jacques Kerver took over the mantle of Breton-language printer in Paris. Kerver had obtained in 1560 the exclusive right to print liturgical works for Paris and, later, books on religious practices as reformed by the

Table 4: Books printed in Breton outside Brittany in the sixteenth century

Lagadeuc, J., <i>Catholicon</i> ([Paris, before 1520])
Lagadeuc, J., <i>Catholicon. Artificialis dictionarius triphariam partitus, britonice scilicet, gallice et latine</i> (Paris, Yves Quilleveré, 1521)
<i>Missale secundum verum usum insignis ecclesie Leonensis</i> (Paris, Nicolas Prévost for Yves Quilleveré, 1526)
<i>Aman ez dezrou an Passion, ha he goude an Resurrection</i> (Paris, Yves Quilleveré, 1530)
<i>Aman ez dezrou buhez Santes Barba dre rym</i> (Paris, for Bertrand de Léau in Morlaix, 1557)
[<i>Hours for the diocese of Saint-Pol-de-Léon</i>] ([Paris, Jacques Kerver, circa 1570])
Kerampuil, G. de. <i>Catechism hac instruction eguit ab catholicquet meurbet necesser en amser presant, eguit quelen, ha discquifu an Iaouancdet</i> (Paris, Jacques Kerver, 1576)
<i>Heuryon an ytron Maria, a usaig Querneau</i> (Paris, Jacques Kerver, 1576)

⁷⁹ The first of these two editions only survives in an incomplete exemplar (BnF, Rés. X 946), the second is complete (BnF, Rés. X 2059). On Quilleveré see Renouard, *Imprimeurs parisiens* p. 358. See also the table drawn up using Léopold Delisle's research: 'Les heures bretonnes du XVI^e siècle' *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 56 (1895) 45–83.

⁸⁰ *Aman ez dezrou an Passion, ha he goude an Resurrection* (Paris, Yves Quilleveré, 1530) [BnF, Rés. Yn 11]. This consisted of 120 folios whilst the aforementioned *Catholicon* contained 160 folios. Quilleveré also printed a Latin book of hours that contained some Breton [BnF, Rés. B 27804].

Council of Trent.⁸¹ He was thus one of the foremost printers of religious books in France. In keeping with this position he also provided the Breton speaking population with at least two works, a book of hours for the diocese of Saint-Pol-de-Léon and a catechism by a Breton priest, Gilles de Kerampuil.⁸²

Early printing in Breton was thus a solely religious enterprise.⁸³ The strength of the market for books produced in Breton is open to conjecture. The main potential readership for books in the duchy would have been a social and economic elite that would have been predominantly francophone. Such readers would not have needed to have a Breton text and would not have been the prime target market for such editions. The very poor survival rates of these books make determining their precise readership difficult. But it is clear that the Catholic Church was the principal driving force behind the production of these books. These editions were either directly printed by the Church, as was the case in the monastery of Cuburien, or published with the Church's sponsorship. Their intended users were members of the clergy in western Brittany who could use the texts in their everyday preaching.

⁸¹ Renouard, *Imprimeurs parisiens* p. 399.

⁸² See the table. An exemplar of the book of hours can be found at the BnF (Rés. B 27815), whilst the catechism is to be found in the library of the abbey of Saint-Guérolé in Landévennec.

⁸³ The publication of this type of work continued well into the seventeenth century, see Courouau, J.-F., 'L'imprimé religieux en langue bretonne (1526–1660)' *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, CXV (2008) 57–79 at p. 78.

CHAPTER 6

OWNERSHIP, READERSHIP AND AUTHORSHIP

The book was not the preserve of townsfolk. Village sociability also presented opportunities to partake in the fruits of the new culture of print. The Breton author Noël du Fail offers an evocative image of one such occasion. Du Fail's *Propos rustiques* was a sixteenth-century best-seller. The story is set in the Breton countryside and offers many glimpses of rural life in the first half of the sixteenth century. In the very first chapter of the book, three characters at a village fête are introduced. One appears holding a large satchel containing a couple of old books of hours, but it is his companion who captures Du Fail's imagination. He is portrayed scratching the end of his nose, wearing a large hat and holding an old book. He was an insouciant fellow who used to be the parish school master but who had since become a successful winegrower. But, despite this rather radical change of career, his love of books had not deserted him. He regularly felt compelled to share his enthusiasm with the rest of the villagers: "il ne se peult passer encore, aux festes, de nous apporter de ses vieux livres et nous en lire tant que bon nous semble, comme un Kalendrier des Bergers, les fables de Esope, le romant de la Rose"¹

The works du Fail cited were some of the vernacular classics of the early sixteenth-century French print industry. The shepherd's calendar, for instance, was a wide-ranging cosmological almanac that became a resounding publishing success story. We know that over forty editions were published before the *Propos rustiques* was first printed in 1547.² Aesop's fables were moralistic stories that had been popular in France since the middle ages and appeared in over 50 editions during the

¹ Du Fail, N., *Propos rustiques* (ed. Pérouse, G.-A., & Dubuis, R., Geneva, Droz, 1994) pp. 49–50. The interpolator of the 1548 edition added a number of other works (see note 11).

² See all the editions listed in FB: 8269 to 8326. The 1493 edition published in Paris by Guy Marchant has recently been republished as a facsimile: Engammare, M. (ed.), *Kalendrier des bergers* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2008). For the first edition of Du Fail's text see *Propos rustiques* (Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1547), FB 17176 [BM Rennes, Rés. 10864].

sixteenth century.³ The *Roman de la rose* was perhaps the most popular of all in the first decades of the century. This long allegorical poem was first written in the thirteenth century by Guillaume de Lorris and considerably expanded by Jean de Meung a few decades later. Between 1481 and 1538 it went through some 40 editions.⁴

Noël du Fail's description of these books within the context of village life is revealing. Though the author placed the books and these public readings in a fictional setting, it suggests that the printed book had achieved deep penetration even in rural areas. The output of the presses touched significant portions of the population despite the limitations imposed by the rate of literacy. The example provided by du Fail suggests that many received their knowledge of the texts at second hand. The illiterate or semi-illiterate majority depended on transmission from written text to spoken word. Most of the population would also have come into direct contact with the printed book as an object, as is emphasised in the scene described by Du Fail where books were been carried round the village.

Despite such evidence, scholars have tended to underestimate the market for the printed book in Brittany. There was no thriving print industry in the duchy because there was no significant humanist centre either in Rennes or in Nantes, or so the argument goes. According to Alain Croix printing in Brittany was "faible, presque marginale" due to the lack of "foyer intellectuel digne de ce nom" and to the absence of patronage "indispensables à la vie matérielle des humanistes".⁵ The implied connection between humanism and printing does not, however, stand up to scrutiny. Other provincial cities with significant humanist centres did not necessarily have a more vibrant print culture. The *collège* that was created in Bordeaux during the first half of the sixteenth century was particularly successful and enjoyed a high reputation thanks to individuals such as Michel de Montaigne. Yet the achievements of the local printing presses were minimal. In a location more propitious to the development of a local printing culture because of the distance that separates Bordeaux from either Paris or Lyon, we

³ A number of the fables were made more accessible by Marie de France, see Desgrugillers-Billard (ed.) *Oeuvres complètes de Marie de France. Fables: texte original en ancien français, manuscrit Harley 978 du British museum* (Clermont-Ferrand, Editions Paléo, 2007). See the editions listed in FB: 197 to 251.

⁴ See the editions listed in FB: 24260 to 24304.

⁵ Croix, A., *L'âge d'or de la Bretagne 1532-1675* (Rennes, Ouest France, 1993) pp. 443-4.

still have to wait for 1521 for the first vernacular work to appear on a local press.⁶ Even though printing then began to flourish in the city, we still only know of fewer than 300 vernacular works printed before 1601. Almost two thirds of these were printed by a single printer, Simon Millanges. Furthermore, nearly half of the works were legal in nature (books of customs or edicts) and therefore were completely unconnected to Bordeaux's humanist circles. Another high profile humanist centre was Tournon but, for all the achievements of the town's university, we know of just one active printer in the sixteenth century.⁷ When Madeleine de La Rochefoucauld made her solemn entry into the town in 1583 as the wife of Juste-Louis de Tournon, the event was celebrated in great pomp with verses in French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. These pieces were gathered together and published, but the volume was printed in Lyon, not in Tournon.⁸

The lack of correlation between centres of humanism and printing is born out further afield by the case of Sélestat (or Schlettstadt) in Alsace. Sélestat was an important centre of humanism that welcomed scholars of international renown such as Jakob Wimpfeling and Beatus Rhenanus. Both these scholars published their own works as well as editing others and the parish library founded in 1452 had already received substantial donations by the 1530s.⁹ Furthermore, three printers were born in Sélestat. All the necessary ingredients for a vibrant print culture seemed to be present. However, only one Sélestat-born printer, Lazare Schurer, ever published works in the town. He was the only printer to set up a press in Sélestat during the sixteenth century and oversaw the production of just 32 works over a period of nine years.¹⁰ Even a town such as Poitiers, with one of the strongest provincial presses, struggled to make an impact in Humanist circles.

⁶ Bellemère, F., *Directoire de la vie humaine* (Bordeaux, Jean Guyart, [1521]) FB 3266. There is no known surviving copy: see Higman, F., *Piety and People: Religious Printing in French 1511–1551* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1996) B 13.

⁷ See Jean Muller's list in *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*. (Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1971), volume 7, pp. 60–68.

⁸ *La triomphante entree de tresillustre dame Magdeleine de La Rochefoucauld* (Lyon, Jean Pillehotte, 1583), FB 49572 [Aix-en-Provence, Rec D 42 (227)]. The text has been reproduced as a facsimile with an introduction by Maxime Gaume (Saint-Étienne, Presses de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1976).

⁹ See in particular Adam, P., *L'Humanisme à Sélestat* (Rome, Arti Grafiche, 2001).

¹⁰ Ritter, F., *Histoire de l'imprimerie Alsacienne aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Strasbourg, F.-X. Le Roux, 1955) and Josef Benzing's contribution in *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle, 2e livraison* (Baden Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1968).

A recent study has demonstrated the strength of the intellectual creativity that surrounded the Des Roches in the town during the 1570s and 1580s. But most of the editions of the works that they produced were printed in Paris, not in Poitiers.¹¹

Education and literacy

The education of the Bretons is central to our understanding of the potential local readership. If one looks to the records of the fifteenth-century universities, there seems to have been a considerable Breton contingent in a number of different institutions. Analysis of this evidence enables us to identify 570 Breton students active in various French universities in 1403. To put this figure in context, this was more than the number of enrolled students from some of the prime Humanist centres such as the extended Loire valley. If one combines the number of students from nine Loire valley dioceses (to match the nine Breton dioceses) namely those of Angers (148), Orléans (113), Sens (54), Auxerre (26), Tours (42), Poitiers (42), Bourges (74), Maillezais (29) and Nevers (10) one comes to the smaller figure of 538 students.¹² The large Breton contingent in fifteenth-century French universities contrasts with the small number of students who joined the university of Nantes after its creation in 1461. It provides further evidence that the in-take of the local university should not be considered a proper indication of the size of the university-educated population of Brittany. Like students from other francophone regions, Bretons were drawn in particularly large numbers to the most prestigious institutions. In 1403, there were over 200 students who went to study in Paris despite the greater proximity of other universities in easily accessible towns such as Angers or Orléans.¹³

The creation of the University of Nantes in 1461 at Francis II's behest was an important symbolic recognition of the increasing cultural weight of the duchy, but in many eyes this young university would not

¹¹ Tarte, K.B., *Writing Places: Sixteenth-Century City Culture and the Des Roches Salon* (Newark, University of Delaware Press, 2007). Abel L'Angelier in Paris played the most prominent role in publishing the works written by the Des Roches themselves, see FB 15656 to 15662.

¹² See Verger, J., *Les universités au Moyen Age* (Leiden, Brill, 1995) pp. 155 (Data taken from the "rotuli" of the universities preserved in the Vatican archives).

¹³ Verger, *Les universités au Moyen Age* p. 145.

have had the prestige of the older universities such as the Sorbonne.¹⁴ Noël du Fail was educated in Angers and it has been suggested that in the course of his studies he was also to visit Paris, Bourges and Poitiers.¹⁵ Similarly, Pierre Boaistuau left Nantes to study instead at the university of Poitiers.¹⁶ Neither Du Fail nor Boaistuau ever attended their local university. The numbers of Bretons who attended the university of Nantes should therefore not lead us to underestimate the development of humanist circles in Brittany. Attendance at a variety of universities gave Bretons a taste for letters and books. The work of Catherine Magnien-Simonin has shown the strength of the intellectual and cultural elites in sixteenth-century Brittany. Her studies of critical figures such as Jucquel Rougeart and François de la Coultraye has demonstrated the influence of humanism on literary culture by the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁷

These well-read and educated Bretons still represented a small minority of the total population. They were clearly not the only ones to read books in sixteenth-century Brittany. But to establish the broader contours of the book-reading public in the sixteenth century is no easy task. At a basic level, it is extremely difficult to establish solid information on literacy rates. In much of the scholarship, the ability to sign is taken as a crude determinant of reading skills.¹⁸ This is not a perfect guide but it provides serviceable global data. In the case of Brittany we do have one document which provides much more precise details. This is the official minute of an inquest held in Rennes by its governor, Guy Meneust, in 1589. This is a substantial text that brings together the accounts provided by 164 witnesses called to give information on the attempt by the leaguer forces to seize the city after the assassination of

¹⁴ Statutes of the University of Nantes and privileges granted by Francis II, 1461, BM Nantes ms. 88.

¹⁵ Du Fail, *Propos rustiques* p. 8.

¹⁶ See Carr, R. A., *Pierre Boaistuau's Histoires Tragiques: A study of narrative form and tragic vision* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

¹⁷ See the introduction to Rougeart, J., *Oeuvres complètes* (1578) (Ed. Magnien-Simonin, C., Geneva, Droz, 1988), xi and following pages. Magnien-Simonin, C., 'Un humaniste breton: François de la Coultraye, de Pontivy (1558–1619)' *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne*, LXVI (1989) 251–283.

¹⁸ See Cressy, D., *Literacy and Social Order. Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980) p. 42 & Houston, R.A., *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500–1800* (Harlow, Longman, 2002).

the duke and cardinal de Guise in December 1588.¹⁹ The witnesses represent a relatively good cross section of society from both urban and rural Brittany and from places as distant as Nantes, Rennes and Vannes. Helpfully, all the witnesses were all called upon to re-read and then sign their deposition. The document uses a quite specific wording. It indicates which witnesses could read and sign and which of them “ne sait signer, lire, ni escrire” or “a dit ne savoir signer, et a ouy lecture de sa deposition”. It also details each witness’s title, occupation and place of residence. Taken together, all these elements give us an illuminating snapshot of literacy in late sixteenth-century Brittany.

Of the 164 witnesses summoned 101 claimed to be able to read and sign their name. Of all the witnesses, only five women were called and of these only two declared that they could read and write. This is not a particularly encouraging statistic since one of the illiterate women was the wife of the main judicial figures of Vannes, the “président présidial” (witness n°62). One of the two women who did declare themselves literate was Jeanne Riou (witness n°88), the wife of the medical author, Roch le Baillif, who had by then already published a number of works with the local printer Julien du Clos. But the most interesting statistics come from a social breakdown of the witnesses (see the graph). The male representatives of the social elite were highly literate. As would be expected the 32 witnesses who used the title “maître” could all read, as could all those who used the title “Noble homme”, “messire” or “écuyer”. In fact, all 42 members of the nobility as well as what Seyssel characterised as the “peuple gras” declared that they could read and sign. Similarly, all the members of the clergy could also read and sign. The vast majority of the office holders could read too. Only two of the more lowly officers, whose jobs were of a more practical nature, declared that they could not read. For other categories the statistics make for less encouraging reading. Of the merchants heard, three of the six who could not read were described as “marchant hostelier” or “hostelier” whilst one of the others was a “marchant de vin”. These were merchants of a lesser social standing. 15 of the 22 artisans worked in the cloth trade: of these only four declared that they could read. The figures paint an even more discouraging picture for the servants and the peasantry who were both predominantly illiterate.

¹⁹ “Information d’office faicte par nous Guy Meneust, sieur de Brequigny, conseiller du Roy, Seneschal de Rennes ... contre les ennemys du Roy se disans de la Ligue perturbateurs du repos de son estat et de ceste province”, 24 April 1589, BnF Fr. 11534.

The overall impression that this overview gives us is of a readership dominated by the social elites: the nobility, the clergy, the bourgeois and the wealthier merchants. There were some exceptions to this rule, such as the literate 45 year old farmer in the rural parish of Louvigné (witness 104) or the 19 year old cook who served in the household of the lord of Le Goust (witness 69). But these cases remained marginal. The cost of large books and the subject matter of virtually all the short texts printed locally in this period meant that the vast majority of the printed output and imported books would have been sold to the social elites.

Nevertheless, the impact of a book in the sixteenth century was not just limited to those who read it. The acquisition of a printed book was an event that would have been shared, especially amongst the lower levels of society. This would have been particularly true for works of popular piety. It is unclear how much such books were actually read. Books of hours contained numerous illustrations that would have had an impact on those who could neither read nor write. Calendars and *danses macabres* would have impressed any sixteenth-century Catholic. Even larger non-illustrated works could be bought and preserved for totemic reasons. Printed bibles often played an important part as volumes in which someone could record momentous family events. This was also true of other valued books. The exemplar of the Larcher book of hours printed in 1498 and kept in the Musée Dobrée in Nantes is a case in point. This volume contains details of the births, marriages and deaths of members of the local Saligot family during the sixteenth century as well as information on other momentous events such as the arrival of Henry IV in Nantes at the end of the Wars of Religion.²⁰ Many of these works would also simply have been treasured as holy texts. Their value lay in being owned rather than read.

Book ownership

Determining the ownership of books can be slightly easier than ascertaining who read them. Here we are able to make use of some concrete, albeit inevitably incomplete, evidence. By reconstructing some of the sixteenth-century Breton libraries we can gain a better idea of the type

²⁰ [*Heures à l'usage de Nantes*] (Nantes, Etienne Larcher, 1498), FB 29149 [Nantes, Musée Dobré, 998-6-1].

of works available to contemporary readers and establish the centrality of the printed book to the cultural elite of the duchy. There are two main methods for attempting to establish the contents of a sixteenth century library: finding a contemporary inventory of a collection or looking for indications of provenance in surviving copies, even though they may today be dispersed in any number of libraries. Sources of both types at our disposal provide us enough glimpses of the nature of these collections to understand the deep penetration of the printed word in the duchy. As we have seen, manuscripts remained omnipresent in book collections during the first age of print. Contemporaries did not differentiate between the two in the radical manner of many modern collections. Instead, they often joined them together in the same binding. Any study of libraries will therefore include some mentions of manuscript items. Overall, however, the progress of the printed book was quite astounding. It has been estimated that in around 1480, printed items accounted for no more than 6% of books in French collections, but by the start of the sixteenth century that figure had risen to more than half.²¹ The proportion continued to increase throughout the sixteenth century.

This would have been as much the case in Brittany as elsewhere. The sources we have point to a number of significant collections of printed books in Brittany. These include significant libraries accumulated by public institutions. The inventory of the sacristy of the cathedral of Tréguier that was drawn up at the beginning of the seventeenth century shows the presence of books.²² The inventory differentiated between old-style books on parchment and new-style books made with paper. In all, it listed over fifty volumes, many of which would have been on display. The list explicitly noted the presences of two large folio graduals for the use of Rome which were “l’un grand pour le grand chœur et l’un petit pour le chœur du duc”. Many of the items are not described in any great detail. The inventory simply stated that of the six missals two were folios and four were quartos and that they were “tous à l’usage romain de l’impression de Paris”. The availability

²¹ Bozzolo, C., & Ornato, E., ‘Les bibliothèques entre le manuscrit et l’imprimé’ in Vernet, A. (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. 1, Les Bibliothèques médiévales, du VI^e siècle à 1530* (Paris, Promodis & Édition du Cercle de la Librairie, 1989) at pp. 333–347.

²² The inventory was published in Tempier, D., ‘Documents sur le tombeau, les reliques et le culte de Saint Yves’ *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique des Côtes-du-Nord*, 2 (1885–1886) 5–76 – the books are listed p. 26–7.

of books in the main churches would have been replicated throughout the duchy as is illustrated by other examples taken from elsewhere in Europe.²³

For many Bretons, churches would have been where they first saw printed books. It allowed an unparalleled proximity of print to the average commoner. When in 1518 the bishop of Saint-Malo had an edition of one of Jean Gerson's works printed to teach the ignorant the true faith, he insisted that it should be read out to everyone in his diocese. Any parishioner who avoided the readings by going to the cemetery or, even worse, to the local inn, would be punished.²⁴ The Church encouraged the establishment of official ecclesiastical libraries. This drive to improve access to books was underlined by the provisions made at the council of the province of Tours in May and September 1583. The acts were compiled by the bishop of the Breton diocese of Saint-Brieuc, Nicolas Langelier. He stated that ecclesiastical authorities should seek to establish what was termed "communal libraries" in all cathedrals and collegiate churches. It is difficult to determine whether this recommendation remained wishful thinking or whether the provisions were applied and the libraries created. But, however imperfectly the measures were enacted in other regions, it is likely that someone as committed to education and as close to the book world as Langelier would have been keen to implement such an act within his own diocese.²⁵

Alongside these ecclesiastical collections, it is also essential to highlight the importance of a number of large private libraries assembled in Brittany during the sixteenth century. There were some substantial collections in the residences of the main noble families of the duchy. The powerful family of Laval had traditionally patronised writers and had commissioned the production of many manuscript works during the fifteenth century as indeed had other closely connected noblemen such

²³ See for example the case of Saint-Amé of Douai: Barbier, F., *L'Europe de Gutenberg. Le livre et l'invention de la modernité occidentale* (Paris, Belin, 2006) pp. 31–2.

²⁴ Gerson, J., *Instruction des curez pour instruire le simple peuple* (Nantes, Jean Baudouyn, 1518) FB 22726 [B. Ste Geneviève, 4o BB 239 inv. 462 Rés.]. The bishop threatened all those "qui ne tiendront compte et qui durant ladite lecture seront ou cimetiere ou en la taverne des apresent les reputons contumatz et voulons que diligence soient traitez d'office et puniz".

²⁵ Lamare, J., *Histoire de la ville de Saint-Brieuc* (Reprint: Marseille, Laffitte Reprints, 1985) p. 64. The acts of the council were translated into French and published in Paris two years later: *Les decrets du concile provincial de Tours* (Paris, Gilles Beys, 1585) FB 49582 [BM Vitre, H 896]. The decisions of the council were reviewed and approved by the Vatican.

as Jean de Derval and his wife H  l  ne de Laval.²⁶ By the end of the fifteenth century the Lavals have been characterised as one of the “plus importants protecteurs de l  poque” and are thought to have favourably influenced the intellectual development of Anne de Bretagne.²⁷ With the rise of the presses, they began to be connected to printed works as well as manuscripts. The death of the count Guy XVI de Laval was described in great detail in a book probably printed in Angers that was dedicated to the cousin of the late count, Guy de Laval-Lezay.²⁸ Furthermore, in 1542, the countess of Laval, Claude de Foix, was celebrated in a French translation of Ariosto.²⁹ In the same year Fran  ois de Laval, the bishop of Dol and legitimised son of Guy XVI de Laval, was f  t  d with the dedication of Julien de Rosay’s *Relief de l  me p  cheresse*.³⁰ Continuing this trend, members of the Lavals’ following such as Antoine de Mornable, the master of Guy XVII’s chapel and one of his chamber valets, published the music he composed in 1546 to go with Cl  ment Marot’s translation of the Psalms. This was printed by Pierre Attaignant, the foremost printer of music in Paris.³¹ Later in the century, Guy XIX de Laval also attracted dedications both from celebrated authors such as the Protestant polemicist Fran  ois Hotman and the musician Jean Servin.³² David Rivault de Fleurance, Paul Perrot de la Salle and Jean Errard all wrote epistles to his son, Guy XX.³³

²⁶ Dupic, J., ‘Un bibliophile breton du XVe si  cle, Jean de Derval’ *Tr  sors des biblioth  ques de France*, XIX (1935) 64–75.

²⁷ Jones, M., *The Creation of Brittany: A Late Medieval State* (London, Hambledon press, 1988) pp. 380–1.

²⁸ Mithou, A., *L’ordre fun  bre et pompe pitoyable tenue    l’enterrement de M le comte de Laval* (Angers?, 1531) [Incomplete exemplar: BM Laval 30927], the complete text is given by the chronicler Guillaume Le Doyen in his *Annales et Chroniques du pais de Laval et parties circonvoisines* (ed. Morin de La Beaulu  re, L.-J., Laval, 1859).

²⁹ Arioste, *Aristote, du Monde. Philon, du Monde. Songe de Scipion. Le tout mis nouvellement de Grec en Fran  ois* (Lyon, Pierre de Tours, 1542) [British Library, 8460 bbb 8].

³⁰ Rosay, J. de, *Relief de l  me p  cheresse* (Paris, Jean Andr  , 1542) FB 17557 – unfortunately there are no known surviving copies of this work (Higman, F., *Piety and People: Religious Printing in French 1511–1551* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1996) R 51).

³¹ *Livre second contenant XVII pseaulmes de David, traduitz de Latin en Fran  ois par Cl  ment Marot et nagu  res mis en musique en quatre pi  ces s  par  es par maistre Anthoine de Mornable* (Paris, Pierre Attaignant, 1546) & Higman, *Piety and People* B 108.

³² Hotman, F., *C. Julii Caesaris de Bello Gallico commentarii* (Lyon, Barth  lemy Vincent, 1573) [British Library, C.80.f.7] & Servin, J., *Premier livre de chansons nouvelles    quatre, cinq, six, sept et huit parties* (Lyon, Charles Pesnot, 1578) FB 47858 [Kassel, Hessische Landesbibliothek, 4o Mus 8 5c] A2r.

³³ Euclides, *Les six premiers livres des Elemens* translated by Jean Errard of Barle-Duc, (Paris, Guillaume Auvray, 1598) FB 19085 [Biblioth  que Sainte-Genevieve,

These dedications stand testament to both the cultural influence of the Lavals and of their authors' restless search for advancement. But the dedications were certainly not empty gestures: the family clearly read books, as can be demonstrated from a letter sent by the countess of Laval, Claude de Foix, to her sister-in-law, Anne de Laval. In this letter, she showed that she was just as addicted as the rest of the nobility to the *Amadis de Gaule* series translated by Nicolas d'Herberay, lord of Les Essarts, and printed by Jeanne de Marnef in Paris. She explained that she hoped that Anne would be ready "de m'envoyer par ce porteur le sixiesme livre d'Amadys de Guaulle, que on m'a dict que vous avez" promising that "yncontinent l'avoyr leu, je le vous renvoyrez".³⁴ The Lavals had collections of books in most of their main castles in Brittany and the Protestant pastor, Jean Louveau, in the dedication to his translation of Machiavelli's *Istorie fiorentine* to Guy XIX de Laval, wrote of the "florissante librairie telle que j'ay veu autrefois en vostre maison de La Bretesche" in which notably "livres Tuscans de toutes sortes ne manquoient".³⁵ In other castles, such as Vitré, rooms named "la librairie" still testify to their interest in books.

The number of books dedicated to Bretons underlines the cultural vivacity of Brittany in the sixteenth century and suggests that collections were springing up all over the duchy. An overview of the books printed in French prior to 1601 yields a list of over 200 editions dedicated to people who I have been able to identify as Bretons.³⁶ These included many members of the duchy's aristocracy, including members of the houses of Rohan, Rieux or Espinay. But dedications to Bretons mainly followed wider trends in French vernacular printing, and the Church was particularly well represented.³⁷ Bishops such as Philippe Du Bec (bishop of Nantes) figure prominently, but so do lesser

80 V 158 (1) Rés.]; Rivault de Fleurance, D., *Discours du point d'honneur touchant les moyens de le bien cognoistre et pratiquer* (Paris, Pierre Bertault, 1599) FB 46085 [BM Metz, I 516] & Perrot de la Salle, P., *Le trésor de Salomon tiré de ses proverbes et de son ecclésiastique; le tout réduit en quatrains et sonnets* (Rotterdam, Jan Van Waesberghe, 1594) FB 42936 [Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 80 T 1069].

³⁴ Claude de Foix to Anne de Laval, 24 July [1545], printed in Bertrand de Broussillon, L.-A. (ed.), *La maison de Laval, 1020–1605, étude historique accompagnée du cartulaire de Laval et de Vitré* (Paris, 1895–1903) n° 2587.

³⁵ Machiavelli, N., *Histoire de Florence* (circa 1575), BnF Fr. 19018 fo. 1.

³⁶ The statistics come from the database of French vernacular books printed prior to 1601 compiled at the University of St Andrews.

³⁷ See my comments on more general trends in Walsby, M., 'La voix de l'auteur? Autorité et identité dans les imprimés français au XVI^e siècle' in A. Vanautgaerden & R. Gorris (eds) *L'Auteur à la Renaissance* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2009).

ecclesiastical dignitaries be they powerful archdeacons or more modest canons. Office holders also attracted dedications, most notably those who held key financial positions as treasurer of the duchy or president of the chamber of accounts, or had a similarly prestigious legal standing in the Breton Parlement.

Most of the collections established during the sixteenth century would have been less valuable than those put together by aristocrats, especially with regard to the quality and cost of the bindings. But beyond the monetary value of the libraries, the accumulation of printed books as opposed to their more costly manuscript counterparts was a phenomenon that transcended social barriers. The lesser cost of the printed book meant that individuals with more modest means were for the first time able to amass libraries of over a hundred items. In the neighbouring province of Anjou, for example, an inventory drawn up after the death of a relatively undistinguished local official listed a surprisingly large collection of 270 books.³⁸ In Brittany, we know that the Protestant pastor Jean Louveau, who was so full of praise for the library of the Count of Laval, had himself established his own collection. But being a Protestant in an overwhelmingly Catholic region not only meant that he had to accept that his life would be frequently threatened, it also meant that his belongings would be a target for unsympathetic Catholics. In 1585, Louveau left his home near La Roche Bernard to journey to Vitré to a meeting of the principal Breton Protestants but on his return he found that his house had been plundered and his library stolen.³⁹

The lesser Catholic clergy also put together substantial collections. The author and canon of Carhaix, Gilles de Kerampuil, had amassed a significant quantity of books by the time of his death. His will drawn up on 27 September 1578 made special provision for his books “de quelque impression qu’ils soient”. He had also had direct contact with some Parisian booksellers. One of the clauses of his will stipulated that the debt that he incurred towards the Parisian bookseller Sébastien Nivelles should be repaid. The fact that the debt in question was over 22 *lt.* is an indication of the quantity of books he was buying.⁴⁰

³⁸ Inventory of the possessions of François Lefebvre of Angers, 1591, AD Maine-et-Loire, 5 E 7.

³⁹ Le Noir, P., *Histoire ecclésiastique de Bretagne depuis la Réformation jusqu’à l’édit de Nantes* (ed. B. Vaurigaud, Nantes, L. & A. Guéraud, 1851) p. 266.

⁴⁰ The will is published *in extenso* in Jégou du Laz, ‘Gilles de Kerampuil’ *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère*, XXII (1895) 277–295. The clauses in question are pp. 285, 291–2 and 289 respectively.

Establishing which books entered Brittany during the sixteenth century is a task that can only be undertaken with great care. It is impossible to state with certainty that a specific work was bought by a Breton simply because it is today in a Breton collection. The connections made by some historians between existing books and their possible original buyers without any particular marks or manuscript annotations are often extremely tenuous.⁴¹ On the other hand the close inspection of copies and of library catalogues can enable us to identify a number of works which explicitly place the books in the duchy in the sixteenth century and point to the penetration of printed volumes from a large variety of print centres into Brittany.

The vast majority of the books that we know to have been in sixteenth-century Breton collections were printed outside the duchy. For instance, the *Somme des pechez et remedes d'iceux* printed in Paris in 1587 was in the hands of Jean Lespaigneul, the rector of the churches of Our Lady and of St Martin in Vitré, by 1593.⁴² There are also large numbers of books printed outside the kingdom of France. For example, the Vitré exemplar of the *Dialogi sex contra summi pontificatus, monasticae vitae, sanctorum, sacrarum imaginum oppugnatores et pseudomartyres* printed in Antwerp in 1566 bears the inscription "Fr. Joannes Paysant pbr. augustinensis conventus de Vitreio" and the date "1567", which tells us not only that the book was in Breton hands, but that it had made its way from Antwerp to Vitré within a year of being printed.⁴³ It also gives us the name of a sixteenth-century Breton owner which can be used to identify other items in his collection as for instance the works of Philo the Jew printed in Basel.⁴⁴ The analysis of the fifteenth and sixteenth-century books kept in French municipal libraries reveal many cases of fragmentary evidence of contemporary Breton book collections that contained a wide variety of works printed

⁴¹ See for example the links made by Frain in his 'Les Vitréens et le commerce international' *Revue Historique de l'Ouest*, 5 (1889) p. 610.

⁴² Benedicti, J., *La somme des pechez et le remede d'iceux* (Paris, Denis Cottinet pour Arnaud Sittart, 1587) FB 3392 [BM Vitré, T 412], see the inscriptions on the title page and above the colophon.

⁴³ Harding, J. (under the pseudonym Alan Cope), *Dialogi sex contra summi pontificatus, monasticae vitae, sanctorum, sacrarum imaginum oppugnatores et pseudomartyres* (Antwerp, Christophe Plantin, 1566) [BM Vitré, T 601]. The inscription is on the title page.

⁴⁴ *Philonis Judaei, scriptoris eloquentissimi, ac philosophi summi, lucubrationes omnes quotquot haberi potuerunt, nunc primum latinae ex Graecis factae* (Basel, 1554) [BM Vitré]. In this case the inscription simply reads "Fr. Joannes Paysant presbyter ordinis fratrum ordinatarum sancti augustini".

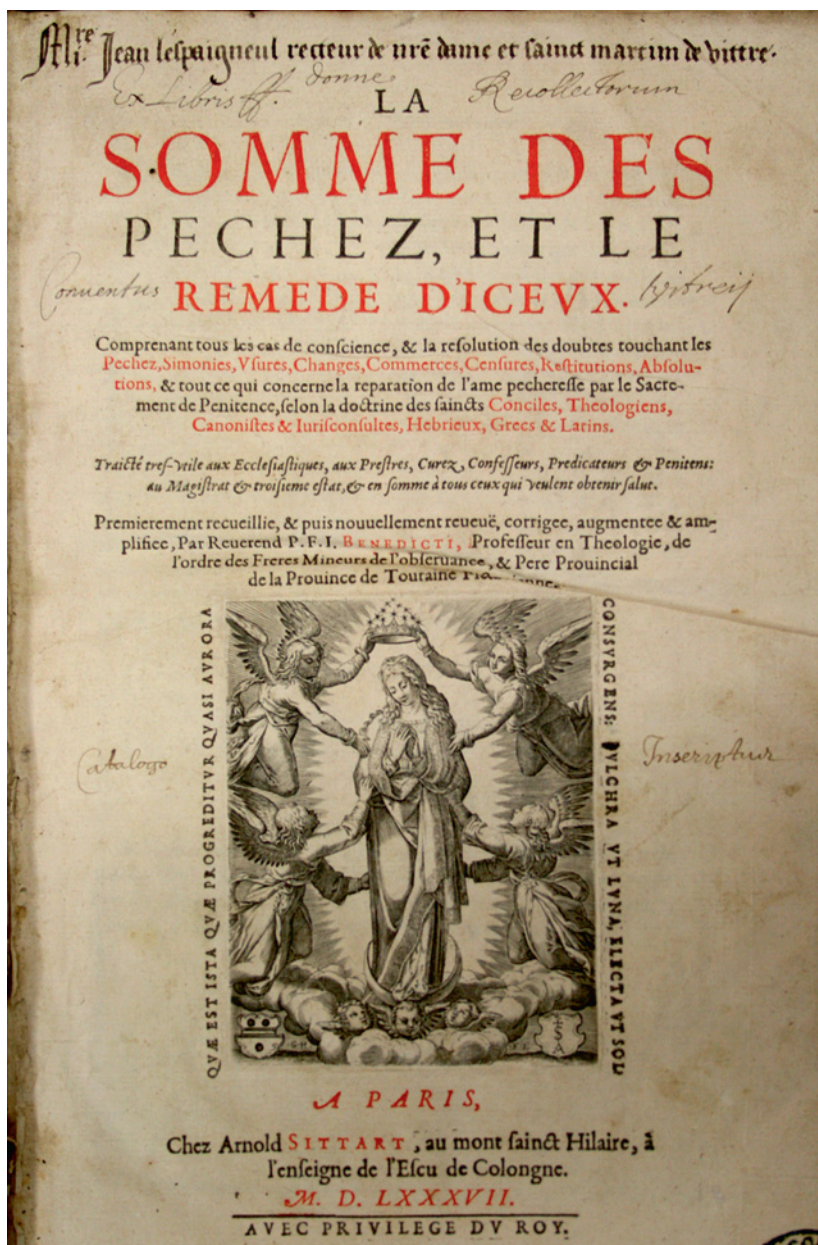


Figure 10: Copy of *La somme des pechez* owned by Jean Lespaigneul.

all over Europe, ranging from major cities like Antwerp and Geneva to much less well known centres of typography such as Lisbon, Mainz and Oppenheim.

Substantial collections

By far the largest sixteenth-century Breton collection we know of was that of the celebrated jurist and author, Bertrand d'Argentré. Unlike most lists of private collections that have survived, the inventory of his library was drawn up in the owner's lifetime simply as a record of all the books he owned. The vast majority of the collections for which we have data are known through inventories after death or lists drawn up because the books were seized by either religious or civil authorities. This, in contrast, is a list commissioned by Argentré himself of his own free will.

This document entitled "Inventaire de la librairie de messire Bertrand d'Argentré, senneschal de Rennes, sieur de Gosnés" is a wonderful source, not least because of the fact that it was an extraordinarily large collection.⁴⁵ The inventory enumerates some 2943 different titles, which makes it one of the largest, if not the largest fully documented private collection in sixteenth-century France. In the preceding decades, other prominent figures of the French legal world such as Antoine du Prat, Pierre Lizet and Jean le Ferron put together collections that ranged from a few hundred to just over a thousand books.⁴⁶ These collections date from an earlier period and libraries grew in size in the second half of the sixteenth century. For the largest later collections we rely mainly on approximate estimations. Claude Fauchet's library was evaluated at around 2,000 books whilst Jean Grolier was thought to have collected 3,000 volumes.⁴⁷ But it has been suggested that these estimations may well have exaggerated the importance of the collections.⁴⁸ More precise data has been provided by a study of

⁴⁵ Inventory of Bertrand d'Argentré's library, 1582, BM Rennes, Ms. 568.

⁴⁶ The lists we have indicate that Lizet had 513 works in 1554, Le Ferron, 670 books in 1548 and Du Prat 1184 volumes. See Doucet, R., *Les bibliothèques parisiennes au XVIe siècle* (Paris, A. & J. Picard, 1956) pp. 24 and 77.

⁴⁷ Charon, A., 'Les grandes collections du XVIe siècle' in Jolly, C. (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. II: les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530–1789* (Paris, Promodis, 1988) 84–99 at p. 88.

⁴⁸ Delatour, J., *Une bibliothèque humaniste au temps des guerres de religion. Les livres de Claude Dupuy* (Villeurbanne, ENSIB & École des Chartes, 1998) p. 4.

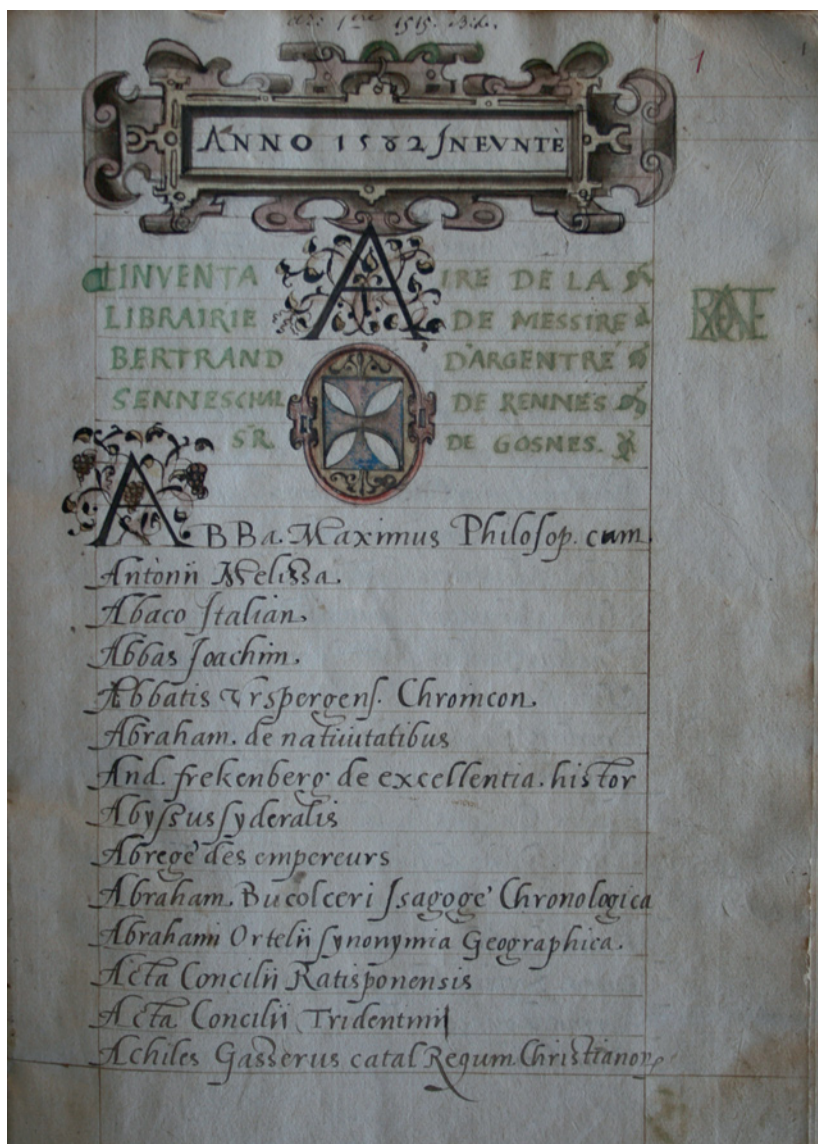


Figure 11: "Inventaire de la librairie de messire Bertrand d'Argentré" (BM Rennes).

Claude Dupuy's library at his death in 1595. The inventory of his books shows that he owned just over 2,000 volumes.⁴⁹ In this context, with almost three thousand volumes, Argentré's collection was clearly an outstanding library. It is no less interesting because of the incredible diversity of works that it contained.

Understandably for the library of a man of law, the list comprises a large number of legal titles. There is an entire section devoted to such works, which probably formed his professional collection, though this is not made clear in the inventory. The library contained books printed in a variety of languages. With over 140 books in Greek, as well as works in Italian, Spanish and Hebrew, Argentré's book buying showed his desire to acquire works that would undoubtedly have found only a modest market in Brittany. Despite being a fervent Catholic who would support the Catholic League in the final years of his life, his collection also contained books written by Protestants. The inventory contains a selection of Sleidanus's works, and notably his *Historia de rebus religionis*, as well as Théodore de Bèze's *Poemata*. He also owned Wigandus's *De Antichristo Romano* and a host of books by Melanchthon. The heterodoxy of some of the material listed in the inventory should not take away from the fact that many of the books enumerated were classics available in most learned collections. Amongst classic authors there were numerous editions and commentaries on the works of Cicero, Aristotle and Plato as well as the inevitable books by Plutarch, Ovid and Thucydides. Modern humanists such as Petrus Ramus also had a place in the library as did historical works in both Latin and vernacular languages. Overall, the most striking features of the collection are the preponderance of Latin works, the vast majority of which would have been at home in any erudite European's library.

If Argentré's collection was vast, it was not the only substantial private library in sixteenth-century Brittany. The collection of the Breton lawyer René de Bourgneuf can be partially reconstituted from the manuscript signature to be found on the title page of his books. Bourgneuf was born in Paris in 1539 but spent most of his life in Brittany. He was lord of Cucé and of Touche Abelin near Rennes and became a councillor in the *Parlement* when it was created in 1554. He later rose to the rank of president of the *Parlement* in 1570 and played an important role in the judiciary of the duchy. He did notable service

⁴⁹ Delatour, J., *Une bibliothèque humaniste* p. 4.

reforming the customs of the land and drew up an inventory of the lands owned by the dukes. Bourgneuf died in 1587 having amassed quite a considerable library that was subsequently given to the Capuchin convent in Rennes.⁵⁰ The Capuchin library was seized at the revolution and handed over to the town, becoming one of the important founding collections of the municipal library.⁵¹ By examining the sixteenth-century books now in the library, it is possible to identify over a hundred volumes from his collection. On these grounds, the collection would have been comparable to those put together in Angers at the end of the sixteenth century.⁵² But in reality, the copies I have been able to identify would have only formed a fraction of his original collection. Not all René de Bourgneuf's books made it into the modern collection of Rennes municipal library and many would have been lost or dispersed over the centuries.⁵³

Though the volumes that can be identified only represent part of Bourgneuf's collection, they do still offer a valuable insight into the type of books that a Breton lawyer could collect. Unlike the inventory of Bertrand d'Argentré's library, the volumes that can be identified as forming part of Bourgneuf's collection offer precise information. Surviving copies permit a degree of bibliographical analysis that early modern inventories rarely allow. The volumes that bear his name show a wide diversity of imprints including a large number of editions

⁵⁰ See Saulnier, F., *Le Parlement de Bretagne, 1554–1790, répertoire alphabétique et biographique de tous les membres de la Cour, accompagné de listes chronologiques et précédé d'une introduction historique* (Rennes, J. Plihon et L. Hommais, 1909) Number 169; Kerviler, R., *Répertoire général de bio-bibliographie bretonne* (Mayenne, J. Floch, 1984–1985) number 2666, Levot, P., *Biographie bretonne* (Vannes, Cauderan, 1852–1857) I, 170 & *Inventaire des titres, lettres et chartes de Bretagne trouvées en la chambre du trésor desdites lettres et chartes estant en la tour neuve du chateau de Nantes*, 30 September 1579, AD Loire-Atlantique E 243.

⁵¹ An interesting footnote is that René's son, Charles de Bourgneuf, bishop of Nantes, donated his own collection in 1617 to the *Oratoire* of Nantes. It was a substantial library too, "estimée en ce temps-là 18,000 livres": Dugast-Matifeux, C., *Nantes ancien et le pays nantais: comprenant la chronologie des seigneurs, gouverneurs, évêques et abbés, le pouillé diocésain et la topographie historique de la ville et du pays* (Nantes, A.-L. Morel, 1879) p. 244.

⁵² See Pierre Aquilon's analysis: 'Quatre avocats angevins dans leurs librairies (1586–1592)' in Aquilon, P., & Martin, H.-J., *Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance. Actes du XVIIIe colloque international d'études humanistes de Tours* (Paris, Promodis, 1988) 502–549. These collections contained 74, 187, 212 and 270 items.

⁵³ See, for instance, an exemplar of Michel Berland's *Sommaire des loix, statuts et ordonnances royaulx, faicts les feuz roys de France* (Paris, Arnoul L'Angelier for Poncet Le Preux, 1549) FB 3780 in the collection of Harvard Law Library that bears his name (N Fran 132 549).

printed beyond the francophone world. He owned books published in Basel, Venice, Frankfurt, Köln, Florence, Krakow, Rome, London, Wittenberg and Strasbourg. Books printed in France are more numerous than those of any one other country but almost 60 % of the volumes would have had to be shipped in from abroad.⁵⁴ Of the remaining locations, there is not a single work printed in Brittany or mentioning a Breton bookseller. The variety of subject matters show the desire to collect books that would portray the man of law as a humanist whose interests stretched beyond the limits of his profession. For instance, Bourgneuf's library featured five Greek and two Latin works from the celebrated Genevan workshop of Henri Estienne. There were also 11 editions from Sebastian Henric Petri's presses in Basel including a copy of Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia*.⁵⁵

Such considerable collections were not the preserve of very wealthy and prominent members of the judicial hierarchy. The library of Pierre Le Gallo demonstrated the importance of collections owned by members of the Breton ecclesiastical elite. Le Gallo was archdeacon and canon of the church of Nantes. This was a position of signal power that attracted high profile candidates. Le Gallo's role as archdeacon is of particular interest to us as he would have been called on to ascertain and confirm the orthodoxy of the books that were transported through or sold in the city.⁵⁶ This meant that Le Gallo would have had unparalleled access to booksellers' stocks and might well have required a copy of each work that he checked. In the case of the prosecution of two protestant booksellers, it was stated that it was necessary to send "un volume de chaincune sorte et espece de ladite librairie, en ladite court séant en la ville de Rennes, pour y estre visitez par icelle" in order to determine the heretical nature of the stock.⁵⁷ It is unclear whether it was simply in this capacity that Le Gallo was able to amass a rich collection of books, but by the time of his death the library he had assembled was very valuable indeed. In his will, written in 1582 at the

⁵⁴ The exact figures are France 41.23 %, Switzerland 39.47 %, Germany 7.89 %, Italy 7.02 % and others 4.39 %.

⁵⁵ Münster, S., *Cosmographiae universalis libri VI* (Basel, Sebastian Henric Petri, [1552]) [BM Rennes, 797].

⁵⁶ On the role played by archdeacon Gilles de Gandz in the prosecution of two Protestant booksellers see infra chapter 7 & Travers, N., *L'Histoire civile, politique et religieuse de la ville et du comté de Nantes* (Nantes, Forest & Pesron, 1836–1841) II, 364–365.

⁵⁷ Ibidem.

age of 73, Le Gallo recognised that the vast majority of the books should belong to the Church. He asked that they should be used or converted into money to help with the education of the local poor. He stipulated that he wished the sums gathered be used to “faire enseigner et instruire aulx escholes des enfans paouvres et necessiteux et a les faire apprendre honeste mestier” in the town of Nantes. He noted that this should be accomplished as soon as he died and that the process should not involve any legal wrangling as he declared that he hated court cases above all else.⁵⁸

Ironically, despite Le Gallo's instructions, the disposal of his collection was to prove a complex matter and did involve protracted proceedings. Six years after this will was written, Le Gallo's executors requested an audience with the town authorities to explain that the sale of the library was proving to be more problematic than initially thought. The main offer they had received for the library came from the cardinal of Vendôme who had tendered a bid of 1200 *écus* for the books. However, the collection had to be recognised as “l'un des beaux joyaux et ornemens” of the town and so the municipality was approached to see whether it wished to submit a counter bid. The town after some deliberation offered the same sum for the library and the sale was agreed in order to keep the books in Nantes.⁵⁹ Yet this was not the end of the affair: the outbreak of the wars of the Catholic League undermined the commitment made by the municipality. The costs of the on-going war soon spiralled and it no longer had the necessary funds to devote to the purchase of the library. Less than a year after the initial offer had been made, the municipality withdrew from the immediate sale citing “la necessite de deniers en laquelle est a present ladite ville pour l'occasion des guerres”; however, it still wished to retain an option to buy the collection at a later date.⁶⁰

As the wars took their course, the municipality had to recognise that they would not be able to afford the books and they were put up for auction. The entire library was finally sold at auction to the lord of La Roche Cousin for 1,800 *écus*.⁶¹ The fear that the collection could have been substantially damaged since the death of Le Gallo led to

⁵⁸ Le Gallo's will of 29 June 1582, AM Nantes, GG 692 n° 1.

⁵⁹ Municipal deliberations, 17 November 1588, AM Nantes GG 692 n° 2.

⁶⁰ Municipal deliberation, 19 June 1589, AM Nantes GG 692 n° 37.

⁶¹ Agreement on the adjudication of Le Gallo's library, 31 January 1592, AM Nantes GG 692 n° 61.

further investigations before the sale was confirmed.⁶² The payment was finally made in 1595 bringing to a close a tortured process that had lasted six years.⁶³ The final selling price of 1,800 *écus* must have represented a vast library. It was rare for the sale of books to achieve such astronomical amounts. To put this payment into the context of the sixteenth-century second-hand book market, the aforementioned collections of the Parisian bibliophiles Pierre Lizet, Jean le Ferron and Antoine du Prat were all valued at less than 400 *lt.* which represented less than a twelfth of the price fetched by Le Gallo's library.⁶⁴ The collection was so large that it occupied most of the archdeacon's residence, which made the Church even more eager to shift the books.⁶⁵

The collections of Bertrand d'Argentré and Pierre Le Gallo probably represented two of the largest private libraries in sixteenth-century France. Along with the evidence we have for other Breton owners, they demonstrate the wide variety of works that a Breton could have read and collected. The relative weakness of the printing industry should therefore not be taken as evidence of the limitations of the book market but rather the consequence of the ease with which potential readers could access texts printed all over the continent. It is perhaps also in this light that we should analyse the manner in which the literary production of Breton authors underwent the transformation from manuscript copy to printed book.

Breton authors and the printed book

It is a striking trait of the works written by Breton authors that the vast majority of their output was printed outside the duchy. The catalogue

⁶² It was suggested that the library could have been “gastée ou moysie n'ayant point esté remuée ou prins vent”, Letter to the “sénéchal des régales” in Nantes, 13 January 1592, AM Nantes GG 692 n° 57. Such fears were often justified, see for example the case of the stock of the Lyon publisher Etienne Michel: Maclean, I., ‘Murder, Debt and Retribution in the Italic-Franco-Spanish Book Trade: the Beraud-Michel-Ruiz Affair, 1586–91’ in Myers, R., Harris, M., & Mandelbrote, G., *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade* (London, Oak Knoll & The British Library, 2007) 61–106 at pp. 69 & 74.

⁶³ Receipt for the payment for Le Gallo's library, 9 March 1595, AN Nantes GG 692 n° 63.

⁶⁴ The collections were respectively valued at 361 *livres 4 sous 1 denier*, 354 l. 1 s. 2 d. and 298 l. 1 s. 6 d. see Doucet, R., *Les bibliothèques parisiennes* p. 77. With the *écu* worth 3 *lt.*, Le Gallo's library sold for the equivalent of 5,400 *lt.*

⁶⁵ Ruling on Le Gallo's library, 6 October 1589, AM Nantes GG 692 n° 32. The figure of 10,000 volumes has been put forward, though I have not found any evidence to corroborate this (see Molinier, A., *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Tome XXII: Nantes, Quimper, Brest* (Paris, Plon, 1893) p. I).

of French authors compiled by the sixteenth-century bibliophiles François Grudé, lord of La Croix du Maine, and Antoine du Verdier featured a number of writers born in Brittany. Not all of these were published: the two lists included works by René de Langle, a councillor of the Breton *parlement*, for whom no known editions survive.⁶⁶

The works penned by Breton authors were published in numerous editions all over France and beyond. The prolific Pierre de Boaistuau, lord of Launay in south eastern Brittany, is a case in point. He was born in Nantes and published a whole host of works and translations that, astonishingly, saw over a hundred editions between 1556 and 1598. Some historians have suggested that Boaistuau and other cultural émigrés made little impact on the Breton cultural scene. If this was the case, there were, however, also many non-Breton authors who spent most of their career in Brittany. This was the case for the poets Pierre de Volant and Nicolas Audebert as well as for the unorthodox medical author Roch Le Baillif. Others like Jean Cristi and Jacques du Pré were closely connected because of their ecclesiastical benefices. In addition to these, there were the bishops of the various Breton sees, whether of Breton birth or not. Amongst those who were published we can cite Philippe du Bec, Charles d'Espinay, Aymar Hennequin and Yves Mahyeuc.

Breton authors were active in a wide variety of literary fields. The legal works of Noël du Fail, Bertrand d'Argentré, René Dedrain and Guillaume Lesrat were well regarded. Charles d'Espinay, Jean Meschinot and Pierre Mahé all published poetry. A number of Breton authors also turned to polemical writing with François de La Noue writing for the Protestants whilst Christophe Penfentenyou/Cheffontaines and Michel Quillian published Catholic texts. Alain Bouchart and Bertrand d'Argentré wrote highly successful histories, while Jean Lode, Jean de la Lande and François Dassy found renown as translators. Less well known, the pious songs of Olivier Merrault still found their way into print at the very end of the sixteenth century. Finally, there were the scientific writings of the mathematician

⁶⁶ Du Verdier, A., *La bibliothèque d'Antoine du Verdier, seigneur de Vauprivas, contenant le catalogue de tous ceux qui ont écrit, ou traduit en françois, et autres dialectes de ce royaume* (Lyon, Barthélemy Honorat, 1585), FB 17852. La Croix du Maine, F. Grudé, sieur de, *Premier volume de la bibliothèque de la Croix du Maine qui est un catalogue general de toutes sortes d'auteurs, qui ont écrit en François depuis cinq cents ans et plus, jusques à ce jourd'huy* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1584), FB 31761.

Henri de Suberville and of the engraver, minter of coins and designer of scientific instruments, Philippe Danfrie.⁶⁷

The vast majority of the works of all these authors were published in cities outside Brittany: a fact that has touched a sensitive nerve. For Breton historians it has helped fuel anxieties about the weakness of the intellectual scene. However, this is the result of a lack of understanding of the French print world: an overview of any of the French provinces demonstrates a similar pattern of local authors seeking out printers in either Paris or Lyon. In so doing, an author ensured that his text would be accessible to the most influential readership whether at the court of France or amongst humanist circles. The works printed in Paris and Lyon would also benefit from these centres' strong trade networks and the visibility of their books at the international book fairs. It should not surprise us that, as Bretons generally chose to study in universities outside the duchy, they developed strong intellectual ties in other European cities. For some, publishing abroad was almost inevitable: the Protestants could not hope to see their works published in Brittany. When a student of Protestant theology who was born in Nantes wrote and published a thesis, he did so in Leiden alongside other French refugees.⁶⁸

The fact that Breton authors generally chose to have most of their books published elsewhere should not lead us to underestimate the impact of works printed in the duchy. Perhaps the best example in this respect is the writing of Roch Le Baillif, lord of La Rivière. Le Baillif was originally from Falaise in upper Normandy, but thrived mainly in Brittany where he found powerful patrons ready to employ him as their personal physician. His first publication was a short commentary on the appearance of a comet in the sky over Rennes in 1577. The text caught the imagination of the local readership and was published in at least two different editions by Julien du Clos.⁶⁹ But Le Baillif really

⁶⁷ For all these works see the relevant entries in FB.

⁶⁸ See the works of Joannes Vignaeus *Disputationum theologicarum repetitarum vigesima secunda, de evangelio* (Leiden, Jan Paets Jacobszoon, 1598) and *Disputationum theologicarum repetitarum trigesima quinta, de justificatione hominis coram Deo* (Leiden, Jan Paets Jacobszoon, 1599) [Dublin, Trinity College Library, BB hh 23 (58 and 71)].

⁶⁹ Le Baillif de La Rivière, R., *Brief discours sur la signification veridique du comette apparu en occident au signe du sagittaire, le 10 novembre 1577*: 1. Rennes, "Jean Le Gascon", FB 33261 [BM Rouen, Leber 1171 (3)]; 2. Rennes, Julien du Clos, FB 33262 [Det Kongelige Bibliotek, København, 8o Astr. 18469].

came to prominence with a treatise on Paracelsian medicine printed in Rennes entitled *Le demosterion*. In this work, Le Baillif proposed a summary overview of Paracelsus's thought. This was an ambitious endeavour, pursued in three hundred French and Latin aphorisms. The result was a substantial work printed in quarto and dedicated to his protector, the influential Louis de Rohan, prince of Guémené.⁷⁰ As the dedication suggests, Le Baillif was by then comfortably entrenched in the duchy and proceeded in a second part to laud the province that he had adopted.⁷¹ In a foreword addressed to the reader, the printer, Julien du Clos, proudly proclaimed that most of the research for the book had been carried out in Brittany and that the province should be eternally grateful for this treatise.⁷²

But, if the research for and publication of this work were indeed undertaken in Brittany, the book's audience extended far beyond the boundaries of the duchy. Circumstantial proof for this comes from the fact that this edition is today the most widely disseminated and best surviving Breton imprint with 29 known copies located throughout the world.⁷³ The virulence of the reaction to the book emphasises the impact of this edition. The faculty of medicine of the University of Paris responded with outrage. The Parisian doctors jealously guarded their perceived primacy over all matters medical. A few years earlier they had challenged the famed surgeon Ambroise Paré over the publication of his works. The challenge, Paré complained, had little to do with content and everything to do with the fact that the availability of a French medical text would reduce the reader's need to consult the learned Parisian physicians.⁷⁴ By the time the Faculty challenged Paré's works, the surgeon had already some thirty years of publishing behind him. They did not make the same mistake with Le Baillif. Within months of the *Demosterion* being printed, the members of Paris's faculty of medicine summoned him to Paris and interrogated him to determine his medical competence.

⁷⁰ Le Baillif de La Rivière, R., *Le demosterion* (Rennes, [Julien du Clos] for Pierre Le Bret, 1578) FB 33265 [BM Lyon, Rés. 342954]. The printing of the work would have required 28 sheets.

⁷¹ The second part, *Petit traite de l'antiquite et singularites de Bretagne armorique*, has its own title page – there are two variants, one dated 1577 and another dated 1578 (see FB 33263 & 33265).

⁷² Le Baillif de La Rivière, *Le demosterion* "Au lecteur, I. D. C. I." â4r.

⁷³ See the edition's entry in appendix B.

⁷⁴ Paré, A., *Response aux calomnies d'aucuns medecins et chirurgiens* ([Paris], s.n., [1575]) FB 40686 [BnF, Rés. TD72 5].

The occasion was clearly bruising and Le Baillif decided to try to reassert his position by responding in print.⁷⁵ This incensed the faculty, which commissioned a long and virulent condemnation challenging his competence as a doctor. They attacked his work with stinging derision, quipping that his knowledge came “plustost de la cave que du Ciel”. They also denied that he had ever studied medicine and indeed went on to enumerate people he had failed to cure.⁷⁶ The fact that the faculty were even aware of Le Baillif’s work is significant; that they were compelled to issue such criticism in print implied that his texts were disseminated widely enough to cause concern. In their response, they admitted that they felt moved to crush the “absurditez erronees” contained in the *Demosterion* and other books because these works sold well in Paris.⁷⁷ The clear implication is that even a book printed on the fairly distant Breton presses would be circulated sufficiently widely to be well-known in the major French cities.

Du Clos was aware of the uproar that the *Demosterion* would cause. He explained that his foreword was written with the explicit intention of pre-empting some of the criticism. He warned the reader to beware of negative attacks and suggested that Le Baillif should be defended against what he termed the “aboys de l’ignorant et du calomniateur”.⁷⁸ From a financial point of view, the enterprise was a success since, despite all the disparaging remarks and the denigration, it is clear that Le Baillif was a popular author. Writing in 1584, La Croix du Maine characterised him as being “fort grand philosophe naturel et curieux des secrets cachés en icelle” and certainly Le Baillif was able to carve out an astoundingly successful career based on his own particular brand of Paracelsian practice.⁷⁹ After having for a long time enjoyed the protection of the house of Rohan as well as that of the duke of Mercœur, he moved on to become Henry IV’s first doctor, an honour that must have driven the members of Paris’s faculty of medicine to distraction. Even after his initial successes and Du Clos’s death,

⁷⁵ Le Baillif de La Rivière, R., *Sommaire defence aux demandes des docteurs et faculté de medecine de Paris* (Paris, s.n., 1579) FB 33268 [BM Lyon, Rés. 342241 (6)].

⁷⁶ *Vray discours des interrogatoires faicts en la presence de messieurs de la cour de Parlement par les docteurs Regents en la faculté de Medecine en l’Université de Paris, à Roc le Baillif, surnommé la Riviere, sur certains poincts de sa doctrine* (Paris, chez Pierre L’Huillier, [1579]) FB 40779 [BM Lyon, Rés. 342241 (3)] pp. 64–6.

⁷⁷ Ibid. on A3r.

⁷⁸ Le Baillif de La Rivière, *Le demosterion* ẽ4r.

⁷⁹ La Croix du Maine, *Premier volume de la bibliotheque*.

Le Baillif continued to have some of his books printed in Rennes despite having already found a prominent Parisian publisher in the person of Abel L'Angelier.⁸⁰ Certainly, Le Baillif's case was an important milestone, demonstrating that Breton authors no longer needed to look outside the duchy to have their works published and noticed throughout the kingdom. But the ease with which works could be disseminated further afield from Paris and Lyon continued to give a competitive advantage to the larger centres of print. In such circumstances, successful authors would naturally continue to favour the more powerful booksellers with their large print runs and international reputations.

⁸⁰ See Le Baillif de La Rivière, R., *Briefve demonstration de la cause des fiebvres variete d'opinions, et contradictions sur icelles, elucidation de l'origine des accez, et accidens qui les suyvent, & le moyen d'en guerir* (Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1589) FB 33271 [Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, 8o T 1757 inv. 4555 (1) FA] and, for example, his *Premier traicte de l'homme et son essentielle anatomie avec les elemens, et ce qui est en eux* (Paris, Abel L'Angelier, 1580) FB 33269 [BM Lyon, Rés. 342241 (1)].

CHAPTER 7

PRINTERS, BOOKSELLERS AND PROTESTANTISM

Though Protestantism as a movement only emerged over sixty years after the invention of printing, the spread of the Reformation has traditionally been seen as offering an important stimulus to the development of the printing presses in Europe. There is a rich historiography that details the extensive use made in Germany of the printed word by Luther and his partisans.¹ Wittenberg, the home of the Reformation, became an important print centre in the decades that followed the publication of the 95 theses in 1517. Certainly, the spread of Protestantism within the Holy Roman Empire was aided by the willingness of printers to reprint short vernacular *Flugschriften*. These pamphlets proved to be extremely popular and became a vital part of the bookseller's sales in many cities throughout Germany. The French experience was very different from that of the Holy Roman Empire. The first generation of the Reformation did not see the development of a vibrant pamphlet culture in France. France was to know its own "pamphlet moment" between 1559 and 1565, a time of particular political instability, but overall the French printing world remained well-organised and Catholic.²

In Brittany, the impact of the Reformation had been limited. In his *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Théodore de Bèze described the difficulties faced by the new faith in the duchy: "Le païs de Bretagne entre toutes les autres provinces de la France a esté tardif à recevoir la doctrine de l'évangile, estant le peuple fort seditieux, combien qu'une partie de la noblesse en ces derniers temps se soit monsté fort affectionnée à la parole de Dieu".³ Certainly, the Reformation's progress in the duchy

¹ See the case made in Pettegree, A. & Hall, M., 'The Reformation and the Book: a reconsideration', *Historical Journal*, 47, 2 (2004), 785–808 and in particular p. 789.

² Pettegree, A., 'La Réforme en France, 1520–1570. Les leçons à tirer de la culture de l'imprimé' in Benedict, P., Seidel Menchi, S., & Tallon, A., (eds.) *La Réforme en France et en Italie. Contacts, comparaisons et contrastes* (Rome, Ecole française de Rome, 2007) 37–52. The expression "Pamphletmoment" is taken from Andrew Pettegree's *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005).

³ Bèze, T. de, *Histoire Ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France en laquelle est descrite au vray la renaissance et accroissement d'icelles depuis l'an M. D. XXI. jusques en l'année M. D. LXIII.* (Geneva, Jean Remy, 1580) FB 4164, [BM Le Mans, H 5437] I, 151.

was slow and despite the conversion of some of the most powerful noble families such as the Lavals and the Rohans, Protestantism remained a minority movement.

Papolin's choice

Despite the unpopularity of the Reformation in the duchy, a number of Breton booksellers and printers moved towards the new faith. Members of the book trade were particularly involved in the religious debates of their time. So much so, that it has been suggested that there were booksellers or printers sympathetic to the Protestant cause in every single town in France.⁴ Having acknowledged the difficulties faced by Calvinism in Brittany, Théodore de Bèze also enumerated a number of examples of repression against those who had converted. He noted that in 1560 the house of a bookseller of Nantes had been “saccagée et ses livres de la religion déchirés et brûlés”.⁵ The bookseller in question was Mathurin Papolin, a prominent figure in the local book world who was active in Nantes between 1545 and 1561. During the final years of his career, his links with Protestantism were well-known and his religious views attracted increasing hostility in a city that remained true to traditional beliefs. His stall would have been an obvious target for the more zealous members of the local Catholic community.

The seventeenth-century Breton Protestant minister Philippe Le Noir, lord of Crévain, tells how the bookseller had been hauled in front of the governor in 1560 on suspicion of heresy by a zealous captain. The captain had brandished a seemingly innocuous letter in front of the governor with the telling phrase “ils ont des mots entre eux que tout le monde n'entend pas”. The case was rapidly dismissed. In fact, the governor was said to have made the most of Papolin's presence and bought a French language (and therefore Protestant) New Testament from the bookseller.⁶ But despite this good piece of business and the authorities' clemency, the situation did not improve much for Papolin over the following months. Popular mistrust grew culminating in a violent attack on the bookseller's house the following year on 1st

⁴ Chauvet, P., *Les ouvriers du livre en France des origines à la révolution de 1789* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1959) p. 61.

⁵ Bèze, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*.

⁶ Le Noir, P., *Histoire ecclésiastique de Bretagne depuis la Réformation jusqu'à l'édit de Nantes* (ed. B. Vaurigaud, Nantes, L. & A. Guéraud, 1851) p. 37.

August 1561, St Peter's day. The registers of the municipal accounts of the town recount how popular wrath at the Calvinist minority's disregard for this saint's day led to violence. A Catholic crowd descended on Papolin's house, where they found members of the Protestant congregation gathered for worship: ominously, a number of the Catholics were carrying arms.

S'est esmeu ung grand trouble en ceste ville de Nantes, à cause des nouveaulx chrestiens qui ont voullu faire prescher publicquement en la maison de Pappolin, longtemps a notté de heresie, siise aux Changes de Nantes, ce que le peuple a empesché, par la grace de Dieu. Neantmoins il y eut grand assemblée desdits nouveaulx chrestiens en armes en l'oupvrouay, en laquelle furent rompuz plusieurs livres d'eresie trouvez en icelle, et fut ledit oupvrouay rompu.⁷

These "new christians", a careful description of the members of the Protestant faith, obviously infuriated many of the more traditional Catholics who were ready to take the law into their own hands to disrupt a meeting of Protestants.

The municipal authorities struggled to keep the peace. They obviously felt in part responsible for the affray and undertook to reimburse the cost of the damage inflicted. They paid thirty *sous* for four carpenters to repair the entrance to the shop that had been smashed open. Papolin's commitment to Protestantism does not seem to have prevented him from continuing to sell books in the city. Mathurin Papolin had in fact served as the official bookseller to the town's university and in an act of 1545 he appended the words "libraire de l'Université de Nantes" to his name.⁸ Though records unfortunately do not survive for us to know whether he continued in this capacity, it is perhaps indicative that he was simply referred to as a "librero" in the accounts of the merchant family of Ruiz in 1560 though it is unclear whether a Spanish accountant would have paid much attention to the finer points of a French title.⁹ Despite his clear commitment to the Calvinist cause, Mathurin was certainly aware of the negative impact his religious choices could have on his trade. Many of the town's artisans and

⁷ Accounts of the repairs and fortifications of the town of Nantes (1560–1564), 1 August 1561, AM Nantes CC 300.

⁸ See the entry for his son Jean in the baptismal registers of the parish of Saint-Saturnin of Nantes, 30 June 1545, AM Nantes GG 295.

⁹ "Libro de las mercaderias que con la gracia de Dios se enbian a España" 1548–1564, HH 189 fo. 109.

merchants would have relied on trading with Catholics who were far more numerous in Nantes. This was particularly true for the Papolins.

Mathurin Papolin had previously courted a Catholic readership by specialising in works of popular piety. He came from a devoutly Catholic family; his father Antoine Papolin was noted in the accounts of the *Hôtel dieu* in Nantes as having donated a substantial quantity of wine.¹⁰ Mathurin initially followed in his father's footsteps and his sons were formally baptised in one of Nantes's parish churches in 1545.¹¹ He also realised that the Catholic market offered many opportunities to enterprising booksellers. Along with another Nantes bookseller, Gabriel Le Plat, he had obtained a specific privilege from the Breton Parlement for all religious books for the use of the diocese of Nantes in 1555. The letters that can be found in the minutes of the great chamber of the Parlement stated that they wished to print a series of "breviaires, misselz, manuelz, processionnaires et statuz de l'usage de Nantes". This was a costly business and printer and bookseller intimated that the process had been achieved "à grans fraiz et mises": they therefore requested a privilege that would be valid for twelve to fifteen years, an exceptionally long period.¹²

Despite successfully obtaining this general privilege, Mathurin is in fact only known to have commissioned a single work under its terms, the *Manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Nanetensis*. This was a Catholic missal produced on the express request of the then bishop of Nantes, Antoine de Créquy.¹³ As a bookseller, Mathurin Papolin had already shown that he had a good relationship with the local bishop. Before he had even formulated his request to the Parlement for a general privilege for religious books, Mathurin had obtained the bishop's agreement to allow him to print works of popular piety. Papolin also ensured that Créquy was directly involved in the publication of the *Manuale* for Nantes. The bishop's arms were engraved and used as an illustration on

¹⁰ Accounts of the Hôtel-Dieu of Nantes 1537–1539, AM Nantes, GG 708.

¹¹ See the entry for "Jehan Papolin" on 30 June 1545 in the baptismal register of the parish of Saint-Saturnin, AM Nantes, GG 295.

¹² The *Parlement* gave them a privilege for twelve years: minute of the request made by Papolin and Le Plat, 9 February 1554 (=1555 n.s.), published in La Borderie, *Archives du bibliophile breton* I, 71–2.

¹³ The *Manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Nanetensis* has been the subject of conflicting bibliographic descriptions: the three surviving copies to be found in the BnF (Rés. B 1815), the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève (8o BB 992 inv. 1154 Rés) and in Nantes BM (1319 R) and each is described differently in the library catalogues. They are in fact all three the same edition.

the title page of the book. The endorsement of the edition was particularly explicit as the book's title page proclaimed that the work was printed with Créquy's full authority.¹⁴ The participation of Mathurin Papolin in this venture is all the more interesting because of the fact that he played the role of a publisher and not that of a printer. There was still no printing press in Nantes and so it was necessary to have the book printed elsewhere and imported back into Brittany. Because of this, the manual was printed in Paris by Jean Le Blanc. Le Blanc was a highly skilled printer who produced a number of books of hours and other works of popular piety for the well known bookseller Jacques Kerver.¹⁵

There is a marked contrast between what we know of Mathurin Papolin's public and private life. The extant archives and contemporary comments show a strong personal commitment to Protestantism, but commercial activity and his good relationship with the local bishop demonstrate his willingness to publish Catholic books. Though early on in his career there had been a fall out with the local church over unpaid arrears, Mathurin had settled his debts by the time he had cornered the local market for works of popular piety and he even resided on Church property.¹⁶ The distinction Papolin was trying to make was difficult to maintain. Despite the attractiveness of the Catholic market, it was virtually impossible to reconcile his personal faith with his business interests. This religious dichotomy posed an intricate problem that could only be solved by either renouncing profitable mercantile opportunities or by hiding his personal beliefs.

The references to heretical books in his bookshop and the sale of vernacular New Testaments (very much still the preserve of the Protestants and Evangelicals in 1560s France), showed that Papolin

¹⁴ "Autoritate R. in Christo P. et domini D. Antonij à Crequy ejusdem ecclesie Episcopi nuper impressum". The bishop's arms are quartered with in one and four: "d'or au créquier de gueules" and in two and three "ermine à la fasce alésée de gueules chargée de trois fleurs de lys d'or". This tells us that the "Antoine de Créquy" in question is the son of Jean de Créquy and Marie d'Acigné and not his eponymous uncle who became bishop of Nantes when his nephew was transferred to Amiens in 1562 (he simply bore "d'or au créquier de gueules").

¹⁵ See for example the contemporaneous *Heures de nostre dame à l'usage de Paris* (Paris, Jean le Blanc for Jacques Kerver, 1559), FB 29299 [British Library, C 69 b 5]. Le Blanc also undertook other projects that were destined for non-Parisian markets: *Heures à l'usage de Rouen* (Paris, Jean le Blanc for Jacques Kerver, 1566), FB 29849 [Bodleian Library, Oxford, 8o W 96 (1) Th].

¹⁶ See the settlement of 22 October 1545 between the Papolins and the "societe d'apres matines", AD Loire-Atlantique, G 147.

still hoped that he could reconcile these conflicting imperatives, stocking and selling works of both a Catholic and Calvinist nature. Papolin's openness about his own faith certainly meant that he attracted the disapproval of a large part of his potential readership and must in the long run have made his presence in Nantes difficult to sustain. It goes without saying that it would also have compromised his role as bookseller to the bishopric. There is no further mention of Mathurin Papolin either in print or in the surviving manuscript archives after 1560 and one must assume that he felt compelled to leave the city. He was obviously not willing to compromise either on the question of his own beliefs or on the freedom with which he wished to celebrate them.

It has become fashionable to deny that members of the book world had strongly held views. Much of the available evidence supports this and most printed pragmatically for anyone who would give them work. But there were exceptions and Papolin was clearly one. Although Papolin had built a prosperous niche in the Breton book world, through carefully nurtured contacts with the Catholic establishment, his Protestant beliefs caused him to put all of this at risk. His commitment to the new faith imperilled his livelihood and his personal safety, as the events of 1560 demonstrated. The crisis in French religion precipitated by the spread of the Reformation message offered new opportunities to some book-world professionals, but the risks were also very considerable.

Protestantism in Rennes

Papolin's manner of dealing with his faith contrasts sharply with the decisions taken by another Protestant figure of the Breton book world, Julien du Clos. We have already seen the importance of Julien du Clos to the development of the presses in Rennes during the 1560s, 1570s and early 1580s. But though his whole career was centred on Rennes and though he printed many works for institutions such as the Breton Parlement, Julien du Clos actually started printing under his own name in the nearby town of Vitré.¹⁷ Vitré was the stronghold of Protestantism in Brittany. Protected by the powerful Huguenot family of Laval who

¹⁷ *Edict et ordonnances du Roy sur l'abbréviation des procès et consignation de certaine somme de deniers à ceux qui plaideront* (Vitré, Julien du Clos, 1566) [Paris, BnF F 13702]. We know of seven items printed in 1566 by Julien du Clos, six in Rennes one in Vitré.

were also barons of Vitré, the town was home to the only large Protestant community of the duchy. During the second half of the sixteenth century, the Calvinists were able to prosper within the impregnable walls of the town.¹⁸ It became the focal point for Protestants throughout the area: not only was Vitré a refuge for worried co-religionaries, but on a number of occasions the town hosted provincial and national synods of the Calvinist church.¹⁹ Certainly many Huguenots from the surrounding area came to the Protestant church in Vitré to register births, marriages and deaths. It was therefore logical that as a Protestant, Julien du Clos should have used the church in Vitré both to marry in the early 1560s and then to baptise his son, Jean, on 5 July 1565. By this time, du Clos was already a resident of Rennes. Though we do not know of any books printed by du Clos before 1566, he was described by the minister in the registers as an “imprimeur à Rennes”.²⁰

Du Clos's faith could not have been much of a secret and his sojourn in Vitré would have raised eyebrows in Rennes's catholic community. But his solution to dealing with the problem of being a Protestant in a heavily Catholic region was very different to that of Mathurin Papolin. Despite printing a short work in Vitré, he quickly returned to Rennes. He appears to have decided that in a predominantly Catholic area his own religious affiliations would have to be pushed into the background if he was to survive financially as a printer. Du Clos resumed an uncontroversial printing career in Rennes during which he cautiously avoided printing on religious issues. The separation of his public and private lives seems to have been a feasible compromise in a town like Rennes. There is no evidence that suggests that his personal faith caused any difficulties. His Protestant sympathies were not the subject of much comment and did not prevent staunchly Catholic authors such as Bertrand d'Argentré (who would later be identified as a sympathiser of the Catholic League) from having their works printed in his workshop. As long as the spectre of armed religious conflict did not

¹⁸ For a statistical evaluation of the size of the Protestant community in Vitré see La Borderie, Le Moyne A. de, *Le Calvinisme à Vitré* (Rennes, 1851) and on the Laval's conversion see my *The Counts of Laval*, p. 125 and on Vitré and Protestantism see p. 139.

¹⁹ The twelfth national synod was held in Vitré on 15–16 May 1583: Félice, G.-A. de, *Histoire des synodes nationaux des églises réformées de France* (Paris, Grassart, 1864), 104–108.

²⁰ Consistory records for the Calvinist church in Vitré (1560–1600), AD Ille-et-Vilaine, 3 E 377.



Figure 12: Du Clos's device and motto.

threaten Brittany, du Clos certainly felt able to continue printing in Rennes. Jean du Clos, his son (presumably the very one who was baptised in Vitré in 1565) followed in his father's footsteps and during his short printing career was not known for adopting a conspicuously

Huguenot stance. In fact, none of the contemporary chroniclers or any of the archival sources point to any controversial activity undertaken by either Julien du Clos or his son.

The same certainly could not be said of the Breton bookseller Bertrand Avenel. Described as “ce gentil libraire de Rennes” by Noël du Fail, his main trait was, according to this author, the embarrassing fact that he tended to narrate in his sleep the events of the previous day. Du Fail chortled that “il a esté prins quelque fois par sa femme, mais il sçait ses defaites, et gauchir au coup, disant par le conseil de son grand amy Du-Jon, ce docte jeune homme d’Issoudin, que ce sont resveries et songes: et ainsi gaigne pays jusques à la premiere fois”.²¹ But the more zealous Catholics did not share this amused enthusiasm for Avenel. His open adherence to the Calvinist faith attracted harsh condemnation in some quarters. The diarist and pious catholic Jean Pichart who also lived in Rennes called Avenel “l’un des plus grands huguenots et hérétiques de ce pays”. In his diary, he recalled that, in 1590, Avenel openly sold a virulently anti-catholic pamphlet, *Le grand pardon de pleniere remission pour tous Chrestiens*. This was a well-known Protestant text first published in Geneva forty years earlier.²² Pichart called the work blasphemous and declared it against “contre la pure et sainte parole de Notre Seigneur”. He accused Avenel of offering many such works for sale most of which were “mil fois plus pernicieux” than the *Grand pardon*.

Such incitement to religious unrest did not escape the attention of the town authorities and Avenel was caught and banished from Rennes. But this punishment did not quell the excitement caused by the Huguenot pamphlets that he had stocked. Despite his outrage, even Pichart must have acquired a copy of the offending pamphlet since he copied out the text in full in his journal.²³ In any case, Avenel seems

²¹ Du Fail, N., *Les contes et discours d’Eutrapel* (Rennes, “pour Noël Glamet de Quimpercorentin”, 1598) FB 17200 [Author’s collection] pp. 107–8.

²² *Le grand pardon de pleniere remission* went through a number of different editions in the sixteenth century. The Genevan Jean Rivery first printed it in 1550 (FB 23399 – see Higman, F., *Piety and People: Religious Printing in French 1511–1551* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 1996) P 2) it was reprinted at least twice in 1555 and 1561. The pamphlet sold by Avenel in 1590 was probably a further re-issue of this text though no copies of later editions of the text have survived.

²³ Pichart’s diary was published in Dom Morice’s *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l’histoire ecclésiastique et civile de la Bretagne* (Paris, C. Osmont, 1742–1746) III, cols. 1712–1716. A copy of the original manuscript (with slight variations on the Dom Morice edition) is in Rennes: BM Rennes, Ms. 2489.

largely to have ignored the ruling. If the diarist is to be believed, Avenel remained in Rennes for most of the duration of the wars of the League. It is clear from the outraged tone that Pichart adopted that someone with such uncompromising Catholic beliefs would find it very difficult to visit Avenel's bookshop. He cannot have been alone in choosing to boycott an openly Protestant bookseller's stall and yet, despite the commercial risk, Avenel was not ready to give ground. He chose to display his faith rather than follow the uncontroversial path trodden by the Du Clos.

Protestantism seems to have been particularly attractive to members of the book trade in Rennes. In the same diary, Pichart accused another member of the Breton book world, Pierre Le Bret, of also being a "grand huguenot". Le Bret's religious allegiance was laid bare when his widow married Bertrand Avenel. But nothing in his work or in the archives showed that this in any way affected what he printed or for whom he carried out tasks. As with Julien and Jean du Clos, Le Bret seems to have avoided controversy. There were, therefore, two contrasting attitudes adopted by the Breton printers and booksellers who were attracted to the Reformation message. The first option, adopted by Avenel and Papolin, consisted in openly acknowledging their faith without abandoning their bookshops, preferring to wait and see whether the local authorities would be able to force them to leave. The second less confrontational option, adopted by the Du Clos family and Pierre Le Bret, was to make their religious choices part of their private life rather than a public issue.

The latter strategy certainly seemed to work. The social elite in Rennes demonstrated a large degree of leniency towards those attracted by Protestantism. This tendency towards a *politique* standpoint was to be further reinforced during the last two decades of the century. But even here the actions of Bertrand Avenel caused considerable discomfort amongst the ruling elite who felt compelled to banish the troublesome bookseller, whilst the militancy of Mathurin Papolin was clearly untenable in the long run in a strongly Catholic city like Nantes. In contrast, Du Clos and Le Bret were able to ply their trade undisturbed though their behaviour risked censure from their own coreligionists.

Protestants who dissimulated their faith and sought to conform outwardly to the prevailing Catholic consensus were roundly condemned by Calvin. He drew parallels between their behaviour and that of Nicodemus: a Pharisee who, though attracted to the Gospel, came to

Jesus by night to avoid compromising his status in the community.²⁴ Calvin's denunciation of Nicodemism was categorical and virulent, and he exhorted fellow Protestants to realise that God and their faith "should be far more precious to us than this transient and fleeting life that is, truth be told, little more than a shadow".²⁵ In his eyes, simply seeking a *modus vivendi* with the existing Catholic majority was more detrimental to the Calvinist cause than had they been burnt as heretics. Calvin identified financial gain as one of the factors that led to Nicodemism.²⁶ But despite his virulence, in practice many French Protestants whose livelihood depended on their discretion made the same choices as the Du Clos, even in a world as affected by Protestantism as the book industry. The commercial diktats of the book trade often outweighed personal convictions when decisions had to be made about the works to be published or sold.²⁷

Protestant books in Brittany

The dangers faced by those who sought to sell banned religious books affected the availability of Protestant editions in the duchy. To address some of the problems of distribution that resulted from the persecution of Calvinists, some members of the Genevan book trade went as far as to go to Brittany in person. This inevitably caused the outrage of the local Catholic authorities who sought to prevent the circulation of what they saw as heretical texts. One instance in particular encapsulated both the desire of Calvinist printers and booksellers to achieve the widest distribution possible in Brittany and the difficulties experienced by the Catholic institutions who wished to see strong action taken against the Genevans.

In July 1562, the archdeacon of Nantes, Gilles de Gandz, was called to check three batches of suspect books that had been brought into

²⁴ John 3: 1–21.

²⁵ See John Calvin's *Petit traicté monstrant que c'est que doit faire un homme fidèle cognoissant la vérité de l'Evangile quand il est entre les papistes* in *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia* (Brunswick, 1867) VI, 576.

²⁶ Calvin, J., *Excuse a messieurs les Nicodemites sur la complaincte qu'ils font de sa trop grand rigueur* ([Geneva], [Jean Girard], 1544) FB 8448 [Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 8o Libri impr rari 205 (3)]. See also the edition by Francis Higman in Calvin, J., *Three French treatises* (London, Athlone Press, 1970).

²⁷ Hirsh, R., *Printing, Selling and Reading 1450–1550* (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1974) p. 22.

Nantes by two Genevans, Jean Baratz and Florent Girard.²⁸ They both were described by the archdeacon as “marchands libraires de Geneve”. Florent Girard was probably of the same family as the well-known Genevan publisher Jean Girard who had died a few years earlier.²⁹ The inspection of the batches revealed the presence of many banned books and Gandz drew up a complete inventory of the texts. Gandz was a powerful figure in the diocese which he administered for the absent bishop. He was also well known for his strong anti-Protestant views and had been implicated in an arson attack on a building in which local Calvinists gathered in December 1561.³⁰ Gandz determined to make the most of this second opportunity to prevent the spread of the Reformation in the city. He carefully selected a copy of each of the items listed and sent them to the governor of the province, the duke of Etampes. Gandz recommended that the case be dealt with at the highest levels of government and that the king or the Privy Council should be made aware of the situation. Along with the municipal authorities of Nantes, the archdeacon made sure that the remaining books were all safely locked away in the “maison commune” and had the guilty merchants arrested.

But the arrested booksellers did not await the outcome of this process and immediately appealed to the Breton *parlement* based in Rennes. They were obviously aware that the religious views of members were far less clear cut than those of the Nantes authorities. The appeal indeed found a more sympathetic audience and the *parlement*, far from accepting the word of archdeacon, decreed that it wished to hear both parties. The *parlement* further decreed that the booksellers should be freed despite Gandz's complaints. He argued that he had simply followed the procedure set out in the king's edicts and ordinances. The *parlement* overruled this protest and ordered that a copy of each book should be sent to the court so that they could themselves pass judgement over their alleged heretical content. The archdeacon of Nantes was

²⁸ Gilles de Gandz has mistakenly been described as bishop of Roanne (see Travers) or even bishop of Théroutanne. But this is the result of a misreading of the Latin. He was in fact a bishop *in partibus infidelium* of Rheon. In other words, it was an honorary title that gave him the rank of a bishop but no diocese. Instead, he served as a suffragan bishop in the diocese of Nantes.

²⁹ On Girard see the unpublished thesis: Brandt, S. R., *Jean Girard: Genevan publisher (1536–1557)* (PhD dissertation, University of California, 1992).

³⁰ La Borderie, A. Le Moyne de & Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, B.-A.-M., *Histoire de Bretagne* (Rennes, J. Plihon and L. Hommay, 1898–1914) V, 58.

the highest ecclesiastical authority of the diocese in the absence of the bishop. Yet the court in Rennes displayed very little trust in his judgement. The difference in attitude was symptomatic of the religious and political rift that was opening up between the two main cities of the duchy. The *Parlement* further underlined its distrust of the archdeacon by naming a special commissioner, Michel d'Essefort, a councillor of the Breton *parlement* who it empowered to oversee the case. This decision infuriated Gandz who quite rightly saw this as a deliberate tactic to undermine his authority and to reach a decision that would be more favourable to the booksellers. In a letter to the governor of Brittany in which he fully described the case, he deplored the fact that he had already seen and identified all the heretical works and that this simply further postponed matters. But it was the way in which the *parlement* dealt with the case thereafter that most upset the archdeacon.

Having conducted their inspection by June of the following year, the *Parlement* then instructed Gandz to hand over all the seized items. Gandz had little choice but to obey, though he did so with the greatest reluctance. Once the offending bundles had arrived in Rennes and ecclesiastical authority had successfully been circumvented, the court then dealt a decisive blow to the case against the Genevans. It declared that the books were to be assessed by a councillor of the court, du Hardaz. This incensed the archdeacon who was clearly unwilling to let go of the case. In his missive to the duke of Etampes, he explained that du Hardaz was a well known Protestant, "il tient le party des susdits libraires et de tous leurs semblables malsentans de nostre sainte foy et religion". In fact, he asserted, the councillor frequented "les conventicules et assemblees des ministres et predicans de la nouvelle et pernicieuse doctrine". Gandz was, however, completely powerless to prevent the court from exonerating the Protestant booksellers. In desperation the archdeacon appealed to Etampes for help, imploring him to bring the affair to the attention of the Privy Council.³¹ The final result of the case is unknown, but the manner in which it had proceeded meant that the most likely outcome was that the Genevans were allowed to go free: though whether they were able to regain possession of their books is uncertain. What the case did show was that even when a Protestant bookseller was caught with clearly heretical texts, it was

³¹ The full text of the request written in June 1562 is quoted in Travers, N., *L'Histoire civile, politique et religieuse de la ville et du comté de Nantes* (Nantes, Forest & Pesron, 1836–1841) II, 364–365.

difficult for the Breton ecclesiastical authorities to have them convicted because of the more lenient attitude of the *Parlement*. It could be argued that this state of affairs gave Breton booksellers a considerable amount of freedom when deciding whether to display their religious convictions.

Protestant booksellers after the edict of Nantes

One of the articles of the edict of Nantes provides an interesting footnote to the debate about how Huguenot booksellers and printers chose to act and whether they decided to stock and sell Protestant books. The edict was promulgated in the Breton city on 30 April 1598 and is today much praised for the freedoms it conceded to Protestants, but in fact the limits imposed on those of the “Religion prétendue réformée” were quite stringent. Though the text recognised freedom of conscience for all individuals, it explicitly put restrictions on the sale of Protestant books. Article 21 of the edict stated that “Books concerning the said religion called Reformed may not be printed and publicly sold, except in cities and places where the public exercise of the said religion is permitted”.³² This *de facto* would have restricted the sale of Protestant books in Brittany to the town of Vitré. It meant that the actions of the more zealous Calvinist Breton booksellers would have been just as illegal in both Rennes and Nantes after the edict of “toleration” as they had been during the wars of religion.

In Nantes itself, when the regulations of the book trade within the city were formally enunciated in the early seventeenth century, the question of Protestantism was clearly an issue that the established booksellers wanted to address. They ensured that the document went one step further than the edict of 1598. Instead of just banning the production of Protestant books, this text also stipulated that all booksellers, printers, bookbinders and their apprentices had to be Catholics.³³

³² This English translation of the original text is taken from Robinson, J. H. (ed.) *Readings in European History* (Boston, Ginn, 1906) II, 183–185.

³³ “Articles et statutz accordez et arrestez entre les maistres libraires, imprimeurs et relieurs de livres de la ville et Université de Nantes”, [1623], AD Loire-Atlantique, 5 E 51 f. 1v. The efficaciousness of such methods in preventing the circulation of Protestant printed books is debatable: royal letters delivered almost exactly a century later deplored the “grand nombre de livres contre la Religion, l’Etat et les bonnes moeurs” that were in circulation in Nantes “au préjudice des réglemens” (Letters of 18 August 1723, BnF F. Fr. 22080 fo. 7).

In contrast, the equivalent statutes of the book trade in Rennes drawn up a year earlier did not include any religious pre-requisites. In fact, the text did not mention Catholicism or even religion once.³⁴ The regulations devised in Rennes did not even repeat the relevant clause taken from the edict of Nantes; they simply stated that it was forbidden to print banned books.³⁵

The contrasting attitudes of the authorities in the two cities to the question of Protestantism and the printed book therefore did not end with the reign of Henry IV. The political and religious rift that survived into the seventeenth century between Nantes and Rennes was not just the result of the different positions adopted by the local religious and judicial authorities. Rather it built on a pre-existing and long-running local rivalry. This was at its most intense in the final decade of the French wars of religion when the fighting that had devastated much of France finally came to Brittany.

³⁴ The charter was first drawn up in 1623, see *Chartres et statuts des imprimeurs et libraires de la ville de Rennes* (Rennes, Pierre Garnier, 1699) [AM Rennes, HH 195]. In this regard, Rennes followed the example of the text drawn up for the Parisian book trade that also did not mention religion, see *Lettres patentes du Roy pour le reglement des libraires, imprimeurs et relieurs de ceste ville de Paris* (Paris, s.n., 1621) [BnF, Fr. 22061 n°69].

³⁵ *Chartres et statuts de Rennes*, article 13.

CHAPTER 8

THE WARS OF THE LEAGUE: PAMPHLETS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE PRESSES

The wars of religion dominated the French political scene during the second half of the sixteenth century. The outbreak of war in 1562 had followed years of mounting tension between those willing to embrace the new faith and those loyal to traditional beliefs. Though a number of Bretons had been involved in some of the early rebellions, Brittany itself remained remarkably peaceful. There were a few instances of iconoclasm perpetrated by a small number of isolated zealots, but the duchy was untouched by the first wars that caused so much damage and destruction to other parts of the kingdom.¹ In 1581, the Protestant author Nicolas Barnaud, writing under the pseudonym of Nicolas Froumenteau, lamented the havoc wreaked by the wars in a survey describing the cost of the conflict region by region. Yet when he turned his attention to the duchy of Brittany he was unable to identify any substantial negative impact other than a slightly increased burden of taxation.² Until the wars of the league broke out following the assassination of the Guise brothers in 1588, not a single battle or even a major skirmish, took place on Breton soil. Throughout, the duchy remained a heavily Catholic province untroubled by the civil wars.

The wars of religion also had a profound impact in the book world. Perhaps one of the most obvious aspects of this change was the development of a strong polemical literature. In contrast to Germany, it was only in the 1560s that the religious conflicts found a strong echo in print. The virulent exchanges that marked the period immediately preceding the outbreak of armed conflict led to a huge growth of controversial literature as both sides used print to rally their own supporters and denounce the opposing confession. The consequence was an exponential rise in the number of titles printed in French that would not be equalled until the formation of the Catholic league in the 1580s.

¹ A few instances of religious violence are listed in La Borderie, A. Le Moyne de & Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, B.-A.-M., *Histoire de Bretagne* (Rennes, J. Plihon and L. Hommay, 1898–1914) V, 52.

This second explosion in the production of pamphlets was the result of the debates surrounding the future of the French monarchy. In 1584 the death of François de Valois, duke of Anjou, the last surviving brother of Henry III precipitated a constitutional crisis. The heir to the throne was now Henri de Navarre, a Protestant. In the polarised situation of the 1580s this was unacceptable to many Catholics. This discontent was channelled into the Catholic League, an organisation dedicated to preventing the succession of the Protestant heir. The rise of the League led to the development of a multifaceted pamphlet war between the Protestant, loyal royalist and ultra-catholic factions. But though countless pamphlets flooded the market, up until the final decade of the century, Brittany seemed initially to have been largely unaffected by the religious and political controversies.

Pamphlets in sixteenth-century Brittany

The printed pamphlet would not have been unknown to Breton readers. A well-travelled Breton was bound to have met copies in the streets of most cities and in particular in large conurbations such as Rouen, Lyon or Paris. However, no pamphlets were published in the duchy prior to the wars of the Catholic League. It is also worth noting that there is not a single significant series of sixteenth-century pamphlets in any of the public libraries in the five present-day Breton *départements*. This can be taken as symptomatic of the poor penetration of pamphlets into Brittany. The contrast between the large number of surviving sixteenth-century books and the scarcity of pamphlets is striking. This is especially the case when one compares the proportion of pamphlets in Breton collections to that of similar-sized collections in other regions. The ratio of brochure-length items to other sixteenth century books in Rennes and Nantes is less than a third of that of comparable French libraries.³

There were two main reasons behind this apparent absence of a printed polemical culture in Brittany. The first was the lack of a

² Wood, J. B. 'The Impact of the Wars of Religion: A View of France in 1581', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 2 (1984) 131–168, especially p. 144.

³ These figures are derived from the St Andrews database. The other libraries considered were Amiens, Auxerre, Caen, Carpentras, Châlons-en-Champagne, La Rochelle, Lille, Nancy, Orléans and Reims. None of these libraries had as few pamphlets as either Rennes or Nantes.

meaningful religious debate in the duchy during the first decades of the Reformation. This had important consequences for the development of polemical literature. The comparative failure of Protestantism meant that there would have been a limited and rather distant interest in the main controversies that were creating so much upheaval elsewhere in sixteenth-century France. The predominance of the Catholic faith in Brittany was widely accepted. Even powerful and politically influential Calvinist families such as the house of Laval or the house of Rohan did not seek to convert all those living in their lordships or even ensure that their own households and administrations were completely Protestant.⁴ The duchy therefore would not have been targeted by either Catholic or Protestant polemicists as the gains to be made by either side would have been marginal. It is interesting to note that in the very large collection of books owned by Bertrand d'Argentré there are an exceedingly small number of works specifically aimed at refuting Huguenot beliefs. Despite being a very devout Catholic, Argentré did not feel the need to collect anti-Calvinist material, perhaps because the threat must have seemed very distant to him.

It is also the case that the distribution of pamphlets afforded limited commercial opportunities. There was no overriding political or religious imperative to produce or distribute pamphlets in the duchy. In the absence of local support for Protestantism, there was no reason for the local Church to commission pamphlets defending traditional doctrines as was the case elsewhere in France. There was also little incentive for Breton booksellers to bring in stock of pamphlet material from other parts of France, and risk official disapproval with so little evident public interest. Even in the 1560s which saw the beginning of organised Protestant communities in Brittany, the religious material circulating in the duchy concentrated on the more sober literature of church building such as Papolin's stock of New Testaments.

This was to change during the final two decades of the sixteenth century as the wars of religion for the first time moved into Brittany. This put the duchy at the heart of the political and military conflict. With royalists, ultra Catholics, Protestants, English and Spanish troops all fighting within the duchy there was great scope for debate, disagreement and controversy.

⁴ See Walsby, *The Counts of Laval* pp. 141–146.

Des Marestz and Faverye

The assassination of the duke and cardinal of Guise ordered by Henry III in 1588, led to the open revolt of many Catholics grouped together under the name of the Catholic League. With the subsequent counter-assassination of the king the following year, the crown was to pass to the Protestant Henry IV. Amid the rising chaos, the governor of Brittany, the duke of Mercœur, chose the party of the Catholic League. Like the Guises, Mercœur was from the house of Lorraine and did his utmost to rally support against the new king. However, his enthusiasm for the League was not shared by a significant proportion of the Breton elite. The events that followed stimulated the birth of a lively pamphlet literature in Brittany. In both the main centres of printing, 1589 was marked by the arrival of new printers who grasped this opportunity to exploit the thirst for information generated by the unrest. The heightened interest in following events as they unfolded throughout the kingdom generated a large audience. As Brittany became the theatre of some of the most violent and long running episodes of the conflict, the potential readership for polemical pieces increased. For the first time, local authors and institutions provided controversial texts that offered shrewd printers with valuable material. The newly established presses in both Rennes and Nantes were keen to make the most of this opportunity.

Foremost amongst the newcomers was Nicolas des Marestz. Though his origins remain unclear, we know from the title page of a book on the customs and laws of Brittany that Nicolas started his career in Rennes where he had worked for Pierre Bretel, an already well-established local bookseller in 1586.⁵ By the time Des Marestz printed his version of the customs of Brittany, the text had already been through innumerable editions in the sixteenth century, both in and outside the duchy. As a standard legal textbook, it represented a safe project with an easily identifiable market. It was also a large text that enabled Des Marestz to prove his ability as a typographer. The typographic material employed by Des Marestz for this project corresponds to that used by

⁵ *Coustumes générales des pays et duché de Bretagne* (Rennes, Nicolas des Marestz pour Pierre Bretel, 1586) [Rennes BM, Rés. 10849]. On Lepreux's mistaken "identification" on Pierre Bretel as Pierre Le Bret (Lepreux, G., *Gallia Typographica ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution – Bretagne* (Reprint, Rennes, 1989) pp. 31–32) see the entry devoted to the bookseller in Appendix A.

Julien du Clos in Rennes over the preceding decades. But he did not keep this material and later imprints show that he subsequently obtained a different set of typographic fonts. The Du Clos material remained in Rennes and was later to be found in the editions printed in Rennes by Julien's son, Jean, as well as by Michel Logeroys. So Des Marestz did not acquire the material used for the customs. Instead, it would seem that he used the Du Clos press and material simply to undertake the impression of the 1586 customs. In other words, rather than set up his own workshop, he used a press that was temporarily dormant. In 1586, Julien du Clos was no longer active, whilst Jean would have just turned 20 and would perhaps have still been learning his trade. Des Marestz filled a temporary void at the workshop. It is unclear what Des Marestz's relationship was with the Du Clos workshop. We do not know whether he learnt his trade with Julien du Clos and graduated to the rank of printer or whether he came from a different town altogether. The 1586 customs is the only work signed by Des Marestz that employed the Du Clos fonts and the only work that he printed in Rennes.

Shortly after printing the customs, Des Marestz moved to Nantes, where the relatively underdeveloped nature of the print industry offered more potential for an enterprising newcomer. Despite the fact that Nantes and Rennes were of similar size, Nantes had still not witnessed the significant rise in production of locally printed material that had occurred in Rennes in the 1570s. After his arrival in Nantes, Des Marestz initially sought to establish his workshop by publishing another legal handbook, this time on the privileges of the duchy of Brittany.⁶ He also nurtured a developing relationship with the municipality of the town and received a couple of minor commissions from them worth 2 *sous tournois* and 1 *écu* in 1589.⁷ These initial forays into the world of printing were unadventurous and very much in keeping with the role printing had played in the province over the previous decades. However, these imprints belied the impact that Des Marestz was to have on printing in the province. The two large legal texts were the only two such books that Nicolas Des Marestz was to publish. At some time during 1589, he was joined by another printer,

⁶ *Les privilèges, franchises et libertz des pays et duché de Bretagne* (Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz, 1588) [Paris Arsenal, 8o J 3592].

⁷ Both entries: accounts of the municipality of Nantes, 1586–1589, CC 127 fo. 122.

François Faverye, with whom he formed a partnership which achieved unprecedented success by targeting an altogether different market through the production of pamphlets and polemical pieces.

There is no surviving archival documentation on the partnership of Des Marestz and Faverye. From the extant imprints, the two printers do not appear to have been on an equal footing. In all the books we know of, Des Marestz was consistently named first and Faverye second. Faverye was a local printer and was probably active in Nantes prior to Des Marestz's arrival. But he does not seem to have been an equal partner. Des Marestz published a number of editions that identified him alone as the work's printer. He was also the only printer named in the accountant's entries in the registers of the municipality of Nantes that referred to the tasks they commissioned. In contrast, François Faverye is only ever known to have printed in association with Des Marestz. Though Faverye could have already been involved in printing in Nantes before Des Marestz's arrival, it is unlikely that he undertook any important work unless it was as the silent partner of another member of the book world. Though he was described some decades later as a bookseller and master printer, his impact on the local book world was limited.⁸ When he was asked to provide a valuation of a recently deceased printer-bookseller's material at the beginning of the seventeenth century, he was not simultaneously solicited to evaluate the book stock. This was instead entrusted to two other members of the Nantes book world.⁹ These doubts over Faverye's status certainly seem to be borne out by the poor quality of his signature and paraph that do not bear the hallmarks of a particularly well-educated man.

The editions that left the Des Marestz and Faverye presses were different from those printed by their predecessors. The texts they printed were highly controversial and not very sophisticated typographically. They also introduced into Breton typography a curious technical practice known as imposition by half sheet. This technique was used by some prestigious European printers such as Christopher Plantin in the Low Countries.¹⁰ But it was mainly employed in France by provincial

⁸ Granges de Surgères, 'Contribution à l'histoire de l'imprimerie de France. Notes sur les anciens imprimeurs nantais (XVe–XVIIIe siècles)' *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire* (1897) at p. 420.

⁹ Inventory of the belongings of Luc Godbert, 22 August 1616, AD Loire-Atlantique, B 5649 item 7.

¹⁰ See the remarks by Leon Voet in his *The Plantin Press (1555–1589). A bibliography of works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*

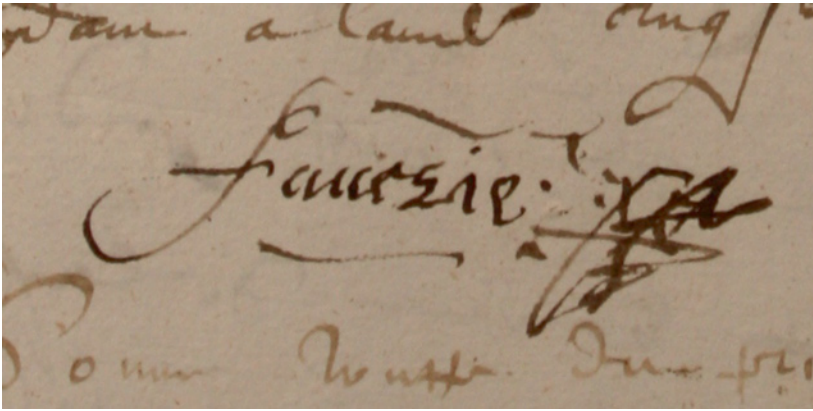


Figure 13: François Faverye's signature.

presses who sought thereby to simplify the work involved in the printing of short texts.¹¹ The use of the technique by Des Marestz and Faverye is perhaps indicative of the general lack of familiarity of local workshops with the pamphlet genre. The setting up of a full sheet in octavo required more experience and skill than the much simpler quarto. The printers' emphasis seems to have been more on speed of production than on high quality. This particular manner of setting small texts was rendered all the more distinctive because of the use of a set of worn typographical ornaments. Though this might have made the works less attractive to contemporary readers, this has helped us attribute to their workshop a couple of further imprints that had previously simply been categorised as *sine nomen*, *sine locum*.¹²

Though able typographers, Des Marestz and Faverye were not in the same league as Julien du Clos. The printers were clearly aware that some of their work was not of the highest quality. At the end of a pamphlet on the duke of Mecoeur's re-establishment of the university of

(Amsterdam, Van Hoeve, 1982) IV, 1747 and *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp. The Management of a Printing and Publishing House in Renaissance and Baroque* (Amsterdam, Van Gendt & Co., 1972) II, 304.

¹¹ See for instance the imprints of Jacques Rousseau in Cahors and Agen, or those of Jean de Minieres in Angoulême.

¹² See for example: *Advertissement aux catholiques de la Bretagne* ([Nantes], [Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye], 1590) FB 7456, [Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève 8o L 353 Inv 1775 (2) FA].

Nantes in 1596, the printers inserted a warning requesting the reader's indulgence and beseeching him to correct the errors as he went along. The errors in the text had clearly only become apparent after most of the print run had been printing since the warning only appears in one of the surviving copies.¹³ But what Des Marestz and Faverye lacked in printing expertise they made up for in enterprise. Instead of looking to produce well crafted imprints, they concentrated on publishing polemical texts that engaged directly with the issues that were troubling the whole of France. By innovating in this way, they changed the way the presses were used in Brittany and attracted the attention of a new and hitherto unexploited audience. It is difficult to ascertain whether they set up their partnership with the express design of actively seeking out polemical texts to publish or whether they simply reacted to propitious circumstances. What is certain is that when the initial opportunity came to branch out to the polemical format, they seized it immediately.

Polemical printing and the Catholic League

Religious polemic came to Brittany with the arrival of the distinguished Catholic theologian, Jacques le Bossu. Le Bossu was a doctor in theology of the Sorbonne who was a firm admirer of the cardinal of Guise up until his assassination in 1588. After Henry III's death the following year, Le Bossu became one of the most virulent opponents of Henry IV's succession. He became a central figure in the case put forward by the Catholic League in support of alternative candidates. His vehement opposition to any reconciliation made him one of the most formidable theologians at the disposal of the ultra-Catholics. From 1589 onwards, he joined the following of the duke of Mercœur and relocated to Nantes, despite the fact that he was officially attached to the monastery of St Denis near Paris. The first official engagement we know of in Nantes came in the spring of 1589. Each year in the run up to Lent the town paid a prominent theologian "pour avoir presché et annoncé la parolle de Dieu" in the town cathedral. In 1579, the accounts of the

¹³ Carpentier, P., *Remonstrance faite par forme de leçon, à la premiere entrée et nouveau établissement de l'université de Nantes*, (Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1596) FB 8983 & 8984. The BnF has the copy with the warning: Rés. LF25 91 (8) D2r.

town show that they invited Jean Poictevin, a doctor of the Sorbonne and author of a popular translation of the Psalms.¹⁴ The following year, the sermon was given by Thomas Beauxamis, a very prolific author of anti-Huguenot tracts.¹⁵ It was a sign of the radicalisation of the town that it was Jacques Le Bossu who gave the sermon in 1589 and again in 1592.¹⁶ Unlike Poictevin and Beauxamis, Le Bossu was not a published author when he preached his first Lent sermon in 1589, but this soon changed.

Le Bossu's sermon obviously pleased the authorities, and the theologian continued to preach in the cathedral. His presence in Nantes and the fiery sermons that he delivered gave Des Marestz and Faverye the perfect opportunity to move into the realm of polemical printing. They began in that very year by publishing a sermon he had given in the cathedral on 8th June 1589 under the title *Deux devis d'un Catholique et d'un politique sur l'exhortation faite au peuple de Nantes*. In this sermon, he adopted a typically uncompromising stance, insisting that if a Catholic chose to back the cause of a heretic such as Henry IV he would *ipso facto* be excommunicated.¹⁷ This virulent polemical book touched on the most pressing theological and political issues of the day. The text obviously struck a nerve. The success of the first book was such that it was soon followed by a third *Devis* this time dealing with the death of Henry III.¹⁸ In this work, he argued that the death of Henry III

¹⁴ Accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1578–1580, AM Nantes, CC 126 fo. 66. *Les cent psalmes de David* (Poitiers, Nicolas Pelletier, 1550) FB 4683 and numerous other editions including a Rouen edition by Jean Mallard, Robert and Jean du Gort in 1553 (FB 4725) and an Antwerp edition by Jan Verwithagen for Martin Nutius in 1554 (FB 4736).

¹⁵ Also AM Nantes, CC 126 fo. 66. For a list of his vernacular works see those listed in FB, numbers 3086 to 3117.

¹⁶ He was paid 6 écus for his preaching: accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1586–1589, AM Nantes, CC 127 fo. 75 and 1589–1592, AM Nantes, CC 128 fo. 107.

¹⁷ Le Bossu, J., *Deux devis d'un Catholique et d'un politique sur l'exhortation faite au peuple de Nantes, en la grande église de saint Pierre, pour jurer l'union des Catholiques* (Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz & François Faverye, 1589) FB 33326 [Aix Méjanes, D 7848 (1)]. For an overview of Le Bossu's writings see Jaunet, M., 'Jacques Le Bossu: un prédicateur ligueur à Nantes pendant les guerres de religion' in *Nantes et le Pays Nantais au moment de l'Edit de Nantes. Actes du colloque tenu à Nantes le 19 avril 1998. A l'occasion du 400e anniversaire de la signature de l'Edit de Nantes* (Nantes, 1999) 117–133.

¹⁸ Le Bossu, J., *Troisiesme devis du Catholique et du Politique qui a esté ré-uny sur la mort d'Henry de Valois selon ce qu'en a esté presché à diverses fois en la grande Eglise de Nantes* (Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz & François Faverye, 1589) FB 33327 [Nantes, Musée Dobrée 673].

at the hands of a monk earlier that year had been divine retribution for the late king's sins, not least for his assassination of the Guises. A forth and final *Devis* was printed in 1590, which further emphasised the Leaguer agenda.¹⁹

The publication of these books based on sermons delivered in Nantes, heightened awareness of the role Breton presses could play in the on-going debate surrounding the religious future of the kingdom. It sent a clear message to the foremost institutions and political leaders. Such polemical texts could play a vital role in the propaganda surrounding the increasingly bitter conflict. Simultaneously, authors in Rennes and Nantes recognised the audience they could reach by offering their works to local printers. The text of the *Troisiesme Devis* was taken from more than just one sermon, and contained the author's dedication to the inhabitants of Nantes in which he took the opportunity to show his commitment to his new home. This text was dated 12th September 1589.²⁰ The title page indicated 1589, demonstrating that it would have taken at most a little under four months to prepare, mark up the text and print the 112 pages in-quarto (the equivalent of 14 sheets). If one considers the total output in 1590 solely based on surviving editions, we can work out that the workshop produced the equivalent of at least one sheet every four days. Though in the absence of figures relative to the size of the print runs of each edition it is hard to draw definite conclusions about the speed at which the presses were working, it does show that there was continued activity throughout the year. The need to factor in to such calculations the inevitable loss of a number of editions for which there are, today, no surviving copies further underlines the high level of activity of the workshop.

The production of Des Marestz and Faverye continued apace as they sought rapidly to build on the popularity of Le Bossu's *Devis* series by printing two additional short funeral sermons by the same author, one commemorating the death of the Guise brothers, the other bemoaning the recent execution of a doctor in theology by the king's partisans.²¹

¹⁹ Le Bossu, J., *Quatriesme devis du catholique et politique reuny sur l'exemple de Nabuchodonosor rapporté en l'église de Nantes, en un Sermon, le Dimenche 18. jour de Novembre 1590* (Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz & François Faverye, 1590) FB 33328 [Nantes, Musée Dobrée 674].

²⁰ Le Bossu, *Troisiesme devis* â2r-â4v: "A messieurs les habitans de la ville de Nantes, l'autheur desire tres-parfaite Union avec toute sincerité".

²¹ Le Bossu, J., *Sermon funebre pour la memoire de devote et religieuse personne F. Edmon Bourgoing, en son vivant Docteur en la faculté de Theologie, et prieur au*

The scene was set for a whole host of other polemical questions to appear in printed form for the first time within the duchy. The years 1588 to 1591 saw a sharp rise in the quantity of pamphlets published throughout France, reaching heights that dwarfed even the phenomenal production of the early 1560s. Clearly this was a propitious moment to undertake such a new venture. During the wars of the Catholic League, words penned and printed in Brittany were read far beyond the confines of the duchy, as was demonstrated by the reprint in Tours of a royalist pamphlet on the wars in Brittany that bore the address “jouxte la coppie imprimée à Rennes”.²²

The Catholic League

The wars of religion had in the main bypassed the duchy. On the eve of the wars of the Catholic League, the province had seen little destruction and only limited skirmishing. The situation was to change dramatically as in the next decade the duchy was ravaged by troops. The League had organised its own army against which were pitted Protestants and local Catholics who chose to remain loyal to the crown. To make matters worse, Spanish forces sent to help the League invested southern Brittany whilst English forces under the command of Norris landed in the north. In the years following the accession of Henry IV, the political geography of Brittany became increasingly complex. Vitré was a bastion of Protestantism, Rennes, after having flirted with the League chose to remain true to the crown, whilst Nantes declared for the League as indeed did the province's governor, the duke of Mercœur.

The internal situation in Brittany led to the printing of many texts that dealt specifically with local issues. Pamphlets detailed the battles or skirmishes that happened within the duchy. They also made the most of the presence of the divisive governor of the duchy, Philippe-Emmanuel de Lorraine, duke of Mercœur. Mercœur was the most

convent des Jacobins à Paris, qui fut cruellement martyrisé à Tours, par le supplice de quatre chevaux, le 23 de fevrier 1590 (Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz & François Faverye, 1590) FB 33331 [Nantes BM, 107430 R].

²² *Lettre de monseigneur le prince de Dombes, Gouverneur de Daulphiné, et Lieutenant general pour le Roy en ses armee et pays de Bretagne. A Messieurs des trois Estats de ceste Province: Sur la venue des Espagnols* (Tours, Jamet Mettayer, 1590) FB 16459 [Rouen BM, Leber 4174 (7)].

prominent protagonist of the Leaguer wars in Brittany and as such was the central figure in a number of polemical publications. He was a controversial figure who became the target of a number of personal attacks. Though Mercœur was not a Breton by birth, he could claim rights to the ancient ducal throne of Brittany through his marriage to the heiress of the house of Penthhièvre. The Penthhièvres had inherited the rights of Charles de Blois, who had lost the Breton civil war in the second half of the fourteenth century. Though the claim to the throne was largely theoretical, the Penthhièvres had never really come to terms with the loss of the ducal crown. Predictably, the duke of Mercœur stood accused by many royalists of trying to set himself up as an independent ruler in the mould of the old dukes of Brittany of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In fact, there is no record in either his public or private papers that Mercœur coveted the Breton inheritance.²³ But such scaremongering may have had a certain impact on those who had a vested interest in the union of France and Brittany. The merchant class profited from the easy movement of goods within the kingdom and would have been opposed to any developments that would have rendered their trade more difficult. A renewed independence could have led to new tolls that could also have affected local booksellers.

For all that, Mercœur was an exceptionally important presence in Breton politics over the course of the following decade. Mercœur actively encouraged the development of a court in Nantes. He attracted a number of poets and authors into his entourage. The writings of figures such as Nicolas de Montreux, Michel de La Vallée du Maine and Jean de Boyssières demonstrated his success in associating himself with authors who came from other regions of France.²⁴ Celebrated as a patron of the arts, Mercœur also showed a direct interest in books. Philippe-Emmanuel had inherited a small library that his father had amassed in the family seat in Nomény in Lorraine. This collection grew in size during the final decades of the sixteenth century. By the

²³ Boltanski, A. & Hamon, P., 'Le duc de Mercœur gouverneur de province: entre statut, Ligue et Bretagne (1589–1598)' in Buron, E., & Méniel, B., *Le duc de Mercœur. Les armes et les lettres (1558–1602)* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009) 75–97 at pp. 89–91.

²⁴ See Buron, E., & Méniel, B., *Le duc de Mercœur. Les armes et les lettres (1558–1602)* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009) and in particular the articles: Bjaï, D., "'Jeune Achille François ô grand Duc de Mercœur Mecoeene d'Helicon et martial vainqueur': Jean de Boyssières en quête de protecteurs' (pp. 161–177) and Méniel, B., 'La violence guerrière chez deux poètes ligueurs, Michel de La Vallée et Nicolas de Montreux' (pp. 205–218).

time of Mercœur's death in 1602, an inventory of his library tells us that it boasted some 335 books in Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and German.²⁵ Indeed, we know that Mercœur was one of those who showed some interest in acquiring the very substantial collection put together by the archdeacon of Nantes, Pierre Le Gallo, in the early 1590s.²⁶

Mercœur's involvement with Breton printers and booksellers is not explicitly indicated in any surviving books or manuscript documents. We do not know where or how he obtained the books that filled his library. But his interest in locally produced volumes is demonstrated by the presence in the inventory of at least four and possibly five books printed by Nicolas des Marestz in Nantes. There were also copies of the history of Brittany and a volume of the local customs. It is possible that he owned more Breton imprints than are indicated in the inventory. The absence of certain works dedicated to Mercœur suggests that not all his books were included in this list.²⁷ Regnault d'Orléans's compendium dedicated to the duke and printed in Vannes in 1597 is one such omission.²⁸

Mercœur's importance as a patron of the arts was warmly acknowledged by those in his entourage and this too became a potent political weapon in troubled times. His lineage was celebrated in works that emphasised the achievements of his ancestors and those of his wife, Marie de Luxembourg. In the dedication to the volume on the house of Luxembourg, Raoul Le Maistre was at pains to make his readers aware of the bearing his book had on what he termed "la tragedie miserable advenue en nostre France".²⁹ The dedication proclaimed the "invincible"

²⁵ The inventory is given *in extenso* in Poncet, O., 'Les lectures d'un chef de guerre catholique. Les livres de Philippe-Emmanuel de Lorraine, duc de Mercœur (1558–1602), d'après l'inventaire du château de Nomény (1602)' in Buron, E., & Méniel, B., *Le duc de Mercœur. Les armes et les lettres (1558–1602)* (Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009) 261–317.

²⁶ Travers, N., *L'Histoire civile, politique et religieuse de la ville et du comté de Nantes* (Nantes, Forest & Pesron, 1836–1841) III, 50.

²⁷ It is possible that he also kept books in other places than Nomény.

²⁸ Dorléans, R., *Les observations de diverses choses remarquées sur l'estat, couronne et peuple de France* (Vannes, Jean Bourrelrier, 1597) FB 40055 [BM Rennes, 88598]. The dedication is on []2r–[]4r.

²⁹ Le Maistre, R., *Original des troubles de ce temps. Discourant brièvement des Princes plus illustres de la tres-ancienne et tres-illustre famille de Luxembourg, et de leurs alliances genealogiques*, (Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1592) FB 33763, [Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rés. D 425]. The dedication starts on â2r.

Mercœur as the future of Brittany. The initial military successes achieved by Mercœur allowed those who followed him to celebrate in print his prowess. Accounts of the battles won by the league were printed in Nantes. Mercœur was a controversial figure who polarised opinion among the elite of the duchy. His presence and role as leader of the Leaguer faction also brought a new vehemence to pre-existing conflicts and rivalries that had characterised Breton political life during the preceding decades.

The rivalry of Rennes and Nantes

The main local issue dominating Breton politics was the long standing rivalry between the two main towns of the duchy. The also had its impact on the print world. Des Marestz and Faverye in Nantes printed texts against heretics and the *politiques* as well as eulogies of the house of Guise-Lorraine. Other, seemingly less controversial publications such as odes and sonnets were also dedicated to leading members of the League. The second part of Julien Guesdon's *Les loisirs de Rodope* was dedicated to Urbain de Laval-Boisdauphin, who was the League's governor in Maine and in Anjou.³⁰ In Rennes, the replies and counter-arguments were printed by the son of Julien du Clos, Jean – a printer previously completely overlooked by scholars³¹ – and by Michel Logeroys, who had also taken on the responsibility of publishing the king's edicts. The printers of Rennes generally replied by condemning the acts of the rebels and eulogising the house of Bourbon and their allies. Books were dedicated to known partisans of their faction; the *Traicté de la cause de la briefve vie de plusieurs princes* was dedicated to the Protestant viscount of Rohan.³² In the dedication the author claimed to be writing to encourage Rohan to continue to follow God's law and thus pursue his support of the legitimate king.

At the end of the sixteenth century, Rennes and Nantes were by some distance the two largest towns of Brittany. They had similar

³⁰ Guesdon, J., *Les loisirs de Rodope* (Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz & François Faverye, 1591) FB 23966, Second part, A2r-v [Angers BM, BL 1290 (1)].

³¹ Jean du Clos is unknown to either the relevant tome of the *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*. 19^e Livraison (Baden-Baden, 1975) or to Lepreux, *Gallia Typographica. Bretagne*.

³² *Traicté de la cause de la briefve vie de plusieurs princes et grands, et le moyen d'y pourvoir* (Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1591) FB 33272, [Paris Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, 8o T 1132 inv. 3264 (3) FA].

populations of between 25 and 30,000 inhabitants and had for decades been in direct competition, both vying for prime position within the duchy. The administrative structures of Brittany had grown out of those put in place by the dukes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the duchy had gradually become independent. As was the case in many parts of mediaeval Europe, these institutions followed the ducal court rather than choose a single place of residence. This state of affairs had been perpetuated by the kings after the integration of the duchy into the kingdom in 1532. Thus, it was only when the king called for a meeting of the province's estates that it was decided in which town they would sit. The duchy's most important institution was the *Parlement*, a hub of activity and the focus of judicial business. Henry II's act establishing the *Parlement* in 1554 had stipulated that this institution be shared between Rennes and Nantes, though both, predictably, wished to see it reside more permanently in their town. Almost immediately both cities began competing to convince the king to make them the permanent seat of the *Parlement*. At first it seemed as if Nantes had been successful. In 1557, Henry II decreed that the *Parlement* should remain there, but the decision was reversed less than four years later.³³ The court resumed its peripatetic existence and the two towns continued their power struggle. The *Parlement* was finally assigned to Rennes, but by the time this decision had been made the two cities were logged in bitter and acrimonious opposition.

The political rivalry was enhanced by their responses to the spread of the Reformation message.³⁴ The ecclesiastical and municipal authorities in Nantes rapidly adopted a firm stance against the new faith. The willingness of local authorities to repress the nascent Protestant community considerably hindered the development of the new religion. In Rennes, in contrast, the authorities were far more lenient than their Nantes counterparts with those who converted to Calvinism. Though it never opposed royal edicts promulgated against France's Protestant minority, the *Parlement* was increasingly seen as religiously equivocal.

³³ On the early years of the Breton *Parlement* (1553–1564) see the documents in Rennes AM: FF 248. For a later overview cf. Carré, H., *Essai sur le fonctionnement du Parlement de Bretagne après la Ligue (1598–1610). Thèse présentée à la Faculté des lettres de Paris* (Paris, Quantin, 1888).

³⁴ Saupin, Guy 'La perception du réseau urbain dans le conflit entre Nantes et Rennes pour la localisation du *Parlement* au milieu du XVI^e siècle (1541–1565)' *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de l'ouest et des musées de Poitiers*, III (1995) 145–172.

Never was this more obvious than in the case of the Genevan booksellers in 1562.³⁵ The divergent religious choices made by institutions in Rennes and Nantes further enhanced existing antagonism. In particular, the authorities in Nantes much resented what they perceived as the religious ambiguity of the Breton *Parlement*.

These religious and political differences were made abundantly clear at the death of Henry III in 1589. In Rennes, loyalties were immediately transferred to the man next in the line of succession, Henry IV. Indeed, in 1590 the Breton *Parlement* was the first officially to endorse Henry IV as king. The strength of feeling of a minority of the Parlement's councillors and the opposition of the governor was such that they immediately instituted a counter-*Parlement* in Nantes. This *Parlement* was true to the League and looked to Charles de Bourbon and Mercœur for its legitimacy. The emergence of rival bodies both claiming legitimacy spread to other institutions. The chamber of accounts and university that had both been based in Nantes saw sister institutions spring up in Rennes. This duplication of institutions, some loyal to the crown, others siding with the party of the Catholic League, was not a Breton peculiarity. In Normandy, the *Parlement* was similarly split between loyal councillors who settled in Caen and Leaguers who remained in Rouen. Even the powerful Paris *Parlement*, which sided with the League, saw a counterpart created in Châlons-en-Champagne.

The *Parlements* were powerful bodies whose role traditionally went far beyond the simple ratification of laws. They often became a source of political opposition to the crown. During the wars of the League their political affiliations influenced the decisions they made and the texts that were published. The Nantes *Parlement* had no hesitation in taking decisive action to help the Catholic League. The printing of the resolutions reached in the chamber played an important role in the propaganda conflict that accompanied the armed struggle. These resolutions sought to undermine support for the royalists in the duchy and made the most of the Leaguer's control over most of the duchy. The Nantes *Parlement* thus decreed that all Huguenot lands should be seized and then sold to help finance the cause. The Rennes *Parlement* retorted by declaring that its counterpart in Nantes was a rebel institution guilty of high-treason. Nantes then pushed the stakes even higher by declaring that all followers of Henry IV were "crimineux

³⁵ See Chapter 7.

de leze majesté divine et humaine, traistres et proditeurs de la patrie, perfides, perjures, intestables, infames, indignes, et incapables d'exercer à l'advenir aucun estat ou dignité". It then proceeded to condemn them to be brought

la teste et les pieds nuz, en chemise et la corde au col, et chacun au dos un escriteau contenant ces mots, *Heretiques, fauteur d'heretiques et perjures*, et en leurs mains chacun une torche de cire ardante, du pois de deux livres, et dudict lieu estre trainez sur une claye à la queue d'un tombeau, menez et conduits par les carrefours de la ville de Nantes, jusques au devant la grand porte de l'Eglise de S. Pierre. Et illec estant à genoux, faire amende honorable: et confesser que malicieusement, irreligieusement, et par conspiration impie et damnable, ils ont troublé le repos public de la Province, adhérent aux heretiques, pour introduire au Royaume, et en ceste province un Roy heretique dont ils demandent pardon à Dieu, audict Seigneur Roy et à ladicte Court pour ce fait estre dudict lieu exposez en vue de tout le peuple sur un echauffaut qui sera dressé en ladicte place du Bouffay: et sur iceluy avoir le poing coupé et apres estre ars et bruslez tous vifs au feu qui sera préparé en icelle place, et leurs corps reduits en cendre, quant ils sont apprehendes, et lesdictes cendres jettées au vent.

Des Marestz and Faverye printed the vitriolic act in its entirety, thereby ensuring that the public condemnation would have the widest audience possible as well as simultaneously associating themselves ever more closely with the League.³⁶

In fact, all these proceedings between the rival camps were followed very closely by printers in Rennes and Nantes. The proximity of the presses to the municipal and provincial authorities was a common trait of the printing industry throughout France. In Châlons-en-Champagne, Claude Guyot relied on the *Parlement* loyal to Henry IV for his material. As Henry IV sought to increase his authority over the kingdom so the royal institutions provided local printers with a substantial series of political tracts thinly disguised as decisions and rulings. Between 1589 and 1595, Guyot printed at least 30 edicts, ordinances and decisions emanating from the king, the *Parlement* and other royalist institutions.³⁷ During the wars of the League the relationship between the

³⁶ *Arrest de la court de Parlement de Bretagne séant à Nantes. Donné contre les heretiques, fauteurs d'heretiques, parjures, perfides, proditeurs de la patrie, et perturbateurs du repos public.* (Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz & François Faverye, 1590) [Paris BnF, Résac F 47127 (3)].

³⁷ See the entries listed in FB.

presses and the local authorities was more reciprocal than it had been earlier in the century. The printer's workshop was of vital importance in regions where there were rival *Parlements*.

For the new leaguer *Parlement* in Nantes the publication of edicts was an effective way of rallying support as the printing of its decisions became a symbol of the League's strength in Brittany. The highly polemical content of the decisions published illustrates the importance of the *Parlement* as a political rather than legal institution. Des Marestz and Faverye focused on rulings that either denigrated Henry IV's followers or lauded Mercœur and his lieutenants. In this context, they gladly published the scathing attack launched by the Nantes *Parlement* on its counterpart in Rennes. The condemnation was a response to a decree issued on 27 February 1590 by the *Parlement* of Rennes and printed there by Michel Logeroys. The original ruling attacked the legitimacy of the Leaguer court and denounced its decisions.³⁸ The response of the *Parlement* in Nantes was issued on 29 March and printed by Des Marestz and Faverye. It explicitly addressed the problem of the dissemination of such anti-Leaguer tracts. The local authorities in Nantes recognised that the Logeroys's tract was being read in their city and responded by putting the imprint on trial. It was duly condemned by the Leaguer court whose ruling stated that they hoped that "la memoire d'un tel escrit soit du tout esteincte et abolie, et que les gens de bien ne soient diffamez par tels officiers d'un roy heretique". It was decided that the pamphlet should be disposed of with all due ceremony:

ledict escrit sera par l'executeur de la haute justice, jetté au feu qui sera allumé pour cest effect en la place du Bouffay de ceste ville, ars et bruslé et consommé en cendres qui seront jettées au vent. Et que par la court soit proposé pris et loyer à toutes personnes qui mettront par devers luy des exemplaires dudict escrit, pour estre pareillement bruslez.

The image of the official executioner burning the offending imprint and throwing its ashes to the wind was a powerful warning to potential dissenters. Those who brought other copies of this text to be destroyed were to be rewarded for their efforts.³⁹

³⁸ *Arrest contre ceux qui faulcement usurpent le nom et tiltre de Parlement en la ville de Nantes* (Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1590) FB 41076 [BnF, Résac. F 47127 (2)].

³⁹ [*Arrest de la court de parlement de Bretagne du 29 mars 1590*] ([Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1590]) FB 41253, [Paris BnF, Résac. F 47127 (4bis)].

Mercœur surrendered to the king in March 1598 under the conditions set out in an edict promulgated by Henry IV in Angers. The edict brought to an end resistance to the king in the duchy of Brittany but, as elsewhere, Henry was aware of the deep divisions that had been exacerbated by the armed conflict. The king was keen to promote reconciliation, and the edict which set out the conditions of Mercœur's surrender explained in some detail all the acts that were to be forgiven and banished from the collective memory. This amnesty also covered the activities of authors of Leaguer tracts. The text stipulated that everything that had been "écrit en livres, libelles" should be forgotten.⁴⁰ This was a surprising clause that did not feature in the similar texts drawn up for other towns with significant presses, such as Orléans or even Paris.⁴¹ Though this clause sought to guarantee the safety of those who had written the books, it offered no protection to the books themselves. The virulence of much that had been written meant that some censorship of these books was inevitable. The work that seems to have suffered most from royal disapproval was the panegyric of the house of Lorraine printed in Nantes by Des Marestz and Faverye in 1593. Three copies of the book survive, but all have been mutilated. None of the surviving copies have the original title page. The Nantes copy lacks strategic portions of the text: the pages that included the entries to the first and second dukes of Lorraine were removed. But despite such measures the book continued to be sold by local booksellers. A manuscript note in one of the extant copies noted that the book was bought in Nantes on 18 March 1598, months after Mercœur's capitulation.⁴²

Printing during the League

The change in the matter printed during the years of the Catholic League is very clear from a statistical analysis of the output of the Breton presses.

⁴⁰ "La memoire demeure à jamais estainte et abolie" see *Edict sur la reduction de monsieur le duc de Mercœur en l'obeissance de sa majesté* (Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1599) FB 28535, [Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 8o F 849 inv. 4123 (20) Rés.] pp. 14–5.

⁴¹ *Declaration du Roy sur la reduction de la ville et generalité d'Orleans* (Tours, Jamet Mettayer, 1594) FB 27844, [Author's collection]. *Edict et declaration sur la reduction de la ville de Paris sous son obeissance* (Lyon, Guichard Jullieron & Thibaud Ancelin, 1594) FB 27873, [BM Lyon, Rés. 316269].

⁴² The note reads: "Ce present livre ait este achepte a Nantes par le sousigne ce xviiije jour du mois d'aoust mil cinq centz quattres vingt dixhuict. J. Ruille" (BM Nancy, 50878). The other copies are: BM Nantes, 54854 R and BnF, Rés. LM3 590.

Table 5: Printing in Brittany during the Wars of Religion

Dates	Sheets	Titles	Sheets per title
1566–1576	26.76	29	0.92
1577–1587	44.77	27	1.66
1588–1598	14.50	75	0.19

The first two eleven year periods (1566 to 1576 and 1577 to 1587) show a rise in the size of volumes produced as established printers and book-sellers sought to publish more substantial books and diversify. But the final period (1588 to 1598) witnessed a dramatic change in the type of texts that came off the presses. The number of titles increased almost threefold but the average quantity of sheets used to complete each imprint fell to less than an eighth. If one was to obtain a copy of all 75 titles printed in the final period, this would only have involved using a third of the paper that was necessary to produce the 27 titles used between 1577 and 1587. The wars of the League therefore saw a complete transformation of the typical Breton imprint. In the last decade of the sixteenth century, the most common printed item was a short text printed in octavo or in quarto. It was cheap, accessible, and dealt with contemporary issues.

Polemical matter did not account for all the ephemeral output of the presses during the final decade of the sixteenth century. But the production of pamphlets did change the mindset of some printers. One of the effects of the upheavals of the wars of the Catholic League was the development of a new print culture in Brittany. Increasingly, printers played a more important role in the dissemination of information. In many respects, this was the main role of the provincial presses throughout the kingdom of France. If one excludes the three main centres of printing, Paris, Lyon and Rouen, the most common type of work published in the late sixteenth century by the remaining presses had one overwhelming vocation: to inform. The most obvious incarnation of this vocation was the production and distribution of copies of official acts. First amongst these was the production of royal edicts, ordinances and letters patent, but the decisions of the *Parlements* were also enthusiastically reprinted as were the rulings of many of the other administrative and judicial institutions. The printed production of Le Mans during the second half of the sixteenth, for example, mirrors that of Brittany. The vast majority of vernacular editions were short imprints of this type.

In many ways, the dissemination of information still relied on the same mechanisms as it had during the later middle ages. The average peasant or town dweller in the sixteenth century received the news he needed through oral communication. In the towns, the decisions made by the prince or the courts were relayed via town criers who went to the established points within each town to read out the latest rulings and royal acts. This method of communication followed long established patterns and continued throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thus the ruling of the Breton *Parlement* of 28 March 1598 that sought to ban the fortification of houses and the gatherings of men-at-arms was publically proclaimed two days later in Rennes. To reach the widest audience possible such acts were read out at numerous locations: “aux carrefours du grand bout de Cohuë, la Cherbonnerie, la Cisne, les Carmes, Toussaincts et autres lieux et endroits accoustumez à faire”. Such events were highly organised as a trumpeter (in this case Michel Coquart, “trompette ordinaire audict Rennes”) would attract as large a crowd as possible before the acts were read out. This was not only done at strategic locations in the town but also at strategic moments of the day, in particular “environ l’heure de midy dudict jour, en grande congregation de peuple à ce voir et ouyr faire”.⁴³

This long-established method of communication was enhanced by the role of the provincial presses. The written word took on far greater importance in the dissemination of information. If the average literacy rates were still poor, increasing numbers of people were able to read and understand written texts. In such circumstances, the printed word conferred a new veil of legitimacy in a world that had previously depended on the spoken word. Oral communication relied on the repetition of information with no means of substantiating the facts. The printed news letter or decree changed this. The presses enabled the rapid production of a large number of broadsheets that could be put up throughout the towns and in the main villages. The absence of surviving copies has sometimes led this phenomenon to be underestimated. Such items have an extremely poor survival rate. A single sheet that was simply intended to proclaim a time-specific decision was fragile and did not attract collectors. Generally, we owe the survival of such items to the fact that they were gathered and stored together with other

⁴³ *Arrest de la cour de Parlement portant defenses à tous seigneurs, gentilshommes et autres de fortifier maisons et tenir en icelles soldats et gens de guerre* (Antoine Hernault, Angers, 1598) A3v–4r [Paris BnF, Résac. F 47127 (6)].

mostly manuscript administrative papers. The wealth of broadsheets to be found in the *Archives Départementales* of Calvados is a case in point. The archives hold over thirty broadsheets, mostly bound along with the manuscript copies of other acts that emanated from the king, the *Parlement* in Rouen or the governor of the province.⁴⁴

Similarly, the only broadsheets that can be unequivocally attributed to a Rennes printer are located in the municipal archives along with manuscript letters from the king to the governor of Brittany or to the town council. The first was a relatively informal letter by Henry IV to the lieutenant general of the duchy, the count of Brissac, in which the king instructed him to warn all those concerned of his decision to postpone the meeting of the Estates scheduled for 22 October 1599. This instruction was only signed by the king at Fontainebleau on 7 October. Yet the *Guide des chemins de France* considers that the trip from Fontainebleau to Rennes would take 9 full days.⁴⁵ In the best of cases, it therefore seems unlikely that Brissac would have read the letter and been able to act on its consequences before 17th October 1599. By then it would have been vitally important to produce a large number of copies in the shortest possible time to inform all those who might have been preparing for the journey to Vannes. This is where the printing presses were able to provide an unrivalled service. Once the fairly rapid task of composing the thirteen lines of text had been undertaken, Michel Logeroys would have been able to produce as many copies as necessary and the act could have been publicised almost immediately. The tight timeframe that had been imposed on the authorities in Rennes was illustrated by the fact that the letter was only officially read out to the town representatives on 22 October. This was the very day on which the Estates had initially been planned.⁴⁶

In Nantes, we know of a number of archival references to such broadsheets. The relatively trivial nature of the texts that were printed is striking. The production of forms for everyday use was symptomatic

⁴⁴ See for example the broadsheet of the royal act promulgated by Francis II on 25 February 1559/60 and the broadsheet of the act of Villebon, lieutenant general of Normandy, 21 April 1560, (both s.l., s.d. [Macé Bénédict, Caen 1560]), AD Calvados, 1 B 2, f. 3 and f. 25.

⁴⁵ Estienne, C., *La guide des chemins de France, reveue et augmentée pour la troiesme fois. Les fleuves du Royaume de France, aussi augmentez* (Charles Estienne, Paris, 1553) [London, British Library, 10171 aa 40] p. 140.

⁴⁶ Letter from Henry IV to the count of Brissac, lieutenant general of Brittany, 7 October 1599 (s.l., s.d. [Michel Logeroys, Rennes, 1599]), AM Rennes, Liasse 9. The date of the reading is given by a manuscript note added to this copy.

of the evolution of the role of the presses. An example of this use sort of printing from the final decade of the sixteenth century is preserved in the municipal archives in Nantes. The form was used by the authorities of Nantes to ensure that sufficient provisions were gathered within the town. It was a small piece of paper with 12 lines of text printed on one side with three blanks to be filled in and signed by the relevant official.⁴⁷ Interestingly, though the form was clearly commissioned by the municipality of Nantes, the task was not considered to be important enough to be included in the accounts of the city. It can be supposed that the cost of such operations was therefore very low.

The development of an increasingly large body of printed ephemera of this type was characteristic of the final decade of the century. It is proof of the increasing diversification of the printed matter in Brittany. But the willingness of printers to embrace all types of material was not the only legacy of the Wars of the League to the Breton book world.

Bookselling during the League

The Wars of the League had a profound effect on bookselling throughout France. The conflict caused great disruption to many trade routes. The booksellers' network was particularly affected as it became difficult to send books from one region to the next. The two main French centres of print, Paris and Lyon, embraced the Leaguer cause. This had a detrimental effect on their production, but it also meant that sending books to Nantes became virtually impossible. Strategic towns along the Loire valley such as Tours remained loyal to Henry III and, after his death, swore allegiance to Henry IV. This meant that the usual trade route along the Loire was closed to booksellers in the League strongholds. The result of this was that many provincial towns were starved of books.

This situation presented new opportunities to enterprising booksellers. Théodore Reinsart undertook to make the most of the situation by exporting books printed by the Plantin presses in Antwerp to a number of French cities.⁴⁸ He mainly targeted royalist cities such as

⁴⁷ [*Ordre de faire provision pour les habitants de Nantes*], ([Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz, 1596]), [AM Nantes, FF 187].

⁴⁸ Pallier, D., 'La firme plantinienne et le marché français pendant la Ligue: les voyages du libraire Théodore Reinsart en France (1591–1596)' *De Gulden Passer*, LXI–LXIII (1983–1985) 117–135.

Caen or Tours, but the registers in Antwerp indicate that he also sent books to Nantes.⁴⁹ The strength of Dutch trade on the Atlantic coast meant that his consignments could be sent in ships that were going to dock in the city. This enabled him to avoid the difficulties faced by his counterparts in Lyon and Paris. Initially, this plan was successful; he wrote to Jan Moretus “vous diriez qu’ils n’ont veu des livres de dix ans tant ils estoient affamez de livres”.⁵⁰ Reinsart generally visited the cities to which he was sending books and came to an agreement with a major bookseller who would then sell on the volumes. The barrel of books sent to Nantes in 1593 was marked with the initials “P. D.”, which probably referred to the bookseller Pierre Doriou.

The barrel contained in all 674 books ranging from large folios to small 32mo editions. The inventory of the contents shows that the consignment can be broadly subdivided into two categories: religious and humanist books. The number of copies of each type was similar, but on average the religious books were over four times the price of the humanist volumes. This was probably in part due to the number of illustrations and their quality: books with copper engravings were consistently priced higher than those with woodcuts. The religious books sent to Nantes were chosen to appeal to a wide readership. They included 60 books of hours, 40 breviaries, 46 diurnals, 21 missals and 12 catechisms. The non-religious books consisted mainly of editions of works by classical authors such as Cicero and Virgil or of more recent scholars and in particular the works of Justus Lipsius.

The fall of Lyon in 1593 and that of Paris the following year created new problems in the short term for the Breton book trade. Mercœur and the Leaguer forces in Brittany held out until 1598. In the intervening period, the provision of books would have been particularly difficult. The arrival in Nantes of the noted Parisian bookseller Guillaume Bichon in 1594 following the fall of Paris does not seem to have had a profound impact on the local book world. Bichon was a very active bookseller who first entered the trade in 1584.⁵¹ His early career is closely associated with the Catholic League and he was involved in the

⁴⁹ “Facture d’ung tonneau de livres envoyé à Nantes”, [1593], Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Archives 323 f. 52.

⁵⁰ Reinsart to Moretus, 27 March 1592, Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Archives 92 p. 305.

⁵¹ On Bichon see the chapter devoted to him in *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle: ouvrage publié d’après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard. Tome 3: Baquelier-Billon* (Paris, Service des travaux historiques de la ville de Paris, 1979).

distribution of Leaguer texts to a number of provincial cities.⁵² Bichon seems to have moved to Nantes in the aftermath of the fall of Paris in 1594. During his stay in Brittany, he continued to sell books. In a transaction undertaken in 1598, Bichon was described as a “marchant libraire demourant a Nantes en Bretagne” and bought some “marchandise de librairye” worth the considerable sum of 766 *écus*.⁵³ But his role in Nantes does not seem to have included commissioning any new editions. Bichon was named on the title pages of over a hundred editions prior to his arrival in the city, but we do not know of any imprints associated with him during his Breton sojourn. This suggests that Bichon’s impact was limited. His stay in the city was, in any case, brief. By 1599 he had returned to Paris where he resumed his bookselling career and continued to commission and sell works until his death in 1627.

The victory of Henry IV over Mercœur and the end of the wars of religion radically changed the context in which both printers and booksellers did business. The number of polemical texts written and printed in the kingdom of France fell markedly. The trade routes that had suffered so much during the wars were once more safe to use. The booksellers and printers who had been fervent supporters of the Catholic League such as Bichon in Paris or Pillehotte in Lyon soon returned to the cities where they had made their names.⁵⁴ In Brittany, the emphasis shifted towards a more balanced production and to a greater stability within the book world.

⁵² See the request made by Bichon on 2 March 1592 (AN Z 1 H 567) summarised in *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens* at p. 385.

⁵³ Transaction between Guillaume Bichon and Michel and Laurent Sonnius, 24 July 1598, AN Minutier Central, étude LXXIII carton 149. Interestingly, he was initially referred to as a bourgeois though the scribe later crossed out this qualifier.

⁵⁴ On Jean Pillehotte’s exile following the fall of Lyon to Henri IV see Baudrier, H., *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondateurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle* (Lyon, Librairie ancienne d’Auguste Brun, 1895–1921) Tome II.

CONCLUSIONS

By the end of the sixteenth century the Breton book trade was increasingly well organised. The move towards a more structured framework for the printing and selling of books became even more marked in the early seventeenth century. The importance of such control had already been underlined in a work published in 1597 by the printer Jean Bourrelrier in Vannes. *Les observations de diverses choses remarquees sur l'estat, couronne et peuple de France* was written by Regnault Dorléans, a member of the local Breton judiciary. His political and religious sympathies were made abundantly clear in the preliminary material: he dedicated his book to Philippe-Emmanuel de Lorraine, duke of Mercœur, the Leaguer governor of the province. Dorléans's views informed much of what he wrote. His overview of the French kingdom, its composition and traditions, was strongly impregnated by the author's Catholicism. But it is the section devoted to French artisans and their achievements that is of particular interest to us. In this chapter he described the place that the printing press should occupy in society.

Printed books represented, in Dorléans's opinion, a compendium of all knowledge. It was an art in which the French excelled. He did make a special exception for the extraordinary output of Christophe Plantin's presses in Antwerp though he was quick to remind his readers of the printer's French origins. Of particular note in this discourse was the emphasis that Dorléans laid on the proper organisation of the presses. He stressed that "l'imprimerie a ses privileges, libertez et reglemens, par les ordonnances de nos Roys, qui n'ont pensé estre chose hors de belle et ample cognoissance, de les maintenir en cest honneste exercice, c'est à sçavoir en faisant difference des maistres d'avecques leurs serviteurs et compagnons, et les compagnons d'avecques les apprentifs, pour eviter au desordre".¹ Not only was it necessary to control the industry's production and regulate competition, but the presses

¹ See Chapter 22: "Des Artisans François, de leur vocation et de l'excellence des arts mechaniques" in Dorléans, R., *Les observations de diverses choses remarquees sur l'estat, couronne et peuple de France* (Vannes, Jean Bourrelrier, 1597) FB 40055 [BM Rennes, 88598], at pp. 220–222.

required a clear structure and a strong internal hierarchy. Order was, in his view, integral and, indeed, crucial to the success of printing.

The organisation of the book world

When Dorléans penned these remarks in 1597, the partisans of the Catholic League were still fighting royalists in Brittany in a war that had been ravaging the duchy for almost a decade. The political and religious debate has facilitated the development of presses in the rival cities of Rennes and Nantes. They had grasped the opportunity to develop in new directions and expand their readership. Never over the previous century of print had the presses seemed so active nor their output more important to the everyday life of the duchy. The deregulation and lack of control that had followed the rise of the League had enabled the presses to thrive. In Germany, the existence of a multitude of different independent states had aided the development of local presses in the wake of Luther's Reformation. Similarly, seventy years later the splintering of authority in the kingdom of France during the wars of the League had seen the growth and development of new and existing centres of print. In particular in Royalist towns such as Tours or Châlons-en-Champagne, changing political circumstances had offered a unique opportunity for the presses to develop. The Leaguer stance of both Paris and Lyon undermined their dominance of the French printing world. It momentarily released their stranglehold on the production of printed books.

The political and religious discord that had been so profitable for provincial presses contrasted starkly with the ideal vision set out in *Les observations de diverses choses*. By insisting so heavily on the regulation of the printing industry, Dorléans was conforming to one of the strong *topoi* of the late mediaeval and early modern world: that society should be properly organised into a clear hierarchical structure. But such stratified systems stifled printers who were anxious to carve out new markets for their output. It ignored one of the main factors that had enabled the emergence of new printers in Brittany. Paradoxically for a book dedicated to Mercœur, the system predicated by Dorléans would have handicapped the workshop of Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, the two most fervent supporters of the Catholic League in the duchy. Certainly, when order was restored following the edict of Nantes and the signing of the peace of Vervins, Des Marestz was the first to

pay the price. He disappeared without a trace whilst more cautious printers profited from the market that his audacity had nurtured.

When the chaos and enthusiasm of the wars abated, the clamours for a more regulated book industry grew louder. This was a trend that was not confined to Brittany and seems to have originated in Paris. The desire to see a better controlled system resulted in the promulgation in 1618 of a series of statutes that sought to regulate printers and booksellers.² A few years later, the two main Breton towns followed suit. The charter given to the booksellers, printers and bookbinders of Rennes in 1623 put the local industry into a straightjacket. But the text was the result of lobbying by members of the town's book trade. Many of the existing printers and booksellers had a strong vested interest in preserving the status quo. They were the main beneficiaries of this charter: it protected them from incomers and from unexpected disruption. The text set out the steps required to become a master printer or bookseller within the city and formalised the registration of apprentices. It consecrated the peculiar position of members of the book trade in local society by acknowledging the perceived differences between those involved in the creation and distribution of books and other lesser artisans and merchants. The statutes also confirmed all their existing privileges. There were also articles that dealt with the quality of the texts produced. Article IX encouraged printers to have their Latin and Greek imprints checked by some "bons correcteurs".³

Almost simultaneously a separate, different charter was agreed for the members of the Nantes book trade.⁴ Though most of the articles of the Rennes charter were repeated in the Nantes statutes, the two sets of regulations differed on some fundamental questions. In Nantes, the

² *Lettres patentes du Roy pour le reglement des libraires, imprimeurs et relieurs de ceste ville de Paris* (Paris, Pierre Mettayer, 1618) [BnF, F 23610 (723)]. The text was reprinted in Paris by an unknown printer three years later (see BnF, F 13020).

³ The text is quoted from the later printed version: *Chartres et statuts des imprimeurs et libraires de la ville de Rennes* (Rennes, Pierre Garnier, 1699) [AM Rennes, HH 195]. The royal letters that confirmed the charter are dated 1 December 1623.

⁴ An exemplar of the original version of the articles and statutes of the booksellers, printers and bookbinders of Nantes printed in 1624 was kept in the Municipal Library of Nantes but this has now been lost. A contemporary manuscript copy is to be found in the *Archives Départementales de Loire-Atlantique* under the call number 5 E 51. The text was also extensively quoted with modernised spelling in Pied, E., *Les Anciens corps d'arts et métiers de Nantes* (Nantes, A. Dugas, 1903), in the chapter entitled 'Libraires et imprimeurs' (pp. 101 to 124). The royal letters that confirmed the charter were dated 27 June 1623. My quotes are drawn from the manuscript copy.

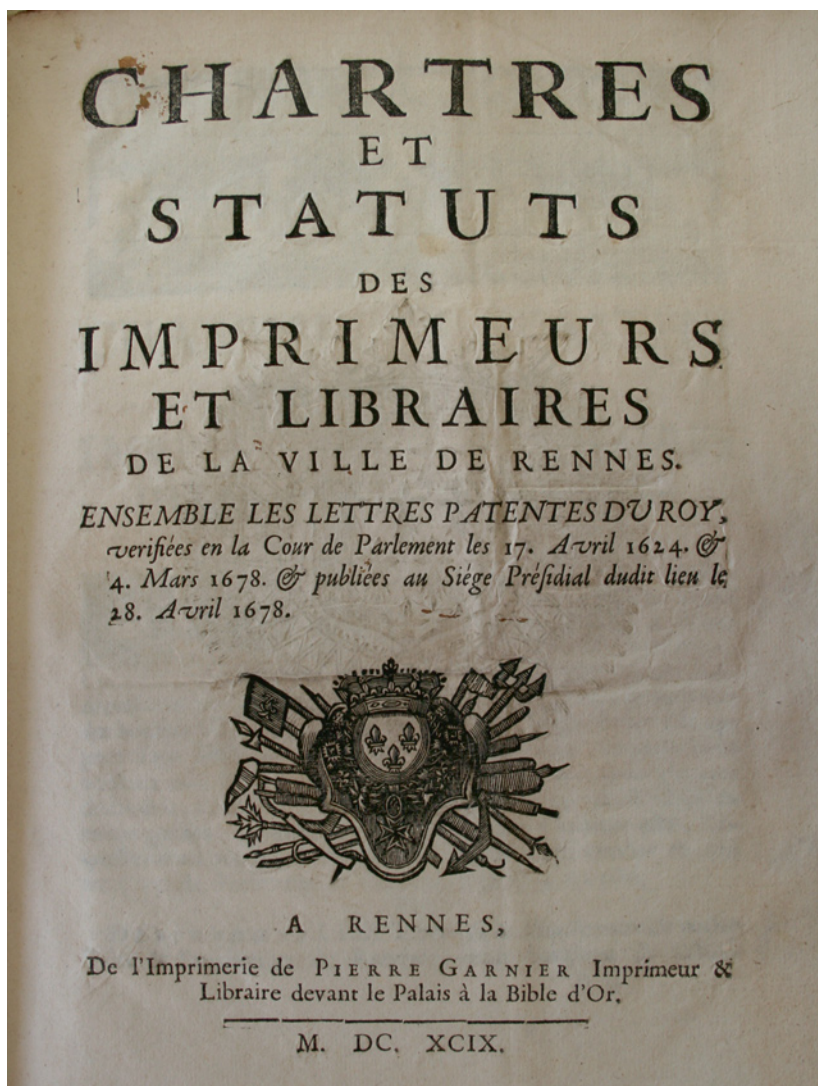


Figure 14: Statutes for printers and booksellers in Rennes (1624).

charter began by explaining that the text was the direct result of the events of the previous decades. It stipulated that it was framed as a response to “les abus et malversations qui ont esté cy derrain commis au moyen du desordre des guerres civiles”. This was a clear attack on the uncontrolled and seditious polemical output of workshops of the

type established by Des Marestz. The shadow of the Catholic League was such that, unlike in the Rennes charter, an article was explicitly devoted to discouraging “livres et libelles diffamatoires”.⁵ Those who printed or commissioned such items were to be declared disturbers of the peace and stripped of their privileges and right to sell or print books.

It was perhaps because of the town's embrace of the League that there was also a stronger emphasis on conformity in the Nantes charter. The first article announced that printers, booksellers and bookbinders in Nantes would follow the regulations set out by the University of Paris as, the charter proclaimed, the University of Nantes was created in its image. But in fact the Nantes charter was unlike the text promulgated in Paris six years earlier. For instance, the issue of religion was emphasised in the Nantes charter despite the fact that the subject was not touched upon in the Parisian document. The similarities were mainly confined to sections that dealt with the relationship between the university and the local book world. The statutes required the university to have an active role in the control and vetting of printers and booksellers who wished to set up shop.

The differences between the charters of Rennes and Nantes emphasise the very different political, institutional and religious characteristics of both cities. But whilst these are important to our understanding of the diverging paths of the book trade in Rennes and Nantes, this should not detract from the main point: the early seventeenth century witnessed a tightening of regulations that sought to constrain and control the presses. Both charters had articles that made it difficult for anyone to come to the cities from outside their walls. The stipulation in the Nantes charter that all printers were obliged to own at least two working presses was a further disincentive to newcomers.⁶ It was a hurdle that implied that printers required significant financial means. The suggested penalties for failing to conform to the statutes were severe. The Rennes charter warned that those found to be contravening the rules were to suffer corporal punishment and have their presses, books and all other material confiscated.

⁵ The same threat was made in the “Règlement baillé aux imprimeurs, libraires, et relieurs de l'Université de Reims” in March 1623 (article XIII): Varin, P. (ed.), *Archives législatives de la ville de Reims. Statuts*. (Paris, Crapelet, 1847) II, 467–478.

⁶ A similar stipulation was made in Reims: Varin, P. (ed.), *Archives législatives* II, 467–478, article VII.

The strengthening of the presses

Despite these restrictive statutes, printing still developed markedly during the seventeenth century. The early seventeenth century saw a steady increase in the number of booksellers and printers in Brittany. There was a rise in the number of places that had a functioning press and existing print centres increased their output. By the time the charters were delivered and signed in Nantes and Rennes, the number of people involved with the local book trade had also risen substantially. The Nantes charter was signed by ten different booksellers and printers who had wished to see the trade become a better organised conglomeration of businesses. This demonstrates the robust health of the booksellers' network in the city in the 1620s.⁷

There were an increasing number of Breton towns that could boast an active press. One of the new centres of print to emerge in the early seventeenth century was the town of St Malo on the northern coast of the duchy. St Malo was a thriving commercial port that profited from the increase in trade with new outposts. The importance of the town as a sea-faring centre is illustrated by the voyage of the Laval-born explorer François Pyrard who set sail in May 1601. In his diary, he described his time in the Maldives and India and how he had been able to persuade a business conglomerate of merchants of St Malo, Vitré and Laval to fund his attempt to map a route from Brittany to India.⁸ The port grew throughout the seventeenth century, becoming a rich and vibrant commercial centre. It was precisely the type of town where the book trade could prosper.

The arrival of the presses in St Malo was not left to chance. During the wars of religion, the municipal structures of the main Breton towns had been considerably strengthened and this was particularly noticeable in St Malo. The town's strategic endorsement of the Catholic League had been very much predicated on the additional autonomy that such a move entailed. The chaos that followed Henry IV's accession represented a signal opportunity for the town's burghers.

⁷ "Articles et statutz accordez et arrestez entre les maistres libraires, imprimeurs et relieurs de libvres de la ville et Université de Nantes", [1623], AD Loire-Atlantique, 5 E 51 f. 6r.

⁸ See the author's foreword in Pyrard, F., *Discours du voyage des François aux Indes Orientales, ensemble des divers accidens, adventures et dangers de l'auteur en plusieurs royaumes des Indes et du séjour qu'il y a fait par dix ans, depuis l'an 1601 jusques en cette année 1611* (Paris, D. Le Clerc, 1611) [BnF, 8 O2K 24].

The municipality even sought to declare an independent republic of St Malo; a political entity that survived for four years until Henry IV's coronation in 1594. The town was able to keep many of the privileges that it had bestowed on itself over the preceding four years by swearing allegiance to the king before it was directly threatened by royalist forces. As a result much power had been concentrated in the hands of the municipality. They sought to express this new found power through the medium of the printed word.

The municipality determined to invite a printer, Pierre Marcigay, to settle in the town. To achieve this, the town resorted to financial incentives. This system was nothing new and had been used almost since the start of print itself. Whether this approach was an effective manner of creating a long term print culture is, however, debatable. When the Dutch city of Leiden encouraged Christopher Plantin to move there from Antwerp – where he had achieved hitherto unparalleled success – the results were not as impressive as anticipated. The city had invested quite heavily in this plan: the printer was paid an annual stipend in return for publishing specific texts. But Plantin soon decided to return to Antwerp, leaving his son in law to run the shop. Leiden's municipality had no other choice than to seek a replacement as official printer.⁹ In the case of St Malo, the town offered their prospective printer an attractive deal. Marcigay set up his workshop in 1602 and immediately published works of local interest. Symbolically, the first edition to come from his press was a reprint of the edict of submission of St Malo to Henry IV originally published in Rennes by Michel Logerroys seven years earlier.¹⁰ Though his known output remains modest, Marcigay's presence in St Malo marked the start of a successful print industry in the town. Elsewhere in the duchy a number of other new centres of print sprung up in developing towns such as Brest, St Brieuc and Quimper. In existing print centres, the achievements of the final decades of the sixteenth century were not lost. In Nantes the output of the presses increased steadily but their progress was modest in comparison to the printed production of the two other main centres, Rennes and Vannes.

⁹ Voet, L., *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp. The Management of a Printing and Publishing House in Renaissance and Baroque* (Amsterdam, Van Gendt & Co., 1972) I, 106–113.

¹⁰ *Edict du Roy sur la reduction des ville et chasteau de Saint Malo en l'obeissance de sa majesté* (St Malo, Pierre Marcigay, 1602) [BnF, F 46895 (6)].

In these two towns, the number of editions published rose exponentially as the seventeenth century progressed.¹¹

The success of the printing industry could also be measured in the increasing sophistication of the presses' output. In 1607, an edition of the customs of the duchy published in Nantes became the first book printed in Brittany in the small 24o format.

This local innovation made this vital legal text more portable than ever before and consecrated the role of local printers as purveyors of



Figure 15: Gobert's edition of the customs of Brittany, 1607.

¹¹ The statistics that can be derived from Desgraves, L., *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au XVIIe siècle. Tome XI : Bretagne* (Baden-Baden, V. Koerner, 1984) are very incomplete but still point to a very rapid increase in the number of items printed. Desgraves enumerates 249 items printed in Nantes, 369 in Vannes and 847 in Rennes.

everyday books.¹² The number of books printed in Breton also rose with 15 works in Breton appearing between 1609 and 1633, most of which were printed in Morlaix.¹³ The presses had been established on a durable basis. During the seventeenth century, thousands of books came off Breton presses every year. In all, over 1,500 different editions are known to have been printed in the duchy between 1601 and 1700, some six times more than during the preceding century.¹⁴

The printing industry

The printed production of the various presses active within the duchy of Brittany in the fifteenth and sixteenth century amounts to almost 300 distinct editions produced by 28 master printers in just over 20 different workshops. The most prolific of these, Julien du Clos in Rennes, produced 43 known editions which represented just over 15% of the total production. Unlike in some other regions in this period, printing was not dominated by a single figure or workshop. Rennes accounted for just over half of the output of the duchy with Nantes being the only other significant centre of publication. In many ways, this repartition of the printed production of the duchy mirrored, albeit on a much smaller scale, that of the kingdom of France. Though Paris dominated proceedings, Lyon played a significant role, whilst smaller centres of print still made up a substantial part of the total number of editions. The duchy, in its own modest way was a microcosm of what Andrew Pettegree has characterised as the “partially dispersed” model of printing.¹⁵

In contrast, the statistical analysis of the works printed reveals trends that are very different from the wider characteristics of French printing. The dominance of vernacular works is particularly noteworthy. Though books in Breton were not very numerous, there were far more works in French than in Latin printed in the duchy during the

¹² *Les coutumes du païs et duché de Bretagne* (Nantes, Luc Gobert, 1607) [Author's collection]. This edition is not listed in the aforementioned *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au XVIIe siècle*.

¹³ Courouau, J.-F., 'L'imprimé religieux en langue bretonne (1526–1660)' *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*, CXV (2008) 57–79 at p. 78.

¹⁴ In order to compare like with like, I have used in this case the figures given by the relevant volumes of the *Répertoire bibliographique*.

¹⁵ See the models outlined in Pettegree, A. & Hall, M., 'The Reformation and the Book: a reconsideration', *Historical Journal*, 47, 2 (2004), 785–808.

sixteenth century. Over 86% of the output was in vernacular languages underlining the reliance for most of the Latin works on the production of the main European centres of print. The folio volume was a rarity in an industry heavily dominated by quartos and octavos that together represented nine out of ten editions. Typically, a Breton imprint would be a medium sized book in French that required approximately 20 sheets of paper (or 320 pages if it was printed in octavo). In terms of subject matter, works of jurisprudence (theoretical works as well as edicts and ordinances) represented the largest category, but there were also numerous editions of *belles-lettres*, as well as religious texts and polemical writings. Small categories included a handful of medical editions printed in Rennes.

Mapping the development of print in the provinces

The plaque that commemorates the start of printing in Tréguier does not tell the complicated story of the first century of the printed book in the duchy. In Tréguier itself, the work of the printer known only through his initials “Ja. P.” and those of his successor, Jean Calvez, ensured that it was the most successful of the early Breton centres of print. Yet after the disappearance of Calvez’s press in 1513 the local population had to wait for over a century and a half to read a local imprint. The next work known to have been printed in the town was published in 1677.¹⁶ The long term failure of the presses in Tréguier underlines the difficulties faced by the Breton print industry during the first century of print. Over the sixteenth century, the book trade had undergone profound changes that transformed the manner in which provincial presses worked. The strengthening of the main centres of print and bookseller networks revolutionised the way in which books were produced and distributed. In such circumstances, it was essential that the provincial print industry adapt to survive. It metamorphosed through different phases to become more robust and adopted an economically viable business model that allowed it gradually to expand.

Unlike their counterparts in Paris and Lyon, the printers and booksellers of Brittany mainly existed under the shadow of books produced

¹⁶ See Le Menn, G., ‘L’imprimerie à Tréguier (XVe siècle – XXe siècle)’ *Bulletin de la Société d’Emulation des Côtes-d’Armor* (1987) 111–123.

elsewhere and imported into the duchy. The story of the development of the presses in regional cities such as Nantes and Rennes has to be contrasted with the experience of workshops situated in the main centres of print. It has been argued that there were five principal characteristics of successful print centres, namely, the existence of lively fairs, a robust financial industry, easy access to either fluvial or maritime trade routes, the availability of skilled workmen and the “existence of extended distribution networks”.¹⁷ Yet, whilst this might have been true in part for a handful of cities in Europe, it certainly was not the basis on which presses developed successfully in most medium sized cities. The strength of distribution networks was, in reality, a handicap for any but the largest print centres as it encouraged the import of cheap books printed elsewhere.

The analysis of the printed book in Brittany during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brings to the fore a pattern that can be discerned in other French provinces and that might well have an even wider European relevance. Outside the main printing cities, the production of printed books initially followed a template inherited from the manuscript era. Early printers in these secondary centres of print depended heavily on individual orders and direct patronage. In Brittany, this first stage was typical of book production during the incunabula era. This is perfectly illustrated by the dependence of the first active press in Bréhan-Loudéac on the patronage of a single nobleman. It was a model devised with very limited ambitions. The printing centres that emerged in this first period remained fragile and their production was of modest proportions. After the early flurry of publications, this business model had to be abandoned as it did not enable the presses to develop sufficiently to ensure their long term survival. In Brittany, the presses disappeared altogether at the start of the sixteenth century. The increasing competition from well-established print centres helped by the powerful and developing network of booksellers made printing economically unviable.

During this second period, booksellers thrived on the growing appetite for printed books. By setting up consortia and commissioning books from the main centres of print, they were able to cater for the specific needs of the region. The Breton booksellers had books of hours,

¹⁷ Mellot, J.-D., ‘Rouen and its printers from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century’ in Gee, M. and Kirk, T., *Printed Matters. Printing, Publishing and Urban Culture in Europe in the Modern Period* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002) 8–29 at p. 10.

legal handbooks and histories of the duchy printed elsewhere and distributed them throughout Brittany. These books aimed at a regional audience were sold alongside the titles with wider appeal produced by printers in Paris, Lyon and Rouen. The career of Jean Macé demonstrated the influence that successful booksellers could wield. It also emphasised the ease with which trade routes could be exploited by booksellers. Macé's achievements contrast sharply with the failure of printers to settle in either Rennes or Nantes during the first quarter of the century. In order to survive, workshops were forced to find a new business model.

The return of the presses involved the development of a business model that mixed institutional patronage from a variety of sources. Printers turned to the municipalities as well as to religious, legal and educational institutions to ensure a regular source of income. Printers such as Georget in Rennes relied heavily on this type of work. Simultaneously, the workshops also began printing large numbers of small works that could be sold at low cost. These could be printed in a matter of days and enabled printers to have a rapid return on their initial investment. In the words of our wily contemporary observer, Noël du Fail, when reviewing the publications of even some of the major members of the Parisian book trade: "le vray moien de s'enrichir" was "gagner petit et souvent".¹⁸ Gradually, printers also strove to develop a more independent and competitive line of niche publications. The career of Julien du Clos demonstrated how a printer could serve both the interests of an institution such as the Breton *Parlement* and begin to publish a selection of other titles. The success of this commercial strategy was underlined by his willingness to defy the powerful Parisian bookseller, Jacques du Puys.

The advent of the wars of the Catholic League represented a new opportunity. The intensity of the wars led to the break up of many of the traditional bookselling routes and reduced the immediate competition faced by local printers. The spread of the conflict to Brittany and the very different political choices made by the two main towns of the duchy also encouraged the development of polemical printing. In these very particular circumstances, Breton printers began to produce works for a wide range of interests, catering for new audiences whether it be

¹⁸ Du Fail, N., *Contes et discours d'Eutrapel* (ed. Hippeau, C., Paris, Librairie des bibliophiles, 1875) I, 167.

through the printing of pamphlets, religious sermons or through the production of editions of “new” texts. The expansion in the type of books published during the wars allowed local printers to modify their business model and rely less on institutional support. The organisation of the presses at the beginning of the seventeenth century was undoubtedly a response to the excesses that took place during the Wars of the League. But by then the workshops were well-established and the local use of regional presses had become a feature of local intellectual and institutional culture.

The new found strength of the presses did not undermine the booksellers’ network; rather it served to complement it. The early seventeenth century saw a growth in the number of known booksellers active in Brittany. When printer and bookseller Luc Gobert died in Nantes in 1616, his heirs arranged that the contents of his bookshop be inventoried in order to provide an accurate estimate of his wealth. It is the oldest document of this kind to survive in Brittany and it affords us an overview of the type of work stocked by Breton booksellers in the early seventeenth century. The titles enumerated in the inventory stand testament to the wide variety of books on offer ranging from an expensive folio edition of Saint Augustine’s *City of God* bound in red leather (4 *lt.* 10 s.) to a cheap octavo version of the *Life of saint Denis* valued at no more than three *sous*.¹⁹ But what is perhaps most notable in this list is the heavy dependence on works printed outside Brittany that formed the vast majority of Gobert’s stock. Though the presses had settled and found a workable business model, they only provided a very small proportion of the printed matter available to Breton readers.

Beyond Brittany

This evolution of the Breton presses provides us, perhaps, with the template that had eluded Pierre Aquilon.²⁰ Provincial towns and cities were secondary centres of print that evolved in the shadow of the three major centres, Paris, Lyon and Rouen. Paris and Lyon quickly developed into centres of international importance, rising to become two of

¹⁹ Post mortem inventory conducted by the *prévôté* of Nantes, 1616, AD Loire-Atlantique, B 5649 n. 7.

²⁰ See *infra* in the introduction and Martin, H.-J. & Chartier, R. (eds), *Histoire de l'édition française* (Paris, Promodis, 1983–1986) I, 351–363 at page 363.

the largest centres of print in Europe by the second half of the sixteenth century. Rouen was initially less successful than Lyon in creating its own print industry. Pre-existing trade structures certainly inhibited the growth of the new industry in the city.²¹ But in the course of the sixteenth century, the printers and booksellers of Rouen became increasingly numerous and productive and by 1600 there were 71 master printers, booksellers and bookbinders in the city. This large community was significantly larger than those of other towns in provincial France.²² In these other centres, printing was a far more fragile industry, and these offer interesting parallels with the experience of the Breton presses.

For example, in Angers, the first book was printed in 1476 and around twenty books were printed in the town during the incunabula era.²³ But despite the presence of a flourishing university, from 1500 through to 1562 we only know the name of one printer who plied his trade in the town, Richard Picquenot. His entire known activity is limited to a corpus of nine works and it was a period characterised by the ascendancy of local booksellers.²⁴ The arrival of others printers in the 1560s then saw a slow rise and diversification in the works printed but with legal and religious works still very much dominating production. Finally, in the 1580s and 1590s the printer Antoine Hernault developed the printing of short polemical pieces as well as works of wider interest.²⁵ In each town, the exact timing of the change from one stage to another would have varied as printers were affected by local political and economic circumstances.

²¹ Mellot, J.-D., *L'Édition rouennaise et ses marchés (vers 1600 – vers 1730). Dynamisme provincial et centralisme parisien* (Paris, École des Chartes, 1998) pp. 28–29.

²² Ibidem, p. 44.

²³ There is some uncertainty as to the place of printing of some of the books assigned to Johannes de La Tour: See for example ISTC ih00004960 (Nicolaus de Haqueville's *Sermones dominicales moralissimi*, printed circa 1480).

²⁴ For more on Angers, see the relevant volume of the *Répertoire Bibliographique* as well as my article: 'Le livre imprimé humaniste en Anjou et en Bretagne aux XVe et XVIe siècles' in the forthcoming volume from the conference 'Passeurs de Textes : libraires et imprimeurs au temps de l'humanisme'.

²⁵ See for example, Benoist, R., *Advertissement en forme d'épistre consolatoire et exhortatoire envoyée à l'église et paroisse insigne et sincèrement catholique de S. Eustache à Paris* (Angers, Antoine Hernault, 1593) FB 3600 [BM Angers, 10000] and Gendry, J., *Traité des arquebusades contenant la vraye essence du mal et sa propre curation par certaines indications* (Angers, Antoine Hernault, 1593) FB 22485 [B. Ste Geneviève, 8o T 1300 inv 3690].

It is also instructive to look at the development of the book in Brittany in the wider European context. Brittany was originally an autonomous duchy with a powerful neighbour, an analogous situation to that faced by Scotland and Portugal. There are also political parallels as all three lost effective independence in the course of the early modern period. Their population was also similar. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Scotland is generally thought to have been home to approximately half a million Scots, whilst the figure for Brittany is around 1.25 million and 1 million for Portugal.²⁶

The case of Scotland is particularly instructive. Printing was slow to reach Scotland. The first known workshop was set up by Andrew Millar and Walter Chepman in Edinburgh in 1507, but this venture did not last long and the last known work they printed appeared in 1510.²⁷ This was very much the equivalent of the early Breton incunabula and Scotland suffered a similar disappearance of the presses in the years that followed. Between 1511 and 1557 the *English Short Title Catalogue* only lists 9 works printed in Scotland, 7 in Edinburgh and 2 in St Andrews. Gradually, the presses returned after 1558 and printing developed in earnest with 323 imprints before the end of the century.²⁸ As was the case in Brittany, booksellers and the book trade during this second period filled the void. They imported English books from London and Latin books from the rest of Europe.²⁹ It was not until the late 1550s that printing re-emerged in earnest.

The catalyst for the strengthening of the presses was the rise of the Reformed faith. The Scottish Reformation provided a signal opportunity because it was very different to the English Reformation. For the first time, booksellers could no longer rely on volumes printed in London. Instead, the Scottish presses produced a host of new imprints dealing with matters of doctrine and religious practice. The industry made the most of this opportunity and, after 1558, printing developed

²⁶ Houston, R. A. & Whyte, I. D. (eds) *Scottish Society, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005) p. 3.

²⁷ See chapters I to X in Dickson, R. & Edmond, J., *Annals of Scottish printing from the introduction of the art in 1507 to the beginning of the seventeenth century* (Cambridge, Macmillan & Bowes, 1890) and the articles on Myllar and Chepman in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

²⁸ The data is taken from the on-line ESTC: <http://estc.bl.uk/>.

²⁹ Mann, A. J., *The Scottish book trade, 1500–1720: print commerce and print control in early modern Scotland: an historiographical survey of the early modern book in Scotland* (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 2000) p. 232.

very rapidly. As in Brittany it was local issues that enabled the establishment of a strong print culture. The Breton and Scottish experiences of the arrival and development of the presses followed similar patterns – though the adoption of printing was slower in Scotland.

The similar experiences of other French provinces and of small nations such as Scotland demonstrate the wider importance of trying to understand more clearly the manner in which the presses developed in more modest print domains. These regions were lucrative markets for the main centres of print. The journals and accounts of the Plantin-Moretus workshop in Antwerp feature a large number of correspondents situated throughout Europe. The complexity of the network of booksellers devised by Christophe Plantin emphasises the care with which these markets were nurtured. They represented a larger number of sales than those achieved at the Frankfurt fair.³⁰ The fortunes of the presses and of the printed book in Brittany are in their own way indicative of issues and trends that affected the entire European book trade.

³⁰ As is clear from an examination of the manuscript account book in the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

BOOKSELLERS AND PRINTERS ACTIVE IN BRITTANY 1480–1600

Alençon, Jean d'

Printer active in Vannes in 1515.

Alençon might have been related to the Parisian booksellers who shared his surname. In 1506, a Nicolas d'Alençon was a “libraire et relieur de livres”, and lived in Paris with his wife Guillemette.

Aubinière, Julien

Printer active in Dinan 1593–1595

Address: “rue des Changes”.

Printer close to the Catholic League.

Business connections:

Dinan: Simon Savary, bookseller (1593).

Audiern, André

Bookseller active before 1488.

Avenel, Bertrand

Bookseller active in Rennes in 1590.

Protestant bookseller.

Baudouyn, Jean

Printer active in Nantes in 1518 and Rennes (1524–1525?).

Address: Nantes, “rue des Carmes”.

In 1525 he was described as a “commis et licencié” of the “chancellerie et conseil”.

Business connections:

Rennes: Jean Macé, bookseller (1524–1525)

Bellac, Guillaume

Bookseller in Nantes, 1498

Bellescullée, Pierre

Printer active in Rennes 1484–1485

First printer of Rennes.

Business connections:

Rennes: Josses, printer (1485).

Berthelot, Jacques

Bookseller and printer active in Caen 1527–1534, and in Rennes 1535–1539

He acquired the typographic material used by Baudouyn. Died before 1542. See also his widow, Marie Robin.

Business connections:

Caen: Michel Angier, bookseller (1527–1533); Girard Angier, bookseller (1527–1533)

Rennes: Thomas Mestrard, bookseller (1535–1539); Julien Macé, bookseller (1527–1536);

Sulpice Le Franc, bookseller (1527); Guillaume Cheveau, bookseller.

Bichon, Guillaume

Bookseller active in Paris 1584–1594, in Nantes 1594–1598 and in Paris 1599–1627.

Banished from Paris in April 1594. Acquired bookseller's merchandise, worth 766 écus and 40 sous on 24 July 1598 from Michel and Jean Sonnius, booksellers.

Business connections:

Paris: Michel & Jean Sonnius, booksellers (1598)

Bodin, Pierre

Bookseller active in Nantes 1524–1526.

Address: “rue des Carmes, vis à vis de l'écu de Bretagne”.

Not in Müller, J. *Dictionnaire abrégé des imprimeurs-éditeurs français du seizième siècle* (Baden-Baden, Heitz, 1970).

Business connections:

Angers: Richard Picquenot, printer (1526)

Nantes: Robert Ganereau, bookseller (1520–1524); Olivier Ganereau, bookseller (1524);

Antoine Papolin, bookseller (1520–1524); Michel Papolin, bookseller (1520–1524); Pierre Bodin, bookseller (1524)

Paris: Enguilbert de Marnef, printer (1524); Jean Kerbriant, printer (1524)

Bonnier, Pierre

Bookseller active in Nantes in 1600.

Boucher, François

Bookseller active in Nantes 1573–1599

Bookseller of the University of Nantes in 1599, he had been involved in the valuation of the Le Gallo library in 1592. He married Henriette Le Caillabou and had a son named Pierre in 1573 whose godmother was Nouvelle Le Plat, daughter of the bookseller Gabriel Le Plat.

Bourgoignon, Philippe

Bookseller active in Angers 1540–1558.

He also had bookstalls in both Rennes and Nantes. Married Michelle de Bougne, daughter of the bookseller Charles de Bougne. He was a bookseller of the University of Angers and of the town of Angers in 1558.

Business connections:

Paris: Etienne Caveiller, printer (1542)

Poitiers: Enguilbert de Marnef, printer (1553)

Rennes: Thomas Mestrard, bookseller (1553)

Bourrelier, Jean

Printer active in Vannes 1589–1597

Boutin, Mathieu

Bookseller active in Nantes in 1581.

Bretel, Pierre

Printer active in Rennes 1568–1589

Le Preux suggested that Le Bret and Bretel were one and the same person, basing himself on the similarities between their names. This is unconvincing, not least because the name Bretel has been independently both associated with Brittany and with the book world. Saint-Christophe de Lignières had a chaplain named Pierre Bretel in the sixteenth century who would have been a contemporary of the bookseller. It is unclear if René Bretel, who was active in Paris at the start of the seventeenth century, was related to Pierre.

Business connections:

Rennes: Nicolas des Marestz, printer (1586); Blaise Petrail, printer (1586);

Brossart, Michel

Bookseller active in Nantes in 1558.

Brouscon, Guillaume

Cartographer and printer active in Le Conquet 1543–1550

Brunel, Guillaume

Bookseller active in Vannes in 1535.

Calvez, Jean

Printer active in Tréguier 1499–1512.

Last known printer active in Tréguier during the sixteenth century.

Certain, Gratien

Bookbinder in Nantes 1575–1578

He married Nouelle Le Plat whose father, Gabriel Le Plat, became the godfather of their daughter, Gabrielle.

Chantelde, Guillaume

Printer active in Rennes in 1595.

Chevau, Guillaume

Bookseller active in Rennes, 1539–1557.

Address: “près la court”; “près du bout de Cohue (1550)”.

In 1565, the Parlement of Brittany ordered that Chevau be arrested and imprisoned following the unauthorised impression of a decision given by the court against the bishop of Cornouaille and the inhabitants of Quimpercorentin.

Business connections:

Rennes: Jean Georget, printer (1539–1550); Pierre Le Bret, bookseller (1556–1557); Jacques Berthelot, printer

Cleray, Georges

Bookseller active in Vannes in 1539 and in Rennes 1543–1555.

Address: Rennes, “près la porte saint Michel”.

As a bookseller, Cleray was mainly interested in the sale of romances rather than the more profitable school books.

Business connections:

Rennes: Jean Georget, printer (1539–1555); Thomas Mestrard, printer (1545–1546); Jean Lermangier, bookseller (1546)

Crés, Jean

Printer active in Bréhan Loudéac 1484–1485 and in Lantenac 1487–1494.

Business connections:

Bréhan Loudéac: Robin Fouquet, printer (1484–1485);

Des Marestz, Michel

Printer in Nantes in 1593.

Le Preux suggests that Michel would have been a journeyman printer in the workshop of his brother, Nicolas.

Des Marestz, Nicolas

Printer active in Rennes in 1586 and in Nantes 1588–1596.

Address: Nantes, “près le carrefour saint Nicolas” (1589–1590); “au logis de l’Eraudiere” (1588).

Printer of the Catholic League.

Business connections:

Nantes: François Faverye, printer (1589–1596)

Rennes: Pierre Bretel, bookseller (1586)

Dies, Jullian

Bookseller active in Nantes 1557–1561.

Dorieu, Pierre

Bookseller and printer active in Nantes 1590–1638

Address: “en la rue Saint Pierre” 1597–1598.

Printer of the University of Nantes (from 1592) and royal printer (from 1598). Mentioned in the act of valuation of Le Gallo’s library in 1592. Married Marie Desraismes and, after her death, Julienne Rousseau. Started printing after the demise of the press of Des Marestz and Faverye. Des Marestz was the godfather of his daughter, Anne in 1588. He was in turn godfather of Nicolas Hugueville’s daughter, Elisabeth, in 1603.

Du Clos, Jean

Printer active in Rennes 1591–1593.

Royal printer in 1593. Son of Julien du Clos, baptised in Vitré in the Protestant Church in 1565. Not in Müller.

Du Clos, Julien

Printer active in Vitré in 1566 and in Rennes, 1561–1584

Address: Rennes, “près saint Sauveur” (1566–1570); “rue saint Michel” (1571)

Royal printer (1570–1583). Married Jeanne Jouan on 24 November 1561 in the Protestant church of Vitré. His son, Jean du Clos, was baptised in the same church in 1565. Also printed under the pseudonym Jean Le Gascon. Julien du Clos inherited the press of Pierre Le Bret, using his material and his distinctive device representing Saint Peter before acquiring new type. Du Clos was also described as a punchcutter in some of his privileges.

Business connections:

Rennes: Pierre Le Bret, bookseller (1576–1578); Bertrand Jochault, bookseller (1568); Jean Goderon, bookseller (1570)

Faverye, François

Printer active in Nantes 1589–1623

Address: “près le carrefour saint Nicolas” (1589–1590).

Married Anne Bourg. Their daughter Jacqueline, born in 1606, had as godfather the bookseller Guillaume Huet. Pierre Dorieu’s wife was the godmother of his daughter Thiennette in 1604.

Faverye was buried on 7 February 1623 in Saint Vincent de Nantes. Lepreux is mistaken when he suggests that Faverye was not a printer. Printer of the Catholic League.

Business connections:

Nantes: Nicolas des Marestz, printer (1589–1596)

Fouquet, Robin

Printer active in Bréhan-Loudéac in 1484–1485

Business connections:

Bréhan Loudéac: Jean Crès, printer (1484–1485)

Ganereau, Olivier

Bookseller active in Nantes 1518–1524

Business connections:

Angers: Charles de Bougne, bookseller (1520–1524)

Nantes: Robert Ganereau, bookseller (1520–1524); Antoine Papolin, bookseller (1520–1524); Michel Papolin, bookseller (1520–1524); Pierre Bodin, bookseller (1524)

Paris: Enguilbert de Marnef, printer (1524); Jean Kerbriant, printer (1524)

Rouen: Martin Morin, printer (1520)

Ganereau, Robert

Bookseller active in Nantes 1520–1524

Business connections:

Angers: Charles de Bougne, bookseller (1520–1524)

Nantes: Olivier Ganereau, bookseller (1520–1524); Antoine Papolin, bookseller (1520–1524); Michel Papolin, bookseller (1520–1524); Pierre Bodin, bookseller (1524)

Paris: Enguilbert de Marnef, printer (1524); Jean Kerbriant, printer (1524)

Rouen: Martin Morin, printer (1520);

Gaudin, Jean

Printer active: 1578–1581

Address: “rue de la Claverie, près le carrefour Saint Nicolas” (1578).

Printer of the town of Nantes (1577).

Georget, Jean

Printer active in Rennes 1539–1555

Address: “rue de la Baudrayerie, en la maison Olivier, au lyon painctre” (1541).

He acquired some of the typographic material used by Berthelot and Mestrard.

Business connections:

Paris: Galliot du Pré, bookseller (1539)

Rennes: Georges Cleray, bookseller (1539–1555); Guillaume Cheveau, bookseller (1539–1550); Jean Lermangier, bookseller (1539–1540);

Thomas Mestrard, bookseller (1539–1541)

Godecart, Robert

Bookseller active in Rennes 1586–1588

Not in Müller.

Business connections:

Paris: Jacques du Puys (1588)

Goderon, Jean

Bookseller active in Rennes in 1570

Address: “près la court de Rennes”.

Business connections:

Rennes: Julien du Clos, printer; Bertrand Jochault, bookseller.

Heuqueville, Nicolas de

Bookseller active in Nantes: 1593–1627

He married his first wife Madeleine Boucher in 1593 in presence of the booksellers Pierre Doriou and François Boucher. The printer Pierre Doriou was a godfather to a daughter of his second marriage to Olive Martin, Elisabeth, in 1603. Bookseller of the university of Nantes.

Hucet, Vincent

Bookseller active in Nantes 1580–1599

He obtained a royal privilege dated Paris, 12 February 1587, to print all religious books. Bookseller of the University of Nantes (1588). Declared in the lawsuit on Doriou's right to print for the university that he had been active since 1580. Married Martine Labours. Louis Mesmieres, rector of the university, was the godfather of their daughter in 1596.

Business connections:

Nantes: Blaise Pétrail, printer (1585)

Jago, Bertrand

Bookseller active in Moncontour in 1543.

Business connections:

Caen: Girard Angier, bookseller (1543)

Jochault, Bertrand

Bookseller active in Rennes 1568–1570.

Address: "près la court".

Not in Müller.

Business connections:

Rennes: Julien du Clos, printer (1568–1570); Jean Goderon, bookseller (1570).

Josses

Printer active in Rennes in 1484–1485

Address: "près l'église de saint Germain".

First printer active in Rennes.

Business connections:

Rennes: Pierre Bellescullée, printer (1485)

Larcher, Etienne

Printer active in Nantes 1493–1498

Address: "rue des carmes pres les changes" (1493–1494); "rue de la garde Dieu au près de saint Lienard" (1499).

First printer active in Nantes. Brother of the Parisian printer Jean Larcher, “dit du Pré”. Etienne used some of his brother’s typographic material.

Business connections:

Paris: Jean du Pré, printer.

Larcher, Guillaume

Printer active in Nantes 1501

Guillaume’s kinship with Etienne is unclear.

Le Bret, Pierre

Printer and Bookseller active in Paris (1548–1554) and Rennes (1555–1578).

Address: “près la porte saint Michel” (1560–1578).

Son of the Parisian bookseller Guillaume Le Bret who was originally from Rouen, Pierre began his career in Paris where he was a bookseller. Having moved to Rennes, he acquired Georget’s gothic type. Le Preux erroneously identified him as Pierre Bretel.

Business connections:

Paris: Pierre de Lastre (1553), Bookseller; Pierre Roussel (1553).

Rennes: Julien du Clos, Printer (1576–1578); Guillaume Cheveau, bookseller (1556–1557)

Le Franc, Sulpice

Bookseller active in Rennes 1523–1527

Not in Müller.

Business connections:

Caen: Michel Angier, bookseller (1523–1527); Girard Angier, bookseller (1523–1527); Jacques Berthelot (1527)

Paris: Jean de Kerbriant, printer (1523)

Rennes: Jean Macé, bookseller (1523–1527); Julien Macé, bookseller (1523–1527)

Le Franc, Roland

Bookseller active in Rennes in 1523.

His widow married Thomas Mestrard.

Le Plat, Gabriel

Bookseller active in Nantes 1545–1560

Privilege obtained on 9 February 1554 (=1555 n.s.) for all religious books from the Breton *Parlement*. Married Marie Detours. Bookseller of the university of Nantes. Not in Müller.

Business connections:

Nantes: Mathurin Papolin, bookseller

Paris: Jean Le Blanc, printer

Le Tasseur, Guillaume

Bookseller active in Nantes in 1491.

Léau, Bertrand de

Bookseller and printer active in Morlaix 1542–1585

Address: “sur le pont du Bourret” (1557–1576).

Business connections:

Paris: Didier Maheu, printer (1542); Oudin Petit, bookseller (1542);

Jacques Kerver, bookseller (1542); Jean Le Roy, bookseller (1542);

Thomas Eustache, bookseller (1542).

Leloing, Macé

Bookseller active in Rennes, 1592–1618.

Described as a printer by Toussaint Gautier, but was probably a bookseller.

Lermangier, Jean

Bookseller active in Rennes 1539–1546

Address: “au parquet de la court de Rennes” (1539–1540).

Business connections:

Paris: Jacques Kerver, bookseller (1540); Galliot du Pré, bookseller (1539)

Rennes: Jean Georget, printer (1539–1540); Thomas Mestrard, printer (1546); Georges Cleray, bookseller (1546)

L’Espine, Guillaume de

Itinerant bookseller active in 1480.

Lize, Michel

Bookseller in Rennes 1478–1514.

Son of Jean Lize, also a bookseller. The Lize were also paper makers.

Logeroys, Michel

Printer active in Rennes 1589–1600

Royal printer (1593–1600) and printer of the Parlement of Brittany (1593). Possibly related to Nicolas Logeroys who was active in Poitiers.

Macé, Jacques

Bookseller active in Rennes in 1527.

Business connections:

Caen: Michel Angier, bookseller (1527); Girard Angier, bookseller (1527); Jacques Berthelot, bookseller (1527)

Rennes: Sulpice Le Franc, bookseller (1527); Jean Macé, bookseller (1527)

Macé, Jean

Bookseller active in Rennes 1500–1532

Address: “en la paroisse saint Sauveur à l’enseigne saint Jean l’évangéliste” (1503–1518); “Près de la porte Saint Michel” (1507).

Business connections:

Angers: Charles de Bougne, bookseller (1512); Clément Alexandre, bookseller (1512)

Caen: Michel Angier, bookseller (1508–1527); Laurent Hostingue, printer (1500–1518); Robert Macé, bookseller (1500–1503); Girard Angier, bookseller (1527); Jacques Berthelot, bookseller (1527); Pierre Regnault, bookseller (1511)

Paris: Pierre Pigouchet, bookseller (1507); François Regnault, bookseller (1512); Jean de Kerbriant, printer (1523)

Rennes: Jean Baudouyn, printer (1524–1525); Julien Macé, bookseller (1523); Sulpice Le Franc, bookseller (1523)

Rouen: Richard Goupil, printer (1511–1515), Richard Macé, bookseller (1507–1514); Jean Mauditier, printer (1500–1503); Jamet Louys, printer (1500); Pierre Olivier, printer (1500–1512); Jean Moulin, printer

Macé, Julien

Bookseller active in Rennes 1523–1536

Address: “en la rue saint Michel” (1536).

Not in Müller.

Business connections:

Caen: Michel Angier, bookseller (1523–1527); Girard Angier, bookseller (1523–1527)

Rennes: Jacques Berthelot, printer (1527–1536); Sulpice Le Franc, bookseller (1523–1527); Jean Macé, bookseller (1523–1527)

Mazenoud, Louis

Bookseller active in Rohan in 1558.

Ménard, Mathurin

Bookseller active in Nantes 1562–1578.

Bookseller of the town of Nantes in 1575. He married Louis Ledies and their daughter, Jeanne, whose godmother was Nouvelle Le Plat. Mathurin was the godfather of Pierre, son of the bookseller François Boucher (1573).

Mestrard, Thomas

Bookseller and printer active 1535–1551

Address: “à la porte Saint Michel près la court de Rennes” (1535–1553); “entre la porte saint Michel et l’auditoire de la court de Rennes” (1543–1546); “près la porte Saint Michel à l’enseigne saint Thomas” (1547).

He acquired some of the typographic material used by Berthelot. Married the widow of Rolland Le Franc, and at her death married Jeanne Robin.

Business connections:

Angers: Philippe Bourgoignon, bookseller (1553)

Paris: Jean Petit, bookseller

Poitiers: Enguilbert de Marnef, printer (1553)

Rennes: Marie Robin (1544); Jacques Berthelot, printer (1535–1539);

Jean Georget, printer (1539–1541); Georges Cleray, bookseller (1545–1546); Jean Lermangier, bookseller (1546)

Rouen: Nicolas Le Roux, printer (1543)

P., Ja.

Printer active in Tréguier in 1485.

Papolin, Antoine

Bookseller active in Nantes 1518–1532

Address: “La grande rue au carrefour Saint Denis” (1516), “La grande rue saint Pierre et aux changes” (1532)

Bookseller of the University of Nantes (1516–1532). He married Catherine Tacher. Despite what La Borderie has suggested, Papolin was not a printer.

Business connections:

Angers: Charles de Bougne, bookseller (1520–1524)

Nantes: Robert Ganereau, bookseller (1520–1524); Olivier Ganereau, bookseller (1520–1524); Michel Papolin, bookseller (1520–1524); Pierre Bodin, bookseller (1524)

Paris: Enguilbert de Marnef, printer (1524); Jean Kerbriant, printer (1524)

Rouen: Martin Morin, printer (1520);

Papolin, Mathurin

Bookseller active in Nantes 1545–1561

Privilege obtained on 9 February 1554 (=1555 n.s.) for all religious books from the Breton *Parlement*. He married Jacqueline Mocart. Not in Müller. Worked as an intermediary for the books sent from Lyon to Spain.

Business connections:

Nantes: Gabriel Le Plat, bookseller

Paris: Jean Le Blanc, printer

Papolin, Michel

Bookseller active in Nantes 1516–1541

Address: “en la grande rue saint Pierre et aux changes” (1532).

Bookseller of the University of Nantes (1516–1532).

Business connections:

Angers: Charles de Bougne, bookseller (1520–1524)

Nantes: Robert Ganereau, bookseller (1520–1524); Olivier Ganereau, bookseller (1520–1524); Antoine Papolin, bookseller (1520–1524); Pierre Bodin, bookseller (1524)

Paris: Enguilbert de Marnef, printer (1524); Jean Kerbriant, printer (1524)

Rouen: Martin Morin, printer (1520);

Périer, René

Bookseller active in Rennes in 1588

Address: “En la cour près la porte Saint Michel” (1588).

Not in Müller.

Petrail, Blaise

Printer active in Nantes 1585–1590

Printer of the University of Nantes (from 1585). A text of 1588 suggested that he was in fact based in Rennes. In fact, Petrail simply

worked with Rennes booksellers, as is demonstrated by the 1586 edition of the customs. Petrail acquired Jean Gaudin's material.

Business connections:

Nantes: Vincent Hucet, bookseller (1585)

Rennes: Pierre Bretel, bookseller (1586);

Prigent, Alain

Bookseller active in Saint-Pol-de-Léon and Landerneau 1516–1519

Business connections:

Paris: Didier Maheu, printer (1516); Yvon Quilleveré, bookseller (1516)

Pynot, Olivier

Bookseller and bookbinder active in Nantes circa 1542

Rio, Robert

Bookseller active in 1515

Robin, Jean

Bookseller active in Rennes 1595–1639

Described as a printer by Jausions, he was probably simply a bookseller.

Robin, Marie

Bookseller active in Rennes 1542–1545.

Address: “à l'enseigne saint Jehan l'évangéliste à bout de cohue” (1544).

Widow of Jacques Berthelot. Berthelot died between 1539 and 1542.

Rogier, Richard

Printer active in Morlaix and Saint-Brieuc, 1501–1506

Address: Saint-Brieuc “Au portail de la grant église dudit lieu”.

Originally from Hudimesnil near Coutances, Rogier was engaged as an apprentice by Robert Macé in Caen before moving to Brittany to become a bookseller.

Business connections:

Caen: Michel Angier, bookseller (1505)

Rouen: Laurent Hostingue, printer (1505); Jamet Loys, printer (1505)

Rousseau, Jacques

Printer active in Nantes 1570–1572

Printer of the town of Nantes. He is probably the same printer who was later active in Cahors and Agen.

Savary, Simon

Bookseller active in Dinan in 1593.

Address: “à l’enseigne du nom de Jésus”.

Not in Müller.

Dinan: Julien Aubinière, Printer (1593)

Tonillon, Jean

Bookseller active in Nantes in 1559.

Tourquetil, Guillaume

Printer active in Nantes in 1509.

Address: “rue des Carmes”.

Touzé, Guillaume

Bookseller active in 1480.

Troadec, Jan

Cartographer and printer active in Le Conquet 1576–1584.

Inherited the workshop of Guillaume Bouscon.

Vendosme, Philippe

Bookseller active in Nantes in 1598.

Address: “à l’écu de Lorraine”.

Not in Müller.

APPENDIX B

BOOKS PRINTED IN BRITTANY OR FOR BRETON BOOKSELLERS

Books that have an asterisk after the entry number were not printed in Brittany.

1484

1. *Le trespasement de nostre dame*, [Bréhan-Loudéac], Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès, 1484.

4o; a8 (-a8); ff. [7]; Gothic.

December 1484.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. YE 1154 (3).

References: ISTC it00427893; Brunet V, 438; FB 36435.

1485

2. Aristoteles (Pseudo-), *Le secret des secretz*, Bréhan-Loudéac, Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès, [1485].

4o; A6; ff. [6]; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. H 506 (3).

References: ISTC ia01051700; Brunet I, 471; FB 1741.

3. Bernardus Claraevallensis (Pseudo-), *Floret en franczoys*, Rennes, Pierre Bellescullée, 1485.

4o; a-e8; ff. [40]; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. M YC 993.

References: ISTC ib00397500; Brunet VII, 506; FB 3820.

4. Bernardus Silvestris, *Belle doctrine et enseignement que saint Bernart envoya a Ramon*, [Tréguier], J. P., [1485].

4o; ff. [4]; Gothic.

Mistakenly attributed to Fouquet and Crès in Bréhan-Loudéac by Delisle.

Location: Chantilly (Fr), Musée Condé, III F 39.

References: ISTC ib00382200; FB 3819.

5. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes, stilles et establissemens de Bretagne*, Rennes, Pierre Bellescullée and Josses for Jean Hus, 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

8o; A-Z8 &8 [9]8 '8 []8.8; ff. [224]; Gothic.

26 March 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

Variant A: Colophon has two introductory lines and has the line “|| par lindustrie et ouraige de Maistre ~pres belle= ||”.

Locations: New York, NY (USA), Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 78529; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 1771; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 76796.

References: Gouron p. 87 (682); ISTC ic00953600; Brunet II, 360–1; FB 7471.

6. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes, stilles et establissemens de Bretagne*, Rennes, Pierre Bellescullée and Josses for Jean Hus, 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

8o; A-Z8 &8 [9]8 '8.8 []8 []8 (-[]8); ff. [232]; Gothic.

26 March 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

Variant B: Colophon lacks two introductory lines and has the line “|| par lidustrie et ouraige de Maistre pieres belle= ||”. The line above the colophon finishes “publi= ||” (unfinished sentence).

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 1770.

References: Gouron p. 88 (683); FB 7474.

7. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Les coustumes o les constitucions establissemens de Bretaingne*, Tréguier, J. P., 1485.

8o; a-r8 r-s8 s-z8 ?8 (?6 blank) A-I8 L-M8 N4 O8 [P]2 Q8; ff. [318]; Gothic.

Main part of the text is dated in the colophon 17 May 1485.

Locations: London (UK), British Library, IA 43703; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 2187.

References: ISTC ic00953700; Gouron p. 88 (685); Brunet II, 1068; FB 7476.

8. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Les coustumes et constitutions de Bretagne*, Bréhan-Loudéac, Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès, 1485

4o; a-r8 r-s8 s-t8 v10 u8 x-z8 &8 ?10 []8; ff. [236]; Gothic.

3 July 1485.

Locations: London (UK), British Library, IA 43510; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 300; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 956; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Masson 979; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 76797 & Rés. 11032.

References: ISTC ic00953800; Gouron p. 89 (686); Nantes, Dobrée 300; FB 7475.

9. Chartier, Alain, *Le breviaire des nobles*, Bréhan-Loudéac, Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès, 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

4o; A-B6; ff. [12], Gothic.

25 January 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. YE 1154 (5).

References: ISTC ic00428200; Brunet I, 1814 and V, 438; FB 12805.

10. Denis le Chartreux, *Le miroir d'or de l'ame pecheresse*, Bréhan-Loudéac, Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès, 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

4o; a-f8 g10; ff. [58]; Gothic.

6 March 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. H 506 (2).

References: ISTC is00649700; FB 15470.

11. Jean de Meung, *Les loys des trespassez, avecques le pelerinage*, Bréhan-Loudéac, Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès, 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

4o; a8; ff. [8]; Gothic.

3 January 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. YE 1154 (1).

References: ISTC il00272800; FB 30856.

12. Ludolphus de Saxonia, *La vie de Jesuchrist, la mort et la passion et aussi la resurrection de nostre seigneur*, Bréhan-Loudéac, Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès, 1485.

4o; ff. [2] 152; Gothic.

30 April 1485.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. H 506 (1).

References: ISTC iv00304015; Brunet V, 1184; FB 35298.

13. Nesson, Pierre de, *[Oraison à notre-dame]*, Bréhan-Loudéac, Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès, 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

4o; a6; ff. [6]; Gothic.

27 January 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. YE 1154 (2).

References: ISTC in00012800; Brunet V, 438; FB 39165.

14. Michault, Pierre, *La dance des aveugles*, [Bréhan-Loudéac], Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès, [1485].

4o; A-B8 C-D6 E-F8; ff. [44]; Gothic.

Locations: New York, NY (USA), Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 621; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. P YE 230.

References: ISTC im00565000; FB 37859.

15. Petrarca, Francesco, *La patience de Griselidis*, Bréhan-Loudéac, Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès, 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

4o; a8 b6; ff. [14]; Gothic.

18 January 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. YE 1154 (6).

References: ISTC ip00402825; Brunet IV, 570; FB 43011.

16. *Le songe de la pucelle*, [Bréhan-Loudéac], Robin Fouquet and Jean Crès, 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

4o; a8; ff. [8]; Gothic.

January 1484 (=1485 n.s.).

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. YE 1154 (4).

References: ISTC is00630700; Brunet V, 438; FB 48264.

1488

17. Bible – Old Testament – Psalms, *Les sept pseaulmes*, Lantenac, [Jean Crès, 1488].

4o; a-b8 c4 (c4 blank); ff. [20]; Gothic.

Location: London (UK), British Library, IA 44210.

References: ISTC ip01032255; Brunet V, 293; FB 4558.

18. Mandeville, Jean de, *De la terre de promission et les diverses et estranges choses*, [Lantenac], Jean Crès, 1487 (=1488 n.s.).

2o; a-h8 J-P8 Q4 (-Q4); ff. [123]; Gothic.

27 March 1487 (=1488 n.s.).

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. O2F 4.

References: ISTC im00163100; FB 36068.

1491

19. *Le doctrial des nouvelles mariees*, Lantenac, Jean Crès, 1491.

4o; a6; ff. [6]; Gothic.

5 October 1491.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 454.

References: ISTC id00301020; Nantes, Dobrée 454; FB 16336.

1492

20. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coutumes de Bretagne*, [Lantenac], [Jean Crès], [1492].

8o; [16 B-Z8 A-D8 (D8 blank); ff. [214]; Gothic.

Post 1491.

Locations: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100689 R (inc 157);

Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 76798.

References: ISTC ic00953900; FB 7477.

1493

21. Bretagne – Coutumes, [*Coutumes de Bretagne: table*], Nantes, Etienne Larcher, [1493].

8o; a-e8 f4 (f4 blank); ff. [44]; Gothic.

Locations: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc. 142; Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library, 8o B 18(1) Jur Seld; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 1703 (2).

References: ISTC ic00954200; FB 7479.

22. Meschinot, Jean, *Les lunettes des princes*, Nantes, Etienne Larcher, 1493.

4o; a-c8 d-k6: A-F6 G8; ff. [66]; [44]; Gothic.

Locations: Le Mans (Fr), Médiathèque Louis Aragon, BL 1962 & RIB 15; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. YE 281–282 & Vélins 2232–2233.

References: ISTC im00505500; FB 37656.

1494

23. Charles VIII, *Les ordonnances et statuz du roy faictz ou pays de Bretagne ou moys de may 1494*, Nantes, Etienne Larcher, [1494].

80; a-b8 c4; ff. [20]; Gothic.

Letters given in Lyon, May 1494 and published in Nantes on 16 June 1494.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 1703 (3).

References: ISTC ic00216740; FB 12718.

24. Charles VIII, [*Ordonnance sur le fait de la justice en Bretagne*], [Lantenac, Jean Crès, 1494].

80; [A]8 B4; ff. 12; Gothic.

B4r-v: Letters given in Lyon in May 1484 and published in Nantes on 16 June 1494.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc 158 (211126/C5R).

References: ISTC ic00216760; FB 12717.

25. Meschinot, Jean, *Les lunettes des princes*, Nantes, Etienne Larcher, 1494.

40; ff. [134]; Gothic.

8 June 1494.

Locations: Chambéry (Fr), Médiathèque Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Rés. A 3; Le Mans (Fr), Médiathèque Louis Aragon, RIB 015 (incomplete).

References: ISTC im00506350; FB 37658.

1499

26. Horae – Nantes, [*Heures à l'usage de Nantes*], Nantes, Etienne Larcher, 1498 (=1499 n.s.).

80; aa8 bb6 a-b8 c10 h8 A-B8 C6; ff. [70]; Gothic.

27 January 1498 (1499 n.s.).

Locations: Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 998-6-1; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale

References: ISTC ih00348150; Brunet V, 1678; FB 29149.

27. Lagadeuc, Jean, *Le catholicon en troys langaiges scavoir est breton franczoys et latin selon l'ordre de l'abcd*, Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1499.

Auffret de Quoatqueveran and Roperz, Yves (editors).

20; a-b8 c-r6 (r6 blank); ff. [106]; Gothic.

5 November 1499.

Locations: Manchester (UK), John Rylands University Library, 12318; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. X 453 & Rés. X 253; Quimper (Fr), Bibliothèques

Quimper communauté, Y Rés. 28; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 15203.

References: Brunet I, 554; FB 32488.

28. Statuta – Nantes, *Statuta Synodalia celebrata in ecclesia Nannetensi die 23 Maii an. 1499*, [Jean du Pré for Etienne Larcher in Nantes, 1499].

4o; Gothic.

After 23 May 1499.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. B 2292.

References: ISTC is00749600.

1500

29.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Les louables constitutions de la tres noble duche de Bretagne*, Rouen, Jean Mauditier, Laurent Hostingue and Jamet Loys, for Robert Macé in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1500].

8o; A10 B-V8 X4 ¶8; ff. [2] Clxiiij [8]; Gothic.

Locations: Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library, 8o B 18 (2) Jur Seld.

References: ISTC ic00954500; RB XXVI 91 (1); FB 7481.

30.* Missale – Rennes, *Missale ad usum Redonensem*, Rouen, Jean Mauditier and Pierre Olivier, Robert Macé in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1500.

Jean Bougueret, Raoul Berhaud and Simon Guillotin (editors).

8o; [18 a-p aa-hh A-E; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. B 27922.

References: ISTC im00688400; Weale/Bohatta 819.

1501

31. Garlandia, Johannes de, *Libellus quem de verborum compositis appellat*, [Tréguier, Jean Calvez], 1501.

Synthen, Johannes (editor).

4o; ff. 71 [2]; Gothic.

Locations: Saint-Brieuc (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale.

References: RB XIX, 87 (1).

32. Missale – Nantes, *Missale Nannetense*, Nantes, Guillaume Larcher, 1501.

Location: No known surviving copy.

Reference: RB XIX, 13 (1).

1502

33.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Le coustumier de Bretagne avec les coutumes de la mer*, [Rouen], for Jean Macé in Rennes and Robert Macé in Caen [1502].

80; a-z8; ff. clxxv [9]; Gothic.

Inferred date taken from text: “furēt acheuees le x. iour dauril mil v. cēs & deux”.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 1772.

References: Gouron p. 89 (689); IA 124880; RB XIX, 33 (1); Delisle 120; FB 7482.

1503

34.* Missale – St Malo, *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Macloviensis*, Rouen, Jean Mauditier and Pierre Olivier for Robert Macé in Rouen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1503.

40; K8 a-m8 n6 (o8 missing) p-x8 y6 z8 A-D8 EE8; ff. [220]; Gothic.

6 November 1503.

Locations: London (UK), British Library, C 52 d 2.

References: RB XIX, 33 (2); RBN p. 95 (4); Delisle 285; Weale/Bohatta 566.

1505

35.* Arnaldus de Villanova, *Le regime de sante pour conserver le corps humain et vivre longuement*, Rouen, [Richard Auzoult], for Richard Rogerie in Morlaix, [1505].

40; A-D6 E4 F-G6 H4 I-L6 M-P4/6; ff. [82]; Gothic.

The note on A1v: “auec aucunes additiōs a ce adioustees lan mil cccCC & vng” means that it has been dated 1501. However, Rogerie was an apprentice in Caen until 1505.

Locations: London (UK), British Library, 1039g 1; Meaux (Fr), Médiathèque Luxembourg, C 11.

References: RB XIX, 7 (1); FB 1840.

36.* Garlandia, Johannis de, *Libellus de verborum compositis*, Rouen, Laurent Hostingue and Jamet Loys for Michel Angier and Richard Rogerie [in Morlaix], 1505.

40; a-i; ff. [52]; Gothic.

21 July 1505.

Locations: No known surviving copy.

References: RB XIX, 7 (2); Delisle 194.

37. Hermynes, [*Les Hermynes*], Tréguier, Jean Calvez, [1505].

In 1512 Jean Calvez received the sum of 16 sols 6 deniers “pour avoir painct et imprimé les hermynes pour semer par les rues à l’entrée de la Roynne en ceste ville”: Lepreux IV:140 following the deliberations of the town of Tréguier (1507–1540).

Locations: No known surviving copies.

References: RB XIX, 87 (8); FB 28781.

38.* Manuale – St Brieuc, *Manuale ad usum ecclesie Briocensis*, For Michel Angier and Richard Rogerie in Saint-Brieuc, [1505].

40; ff. [8] 129 [1]; Gothic.

Locations: Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque universitaire, 247088.

References: RB XIX, 83 (1); Delisle 251 bis.

1506

39.* Adrianus Carthusiensis, *De remediis utriusque fortune*, Rouen, [Pierre Olivier] for Jean Macé in Rennes, 1506.

80; []8 B-N8 O4 P8; ff. cviii [8]; Gothic.

15 November 1506.

Locations: Angers (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, S 456; Leiden (Ne), Universiteitsbibliotheek, 652 G 20; London (UK), British Library, 720.a.33 & 8407.aa.44; Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library, Lawn f.180; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. 8 Z Don 594 (447); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine, 49582.

References: RB XIX, 33 (4); IA 100703.

40.* *Le prestre Jean*, Rouen, [Richard Auzoult] for Richard Rogerie in Morlaix, [1506].

40; []6; ff. [6]; Gothic.

Locations: London (UK), British Library, C 97 b 16; Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc. p 37 [lost].

References: RB XIX, 7 (3); RB XXII, 17 (18); Delisle 334; FB 44688.

1507

41.* Arnaldus de Villanova, *Le tresor des povres*, Rouen, Richard Auzoult's workshop for Richard Macé in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1507.

Piscis, Jean (editor), Girard de Solo (additional author).

40; a-b6 c4 d-e6 f4 g-h6 J4 k6 L4 m-n6 o4 p-q6 r4 s-t6 v4 x6 y6 z4 &6 ?6 aa6 bb4; ff. [6] cxxxviii; Gothic.

29 July 1507.

Locations: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 15573.

References: RB XXVI, 64 (2); FB 1846.

42.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Les louables coustumes du pais et duché de Bretagne*, Paris, Philippe Pigouchet for Jean Macé in Rennes, 1507.

80; a-z8 &8 A-C8; ff. cxcii [24]; Gothic.

Locations: Bern (Sz), Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Bong V 316 (8); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 1767; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 76800.

References: IA 124881; Moreau 1507 – 60; Gouron p. 90 (691); FB 7484.

43.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Les loables coustumes du pais et duche de Bretagne*, [Rennes, 1507].

40; pp. 410 [38]

Locations: Quimper (Fr), Bibliothèques Quimper communauté, Rés. 8841.

References: RB XIX, 80 (1); FB 7483.

44.* Renaut de Montauban, *Le livre des quatre filz Aymon*, Rouen, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1507].

40; A-C6 D4 E-H6 I4 K-K6 M4 N-O6 P4 Q-S6 T4 V-X6 AA-EE6 FF4 GG-HH6; ff. [162]; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. P Y2 2787.

Reference: FB 45799.

45.* Evrard de Béthune, *Ebrardus, qui et Grecismus vocitatur, cum familiari interpretatione, juventibus erudiri cipientibus provectisque pro arte grammatices perutilis*, Rouen, Richard Goupil for Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Caen, [1507].

40; ff. 178 [14]; Gothic.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine, 10077; Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc. m 106.

References: RB XIX, 42 (77); RBN p. 249 (19); Delisle 158.

1508

46.* Alain de Lille, *Parabole cum commento frugiferas sentencias sub verborum involucris jucundo poemate ac perfacili pre se ferentes adjectos earundem interpretaciunculis phebea lampade illustrioribus*, Caen, Laurent Hosingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1508.

40; A8 B4 C6 D4; ff. [22]; Gothic.

11 July 1508.

Locations: Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. FN A 475; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. p Yc 1658; Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc m 104.

References: RB XIX, 33 (6); IA 102066; RBN p. 145–6 (2); Delisle 10.

47.* Albertus Magnus, *Secreta virorum et mulierum*, Rouen, Jean Mauditier and Raulin Gaultier, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1508.

80; A-E8 F4; ff. [44]; Gothic.

23 November 1508.

Locations: Cambridge (UK), University Library, Inc 7 D 40/2; Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC (USA), R 128 A3 1508 Cage; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. p R 306.

References: RB XIX, 34 (10); RBN p. 132 (6); Adams A 535; Delisle 12.

48.* Anguilbertus, Theobaldus, *Mensa philosophica*, Rouen, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1508.

80; [A]-J8; ff. [72]; Gothic.

18 August 1508; J8v: device, Michel Angier.

Locations: London (UK), British Library, G.16719; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Y2 2446.

References: RB XIX, 34 (7); RB XXVII, 47 (3); RBN p. 210 (3); Delisle, 25.

49.* Barbier, Jean, *Viatorum juris*, Rouen, Pierre Olivier, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1508.

80; A-Y8 Z4; ff. [180]; Gothic.

10 December 1508.

Location: Le Puy (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Cortial 2753.

Reference: RBN p. 100 (12).

50.* Bernardus Claraevallensis (Pseudo-), *Floretus cum commento*, Rouen, Pierre Olivier, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1508.

40; ff. [48]; Gothic.

31 October 1508.

Location: Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc m 122.

Reference: RB XIX, 34 (9); RBN p. 101 (14); Delisle 185.

51.* *Postilla sive expositio epistolarum et evangeliorum dominicalium*, Rouen, Laurent Hostingue for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1508.

40; ff. lxii; Gothic.

27 April 1508.

Location: Stonyhurst College, Whalley Lancs (UK), Ms. 3 20.

Reference: RBN p. 145: 1.

52.* Rosate, Albericus de, *Tractatus de testibus*, Rouen, Pierre Olivier, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1508.

80; A-I8; ff. [72]; Gothic.

7 October 1508.

Location: Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc p 95

References: RB XIX, 34 (8); RB XIX, 39 (56); RBN p. 100 (11); Delisle 346 & 369.

53.* Salisbury, *Expositio sequentiarum*, Rouen, Pierre Olivier, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1508.

80; [A]8 B-M8 N4; ff. xcvi [3]; Gothic.

12 October 1508; Jean Macé's device at the end of the volume.

Locations: Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. A 2116 (1); Roma (It), Biblioteca Casanatense.

Reference: RB XXII, 41 (13).

1509

54.* Alexander de Villa Dei, *Glosa notabilis super doctrinale in quatuor partes divisa*, Rouen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1508 (=1509 n.s.).

4o; a-z8 A6 B-C8 D4 E-F8; ff. [226]; Gothic.

15 January 1508 (=1509 n.s.).

Location: Alençon (Fr), Médiathèque de la Communauté Urbaine d'Alençon, BL 6143 Rés. XVI A6).

Reference: RBN p. 146: 4.

55.* Boece, Hector, *De consolatione philosophiae*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1509.

4o; ff. [196]; [32]; Gothic.

10 May 1510. There is a variant with Angier's device on the title page.

Locations: Saint-Lô (Fr), Médiathèque municipale, Ph. 28.

References: RB XIX, 34 (12); Renouard (Bade) II (205); RBN p. 147 (5);

Delisle 56.

56.* Delamare, Guillaume, *De sacrosancta eucharistia regisque nostri Ludovici laudibus ac sua expeditione in Venetos opusculum egregium unacum dilucida ac familiari interpretatione*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1509.

4o; a-b4; ff. [8]; Gothic.

21 June 1509. In verse.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. 8 Z Don 594 (248,2).

Reference: RBN: p. 147: 6.

57.* *Facetus cum commento*, Rouen, Pierre Olivier, for Jean Macé in Rennes, 1509.

4o; ff. [12]; Gothic.

20 October 1509.

Location: Laval (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 34042 (2).

References: RB XIX, 35 (18); RBN p. 103 (21).

58.* Garlande, Jean de, *Vocabulorum nostros in usus discurrentium*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue for Jean Macé in Rennes, 1508 (=1509 n.s.).

4o; a4 b6 c-d4; ff. [18]; Gothic.

12 January 1508 (=1509 n.s.).

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rothschild V 5 32.

References: RB XIX, 34 (11); RBN p. 146 (3); Delisle 193.

59.* John XXI, *Summularum Petri Hispani expositio*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1509.

Bricot, Thomas (editor), Georges de Bruxelles (translator).

4o; a-b6 c4 d8 e4 f8 g4 h8 i4 k8 l4 m8 n4 o8 p4 q8 r4 s-t8 u4 x8 y6 AA-BB6 CC8 DD4 EE8 FF4 GG8 HH4 JJ8 KK4; ff. [194]; Gothic.

27 June 1509. Woodcuts.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. R 778 & Rés. R 1397.

References: RB XIX, 34 (13); RBN p. 148 (7); Delisle 85.

60.* Macer Floridus, *De viribus herbarum*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1509.

Guérout, Guillaume (editor).

8o; [A]-O8; ff. [112]; Gothic.

30 July 1509. O8v: Jean Macé's device.

Location: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine, 21187.

References: RB XIX, 34 (14); RBN p. 148–9 (8).

61. Plédran, Mathurin de, *Statuta synodalia*, Nantes, Guillaume Tourquetil, [1509].

4o; ff. [42]; Gothic.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 11814.

Reference: RB XIX, 14 (1).

62.* Theodulus, *Theodolus inter sacros codices connumerandus*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1509.

Odon Picard (editor).

4o; a8 b4 c8 d4 e6 f4 g6 h4 i8 (i8 blank); ff. [52]; Gothic.

7 November 1509. Jean Macé's device. There is a variant with Angier's device.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. 8 Z Don 594 (286).

References: RB XIX, 34 (15); RBN p. 149 (9); Delisle 366.

63.* Tomais, Petrus, *Alphabetum aureum, quod ob publicam scholasticorum utilitatem*, Rouen, Pierre Olivier for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes 1508 (=1509 n.s.).

4o; A-V8 X6 A-B8 C-D6; ff. [2] clxiii [28]; Gothic.

Location: Sevilla (Sp), Biblioteca Capitular Y Colombina, 15-4-16.

Reference: RB XXVI, 102 (17).

1510

64.* Albertus Magnus, *Secreta virorum et mulierum*, Caen, Laurent Hosingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1510.

80; [18 B-E8 F4; ff. [44]; Gothic.

F4v: Device: Michel Angier; 30 September 1510.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o S 230 Inv. 2110 Rés (2).

65.* Cato, Dionysius, *Catho cum commento*, Caen, Laurent Hosingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1510.

40; a-e6 f4 g6; ff. [40]; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine, Inc 428 A-6.

References: RB XIX, 35 (19); RB XXVII, 22 (17); RBN p. 150–1 (13).

66.* Corti, Rocco, *Accommodatissimus et conducens admodum tractatus de jure patronatus*, Rouen, [Pierre Olivier] for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1509 (=1510 n.s.).

40; ff. lxxxviii [8]; Gothic.

23 February 1509 (=1510 n.s.).

Locations: Frankfurt am Main (Gw), Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Einband-slg 730 nr 2; Gent (Be), Centrale Bibliotheek van de Universiteit Gent, Juris 1447; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Masson 1114; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 4o J 471 (1); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 88916 (2).

References: RB XIX, 35 (17); Delisle 136.

67.* *Les croniques et genealogie des tres nobles roys, ducz et princes tant de la Grant Bretagne que de la petite avesques les tresexcellentes victoires et triumphes d'iceulx roys et princes faictes sur les Rommains jadis leurs tributaires et sur toutes autres nations*, Rouen, Pierre Olivier, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1510.

40; A-C8 D-F4 G8 H4 J8 K4 L8 M4-O4 P8 Q4; ff. lxxxvi (=88) [4]; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Nb 290.

References: RB XXII, 45 (25); FB 20331.

68.* *Expositio hymnorum per totium anni circulum*, Rouen for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1510].

80; A-L8; ff. lxxxvi [2]; Gothic.

Location: Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc. p 30.

References: RBN: p. 235 (144); Delisle 165.

69.* *Facetus cum commento*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1509 (=1510 n.s.).

40; ff. [14]; Gothic.

29 March 1509 (=1510 n.s.). There is a variant with Michel Angier's device.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. P YC 1587; Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc. m 104/8.

Reference: RBN p. 149 (11).

70.* Major, John, *Omnia opera*, Caen, Laurent Hoistingue for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1510].

20; ff. [8] cliiii [1] cxxxii (=144) xii [8]; Gothic.

Locations: Bordeaux (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, S 153; Loches (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 1.

Reference: RBN p. 169 (72).

71.* Manuale – Rennes, *Manuale ad usum Redonensem*, Rouen, [Pierre Olivier] for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1510].

40; A8 A-T; ff. [8] cxlvi; Gothic.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 40 BB 187 inv. 410 Rés.; Vitré (Fr), Médiathèque municipale Madame de Sévigné

References: RB XIX, 38 (50); RBN p. 127 (95); Delisle 255.

72.* Nider, Johannes, *Confessionale seu manuale confessorum ad instructionem spiritualium pastorum: cum tractatu de septem peccatis mortalibus: plurimum utili*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1510].

80; A-G8 H4; ff. [60], Gothic.

Location: Cambridge (UK), University Library, G.*13.21 (G).

Reference: RBN p. 170 (76).

73.* Normandie – coutumes, *Le grant coustumier du pays et duché de Normendie*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1510.

2o; a10 b-o8 p6 q6 A-E8 F10 mm6 G-I8 K10 (K10 blank); ff. [2] clxxiii [40]; Gothic.

26 April 1510. There is a variant with just Angier's name in the colophon.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. 4o Z Don 205 (17) & Rés. F 1262.

References: Gouron p. 174 (1298); FB 39475; RBN p. 150: 12.

74.* Terentius, *Comedie*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1509 (=1510 n.s.).

Jouenneaux, Guy and Bade, Josse (editors), Cadier, Nicolas (additional author).

4o; a-z8 &8 ?8 A-M8; ff. [296]; Gothic.

4 January 1509 (=1510 n.s.).

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. p Yc 1294.

References: RB XIX, 35 (16); Renouard (Bade) III (287); RBN p. 149 (10); Delisle 363.

75.* Voragine, Jacobus de, *Legenda hec aurea nitidis excutitur formis claretque plurimum pervigiili ac lucinda castigatione*, Rouen, Pierre Olivier, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1510.

4o; Aa8 Bb6 a-r8/4 [r]4 [s]8 s-v4/8 u8 x-z4/8 &8 [con]4 2a-2m8/4 2n6 2o4 2p8; ff. [14] cclvii [1]; Gothic.

24 September 1510.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Masson 1115; Solesmes (Fr), Abbaye Saint-Pierre; Texas University Library, Austin, TX (USA) BX 4654 J3 1510; Wake Forest University Library, Winston-Salem, NC (USA), BX 4654 J3 1510.

References: RB XIX, 35 (22); RBN p. 105 (27); Delisle 395.

1511

76.* Alexis, Guillaume, *Les faintises du monde*, Rouen, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, [1511].

8o; A-B8 C4; ff. [20]; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. P YE 332.

References: RB XXVII, 62-3 (95); FB 528; Delisle 332.

77.* Boece, Hector, *De consolatione philosophiae*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1510 (=1511 n.s.).

4o; A-Z4; Aa8 Bb-Cc4 Dd6 Ee8 Ff6; ff. [150]; [36]; Gothic.

8 March 1510 (=1511 n.s.).

Location: Tours (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale (destroyed).

References: RB XIX, 35 (23); Renouard (Bade) II (207); RBN p. 151 (14); Delisle 57.

78.* Briton, William, *Sinonima*, [Caen, Laurent Hostingue] for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1511.

8o; A-B8 C4; Gothic.

22 December 1511.

Location: Strängnäs (Sw), Domkyrkans Bibliotek, O 554 18.

Reference: RBN p. 153: 18.

79.* *Cura clericalis*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1511].

Meeterius, Thomas (editor).

8o; Gothic.

Location: No known surviving copies.

References: RBN p. 166 (63); Delisle 135.

80.* Guy de Roye, *Le doctrinal de sapience*, Rouen, Guillaume Gauthier, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1511].

4o; ff. [72]; Gothic.

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: Brunet IV, 1437; FB 24689; RBN 138: 8.

81.* Hangest, Jérôme de, *Problemata logicalia magistri Hieronymi de Hangest ad gordium funibus litem pasiphaeoque errore longe difficiliorum solvendum perutilia*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Richard Macé in Rouen, Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1511.

4o; A-O8/4 P-S4/8 T8; ff. [116]; Gothic.

22 November 1511. There is a variant with Michel Angier's device.

Location: Tours (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale (destroyed).

References: RB XIX, 36 (27); RBN p. 152 (16); Delisle 202 & 203.

82.* Jacobus de Voragine, *La vie et legende des saintz et saintes*, Rouen, Richard Goupil for Richard Macé in Rouen, Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1511.

Jean de Vignay (translator).

2o; A-V8 x-z8 [&]8 [com]8 a-f8 g-h6; ff. cclvi (=259) [1]; Roman.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. H 1117; Torino (It), Biblioteca nazionale universitaria.

References: RB VIII, 20 (3); FB 30566 & 30567.

83.* Johannes Balbi, *Catholicon magnum quod etiam Januensis seu vocabularius grammaticae nuncupatur*, Rouen, Pierre Olivier for Pierre Regnault and Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1511. 2o; a-z8 A-R8 S6 T8; ff. [334]; Gothic.

15 July 1511; There is a variant with Angier's device.

Locations: Cambridge (UK), University Library, F 151 a 4 2; Le Havre (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale Armand Salacrou, Inc. T 8; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. X 151; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Fol B L 160; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 6602; Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc g 128.

References: RB XIX, 36 (26); RBN p. 106 (30); Renouard (Bade) II (527); Adams B 74; Delisle 229.

84.* Lochmaier, Michael, *Parrochiale curatorum*, Caen, [Laurent Hostingue], for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1511.

8o; ff. [8] clxxix [1]; Gothic.

25 April 1511.

Locations: Caen (Fr), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Mancel 1727; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. 8o Z Don 594 (551) & Rés. D 80021

References: RB XIX, 36 (25); RBN p. 151–2 (15); Delisle 241.

85. Louis XII, *Les ordonnances constitutions et statuz du roy et duc faitz ou mois de febvrier 1511*, Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1511.

8o; [18; ff. [8]; Gothic.

Ordonnance signed in Blois, 26 February 1510 (=1511 n.s.).

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 211100/C563 R.

References: RB XIX, 87 (7); FB 35175.

86.* Prato Florido, Hugo de, *Sermones dominicales*, [Caen, Laurent Hostingue], for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1511.

4o; +8 a-z8 A-P8; A6 B4 a-z A-C8 D4 E8; ff. [8] CCCIII; [10] ccxx; Gothic.

2 December 1511.

Locations: Beaune (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, A 99; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. D 80101 & Rés. D 8134; Sevilla (Sp), Biblioteca Capitular Y Colombina, 4-3-9; Sevilla (Sp), Biblioteca Universitaria, A Res. 08/5/18.

References: RB XIX, 36 (28) & 39 (52); RBN: p. 153: 17.

1512

87.* Aesop, *Fabule Esopi, cum commento*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Richard Macé in Rouen, Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1512.

4o; ff. [30]; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. P YC 1586 (incomplete).

References: RB XIX, 36 (31); RBN p. 156 (26); Delisle 6.

88.* Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *Le propriétaire des choses tres utile et profitable aux corps humains*, Rouen, Richard Auzoult's successors for François Regnault in Paris, Jean Macé in Rennes, Michel Angier in Caen and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1512.

Farget, Pierre (editor), Corbichon, Jean (translator).

2o; ã A-X6 AA-XX6 AAA-DDD6; ff. [190]; Gothic.

15 November 1512.

Locations: Besançon (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 57116; Boston, MA (USA), Countway Library of Medicine, 19 L n d 2; Eprenay (Fr), Médiathèque municipale, Chandon V 1093; Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (USA), R128 B28 F8 1512.

References: Moreau II (242); RB XXII, 24–5 (9); FB 2828.

89.* Biblia, *Biblia cum pleno apparatu summariorum concordantiarum et quadruplicis repertorii*, Rouen, Pierre Olivier, for Richard Macé in Rouen, Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1511 (=1512 n.s.).

2o; A8 B6 a-z8 A-T8 V-X6 (X6 blank) Aa-Cc6 (Cc6 blank); ff. [14] cccxlvii [19]; Gothic.

16 February 1511 (= 1512 n.s.); Mistakenly attributed to Richard Goupil in RB XIX.

Locations: Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. C 539; La Flèche (Fr), Bibliothèque du Prytanée National Militaire, C 1; Paris (Fr), BnF,

A 162; Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc. m 117; St Andrews (UK), University Library, BS75.B11.

Reference: RB XXVI, 107: 32.

90.* [Boutillier, Jean], *Liber perutilis in curiis praticantibus cui nomen est summa ruralis. La somme rural*, Rouen, Richard Goupil, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1512.

Gradibus, Johannes de (editor).

2o; a6 b4 A-Z6 &6 AA-MM6 NN4; ff. [10] ccxx; Gothic.

31 July 1512.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 1284 & Rés. 4 Z Don 205 (12); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Masson 1071

References: FB 7267; Delisle, 66.

91.* Breviarium – Rennes, *Celeberrimum opus breviarum secundum morem ecclesie Redonen noviter correctum accuratissimeque visum ac emendatum*, Rouen, Martin Morin for Charles de Boingne in Angers, Jean Macé in Rennes, Michel Angiers in Caen and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1512.

Yves Mahyeuc, bishop of Rennes (editor).

8o; ff. [52] lxxiiij [38]; [172]; Gothic.

Location: København (Dk), Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 96, 49.

Reference: RB XIX, 37 (37).

92.* Georgius Bruxellensis, *Logica secundum Aristotelis*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1512.

Bricot, Thomas (additional author).

4o; a-z8 A-E8; ff. ccxxiii [1]; Gothic.

E8v: Macé's device; Variant with Angier's device.

Locations: Amiens (Fr), Bibliothèque d'Amiens Métropole, SA 251 B; Glasgow (UK), University Library, Sp Coll Bm5-f.9; Oxford (UK), University College Library, L.129.1; Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library, 4o K 10 Jur.

References: RB XIX, 37 (35); Delisle 83; RBN p. 154 (21).

93.* Gerson, Jean, *Tractatus de virtutibus et vitiis*, For Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1512.

2o

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: RBN p. 215 (43); Delisle 170.

94.* Guillaume de Montlaurzun, *Apparatus constitutionum Clementis pape quinti*, Rouen, [Pierre Olivier], for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1512 (=1513 n.s.).

8o; A-P8 AA-CC8; ff. cxx [24]; Gothic.

P8v: Pierre Olivier's device; 17 March 1512 (=1513 n.s.)

Locations: Aberystwyth (UK), National Library of Wales, b12 R7 (1); Amsterdam (Ne), Universiteitsbibliotheek Vrije Universiteit, XA.05518; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 10949 R; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. E 4090; Rodez (Fr), Médiathèque municipale, Rés. N 25; Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc p 96; Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, l.13.1862; Tübingen (Gw), Universitätsbibliothek, Hf 221; Wien (Au), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 25.V.43.

References: RB XIX, 37 (41); RBN p. 110 (38); Delisle 299 (=107).

95.* Johannes de Garlandia, *Liber Floreti*, Caen, [Laurent Hostingue], for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1512.

Gerson, Jean (editor).

4o; ff. clxxvi [6]; Gothic.

z6v: Jean Macé's device; 13 May 1512. There is a variant with Angier's device.

Locations: Luxembourg (Lu), Bibliothèque nationale, J Macé; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 25002; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. D 7847.

References: RB XIX, 37 (34); RBN p. 154 (20); Delisle 186.

96.* Mancini, Domenico, *Alpha et O Salvatoris domini nostri Jesu Christi passio*, [Caen, Laurent Hostingue] for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1511 (=1512 n.s.).

8°; a-d8; ff. [32]; Gothic.

10 January 1511 (=1512 n.s.).

Location: Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale.

Reference: RBN p. 153 (19).

97.* *Postilla sive expositio epistolarum et evangeliorum dominicalium*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1512.

4o; [4 a–z8 aa–ll8; ff. [4] cclxxi [1]; Gothic.

ll8v: device: J. Macé.

Locations: Barcelona (Sp), Biblioteca de la Universidad, 07 CM 230; Le Havre (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale Armand Salacrou, R 1462; Xanten (Gw), Stiftsbibliothek, 2406 (1).

References: RB XIX, 37 (39); RBN p. 155–6 (24); Delisle 328.

98.* *Questiones super evangeliiis dominicalibus et festivis totius anni, cum casibus conscientie*, Caen, [Laurent Hostingue] for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1512.

4o; ff. lxii (=63) [1]; Gothic.

Jean Macé's device.

Locations: Le Havre (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale Armand Salacrou, R 1462; Xanten (Gw), Stiftsbibliothek, 2406 (2).

References: RB XIX, 36 (32); RBN p. 156 (25), Delisle 339.

99.* Spagnoli, Giovanni Battista, *Parthenice Catharinaria*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1512.

4o; A-K8 L-N6 O-S4; ff. xciiii [2]; Gothic.

S4v: Device: J Macé.

Locations: Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. A 159.

References: RB XIX, 37 (38); RBN p. 155 (23); Delisle 43.

100.* Spagnoli, Giovanni Battista, *Parthenice Catharinaria*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1512.

4o; ff. xciiii [2]; Gothic.

Device: J Macé. Has a different title page layout to 91.

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: RBN p. 155 (22); Delisle 42.

101.* *Vocabularius perutilis utriusque juris tam civilis quam canonici*, Rouen, Pierre Olivier, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes, and Clément Alexandre and Charles de Bougne in Angers, 1512.

Giovanni Battista Caccialupi (Additional author).

8o; ff. [292]; Gothic.

24 April 1512.

Location: Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc p 123.

References: RB XIX, 37 (33); RBN p. 109 (36); Delisle 391.

1513

102.* Albertus Magnus, *De virtutibus herbarum, lapidum et animalium*, Rouen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, [1513].

8o; A-D8; ff. [32]; Gothic.

D8v: Michel Angier's device; Pierre Aquilon dates this as 1513–1516.

Locations: Caen (Fr), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Mancel 1311; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. p R 185.

References: RB XIX, 38 (43); IA 102525; RBN p. 164 (49); Delisle 13.

103.* Angelo Carletti, *Summa angelica de casibus conscientie*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1513.

4o; ff. [16] ccclxviii (=370); Gothic.

24 November 1513. There is a variant with Angier's device.

Location: Edinburgh (UK), National Library, Hall 295 f 11.

References: RBN p. 156 (27); Delisle 23.

104.* Boussard, Geoffroy, *De continentia sacerdotum*, Rouen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1513.

8o; [8 B-C8; ff. [24]; Gothic.

C8v: Michel Angier's device.

Locations: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC (USA), 168–169q; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o D 3550 inv. 3899 (1) Rés.

References: RB XIX, 38 (42); RBN p. 157 (28).

105.* Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Synonimorum libellus*, Caen, [Laurent Hostingue] for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1513].

8o; a-c8 d4; ff. [28]; Gothic.

Location: Strängnäs (Sw), Domkyrkans Bibliotek, O 554 19.

Reference: RBN p. 230 (117).

106.* *Les croniques de Normandie*, Rouen, Richard Auzoult's successors for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, [1513].

4o; A8 B–D4 E8 F–H4 I8 K–M4 N8 O–Q4 R8 S–V4 X8 AA–CC4 DD8 EE–FF4 GG8; ff. cxxxviii [6]; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Lk2 1205 A.

References: Brunet I, 1874; FB 39449.

107.* Dodi, Vincenzo, *Apologia*, Rouen, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1513].

Samuele da Cassine, Thomas Aquinas (additional authors).

8o; [] B–F8 G4; ff. [52]; Gothic.

Locations: Lyon (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc 337(11) Rés.; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o D 3550 inv. 3899 (2) Rés.

References: RB XIX, 38 (48); RBN p. 232 (127); Delisle 149.

108.* *Edificatio salutifere legis*, Caen, Laurent Histingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1513].

8o; A-D8; ff. [32]; Gothic.

D8v: J. Macé's device.

Locations: Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. A 2116 (2); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. D 24449 (2).

References: RB XIX, 35 (24); RBN p. 163 (47); Delisle 2.

109.* Jouenneaux, Guy, *In latine lingue elegantias interpretatio dilucida*, Rouen, Pierre Olivier, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, [1513].

Jean Gilles (additional author).

4o; A-R6; ff. [3] xci [2]; Gothic.

Location: Le Mans (Fr), Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Maine 1637.

References: RB XIX, 38 (49); RB XXVII, 71 (139); RBN p. 127 (92); Delisle 233.

110.* Merlin, *Les prophécies de Merlin*, Rouen, [Laurent Histingue] for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, [1513].

4o; aa6 aa–dd4 ee8 ff–hh4 i8 kk–mm4 nn8 oo–rr4 rr8 ss8 ss8 tt8 vv4 uu8 xx8; ff. [6] cxxx [2]; Gothic.

Locations: Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (USA), 27271 8 7*; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine, Inc 1014.

References: Brunet III, 1655; FB 37609.

111.* Perotti, Niccolò, *Grammatica Nicolai Peroti latini sermonis*, Rouen, Laurent Histingue, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes, [1513].

4o; ff. xcii (=98) [6]; Gothic.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 52079 Rés.
Reference: RBN p.170 (78).

112.* Pierre de Provence, *La belle Maguelonne*, Rouen, Richard Goupil, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, [1513].

4o; A-D6; ff. [24]; Gothic.

Location: Private collection (Fairfax Murray).

References: Brunet IV, 646; RB XIX, 38 (45); FB 43660.

113.* *Questiones super evangeliiis*, Rouen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1513].

4o; ff. lxii (=63) [1]; Gothic.

Location: Amiens (Fr), Bibliothèque d'Amiens Métropole, R 88.

References: RB XIX, 39 (53); RBN p. 171 (80); Delisle 337.

114.* Spagnoli, Giovanni Battista, *Parthenice Catharinaria*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1513.

Bade, Josse (editor).

4o; ff. 94 [2]; Gothic.

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: Renouard (Bade) II, 100; RBN p. 155 (22); Delisle 42.

115.* Vitalini, Bonifazio, *Opus super maleficiis egregium, totam juris antiquorum prudentiam continens, et viaticum non spernendum omnibus assessoribus et iudicantibus noviter inventum et cunctis desiderantibus studiosis recentissime impressum*, Rouen, [Pierre Olivier] for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, [1513].

4o; ff. CVII [1]; Gothic.

Locations: Bordeaux (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, J 1124; Erfurt (Gw), Universitätsbibliothek, LA 4o 155a; Paris (Fr), BnF Rés. F 2173; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 11403.

References: RB XXVI, 129 (105); Delisle 389.

116.* *Vocabularius in eruditionem juvenum ysagogicus*, Rouen, Laurent Hostingue, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, [1513].

4o; A-S8; ff. [88]; Gothic.

Location: Caen (Fr), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Mancel 341.

References: RB XIX, 39 (57); RBN p. 174 (92); Delisle 390.

1514

117.* Boussard, Geoffroy, *De continentia sacerdotum breve compendium*, Rouen, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1514.

80; A-C8; ff. [24]; Gothic.

C8v: R. Macé's device.

Locations: Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library, 80 Z 191 4, Art BS; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. E 5228; Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 6296, Inc p 80.

References: RB XIX, 39 (58); RBN p. 217 (50); Delisle 65.

118.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Les loables coustumes du pays et duche de Bretagne*, For Jean Macé in Rennes, Michel Angier in Caen and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1514.

80; [A]8 B-Z8 a-d8 A-C8; ff. ccxxvi (=216) [24]; Gothic.

C8v: printer's device with initials RM and Jean Macé's name.

Locations: Brest, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. FB D698; Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 90 514; Limoges (Fr), Bibliothèque francophone multimédia, Rés. T 140; London (UK), British Library, 1127 a 9.

References: IA 124882; Gouron p. 90 (693); FB 7485.

119.* Breviarium – Rennes, *Breviarium Redonense*, Paris, Thielmann Kerver, for Jean Macé in Rennes, Michel Angier in Caen and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1514.

80; A-E8, a-m8, AA-SS8; ff. xxxix [1], xcvi, [144]; Gothic.

7 December 1514.

Location: Solesmes (Fr), Abbaye Saint-Pierre.

References: RB XIX, 40 (61); RBN p. 216 (49); Delisle 78.

120.* *Gesta Romanorum cum applicationibus moralisatis ac mysticis*, [Laurent Hostingue] for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1514.

80; A-X8 Y4; ff. CLX [12]; Gothic.

Y4v: Device of R. Macé.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Z 2578.

References: RB XIX, 40 (59); RBN p. 217 (51); Delisle 195.

121.* Seneca (Pseudo), *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus cum commento*, Rouen, [Laurent Hostingue] for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1514.

80; A-C8; ff. [24]; Gothic.

7 May 1514.

Location: Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale.

Reference: RBN p. 215 (47).

1515

122.* Aegidius Suchtelensis, *Elegantiraum viginti precepta*, Rouen, Laurent Hostingue for Michel Angier of Caen and Jean Macé of Rennes, [1515].

80; ff. [12]; Gothic.

Location: Strängnäs (Sw), Domkyrkans Bibliotek, O 554 10.

Reference: RBN p. 164 (48).

123.* Boece, Hector, *De disciplina scolarium*, Rouen, [Laurent Hostingue] for Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, 1515.

Bade, Josse (editor), Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius (additional author). 40; Aa-Ee4 Ff6; ff. [30]; Gothic.

10 July 1515.

Locations: Aberdeen (UK), University Library, pi 276 Boe c 1 (2); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. p R 235 (2); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 52331.

References: RB XIX, 40 (63); Renouard (Bade) II, 210; RBN p. 157–8 (31), Delisle 58.

124.* Boece, Hector, *De consolatione philosophiae*, Rouen, [Laurent Hostingue] for Jean Macé in Rennes, [1515].

40; A-S8 T-V6; ff. [156]; Gothic.

Locations: Aberdeen (UK), University Library, pi 276 Boe c 1 (1); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. p R 235 (1); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 52330; Vire (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale.

References: RB XIX, 40 (63); Renouard (Bade) II, 210; RBN p. 157–8 (31), Delisle 58.

125.* *Casus papales. Episcopales et abbatiales omnibus et presertim sacerdotibus religiosis et clericis perutiles et necessarii*, Rouen, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1515].

80; ff. [8]; Gothic.

Location: Le Mans (Fr), Médiathèque Louis Aragon, TH 8o 3612.

Reference: RBN p. 229 (110).

126.* Denise, Nicolas, *Sermones*, For Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1515].

80; Gothic.

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: RB XIX, 38 (47); RBN p. 232 (125); Delisle 142.

127.* *Interrogationes doctrinae: quibus quilibet sacerdos debet interrogare suum confitentem*, Rouen, Jean Moulin, for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, [1515].

80; ff. [8].

Location: Philadelphia, PA (USA), Pennsylvania University Library, FC 5 M 3118.511 n (6).

128.* Jean de Cirey, *Defensorium juris. Item tractatus prescriptionum*, [Rouen, Pierre Olivier], for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1515].

Dinus Mugellanus (Additional author)

40; A-M8; ff. [96]; Gothic.

Not after 15 November 1515.

Locations: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 88916; Sevilla (Sp), Biblioteca Capitular Y Colombina, 13-3-3 (1); Wolfenbüttel (Gw), Herzog August Bibliothek, 112.1 Jur.

References: RB XIX, 41 (68); RBN p. 125-6 (87); Delisle 230.

129. Léon X, *Grand pardon general*, [Vannes], Jean d'Alençon and Robert Rio, 1515.

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: RB XIX, 91 (1); FB 34279.

130.* Montrocher, Guy de, *Manipulus curatorum*, Rouen, Richard Goupil, for Jean Macé in Rennes, 1515.

80; A-R8; ff. 136; Gothic.

21 June 1515

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, D 80050.

References: RB XIX, 40 (62), Delisle 302.

131.* Normandie – coutumes, *Le grant coustumier du pays et duche de Normendie*, Caen, [Laurent Hastingue], for Michel Angier of Caen and Jean Macé of Rennes, 1515.

2o; a10 b-o8 p-q6 A-E8 F10 G-I8 K10 (K10 blank); ff. [2] clxxiii [40]; Gothic.

Locations: Caen (Fr), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Mancel 231; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 1494.

References: Gouron p. 175 (1299); FB 39479.

1516

132.* Breviarium – Saint-Pol-de-Léon, *Breviarium insignis ecclesie Leonensis nuper emaculatum ... multis brevibus atque legendis adauctum*, Paris, Didier Maheu for Yvon Quilleveré in Paris and Alain Prigent in Landerneau and Saint-Pol-de-Léon, 1516.

8o; A-G8 A8 a-o8 AA-MM8 A-C8; ff. LVI [8] CXII [96] XXIII; Gothic.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. B 4920; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 15952 & 13710.

References: RB XXVIII, 65 (1); Bohatta 2344; Moreau II, 1283.

133. Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances faictes en Parlement tenu a Vennes*, Nantes for Antoine and Michel Papolin, [1516].

8o; [12; ff. [2]; Gothic.

La Borderie mistakenly attributed the printing of this work to Papolin.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 211106 C564 Rés.

References: RB XIX, 15 (1); FB 41061.

134.* Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances faictes en Parlement tenu a Vennes*, Paris, for Jean Macé in Rennes, [1516].

8o; [12; ff. [2]; Gothic.

Location: London (UK), British Library, 1606/632 (2).

References: RB XIX, 40 (64); IA 124883; Moreau II, 1450; FB 41082.

1517

135.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Les loables coustumes du pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rouen, [Pierre Olivier] for Jean Macé in Rennes and Michel Angier in Caen, 1517.

80; A-Z8 a-d8; A-C8; ff. ccxxvi (=216); [24]; Gothic.

Jacques Betz and the card catalogue of the BnF attribute this to Jean Baudouyn in Nantes. However, the type is that of the Rouen printer Pierre Olivier. C8v: device of I. Mace

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Z Don 594 (366) & Rés. F 1564; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 88545; Washington, DC (USA), George Washington University Law School, Jacob Burns Law Library, KJV264 B74 1517.

References: RB XIX, 17 (2); IA 124884; Gouron p. 90 (694); FB 7486

136. Horae – Nantes, [*Heures à l'usage de Nantes*], Nantes, Jean Baudouyn, 1517.

Location: No known surviving copy.

Reference: RB XIX, 17 (1).

1518

137.* Breviarium – Nantes, *Breviarium Nannetense*, Paris, Jean Adam, Jean Bienayse and Jean Kerbriant, for Antoine Papolin, Olivier Ganeraux and Pierre Bodin in Nantes, 1518.

Contract passed on 26 February 1518.

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: RB XIX, 15 (3); Moreau II, 1767.

138. Gerson, Jean, *L'instruction des curez pour instruire le simple peuple*, Nantes, Jean Baudouyn, 1518.

40; a-m8; ff. xcvi; Gothic.

Book commissioned by Denis Briçonnet, bishop of St Malo.

Location: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 4o BB 239 inv. 462 Rés.

References: Higman: (I 42); RB XIX, 17 (3); FB 22726.

139.* Nantes, *Usages de Nantes*, Paris, Jean Bignon for Olivier Ganeraux in Nantes, 1518.

August 1518

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: Moreau II, 508 (1963); FB 39028.

140.* Cato, Dionysius, *Catho cum commento*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1518].

4o; a-e6 f4 g6; ff. [40]; Gothic.

There is a variant with Angier's device.

Location: London (UK), British Library, C.56.e.5.

References: RB XIX, 41 (67); RBN p. 165–6 (59); Delisle 93.

141.* *De contemptu mundi*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1518].

4o; A-D; ff. [24]; Gothic.

not after 1518

Locations: Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. BR 670; Cambridge (UK), University Library, Norton.d.14; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. D 80051.

References: RB XIX, 42 (75); RBN p. 164 (51); Delisle 116.

142.* Spagnuoli, Baptista, *Parthenice Mariana*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1518].

Gueroaldus, G (additional author).

8o; a-i8; ff. [72]; Gothic.

Not after 1518.

Locations: Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. A 9; Strängnäs (Sw), Domkyrkans Bibliotek, o 554/21.

References: RB XIX, 40 (66); RB XXVII, 44 (26); RBN p. 172 (86); Delisle 45.

143.* Vergilius Maro, Publius, *Buccolica Virgilio, cum commento*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, [1518].

4o; a8 b4 c8 d4 e8 f4 g6; ff. [44]; Gothic.

Not after 1518.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. p Yc 1648.

References: RB XIX, 41 (69); RBN: p. 173 (91); Delisle 386.

1519

144.* Boece, Hector, *De consolatione philosophie*, Rouen, [Pierre Olivier] for Jean Macé in Rennes, 1519.

Quintilianus (Additional author); Thomas Aquinas and Bade, Josse (editors).

4o; A-V8 Aa-Dd8; pp. [312] [64]; Gothic.

Dd8v: device: I MACE.

Locations: København (Dk), Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 74 II 390; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. R 1092.

References: RB XIX, 41 (70); IA: 121072; RBN p. 125 (84); Renouard (Bade) II (22).

1520

145.* Arrigo da Settimello, *De male fortunatis versibus elegis liber*, Caen, Laurent Hosingue for Michel Angier of Caen and Jean Macé of Rennes, [1520].

4o; a8 b-c4 d8 e6; ff. [30]; Gothic.

Printed between 1508 and 1526. The only known copy does not have a title page.

Location: Dublin (Ie), Trinity College, DD hh 56.

146.* Boece, Hector, *De consolatione philosophie duplici cum commentario*, Rouen, [Pierre Olivier] for Jean Macé in Rennes, [1520].

Bade, Josse (editor), Thomas Aquinas and Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius (additional authors).

4o; A-S8 T6 V8 Aa-Dd8 (Dd8 blank); Gothic.

Locations: Amiens (Fr), Bibliothèque d'Amiens Métropole, Rés. 276 A; Cambridge (UK), Corpus Christi College Library; Cambridge (UK), St Johns College Library, Bb 6 17; Cambridge (UK), University Library, Peterborough A 3 7; Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library, Antiq e F 1519 2; Versailles (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Inc. M 61.

References: RB XIX, 33 (3); Adams B 2284; IA 121023; Delisle 51.

147.* *Le premier volume de Merlin*, Rouen, [Richard Auzoult's successors] for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, [1520].

4o; []4 A8 B-D4 E8 F-H4 I8 K-M4 N8 O-R4 S8 T-V4 x8 AA-CC4 DD8 EE-GG4 HH8 II-LL4 MM8 NN-OO4 PP10; []4 a8 b-d4 e8 f4 g8 i8 k-m4 n8 o-q4 r8 s-v4 x8 y-z4 &4 98 aa-bb4 cc6; aa6 2aa4 bb-dd4 ee8 ff-hh4 ii8 kk-mm4 nn8 oo-qq4 rr8 2rr8 ss4 2ss8 tt8 2tt4 uu-xx8; ff. [4] clxxxv [1]; Gothic.

Locations: Grenoble (Fr), Bibliothèques municipales, Rés. E 30128 (1); London (UK), British Library, 1074 k 2 (1); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Masson 1032 (1); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Y2 559; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, 8o Q 844 A (1).

References: RB XXVI, 73 (27); FB 37610.

148.* *Le second volume de Merlin* (Rouen, [Richard Auzoult's successors] for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, [1520])

4o; []4 a8 b-d4 e8 f-h4 i8 k-m4 n8 o-q4 r8 s-v4 x8 y-z4 &4 98 aa-bb4 cc6; ff. [4] cxlviii (=142); Gothic.

cc6v: Device of Richard Macé cc1 skips frm cxxxvi to cxliii.

Locations: Grenoble (Fr), Bibliothèques municipales, Rés. E 30128 (2); London (UK), British Library, 1074 k 2 (2); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Masson 1032 (2); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. p Y2 216; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, 8o Q 844 A (2)

References: RB XXVI, 73 (27); FB 37611.

149.* *Les prophécies de Merlin*, Rouen, [Richard Auzoult's successors] for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, [1520].

4o; aa6 2aa4 bb-dd4 ee8 ff-hh4 ii8 kk-mm4 nn8 oo-qq4 rr8 2rr8 ss4 2ss8 tt8 vv4 uu-xx8; ff. [6] xxxi (=131) [1]; Gothic.

Locations: Grenoble (Fr), Bibliothèques municipales, Rés. E 30128 (2); London (UK), British Library, 1074 k 2 (3); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, 8o Q 844 A (3); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine
References: RB XXVI, 73 (27); FB 37612.

150.* *Missale – Nantes. Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Nannetensis*, Rouen, Martin Morin for Antoine and Michel Papolin, Olivier and Robert Ganeraux in Nantes and Charles de Bougne in Angers, 1520.

4o; +8 a-z &8 ?8 [9]8 [r]8 [~r]4; ff. [8] ccxvii (=219) [1]; Gothic.

16 October 1520.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. B 1814

References: RB XIX, 18 (1) & 15 (3); RBN p. 25 (57); Weale/Bohatta 663.

1521

151.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Les loables coustumes du pays et duche de Bretagne*, For Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1521. 80; [A]8 B-Z8 a-d8 A-C8; ff. ccxxvi (=216) [24]; Gothic.
 Copied from SN 55556, even maintaining misnumbering.
 Locations: London (UK), British Library, 1606/632 (1); Moscow (Ru), Library for Historical Literature, No 39.
 References: IA 124885; FB 7488.

1523

152.* Andrelinus, Faustus, *Hecato distichon*, Rennes, Jean et Julien Macé and Roland Le Franc, 1523.
 40; ff. [14]
 Location: No known surviving copy.
 Reference: RB XIX, 41 (72).

1524

153.* Boece, Hector, *De consolatione philosophie*, Rennes, Jean Macé, [1524].
 40; A-S8 T-V6 Aa-Dd8; pp. [312] [64]; Gothic.
 Locations: Amiens (Fr), Bibliothèque d'Amiens Métropole; Versailles (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale.
 Reference: RB XIX, 42 (74).

154.* Breviarium – Nantes, [*Brevieres à l'usage de Nantes*], Paris, Jean Kerbriant, for Olivier and Robert Ganeraux, Pierre Bodin and Antoine and Michel Papolin, in Nantes, and Charles de Bougne in Angers, 1524.
 80; ff. [16].
 Location: No known surviving copy.
 Reference: Moreau III, 616.

155.* Ferrazo, Tommaso, *Cautelae*, Rouen, Martin Morin for Michel Angier in Caen, Jean Macé in Rennes and Richard Macé in Rouen, [1524].

8o; A-L8; ff. LXXXVIII; Gothic.

L8v: Device: Richard Macé.

Location: Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. A 2.

Reference: RB XIX, 42 (78); RBN p. 29 (68); Delisle 179.

156. Marbodius Redonensis, *Liber Marbodi*, Rennes, Jean Baudouyn for Jean Macé, 1524.

4o; A4 (A4 blank) B–E4 F6; ff. [42]; Gothic.

Besiel, Raoul (editor).

The edition was commissioned by Yves Mahyeuc.

Locations: Glasgow (UK), University Library, Sp Coll Ferguson Al-y.8;

Madrid (Sp), Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/5840; Nantes (Fr),

Musée Dobrée; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. p YE 1533; Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library, Vet. E1 e22.

References: RB XIX, 43 (79); RB XIX, 44 (1).

157.* Meeterius, Thomas (editor), *Cura clericalis*, Caen, Laurent Hostingue for Michel Angier in Caen [and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1524].

8o; [A]–B8; ff. [16]; Gothic.

non ante 1518.

Locations: Amiens (Fr), Bibliothèque d'Amiens Métropole, RES 364

A & LESC 1278; Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. A 2081 / 11;

Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. D 80016; Valognes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, C 671.

References: RB XIX, 42 (76); RB XXVII, 39 (65).

158.* Missale – Rennes, *Missale ad consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Redonensis*, Paris, Jean de Kerbriant for Jean Macé and Sulpice Le Franc in Rennes, 1523 (=1524 n.s.).

2o; a-q8 r10 aa-ii8 A-D8; ff. [242]

Location: Cambridge (UK), University Library, Sel. 2. 27.

References: RB XIX, 41 (73); Moreau III (554); Delisle 287.

1525

159. *La constitution nouvelle stille et ordre de pledoyrie par escript du pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, Jean Baudouyn for Jean Macé, [1525].

8o; [a]4 b4; ff. [8]; Gothic.

Signed in Nantes, 5 October 1525.

Locations: London (UK), British Library, 1128 a 34 & 1606/632 (3); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. P F 8.

References: IA 124886; RB XIX, 44 (2); FB 7445.

1526

160. *Breviarium – Rennes, Ordo breviarum, secundum usum incliti monasterii sancti Melanii, ordinis sancti benedicti prope Redonis*, [Rennes, Baudouin's workshop], 1526.

8o; [18 A-V8 a-z8 aa-gg8 AA-DD8; ff. [440]; Gothic.

Probably commissioned by François Chaveau, abbot of St Melaine.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. B 27701.

Reference: RB XIX, 40 (61).

161.* *La constitution nouvelle stille et ordre de pledoyrie par escript du pays et duche de Bretagne*, Angers, Richard Picquenot for Pierre Bodin in Nantes, [1526].

8o; A-B4; ff. [8]; Gothic.

A2r: Rennes, 25.10.1525, N. Du val B4r: Published: Nantes 5.10.1525, N. du Val

Copied on the Baudouin impression of 1525. Baudouin's privilege was for a year only.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 211099 Rés.

References: RB XXVI, 47 (7); FB 7444.

1527

162.* *Jacobus de Voragine, La vie et legende des saintz et saintes*, For Jacques Berthelot, Michel and Girard Angier in Caen, and for Sulpice Le Franc, Jean and Julien Macé, [1527].

Jean de Vignay (translator).

2o; A-X8 y-z8 [&]8 ?8 a-f8 g6 h6 (-h6); ff. cclix; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. H 1064.

References: FB 30580; RBN p. 292 (19); Delisle 397.

1528

163. *Bretagne – Coutumes, Coustumes establissemens et ordonnances du pays et duche de Bretagne*, “Ex carracteribus Parrhisiis”, 1528.

8o; [14 b-z8 &8 [~g]8 #4 A-B8 C4; ff. [1] ccix [20]; Gothic.

Locations: Brest (Fr), Bibliothèque Yves-Le-Gallo, Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique, D-04381-00C1; Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 90 528; Minnesota, MN (USA), Minnesota University Library, TC Law Library Rare Books; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 1666; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 88544 & Rés. 76801. References: RB vol. 18, 44 (3); Gouron p. 91 (699); FB 7489.

1529

164. Hangest, Jérôme de, *Moralia*, “Ex carracteribus Parrhisiiis”, 1529. Ratus, Guillaume (editor).

8o; [A]8 B4 A-Z8 aa-bb8; ff. [12] cc; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. p R 240.

Reference: RB XIX, 45 (4).

1530

165.* Missale – Vannes, *Missale ad usum ecclesie Venetensis*, Paris, François Regnault, for Michel Angier in Caen, and Jean Macé in Rennes, 1530.

2o; +8 a-p8 q2 r4, 2A-2G8 2H10, A-D8; ff. [8] cxxi [5], [66], xxxi (=32); Gothic.

30 April 1530.

Location: Vannes (Fr), Bibliothèque diocésaine.

Reference: Moreau III, 2219; RBN p. 224 (86).

1531

166. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes establissements et ordonnances du pays et duche de Bretagne*, “Ex carracteribus Parrhisiiis”, 1531.

8o; a4 b-z8 &8 [~g]8 #4; A-B8 C4; ff. [1] ccxii (=202) [1]; [20]; Gothic.

Locations: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 90 531; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 1769; Yale Law School Library, New Haven, CT (USA), France 34B7 C83 1531 (1).

References: RB XIX, 45 (5); Gouron p. 91 (700); FB 7490.

167. Rennes – Missale, *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Redonensis*, “Ex carracteribus Parrhisiiis” for Michel & Gérard Angier and Jacques Berthelot of Caen, 1531.

4o; [trefle]8 a-o8 aa-ff8 gg-hh4 A-D8 E4; ff. [176] xvj [20]; Gothic.

Locations: Auxerre (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 4o BB 182 inv. 405 Rés.; Vitre (Fr), Médiathèque municipale Madame de Sévigné, T 190.

References: RB XIX, 45 (6); Moreau IV, 110; Weale-Bohatta 821.

1532

168. [Bouchart, Alain], *Les grandes cronicques de Bretagne*, [Rennes, Baudouin's workshop], 1532.

2o; a-b6 A-V6 [X4?] AA-XX6 yy-zz6; ff. [12] cclxii; Gothic.

Locations: London (UK), British Library, C 66 c 3 & 596 h 16 & G 5998; Nancy (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 4216 & Rés. 102; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 48221; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. FOL LK2 444 & Rés. FOL LK2 444 (alpha) & SMITH Lesouef R 8909; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Masson 1059; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 4o H 3785 & 4o H 4846; Toulouse (Fr), Médiathèque José Cabanis, Rés. B XVI 212.

References: RB XIX, 45 (7); FB 6570.

169. François I, *Constitutions et ordonnances faictes par le roy a Vennes ou moys d'aougt 1532 sur le fait de l'abreviation des proces en Bretagne*, [Rennes, Baudouin's workshop] for Antoine and Michel Papolin in Nantes, [1532].

8o; A-B4; ff. [8]; Gothic.

Because of the privilege La Borderie concluded that Papolin printed this work. The material used is the same as that used by Baudouin and, later, Berthelot in Rennes.

Variation A: Title page begins “[C]onstitutions et ordonnã= || ces faictes”.

Locations: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N FRAN 132 527; Saint-Flour (Fr), Bibliothèque du grand séminaire, K 2 (2); Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 98470 R; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 301 (2); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o F 428 inv. 3553 Rés.; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. 8o Z Don 594 (87).

References: Brunet VII, 292; FB 21323.

170. François I, *Constitutions et ordonnances faictes par le roy a Vennes ou moys d'aougt 1532 sur le fait de l'abreviation des proces en Bretagne*, [Rennes, Baudouin's workshop, 1532].

8o; [14; ff. [4]; Gothic.

Variant B: Title page begins “[C]Onstitutiōs & ordōnāces faictes ||”.

This edition was completely reset with significant variations.

Location: Yale Law School Library, New Haven, CT (USA), France 34B7 C83 1531 (3).

1533

171.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Les louables coustumes du pays et duche de Bretagne*, For Antoine and Michel Papolin in Nantes, 1532 (= 1533 n.s.).

8o; a-z8 aa-pp8 A-D8; ff. [8] ccxcvi [40]; Gothic.

a1v: woodcut of the author handing his book to king of France.

Locations: Brest (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. FBD 465 (1); Gap (Fr), Archives départementales, KJV264 B74 1532; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 301 (1); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o F 428 inv. 3553 (1) Rés.; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Z Don 594 (87); Quimper (Fr), Bibliothèques Quimper communauté, Y Rés. 24; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 76802; Saint-Flour (Fr), Bibliothèque du grand séminaire, K 2 (1).

References: Nantes, Dobrée 301; Gouron p. 91 (701); FB 7491.

172. Missale – Rennes, *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Redonensis*, “Ex carracteribus Parrhisiiis”, for Michel and Girard Angier, and Jacques Berthelot in Caen, 1533.

8o; +8 a-o8 hh8 A-D8 E4; ff. [216]; Gothic.

See Alès, A., *Bibliothèque liturgique: Description des livres de liturgie imprimés aux XVe et XVIe siècles, faisant partie de la bibliothèque de S.A.R. Mgr Charles-Louis de Bourbon* (Paris, A. Hennuyer, 1878–1884) pp. 242–3. The title page, colophon and collation correspond to the 1531 edition but with a 1533 date.

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: RB XIX, 46 (8); RB XIX, 47 (1).

1535

173. Manderston, William, *Moralia*, [Rennes, Jacques Berthelot], 1535.

80; [A]8 B-Z8 AA-BB8; ff. cc; Gothic.

23 November 1535.

Locations: St Andrews (UK), University Library, TypFre B35BM; Saint-Brieuc (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, P 4176.

174.* Missale – Vannes, *Missale secundum usum ecclesie Venetensis*, Paris, Yolande Bonhomme, for Antoine and Michel Papolin in Nantes and Guillaume Brunel in Vannes, 1535.

20

Locations: Vannes (Fr), Bibliothèque diocésaine.

References: RB XIX, 16 (7); RB XIX, 92 (1).

175. Nantes – Hôtel-Dieu, *Pardons*, [Nantes, 1535].

AM Nantes, GG 706: Accounts of the Hôtel-Dieu of Nantes, 1532–1540. Expenditure: “Pour avoir faict imprimer des pardons envoyez par les parroisses à deux foiz” 12 s.

Location: No known surviving copy.

176. Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances et constitutions sur le faict, ordre et stille de pledoyer par escript et abbreviation des proces tant en matieres civiles que criminelles*, Rennes, Jacques Berthelot for Thomas Mestrard, [1535].

80; A-D4; ff. xv [1]; Gothic.

D4r: Arms of duke Francis III. D4v: Printer’s device: Jacques Berthelot (St James and initials IB). The Dobré catalogue mistakenly identifies this as Philippe Bourguignon’s device. Le Preux subsequently attributed the work to Jean Georget.

Locations: Brest (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. FBD 465 (2); Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 265, 267 (2) & 307 (2); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Z Don 594 (87–1); Yale Law School Library, New Haven, CT (USA), France 34B7 C83 1531 (4).

References: Nantes, Dobrée (265); FB 41062.

1536

177. François I, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict, ordre et stille de plaider par escript en ce pays et duche de Bretagne tant en matieres civiles que criminelles*, Rennes, Jacques Berthelot for Julien Macé [and Thomas Mestrard], 1536.

80; A-G4; ff. xxvi [2]; Gothic.

Woodcut of printing press on G4v (Baudouyn's device).

Locations: Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 301 (3); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o F 428 inv. 3553 (2) Rés.

Reference: FB 21355.

178. François I, *Ordonnances nouvellement faictes par le roy nostre sire sur le faict des guectz et capitaineries de ce pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, [Jacques Berthelot] for Thomas Mestrard, 1536.

8o; A-C4; A-B4; ff. xi [1]; viii; Gothic.

Woodcut of printing press on B4v (Baudouyn's device) with motto "vive limprimerie".

Location: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o F 428 inv. 3553 (2) Rés.

Reference: FB 21349.

179. *Le kalendrier pour trouver les jours ferialz*, Rennes, Thomas Mestrard, 1536.

8o; ff. 125 [3]; Gothic.

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: Brunet II, 366–7; FB 8211.

1539

180. François I, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict de la justice et abbreviation des proces par tout le royaume de France, Normandie et Bretagne*, Rennes, Jean Georget, for Galliot du Pré in Paris, and Jean Lermangier in Rennes, 1539.

8o; A-H4; ff. xxxii; Gothic.

H4v: Given at Villiers Cotterets August 1539.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 2211; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, Masson 27.

References: Moreau V, 392 (1344); FB 21405.

181. François I, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict de la justice et abbreviation des proces en ce pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, Jean Georget for Guillaume Cheveau, [1539].

4o; A-H4; ff. [32]; Gothic.

Three variants: FB 21404: A-J4 and Mestrard; FB 21403: A-H4 and Cheveau; FB 21402: A-H4 and Cleray. Mestrard and Bourgoignon mentioned in privilege

Locations: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 90 540; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 266; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 867 (2) & Rés. F 868 (3); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 89858 (3).
References: Nantes, Dobrée 266; FB 21403.

182. François I, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict de la justice et abbreviation des proces en ce pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, Jean Georget for Georges Cleray, [1539].

40; A-H4; ff. [32]; Gothic.

Three variants: FB 21404: A-J4 and Mestrard; FB 21403: A-H4 and Cheveau; FB 21402: A-H4 and Cleray.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 76805 (2).

Reference: FB 21402.

183. François I, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict de la justice et abbreviation des proces en ce pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, Jean Georget for Thomas Mestrard, [1539].

40; A-J4; ff. [36]; Gothic.

Three variants: FB 21404: A-J4 and Mestrard; FB 21403: A-H4 and Cheveau; FB 21402: A-H4 and Cleray.

Locations: Philadelphia, PA (USA), Pennsylvania University Library, B 708; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 76804 (3).

Reference: FB 21404.

184. François I, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict de la justice et abbreviation des proces en ce pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, Jacques Berthelot for Thomas Mestrard and Georges Cleray, [1539].

80; A-H8; ff. [64]; Gothic.

Mark of George Cleray on H8r.

Locations: London (UK), British Library, C 143 ff 36; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 2274.

Reference: FB 21401.

185. *Le kalendriez pour trouver les jours ferielz*, Rennes, Jacques Berthelot for Thomas Mestrard, 1539.

80; [A]8 B-Q8; ff. cxxvii [1]; Gothic.

The last folio bears the device of Thomas Mestrard.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 2274; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 10064.

References: RB XIX (3-4); FB 8212.

1540

186.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generalles des pays et duche de Bretagne nouvellement reformees et publiees en la ville de Nantes*, [Paris] for Philippe Bourgoignon in Rennes and Nantes, 1540.

40; A4 a-c4 d2 B-Z4 &6; a-p4 q6; ff. [18] xciii; lxvi; Gothic, Italics and Roman.

This edition has been mistakenly attributed to Jean Georget's press. The typographic material employed is in fact that of a Parisian printer: the ornate initials were those used by Jean Loys, but Loys never used Gothic.

Edition A: les || usances locales dudict pays, & articles de plusieurs constitu= || tions

Locations: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA); Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 302 & Fonds Chevalier-La-Barthe; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 868 (1) & Rés. Z Don 594 (521-1); Philadelphia, PA (USA), Pennsylvania University Library, B 706; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 89858 (1); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 867 (1); Washington, DC (USA), George Washington University Law School, Jacob Burns Law Library, KJV264 B74 1540.

References: Nantes, Dobrée (302); FB 7493.

187* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generalles des pays et duche de Bretagne nouvellement reformees et publiees en la ville de Nantes*, [Paris] for Philippe Bourgoignon in Rennes and Nantes, 1540.

40; A-Z4 &6 a-p4 q6 A-C4; ff. [4] xciii lxvi [12]; Gothic, Italics and Roman.

This is a completely reset edition of this text, with different ornate initials and type.

Edition B: les vsances lo- || calles dudict pays, & articles de plusieurs constitutions

Locations: London (UK), British Library, 1607/1439; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 6943; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 76805 (1) & 76804 (1).

References: IA 124890; RB XIX, 52 (5); FB 7494.

188. Clichove, Josse, *Introductiones: in terminos; in artium divisionem; in suppositiones; in predicabilia; in divisiones; in predicamenta; in librum de enunciatione*, Rennes, Jacques Berthelot for Guillaume Cheveau, [1540].

8o; Gothic.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 88885.

189. François I, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le fait, ordre et stille de plaider par escript en ce pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, Jean Georget for Jean Lermangier, 1540.

4o; A–F4; ff. xxiii; Gothic.

Locations: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 90 540; London (UK), British Library, 8050 bb 34; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 868 (2); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 89858 (2).

Reference: FB 21448.

190. François I, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le fait, ordre et stille de plaider par escript en ce pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, Jean Georget for Jean Lermangier, 1540.

4o; ff. 36; Gothic.

The bookseller's catalogue describes this as a variant of FB 21448.

Location: Private collection.

Reference: *Coutumiers de Bretagne, XVIe–XVIIe. Bibliothèque de Y. L.-B*. * Provenance unique* (Catalogue 35bis, “La Mémoire du Droit”, 2010) p. 19: 17.

191. Parlement – Bretagne, *Instructions et articles pour l'abbeviation des proces*, Rennes, [Jean Georget] for Thomas Mestrard, [1540].

4o; []4; ff. [4]; Gothic.

[]4v: Arms of France and Brittany with crown.

Locations: Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 303; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 867 (3); Philadelphia, PA (USA), Pennsylvania University Library, B 707; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 76805 (3); Washington, DC (USA), George Washington University Law School, Jacob Burns Law Library, KJV3721 F73 1540.

References: Nantes, Dobrée 303; FB 41063.

192. Parlement – Bretagne, *Instructions et articles pour l'abbeviation des proces*, Rennes, [Jean Georget] for Thomas Mestrard, [1540].

4o; []4; ff. IIII; Gothic.

[]4v: woodcut of St Thomas.

Locations: London (UK), British Library, 1568/8823; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 89858 (4).

1541

193. Bouchet, Jean, *Les triumphes de la noble et amoureuse dame et l'art de honnestement aymer*, Rennes, Jean Georget, 1541.

2o; [A-G?] H-V6 X4; ff. cxxiii; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, vélins 586.

References: IA 122905; FB 6783.

194. François I, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le fait, ordre et stille de plaider par escript en ce pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, Jean Georget for Thomas Mestrard, 1541.

4o; A-F4; ff. xxiii; Gothic.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 76804 (2).

Reference: FB 21471.

195. François I [*Ordonnance sur le fait du sel en Bretagne*], For Antoine and Michel Le Papolin in Nantes, [1541].

4o; A-B4 C2; ff. [10]; Gothic.

Ordonnance by Francis I dated: Dissay, 04.06.1541; Confirmed by Henry II of Brittany: Chastelleraulx, 04.06.1541; Passed by the Chambre de Comptes in Brittany: 20.06.1541.

Locations: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Z Don 594 (521-2).

Reference: FB 21459.

196. Parlement – Bretagne, *Instructions et articles pour l'abbeviation des proces*, Rennes, Jean Georget, 1541.

4o; []4; ff. [4]; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 868 (4).

Reference: FB 41064.

1542

197.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generalles des pays et duché de Bretagne*, Paris, Etienne Caveiller, for Philippe Bourgoignon in Rennes and Nantes, 1542.

8o; a8 ã8 &etilde;4 A-O8; a-i8; ff. [20] cxii; ff. lxxii; Gothic.

Locations: Chantilly (Fr), Musée Condé, III F 69 (1); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 1665 (1); Cherbourg-Octeville (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale Jacques Prévert, 717; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 1768.

References: Gouron p. 92 (706); FB 7495.

198. Lefèvre d'Étaples, Jacques, *Moralis in ethicen introductio*, Rennes, veuve Jacques Berthelot, 1542.

Clicthove, Josse (editor).

8o; [A]8 B-Q8 R4; ff. 129 [3]; Rom.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. p R 237.

Reference: RB XIX, 60 (1).

1543

199.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generalles des pays et duche de Bretagne*, [Rouen, Nicolas Le Roux for Thomas Mestrard in Rennes, [1543].

8o; ã8 ë8 A–L8 M4; ff. [16] lxxxii; Gothic.

Location: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 90 543 (1).

Reference: FB 7496.

200.* François I, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict, ordre et style de plaider par escript en ce pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rouen, Nicolas Le Roux for Thomas Mestrard in Rennes, 1543.

8o; Aa-Jj8 Kk2; ff. lxvii [7]; Gothic.

Location: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 90 543 (2).

Reference: FB 21550.

201.* Missale – Paris, *Missale ad usum ecclesie Parisiensis noviter impressum ac emendatum*, Paris, Didier Maheu for Oudin Petit, Jacques Kerver, Jean Le Roy, Thomas Eustache in Paris and Bernard de Léau in Morlaix.

2o; +8 a-r8 s-t6 v8; A-L8 M-N6; +4 A-F8; ff. [8] cxlv (=143) [13]; [100]; [4] xlvij; Gothic.

Léau stated as bookseller on the title page. Colophon gives the date as 1542.

Location: London (UK), British library, C 361 10.

Reference: RB XIX, 8 (1).

202.* Missale – Saint-Brieuc, *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Briocensis*, Rouen, for Girard Angier in Caen and Bertrand Jago in Moncontour, 1543.

4o; +8 a-l8 aa-qq8 rr4 ss8; ff. [96] XXXIX [9]; Gothic.

The title page indicates 1443 instead of 1543.

Locations: Le Mans (Fr), Médiathèque Louis Aragon, TH 8o 1786; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine, 4o 11879 Rés.

203. Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances de la court de Parlement de ce pays et duche de Bretagne sur les criees et ventes d'heritaiges et choses immeubles*, Rennes, Jean Georget for Georges Cleray, [1543].

8o; A-D4; ff. [16]; Rom.

Jean Georget's device on D4v.

Variant A: "Edict & aultres Ordōnāces".

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Z Don 594 (89); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale.

Reference: FB 41066.

204. Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances de la court de Parlement de ce pays et duche de Bretagne sur les criees et ventes d'heritaiges et choses immeubles*, Rennes, Jean Georget for Georges Cleray, [1543].

8o; A-D4 (-D4); ff. [15]; Rom.

Variant B: "edict & aultres ordonnances".

Location: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 90 543 (4).

Reference: FB 41083.

205. Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances et commandemens faictz ce mois de septembre et octobre l'an 1535*, [Rennes, s.n., 1543].

8o; A-B8 C4; ff. xx; Gothic.

Location: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 90 543 (3).

Reference: FB 41067.

1544

206. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generalles des pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, veuve Jacques Berthelot for Thomas Mestrard, 1544.

8o; A-Z8 aa-ii8; ff. 208 [48]; Gothic.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Z Don 594 (89); Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 74818 R; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale.

References: Gouron p. 92 (708); FB 7497.

207. François I, *Ordonnances sur le faict des jurisdictions des eaues, boys et forestz de ce pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, [Jean Georget] for Georges Cleray, [1544].

8o; A-E4; ff. [24]; Rom.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Z Don 594 (89).

Reference: FB 21575.

208. Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances de la court de Parlement de ce pays et duche de Bretagne sur les criees et ventes d'heritaiges et choses immeubles* (Rennes, Thomas Mestrard, [1544])

8o; A-B8; ff. [16]; Gothic.

On B8v: bi-partite arms of France and Brittany.

Locations: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100367 (3) R& 6944 (3) R.

References: RB XIX, 48 (7); FB 41065.

1545

209. Andigné, Robert d', *Compendium sive technologia in consuetudines Britanniae*, Rennes, Thomas Mestrard for Georges Cleray, 1545.

8o; [4 A-I8 K10; ff. [86]; Rom.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 2133.

References: RB XIX, 49 (9) & 58 (4); IA 105155.

210. Erasmus, Desiderius, *Paraphrasis seu potius epitome in elegantiarum libros Laurentii Vallae, ab ipso jam recognita, cum Gallicatum dictionum tum locutionum expositionum*, Rennes, veuve Jacques Berthelot, 1545.

8o; a-m8 N4 o8 p6; pp. 226.

Location: Cambridge (UK), University Library, Hhh. 594.

References: RB XIX, 60 (3); Adams E 664.

1546

211. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generalles des pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, Thomas Mestrard, [1546].

8o; [8 ¶8 A-L8 M4; ff. [16] lxxxii (=92); Gothic.

Locations: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100367 (1) R & 6944 (1) R; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 76806; Valenciennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, fonds Bauchond.

References: Gouron p. 93 (709); Brunet II, 366; FB 7498.

212. Brouscon, Guillaume [*Almanac for Breton seafarers*], Le Conquet, Guillaume Brouscon, [1546].

All known copies were printed on vellum.

Locations: Cambridge (UK), Magdalene College (Pepys Library); Chantilly (Fr), Musée Condé, XIV D 15; London (UK), National Maritime Museum, N 4046; Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library, Ms. Ashmole 1352.

213. François I, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict, ordre et stille de plaider par escript en ce pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, Thomas Mestrard, 1546.

8o; Aa-Ll8; ff. lxxxviii; Gothic (Roman type on title page and in margins).

Variant A: no fleurons above the date on the title page.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100367 (2) R.

214. François I, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict, ordre et stille de plaider par escript en ce pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, Thomas Mestrard, 1546.

8o; Aa-Ll8; ff. lxxxviii; Gothic (Roman type on title page and in margins).

Variant B: two fleurons above the date on the title page.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 6944 (2) R.

215. Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances et arrestz de la court de parlement de ce pays et duche de Bretagne sur le faict de la justice*, Rennes, Thomas Mestrard for Jean Lermangier and Georges Cleray, [1546].

8o; []10; ff. [10]; Gothic.

Locations: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100367 (4) R & 6944 (4) R.

References: RB XIX, 49 (10); FB 41068.

1547

216. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generalles des pays et duché de Bretagne*, Rennes, Thomas Mestrard, 1547.

8o; Gothic.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Cat 2 Supplement 282.

Reference: RB XIX, 50 (12); FB 7499.

217. Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances et arrestz sur le faict de la justice, soulagement des subjectz d'icelle et abbreviation des proces*, Rennes, Thomas Mestrard, [1547].

80; A-C4; ff. [12]; Gothic.

Locations: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 211101 C564 Rés & 6944 (2) R.

References: RB XIX, 50 (13); FB 41084.

1548

219. Argentré, Pierre d', *Recueil d'épitaphes sur le trespas de messire Pierre d'Argentré*, Rennes, s.n., [1548].

80; []4; ff. [4]; Rom.

Location: Lincoln (UK), Cathedral Library, Oo 7 19 (3).

References: Shaw: BIB 20788H; FB 1687.

220. Bernard, saint, *Le gouvernement de mesnaige selon la doctrine saint Bernard*, [Rennes, 1548].

80; A4; ff. [4]; Title page in Gothic, rest in roman.

Location: Lincoln (UK), Cathedral Library, Oo 7 19 (2).

References: Shaw: 21364K; FB 3834.

221. Breviarium – St Brieuc, *Breviarium de trinitate ad usum insignis ecclesie Briocensis*, Rennes, [Jean Georget] for Guillaume Cheveau, 1548.

80; [black +]8 [red +]4 A-E8; aa-tt8 vv4; A-N8 O4; ff. [12] xxxix [1]; [156]; cviii; Gothic.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. B. 4925; Saint-Brieuc (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés P 38.

References: RB XIX, 53 (12) & 59 (2).

222. Brouscon, Guillaume [*Almanac for Breton seafarers*], [Le Conquet, Guillaume Brouscon, 1548].

The only known copy is incomplete and was printed on vellum.

Location: London (UK), British Library, C.18.e.2.(73).

1549

223. Henri II, *Ordonnances royaux sur le fait, ordre et stile de plaider par escript en ce pays et duché de Bretagne*, Rennes, [Jean Georget], 1549.

8o; Aa-Ll8; ff. 88; Rom.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 93963 (2).

Reference: FB 25244.

1550

224. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generalles des pays et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, Jean Georget for Guillaume Cheveau, 1550.

8o; ã8 ě2 A-L8 M4; Aa-Ll8; [Gothic. letter:] A-B8; []8; A8 B4; C8; ff. [10] 82 (=92); 88; [16]; [8]; [12]; [8]; Rom.

Edition composed of 6 parts.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. 8 Z Don 594 (92); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 93963 (1).

Reference: FB 7500.

1551

225. Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances et arrests ou moys de septembre 1551*, Rennes, Thomas Mestrard, 1551.

8o; A-D4; ff. [16]; Rom.

D3v: given in Parlement, Nantes 05.12.1551 signed Le Forestier. D4v: passed 28.09.1551 signed Le Forestier.

Locations: Chantilly (Fr), Musée Condé, IV B 24 (2); Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Leber 3906 (4).

References: Brunet IV, 220; FB 41251.

226. Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances et arrests ou moys de septembre 1550*, Rennes, Thomas Mestrard, 1551.

8o; A-E4; ff. [20]; Gothic.

D4r: given in Parlement, Nantes 02.10.1550 signed le Forestier E3r. Given on 00.02.1549, Fontainebleau: du Thier. E4v: in Parlement 04-3.1549 signed Du Thier.

Locations: Chantilly (Fr), Musée Condé, IV B 24 (1); Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Leber 3906 (5).

References: Brunet IV, 219; FB 41250.

227. Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances et arrestz de la court de parlement tenu a Nantes ou moys de Septembre 1550*, Rennes, Guillaume Cheveau, 1552.

8o; ff. [20].

Locations: No known surviving copy.

References: RB XIX, 59 (4); FB 41252.

1553

228.* Henri II, *Edicts touchant les matieres civiles dont n'y a appel de Parlement de Bretagne*, Poitiers, Enguilbert de Marnef for Philippe Bourgoignon of Angers and Thomas Mestrard in Rennes, 1553.

8o; A-G8 H6 I8 K10; ff. [62]; Roman & Italic.

H6v: device: VIGILANTI; Date of letters: Paris, 14.11.1551, Clause; registered in Brittany October 1552.

Locations: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Fran 135 553C; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 76807 (2); Saintes (Fr), Médiathèque municipale François Mitterrand, 2573 (2).

Reference: FB 25435.

229.* Henri II, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le fait, ordre et stile de plaider par escript en ce pays et duché de Bretagne*, Rennes, Philippe Bourgoignon, 1553.

8o; Aa-Zz8 Aaa-Bbb8 Cc2; ff. xxxii [8] xxxiiij-cxciiij; Roman & Italic.

Location: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Fran 132 553.

Reference: FB 25460.

1554

230. Avranches – Statuta, *Synodales constitutiones Arboricensis dioecesis*, Rennes, Jean Georget, 1554.

Gouillet, Robert (editor); Ceneau, Robert.

4o; a6 A-N4; ff. [6] lij; Rom.

a6v: 16 June 1554.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. B 2265.

Reference: RB XIX, 55 (18).

231.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes de Bretagne*, For Philippe Bourgoignon in Angers, Nantes and Rennes, 1553 (=1554 n.s.).

8o; ã8 ã8 A-L8 M2; Aa-Zz8 Aaa-Bbb8 Ccc2; ff. [16] c; xxxii; [8] xxxiiij-cxciiij; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 76807 (1); Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Montb p 8915 (1–3); Saintes (Fr), Médiathèque municipale François Mitterrand, 2573.

References: Gouron p. 93 (711); FB 7502.

232. Henri II, *Edict du Roy de la nouvelle erection de la court de Parlement de Bretagne*, Rennes, Jean Georget for Georges Cleray, [1554].

8o; A-C4 D2; ff. [14]; Rom.

D2r – Given on 00–03–1553 (avant pasques), Fontainebleau: Henry, de Laubespine. Registered in Paris Parlement on 04–05–1554: du Tillet. D2v – blank.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 27581 (3); Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Montb p 8915 (2).

Reference: FB 25490.

1555

233. Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances, edictz et arrestz sur le fait de la justice reglement et police d'icelle*, Rennes, Jean Georget for Georges Cleray, 1555.

8o; A-C8; ff. [24]; Rom.

Locations: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 132 555; Saintes (Fr), Médiathèque municipale François Mitterrand, 2573 (3).

Reference: FB 41070.

234. Textor, Jean, *Epistolae*, Rennes, Pierre Le Bret, 1555.

16o; A-L8; ff. 88; Roman & Italic.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100353 R.

Reference: RB XIX, 61 (1).

1556

235. Flaccus, Aulus Persius, *Satyræ sex emendatissimæ*, Rennes, for Guillaume Cheveau and Pierre Le Bret, 1556.

4o; A-D4; ff. 16; Rom.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 24843.

References: RB XIX, 59 (6) & 61 (2).

1557

236.* *Aman ez dezrou buhez Sante Barba dre rym evel maz custumer he hoary en goelet breiz*, Paris, for Bernard de Léau in Morlaix, 1557.

160; A–L8; ff. [88]; Gothic.

L8v: Bernard de Leau's device.

Locations: London (UK), British Library, C 40 b 49; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Y 6186 [lost].

References: RB XIX, 8 (2); FB 2712.

237. Missale – Rennes, *Missale ad consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Redonensis*, Rennes, Guillaume Cheveau and Pierre Le Bret, 1557.

20; [J]2 A6 b-r8 s6 t8 A-I8 K6 A-C8 D10; ff. [8] cxxxiii [78] xxxiii; Gothic.

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: RB XIX, 59 (7) & 61 (3).

1558

238.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes de Bretagne*, Angers, Nantes and Rennes, Philippe Bourgoignon, 1558.

80; ã8 ë8 A–P8 (P8 blank); Aa–Zz8 Aaa–Bbb8 Ccc2; Ddd–Ttt8 Vvv4 Xxx2; ff. [16] cxvii [2]; ij–xxxij [8] xxxij– cxcij [1]; [134]; Roman & Italic.

On ë8v, P7v & Xxx2v: Bourgoignon's device.

Locations: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 90 558; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 6845 R; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8o J 3590; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 11111.

References: Gouron p. 93 (713); FB 7503.

239.* Henri II, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict, order et stile de plaider par escript en ce pays et duché de Bretagne*, Angers, Nantes and Rennes, Philippe Bourgoignon, 1558.

80; Aa–Zz8 Aaa–Bbb8 Cc2 Dd6 Eee8–Ttt8 Vvv4 Xxx2; ff. CXCij; Roman & Italic.

Dd8v – Given on 00.08.1539, Villiers Costeretz: Francis, Breton.

Locations: Caen (Fr), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Mancel 947 (1); Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA).

References: RB XXVI, 55 (10); FB 21116.

240.* Henri II, *Ordonnances royaulx sur le faict, ordre et stile de plaider par escript en ce pays et duché de Bretagne*, Angers, Nantes and Rennes, Philippe Bourgoignon, [1558].

4o; ff. 113.

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: RB XXVI, 55 (11); FB 21117

241.* Parlement – Bretagne, *Ordonnances, edictz et arrestz publiez en la court de Parlement de Bretagne, depuis l'an 1553*, Angers, Nantes and Rennes, Philippe Bourgoignon, 1558.

8o; Ddd6; ff. [6]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Caen (Fr), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Mancel 947 (3); Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 90 558; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100386 R; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 11112

Reference: FB 41071.

1560

242. Horae – Saint-Malo, *Heures a l'usage de Saint Malo*, Rennes, Pierre Le Bret, 1560.

8o; aa-nn8; ff. [2] 94; Gothic.

A number of the engravings have the initials PLB.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, vélins 2861 (1).

References: RB XIX (4); FB 29870.

243. Horae – Trinité, *Heures de la trinité*, Rennes, Pierre Le Bret, 1560.

8o; A-H8; ff. [64]; Gothic.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. B 27771 & vélins 2861 (2).

References: RB XIX, 61 (4); FB 29928.

244.* Nantes – Manuale, *Manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Nanetensis*, Paris, Jean Le Blanc for Mathurin Papolin and Gabriel Le Plat in Nantes, [1560].

8o; a-p8 (p8 blank); ff. cxix [1]; Gothic.

Woodcuts 33 mm × 38 mm signed ILB. Dated between 1556 and 1562 from arms of Antoine de Créqui.

Locations: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 1319 R; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. B 1815; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o BB 992 inv. 1154 Rés.

1565

245. Parlement – Bretagne, [*Arrêt du parlement de Bretagne contre l'évêque de Cornouaille et les habitants de Quimpercorentin*], Rennes, for Guillaume Cheveau, 1565.

Indicated in the registers of the *parlement* (AD Ille-et-Vilaine).

Location: No known surviving copy.

Reference: Lepreux, G., *Gallia Typographica ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution – Bretagne* (Reprinted, Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1989) p. 10.

1566

246. Charles IX, *Edict touchant les dixmes, primices, champars, terrages et autres devoirs pour les beneficiers*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1566.

8o; A6; ff. [6]; Roman & Italic.

Given on 15.06.1566, St. Maur-des-Fossés.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13707.

References: RB XIX (2); FB 11443.

247. Charles IX, *Edict et ordonnance sur l'abbeviation des proces*, Vitre, Julien du Clos, 1566.

4o; A-E4 F2; ff. [22]; Roman & Italic.

Acts dated November 1563, Paris; 2 March 1564 & 24 October 1564.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13702.

Reference: FB 11426.

248. Charles IX, *Edict touchant l'union, établissement et translation d'aucunes jurisdictions du pais de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1566.

4o; A-B4 (B4 blank); ff. [8]; Roman & Italic.

Act dated October 1565, Châteaubriant.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13703.

Reference: FB 11444.

249. Charles IX, *Edict sur le reglement qui ledit seigneur veut estre gardé à l'advenir pour la conservation de son dommaine*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1566.

4o; A4 B2; ff. [6]; Roman & Italic.

Act dated February 1566, Moulins.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13704.

Reference: FB 11436.

250. Charles IX, *Edict et ordonnance sur la refformation et reglement de la justice*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1566.

4o; A-F4 G6 H-I4; ff. [38]; Roman & Italic.

Act dated February 1566, Moulins

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13705.

Reference: FB 11425.

251. Charles IX, *Edict et ordonnance pour le fait des criees*, [Rennes], [Julien du Clos], 1566].

4o; A-B4; ff. [8]; Roman & Italic.

Acts dated 3 September 1551; Fontainebleau, April 1561 Registered in Parlement Rennes on 30 April 1566.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13706.

Reference: FB 11424.

252. Charles IX, *Ordonnances sur les plaintes, doleances et remonstrances des deputez des trois estats tenuz en la ville d'Orleans*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1566.

4o; A-N4; ff. [52]; Roman & Italic.

Signed in Orléans, January 1561 n.s.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13700.

Reference: FB 11531.

253. France – Conseil privé, *Extrait du reglement fait au conseil privé du roy sur le reglement de la justice souveraine des cas et crimes atribuez aux prevostz des mareschaux*, [Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1566].

4o; A-C4; ff. [12]; Roman & Italic.

Date inferred from Du Clos's other editions – the act was delived on 20 October 1563.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13701.

Reference: FB 20467.

1567

254. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1567.

4o; a-d4 A-P8; pp. [32] 240; Roman & Italic.

10 January 1567.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13699.

Reference: FB 7504.

255. Charles IX, *Edict et ordonnance sur le reglement des proces criminels*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1567.

4o; A-D4; ff. [16]; Roman & Italic.

Given on 00.10.1565, Châteaubriant

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13708.

Reference: FB 11575.

256. Charles IX, *Edict et ordonnance sur les recusations proposees par les parties*, [Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1567].

4o; A2; ff. [2]; Roman & Italic.

Date from the act on A2v: 6 February 1567. Given in Paris on 15 October 1566.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13709.

Reference: FB 11576.

257. Charles IX, *Edict et ordonnance touchant les usures*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1567.

4o; A4; ff. [4]; Roman & Italic.

Act dated March 1567, Fontainebleau.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13710.

Reference: FB 11577.

258. Charles IX, *Edict par lequel il veult et ordonne que les terres, prez, marais et palus vagues, à luy appartenans soient baillez à cens et rente*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1567.

4o; A-B4 (B4 blank); ff. [8]; Roman & Italic.

Act dated February 1566, Moulins.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13711.

Reference: FB 11581.

259. Charles IX, *Ordonnances sur police generale de son royaume*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1567.

4o; A-K4; pp. 79 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13712.

Reference: FB 11741.

1568

260. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generales du pais et duche de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos for Bertrand Jochault, 1568.

Argentré, Bertrand d' (editor).

4o; A4 A-Z4 Aa-Zz4 (Ll4 blank) a-z4 aa-hh4 ii2; pp. [8] 615 [3]; Roman & Civile

Locations: Amiens (Fr), Bibliothèque d'Amiens Métropole, J 459; Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque universitaire, 215367; Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 90 568; Leiden (Ne), Universiteitsbibliotheek, 283 C 15; Lille (Fr), Médiathèque municipale Jean Lévy, 40678; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée; Nantes (Fr), Archives départementales, ancien 8o 7; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 67112; New York, NY (USA), New York Public Library, Cat 311; Paris (Fr), BnF, Résac. F 13713; Paris (Fr), Université de Paris, Bibliothèque Cujas de droit et des sciences économiques, 102105; Princeton, NJ (USA), University Library, 7902 211; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 76808 & Rés. 89859; St Petersburg (Ru), National Library of Russia (Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library), 10 19 5 38; Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, o 13 3069.

References: Gouron p. 93 (714); FB 7505.

261. Orléans, Regnault d', *Pognologie ou discours facetieux des barbes*, Rennes, Pierre Bretel, 1568.

12o

Location: Angers (Fr), Archives départementales, Collection Le Plessis Villoutreys.

Reference: FB 40052.

1570

262. Argentré, Bertrand d', *Advis et consultation sur les partages des nobles de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos for Jean Goderon, 1570.

4o; a-d4 B4 A-Z4 Aa-Zz4 a-z4 aa-ff4; ff. [320]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Amiens (Fr), Archives départementales, Evêché 10179; Brest (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. FB D119; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 4o J 1497; Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13724; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 76809; Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, l 12 1766; Wolfenbüttel (Gw), Herzog August Bibliothek, 107 Jur.

References: Gouron p. 95 (738); FB 1679

263. Argentré, Bertrand d', *Advis et consultation sur les partages des nobles de Bretagne* (Rennes, Julien du Clos for Bertrand Jochault, 1570)

4o

Only known through a reference in Miorec de Kerdanet, D.-L., *Vie de Bertrand d'Argentré, jurisconsulte et historien breton* (Rennes, Duchesne, 1820) p. 12. Probably an edition shared with Jean Goderon.

Location: No known surviving copy.

264. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1570.

4o; A-D4 A-P8; pp. [32] 240; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Cambridge (UK), University Library, J 10 68 (1); Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 61609; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 4o J 1496 (1); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 89860; Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, o 13 3069.

References: Adams B 2868; IA 124892; Gouron p. 93 (716); FB 7506.

265. Charles IX, *Edict sur la pacification des derniers troubles*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1570.

8o; A-G4; ff. [28]; Roman & Italic.

G3v – Given on 00.08.1570, St. Germain: de Neufville. G4r – Registered in Rennes 22.08.1570: Gaudin. G4v – arms of France.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 11105.

Reference: RB XIX (16); FB 12087.

266. *Edicts et ordonnances royaux publiees et receues au pais de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1570.

4o; A8 B-Z4 a-z4 Aa-Zz4 aa-hh4 ii6 *6; a-d8; pp. 636 [12]; 63 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Cambridge (UK), University Library, J 10 68 (2); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 4o J 1496 (2); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 43540 & Rés. 88568; Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, o 13 3069.

References: Adams B 2869; FB 21136.

267. *Edicts et ordonnances royaux publiees et receues au pais de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1570.

4o; A8 B-Z4 a-z4 Aa-Zz4 aa-hh4 ii6 *6; a-d8; pp. 636 [12]; 63 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Cambridge (UK), University Library, J 10 68 (2); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 4o J 1496 (2); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 43540 & Rés. 88568; Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, o 13 3069.

Reference: Adams B 2869; FB 21136.

1571

268. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1571.

4o; a-d4 A-Q8 R6 (R6 blank); a-b8 C-D8; A8 B-Z4 a-z4 Aa-Zz6 aa-hh4 ii6 [fleuron]6; pp. [32] 248 [2]; 63 [1]; 636 [12]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 76810.

References: Gouron p. 93 (717); FB 7507.

1572

269. Charles IX, *Edict et ordonnance pour reprimer les rebellions faites aux ministres de sa justice*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1572.

8o; [14 b-d4; ff. [16]; Roman & Italic.

d2r: Given on 00.01.1572, Amboise: Charles, Visa d2v: signed Pinart.

Registered in Rennes Parlement on 13.02.1572: Gaudin.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 46842 (3).

Reference: FB 12246.

270. Robin du Faux, Paschal, *Les vendanges ensemble autres poesies*, Nantes, Jacques Rousseau, 1572.

8o; A-D4; ff. [16]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. A 1445 (7); Roma (It), Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele II.

Reference: FB 46155.

1574

271. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1574.

8o; A8 B4 A-L8 M2; A8 A-Z8 Aa-Dd8 (Dd8 blank); A-H8 (-H8); pp. [24] 181 (=180); 442 (=430) [2]; 128; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Angers (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, J 775 (1); Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA); Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 6946 & 100362 R; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 1883; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 88543 & 76811.

References: Gouron p. 93 (719); FB 7508.

272. Charles IX, *Edicts et ordonnances royaux publiees et receues au pays et duché de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1574.

8o; A8 A-Z8 Aa-Dd8 (Dd8 blank); pp. [16] 442 [=432] [2]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Angers (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, J 775 (2).

Reference: FB 12458.

273. *Edicts et ordonnances royaux publiees et receues au pays et duché de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1574.

8o; A8 A-Z8 Aa-Dd8 (Dd8 blank); pp. [16] 442 (=432) [2]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Angers (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, J 775 (2).

Reference: FB 12458.

274. Parlement – Bretagne, *Recueil des ordonnances et arrests donnez en la court de Parlement de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1574.

8o; A-G8 H4; pp. 120; Rom.

Location: Angers (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, J 775 (3).

Reference: FB 41073.

1575

275. L'Archer, Jean, *Le mirouer de la mort en breton auquel doctement et devotement est trecté des quatre fins de l'home*, Cuburien, Bernard de Léau, 1575.

8o; ff. 71 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. p Yn 1.

Reference: RB XIX (5); FB 37992.

276. *Legenda major sancti patris Francisci a sancto Bonaventura*, Cuburien, [Bernard de Leau], 1575.

8o; ff. [104]. Roman.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 10065.

Reference: RB XIX, 9 (8).

277. Rennes, *Constitutions synodales pour l'evesché de Rennes*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1575.

4o; A-C4 D2; ff. [14]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine, A 10793 (5).

References: RB XIX (22); FB 45851.

278. *La vie de Saint Efflam*, Cuburien, s.n., 1575.

12o

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: RB XIX (7); FB 18071.

1576

279. *Aman ez dezraou buhez an itron sanctes Cathell guerhes ha merzeres*, Cuburien, Bernard de Léau, 1576.

8o; A-D4; pp. [32]; Roman & Italic.

The work is in Breton ('en Brezonec') and in Latin from D2v to the end of the volume.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. J 3007.

References: RB XIX (10); FB 9242.

280. Argentré, Bertrand d', *Ad titulum britannici juris qui est de dominorum assertionibus*, Rennes, Julien du Clos for Pierre Le Bret, 1576.

2o; *8 A-Z6 a-z6 aa-ii6; pp. [16] 684; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Augsburg (Gw), Staats- und Stadtbibliothek; Carpentras (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale Inguimbertaine, D2 1147; Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), T A691a 576; Leiden (Ne), Universiteitsbibliotheek, 313 A 11; München (Gw), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, J. gall. 3; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 6947; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Fol J 792; Vicenza (It), Biblioteca civica Bertoliana; Wien (Au), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 33 C 3.

References: RB XIX, 62 (6) & 66 (23); IA 107250; Gouron p. 95 (737); FB 1680.

281. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumier de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1576.

2o

Mentioned in Du Verdier, A, *La Bibliothèque d'Antoine Du Verdier, seigneur de Vauprivas, contenant le catalogue de tous ceux qui ont écrit ou*

traduict en françois et autres dialectes de ce royaume (Lyon, Barthélemy Honorat, 1585), 13r, p. 125.

Location: No known surviving copy.

Reference: FB 7509.

282. Du Fail, Noël, *Petits memoires et tablettes, recueillies des notables arrests, donnez en la court du Parlement de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1576.

4o; A-C4; A-Q4 R2; ff. [12] 66; Roman & Italic.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100401 R.

Reference: FB 17187.

283. Troadec, Jan, [*Almanac for Breton seafarers*], Le Conquet, Jan Troadec, [1576].

ff. [12].

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Ge. FF 14412.

1577

284. Henri III, *Ordonnances pour le faict, reiglement et police des gens de guerre tenans les champs*, Nantes, Jean Gaudin, 1577.

AM Nantes, CC 125: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1577–1578: Payment “pour avoir imprimé, fourny et moullé plusieurs coppies et vidimus des ordonnances du Roy, pour le faict, reiglement et police des gens de guerre tenans les champs”.

Location: No known surviving copy.

285. Langle, Jean de, *Otium semestre. Ad eundem Britanniae celticae senatum*, Rennes, Julien du Clos for Pierre Le Bret, 1577.

2o; ã-ẽ6 A-Z6 a-z6 aa-kk6 ll4 mm-ss6 tt4; pp. [24] 752 [28]; Roman.

Locations: Auxerre (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, E 830 2o; Caen (Fr), Bibliothèque universitaire, 7739; Dijon (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 9283 CGA; Faenza (It), Biblioteca comunale Manfrediana; Göttingen (Gw), Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 4 J PRAX 55/11; Greifswald (Gw), Universitätsbibliothek, 542/I 473 4o; Hamburg (Gw), Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Scrin B/449; Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), Rare Foreign Treatises L Folio; Lyon (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 101068; Madrid (Sp), Biblioteca del Palacio Real, III/1438; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine, 2o 2981 & 2o

2981 bis; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale; Paris (Fr), BnF, F 1260; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 2735; Roma (It), Biblioteca Francesco Calasso, Università La Sapienza; Saumur (Fr), Médiathèque de la Communauté d'agglomération Saumur Loire Développement, M 17; Sevilla (Sp), Biblioteca Universitaria, A Res. 42/3/05; Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, Jur. 636; Veroli (It), Biblioteca Giovardiana.
Reference: RB XIX, 67 (27).

286. Le Baillif de La Rivière, Roch, *Brief discours sur la signification veridique du comette apparu en occident au signe du sagitaire, le 10 novembre 1577*, Rennes, Jean Le Gascon [= Julien du Clos], 1577.
8o; A-C4 (C4 blank); ff. [12]; Roman & Italic.
Location: Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Leber 1171 (3).
References: RB XIX (1) & (25); FB 33261.

287. Le Baillif de La Rivière, Roch, *Petit traite de l'antiquite et singularites de Bretagne armorique*, Rennes, [Julien du Clos] for Pierre Le Bret, 1577.
4o; X-Z4 a4; pp. 161–190 [2]; Roman & Italic.
Locations: Amiens (Fr), Bibliothèque d'Amiens Métropole, MED 3631 A; Lyon (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 373193; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 48294 R; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 4o L Sup 93 (34) Rés.; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque inter-universitaire de Médecine, 7357 & 35162; Wolfenbüttel (Gw), Herzog August Bibliothek, Gk 1117.
Reference: FB 33263.

288. Le Baillif de La Rivière, Roch, *Brief discours sur la signification veridique du comette apparu en occident au signe du sagittaire, le 10 novembre 1577*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1577.
8o; A-D4 (D4 blank); ff. [16]; Roman & Italic.
KEY: SN 92448 if no Woodcut on TP; SN 10089 if Woodcut.
Locations: København (Dk), Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 8o Astr. 18469; Leipzig (Gw), Universitätsbibliothek, V 5415.
References: RB XIX (26); FB 33262.

289. Nantes, *Ordonnances et commissions touchant la geauge de la fus-taille, mesrain et sercle*, Nantes, Jean Gaudin, 1577.

AM Nantes, CC 125: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1577–1578: Payment “pour avoir imprimé 200 ordonnances et commissions, touchant la geauge de la fustaille mesrain et sercle”. Possibly an edition of the *arrêt* of 6 September 1577 (FB 41885).
Location: No known surviving copy.

290. Troadec, Jan, [*Almanac for Breton seafarers*], Le Conquet, Jan Troadec, [1577].
Locations: Manchester (UK), John Rylands University Library.

1578

291. Henri III, *Lettres patentes de declaration et commission pour proceder a la recherche et verification des usurpations faictes sur la dommaine*, Nantes, Jean Gaudin, 1578.
4o; A-E4 (E4 blank); ff. [20]; Roman.
A2r – Given on 18.05.1574, Bois de Vincennes: Fizes. Registered in Parlement 21.02.1578: Gaudin A2v – Made in the Chambre des Comptes, Nantes, on 17.08.1574.
Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 23610 (354).
Reference: FB 26126.

292. Le Baillif de La Rivière, Roch, *Le demosterion*, Rennes, [Julien du Clos] for Pierre Le Bret, 1578.
4o; â4 ê4 A-M4 N8 O6 P-Z4 a4 (a4 blank); pp. [16] 190 (=202) [2]; Roman & Italic.
Locations: Besançon (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 248213; Bethesda, MD (USA), National Library of Medicine, Cat 2746; Boston, MA (USA), Countway Library of Medicine, 1 Mx 303; Chantilly (Fr), Musée Condé, III E 57; Epernay (Fr), Médiathèque municipale, H 11 1111; Glasgow (UK), University Library, Ferguson Al-y 34; Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (USA), *FC5 L4905 578d; København (Dk), Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 8o Med 71880; La Ferté Macé (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Collection De Contades; La Rochelle (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 13543 C; London (UK), British Library, 775 i 2; Lyon (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 342954; Orléans (Fr), Médiathèque municipale, Rés. C 3143; Milano (It), Biblioteca nazionale Braidense; München (Gw), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4o Med g 131; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 360; Nantes (Fr),

Bibliothèque municipale, 20548 R; Paris (Fr), BnF, TE131 17; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine, 56196; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque inter-universitaire de Médecine, 6114; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 4o T 243 inv. 602 Rés. & 8o V 787 inv. 2861 (1); Pisa (It), Biblioteca universitaria; Poitiers (Fr), Médiathèque municipale François Mitterrand, C 4034 & C 5307; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 85129; Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Montb p 5932; St Petersburg (Ru), National Library of Russia (Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library), 4 5 9 53; Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, S 18 2748; Wisconsin University Library, Madison, WI (USA), Rare Bk Dept Duveen D 958.

References: Nantes, Dobrée (360); Brunet III, 897; FB 33265.

293. Le Baillif de La Rivière, Roch, *Le demosterion*, Rennes, [Julien du Clos] for Pierre Le Bret, 1578.

4o; ã4 ?4 A-V4; pp. [8] 159 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Lyon (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 373192.

References: RB XIX, 67 (28); FB 33264.

294. Le Baillif de la Rivière, Roch, *Tabulae in quibus elementales conjunctiones et partium mineralium dispositiones, ac proprietates quae ex Ares proveniunt et eorum gradus et medicamenta declarantur*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1578.

broadsheet; [1]; ff. [1]; Roman & Italic.

This broadsheet undoubtedly existed as a separate item: it has a different address at the bottom to the volumes in which it has survived.

Location: Lyon (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 373193 (2).

295. Nantes, *Copie d'edit d'affranchissement perpetuel de deux feuz de fouage en chacune paroisse, l'une portant l'autre en Bretagne* (Nantes, Jean Gaudin, 1578)

4o; pp. [16].

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 49844.

References: RB XIX, 21 (2); FB 39029.

1579

296. Du Fail, Noël, *Memoires recueillis et extraicts des plus notables et solempnels arrests du Parlement de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1579.

2o; ã8 ē4 A-Q6 R-S4 (-S3-4) T-Z6 a-e6 S4 f-r6 s2 t6 v4; pp. [16] 484 [20]; Roman & Italic.

Two variants with different printer's devices.

Locations: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 7064; Nantes (Fr), Archives départementales, 8o 19; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. F 2153; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 11784 & Rés. 11783; Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, O 9 1335; Vannes (Fr), Bibliothèque médiathèque municipale, 4o 189.

Reference: FB 17188.

297. Du Fail, Noël, *Memoires recueillis et extraicts des plus notables et solempnels arrests du Parlement de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1579.

4o; ã8 ē4 A-Q6 R-S4 (-S3-4) T-Z6 a-e6 S4 f-r6 s2 t6 v4; pp. [16] 484 [20]; Roman & Italic.

Two variants with different printer's devices.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Fol J 913; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 17972.

Reference: FB 17189.

298. *Exemplar epistolae quae Antonii I Portugalliae et Algarbiorum regis nomine ad sanctissimum patrem Gregorium XIII dicitur esse missa*, Nantes, [Jean Gaudin, 1579].

Sylvius, Octavius (Translator).

8o; A-E8 F2; pp. 79 [5]; Roman & Italic.

Jean Gaudin's device on E8r; F1r-2r: Letter from the pope dated 7 September 1569

Locations: London (UK), British Library, 1195 a 2 (2); London (UK), Lambeth Palace Library, KP620.(A6); Paris (Fr), BnF, M 21128 & 8 Or 80; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8o H 5081 (1); Roma (It), Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele II; Rostock (Gw), Universitätsbibliothek, Rp 216; Wolfenbüttel (Gw), Herzog August Bibliothek, A: 401 Hist.; Zürich (Sz), Zentralbibliothek, 25. 1026: a,2.

299. Henri III, *Edict du Roy concernant les declarations, statuts et ordonnances faictes par sa majesté sur les remonstrances, plainctes et doleances contenuës au cahier des gens des trois estats du pais et duché de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1579.

8o; A-D4 E2; ff. [18]; Roman & Italic.

E1r – Given on 00.06.1579, Paris: E1v – Henry, Brulart E2v – Parlement de Bretagne on 20 August 1579: Gaudin.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, F 46863 (11).

Reference: FB 26175.

300. Saint-Marsal, Antoine de, *Oraison funebre prononcee aux funeraillles de deffunct noble et venerable homme messire Anthoine de Saint Marsal*, Nantes, Jean Gaudin, 1579.

8o; A-B4 (B4 blank); ff. [8]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 211096/C563.

References: RB XIX (3); FB 47233.

1580

301. Henri III, *Ordonnances sur les plaintes et doleances faictes par les estats de son royaume*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1580.

8o; ã4 A-L8 M4 N4; pp. [8] 181 [11]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Valognes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, C 6444 (2).

Reference: FB 26296.

1581

302. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1581.

2o; []2 ã4 ê4 î4 ô4 û4 A-Q6 R8; A-H6 I-K4; pp. [44] 208; 112; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Brest (Fr), Fonds de la Marine, R 7990; Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA); Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 6953; Paris (Fr), BnF, F 13796 & Rés. 4 Z Adler 15; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 17847 & Rés. 15667.

References: Brunet II, 367; FB 7511.

303. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1581.

8o; ã8 ê8 î8 ô8 û8 ãã8 êê8 ïï8 õõ8 ûû4 a-z8 A4 A-C8 D4; ff. [76] 188 [28]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Valognes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, C 6444 (1)

References: Gouron p. 94 (720); FB 7512

304. Le Thielleux, Francois, *Methodus dignoscendorum morborum*, Nantes, Jean Gaudin, 1581.

4o; A-I4 (-I4); pp. [8] 54 [8]; Roman.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Td13 1; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine, 4o A 11806; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque inter-universitaire de Médecine, 6818.

Reference: RB XIX, 21 (4).

305. Parlement – Bretagne, *Arrest de la court de Parlement des defenses faictes à toutes personnes non nobles, de quelque estat et qualité qu'ils soient, de chasser et tirer au gibier et toutes sortes de sauvaige, avec fillets, arbalestres et harquebouses* Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1581.

8o; A4; ff. [4]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Washington, DC (USA), George Washington University Law School, Jacob Burns Law Library, KJV264 B74 1581.

Reference: FB 41074

1582

306. Argentré, Bertrand d', *L'Histoire de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1582.

It is unclear whether this edition existed (see Chapter 4).

Location: No known surviving copies.

Reference: FB 1681.

307. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1582.

8o; ã8 ã4 A-T8 a-k8 l4; pp. [24] 304 [168]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100363 R; Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, o 10 1436; Paris (Fr), BnF, F 4016.

References: Gouron p. 94 (722); FB 7513.

308. Henri III, *Edict de la suppression des offices des greffes civils, criminels et des presentations et clerks d'iceux*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1582.

8o; A-C4 A-C4 C4; pp. 15 [41]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100423.

References: RB XIX (37); FB 26462.

1583

309. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne*, Rennes, Julien du Clos, 1583.

Argentré, Bertrand d' (editor),

8o; ã8 ã4 A-N8 O6 a-h8 i4; pp. [24] 220 [134]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 6954 Rés.

References: RB XIX (38); FB 7514.

1584

310. Troadec, Jan, [*Almanac for Breton seafarers*], Le Conquet, Jan Troadec, [1584].

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF.

1585

311. Soares de Santa Maria, Diego, *Cosmopeia in duo prima capita Genesis*, Nantes, Blaise Petrail, 1585.

4o; A-B4 ***4 B-Z4 AA-OO4 PP2; ff. [1] 8 (= 7) [4] 142; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Barcelona (Sp), Biblioteca de la Universidad, 0700 XVI-3420 & 0703 B-70/4/23-2; Madrid (Sp), Biblioteca Universidad Complutense de Madrid, BH FLL 5630; Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library, 4o M 4 Th; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 4o H 3790 (2); Paris (Fr), BnF, A 3021; Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, TH.193.

Reference: RB XIX, 22 (1).

312. Soares de Santa Maria, Diego, *Cosmopeia in duo prima capita Genesis*, Nantes, Blaise Petrail for Vincent Hucet, 1585.

4o; A4 ***4 B-Z4 AA-OO4 PP2; ff. [12] 142; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, A 3022; Sassari (It), Biblioteca universitaria.

313. Tréguier, *Les statuts et actes du chapitre provincial de Treguier*, Cuburien, s.n., 1585.

3 July 1585

Location: No known surviving copy.

Reference: FB 49685.

1586

314. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne*, Rennes, Nicolas des Marestz for Pierre Bretel, 1586.

Argentré, Bertrand d' (editor).

8o; ã8 ã4 A-N8 O6 a-h8 i4; A-C8 D4; pp. [24] 219 [137]; [56]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Auxerre (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 745 (E); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 10849.

Reference: FB 7519.

315. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne*, Nantes, Blaise Petrail for Pierre Bretel in Rennes, 1586.

8o; ã8 ã8 i4 A-N8 O4: A-O8 P4; pp. [40] 295 (=215) [1]: 232; Roman & Italic.

Location: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8o J 3591.

Reference: FB 7518.

316. Debaste, Nicolas, *Les passions d'amour*, Rennes, Robert Godecart, 1586.

12o; A-G12; ff. 82 (=84); Roman & Italic.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 11365.

Reference: FB 15318.

1587

317. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne*, Nantes, Blaise Petrail, 1587.

12o; ã8 ã6 A-R8 S6; pp. [28] 283 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Fougères (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 40 A; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100364 R; Paris (Fr), BnF, Résac. F 26659; St Petersburg (Ru), National Library of Russia (Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library), 10 19 5 38.

References: Gouron p. 94 (724); FB 7520.

1588

318.* Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generales des pays et duché de Bretagne*, [Paris, Jacques du Puys], for Robert Godecart in Rennes, 1588.

16o; ã8 ë8 î8 ô8 A-Z8 Aa-Zz8 Aaa-Ddd8; ff. [32] 289 (=291) [109]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Harvard Law Library, Cambridge, MA (USA), N Brit 90 588.

Reference: FB 7521.

319. Missale – Rennes, *Missale insignis ecclesie Rhedonensis*, Rennes, Pierre Bretel, 1588.

2o; ff. 344.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque du grand séminaire.

Reference: RB XIX, 76 (2).

320. Missale – Nantes, *Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Nannetensis*, Nantes, Vincent Hucet, 1588.

2o; ff. [8] 15 [1]; 1–91 98–118 121–130; 165 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 1277.

Reference: RB XIX, 23 (2).

321. Montfort-sur-Meu, *Discours d'une histoire et miracle advenu en la ville de Montfort cinq lieües pres Rennes en Bretagne*, Rennes, s.n., 1588.

8o; A-B4 (B3-4 blank); pp. 5 (=12) [4]; Roman.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rec D 1 (1345); Lille (Fr), Médiathèque municipale Jean Lévy, 3546; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8o J 5521 (5).

Reference: FB 38313.

322. Nantes – Sénéchal, [*Commission sur la démolition de Montagu*], Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz, [1588].

AM Nantes CC 128: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1589–1592: Payment “pour avoir imprimé cent commissions de monsieur le seneschal de Nantes envoyées en dilligence aux paroisses circonvoisines touchant le faict de Montagu pour demollition de ladicté place.”

Location: No known surviving copy.

323. Nantes – Sénéchal, [*Commission sur la démolition de Montagu*], Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz, [1588].

AM Nantes CC 134: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1588–1590: Payment “pour avoir imprimé le nombre de cent

commission de monsieur le seneschal dudit Nantes outre celles qu'il auroit de par avant imprimees envoyees aux paroisses circonvoisines touchant Montagu pour le faict de ladicte demollition suivant la volonte du Roy."

Location: No known surviving copy.

324. Nantes – Siège Présidial, [*Commission pour venir travailler à porter la hoste à la Villeneuve et Pirmil*], Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz, [1588].

AM Nantes CC 127: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1586–1589: Payment "pour avoir imprimé du commendement verbal de messieurs de ladite ville cinquante commissions de messieurs du siege presidial d'icelle quy ont esté envoyées es paroises circonvoisines tant du costé de la riviere que decha en ceste evesché pour venir travailler à porter la hoste à la Villeneuve et Piremil."

Location: No known surviving copy.

325. Nantes – Siège Présidial, [*Commission sur la contribution faite pour les gens de guerre au siège du château de Blain*], Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz, [1588].

AM Nantes CC 127: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1586–1589: Payment for having printed "quatre vingtz dix commissions de messieurs du siege presidial de ceste ville envoyées aux paroyses qui auroient esté taxées et cotizées à la contribution des munitions de vivres aux gens de guerres quy estoient lors au siege du chasteau de Bleing."

Location: No known surviving copy.

326. Polanco, Juan de, *La methode de secourir ceux qui meurent*, Rennes, René Périer, 1588.

8o; A-O8; ff. [8] 104; Roman & Italic.

Location: Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, H 4838.

References: RB XIX (1); FB 44392.

327. *Les privileges, franchises et libertez des pays et duché de Bretagne*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz, 1588.

8o; A-C8 D4; ff. [28]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8o J 3592.

Reference: FB 7450.

328. Vivant, Louis, *Traité sur le tremblement de terre advenu le vingt cinquieme de mars 1588*, Nantes, Vincent Hucet, [1588].

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: RB XIX, 23 (1); FB 51370

1589

329. Breviarium – Vannes, *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Venetensis*, Vannes, Jean Bourrelier, 1589.

8o; ff. [30] 124; 190; [4] 50

Location: No known surviving copy.

Reference: RB XIX, 93 (1).

330. Henri III, *Edict du Roy par lequel sa majesté declare tous les biens meubles et immeubles du duc de Mayenne, duc et chevalier d'Aumalle ... et tous autres qui tiennent leur party, acquis et confisque*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1589.

4o; A-B2; pp. 8; Roman & Italic.

B2v: Donné à Tours, avril 1589, Henry, Par le roi, Ruzé B2v: Registered in Parlement, Tours, 27.4.1589, Maignen.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 211122.

References: RB XIX (7); FB 27371.

331. Le Baillif de La Rivière, Roch, *Briefve demonstration de la cause des fiebvres*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1589.

8o; â4 ?4 A-G4 (G4 blank); ff. [8] 27 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o T 1757 inv 4555 (1) FA.

Reference: FB 33271.

332. Le Bossu, Jacques, *Deux devis, d'un catholique et d'un politique sur l'exhortation faicte au peuple de Nantes*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1589.

4o; â4 ?4 A-R4; pp. [16] 133 [3]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, D 7848 (1); Amsterdam (Ne), Universiteitsbibliotheek Vrije Universiteit, Oude Drukken 629 (1); København (Dk), Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 150, 195 02547. Boghistorisk Samling (1); Madrid (Sp), Biblioteca Nacional; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 50285 R & 100381 R; Nantes

(Fr), Musée Dobrée, 672; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, Rés. 550042 (1); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. LB34 779 (1) & Rés. LB34 779 A; Versailles (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. C 210.
References: RB XIX (1); Nantes, Dobrée 672; FB 33326.

333. Le Bossu, Jacques, *Troisiesme devis du catholique et du politique qui a esté reuny sur la mort de Henry de Valois*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1589.

4o; ã A-N4; pp. [8] 98 (=99) [5]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanès, D 7848 (2); Amsterdam (Ne), Universiteitsbibliotheek Vrije Universiteit, Oude Drukken 629 (2); København (Dk), Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 150, 195 (2); Madrid (Sp), Biblioteca Nacional; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100381 R; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 673; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, Rés. 550042 (2); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8o H 6389; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. LB34 779 (2); Utrecht (Ne), Faculteit Geesteswetenschappen, Lbkun: Rar RDucerceau Fol 2; Versailles (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. C 210.

References: RB XIX (2); Nantes, Dobrée (673); FB 33327.

334. Orléans, Regnault d', *La pogonologie ou discours facetieux des barbes*, Rennes, Pierre Bretel, 1589.

8o; A-O8 P2; ff. 114; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Angers (Fr), Archives départementales, Collection Le Plessis Villoutreys; Chantilly (Fr), Musée Condé, VI D 58; London (UK), British Library, 12350 a 30.

References: Brunet IV, 772; FB 40053.

1590

335. *Advertissement aux catholiques de la Bretagne*, [Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye], 1590)

4o; A-F4 G2; pp. 51 [1]; Rom.

Location: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o L 353 Inv 1775 (2) FA.

Reference: FB 7456.

336. [Cornet, Marcellin], *Discours apologetique tres veritable des causes qui ont contrainct les habitans de St Malo de s'emparer du chasteau*, [Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye], 1590.

4o; [4 A-N4 O2; pp. 107 [1]; Rom.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o L 353 Inv 1775 (3) FA; Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, D 5659; Paris (Fr), BnF, LB35 214

References: Pallier: 684; FB 14423

337. Henry IV, [*Lettres à la ville de Rennes et au gouverneur de la ville*], Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1590.

AM Rennes CC 937, Register of accounts for the town of Rennes, 1589–1592: “Payment for plusieurs lettres de sa majesté envoyées tant audictz habittans de ceste dicte ville de Rennes que au sieur de Monbarot cappitaine et gouverneur d’icelle”

Location: No known surviving copy.

338. Le Bossu, Jacques, *Quatriesme devis du catholique et politique reuny sur l'exemple de Nabuchodonosor*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1590.

4o; A-14; pp. 71 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, D 7848 (3); Madrid (Sp), Biblioteca Nacional; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100381 R; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 674; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, Rés. 550042 (3).

References: RB XIX (4); Nantes, Dobrée 674; Brunet III, 907; FB 33328.

339. Le Bossu, Jacques, *Sermon funebre pour le memoire de devote et religieuse personne F. Edmon Bourgoing*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1590.

4o; A-E4; ff. [20]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rec D 128 (1); København (Dk), Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 150, 195 02547 (4); Madrid (Sp), Biblioteca Nacional; Namur (Be), Bibliothèque universitaire Moretus Plantin, R XVI A 451; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 107430 R; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 675; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o L 313 (7) inv. 1668 (12) Rés. & 8o F 349 inv 1769 (4) FA; Versailles (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Réserve C 210.

References: RB XIX (5); Nantes, Dobrée 675; Brunet III, 907; FB 33330-1.

340. Le Bossu, Jacques, *Sermon funebre pour l'anniversaire de tres-illustres, tres-magnanimes, et tres-catholiques princes feuz messeigneurs*

Henry et Loys de Lorraine, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1590.

4o; A-F4 G2; ff. [30]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rec D 128 (2); Amsterdam (Ne), Universiteitsbibliotheek Vrije Universiteit, Oude Drukken 629 (3); København (Dk), Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 150, 195 (3); Madrid (Sp), Biblioteca Nacional; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 107430 R; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. LB34 779 (3); Versailles (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Réserve C 210.

References: RB XIX (3); FB 33329.

341. *Mirouer catholique representant les moyens pour retenir le peuple de la Bretagne au saint party de l'Union*, [Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye], 1590.

4o; A-S4 S-Z4 a-b4 c2; pp. 212; Rom.

Location: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o L 353 Inv 1775 (1) FA.

Reference: FB 7459.

342. Montpensier, Henri de, *Lettre de monseigneur le prince de Dombes à messieurs des trois estatz de ceste province sur la venue des Espagnols*, Rennes, [Michel Logeroys], 1590.

Known only from the copy printed in Tours by Jamet Mettayer “jouxte la coppie imprimee à Rennes” (see FB 16459).

Location: No known surviving copy.

Reference: RB XIX, 78 (2); FB 16460.

343. Parlement – Bretagne, *Arrest contre ceux qui faulsement usurpent le nom et tiltre de Parlement en la ville de Nantes*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1590.

8o; A-B4; pp. 15 [1]; Roman & Italic.

B4r: Rennes, 27 February 1590, Menguy.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Résac. F 47127 (2).

References: RB XIX, 78 (3); FB 41076.

344. Parlement – Nantes, *Arrest donné contre les heretiques*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1590.

8o; A-B4; ff. [16]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Résac. F 47127 (3).

Reference: FB 41255.

345. Parlement – Nantes, *Arrest [tous “douve, rempars, ponts-levis, et autres fortifications faictes depuis dix ans seroient abbatues et razees”]*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1590.

8o; A4; ff. [4]; Roman & Italic.

A4r: Nantes, 27.2.1590, V. Le Boullengier.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Résac. F 47127 (4).

Reference: FB 41254.

346. Parlement – Nantes, *[Arrest de la court de parlement de Bretagne du 29 mars 1590]*, [Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1590].

8o; A4 (-A4); ff. [3]; Roman & Italic.

A3v: Nantes, 29.3.1590, V. Boullengier.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Résac. F 47127 (4bis).

Reference: FB 41253.

347. *Les qualitez, prerogatives et preeminences de rien. Avec les bucoliques de folie, ou discours democratiques*, Nantes, Blaise Petrail, [1590].

8o; pp. 24, Roman & Italic.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 211094.

References: RB XIX, 22 (3); FB 44990.

348. *Remonstrance aux habitants de la ville de Nantes par un des citoyens d'icelle: par où se void les practiques et menees dont a usé le Duc de Mercoeur pour usurper le duché de Bretagne*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1590.

8o; A-C4; pp. 23 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Chantilly (Fr), Musée Condé, IV B 29 (26); Paris (Fr), BnF, Résac. LB35 305.

References: RB XIX, 78 (4); FB 39030.

1591

349. Clary, François de, *Remonstrance faite au grand conseil du Roy sur le restablissement requis par les officiers qui ont suivy la Ligue*, Rennes, Jean du Clos, 1591.

8o; A-H4; pp. 63 [1]; Roman & Italic.

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Reference: FB 13408.

350. Henri IV, *Lettre sur la reddition de la ville de Chartres en l'obeissance de sa majeste*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1591.

8o; pp. 7 [1]. Roman & Italic.

Location: Wisconsin University Library, Madison, WI (USA), French Pamphlets

References: RB XIX, 78 (60; FB 27662

351. Le Baillif de La Rivière, Roch, *Traicté de la cause de la briefve vie de plusieurs princes et grands et le moyen d'y pourvoir*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1591.

8o; â4 ã4 A–G4 (–G4); ff. [8] 27; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Lyon (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 342241 (5); Nancy (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 301024 a; Oxford (UK), Bodleian Library, Byw S 6 21 (5); Paris (Fr), BnF, Z Fontanieu 165 (35); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o T 1132 inv 3264 (3) FA; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 88532.

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352. Le Bossu, Jacques, *Proposition d'erreur detestable en un pretendu arrest donné à Tours* (Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1591)

4o; A-F4; pp. 36 (=46) [2]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, D 7848 (4); Madrid (Sp), Biblioteca Nacional; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 676; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, Rés. 550042 (5).
References: RB XIX (9); Nantes, Dobrée 676; Brunet III, 907; FB 33332.

353. Le Meneust, Guy, [*Lettres sur la levée de deniers pour les affaires de la guerre*], [Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1591].

broadsheet; [1]; ff. [1]; Rom.

Dated November 1591.

Locations: Rennes (Fr), Archives municipales, Liasse 1090 (1591 A).

354. Montreux, Nicolas de, *La miraculeuse deliverance de monseigneur le duc de Guyse*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1591.

4o; A-D4; ff. [16]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Versailles (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, G 8o 133 [E 433 c].

Reference: RB XIX, 25 (10); FB 38509.

355. Montreux, Nicolas de, *Les regrets*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1591.

4o; A8 B–R4; ff. [72]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Versailles (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, G 8o 133 [E 433 c].

References: RB XIX, 25–26 (11); Brunet III, 1872; FB 38511.

1592

356. Gassion, Hugues de, *Brief discours de la vie et moeurs des princes tres-illustres et tres-puissans Charles et Sebastien de Luxembourg*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1592.

4o; A–Z4 Aa–Tt4; pp. 336; Roman & Italic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Résac. LN27 13072.

References: RB XIX (15); FB 22418.

357. Joyeux, Pierre, *Le tombeau de tres-hault, trespuissant et tresexcellent prince monseigneur François de Bourbon, duc de Montpensier* (Rennes, [Michel Logeroys], 1592)

4o; []4; pp. 7 [1]; Roman & Italic.

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8o; â8 ê8 î8 A–O8; ff. [24] 112; Roman & Italic.

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References: RB XIX, 79 (7); Brunet III, 897; FB 33273.

359. Le Bossu, Jacques, *Traité sur la deffence d'adherer aux heretiques et excommunication des politiques*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1592.

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Locations: Madrid (Sp), Biblioteca Nacional; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 677; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, Rés. 550042 (6).

References: RB XIX (13); Nantes, Dobrée 677; FB 33333.

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Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rés. D 425; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 100369 Rés.; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 4o M 491 inv 736 FA; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 4o H 2892; Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, HH 9 3822 bis.

References: RB XIX (14); Brunet III, 969; FB 33763.

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Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. P YE 272.

Reference: FB 38519.

1593

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None of the surviving copies are complete. They all lack the original title page.

Locations: Nancy (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 50878; Nantes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 54854 R; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. LM3 590.

References: IA 119591; RB XIX (16); FB 5712.

363. Guesdon, Julien, *Epigrammes, stances, odes et madrigalles*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1593.

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Location: Angers (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, F 1290 (2).

References: RB XIX (18); FB 23965.

364. Guesdon, Julien, *Les loisirs de Rodope*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1593.

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Location: Angers (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, BL 1290 (1).

References: RB XIX (17); FB 23966.

365. Henri IV, *Declaration contre la convocation faicte en la ville de Paris par le duc de Mayenne*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1593.

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D1v – Given 29.01.1593, Chartres: Henry, Forget.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rec D 8 (267);

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Locations: Angers (Fr), Archives départementales, Le Plessis Villoutreys;

Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. YE 62.

References: RB XIX (8); FB 31423.

367. Langelier, Nicolas, *Escript contenant les raisons qui l'ont retenu en l'union des catholiques*, Dinan, Julien Aubinière, 1593.

8o; A4 B8 C8 D4 F8 G4 H8 K-Z4 Aa-Zz4 Aaa-Zzz4 aaaa8; ff. 289 (=288) [4]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, D 1464; Dinan

(Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 56341; Le Mans (Fr), Médiathèque

Louis Aragon, J 8o 2098; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine, 25266 bis;

Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o D Sup 584 Rés.; Paris

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References: RB vol. 18 (1); FB 32637.

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aaaa4r: Dated Dinan 03.02.1593.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o L 356 inv 1778 FA; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine, 25266.

References: RB vol. 18 (2); FB 32638.

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Location: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanès, Rec D 8 (271).

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Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanès, Rés. D 59; London (UK), British Library, 706 a 14; Paris (Fr), BnF, E* 1895; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o F 529 inv 3766 FA; Yale University, Beinecke Library, New Haven, CT (USA).

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D3r-4v – Given on 00.10.1594, Paris: Potiers. Registered in Rennes on 05.12.1594: Couriolle.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 10997.

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Du Mas, Pierre (translator).

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Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Résac. D 48442.

Reference: FB 44393.

1596

373. Carpentier, Pierre, *Remonstrance sur la publication du concile de Trente*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1596.

8o; A-G4; ff. [28]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rec D 678 (1); Gent (Be), Centrale Bibliotheek van de Universiteit Gent, Theol 2653 (1); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. LF25 91 A (2) & Rés. LF25 91 (2); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 37206 (2); Rio de Janeiro (Br), Biblioteca Nacional, Obras Raras; Toulouse (Fr), Médiathèque José Cabanis, Fa D 8838 (2).

References: RB XIX, 27 (21); FB 8985.

374. Carpentier, Pierre, *Remonstrance faite par forme de leçon, à la premiere entrée et nouveau establissement de l'université de Nantes*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1596.

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Variant A: no "Aduertissement au Lecteur".

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. LF25 91 A (8); Gent (Be), Centrale Bibliotheek van de Universiteit Gent, Theol 2653 (3); Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rec D 678 (3); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 37206 (9); Toulouse (Fr), Médiathèque José Cabanis, Fa D 8838 (8)

References: RB XIX, 28 (27); FB 8984.

375. Carpentier, Pierre, *Remonstrance faite par forme de leçon, à la premiere entrée et nouveau establissement de l'université de Nantes*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1596.

Translated by Vincent de Beauvais.

8o; A-C4 D2; ff. [14]; Roman & Italic.

Variant B: "Aduertissement au Lecteur" on D2r.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. LF25 91 (8).

Reference: FB 8983.

376. Carpentier, Pierre, *Remonstrance faicte à l'entree du Parlement de Bretagne le lendemain de la saint Martin l'an 1593*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1596.

80; A-D4; ff. [16]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rec D 678 (2); Gent (Be), Centrale Bibliotheek van de Universiteit Gent, Theol 2653 (4); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. LF25 91 A (3) & Rés. LF25 91 (3); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 37206 (3); Toulouse (Fr), Médiathèque José Cabanis, Fa D 8838 (3).

References: RB XIX, 28 (22); FB 8975.

377. Carpentier, Pierre, *Remonstrance faicte à l'entree du Parlement de Bretagne le lendemain de la saint Martin l'an 1594*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1596.

40/80; A-D4 (D4 blank); ff. [16]; Roman & Italic.

Some copies are printed in 40 others in 80.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rec D 678 (4); Gent (Be), Centrale Bibliotheek van de Universiteit Gent, Theol 2653 (6); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. LF25 91 A (4) & Rés. LF25 91 (4); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 37206 (4); Toulouse (Fr), Médiathèque José Cabanis, Fa D 8838 (4).

References: RB XIX, 28 (23); FB 8976–7.

378. Carpentier, Pierre, *Remonstrance faicte à l'entree du Parlement de Bretagne le lendemain de la saint Martin, l'an 1595*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1596.

80; A-D4 (D4 blank); ff. [16]; Roman & Italic.

Variant A: A-D4.

Location: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rec D 678 (5).

References: RB XIX, 28 (24); FB 8980.

379. Carpentier, Pierre, *Remonstrance faicte à l'entree du Parlement de Bretagne le lendemain de la saint Martin l'an 1595*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1596.

40/80; A-B4 C6 (-C6); ff. [13]; Roman & Italic.

Variant B: A-B4 C6 (-C6). Some copies are printed in 4o others in 8o.
 Locations: Gent (Be), Centrale Bibliotheek van de Universiteit Gent, Theol 2653 (7); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. LF25 91 A (5) & Rés. LF25 91 (5); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 37206 (5) & Rés. 37206 (8 bis); Toulouse (Fr), Médiathèque José Cabanis, Fa D 8838 (5).
 References: FB 8978–9.

380. Carpentier, Pierre, *Remonstrance faicte en l'assemblée des estats de Bretagne tenus à Vennes le 13 avril 1593*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1596.
 8o; A-C4 D2 (D2 blank); ff. [14]; Roman & Italic.
 Locations: Gent (Be), Centrale Bibliotheek van de Universiteit Gent, Theol 2653 (2); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. LF25 91 A (6) & Rés. LF25 91 (6); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 37206 (7); Toulouse (Fr), Médiathèque José Cabanis, Fa D 8838 (6).
 References: RB XIX, 28 (25); FB 8981.

381. Carpentier, Pierre, *Remonstrance faicte en l'assemblée des estats de Bretagne tenus à Vennes le 2 may 1594*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1596.
 8o; A-C4; ff. [12]; Roman & Italic.
 Locations: Gent (Be), Centrale Bibliotheek van de Universiteit Gent, Theol 2653 (5); Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. LF25 91 A (7) & Rés. LF25 91 (7); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 37206 (8); Toulouse (Fr), Médiathèque José Cabanis, Fa D 8838 (7).
 References: RB XIX, 28 (26); FB 8982.

382. Carpentier, Pierre, *Remonstrances faictes en la court de Parlement et assemblées des estats de Bretagne*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1596.
 8o; [14 followed by tracts ([14 blank); ff. [4]; Roman & Italic.
 Locations: Lyon (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, SJ H 301/26; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. LF25 91 (1) & Rés. LF25 91 A (1); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 37206 (1); Toulouse (Fr), Médiathèque José Cabanis, Fa D 8838 (1).
 References: IA 132560; RB XIX, 27 (20); FB 8986.

383. Gonzaga, Francisco, *Statuta Generalia Barchinonentia pro Cis-montana familia*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1596.

8o; A-K8; pp. 156 [4].

Location: St Bonaventure, NY (USA), University Library, S 340 S788

384. Le Normant, *Epistre consolatoire dediee a monsieur Parant, marchant de Paris, à present detenu captifés galleres au pays de Levant*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1596.

4o; A-B4; ff. [8]; Roman & Italic.

B4r dated Nantes 6.2.1596 signed Le Normant.

Location: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Mazarine, Rés. A 15344 (4).

Reference: FB 33815.

385. Manuale – Vannes, *Manuale sacerdotum ad usum insignis ecclesie et dioecesis*, Vannes, Jean Bourrelier, 1596.

8o

Location: Vannes (Fr), Bibliothèque diocésaine.

Reference: RB XIX, 93 (2).

386. Mercoeur, Philippe-Emmanuel de Lorraine, duc de, *Articles accordez pour la treve ez pays et duché de Bretagne*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz, 1596.

4o; A-B4 C2; ff. [10]; Roman & Italic.

C2r: Given at Fougeray, 26 December 1595, Philippe-Emmanuel de Lorraine; Emerot. C2v: Cried Nantes by F. Rafegeau and Denis Moreau on 30 December 1595.

Location: London (UK), British Library, 1193 g 22 (18).

Reference: FB 28187.

387. Nantes, [*Ordre de faire provision pour les habitants de Nantes*], [Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz, 1596].

Single sheet; [1]; ff. [1]; Roman.

16 November 1596. Form to be filled in by the town authorities.

Location: Nantes (Fr), Archives municipales, FF 187.

1597

388. Carpentier, Pierre, *Remonstrance à l'ouverture du Parlement de la saint Martin 12 novembre 1596*, Nantes, Pierre Doriou, 1597.

8o; A-D4; pp. 32; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanès, Rec D 678 (6); Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 717; Paris (Fr), BnF, Résac. LF25 95;

Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 37206 (6); Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, FF 10 3690 (9).

References: IA: 132561; RB XIX, 29 (5); Nantes, Dobrée 717; FB 8987.

389. Carpentier, Pierre, *Remonstrance à l'ouverture du Parlement de la saint Martin l'an 1597*, Nantes, Pierre Dorieu, 1597.

4o; A-H4 I2; pp. 68; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rec D 678 (7) & Rec D 14 (5); Paris (Fr), BnF, Résac. LF25 96.

References: IA: 132562; RB XIX, 29 (4); FB 8988.

390. Henri IV, *Lettre écrite a monseigneur le mareschal de Brissac, lieutenant general pour le roy en ses armee et pays de Bretagne sur la prinse d'Amiens*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1597.

8o; [14; ff. [4]; Roman & Italic.

[14r – Written at the camp d'Amiens on 26.09.1597. [14v – signed Potier.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Archives municipales, Liasse 9.

Reference: FB 28435.

391. [Montreux, Nicolas de], *L'Arimene*, Nantes, Pierre Dorieu, 1597.

12o; ã8 A-V8 X2; ff. [8] 162; Roman & Italic.

Location: Versailles (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, G 8o 134 [E 436 c]

Reference: FB 38531.

392. [Montreux, Nicolas de], *L'Espagne conquise par Charles le grand, roy de France*, Nantes, Pierre Dorieu, 1597.

12o; ã8 A-Z8 Aa-Ff8; pp. [16] 463 (=464); Roman & Italic.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. YE 2012; Versailles (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, G 8o 135 [E 437 c].

References: RB XIX, 29 (3); Brunet III, 1872; FB 38535

393. Orléans, Regnault d' (editor), *Les observations de diverses choses remarquées sur l'estat, couronne et peuple de France*, Vannes, Jean Bourrelier, 1597.

4o; [14 A-Z4 a-14; pp. [8] 270 [2]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, D 4887; Cambridge (UK), University Library, R 5 96; Dresden (Gw), Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Jus.publ.Gall.101; Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC (USA), B 1809 M7 Cage; Le Mans (Fr), Médiathèque Louis Aragon, H 1572 & H 4o 1573; Loches (Fr), Bibliothèque

municipale; London (UK), British Library, 1058h 2; Mannheim (Gw), Universitätsbibliothek, Ink 42a; Middelburg (Ne), Provinciale Bibliotheek Zeeland (on deposit at the Zeeuwse Bibliotheek), BB 0944; Newberry Library, Chicago, IL (USA), ZP 539 B 735; Oxford (UK), Codrington Library (All Souls), SR 84 a 2; Paris (Fr), BnF, Résac. LE4 14 A & Résac. LE4 14 & LE4 14 & Rés. Fontanieu 107 (1); Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 4o H 3413 & 4o H 2486; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o L 135 (2) inv 1081 FA; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 88598; Rouen (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Leber 5605; St Petersburg (Ru), National Library of Russia (Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library), 32 17 6 5; Vannes (Fr), Bibliothèque médiathèque municipale, 8o 5258.

References: Adams O 295; RB XIX, 93 (3); FB 40055.

394. Parlement – Bretagne, *Arrest contenant inhibitions et defences à tous ceux qui ne sont libraires ou relieurs de n'entreprendre sur l'estat de la librairie*, Nantes, Pierre Doriou, 1597.

Taken from reprint of text of the arrêt: BnF Ms. F. Fr. 22061 (44).

Location: No known surviving copy.

395. Parlement – Bretagne, *Continuation de la suspension generale d'armes avec les articles accordez pour icelle*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, [1597].

8o; ff. [8]; Roman & Italic.

Signed: Courriolle

Location: Private collection.

1598

396. Henri IV, *Edict sur la reduction de monsieur le duc de Mercoeur en l'obeyssance de sa majesté*, Nantes, Pierre Doriou, 1598.

8o; A-D4; pp. 32; Roman & Italic.

D4r – Given on 00.03.1598, Angers: Henry, Potiers. Registered in Rennes 26–28.03.1598

Locations: Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 719; Versailles (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Fonds C 12o ILd 5.

References: RB XIX (1); Nantes, Dobrée (719); FB 28536.

397. Henri IV, *Edict sur la reduction de monsieur le duc de Mercoeur en l'obeyssance de sa majesté*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1598.

8o; A-D4; pp. 32; Roman & Italic.

D4v – Given on 00.03.1598, Angers: Henry, Visa. Reigstered in Parlement in Rennes on 26.03.1598: Courriolle, and in the Chambre des Comptes in Rennes on 27.03.1598: Guibourt.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o F 849 inv. 4123 (20) Rés.

References: FB 28535

398. Henri IV, *Edict sur le reiglement de la justice*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, [1598].

8o; A-C4; pp. 24; Roman & Italic.

Given on 00.01.1597, Rouen.

Location: Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, Rec D 2 (312).

Reference: FB 28543.

399. Montreux, Nicolas de, *L'Espagne conquise par Charles le grand, roy de France*, Nantes, Philippe Vendosme, 1598.

8o; A-Z8 Aa-Oo8; pp. [16] 575 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Troyes (Fr), Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, X 13 2143.

Reference: FB 38539.

1599

400. Cristi, Jean, *Le resveille-matin des ministres de la pretenduë religion reformée*, Nantes, Pierre Doriou, 1599.

8o; [4 A-I4 (-A1); pp. [9] 3–73 (=72); Roman & Italic.

Locations: Luzern (Sz), Zentralbibliothek, BB Br 8o; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o D 11018 (11) Rés.

Reference: FB 14906.

401. Henri IV, [*Lettre au comte de Brissac sur les Etats*], [Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1599].

Broadsheet; ff. [1]; Roman & Italic.

Dated 07.10.1599, Fontainebeu: Potier.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Archives municipales, Liasse 9.

Reference: FB 28616.

1600

402. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Coustumes generales des païs et duché de Bretagne*, Nantes, Pierre Doriou, 1600.

12o; ã4 A8 B4 C8 D4 E8 F4 G8 H4 I8 K4 L8 M4 N8 O4 P8 Q4 R8 S4 T8 V4 X8 Y4 Z8 Aa4 Bb8 Cc4 Dd8; ff. [2] 145 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 93964.

References: RB XIX, 30 (7); FB 7522.

403. Merrault, Olivier, *Hymnes catholiques composez en l'honneur de la nativité de nostre seigneur Jesus Christ*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1600.

8o; A-F8 [F8 blank]; ff. 47 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. YE 2023; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8o BL 10337 (2) & 8o BL 10336 (2); Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 88330 (2).

References: RB XIX (10); FB 37588.

404. Merrault, Olivier, *Poeme et bref discours de l'honneur ou l'homme estoit colloqué en l'estat de sa creation*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1600.

8o; A-K8; ff. 80; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8o BL 10336 (1) & 8o BL 10337; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. YE 2022; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 88330 (1).

References: RB XIX (11); FB 37641.

405. Parlement – Bretagne, *Arrest portant deffenses à toutes personnes de transporter les realles d'Espagne*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1600.

8o; A-B4; pp. 15 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Dated: Rennes 3.10.1600, Courriolle (B3v).

Location: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 11488.

Reference: FB 41080.

406. Parlement – Bretagne, *Arrest de la cour de parlement portant reiglement des executions, obligations et autres actes concernans le faict des paroisses de ceste province, et salaires des sergents*, Rennes, Michel Logeroys, 1600.

4o; []4; ff. [4]; Roman & Italic.

[]4v: Faict en Parlement à Rennes, 30.6.1600, Courriolle

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Résac. F 23688 (2)

References: RB XIX (9); FB 41081.

s. d.

407. Bretagne – Coutumes, *Les coutumes de Bretagne*, Nantes, Etienne Larcher, s.d.

Location: No known surviving copy.

References: Brunet II, 364; FB 7524.

408.* Le Grant, Jacques, *La fleur de theologie aultrement dit livre de bonnes meurs utile et profitable a toute personne raisonnable*, Rouen, for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, s.d.

40; A-D6 E4 F-J6; ff. [52]; Gothic.

Location: Brussels (Be), Bibliothèque royale/ Koninklijke Bibliotheek, VB 3709 A 1 LP.

409.* *Peregrinatio totius terre sancte*, Rouen, Pierre Olivier for Michel Angier in Caen and Jean Macé in Rennes, s.d.

80; a-b8; ff. [16]; Gothic.

Location: Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. O2f 28.

References: RB XXVI, 128 (100); Delisle 323.

Abbreviations

Adams: Adams, H.M., *Catalogue of books printed on the continent of Europe, 1501–1600 in Cambridge libraries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967)

Brunet: Brunet, J.-C., *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres. 5e édition* (Paris, Firmin Didot frères, 1860–1865)

Delisle: Delisle, L., *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen avant le milieu du XVIe siècle suivi de recherches sur les imprimeurs et les libraires de la même ville* (Reprint: Amsterdam, Gérard Th. van Heusden, 1969)

FB: Pettegree, A., Walsby, M. and Wilkinson, A. S., *French vernacular books. A bibliography of books published in the French language before 1601* (Leiden, Brill, 2007).

Gouron: Gouron, A. & Terrin, O., *Bibliographie des coutumes de France: éditions antérieures à la Révolution* (Geneva, Droz, 1975)

IA: *Index Aureliensis: catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum* (Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1965–2005).

ISTC: *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/>

Moreau: Moreau, B. et al., *Inventaire Chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle* (Paris, Service des Travaux Historiques de la Ville de Paris, 1972–2004)

- Nantes, Dobrée: Polain, L., *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du musée Thomas Dobrée* (Nantes, Musée Dobrée, 1903)
- RB: *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*. (Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1968–1980)
- RBN: Aquilon, P., *Bibliographie normande: bibliographie des ouvrages imprimés à Caen et à Rouen au seizième siècle* (Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1980)
- Renouard (Bade): Renouard, P., *Bibliographie des impressions et des oeuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste, 1462–1535* (Paris, E. Paul & Guillemin, 1908)
- Weale/Bohatta: Weale, W. & Bohatta, *Bibliographia liturgica: catalogus missalium ritus latini, ab anno MCCCCLXXIV impressorum* (London, Quaritch, 1928)

APPENDIX C

BOOKS MISTAKENLY ATTRIBUTED TO BRETON PRINTERS OR BOOKSELLERS

I. *Ordinances of the bishopric of St Brieuc*

The possibility that these works could have been published by Jean Calvez in Tréguier is comprehensively refuted by Luigi Michelini Tocci in his article on incunabula in the Vatican library. He states that the attributions made by Léopold Delisle in his article on the subject cannot hold for “se l’ipotesi può essere sostenuta dal punto di vista storico, essa non regge, dal punto di vista dello studio comparativo dei tipi, per nessuno di quegli stampati” (p. 200). He instead chooses to ascribe the works to the Parisian printer Johann Philippi.

1496

M1. Penmarch, Christophe, [*Mandement du 26 mai 1496*], [Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1496].

Location: Roma (VAT), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 988 ff. 36a–37.

M2. Penmarch, Christophe, [*Mandement du 13 octobre 1496*], [Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1496].

Location: Roma (VAT), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 988 ff. 38–40.

1498

M3. Penmarch, Christophe, [*Mandement du 7 juin 1498*], [Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1498].

Location: Roma (VAT), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 988 ff. 45–46.

1499

M4. Penmarch, Christophe, [*Mandement du 23 mai 1499*], [Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1499].

Location: Roma (VAT), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 988 ff. 46a–48a.

1500

M5. Penmarch, Christophe, [*Mandement du 11 juin 1500*], [Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1500].

Location: Roma (VAT), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 988 ff. 49–51.

1501

M6. Penmarch, Christophe, [*Mandement de 1501?*], [Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1501].

Location: Roma (VAT), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

1502

M7. Penmarch, Christophe, [*Mandement du 13 octobre 1502*], [Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1502].

Location: Roma (VAT), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

References: RB: XIX, 87 (3); FB 42786.

M8. Penmarch, Christophe, [*Mandement du 19 mai 1502*], [Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1502].

Location: Roma (VAT), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

References: RB: XIX, 87 (2); FB 42787.

1505

M9. Penmarch, Christophe, [*Mandement daté du 15 mai 1505*], [Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1505].

Location: Roma (VAT), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

References: RB: XIX, 87 (4); FB 42788.

1506

M10. Du Chastel, Olivier, [*Mandement du 15 octobre 1506*], [Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1506].

Location: Roma (VAT), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

References: RB: XIX, 87 (5); FB 17103.

1507

M11. Du Chastel, Olivier, [*Mandement du 14 octobre 1507*], [Tréguier, Jean Calvez, 1507].

Location: Roma (VAT), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

References: RB: XIX, 87 (6); FB 17104.

II. *Cuburien press*

M12. *La vie de sainte Barbe*, Cuburien, [Bernard de Léau], 1576.

Copy: BnF – Rés. H 1034.

This work has been attributed to the press of Bernard de Léau at the monastery of Cuburien and given the date 1576 (*Répertoire bibliographique* XIX p. 9: 9). The work however does not present any of the necessary typographic elements to attach it to the monastery press. Instead it seems clear that the book was printed in Paris around 1500, though there is still some uncertainty as to who printed and it the work has been variously attributed to André Bocard, Etienne Jehannot and Antoine Caillaut.

M13. *Legenda major sancti patris Francisci a sancto Bonaventura composita*, Cuburien, [Bernard de Léau], 1585.

Jacques Betz in the *Répertoire bibliographique* lists this text (p. 9: 11) with the date 1585 as per the *Catalogue des livres imprimés manuscrits et autographes faisant partie de la bibliothèque de feu M. de Monmerqué* (Paris, J. Techener, 1861) p. 33: 299. However, it is safe to assume that this is in fact a misreading of the title page. It is undoubtedly the 1575 edition; this would have been the only known instance of the press printing a second edition of the work (with the same title and exactly ten years later).

III. *Noël Glamet*

The bookseller Noël Glamet was an invention of the Parisian printer Jean Richer who presumably thought that this false imprint would enhance the Breton flavour Noël du Fail's facetious works. Unfortunately many bibliographers have been duped by the fictitious address.

1585

M14. Du Fail, Noël, *Les contes et discours d'Eutrapel*, Rennes, Noël Glamet, 1585.

8o; 2 A–Z8 Aa–Dd8 Ee4; ff. [2] 223 (=219) [1]; Roman & Italic.

Variant A: “|| D'EVTRAPEL. ||” & hōneur.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. P Y2 351; München (Gw), Universitätsbibliothek, 8o P gall 212; Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (USA), *FC5 D8705 585c; Washington, DC (USA), Library of Congress, PQ1619 D3C6; Newberry Library, Chicago, IL (USA), Case Y 762 D 879; Philadelphia, PA (USA), Library Company, Six Du Fai Log 1022 O; Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Musée Arbaud, Rés. Roch 4996; Louisiana State University Library, Baton Rouge, LA (USA), 848 D87C; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, 8o Q 979 Rés.; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 88200; Orléans (Fr), Médiathèque municipale, D 2486; London (UK), British Library, 1073 b 6; London (UK), British Library, 244 i 19; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 1111.

Reference: FB 17191.

M15. Du Fail, Noël, *Les contes et discours d'Eutrapel*, Rennes, Noël Glamet, 1585.

8o; 2 A–Z8 Aa–Dd8 Ee4; ff. [2] 223 (=219) [1]; Roman & Italic.

Variant B: “|| D'EVTRAPEL, ||” & honneur.

Locations: Aarau (Sz), Kantonsbibliothek, B 2752; Carpentras (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale Inguimbertaine, L 870.

Reference: FB 17190.

1586

M16. Du Fail, Noël, *Les contes et discours d'Eutrapel*, Rennes, Noël Glamet, 1586.

16o; a-z8 A-N8 (N8 blank); pp. 569 [7]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Cambridge (UK), Clare College Library, H8 34; Meaux (Fr), Médiathèque Luxembourg, C7 13056 C 462; Wien (Au), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 40 Z 10; Huntington Library, San Marino, CA (USA), 375267; Lenzburg (Sz), Stadtbibliothek, C 80; Antwerpen (Be), Museum Plantin-Moretus, BH 2121; Edinburgh (UK), University Library, De 1/2 47; Toulouse (Fr), Médiathèque José Cabanis, Rés. D XVI 27; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Y2 2032; Brest (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, RES FB D473.

References: Adams D 1059; FB 17193.

M17. Du Fail, Noël, *Les contes et discours d'Eutrapel*, Rennes, Noël Glamet, 1586.

8o; *2 A-Z8 Aa-Dd8 Ee4; ff. [2] 223 (=219) [1]; Roman & Italic.

Variant A.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Y2 2034; Bordeaux (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. B 8653; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 88201; Aix-en-Provence (Fr), Bibliothèque Méjanes, C 5906.

Reference: FB 17194.

M18. Du Fail, Noël, *Les contes et discours d'Eutrapel*, Rennes, Noël Glamet, 1586.

16o; a-z8 A-I8 (-I8) *1; pp. 549 (=509) [3]; Roman & Italic.

Variant B.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o Y 3901 inv. 7153 Rés.

References: RB XIX 73 (5); FB 17192.

1587

M19. Du Fail, Noël, *Les contes et discours d'Eutrapel*, Rennes, Noël Glamet, 1587.

16o; a-z8 A-I8 (-I8) *1; pp. 549 (=509) [3]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. P Y2 275; München (Gw), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, P o Gall 661 k.

Reference: FB 17197.

M20. Du Fail, Noël, *Les contes et discours d'Eutrapel*, Rennes, Noël Glamet, 1597.

8o; *4 A–Z8 Aa–Dd8 Ee4; ff. [4] 223 (=219) [1]; Roman & Italic.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Y2 2036; Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (USA), *FC5 D8705 585cg; Stockholm (Sw), Kungliga biblioteket, 137 F a; Wien (Au), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 40 L 6; New York, NY (USA), Pierpont Morgan Library; Chicago, IL (USA), Chicago University Library, PQ1618 D7C6 1597; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, 8o Q 852 D; Durham (UK), University Library, Cosin W 5 10; Lyon (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. B 509361; Leiden (Ne), Universiteitsbibliotheek, 700 F 1; København (Dk), Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 178:3, 128 00466.

Reference: FB 17198.

M21. Du Fail, Noël, *Les contes et discours d'Eutrapel*, Rennes, Noël Glamet, 1598.

12o; A–T12; pp. 451 [5]; Roman & Italic.

Variant A.

Locations: Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Z DON 594 (12); Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC (USA), PQ 1619 D3 C4 1598 Cage; Chantilly (Fr), Musée Condé, V C 33; Wien (Au), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, BE 10 X 43; Erlangen (Gw), Universitätsbibliothek, H00/ KR 1641; Rostock (Gw), Universitätsbibliothek, Co 3778; Cleveland, OH (USA), Public Library, o07037213; Evanston, IL (USA) United Library of Garrett-Evangelical and Seabury-Western Theological Seminaries, Special Collections 844 3 D854c; Princeton, NJ (USA), University Library, 3248 3 1598; Rochester, NY (USA), University Library, PQ1619 D85c 1598; Mannheim (Gw), Universitätsbibliothek, Sch 077/152; Aberdeen (UK), University Library, Drummond 1430; Lyon (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 805589; Strasbourg (Fr), Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Cd 115018; Chatsworth House (UK), V C 33; Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, 87886; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, 8o Y 3900 inv. 7152 Rés.; Paris (Fr), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Y2 2035; Tours (Fr), Centre d'Enseignement Supérieur de la Renaissance, SR 16A / 16812; Tennessee University Library (Hoskins Library), Knoxville, TN (USA), PQ1619.D3C6 1598.

References: RB XIX 74; FB 17199.

M22. Du Fail, Noël, *Les contes et discours d'Eutrapel*, Rennes, Noël Glamet, 1598.

16o; A–Z8 Aa–Mm8; pp. [10] 549 [1]; Roman & Italic.

Variant B.

Locations: Berlin (Gw), Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 8o Xz 246; Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (USA), *FC5 D8705 585ci; Nantes (Fr), Musée Dobrée, 580; London (UK), British Library, 1073 a 22; London (UK), British Library, 1073 a 21; Leiden (Ne), Universiteitsbibliotheek, 569 G 31; St Andrews (UK), Malcolm Walsby Collection, 16o XVI Rennes 1;

References: Nantes, Dobrée 580; FB 17200.

IV. *Histoire d'Argentré*

M23. Argentré, Bertrand d', *L'Histoire de Bretagne*, [Rennes], Julien du Clos, 1582.

2o; ã6 ã4 a–z6 A–Z6 AA–ZZ6 AAAa–ZZz6 AAAa–EEEE6; pp. [2] 1174 (=1164); Roman & Italic.

Locations: Rennes (Fr), Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 413; Cambridge (UK), University Library; Paris (Fr), BnF, Rés. Fol LK2 446 E.

References: Adams A 1639; RB XIX 68: 36; Brunet I 419–420; IA 107252.

Whether there was an early edition of Argentré's *Histoire* that was published in Rennes is unclear. The copies catalogued by the BnF and other libraries (listed above) as being printed in Rennes by Du Clos all in fact belong to the first Parisian edition by Jacques du Puys (see chapter 4). This first Parisian edition is found with later Du Puys title pages dated 1588 and 1615, as well as with a Douceur 1611 title page.

V. *Other errors*

M24. Le Bossu, Jacques, *Sermon funebre pour l'anniversaire des princes Henry et Loys de Lorraine*, Nantes, Nicolas des Marestz and François Faverye, 1590.

References: RB: XIX, 25 (6);

This is the same as the item listed in the *Répertoire bibliographique* under the number 3 (340 in Appendix B).

M25. Bili, Saint *Vita sancti Marchutis, Britan, auctore Bilio, Maeloviensi episcopo*, Saint-Malo, 1552.

No surviving copy.

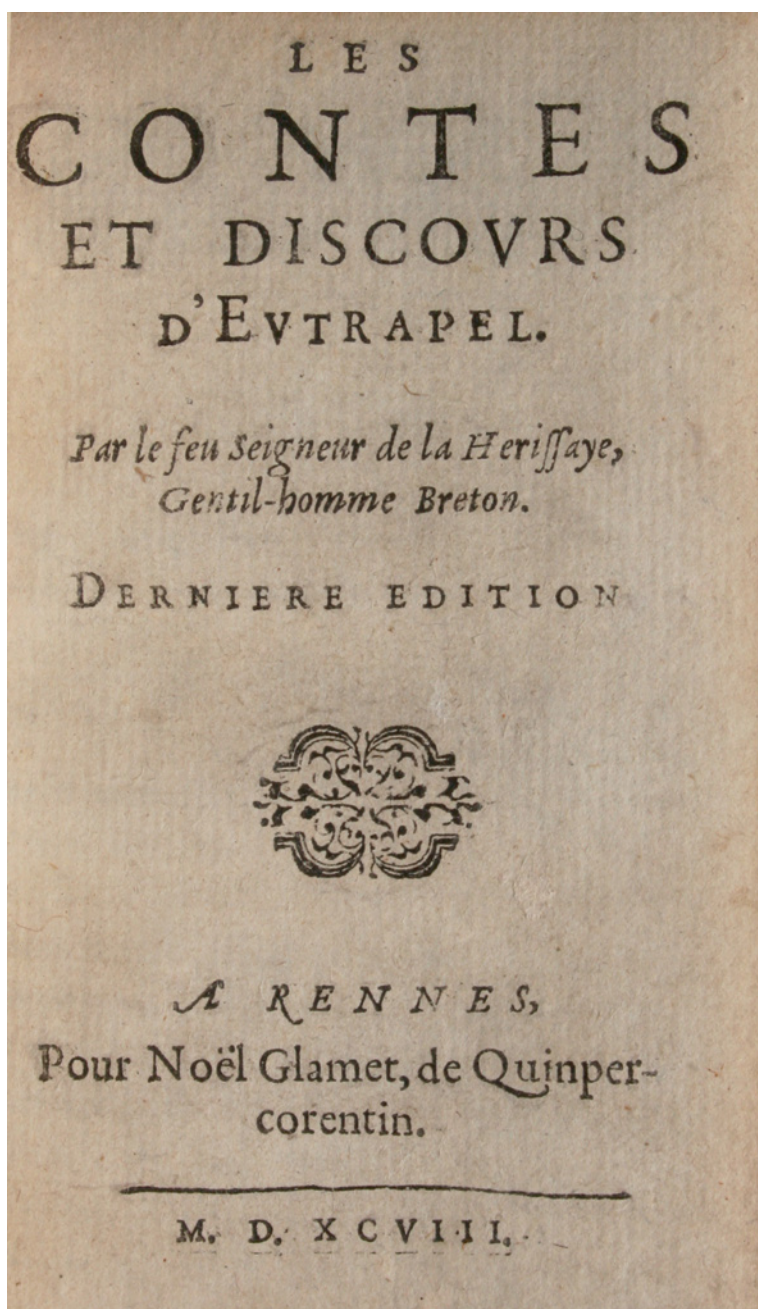


Figure 16: An edition printed for the fictional "Noël Glamet" in Quimper-Corentin.

References: RB: XXVIII, 134 (1).

This work was never printed as has been demonstrated by La Borderie: 'Le premier livre imprimé à St Malo (1606)' *Archives du bibliophile breton. Notices et documents pour servir à l'histoire littéraire et bibliographique de la Bretagne* (Rennes, J. Plichon, 1880–1907) I, 11–23.

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Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum

- Archives 92: Correspondance of Théodore Reinsart, 1592–1609.
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Nantes, Archives Départementales de la Loire-Atlantique

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- B 33: Register of remission letters of the Breton chancellery, 1531.
- B 1312: Payment made to Vincent Hucet, 1581–3.
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- 5 E 51: Articles and statutes of the booksellers, printers and bookbinders of Nantes, 1624.
- G 147: Payment by Mathurin Papolin to the Church in Nantes, 22 October 1545.

Nantes, Archives Municipales

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- CC 125: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1577–1578.
- CC 126: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1578–1580.
- CC 127: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1586–1589.
- CC 128: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1589–1592.
- CC 134: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1588–1590.
- CC 141: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1591–1594.
- CC 300: Register of accounts for repairs and fortifications in Nantes, 1560–1564.
- CC 306: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1575.
- CC 348: Register of accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1602.
- CC 369: Receipts for the accounts for the municipality of Nantes, 1475–1553.
- CC 421: Register of the debts of the town of Nantes, 1602–1603.
- DD 385: Documents on the lands known as the Blottereaux, 1521–1789.
- GG 45: Baptismal register of the parish of Saint-Denis.
- GG 47: Marriage register of the parish of Saint-Denis.
- GG 195: Marriage register of the parish of Saint-Nicolas.
- GG 295: Baptismal register of the parish of Saint-Saturnin.
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- GG 396: Baptismal register of the parish of Saint-Vincent.
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