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TO MAKE A CAREER BETWEEN LONDON AND PARIS.
SOCIAL NETWORK AS A BASIS OF RENAISSANCE BOOK
PRODUCTION AND TRADE.

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In sixteenth-century Europe books and prints became a major source of cultural exchange. The invention of printing contributed widely to this phenomenon. At that time Paris and London were amongst the most important centres for printing and were consequently involved in the trade and exchange of books and prints. French stationers were drawn by the quick development of the English book market, and began printing books in English to satisfy this demand. Moreover, during the wars of religion, London was one of the places where Protestants could escape persecution. This allowed French publishers to contribute to the history of English book printing.

The absence of effective mechanisms of promotion left only filiation and personal acquaintances as a means to establish collaboration and trade. The relationships between booksellers and printers of one city were simplified by their compact settlement. However, creating an international connection was a much more complicated task. Nevertheless, each country's book market wasn't a closed system, and collaboration between stationers from different countries was inevitable. Examples of this abound in the historiography on book history. For example, Edward Gordon Duff in his reference book on English stationers *A century of the English book trade...*¹ names French booksellers and printers next to English ones. Recent research on the Stationers' company and London printers by Peter Blayney² also reveals several examples of international collaboration and exchange. However, collaborations between stationers are mostly seen as a connection between two personalities and never presented as a part of a bigger social network. As such, the present article aims to depict several particular cases of collaboration between the booksellers and printers of Paris and London over the course of the sixteenth century. These case studies will show that they were all part of a single social network, and that this network was one of the driving forces behind book printing and distribution at the period.

Indeed, while helping us situate these connections within this context helps us to understand their complexity and intensity, they are also a way to uncover mechanisms of book production and trade in Renaissance Europe. Moreover, even if some cases are more studied than others – Parisian printer and bookseller François Regnault or the London printer of French origin Gilles Godet, for example³ – there are still many instances of collaboration to be found.

François Regnault is known to have been working in London before 1496,⁴ and never severed his connection to the London book market after his move to Paris. Between 1519 and

1 Edward Gordon Duff, *A century of the English book trade...*, (London: The Bibliographical society, 1905).

2 Peter Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the printers of London (1501-1557)*, (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge university press, 2013).

3 Duff, p. 55, Marianne Grivel, 'Un graveur parisien à Londres au XVI^e siècle: l'exemple de Gilles Godet (v 1510 ? –v 1571)', *Documents d'histoire parisienne*, 12 (2011), 5-22.

1535, Regnault printed the majority of the religious books intended for the English market. After his death his widow Madeleine Boursette continued his work.

In 1538, Regnault collaborated with London printers Miles Coverdale, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitwhurch for the imprint of an English Bible. Grafton and Whitchurch often worked together, and in 1544 they even obtained a common patent for printing service books.

It is also known that Regnault received English booksellers in his house in Paris. He states it in his letter to a chief minister of Henry VIII, Thomas Cromwell, written in 1536.⁵ Two years later, in order to supervise the imprint of English Bibles, Miles Coverdale and Richard Grafton stayed in his house, also sending a letter to Cromwell,⁶ where they indicated that Regnault had a large stock of service books in English.

It was probably a common practice for booksellers to stay in the houses of their colleagues while travelling, as we can see in the last will and testament of a London stationer named Nicolas Fichard. When he was in Paris he stayed in the house of his counterpart Oudin Petit where, being seriously ill, he had to establish his testament on the 22nd of September 1554.⁷ Both Fichard and Petit were Protestants, and according to the content of Fichard's last will, he could speak French. Although French notaries drew up his testament, it was amended according to English laws. No doubt that this Nicolas Fichard is the Nicolas Fisher whose name is found in an English version of this will archived in London.⁸ The name was clearly altered by the French notary.

Fisher was one of the former apprentices of Thomas Petyt,⁹ a printer who worked in London and who was probably connected to the family of book traders "Petit", of which Oudin Petit was part. The host of Nicolas Fisher, Oudin Petit was a rich stationer. In 1540 in collaboration with both his stepfather Jacques Kerver and with the aforementioned François Regnault, he printed the commentaries on the Apocalypse of St John.¹⁰ According to a posthumous inventory of Petit's first wife dating from February 1547,¹¹ Petit often loaned

4 Edward Gordon Duff, *The printers, stationers and bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535*, (Cambridge: University press, 1906), p. 207.

5 James Gairdner (ed), *Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII...*, vol. XI, (London: Longmans, Green, 1862-1932), n. 1488.

6 Ibid., vol. XIII, part II, n. 336.

7 Paris, Archives nationales, Minutier central, LXXIII, 20, 1554, 22 September, Annie Parent, *Les métiers du livre à Paris au XVIe siècle, 1535-1560*, (Genève: Droz; Paris: Champion, 1974), p. 158.

8 London, The National Archives, PROB 11/37/162, 1554, 22 September : "... Nicolas Ffysssher, marchand stationer dwelling at London in England...", Blayney, vol. 2, pp. 769, 1082.

9 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 400.

10 Haimo Halberstadensis, *Commentariorum in apocalypsim beati Johannis...*, Paris, Jean I Savetier apud Jacques I Kerver; François Regnault; Oudin Petit, 1540, in-8°, Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby (eds), *French books III & IV (FB): books published in France before 1601 in Latin and other languages other than French*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 73393.

11 Arch. nat., Min. cent., LXXIII, 42, 1547, February.

different sums of money to booksellers, bookbinders and printers from Paris and other French cities (Caen, Toulouse, Angers, Rouen, etc.), as well as to Flemish booksellers. It appears he was also connected to the English book market as, according to Fisher's testament, he was one of the borrowers of Oudin Petit. On the 14th of July 1554, Petit loaned him 60 French livres. To pay his debt, Fisher offered Petit 54 reams of paper, roughly 27000 paper sheets, or his horse.

No doubt that Fisher was in Paris for trade when he died. That year he had already sent three shipments of books to London¹² and he was certainly preparing the next shipment. It is indicated in his testament that he had just bought from the widow of François Regnault, Madeleine Boursette, 1200 breviaries of Salisbury use, extremely popular in England. It probably concerns the last edition of this breviary made by Regnault himself and dating from 1535.¹³

Fisher didn't pay the totality of the sum owed for these books but he was still willing to collect the merchandise. He had also bought 200 copies of the *Hortulus animae of Salisbury use* from Madeleine Boursette, some of them even bound in a cover decorated with flowers. *Hortulus animae* or *Little garden of the soul* was a very popular early sixteenth-century prayer book. No edition of this book by François Regnault or by his widow is known. However, a Parisian printer Jean Kerbriant, probably a native of Brittany, edited one in 1531.¹⁴

Similarly to Oudin Petit, another Parisian stationer named Pierre L'Huillier also had a large number of borrowers among booksellers. Most of them were French,¹⁵ though one of his debtors was a certain Corneille Clypeus, a bookseller from London that used to live in Antwerp. On the 2nd of March 1566, L'Huillier loaned him the rather large sum of 86 French livres. The debt wasn't paid, and on the 30th of July 1585, L'Huillier took steps to get reimbursed.¹⁶ It appears he didn't have any news from Clypeus, as he didn't even know if his debtor was still alive. This Corneille Clypeus was no doubt the Dutch bookseller Cornelis Clypeus¹⁷ of which very little is known.

12 Blayney, vol. 2, p. 769.

13 *Portifotium seu breviarium ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis...*, Paris, François Regnault, [1535], in-4°, FB 66884.

14 *Hortulus anime secundum usum Sarum*, Paris, Jean Kerbriant, 1531, in-24°, FB 74391.

15 Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue, 1585-1594*, (Genève: Droz; Paris: Champion, 1975), pp. 520-521.

16 Arch. nat., Min. cent., XXXIII, 201, 1585, 30 July, Pallier, p. 521, n. 251.

17 Johannes Gerardus Carolus Antonius Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630...*, (Nieuwkoop : B. De Graff, 1974), pp. 244-248.

The only edition carrying the name of Clypeus is an *Epitome adagiorum* of Erasmus.¹⁸ He commissioned it to Gillis Coppens van Diest in Antwerp, first in 1544, then in 1568. We can find his name in the account books of Christopher Plantin for the year 1566.¹⁹ According to these, Clypeus was one of his numerous book purveyors but he was far from being the most prominent one. For example that year L'Huillier was also one of Plantin's agents, whose trade in books was tenth fold to that of Clypeus. However, they played different roles in the European book trade, Clypeus clearly being much more mobile. In 1568 Clypeus is known to live in London near the churches of St. George and St. Margaret, in Pudding Lane. In 1570 he is back in Antwerp and finally from 1589 to his death in 1602 he settled in Dordrecht in Netherlands. A posthumous inventory of his goods shows that he had in stock a large number of books printed in different languages, mostly in Latin, some of them stored in packages.²⁰ Clypeus travelled a lot, but his work as a publisher amounted only to two editions, which makes us think that he was mostly a mediator in an international book market, working as an agent for other more important traders. His mobility was apparently his primary advantage. At this point he can hardly be compared to, for example, the family of booksellers Birekman, who were also very mobile (they had shops in different European cities, such as London, Paris, Köln etc.) but who, unlike Clypeus, worked as prolific publishers as well.

Apart from financial transactions there were also cases of franco-british collaboration on the imprint of books. An example of such collaboration is presented by a contract signed by London stationer Richard Tottell and Parisian printer Fleury Prévost. In the first years of his career, Tottell borrowed printing material from Edward Whitchurch²¹ who is known to have printed many books in French and to have worked in collaboration with the aforementioned Richard Grafton and François Regnault. Furthering the links between the tradesmen, Tottell was also married with Grafton's daughter.

The contract between Tottell and Prévost dates from the 6th of September 1564.²² Since Tottell didn't speak French, the bookseller Hercule Francois and a certain Jean Bernard were invited as translators. Bernard must have been part of the milieu of book production and

18 Desiderius Erasmus, *Epitome adagiorum...*, Antwerpen, Gillis Coppens van Diest apud Cornelius Clypeus, 1544, in-8°, Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby (eds), *Netherlandish books (NB): books published in the Low Countries and Dutch books published abroad before 1601*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 11628; Desiderius Erasmus, *Epitome adagiorum...*, Antwerpen, Gillis Coppens van Diest apud Cornelius Clypeus, 1568, in-8°, NB 11766-11767.

19 Leon Voet, *The Golden compasses: a history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp*, (Amsterdam: Vangendt and C°; London: Routledge and K. Paul; New York: Schram, 1969-1972), p. 472.

20 Craig E. Harline, *Pamphlets, printing, and political culture in the early Dutch republic*, (Dordrecht: M. Nijhoff, 1987), p.77.

21 Blayney, vol. 2, p. 642.

22 Arch. nat., Min. cent., XI, 42, 1564, 6 September.

trade, since we know of a Parisian stationer by the name of Jean Bernard,²³ active at the end of the 1580s. Hercule Francois or Hercules Francis was originally from Holland. He is in Paris between 1554 and 1571.²⁴ He also worked as a bookseller in London from 1576 until his death in 1603,²⁵ and could apparently speak English even before moving to England.

According to the contract, Prévost had to print for Tottell a so-called ‘book containing the form and the structure of the common laws of the kingdom of England’. Tottell promised to provide the manuscript, correctors to avoid composition mistakes and paper for printing. Prévost and his workers were to be given a daily salary of 105 sous. The contract also established a penalty of 300 ecus in case Tottell hired any other French printer, the same fine being applicable to Prévost in case of non execution of the contract.

Tottell’s specialty was the publication of books of laws. It is probable that the ‘book of laws of England’ mentioned in the contract is an edition of *A profitable booke of Maister John Perkins ...treating of the lawes of Englande* that appeared first in 1565 and then in 1567.²⁶ However, both editions were printed in London and none of them carries the name of Fleury Prévost.

It appears that the contract wasn’t fulfilled. According to its terms, Prévost couldn’t start printing before Tottell got permission from the ‘Council of England’, who probably had to approve the manuscript.²⁷ Tottell paid Prévost ten golden coins in advance and made his way back to England for this permission. His plans must have changed and he had to order the imprint of the book to local printers.

We don’t know any more examples of collaboration between Fleury Prévost and other English printers and booksellers, but he regularly worked for their Parisian colleagues. One of them, Jacques Du Puys ordered the impression of the *Opera Omnia* by Cicero in 1565.²⁸ The same year Paul de Foix²⁹, the French ambassador in England, mandated Jacques Du Puys to recover a debt³⁰. In the account books of Christopher Plantin, Du Puys is cited in 1566

23 Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie...*, (Paris, Lettres modernes, 1965), p. 28.

24 Ibid., p. 157.

25 Ronald Brunlees McKerrow (ed), *A dictionary of printers and booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and foreign printers of English books, 1557-1640*, (London: The bibliographical society, 1910), p. 108.

26 John Perkins, *A profitable booke of Maister John Perkins ...treating of the lawes of Englande*, London, apud Richard Tottell, 1565, 1567, in-8°.

27 It was probably a Privy Councill of England that advised king on legislation, administration and justice.

28 Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Opera omnia quae exstant, annotations, seu emendationum rationes, singulis tomis distinctae*, Paris, excudebat Fleury Prévost ex officina Jacques Du Puys, 1565, in-fol, FB 62200.

29 Alexandre Teulet, *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVIe siècle*, (Paris: Vve. J. Renouard, 1862), tome 2, pp. 174-267.

30 Arch. nat., Min. cent., XIX, 232, 1565, 2 Mars (n. st.).

amongst English booksellers,³¹ although in 1579 he appears there as a Parisian bookseller.³² We can therefore assume that in the 1560's he profited from his acquaintances to work as Plantin's agent in England.

Another example of a London publisher closely connected to Paris is Thomas Vautrollier.³³ A London stationer and Huguenot refugee, he was originally from the French city of Troyes.³⁴ He came to England in 1562³⁵ and in 1564 he was accepted to the Stationers' Company. From then on he most likely worked for some London printer³⁶ and in 1567 he started a career as a bookseller, as one of the agents of Christopher Plantin.³⁷

In 1570 he printed his first two books : *A Booke containing divers Sortes of Hands* by Jean de Beuchesne and Orlando di Lasso's *Recueil du mellange*. The music type used for *Recueil du mellange* probably came from French type founder Pierre Haultin.³⁸ His nephew Jerome Haultin was also a type founder, working in London in the mid 1570s.³⁹ These music types gave Vautrollier a certain exclusivity in printing books of music. That is why he knew and no doubt had a certain interest in the production of music publishers working in Paris – Adrian Le Roy⁴⁰ and Robert Ballard.⁴¹ They had almost no competition amongst French publishers: their high quality production was very widely spread. This was not only due to their outstanding choice of contemporary composers' works but also because of their editions' beautiful decoration, invented by famous Parisian artists Jean Cousin the Elder⁴² and Baptiste Pellerin. Adrian Le Roy was also known in England thanks to his manual on lute playing, whose translation in English was first published in London in 1568.⁴³

31 Voet, vol. 2, p. 477.

32 Ibid., p. 504.

33 McKerrow (ed), pp. 272-273.

34 Henry Plomer, *Abstracts from the wills of English printers and stationers from 1492 to 1630*, (London: The Bibliographical society, 1903), p. 27.

35 Denis Pallier, 'Les victimes de Saint-Barthélémy dans le monde du livre parisien', *Le livre et l'historien*, (Genève: Droz, 1997), p. 145.

36 William R. LeFanu, 'Thomas Vautrollier, printer and bookseller', *Huguenot society of London*, vol. XX (1965), 12-25, (p. 13).

37 Ibid., p. 15.

38 Donald William Krummel, *English music printing, 1553-1700*, (London: The Bibliographical society, 1975), p. 84.

39 Louis Desgraves, *Les Haultin, 1571-1623*, (Genève: Droz, 1960), pp. XVII-XVIII.

40 Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVIe siècle*, tome II, Baaleu-Banville, (Paris: Service des travaux historiques de la Ville de Paris, 1969), pp. 372-374.

41 Ibid., pp. 320-372.

42 Cécile Scailliérez (ed), *Jean Cousin, père et fils: une famille des peintres au XVIe siècle*, (Paris: Somogy, Louvre éd., 2013), pp. 177-181.

43 Adrian Le Roy, *A briefe and easye instruction to learne the tableture to conducte and dispose the hande unto the lute*, London, John Kingston for James Rowbotham, 1568, in-4° obl., see François Lesure, Thibault Geneviève, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1551-1598*, (Paris: Société française de musicologie, Heugel, 1995), n. 130, Krummel, p. 206, Renouard, tome II, p. 373.

The *Recueil du mellange*⁴⁴ printed by Vautrollier in 1570 (*Fig. 1*) is in fact a re-edition of a book that came from the presses of Le Roy and Ballard under the title *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus*,⁴⁵ in the same year (*Fig. 2*). Apart from the content, Vautrollier also copied the title page decoration. He had already used this title page earlier in that year for his edition of the calligraphy book by Jean de Beuchesne.

This decoration with allegoric figures of Devotion and Justice, symbolising the motto of French king Charles IX, and the allegories of music, first appeared in the printing material of Le Roy and Ballard in 1564.⁴⁶ This is no doubt a design by painter Baptiste Pellerin⁴⁷ who had been working on the decoration of Parisian editions in the third quarter of the XVIth century (we can compare it to another work of Pellerin – a design for the title page of *Recueil des effigies des roys de France...*, printed in Paris and Lyon in 1567⁴⁸).

However Vautrollier slightly modified this decoration.⁴⁹ The music playing putties were replaced by writing ones, and the English royal arms replaced the book in the hand of Devotion. The rest of the book decoration was intact – Vautrollier didn't copy the famous initial letters designed specifically for Le Roy and Ballard. But he began using them as a basis for the decoration of his further editions.

For example an initial letter S with the image of Chronos eating his child⁵⁰ appears in the printing material of Vautrollier from 1577 onwards. It is a copy of the one used in Le Roy and Ballard's edition of *Mellange* of 1570 (*Fig. 3*).

An initial letter G that Vautrollier began using in 1574,⁵¹ borrows its decoration of a child swallowed by dragon from a letter D that first appeared in the printing material of Le Roy and Ballard in 1557,⁵² and was also used in the edition of 1570 (*Fig. 4*). It was probably a design by Jean Cousin the Elder, as the figure of the child can be compared to those found

44 Roland de Lassus, *Recueil du mellange contenant plusieurs chansons a quatre et cinq parties...*, Imprimé à Londres par Thomas Vautroller, 1570, in-4° obl., FB 32828-32832, Joseph Kerman, 'An Elizabethan edition of Lassus', *Acta musicologica*, XXVII, 71-76, 1955.

45 Roland de Lassus, *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus, contenant plusieurs chansons...*, Paris, Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1570, in-4° obl., FB 32813-32817, Lesure, n. 141, Renouard, tome II, n. 959.

46 Lesure, pp. 18-19.

47 Marianne Grivel, Guy-Michel Leproux, Audrey Nassieu Maupas, *Baptiste Pellerin et l'art parisien de la Renaissance*, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014), pp. 44-45.

48 *Recueil des effigies des roys de France...*, Paris, François Desprez; Lyon, Raullant de Neufchatel, [1567], in-4°, Anna Baydova, 'Baptiste Pellerin et l'iconographie des rois de France', *Documents d'histoire parisienne*, 15 (2013), 25-39.

49 Kerman, p. 72.

50 Marin Le Saulx, *Theanthropogamie en forme de dialogue par sonnets chrestiens...*, A Londres, par Thomas Vautrollier, 1577, in-8°, FB 34043.

51 Augustin Marlorat, *Propheticae, et apostolicae...*, London, excudebat Thomas Vautrollier, 1574, in-fol°.

52 *Tiers livre contenant huit pseumes de David, traduitz en rythme françoise...*, Paris, A. Le Roy et R. Ballard, 1557, in-4° obl., FB 4812-4815, Lesure, n. 33.

on his project for a luxurious vessel destined to French king Henry II in 1559 (*Fig. 5*).⁵³ However, bound by the letter's curve, the copyist had to inverse the composition and reduce the dimensions of a letter (4 x 3,9 cm against the 5,9 x 5,7 cm of the original).

Another curious example of the transformation and adaptation of a decorative element is an initial letter E that first appeared in Vautrollier's printing material in 1575.⁵⁴ It is an interpretation of a letter often used by Parisian printers, such as Pierre L'Huillier, Michel Sonnius, Lucas Breyer and Le Roy and Ballard. It also appears in their edition of Lasso's music. In the French version this letter was not only enriched by foliage and the image of a lyre, but also contained a female figure that in the English version was replaced by a decorative element (*Fig. 6*).

This closeness with Le Roy and Ballard's production doesn't necessarily mean that Vautrollier was personally acquainted with parisian music printers. For example, from 1574 onwards we find in his printing material⁵⁵ a decorative element representing a mask surrounded by cornucopias.⁵⁶ This was copied from an analogue vignette that belonged to Le Roy and Ballard, and which was also designed by Baptiste Pellerin. It can be compared to his drawing of a mask conserved in the Ashmolean museum in Oxford (*Fig. 7*).⁵⁷ Vautrollier's copy contains his initials, but from 1577 onwards he also used a variant of this vignette without the initials.⁵⁸ Another copy of the same decorative element can be found in the printing material of printer Jan Andriesz Cloeting, working at the end of the XVIth and in the first half of the XVIIth century in Netherlands,⁵⁹ also connected to French booksellers. The popularity of Le Roy and Ballard's book decoration can be explained by its undeniable artistic quality and by the widespread circulation of their production.

The production of original printing material was rather expensive, and it was common practice in the milieu of booksellers and printers to borrow it from one another. The absence of copyright at that time also allowed for copies of decorative elements, without any control from their possessors. If the borrowing of printing plates was sometimes laid out by the contracts, and implied a personal acquaintance between the two parties, the copying of plates signifies on the other hand the widespread diffusion of the book containing these decorations.

53 Paris, ENSBA, n, inv. O.35, Scailliérez (ed), p. 182-183.

54 Théodore de Bèze, *Confessio Christianae fidei...*, Londini, excudebat Thomas Vautrollerius, 1575, in-8°.

55 Publius Ovidius Nasonis, *De tristibus, libri quinque cum annotationibus minime reiiciendis*, Londini, excudebat Thomas Vautrollerius, 1574, in-8°.

56 Ronald McKerrow, *Printers' and publishers' devices in England and Scotland, 1485-1640*, (London: Bibliographical society, 1949), n. 179.

57 J.W. 485

58 Marin Le Saulx, *Theanthropogamie en forme de dialogue par sonnets chrestiens...*, A Londres, par Thomas Vautrolier, 1577, in-8°, FB 34043.

59 Briels, p. 242-243.

Even if Vautrollier was in London, he was still very closely connected to Parisian stationers. A big part of Vautrollier's book production was in French. In 1574 he even obtained a patent to print books by French Reformation writers and had a permission to employ foreigners for his work,⁶⁰ one of which, Guillaume Fortin,⁶¹ was no doubt of French origin. In 1579 he was an agent for Oudin Petit in England.⁶² In 1580 he printed a book with Hercules Francis,⁶³ another Huguenot printer mentioned before.

It is also known that Vautrollier was a representative at the succession of Gilles Godet,⁶⁴ another London printer working closely with Parisian publishers. Godet had Pierre L'Huillier as a guarantor (at the same time that L'Huillier collaborated with Fleury Prévost⁶⁵). Godet worked on the imprint of popular images after wooden plates of Baptiste Pellerin⁶⁶ and was also in collaboration with André Wechel, who was a neighbour of Le Roy and Ballard⁶⁷ and lived on the opposite side of Saint Jean de Beauvais Street in Paris. So Wechel could have known his neighbours personally. Between the end of August and beginning of September 1571, Vautrollier was in Paris, where he had to accomplish his duties as a representative of the successors of Gilles Godet. He apparently often travelled to the French capital and could have made the acquaintance of Le Roy and Ballard as well. If copying printing plates did not necessarily imply a personal acquaintance between two stationers, it might however indicate that they belonged to the same extended social circle.

As we have seen, the book market of that time was largely based on personal connections between stationers, as it was the only way to establish collaboration. Tied either by filiation or by familiarity, they formed a social network, in no way limited by one country's frontiers (*Fig.8*). Moreover, the richest stationers had agents in different cities and abroad, reinforcing these multiple links. Some of the instances of connections between stationers can be proved by archival documents, others can be indicated by the decoration of their editions. These cases, however, must be regarded with prudence, as the absence of copyright at that time simplified the copying of printing plates, and can make direct connection between two stationers uncertain.

60 LeFanu, pp. 12-25, p. 19.

61 Edward Arber (ed), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640*, (London: privately printed, 1875-1894), vol. II, p. 676.

62 Pallier, *Les victimes*, p. 145, p. 163.

63 Théodore de Bèze, *Psalmorum Davidis et aliorum prophetarum libri quinque...*, London, Thomas Vautrollier & impensis Hercules Francis, 1580, in-8°.

64 Grivel, 'Un graveur parisien...', p. 22.

65 Laurent Joubert, *Traicte des arbusades contenant la vraye essence du mal et sa propre curation...*, Paris, Fleury Prévost pour Pierre L'Huillier, 1570, in-8°, FB 31321.

66 Grivel, 'Un graveur parisien...', 5-22.

67 Philippe Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers, graveurs...ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600*, (Paris: H. Champion, 1901), p. 172.

During the sixteenth century, Paris was a larger printing centre than London. According to the USTC⁶⁸ database, the quantity of books printed in Paris from 1500 to 1600 was more than three times that of London. It is therefore unsurprising that French stationers were strongly interested in the English book market and that London booksellers were attracted by Parisian printing presses. The wars of religion made many French Protestant stationers move to England, reinforcing connections between the two countries. The examples of links between London and Paris printers and booksellers presented in this article are not simultaneous, but they cover almost all of the sixteenth century, showing the longevity of these connections and the importance of social networks as a driving force of Renaissance book production and trade.

68 Universal Short Title Catalogue

Annex

6 September 1564

[A contract between Richard Tottell and Fleury Prévost for the imprint of a 'book containing the form and the structure of the common laws of the kingdom of England'. Paris, Archives nationales, Minutier central, XI, 42]

Furent presens en leurs personnes Richard Tottyll, marchant libraire demourant en la ville de Londres en Engleterre d'une part et Fleury Prevost, marchant imprimeur bourgeois de Paris d'autre part lesquelles partyes de leurs bons grez etc. et en la presence de maistre Jehan Bernard demourant a Saint Germain des Prez lez Paris, rue de Tournon et Hercules Francois, libraire demourant a Paris, rue Saint Jehan de Latran entendans la langue angloise, appellez par lesdict de Tottill pour luy ayder de truchemens et estre presens a faire et passer le contenu en ces presentes, confesserent et confessent avoir fait les accordz entre eulx telz que ensuyvent, c'est assavoir que ledict Tottill qui par ci devant et dès huict jours a, ou environ, auroit convenu avec ledict Fleury Prevost pour l'impression d'un livre contenant la forme et ordre des loix communes du royaume d'Angleterre, depuis lequel temps auroit esté mandé audict Tottill qu'il n'eust a faire imprimer ledict livre sans ce que preallablement il ayt esté reveu par le Conseil dudict royaume, au moien de quoy luy convient retourner audict pais sans faire imprimer ledict livre combien que sur et tant moins de ladicte impression il eust païé et avancé audict Prevost dix angelotz d'or, a ledict Tottill accordé et accorde que ou cas qu'il ne retournast dudict pays d'Angeterre pour faire imprimer icelluy livre en France, oudict cas il a des a present donné et donne audict Prevost lesdictz dix angelotz d'or ainsy par luy avancez comme dict est, et ou cas que ledict Tottill fait imprimer ledict livre par ledict Prevost, icelluy Prevost sera tenu et promet suyvant l'accord verbail fait entre eulx de bien et deument imprimer et fait imprimer ledict livre en tel papier que ledict Tottill luy baillera et ce au pris et a la raison de cent cinq solz tournois pour chacune journee dudict Prevost et ses gens qu'ilz vacqueront a l'impression dudict livre ainsy que on a acoustumé de vacquer a impprimer livre en ceste ville et université de Paris, luy fournissant par ledict Tottill de coppie et correcteurs, sur peyne de paier par chacune journee pareille somme de cent cinq solz tournois, combien qu'il ne feust rien fait en ladicte impression par le deffault susdictz et, oudict cas, et que ledict Prevost imprime ledict livre, ledict Tottill a dès a present donné et donne audict Prevost cinq angelotz faisant moictié desdictz dix angelotz ainsy par luy

advancez audict Prevost, et quant a l'autre moictyé, elle sera comptee audict Prevost sur ladicte impression, et encores est accordé que ou cas que ledict Tottill face imprimer ledict livre en quelque ville de France, que ce soit par aultre que par ledict Prevost, en ce cas a ledict Tottill promis et promet bailler et paier audict Prevost ou au porteur etc. pour ses dommaiges et interestz la somme de trois cens escuz d'or soleil monnoye de France, et en cas semblable, si ledict Prevost estoit deffailant et ne vouloit imprimer ledict livre lors que ledict Tottill sera de retour dudict pays d'Angleterre, fournissant de sa part de tout ce que dessus, et (*sic*) ce cas sera aussy tenu et promet, ledict Prevost bailler et paier audict Tottill pareille somme de trois centz escuz d'or soleil pour sesdictz dommaiges et interestz. Car ainsy etc., Promectant etc., Obligant chacun endroit soy et l'un envers l'autre etc., Renonçant etc.. Faict et passé double l'an mil cinq cens soixante quatre, le mercredy sixiesme jour de septembre.

[Signed:] Fardeau, Perier

Illustrations

Fig. 1 – *Recueil du mellange d'Orlande de Lassus...*, London, Thomas Vautrollier, 1570, in-4° obl.

[<http://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/detail/FOLGERCM1~6~6~882228~158610:-Recueil-de-mellange--Recueil-du-me>]

Fig. 2 – *Mellange d'Orlande le Lassus...*, Paris, Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1570, in-4° obl.

[<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000158581&page=7>]

Fig. 3 – Initial letter S from the printing material of Le Roy and Ballard [<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000158581&page=114>]

and Vautrollier [<http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Document/CadresPage?O=NUMM-71977&I=6&M=chemindefer>]

Fig. 4 – Initial letter D belonging to Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard; [<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000158581&page=26>]

Initial letter G used by Thomas Vautrollier [[http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99849317&FILE=&SEARCHSCREEN=param\(SEARCHSCREEN\)&VID=14457&PAGENO=2&ZOOM=FIT&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=param\(DISPLAY\)&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=param\(HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD\)](http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99849317&FILE=&SEARCHSCREEN=param(SEARCHSCREEN)&VID=14457&PAGENO=2&ZOOM=FIT&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=param(DISPLAY)&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=param(HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD))]

Fig. 5 – Jean Cousin the Elder, Design for a decorative vessel (detail), 1559

[http://www.ensba.fr/ow2/catzarts/voir.xsp?id=00101-6069&qid=sd_x_q1&n=2&sf=&e=]

Fig. 6 – Initial letter E used by Le Roy and Ballard [<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000158581&page=18>]

[<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000158581&page=18>]

and by Thomas Vautrollier [[http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99837370&FILE=&SEARCHSCREEN=param\(SEARCHSCREEN\)&VID=1689&PAGENO=119&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=param\(DISPLAY\)&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=](http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99837370&FILE=&SEARCHSCREEN=param(SEARCHSCREEN)&VID=1689&PAGENO=119&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=param(DISPLAY)&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=)]

[[http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99837370&FILE=&SEARCHSCREEN=param\(SEARCHSCREEN\)&VID=1689&PAGENO=119&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=param\(DISPLAY\)&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=](http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99837370&FILE=&SEARCHSCREEN=param(SEARCHSCREEN)&VID=1689&PAGENO=119&ZOOM=&VIEWPORT=&SEARCHCONFIG=config.cfg&DISPLAY=param(DISPLAY)&HIGHLIGHT_KEYWORD=)]

Fig. 7 – Design of a mask by Baptiste Pellerin

