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This chapter is an analysis of French medical libraries in the Renaissance, and of the role played by Italian books within this social and cultural environment.¹ There are a number of reasons for picking these two samples – the French physicians, and the Italian books – and interweaving them into a single discussion. The connections between Italy and France in the early modern period were particularly intense, due to political and cultural reasons. In particular, the unfolding of the Italian Wars (1494-1559) saw a series of campaigns led with the objective of conquering parts of the Italian peninsula that the French monarchs perceived as part of their own heritage, such as Naples and Milan. The result of these contacts was not merely political; the French returned home accompanied by Italian artists and intellectuals, as well as carrying numerous objects such as paintings, sculptures, and books.² Italo-French exchanges are then added to the quite independent development of the medical discipline at the time. In the sixteenth century, medicine was reconsidering its authorities, its methodological approach and its place in society. Italian humanists played an important role within this development, inasmuch as they contributed new editions of the medical classics, first of all Galen. Concurrently, Italian universities were also highly regarded because of a number of innovative practices they introduced in the medical discipline. In order to undertake this study, all of these aspects had to be taken into account.

The materiality of the book, as well as the spatiality of its circulation and the sociality of the exchanges are all indispensable to our understanding of this case study. In considering Italian printed books, which were part of a wider French appreciation for Italian culture, we will explore the material implications of their ownership and the circulation of objects across territorial and linguistic borders. By choosing a specific professional group, physicians, these items are investigated through the lens of intellectual history, but also as objects with a clear social value. This study is thus an attempt to bring a number of distinct interpretive layers into a unifying perspective through an exploration of the concepts of spatiality, sociality and materiality.

The relationship between the Italian and the French book worlds has attracted much scholarly interest in recent years, with a few pioneering studies in specific areas. Systematic

¹ This essay originates from a wider investigation of the circulation and consumption of Italian books in French Renaissance libraries. It draws upon, and adds to, research undertaken for the author's doctoral thesis, 'The Circulation and Collection of Italian Printed Books in France in the Sixteenth Century' (St Andrews, 2015). This is currently being revised for publication under the title *Italian Books and the French Renaissance* (Leiden, 2018). It will be the first systematic study of the dissemination of Italian printed books in sixteenth-century France.

² Among the studies on political and cultural exchanges between the Italian and French territories during this period, see: *Echanges Religieux entre la France et l'Italie du Moyen Age à l'époque moderne*, eds. M. Maccarrone and A. Vauchez (Geneva, 1987); *Du Po à la Garonne: recherches sur les échanges culturels entre l'Italie et la France à la Renaissance*, eds. J. Cubelier de Beynac and M. Simonin (Agen, 1990); *La circulation des hommes et des oeuvres entre la France et l'Italie à l'époque de la Renaissance*, eds. J. Balsamo and C. Lastraioli (Paris, 1992); R. Cooper, *'Litterae in tempore belli': études sur les relations littéraires italo-françaises pendant les guerres d'Italie* (Geneva, 1997).

studies have thus far concentrated on printed output rather than collecting practices.³ The work of two scholars in particular has provided a foundation for the investigation of Italian books in early modern France. Nicole Bingen compiled two seminal bibliographies of imprints in the Italian vernacular issued by presses in Francophone territories.⁴ Bingen later remarked on the unique character of Italian language teaching in French-speaking lands, which she argued reflected the desire to read rather than speak Italian.⁵ This critical concept does not just help differentiate our understanding of Italianate fashion between France and other areas with a similarly strong Italian influence, such as the Low Countries, where Italian was learned for speaking purposes. It also defines the book as a main area of investigation for the study of Italian intellectual trends in France, as it was a main object of contact and exchange between the two regions. The second area of investigation has been translation. Jean Balsamo has published a comprehensive bibliography of translations from Italian into French in the sixteenth century.⁶ In his introduction to this work, Balsamo writes of ‘conquering’ another culture by owning it thanks to the principles of translation.⁷ This idea is not simply central to the translation process in itself, but essential to understand the way in which France absorbed Italian culture during the Renaissance.

The Italian peninsula, home to many collections of ancient manuscripts, was a crucial field of discovery and philological work; as such, it was held in great consideration by humanists throughout Christendom. For decades Italy continued to provide the best editions of the classics. Medicine was no exception to this rule. At the close of the fifteenth century, the discipline was being renewed through the re-evaluation of the classics, namely Galen and Hippocrates, and the development of new ways of reading them. The French awareness of the accomplishments of Italian humanism can be seen through the words of Wilhelm Copp, doctor of Louis XII, in his preface to the works of Paulus Aegineta. Having now regained so many of the classical texts thanks to Aldus Manutius, Copp wrote, it felt appropriate that other medical authors should also be reinstated to their former dignity.⁸ Many editions of the medical classics, such as Galen and Hippocrates, were printed in France following Italian editions as models. The philological work of Italian humanists such as Aldus Manutius, Niccolò Leonicensis or Lorenzo Laurenziano, who had contributed to the revision of the classical texts, was an integral part in these cultural exchanges within the medical discipline.⁹

³ However we are soon to expect comprehensive results from the project *EDITEF - L'édition italienne dans l'espace francophone à la première modernité*, directed by Chiara Lastraioli. This project is limited to the examination of books printed in the Italian vernacular only, but its geographical scope embraces all Francophone territories, and the whole period of the Ancien Régime.

⁴ These are *Le Maître italien (1510-1660). Bibliographie des ouvrages d'enseignement de la langue italienne destinés au public de langue française, suivie d'un Répertoire des ouvrages bilingues imprimés dans les pays de langue française* (Brussels, 1987) and *Philautone (1550-1660). Répertoire des ouvrages en langue italienne publiés dans les pays de langue française de 1500 à 1660* (Geneva, 1994).

⁵ Bingen, ‘L’insegnamento dell’italiano nei Paesi di lingua francese dal 1500 al 1660’, in *Italia ed Europa nella Linguistica del Rinascimento: Confronti e Relazioni*, ed. M. Tavoni (Ferrara, 1996), 419-442.

⁶ J. Balsamo, *Les traductions de l'italien en français au XVIe siècle* (Paris-Fasano, 2009).

⁷ Balsamo, *Les traductions*, p. 18.

⁸ The original is cited in R. J. Durling ‘A chronological census of Renaissance editions and translations of Galen’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 24 (1961), 230-305: 236-237.

⁹ For example, the title page of the *De differentiis febrilium libri duo* (1512), USTC 180678, stated that the text was translated “interprete Laurentio Laurentiano Florentino”. The dedicatory epistle, dated 1 January 1500 in

As the century grew older, the patterns of imitation and re-use of Italian medical texts evolved significantly. At the beginning of the century, French interest had revolved around Italian medical humanism and what it had accomplished. With time, the attention focus shifted from the old to the new, and interest in contemporary Italian authors, such as Giovanni Battista da Monte, Antonio Musa Brasavola or Pietro Andrea Mattioli, grew stronger.¹⁰ These authors were sought after for themselves, and not because, or at least not only because of the classics they provided access to. The French re-utilisation of these medical texts at that time was a testimony to the interest of the reading public in current progress; it was a testimony to the efficiency of a pan-European dissemination of ideas that was an intrinsic part of learning medicine in the early modern age. But the development of this textual imitation also illustrates the gradual detachment of French doctors from the Italian intermediation with the Greek classics. If in the early sixteenth century French humanism was looking at the Italian peninsula as a model and an authority in itself, in a few decades it acquired new independence. Great editions such as those by Jacques Dubois were influential in establishing the place of France in medical humanism; it was through the use, comparison and criticism of Italian scholarship, that French doctors and French presses created the greatest discussions about the classics of the medical discipline.

The circulation and consumption of Italian books – medical or not – in Renaissance France was thus the result of a combination of scholarly prestige and the material opportunity for exchange. The initial superiority of Italian scholars in medical humanism attracted the interest of their French counterparts, and prompted an intellectual dialogue of imitation and criticism. The circulation of books as material objects was accompanied by the mobility of people, through the geographical landscape but also through society. The books in motion discussed here thus truly reflect the exchange of ideas, as well as that of material repositories of knowledge. Italian books were not just texts, but conveyors and symbols of that very culture that the French attempted to conquer. The concept of materiality takes a series of layers: the materiality of the text and its use; the circulation of the physical objects within and beyond the book trade, as part of the action of intellectual networks; uses of the books beyond their value as texts.

In a way, therefore, this is not simply the study of a sample of objects within a specific social and territorial group. This essay investigates how these Italian books were perceived, through our understanding of their circulation, to what extent they were being sought after, if they were deemed worthy of being turned into a gift. It looks at individual cases that shed light upon patterns of consumption within different social spaces. The

Venice, was also signed by Laurenziano, and in all likelihood recycled from an earlier edition, now presumably lost. The first (almost) complete edition of Galen, the 1525 version published by the Aldine firm, continued to form the main reference for any student of Galen for centuries, despite actually being incomplete. Refer to V. Nutton, 'The fortunes of Galen', in *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, ed. R. J. Hankinson (Cambridge, 2008), 355-90. The Aldine text of Galen was still in use well into the nineteenth century. Also see Durling, 'A chronological census', 236-42.

¹⁰ For instance, the works by Pietro Andrea Mattioli underwent a considerable number of French editions – almost as many in France as there were in Italy. Twenty-five editions of Mattioli were printed in France, thirteen in French and twelve in Latin. Figures from USTC, last accessed on 8 May 2016.

investigation draws principally upon two types of sources: marks of provenance on surviving books, as well as probate inventories.

Movement of people, movement of books

Student mobility in the early modern age was a common phenomenon. It was not unusual for students to attend two or three different institutions, often across borders. Latin, particularly in the higher faculties of theology, law, and medicine, continued to serve as a lingua franca that allowed successful scholarly communication throughout Europe. Mobility could be motivated by intellectual interest, such as the desire to follow the lectures of a certain professor,¹¹ or by financial concerns. In the case where graduating was particularly expensive at a certain university, for instance, a student might follow the lectures in one place, but formally acquire their degree elsewhere.¹² Italian universities were highly regarded and attracted numerous French students.¹³ The Universities of Bologna and – before 1525 – Pavia were held in high consideration for legal studies. Ferrara also attracted a considerable number of French students. Nonetheless Padua knew no rivals in popularity among Francophone students in the sixteenth century. Nicole Bingen has counted as many as 481 French students attending the *Studium Patavinum*, followed by 305 for Pavia and 220 for Ferrara.¹⁴

When we look at the material changes occurred in academic practices in the Renaissance, the primacy of Padua as a trendsetter in medical studies, and its attraction for French physicians, is indisputable.¹⁵ It was at Padua that the first botanical garden for educational purposes was established; the apothecaries in Paris followed with one of their own only in 1578, a quarter of a century later.¹⁶ It was also at Padua that empirical medicine began to acquire substantial importance with the construction of the first lecture theatres for anatomic dissections that could be witnessed by a large public.¹⁷ Lectures were increasingly supplemented with practical visits to the Hospital of St Francis, which became part of the teaching routine with Giambattista da Monte in the early 1540s.¹⁸ And it was at Padua,

¹¹ J. Balsamo, 'Le voyage d'Italie et la formation des élites françaises', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 27 (2003), 10.

¹² N. Bingen, 'Les étudiants de langue française dans les universités italiennes à la Renaissance: mise à jour du recensement et analyse des données', in *Les échanges entre les universités européennes*, ed. M. Bideaux and M.M. Fragonard (Geneva, 2003), 38.

¹³ Legal studies were by far the most popular among French students, plausibly because jurisprudence was not taught at Paris. See Balsamo, 'Le voyage d'Italie', 10.

¹⁴ Bingen, 'Les étudiants de langue française', 27. Bingen counted only 123 French students for the University of Bologna, oldest in Europe and of great renown; however, this is probably rather due to the paucity of documents. These figures will certainly need readjusted once Bingen's work *Recensement des étudiants français, francs-comtois et savoyards de langue française dans les universités italiennes de 1480 à 1599* (Geneva, forthcoming) will appear in publication.

¹⁵ That is, despite the fact that Padua was simultaneously a great centre of Galenism. For a discussion of this complex dynamic see J. J. Bylebyl, 'Padua and humanistic medicine', in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. C. Webster (Cambridge, 1979), 335-70.

¹⁶ L. Brockliss and C. Jones, *The medical world of early modern France* (Oxford, 1997), 103. The primacy for the first botanical garden is disputed by the University of Pisa.

¹⁷ For France, see Brockliss and Jones, *The medical world*, p. 102.

¹⁸ Bylebyl, 'Padua and humanistic medicine', 346-8.

between 1540 and 1542, that Andreas Vesalius conducted his anatomical research, which led to the publication of his *De humani corporis fabrica* in 1543.¹⁹ All of these factors made studying in Italy particularly appealing to French medical students.

Purchasing books when travelling abroad was common. Although few Renaissance book owners annotated their copies with a note of purchase, some surviving items bear traces of their provenance.²⁰ To the owner, books represent the long-lasting memories of important life experiences, and similar sentiments often transpire from early modern provenances. Significantly, French doctor Juste Laigneau used to sign his books as ‘Juste Laigneau Dr en medecine de Padoue’. A few Italian imprints from his collection, all medical texts in Latin, have surfaced in French libraries. An *Introductorium ad opus practicum medicinae*, printed in Pavia in 1494, was purchased there by him in 1518.²¹ Two early Venetian editions that also belonged to him, carrying the same inscription, are now at the Municipal Library in Orléans.²² The mention ‘de Padoue’ as part of Laigneau’s signature was obviously an important detail, despite the French origin of the owner. His time in Padua had become part of his identity, and certainly part of his professional persona, as he felt the importance of distinguishing *where* he had completed his studies.

It was obviously necessary for students to purchase texts to use for their courses. However, like many items that were used on a regular basis, these books do not survive particularly well. One volume of particular interest, purchased by a student of medicine in Padua, is now preserved in Lyon.²³ It is a collection of short medical tracts, orations and dissertations, mostly issued by the press of Lorenzo Pasquato in Padua; as in so many other similar cases, the *Sammelband* structure is what ensured their survival.²⁴ These are all very rare items, excepted for the first printed text, a fairly common edition by Comin da Trino and the only Venetian imprint. The printed items were accompanied by two manuscript texts: a lecture delivered by renowned doctor Girolamo Mercuriale in Padua in 1569, and an oration

¹⁹ Nutton, ‘Fortunes of Galen’, 376.

²⁰ For instance, for legal libraries, see P. Aquilon and D. Hillard, ‘La bibliothèque de Michel de Chamelet, Juriste Bourbonnais’, in *Le livre et l’historien: études offertes en l’honneur du Professeur Henri-Jean Martin*, eds. F. Barbier, A. Parent-Charon and F. Dupuigrenet (Geneva, 1997), 95-110 and S. Graheli, ‘Building a library across early modern Europe. The network of Claude Expilly’, in *International Exchange in the European Book World*, ed. M. McLean and S. Barker (Leiden, 2016).

²¹ Paris Mazarine, Inc. 779 (1), USTC 997056.

²² Orléans BM, Rés. C. 1588.1-3.

²³ Lyon BM, Ms 314 and Res. B 496259-496268 (each piece is catalogued separately).

²⁴ The volume comprises, in order of appearance: Ms 314: *Hieronimi Mercurialis oratio in Collegio Patauino habita M. D. LXIX* (ms.); *Bartholomaeo Arnigio viro doctissimo Hieronymus Mercurialis* (ms.); Res. B 496259: *De uentis et nauigatione libellus* (Venezia, Comin da Trino, 1546), USTC 814568; Res. B 496260: *Ex templo Palladis et Aesculapii varia theoremata* (Padova, Lorenzo Pasquato, 1570), USTC 827038; Res. B 496261: *Theoremata de rerum naturalium principijs* (Padova, s.n., 1564), USTC 834840; Res. B 496262: *Haec theoremata publice discutienda* (Padova, Lorenzo Pasquato, 1565), USTC 870022; Res. B 496263: *Theoremata cum ad praecipuas, tum etiam ad instrumentarias disciplinas attinentia* (Padova, Lorenzo Pasquato, 1573), USTC 816731; Res. B 496264: *Proposita varia ex logicae, philosophiae, medicinaeque disciplina in florentissimo gymnasio Patauino* (Padova, Lorenzo Pasquato, 1574), USTC 870049; Res. B 496265: *Dogmata haec ex uariis philosophiae et medicinae locis deprompta publice disputanda* (Padova, Lorenzo Pasquato, 1573), USTC 816720; Res. B 496266: *Theoremata logici negotii* (Padova, Lorenzo Pasquato, 1573), USTC 861103; Res. B 496267: *Theoremata ex uariis naturalis philosophiae ac medicinae* (Padova, Lorenzo Pasquato, 1573); Res. B 496268: *Theoremata haec de humana perfectione ueritatis indagatoribus discutienda* (Padova, Lorenzo Pasquato, 1573), USTC 818261.

addressed to Mercuriale himself in 1574. The manuscripts are in two different hands, and the two signed ex-libris found in the volume do not match either of the texts; however, an anonymous note on the first endleaf matches the hand that transcribed Mercuriale's lecture.²⁵ It was a Scotsman who then purchased the volume, probably adding the second manuscript, in 1574.²⁶ We can only speculate how it later came into the hands of Giovanni Francesco Gambaldi, a doctor active in the Forez region in the south of France, but originally from the Italian region of Piemonte.

Training and study was not the only time of mobility in the life of physicians. Those who attended to the health of wealthy patients sometimes had the privilege of travelling with them. Many French doctors travelled to Italy in this way. Marc Miron followed Henri d'Anjou, later to become King Henri III, to Poland and afterwards to Venice on his return journey to France.²⁷ François Rabelais travelled to Rome with cardinal Jean du Bellay in the capacity of his physician on various occasions. At least for the latter, we know that many books and pamphlets were purchased in Italy, both for his own library and for his friends. His copy of the Aldine Galen is now preserved at the University Library in Sheffield. He also purchased less prestigious texts, such as *avvisi* or almanachs, in Italy.²⁸ The prominent medical humanist Symphorien Champier travelled to Italy with Antoine de Lorraine; in the aftermath of the battle of Marignano he received a doctorate from the University of Pavia.²⁹ Champier also strived, and succeeded, to obtain the doctorate for Hyppolite d'Aultreppe, surgeon of Antoine de Lorraine, who had no Latin at all. This event is illuminating to our understanding of the French interest in Italian medical practices, and how this professional interest was interlocked with the complex nuances of French appreciation for Italian culture. Champier and d'Aultreppe arrived to Pavia as French conquerors, yet they were conquered themselves by the Italian culture.

Medical Networks, Books as Gifts, and the Second Hand Market

French printing in the sixteenth century was centred around Paris and Lyon. The printed production of medical books in the periphery was negligible. Bookselling in the provinces was a thriving business, as demonstrated by Paul Nelles and Malcolm Walsby, among others.³⁰ The establishment of ancillary bookshops by some of the great publishing houses, such as the Marnef or L'Angelier, ensured that books could be dispatched throughout France at very little cost. Evidence from trade in the Loire region is a case in point: unbound books

²⁵ The note looks like it was meant to be a text in two columns, listing diet remedies, each serially numbered. But we only have number 1 and 2, with 3 drawn but no text attached.

²⁶ The inscription on the recto of the first endleaf reads: 'Ex voluminibus Farrelli Scoti Medici 1574'.

²⁷ P. Champion, 'La maison et l'entourage d'Henri III en Pologne', *Humanisme et Renaissance*, 7.3 (1940), 286-308; 287.

²⁸ Cooper, *Rabelais et l'Italie* (Geneva, 1991). For Rabelais's copy of Galen, see V. Nutton, 'Rabelais's copy of Galen', *Etudes Rabelaisiennes*, 22 (1988), 181-7. The copy is Sheffield University Library, f.882*.

²⁹ Bingen, 'Les étudiants de langue française', 37.

³⁰ P. Nelles, 'Stocking a Library: Montaigne, the Market, and the Diffusion of Print', in *La Librairie de Montaigne*, ed. P. Ford and N. Kenny (Cambridge, 2012), 1-24; M. Walsby, *The Printed Book in Brittany, 1484-1600* (Leiden, 2011).

were virtually always exempt from toll payments; on the other hand, bound books were taxed at key locations.³¹ It is only natural, however, that the availability of foreign imprints should not be as diversified as that of the French output. Books by the bale could circulate easily when in France, but other territories had more substantial tolls applied at their borders, which made the books proportionally more expensive.³² Therefore it was not convenient for the publisher or bookseller to send a large number and choice of books to France without knowing that they would sell; only the wealthiest could take such risk, or those with well-established trade connections, such as the Giunta or the Gabiano in Lyon.³³ This does not mean that foreign – in this case, Italian – books were not present in the French periphery; many examples survive that document the opposite.³⁴ But they might be more expensive, depending on their origin, or the choice might be more limited. Thus, in the case of items that were hard to come by, informal networks of exchange were essential in ensuring the circulation of Italian books. Extensive evidence for this is found in second-hand items. Various imprints now at the Municipal Library in Troyes, for instance, bear the signs of a long series of exchanges among French physicians. The *De fato, et de eo quod est in nostra potestate*, by Alexander Aphrodisiensis, printed in Lyon in 1544, had changed hands three times by the end of the sixteenth century, as appears from palaeographical evidence.³⁵ It was not a particularly desirable copy: it was a small octavo, in a limp parchment binding.³⁶

Numerous cases exist of similar chains of ownership, often involving books modest in size or appearance.³⁷ In other cases, more substantial volumes were the object of several changes of ownership. The Troyes copy of Johannes Philoponus's commentary of Aristotle's *De anima*, for instance, was a large folio edition in Greek.³⁸ As a text it was common in French medical libraries, but expensive, given the size and the language, thus a good bargain for the second-hand market. Equally, the *Luminare maius super Mesue* was found repeatedly in medical libraries throughout the sixteenth and even the seventeenth century. The 1501 Venetian edition now at the Municipal Library in Mende passed through three different owners before passing into the library of the Fathers of the Christian Doctrine, likely by donation.³⁹

It was not uncommon for physicians to borrow books; exploring the case of fifteenth-century Florence, Katherine Park shows that it was a common practice.⁴⁰ In that case, medical libraries were shown to contain mostly Latin manuscripts, while borrowed

³¹ S. Graheli, 'La circolazione libraria lungo la Loira nel Rinascimento: il caso del libro italiano', in *Il Libro e le Sue Reti*, ed. L. Baldacchini (Ravenna, 2015), 69-86: 83-4.

³² Evidence for this appears in many instances in the probate inventories that represent the object of the last section.

³³ Graheli, 'The Circulation and Collection', 21-43.

³⁴ The case of Hernando Colón book-shopping in the south of France is an excellent example. See K. Wagner, 'Le commerce du livre en France au début du XVI^e siècle d'après les notes manuscrites de Fernando Colomb', *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (1992), 305-329.

³⁵ Troyes BM, q.14.1035. USTC 149138.

³⁶ The signatures are: 'Sum Claudi fabri medici et astrophili, emptus 4 assibus', 'Prevost' and 'Robin'.

³⁷ For instance, among the medical provenances at Troyes, see: r.6.1533; y.13.2312; r.2.1336; r.18.458; q.17.1240; Incunable 471.

³⁸ Troyes BM, q.3.524.

³⁹ Mende BM, D 7.

⁴⁰ K. Park, *Doctors and medicine in early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, 1985), 195.

items were mostly non-medical texts in the Italian vernacular. These were not as common in the practitioners' libraries, Park suggests, because their high cost imposed the necessity of selecting texts that were most relevant to one's profession. Other books could still be borrowed. Financial constraint thus had a catalyst action over the creation of a meta-library, represented by collections available within a given social network. The case of the French provinces shares some similarities.

Where certain items were not as readily available – whether it was due to financial constraint, as in the Florentine case described by Park, or to a marketplace of somewhat lesser standard, as that for foreign imprints in peripheral France – books would more easily become the object of exchange, sale and lending. In other words, necessity forced to diversify and complement the trade with informal networks. This may prove equally true of the centres, if the specific requirements of a buyer were more exacting than what the local book trade could cater for. Humanist book-collector Claude Dupuy in Paris, for instance, only cared for pristine new books, which he could not easily find even in the French capital; his friend Gian Vincenzo Pinelli sourced them out for him from Padua.⁴¹ The spatiality of the periphery, with limited opportunity for first-hand purchases of foreign books, created specific conditions for the life of early modern libraries; they were here more similar to fluid entities than cumulative repositories.

The marks on the books owned by Forez physician Gambaldi represent a case in support of this concept. The circulation of second-hand books was a crucial part of the knowledge exchange between Gambaldi and his circle. His ex-libris often appears in association with others, to signify the importance of material exchanges as part of the circulation of knowledge. For instance in 1599, his latest known date of activity, he gave a Froben edition of Aetius to his French son-in-law, the physician Pancrace Marcellin.⁴² Even as a used book, an edition printed by Froben retained prestige value. But the frequent exchanges between Gambaldi and his colleague and friend Claude de la Roue represent even more of a case in point. Both active in the Forez region, it was not unusual that they would swap volumes or even sell each other books they owned. That is the case with a Lyonnais edition of Giovanni Matteo Ferrari da Gradi and another of Dioscorides, which carry both Gambaldi's and De La Roue's signatures.⁴³ But the most interesting item is a Florentine edition of the *Ricettario medicinale*, which also bears a price: the upper counterplate, with de la Roue's ex-libris, reads 'Mons.r Gambalde me la vendu 45 ss'.⁴⁴

The two doctors were part of the intellectual circle gathered around the d'Urfé family, one of the most 'Italophile' households in the French provinces,⁴⁵ and surrounded by

⁴¹ G. V. Pinelli and C. Dupuy, *Une correspondance entre deux humanistes*, ed. A. M. Raugé (Florence, 2001), 2 vols. C. Lastraioli, 'Une correspondance érudite. Les lettres de Giovan Vincenzo Pinelli', in *L'epistolaire au XVIIe siècle, actes de la journée Saulnier 2000* (Paris, 2001), 165-178. Also see Graheli, 'The Circulation and Collection', 93-103.

⁴² Lyon BM, 107373.

⁴³ Lyon BM, Rés 105622 and Rés 403033 respectively.

⁴⁴ Roanne BM, R fol 62 (USTC 857272).

⁴⁵ The Chateau de la Bastie was one of the great manifestations of Italianate architectural taste in the French province. The library of Claude d'Urfé is thought to have contained around 4,000 books. See Annie Charon-

other intellectuals such as French jurist Jean Papon. This environment created social and spatial occasion for intellectual and material exchanges to take place: and the cultural interests of the d'Urfé household no doubt encouraged the development of Italianate taste. Forez was also more exposed than other regions to the culture imported from the Italian peninsula. Some prominent Lyon banking families of Italian origin, such as the Guadagni or the Capponi, were land-owners in the region.⁴⁶ A number of Italian intellectuals and artists sought patronage there, particularly from the d'Urfé family.⁴⁷ The circulation of Italian editions is also a manifestation of cultural links between the two territories, and the value attributed to these objects in a region where Italians or Italophiles were among the wealthiest. In addition, the exchange and sale of books between physicians was also part of a wider sense of participation to the humanist ideals of the Republic of Letters. As Natalie Zemon Davis has pointed out, books were more than just a commodity. They were material objects but also the carriers of knowledge, and as such they should be subject to fair dealings and to a just price.⁴⁸ The circulation of books within and beyond the commercial market has to be seen as a transaction of monetary value as much as an integral part of the intellectual exchange. It was regulated by rules of exchange, as in the case of a private sale, as well as a moral, professional code; it is not surprising, therefore, that this was not a uniform phenomenon, but may take the form of borrowing, swapping, gifting and selling. Whichever the shape it took, the exchange of second-hand texts was therefore not simply a utilitarian practice, but also a mutual sign of recognition and belonging to what we could call, with Owen Gingerich's words, an 'invisible college'.⁴⁹

Second-hand books likely also serve a more earthly purpose as a form of payment in kind. At a time when barter was still a common habit, this may have been more frequent than scholarship has thus far allowed. For instance, the payment of toll duties in the form of a *chef d'oeuvre* – one unit from the load – was typical for the book trade throughout the Loire regions.⁵⁰ It appears that this was not unusual in the case of provincial doctors, who would occasionally receive payment in the form of a book.⁵¹ This was possibly also the case of the 1488 Venetian edition of St Jerome's *Epistolae*, published by Andrea Torresano and now in Lyon. An inscription provides insight into the circumstances of the gift: 'Madame de la Coste a fait present liberal en pur don de ce livre de St. Hyerosme au sieur Bertin docteur medecin ce 10 juillet'.⁵² The book had already exchanged owners at least once by the time it was

Parent, 'Les grands collections du XVIe siècle', in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, C. Jolly (Paris, 2008), tome II, 99. Richard Cooper has discussed the Chateau de la Bastie in his *Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France, 1515–65* (Farnham, 2013), 160 and notes, mentioning in particular the import of a vast number of sculptures from Rome at the time of d'Urfé's ambassadorship.

⁴⁶ C. Longeon, *Une province française à la Renaissance: la vie intellectuelle en Forez au XVIe siècle* (Saint-Étienne, 1975), 365.

⁴⁷ Longeon, *Une province française*, 369.

⁴⁸ N. Z. Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2000), 76-77.

⁴⁹ O. Gingerich, *The Book Nobody Read. Chasing the Revolutions of Nicolaus Copernicus* (London, 2005), pp. 178-179.

⁵⁰ Graheli, 'La circolazione libraria lungo la Loira nel Rinascimento'.

⁵¹ Longeon, *Une province française*, 154. Various cases are cited here of payments given to both Claude de la Roue and Gambaldi.

⁵² Lyon BM, SJ Inc a 006. f. 2r.

offered to Bertin, as an earlier provenance found in its pages suggests.⁵³ Indeed, although the ex-dono by Madame de la Coste is not dated, the handwriting indicates that the book must have been at least fifty years old when Bertin received it. The book had retained a significant value, certainly because of the text it contained, and possibly also because Andrea Torresani, as well as a prolific publisher in his own right, was also the father-in-law of Aldus Manutius, whose printed editions had been particularly important in conveying the discoveries of Italian humanism to France.⁵⁴

The prestige attached to Italian books in sixteenth-century France may explain why, even decades after their date of publication, and after many different owners, they were still deemed worthy gifts. A *Historia naturalis* by Pliny, printed in 1499, was given as a gift to a 'Coutard' in 1574 by Joannes Magnus, Professor at Clermont.⁵⁵ This was possibly a teacher-pupil gift, as a gratification for academic efforts. Similarly, François Rasse des Neux received an *Introduitorio nuovo intitulado Corona preciosa per imparare, leggere, scrivere, parlare & intendere la lingua greca volgare et literale & la lingua latina, & il volgare italico*, gift of 'D. Tusani regii professoris'.⁵⁶ The same was not necessarily true of actual market evaluations of the same books, which dropped significantly as soon as they were classed as 'vieulx'. Rasse des Neux also received a precious gift from Albisse Delbene, a well known Italian banker and advisor to Francis I. It was a volume of Francesco Gafurio's *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum*.⁵⁷ What is of particular interest here is the circle from which these last gifts came. Rasse des Neux, doctor to Catherine de' Medici, was obviously acquainted with people like Delbene, who was himself a personal friend of eminent scholars such as Joseph-Juste Scaliger and Jacques-Auguste de Thou.⁵⁸

French doctors continued, well into the seventeenth century and beyond, to engage in intellectual networks. A series of factors had undoubtedly contributed to create this framework. The unfolding of the Italian Wars over more than sixty years had incremented a dialogue with Italian intellectual culture and its practices, acting as a catalyst to the already established student mobility throughout Europe. The development of philological methods and studies was one aspect of particular importance; on the one hand it elevated the medical profession to a higher rank, at the very time when it was lowering itself by welcoming more practical approaches. On the other hand, medical humanism attracted the interest and the support of the French crown, which obviously meant being closer to power and to patronage. When Italian surgeon Guido Guidi was sent to Francis I with an illustrious manuscript from the collection of Niccolò Ridolfi, he received a great welcome, and a chair of medicine was

⁵³ Colophon page: 'Pro Adriano De Monthalland'.

⁵⁴ Graheli, 'The Circulation and Collection', 72-85.

⁵⁵ Montpellier BIU, B 1728.

⁵⁶ Paris BnF, Res. X- 1705, cited in Veyrin-Forrer, Rasse des Neux, no. 1.

⁵⁷ J. Veyrin-Forrer, 'Provenances italiennes dans la Bibliothèque de François Rasse des Neux', in *Libri, tipografi, biblioteche. Ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo*, ed. A. Ganda and E. Grignani (Florence, 1998), 385-98: 387 and note 8; copy now at Paris Arsenal, 4 S- 4604 Res.

⁵⁸ I. de Smet, 'Thuanus ille Philiatier, ou Médecins, robins, et poètes aux temps des Guerres de Religion (le cas de Jacques-Auguste de Thou)', *Seizième Siècle*, 1 (2005), 267-88.

immediately created for him at the Collège Royal in Paris.⁵⁹ No French doctor had yet received the honour. It was a clear message to signify the change of attitude towards the medical discipline when it was attached to humanist practices. Unsurprisingly, the doctors attached to the French court developed a taste for Italianate culture, just the same way as court secretaries, counsellors and painters. Italian books were not simply a fashion of the day, but were also perceived as a means of social elevation.

Books for Reading, Books for Display. Evidence from the *inventaires après décès*

Any scholar who regularly works with marks of provenance as their main source of evidence is aware that this is a time-consuming way of establishing patterns of book use. The information derived from this is of the highest standard, if we want to understand exactly how early modern books were used and perceived by their owners. Uses of the book that can be inferred through textual studies can be materially seen when we undertake research on early printed books that carry provenance information. By examining the state of preservation of a book, the quality of the binding, the frequency and quality of the annotations, we have tangible, direct testimony of how it was utilised in the past. In many cases, this is also the sole evidence we can have. A case in point is that of Rasse Des Neux, whose widow did not allow a detailed inventory of his books to be made, arguably because there might have been prohibited texts among them.⁶⁰ In the case of Rasse des Neux we have, in fact, been able to reconstruct a significant part of his lost library, thanks to his habitual notes of purchase, but even in such an exceptional case, we are left with fragments, and a very partial view of lost libraries.⁶¹ Therefore probate inventories often result in the best source to understand the broader scope of individual libraries, despite the fact that the evidence they provide is lacking in detail and completeness.

This last section looks at the presence of Italian imprints in the probate inventories (*inventaires après décès*) of Parisian medical doctors. This work has been done by revisiting Françoise Lehoux's *La cadre de vie des médecins parisiens*.⁶² This seminal study examined the lives of early modern Parisian doctors from their *inventaires après décès*. Lehoux investigated the birth and death, education, social standing, and possessions of over sixty physicians. The study encompassed their property, furniture and, of importance here, their books, providing a comprehensive view of a French doctor's life in the early modern period. What Lehoux did not have forty years ago were more refined tools of analysis which would have eased the process of comparison, and are now available thanks to new digital technologies. Some of the inventories used by Lehoux have here been re-examined first-hand and entered in a database, from which the data was manipulated in a variety of different

⁵⁹ See Cesare Preti's biography of Guidi in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960-) (henceforth: *DBI*), 61 (2004).

⁶⁰ Veyrin-Forrer, 'Provenances italiennes', 386.

⁶¹ An updated census has been provided in F. Rouget, 'Le chirurgien et ses livres: Complément d'enquête sur la bibliothèque de François Rasse des Neux (ca 1525-1587)' in *Les labyrinthes de l'esprit. Collections et bibliothèques à la Renaissance*, ed. R. Gorriss Camos and A. Vanautgarden (Geneva, 2015), 421-471.

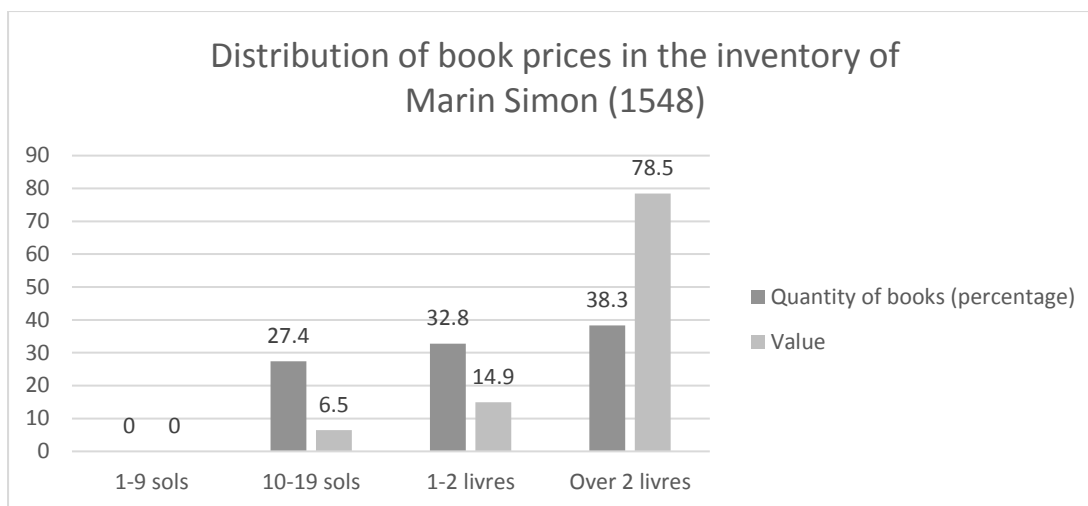
⁶² F. Lehoux, *La cadre de vie des médecins parisiens aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris, 1976).

ways. For this piece, data has been harvested from the inventories of thirteen doctors, redacted between 1548 and 1628, all *docteurs ordinaires du roi*, or personal doctors of patients close to the court.⁶³ Obviously, inventories being compiled by different people and at different times, they are not consistent in the quality of the data they provide. Not all of them, for instance, contain format information (present for two-thirds of the records) or information about the binding (a little over forty percent); few contain explicit information about language (one-eighth); rare are those records that refer to the printer or the date. Only one piece of data was consistently given for all the records, and that was the estimate of their value established by the *libraire jurés* of the University of Paris – who had exclusive license to evaluate books for probate inventories. The price assigned to each item by the *libraire juré* was thus chosen as the unit of comparison; not only does it allow records to be compared to each other, but it also indicates the monetary value attributed to each material item at one point in time.⁶⁴

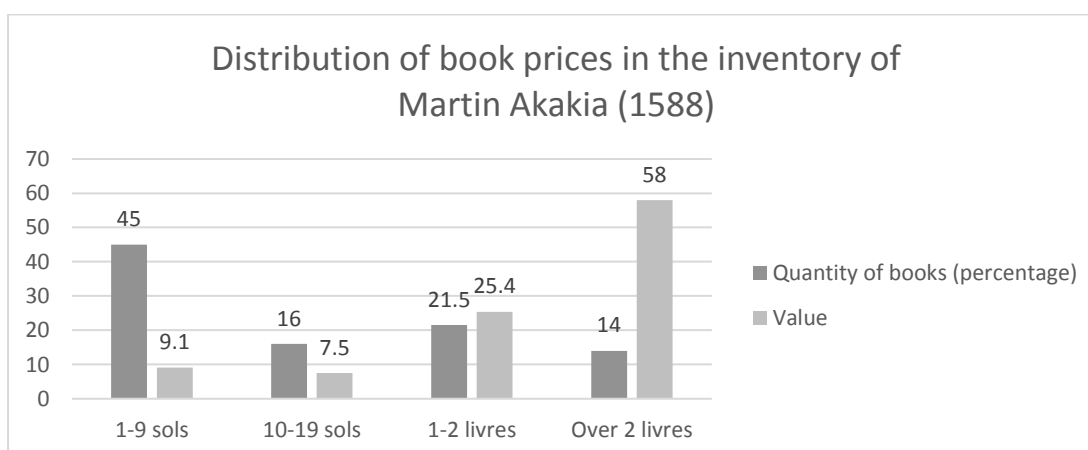
The examination of the price estimates, in association with at least some other aspects of the materiality of the book, such as the quality of the binding or the decoration, can provide strong evidence about early-modern libraries. It is important that we know what to look for amidst the normally scant information offered by probate inventories in order to make sense of the estimates. Do we have information about the binding and the format? Do we know when the edition was printed? Are there any special features to the volume, such as hand-painted images? A systematic examination of data thus gathered offers general insights into a collector's books as a corpus. It may ultimately lead to ask ourselves: what kind of library did individual doctors have? Did they own a reading library, rich in content but not in the appearance of its volumes, or a library for visual display? If we look for instance at the inventory of Marin Simon, made in 1548, we find that none of his volumes were estimated at less than 10 sols. About one third of the items were estimated at under 20 sols, another third at between one and two *livres tournois*, and a little over a third at more than 2 *livres*. How this translates in terms of effective book values is an exponential curve that sees almost eighty percent of the total estimate assigned to the last group.

⁶³ ANMC, XXXIII, 20. Marin Simon (1548); ANMC, III, 442. Pierre Ravyn (1584); ANMC XXIV, 136. Martin II Akakia (1588); ANMC, LXXVIII, 155. Claude Cousin, femme de Charles Millot (1591); ANMC, LXXXVI, 168. Bonaventure Granger (1595); ANMC, CIX, 57. Jehan Rochon (1596); ANMC, XLV, 162. Girarde Brouet, femme de Guillaume Lusson (1600); ANMC CV, 98. Michel Marescot (1605); ANMC, XIV, 1. Jacques d'Amboise (1607); ANMC, XIV, 1. Gilles Heron (1608); ANMC, CV, 232. Georges Cornuty (1616); ANMC, III, 508. Simon Pietre (1618); ANMC, 24, 297. Jean Heroard (1628).

⁶⁴ In order to make the records comparable, the estimates were all rendered in deniers, the smallest unit in French accounting currency during the period considered. This method has been applied to others for similar investigations. See C. Dondi and N. Harris, 'Oil and Green Ginger. The Zornale of the Venetian Bookseller Francesco de Madiis, 1484–1488', in *Documenting the Early-Modern Book World*, eds. Walsby and Constantinidou, 341–406; G. Kemp, 'The English Term Catalogues', in *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe*, ed. S. Graheli (Leiden, 2017).



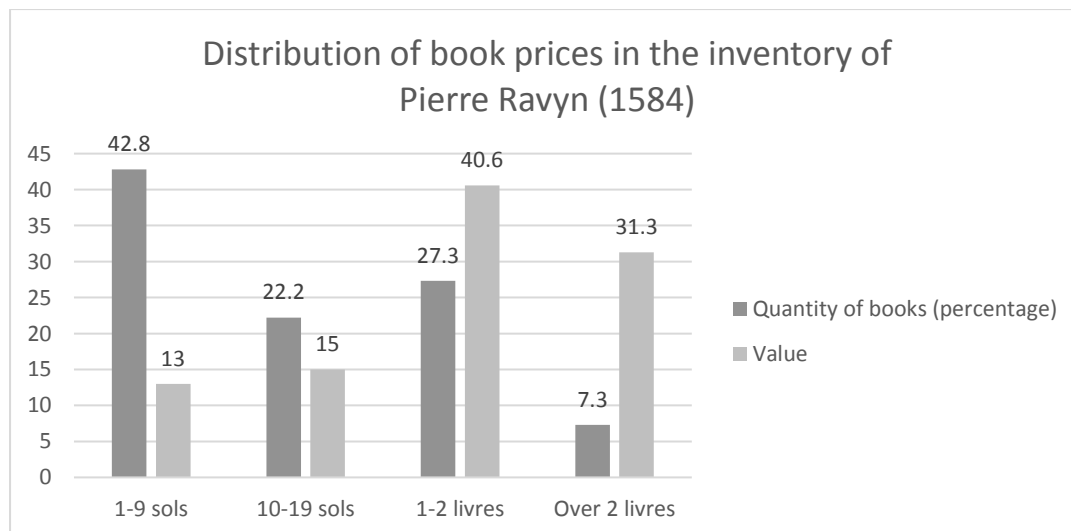
In the case of Martin Akakia, who died in 1588, the distribution of the books is more striking. Almost half his books were estimated at 9 sols or less, yet they did not even make up for ten percent of the whole value. Mid-ground volumes worth between half a livre and two livres accounted for almost forty percent of the collection in terms of quantity, and just over one third of the overall value. But the valuable books, smaller than any other category, amounted to almost sixty percent of the total value. In other words, Akakia owned many cheap items, meant for every-day use, but at the same time he had invested in a small number of very expensive volumes. Over one-tenth of the collection's overall value was occupied by three items. These were the works of Conrad Gessner, estimated at 10 *livres tournois*, and two Italian editions: a 'Nicolaus florentinus' and the Aldine Galen, both valued at 8 *livres tournois*. The estimate for these three items does not simply indicate that the printing and the paper were of fine quality. The copies themselves must have been bound expensively, which shows that they were held in high consideration.



The most valuable items in most collections were usually those with plates, illustrations, or Greek texts. The inventory of Michel Marescot, drawn in 1605, shows similar patterns to that of Akakia. Inflation rates mean that the cheapest items are now worth between ten and twenty sols, but that is the only substantial difference in patterns. Most valued than any other item in Marescot's collection were a Venetian edition of Galen, printed in Latin, and the *Historia plantarum* by Jacques Dalechamps (both 20 livres). A Greek edition of

Galen printed in Basel followed at 18 livres. Two botanical texts published in Antwerp, a Nicolaus Florentinus and a Venetian edition of Avicenna also belonged to the top tier of this collection. Vincenzo Valgrisi's edition of Pietro Mattioli's edition of Dioscorides, common in French medical libraries, was estimated at 4 livres 10 sols.

The editions of Mattioli's text present in the more substantial library of Pierre Ravyn (1584) received a far lower estimate, at 1 livre for a French Dioscorides, and 1 livre 20 sols for his *Epistolae*. Ravyn's copy of Nicolaus Florentinus, on the other hand, was the second most expensive item in his library, estimated at 7 livres tournois. But the majority of the Italian editions present in Ravyn's collection were cheap books, often estimated by bookseller Pierre Drouart at less than 20 sols. Some of these were second-hand medical texts, such as his *Practica Arculani* (18 sols), the *De peste* by Girolamo Mercuriale (10 sols) or Ugo Benzi's commentary of Galen's *Librum segni* (5 sols). Many of these are indeed marked as 'vieulx', which usually meant either second hand, or defined an old imprint that no longer retained its original market value. These inexpensive items are almost exclusively medical texts by Italian presses or Italian authors, though a few different genres appear: one edition of Macchiavelli's *Discorsi*, one Petrarch. Ravyn also owned the famous *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois, italianizé et autrement desguizé* by Henri Estienne, a satire of contemporary French culture and its excessive interest in the owned Italianate fashion. It is obvious that Ravyn was interested in the debate about Italianism at the time. The price estimates speak to the typology of his collection: although he could boast a varied choice of items, over forty percent of his books were worth less than 10 sols. A library that was extensively designed for reading, then, though a large portion of its value was represented by volumes worth over one livre.⁶⁵



As time moved forward, the constitution of medical libraries became even more orientated towards the high-end items. Older imprints started to be de-valued, and they may appear, as in the inventory of Georges Cornuty (1616), as '20 vols de diverses sortes et vielz', estimated at 1 sol 6 deniers. Inventorying books in *pacquetz* was not unusual at all; what is

⁶⁵ Very similar patterns found in the library of Bonaventure Granger (inventoried in 1596).

interesting here is that they are defined as ‘vielz’. Cornuty also owned Italian medical texts of the early sixteenth century: a *Practica* by Matteo Ferrari da Grado and the works of Niccolò Leonicensi (both 10 sols), or Guido Guidi’s tract *De febribus* (15 sols). Also present in his library were items of a far higher value, some of which were embellished with gold-tooling or gilt edges. His Mattioli by Valgrisi, printed in 1560, was still estimated at 4 livres; his Avicenna, also in a Valgrisi edition (1564), was estimated at 10 livres. Cornuty also owned an edition of Mercuriale’s lectures, printed in Frankfurt in 1602 (5 livres), and one of Cardano, published in Basel (10 livres). But two books alone stood out for quality and richness. His 1576 edition of Galen, bound in calf, gold-tooled, all gilt edges, and estimated at 20 livres, cannot unfortunately be identified: both the Giunta of Venice and Guillaume Rouillé in Lyon printed a Galen that year which could match this item. A book described as Conrad Gessner’s ‘Opera’, hand-painted and bound in calf, was estimated at a staggering 35 livres.

A volume containing works by Gessner, described as ‘Oeuvres de Gesner, l’un de la nature des oiseaux et l’autre des animaux a quatre piedz’, was also one of the most valued items in the library of Jean Heroard, inventoried in 1628, though the centrepiece of that collection was the Venetian edition of Galen, estimated to be worth 18 livres. Heroard’s ‘display copy’ of Hippocrates was a Frankfurt imprint, and his Mattioli was from Venice (both priced at 7 livres 10 sols). Heroard also owned a ‘vieil Ypocrate latin’, a copy of Hippocrates that he possibly kept for personal use. As pointed out by Marc Smith, Heroard’s library was open to Louis XIII for access and use of the books: some items, such as an Italian text on ‘L’Anatomie et infirmité du cheval’, may have been kept there to the king’s benefit.⁶⁶ Indeed, in all of these medical libraries attached to the court environment we find books that were likely used for display purposes. Illustrated texts and large folios abound. These were expensive items due either to the techniques employed or the large amount of paper used. They were also items that might engender wonder in a visitor. Italian items often feature among these, but so do imprints from Frankfurt, Basel and of course France itself – all items that came with a certain cachet attached.

Conclusions

There is no doubt that the circulation of Italian books in French medical collections has a strong connection with the renown of Italian universities, Padua in particular. Especially in the first half of the sixteenth century, when Italian medical humanism re-defined the medical discipline, French physicians keenly followed Italian developments. Italian humanism provided essential working tools to understand Galen and Hippocrates. France eventually became the foremost producer of medical humanist texts in the sixteenth century.⁶⁷ The role

⁶⁶ R. Balzarini, M. Ferrari Alfano, M. Grandini, S. Micotti Gazzotti and M. H. Smith, *Segni d’infanzia. Crescere come re nel Seicento* (Milan, 1991), 27-8, note 11.

⁶⁷ For the production of medical texts overall, figures for the sixteenth century are as follows: Paris (1262), Venice (1241), Lyon (1107), Basel (976), Frankfurt-am-Main (571). If we consider the works of Galen, in the number of 585 for the period considered, 285 were printed in Paris and Lyon, followed by Venice with 84 and Basel with 37; similarly, in the case of Hippocrates we have a staggering French 155 editions over a total of

of Italian imprints in this development was a critical one, as we saw in the case of Gambaldi's books. In these chains of ownership, we see today the affirmation of social and intellectual ties, as well as their spatial dimension.

Italian medical books were not the only ones present in the libraries of the French doctors, and this is a testimony to their receptiveness to the Italian trend as well as to the imported specialist texts in their discipline. The changes in the practice and theory of medicine significantly narrowed the distance between medicine and other practical disciplines, stimulating the necessity for highly-placed doctors to distance themselves from lower practitioners. It may be argued that this is one of the reasons why some medical libraries strived to adhere to contemporary fashions and trends: as a means of social elevation. It is not by accident that many books in the collections of court doctors appear in either the lowest or the highest range of price estimates. Their value was highest in their intellectual content, or in their status as high-end objects, not intended for use but for display. The use of books beyond their textuality is possibly one of the most enticing aspects of this research – display copies, expensive and ornate volumes that often bear no trace of reading, are the testimony that these items were objects of status, that they played a role in society that transcended their content. We might not find traces of use in the margins of the text, but can we say that they were not used? They obviously *were*, only not in the way that we often wish to discover as researchers.

To the motion of books – as in the circulation and evolution of texts, as well as that of the physical objects – corresponded the mobility of French students, doctors, scholars or simply travellers. Not one but many spatial dimensions overlap within this process. To the actual spatiality of trade and exchange at the time of acquiring a book corresponds the one which is replicated into one's collection. Marks of ownership are often a reflection of such perception, as in the case of Juste Laigneau, who signed his books as 'de Padoue', from Padua. The experience of travel was thus preserved in libraries as a repository of memory as well as knowledge. Books, in this case Italian books, were effectively meta-objects, open to a flexible and polyvalent use, well beyond their function as written texts. They played an important role in social mobility. They were part of fashions at court and of intellectual networks. Books were key in communicating to the outside world one's professional competence, and as such they found their place in a doctor's cabinet. It may be obvious, though well worth stating, that the consumption and circulation of books across borders played a substantial role in the larger exchange of knowledge in early modern Europe.

282, followed by just over thirty editions each from the Swiss Confederation, the Italian city states and the Holy Roman Empire. All figures taken from the USTC, last accessed on 8 May 2016. These figures are merely considering the number of editions, which means that a count by sheet could return a different outline of medical humanist print in the Renaissance. However, this certainly does show how much French presses committed to the publication of these texts.