



Graheli, S. (2018) Aldine editions in early modern French collections. In: Kraye, J. (ed.) *The Afterlife of Aldus: Posthumous Fame, Collectors and the Book Trade*. The Warburg Institute and The Bibliographical Society, pp. 115-132. ISBN 9780908590558.

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Deposited on: 15 May 2017

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In 1609, the French poet Salomon Certon wrote from Gien to Paris in order to find:

a Lucretius, a Statius, a Silius Italicus, a Horace, a Virgil, an Ausonius and the tragedies of Seneca, in octavo, not too worn, and they should be [editions by] Aldus or Colines or Robert Estienne, not by others.¹

It is remarkable that Aldus Manutius, a foreign printer who had died almost a hundred years earlier, should be associated with the French printers Simon Colines and Robert Estienne. Certon considered them as equals in the canon of ‘national’ humanist printers. The names of these three humanist printers stood as guarantee of high quality. Certon was asking for octavos and hoped to be able to lay his hands on at least some of the famous Aldine pocket-sized editions. The perception of Aldus’s printing house which emerges from this letter is representative of the *fortuna* it enjoyed in France during the sixteenth century. My aim here is to examine this trend, focusing in particular on Aldines in early French collections.

Aldus in Illustrious French Libraries: Setting the Trend

At the turn of the sixteenth century, most texts printed in France were in Latin, and this would continue to be so for quite some time. The same pattern was true for the rest of Europe, as the two other main printing areas, the Holy Roman Empire and the Italian city states, had a similar profile. Editions of the Greek and Roman classics, as well as works associated with scholasticism represented the highest proportion of printed output in Europe. It is worth noting, however, that a significant number of the authors published in France came from the ranks of Italian humanists. A case in point is represented by the introduction to

* I wish to thank the editors of this volume, Jill Kraye and Paolo Sachet, for their encouragement, comments and patience throughout the process. In addition, the anonymous peer-reviewers who read both of my essays in this volume made a number of very helpful and knowledgeable comments, for which I am deeply grateful. The input I received allowed for a substantial improvement of the work presented here – although, obviously, any mistakes which remain are my responsibility alone.

¹ Salomon Certon to Pierre Dupuy, Gien, 1 January 1609, cited in E. Droz, ‘Salomon Certon et ses amis. Sa correspondance’, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 2, 1942, pp. 186–95 (188): ‘un Lucretius, un Pap. Statius, un Sil. Italicus, un Horace, un Virgile, un Ausone, et un Seneca, Tragédies, in-8°, et qui ne soient trop fripez, et d’Alde ou de Colines ou de Rob. Estienne, non d’aautres.’

Lorenzo Valla's *Annotationes*, printed by scholar-publisher Josse Bade in Paris in 1505. The prefatory letter, addressed by Bade to Erasmus, stated that all intellectuals should be grateful for Valla's scholarship and erudition.² French scholars at the time acknowledged the higher intellectual standing of Italian humanism and wanted to learn from it. Aldus, with his new editions, was an obvious choice as one of these masters. The authority of his editions was not limited to the canon of the classics, but also extended into other genres. When editing the works of Paulus Aegineta, for instance, Wilhelm Copp, the personal physician to Louis XII, wrote that, now that so many classical texts had been restored thanks to Aldus Manutius, he felt it was appropriate for medical authors also to be reinstated to their former dignity.³ This is a characteristic example of how Aldine editions were taken as a model and as an inspiration by the French.

Scholarly and humanist collections started to include Aldines by the end of the fifteenth century, not just in Paris, but throughout France. As a rule, the books tended not to be richly decorated exemplars, but instead functional ones. A few copies, thoroughly annotated by Guillaume Budé, are to be found in European libraries and testify to his interest in the Aldine venture.⁴ François Rabelais owned a copy of the five-volume edition of Galen, today held at Sheffield University Library, and one of the rare items surviving with his mark of ownership.⁵ We do not have an inventory for the library of the Lyonnais humanist and bibliophile Benoît Le Court, though, among the numerous books still retaining his distinctive provenance, the Bibliothèque municipale in Lyon still holds a copy of the 1533 edition of Giovanni Pontano's *Opera*.⁶ His copy of Urbano Bolzanio's *Institutiones Graecae grammatices*, published in 1497, is now part of the private collection of Scott Clemons.⁷ Three Aldines from the library of Michel de Montaigne have thus far surfaced, including the

² I. Diu, 'Medium typographicum et Respublica literaria: Le rôle de Josse Bade', in *Le livre et l'historien. Études offerts en l'honneur du Professeur Henri-Jean Martin*, ed. F. Barbier, Geneva, 1997, pp. 111–24 (117).

³ R. J. Durling 'A Chronological Census of Renaissance Editions and Translations of Galen', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 24, 1961, pp. 230–305 (236–7).

⁴ E. Droz, 'Livres imprimés de la bibliothèque de Jean Budé', *Humanisme et Renaissance*, 6, 1939, 3, pp. 288–93.

⁵ The copy is discussed in V. Nutton, 'Rabelais's copy of Galen', *Études Rabelaisiennes*, 22, 1988, pp. 181–7, with references to previous comments on the Sheffield copy, challenging its Rabelaisian provenance.

⁶ Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Res B 509658. Two handwritten prices appear on the upper counterplate, both having been tampered with: 'x8 sl' and '18' (formerly '17') 'ss'. An 'x' could stand for '10', so we can probably accept the price of 18 sols paid for the book and presumably the binding. For other books from the library of Le Court, digitized as well as described to a very high standard, see the Numelyo repository <<http://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/>>.

⁷ *Aldus Manutius: A Legacy More Lasting than Bronze*, ed. G. Scott Clemons and George H. Fletcher, New York, 2015, pp. 44–5 (no. 5), and Fig. 1 in S. Clemons, 'Aldine Tributaries: Collecting Aldus Manutius in the Twenty-First Century' in this volume.

1517 Ausonius, the 1549 *Dialoghi d'amore* by Leone Ebreo and the 1576 tract *Del Tevere* by Andrea Bacci.⁸ The provincial *écrivain* Nicolas Rapin owned a late sixteenth-century edition of Aldo the Younger's *Epitome Orthographiae*, thoroughly annotated in his hand.⁹ Finally, historians and antiquarians were bound by the very nature of their interests to seek out Aldine editions. A copy of the 1497 edition of Iamblicus's *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum* now in Copenhagen bears the signature of Guillaume Du Choul.¹⁰ A prominent exponent of the sixteenth-century Lyonnais antiquarianism, who was eager to investigate the remaining traces of classical antiquity, Du Choul had an important collection, including not only of books but also antiquities, which he assembled in the course of his learned research.¹¹

Despite his extraordinary collection, remarked on by the antiquarians of his day, it appears that Du Choul himself never went to Rome to acquire either objects or information;¹² he was helped to acquire both by generous friends, as well as his own son, who did travel there. Richard Cooper has suggested that the dedication of Du Choul's *Discours de la religion des anciens romains* to Claude d'Urfé, the French ambassador to Rome, was possibly a token of gratitude for d'Urfé's hospitality during the 1555 visit to Rome of his son, Jean Du Choul.¹³ D'Urfé was himself a keen collector of Italian books and objects, later housed in his château de la Bastie.¹⁴ French ambassadors to Venice and Rome were often avid collectors, while also providing valuable items for the royal library. Georges d'Armagnac, Georges de Selves and Guillaume Pellicier are some of the most significant figures who attended to the French king's business in Venice.¹⁵ Similarly, French ambassadors and prelates – indeed, often holding both roles – were frequent visitors to the Holy See. This in turn allowed them to build up substantial collections of books and

⁸ A copy of the 1495 edition of Theodore Gaza's *Introductio grammaticae* owned by Montaigne cannot currently be located. All of these provenances are cited in G. de Botton and F. Potté-Sperry, 'A la recherche de la "bibliothèque" de Montaigne', *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 2, 1997, pp. 254–98 (nos 7, 52, 9, 39).

⁹ J. Brunel, 'La bibliothèque de Nicolas Rapin', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 36, 1974, pp. 291–319 (307).

¹⁰ Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Inc. Haun. 2229.

¹¹ See R. Cooper, 'L'antiquaire Guillaume Du Choul et son cercle lyonnais', in *Lyon et l'illustration de la langue française à la Renaissance*, ed. G. Defaux, Lyon, 2003, pp. 261–86, and his *Roman Antiquities in Renaissance France, 1515–65*, 2nd ed., Abingdon and New York, 2016, esp. p. 160.

¹² He did, however, visit the royal collections assembled in the Galerie François Ier in Fontainebleau. See M. Dickman Orth, 'Lyon et Rome à l'antique. Les illustrations des *Antiquités romaines* de Guillaume Du Choul', in *Lyon et l'illustration de la langue française*, ed. G. Defaux, Lyon, 2003, pp. 287–308.

¹³ See Cooper, 'L'antiquaire Guillaume Du Choul' (n. 11 above), pp. 279–82.

¹⁴ Cooper, *Roman Antiquities* (n. 11 above), p. 160. In 1550 d'Urfé had as many as 28 cases of statues sent to Avignon and from there to his home.

¹⁵ On the visits of French ambassadors to Venice in the sixteenth century, see M. Zorzi, *La libreria di San Marco: libri, lettori, società nella Venezia dei Dogi*, Milan, 1987, pp. 102–3; I. de Conihout, 'Jean et André Hurault: deux frères ambassadeurs à Venise et acquéreurs de livres du cardinal Grimani', *Italique*, 10, 2007, pp. 105–48; S. Graheli, 'The Circulation and Collection of Italian Printed Books in Sixteenth-Century France', PhD diss., University of St Andrews, 2015, chapter IV, esp. pp. 89–103.

antiquities. The most noteworthy case was that of Cardinal Jean Du Bellay, who was based in Rome for long periods of time. Unusually, a catalogue of the Roman antiquities purchased by Du Bellay is still preserved; a full transcription of the document has been published by Cooper.¹⁶

Although having one's own pick was preferable, assembling a substantial library from a distance was possible, especially when one could count on active and well-informed friends and acquaintances. This applied even to the most fastidious collectors. The collection of Claude Dupuy, a scholar active in Paris the second half of the sixteenth century, included numerous Aldines. The survey of the extant copies, carried out by Jérôme Delatour, mentions twenty-six such examples, some annotated.¹⁷ It is fairly certain that these copies were new when they came into the hands of Dupuy, who always demanded clean copies, with broad margins. Many of these volumes were provided by his fellow-scholar and friend, Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, with whom he carried on a long-lasting correspondence.¹⁸ The two sent each other books, from Italy to France and vice-versa, providing items which were difficult to find on the local book market. There is ample evidence of Dupuy's high regard for Aldine editions (as well as for his own collection) in his letters. On 28 March 1574, he wrote to Pinelli asking him to supply one sheet which was missing from his 1516 Greek Aldine edition of Pausanias, by having it copied; the sheet was to be of the same size as the printed ones, and the lines should match the same height of the original.¹⁹ A scholarly discussion brings up the name of Aldus on 28 September 1573. Books printed in the Low Countries had recently reached Paris, wrote Dupuy, including the 'Oraisons et fragmens ex libris historiarum Sallustii, recueillis et corrigez par un Carrion de Bruges'.²⁰ While browsing through this volume, however, he had noticed, with disapproval, that Louis Carrion had

¹⁶ Cooper, *Roman Antiquities* (n. 11 above), pp. 377–82. The list, written in the Italian vernacular, was compiled by Claude Lusenier, a sculptor in the service of Du Bellay. Such an important collection of antiquities furthers the suspicion that the *prisee* of the library, which lists only about fifty items, should be considered incomplete. Nevertheless, it contained two Aldines: a 'Petrus de exilio' (4 sols) = Petrus Alcyonius's *De exilio*, 1522; and a 'Diversorum poetarum Priapeia' (2 sols) = *Diversorum veterum poetarum in Priapum lus*, 1517 and 1534. For the list, see J. Pichon and G. Vicaire, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des libraires de Paris 1486–1600*, Paris, 1895, pp. 121–3.

¹⁷ J. Delatour, *Les livres de Claude Dupuy: une bibliothèque humaniste au temps des guerres de religion*, Paris, 1998.

¹⁸ Gian Vincenzo Pinelli and Claude Dupuy, *Une correspondance entre deux humanistes*, ed. A. M. Ragei, 2 vols, Florence, 2001.

¹⁹ Claude Dupuy to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, Paris, 28 March 1574, in *ibid.*, I, pp. 88–103 (98): 'vous priant ... aussi de me faire copier une feuille qui manque en mon Pausanie Grec d'Alde, en feuille de pareille grandeur et ligne pour ligne sur l'imprimé: ce sont les feuillets 231.232 et 233.234. signez P o iiii. Nous n'avons plus ici de copistes Grecs'.

²⁰ Louis Carrion edited various classical texts, including Sallust, Valerius Flaccus and Florus. In all likelihood, the Sallust which Dupuy saw in Paris was the 1573 Antwerp edition by Jean Bellère; see USTC 406020.

clearly used Aldus's 1509 edition of Sallust without acknowledgement.²¹ Tellingly, Dupuy immediately thought to check whether the authoritative Aldine edition had been appropriately cited.

Although it is doubtful whether less scholarly collectors shared similar worries about textual and philological issues, there is no doubt at all they sought out Aldine editions for their collections. The library of Jean Grolier probably contained the largest collection of Aldine editions of his day. This was thanks to his personal friendship with the firm and his genuine wish to support it – Grolier's temporary involvement in the sales of Aldines in Paris may have given him an additional (and financial) interest in the printing house.²² All the surviving, or lost but documented items, have been surveyed by Gabriel Austin in his comprehensive catalogue of Grolieriana.²³ This list provides helpful insights into that great French collection. Over two hundred items recorded by Austin are Aldine editions – that is, more than half of all the Italian editions known to have belonged to Grolier. His mark of ownership, 'Jo. Grolierij Lugdunen. et amicorum', reflected the nature of the collection: assembled not for his personal, individual use, but for the benefit of his circle of friends and acquaintances. One can see this quite clearly in the duplicate copies held in Grolier's library: about one-fifth of all the Italian editions are second or multiple copies. Many Aldines appear in more than one copy, in particular editions which were published by the heirs of Aldus such as Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Budé's *De asse*, both published in 1522, held in two copies, or the *Anthropologia* by Galeazzo Capella, published in 1533, in three copies.²⁴ While

²¹ Claude Dupuy to Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, Paris, 28 September 1573, in *Une correspondance entre deux humanistes* (n. 18 above), I, pp. 78–83 (79): 'En ce que j'ai couru, je n'ai point aperçu qu'il face mention d'Alde, qui a le premier tracé le chemin: il le reprend souvent et quelquefois assez aigrement, mais sans le nommer.'

²² See F. Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, 'Aldine Collecting and Aristocratic Values in French Bibliophily Before and After the French Revolution', in this volume. The literature on Jean Grolier is extremely vast. These texts are essential reading: A. Le Roux de Lincy, *Recherches sur Jean Grolier: Sur sa vie et sa bibliothèque*, Paris, 1866; G. Austin, *The Library of Jean Grolier*, New York, 1971; A. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders: The Origins and Diffusion of the Humanistic Bookbinding (1459–1559), with a Census of Historiated Plaque and Medallion Bindings of the Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1989, and his, *Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Their Books and Bindings*, Cambridge, 1999, which also includes a census of Grolier bindings. Among the most recent contributions, see Isabelle de Conihout's *On Ten New Groliers: Jean Grolier's First Library and His Ownership Marks Before 1540*, New York, 2013, which includes not only new insights into Grolier's collection, but also an extensive bibliography, though specifically on Grolier's first library, which was dispersed after his imprisonment.

²³ Austin, *The Library of Jean Grolier* (n. 22 above), pp. 45–81. We do not, unfortunately, have an inventory of either of Grolier's libraries – the one he was forced to sell when he fell in disgrace, and the second, which he re-assembled when back in favour. A few new copies are described in Conihout, *On Ten New Groliers* (n. 22 above).

²⁴ This is a confirmation of what H. George Fletcher, 'Jean Grolier, Aldus Manutius, and the Aldine Press', in *Aldus Manutius: A Legacy More Lasting than Bronze*, ed. G. S. Clemons and H. G. Fletcher, New York, 2015, pp. 13–26, has shown: that Grolier's relationship with the firm was very much part of the 'afterlife of Aldus' phase. See his introductory article.

Grolier owned an impressive five copies of the 1501 Martial, the 1534 Valerius Maximus and the 1535 Juvenal, his library contained a staggering eleven copies of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, from the 1528 and 1533 editions.

This calls for some analysis, drawing on Conor Fahy's census of the 1528 *Cortegiano*.²⁵ The assembling of Grolier's library, with its very high number of Aldine impressions, may have been prompted by a number of different reasons. His position as treasurer-general of Milan led him to travel frequently to Italy, which nourished his interest in Italian culture; and he was a personal friend of Gian Francesco Torresani. After his imprisonment for financial irregularities and the sale of his first library in 1536, Grolier came back into royal favour and took a direct interest in the sale of Aldines in Paris. His acquisition of so many editions in multiple copies certainly shows that his library was meant for collective consumption rather than merely for his own use. This reflects both the humanist desire to share culture and the courtier's wish to network. Grolier's special interest in the *Cortegiano* may have been a chiefly political choice. This work greatly fascinated François I, to the extent that he had had it translated into French and printed in Paris in 1537.²⁶ He also had a copy of the original 1528 edition in his personal library. So, the king's enthusiasm for the *Cortegiano* may have preceded that of Grolier, since the bindings of Grolier's 1528 copies are attributed to Jean Picard and consequently date from the 1540s onward.²⁷ It seems possible, therefore, that the eleven copies of the *Cortegiano* in Grolier's library may have been part of his rehabilitation in François's eyes.

The king took himself a particular interest in Aldine editions. Many actually featured in what Thomas Kimball Brooker has identified as his personal, and possibly portable, library.²⁸ To-date, over 120 volumes have been identified as belonging to this collection, thanks to the uniform appearance of their bindings.²⁹ Most of them are Italian editions, and

²⁵ C. Fahy, 'Collecting an Aldine: Castiglione's *Libro del cortegiano* (1528) through the Centuries', in *Libraries and the Book Trade: The Formation of Collections from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth century*, ed. R. Myers et al., New Castle DE, 2000, pp. 147–70.

²⁶ G. Defaux, 'De la traduction du *Courtisan* à celle de l'*Hecatomphile*: François Ier, Jacques Colin, Mellin de Saint-Gelais et le Ms. BnF Fr. 2335', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 64, 2002, pp. 513–48.

²⁷ Fahy, 'Collecting an Aldine' (n. 25 above), p. 154, also suggested that his possession of six copies of the 1528 edition of the *Cortegiano* may have been prompted by the need to sell out in order to print a new folio edition, in 1545. Grolier was later given the manuscript used as the base text for the *editio princeps* as a gift from Gian Francesco Torresani. The manuscript was bound by Gommart Estienne between 1555 and 1558, therefore after the death of François I: *ibid.*, p. 151. The manuscript is now in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Ashburnham 409.

²⁸ T. Kimball Brooker, 'Bindings Commissioned for Francis I's "Italian Library" with Horizontal Spine Titles dating from the Late 1530's to 1540', *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1, 1997, pp. 33–91.

²⁹ Like other objects, books were often re-fashioned to follow the taste of a new owner; a royal library was not exempt from such trends. Bindings were often altered or discarded altogether. In other words, there may well be books previously owned by François I which can no longer be identified by their distinctive cover. We certainly

the Aldine firm is the most represented printing house among them all. The majority of these items were not meant for the king's personal use: François had little Latin, and no Greek at all. These items were collected instead for their value as material objects and for the culture they embodied – it was François's goal to assemble the most prestigious library in Christendom. The project for the Fontainebleau library, only completed at the end of his reign, was a crucial element in the king's cultural programme; and books imported from Italy were its cornerstone.³⁰ Thanks to the commitment of his ambassadors based in Rome and Venice, François was able to put together one of the largest collections of Greek manuscripts in Europe.³¹ In the light of this shared purpose, Gian Francesco Torresani sent a gift of exceptional magnificence to the French king: about eighty rare printed texts and manuscripts, some of which had been used by Aldus himself as the base text for his editions.³²

Together with the books, Torresani sent three of the Aldine catalogues which had been printed during the lifetime of Aldus: in 1498, 1503 and 1513. These are now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (MS grec 3064).³³ As Martin Lowry noted, 'Aldus's three catalogues survived by design';³⁴ to which I would add, they survived because they were sent to the French royal library, a repository which treated them as treasures. The catalogues are held together with the contemporary lists of items dispatched by the French ambassadors to the king's librarians and were perhaps actively used as a *desiderata* list. Though the volume was made up much later, it is plausible that these documents were already preserved together in the sixteenth century (though there is no evidence that they were bound at the time), as a token of the humanist culture which the French royal library attempted to showcase.

know of examples where the binding was altered to lose his personal coat of arms in favour of that of his son and heir, Henri II (see below in this article, and n. 72 for examples).

³⁰ About the creation of the library in Fontainebleau, see S. Balayé, *La Bibliothèque Nationale des origines à 1800*, Geneva, 1988; ead., 'La naissance de la Bibliothèque du Roi 1490–1664', in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, 2nd ed., ed. C. Jolly, II, Paris, 2008, pp. 87–96; and M. P. Laffitte and F. Le Bars, *Reliures royales de la Renaissance. La Librairie de Fontainebleau*, Paris, 1999.

³¹ Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders* (n. 22 above), pp. 180–83; Laffitte and Le Bars, *Reliures royales* (n. 30 above), pp. 14–15.

³² Pellicier himself, at the time French ambassador to Venice, reminded Pierre de Châtel about this: Pellicier to Pierre de Châtel, Venice, 15 February 1542, in see A. Tausserat-Radel, *Correspondance politique de Guillaume Pellicier ambassadeur de France à Venise*, II, Paris, 1899, pp. 540–41.

³³ Copies of the Aldine catalogues survive elsewhere, too. A second copy of the 1498 catalogue (ISTC im00226700) is held at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Ink 7.A.13). The 1513 catalogue (Edit16 CNCE 61629) is also preserved at the Biblioteca civica 'Vincenzo Joppi' di Udine, bound together with a copy of Niccolò Perotti's *Cornucopia*. In addition, the Italian MetaOpac SBN erroneously attributes a copy to the Biblioteca universitaria di Cagliari; Dr Maria Rosaria Scalas, head of reference services, very kindly looked into this matter and informed me that this copy does not seem to exist and is certainly not held in their collection. No other copy of the 1503 catalogue has so far been identified.

³⁴ M. Lowry, 'The Manutius Publicity Campaign', in *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy*, ed. D. S. Zeidberg, Florence, 1998, pp. 31–46 (37).

Following an Aldine Fashion

With such precedents in the early French humanist tradition as the renowned bibliophile Jean Grolier and, especially, the French royal library, it is clear why Aldine editions attained a high level of prestige. The professions surrounding the court, and the court itself, were soon alert to their importance; they became symbols of social ascent and recognition. As I have shown elsewhere, a court doctor was more likely to own Aldines than a colleague who was not attached to the court.³⁵ For example, Marin Simon, a court physician, owned two, including his most precious book, the 1525 five-volume edition of Galen, estimated at 16 livres.³⁶ The same work, recorded forty years later in the inventory of another physician at the French court, Martin Akakia, had lost half its market value, but it was still one of the most precious items in his library.³⁷ Akakia's copies of the 1521 Apollonius of Rhodes (8 ss) and the 1495 Theocritus's *Idyllia* (3 ss) were also among the more expensive books listed in the inventory of his library.³⁸ In 1608, when the library of Gilles Héron was appraised, the five-volume Aldine edition of Galen was estimated to be of greater value than the more recent Basel edition³⁹ – the Aldine cachet still brought considerable prestige to the edition. Aldines were also found in the collections of other professionals close to the court: Pascal Duhamel, 'lecteur royal és mathématiques', owned the 1534 edition of Tacitus (valued at 8 ss) and either the 1503 or 1516 edition of Cardinal Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis* (at 15 ss), though more of his wealth had been spent on his collection of scientific instruments than on acquiring books.⁴⁰

Aldine editions were more often present in secretarial collections. An early instance comes from the 1535 inventory of Guillemette de Thumeri, the widow of the royal counsellor Dreux Budé. The library contained not one, but two copies of the Aldine Juvenal (presumably in either the 1501 or 1508 edition). The first, complete, was bound in black velvet and appraised at 7 sols 6 deniers; and the second, from which various sheets were missing, was

³⁵ The following examples regarding the libraries of court doctors are also discussed, within their broader context, in S. Graheli, 'Italian Books and French Medical Libraries in the Renaissance', in *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption*, ed. D. Bellingradt et al., London, forthcoming.

³⁶ Paris, Archives Nationales, Minutier Central (henceforth: ANMC), XXXIII, 20 (1 February 1549), fol. 7^r. The inventory was compiled at the death of Simon's wife, Claude du Hautbois.

³⁷ Paris, ANMC, XXIV, 136 (15 December 1588), fol. 16^v.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 17^v.

³⁹ Paris, ANMC, XIV, 1 (12 June 1607), fol. 10^r.

⁴⁰ Paris, ANMC, CXXII, 126 (30 November 1565), pp. 16: 'Item ung bessario cardinalis In folio alde relié prisé 15 ss' and 18: 'Item ung Cornelius Tacitus in quarto alde relié prisé 8 ss' (I have followed the handwritten pagination in the lower outer corner of each page). The scientific instruments are listed at pp. 26–8.

appraised at only 3 sols.⁴¹ Inventories of later collections were more likely to contain Aldine copies, since they were assembled at the peak of the Italophile fashion. Gaston Olivier, almoner to Henri II, owned a library of about 800 volumes.⁴² Aldus is one of two printer-publishers mentioned in the *prisee* by Galliot Du Pré; he is cited thirteen times. The only other mention goes to Robert Estienne, who is cited only once. Aldines in the Olivier collection were obviously highly valued items: the 1498 edition of Poliziano's *Opera* (30 ss), the *Adagia* of Erasmus (20 ss; to be identified with either the 1508 or the 1520 edition), the 1497 or 1516 Iamblichus (20 ss), Caesar's *Commentaria* of 1513 (12 ss, 'relié et doré') and so on.⁴³ The inventory does not offer information about the bindings; but as observed by Françoise Lehoux, the price estimates suggest that fine bindings were frequent in this collection.⁴⁴ This is apparent from a comparison with the inventory of the du Prat collection, compiled in 1557 at the death of Antoine du Prat, Prevost of the city of Paris.⁴⁵ A few Aldines were in his library: for instance, an edition of Ovid's *Epistles* and a volume from the works of Giovanni Pontano, estimated together at 6 ss; an edition of Valerius Maximus, appraised at 3 ss; Poliziano's *Opera* (15 ss) and Erasmus's *Adagia* (10 ss) are both valued at half the price they had been given in the *prisee* of Olivier's collection.⁴⁶ Olivier's Erasmus must have been a fine copy indeed, as the du Prat copy is described as 'doré sur la tranche' ('with gilt edges') and was thus a rather costly item.

Florimond Robertet (d. 1567), counsellor to the king, owned various Aldines.⁴⁷ Unlike Grolier's collection, his was much richer in French and Italian texts than Latin ones; yet, like Grolier, he owned multiple copies of the Aldine *Cortegiano*: 'deux Cortegiano in fo Aldus 12 ss pièce' and 'ung Cortegiano Aldus in octavo 7 ss'.⁴⁸ His library also contained the 1523 Valerius Flaccus, the 1522 *Decameron* and Pietro Bembo's *Asolani* in the 1505 or 1515

⁴¹ Paris, ANMC, III, 45 (29 November 1535).

⁴² F. Lehoux, *Gaston Olivier, aumônier du Roi Henri II: bibliothèque parisienne et mobilier du XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1957.

⁴³ These are cited *ibid.*, pp. 76–82, as nos 218, 241, 230 and 538. For another copy of the 1513 Aldine edition of Caesar, see Fig. 13 in Clemons, 'Aldine Tributaries' (n. 7 above).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37, n. 189.

⁴⁵ Paris, ANMC, VIII, 84 (14 October 1557). The *prisee des livres* was published and edited in M. Connat and J. Mégret, 'Inventaire de la Bibliothèque des du Prat', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 3, 1943, pp. 72–128.

⁴⁶ Connat and Mégret, 'Inventaire' (n. 46 above), pp. 88, 99, 84 respectively. The lack of bibliographical information prevents from identifying the precise editions of these texts owned by du Prat.

⁴⁷ Paris, ANMC, LXXXVII, 65 (25 October 1567). I first came across this inventory by chance, while investigating the libraries of French doctors in the Renaissance; this document is found in the same folder as the probate inventory of Jeanne Langlois, wife of Geoffroy Granger, Parisian doctor. I found out later that Isabelle de Conihout also read the Robertet inventory, and proposes herself to publish a full account of its content. See I. de Conihout, 'Les bibliophiles avant la bibliophilie (XVI^e–XVII^e siècles)', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 115, 2015, pp. 49–72.

⁴⁸ Paris, ANMC, LXXXVII, 65, *prisee des livres*, fols [5]^v, [7]^r.

edition.⁴⁹ The inventory includes the cryptic ‘ung Claudianus in octavo Aldus et aultres reliez ensemble’: did the ‘others, bound together’ refer to other texts in general or to other Aldines?⁵⁰ The collective estimated price of 5 ss seems rather low to indicate Aldines. The only two other names from the book trade which appear in the inventory are that of the Parisian printer Michel de Vascosan, mentioned three times, and the Giunta of Venice, mentioned twice.⁵¹

The collection of Barnabé Brisson, Président de la Cour de Parlement, appraised by Parisian bookseller Barthélemy Macé on 7 December 1591, contained an even more important selection of Aldine editions. There are no recorded editions in Italian, but instead various Greek items. As well as two dictionaries (the 1514 Hesychius and the 1549 *Etymologicum magnum*), we find the 1513 Plato, the 1551 Olympiodorus, the 1534 Themistius, the 1527 Johannes Philoponus, Lucian (in either the 1503 or the 1522 edition), the 1501–4 Philostratus, the 1522–3 Nicander, the 1518 Artemidorus and various others, often appraised at a considerable price.⁵² This was a very significant collection of a bibliophile, featuring a variety of places of publication and printers. Johannes Froben was often cited, as were Robert Estienne, Michel de Vascosan and Christophe Plantin. But none was mentioned more than the Aldine press.

The inventory after death of Antoine Legrain, conseiller au Châtelet, contains the largest number of Aldines I have so far come across.⁵³ The list comprises 175 separate entries, of which 31 are explicitly listed as Aldine editions. Five other printers are cited in the inventory, all of them French; and of these, only one, Robert Estienne, receives as many as two mentions. Legrain’s library had many Latin Aldine pocket-sized editions: Terence,

⁴⁹ Ibid., fols [6]^r, [7]^r.

⁵⁰ Ibid., fol. [5]^r. ‘Claudianus’ indicates the 1523 edition.

⁵¹ The two Giunta editions mentioned here are of Livy. Both are rather expensive copies, far more than the Aldines, but they were larger-format books.

⁵² Paris, ANMC, LXXVIII, 155 (7 December 1591), Aldines found at fol. 19^v: ‘opera Pontani quarto Alde 3 vols 20 ss’; 26^v: ‘dictionarium graecum d’aesichi avec ethimologicum graecum alde fol 1 L’, ‘ung dictionarium ... grece alde folio 2 vols 35 ss’, ‘Opera platonis grece alde fol 2 vols 35 ss’, ‘ung olimpiodorus in metheora grece alde fol 15 ss’, ‘ung opera themisti grece alde fol 20 ss’, ‘Ioannes Grammaticus in libros de generatione grece alde fol 15 ss’; 27^r: ‘orationes rhetorum grece alde 18 ss’, ‘opera luciani grece alde fol 20 ss’, ‘philostratus de vita apoloni grece et latine fol alde 1 L’, ‘pausanias avec atheneus grece alde 50 ss’; 27^v: ‘Epistolae illustrium graecorum grece alde 20 ss’; 28^r: ‘amonius in porfirium grece alde 8o 10 ss’, ‘[o]rationes dionis grisostomi grece alde 8o 20 ss’, ‘arthemidorus de somnis grece alde 8o 10 ss’, ‘... kabale grece alde 8o 7 ss 6 d’; 35^v: ‘Opera Aeti medici grece alde fol 12 ss 6 d’; 36^r: ‘opera dioscorides grece alde 4o 10 ss 6 d’, ‘ung nicandri theriaca grece alde 4o 10 ss 6 d’.

⁵³ I have been able to include this inventory in my study thanks to a Major Grant from the Bibliographical Society, awarded in early 2017 (Antiquarian Booksellers’ Association Award, for the project ‘French Libraries in the Long Renaissance’). This award allowed me to add over 200 Parisian inventories to my existing survey. The estimated prices are all given twice, once in letters and once in numbers and symbols; but I have simplified them to a single figure.

Lucan, Sallust, Virgil, Caesar, Suetonius, Statius, Ausonius, Silius Italicus and Pomponius Mela.⁵⁴ The inventory, like that of Barnabé Brisson, also included Greek Aldines:

Artemidorus, *De interpretatione somniis* and the Greek Bible, both published in 1518, and the 1514 lexicon by Suidas. The Bible at 3 livres and Suidas at 4 livres are the single most expensive items on the list.⁵⁵ Similar prices are only assigned to ponderous legal texts in multiple volumes.⁵⁶

The Legrain inventory is, unfortunately, poor in bibliographic details about the copies; size ('en grand volume') and number of tomes are the most common indications given. A few of the legal and devotional editions were bound in limp vellum, but expensive bindings are scarcely represented. Only one of these is an Aldine, a three-volume Ovid bound in blue morocco.⁵⁷ There is virtually no evidence allowing us to link the appraisal value of the Legrain Aldines with their material appearance, and I am not aware of surviving provenances from this collection which could be of assistance. A possible clue, though entirely circumstantial, may be found in an erroneous entry: 'de institutendo sapientia animo in 4o alde'.⁵⁸ There is no surviving edition by Aldus or his heirs of this text by Matteo Bosso, nor does it seem likely that there was one which has disappeared altogether. This entry must refer instead to the edition printed in Bologna in 1495.⁵⁹ What could have caused the mistake? An explicit attribution to a printing house was not an indispensable or even a usual feature in library appraisals – indeed, most entries do not provide any indication of the printer or publisher. What piece of information did the bookseller have which led him to make this false attribution? As the title-page of the Bologna edition simply contains two lines of text, with no imprint or device, it seems probable that the misleading information came instead from some copy-specific details. My suggestion is that the bookseller might have been handling the copy

⁵⁴ Paris, ANMC, LXXXVI, 101 (19 August 1567), *prisee des livres*, fol. [3]^r: 'Lactance impression d'alde in 8o', 5 sols, 'Asconij pediani in 8o alde', 4 sols, 'Claudianus in 8o alde', 3 sols, 'Horatius in 8o alde', 4 sols; fol. [3]^v: 'Pomponius mella alde', 2 sols 2 deniers, 'Silius Italicus in 8o alde', 2 sols 6 deniers, 'Ausonius in 8o alde', 1 sol 8 deniers, 'Statius in 8o alde', 3 sols 6 deniers, 'Strozij poete in 8o alde', 6 sols, 'Svetone in 8o alde', 6 sols; fol. [4]^r: 'Terentius in 8o alde', 4 sols, 'Lucanus in 8o alde', 4 sols, 'Salustius in 8o alde', 5 sols, 'Virgilius in 8o alde', 5 sols, *Commentaria Cesaris in 8o alde*, 4 sols, and other examples.

⁵⁵ Ibid., fol. [5]^r: 'Biblia greca alde folio', 3 £, 'Suydas Alde', 4 £; fol. [5]^v: 'Arte mydorus [sic!] de somnijs in 8o alde', 3 sols.

⁵⁶ E.g., ibid., fol. [1]^r: 'alexander de Immola grand Vielle impression de lion relie en cinq volumes', 5 livres; 'la lecture de Jason grand Vielle impress relie en cinq volumes', 4 livres; 'la lecture de Paul de castre grand Vielle impression relie en 4 volumes', 65 sols. For these items, the value per volume and sheet is much lower than that of the two Aldine folios.

⁵⁷ Ibid., fol. [4]^r: 'Opera ovidij en trois volumes relie en maroquin bleu alde', 20 sols.

⁵⁸ Ibid., appraised at 4 sols.

⁵⁹ Two editions are documented for this text, both of them quartos, one printed in Bologna in 1495 by Francesco Platone de Benedetti (ISTC ib01043000), the other included in an anthology printed in Strasbourg in 1509 by Matthias Schürer (VD16 B 6792). A comparison between the two title-pages suggests that the record in the inventory refers to the Bologna edition.

of *De instituendo sapientia animo* previously owned by Jean Grolier and that the misattribution to Aldus occurred by association:⁶⁰ the appraisers, perhaps having seen both the Aldine imprint and the Grolier provenance on many other volumes during this inventorying exercise, may have erroneously assigned the Bologna edition to the Aldine press.

We can now turn to some general considerations about Aldus and his press in early modern French inventories. His name usually appears as ‘Alde’, ‘Aldus’ and at times ‘Aldo’, depending on the language of the appraised publication. It is one of the most common names of foreign printers or publishers found in the *prisee* of French libraries in this period.⁶¹ In some inventories, Aldus is even the sole foreign printer mentioned; this is the case, for instance, of the inventory of the bookseller Galiot Du Pré, edited by Gilles Corrozet and Jean Macé in 1561, where he appears as ‘vieil Alde’.⁶² As this example shows, the decision to mention Aldus or any other printer in French inventories was made by the ‘libraire juré’ charged with the compilation of the inventory.⁶³ Such mentions were therefore a sign of Aldus’s renown among booksellers and his prestige on the second-hand book market, rather than conclusive evidence for the circulation of Aldines in French libraries. It shows that his brand name added value to books: it was a piece of information which was considered useful to record, even though libraries were usually inventoried quite quickly. At times, the indication ‘Alde’ may have been prompted by provenance information – as I have just suggested with regard to the erroneous attribution of Bosso’s *De instituendo sapientia animo* to the Aldine printing shop.

We may take these considerations further by examining the ‘inventaire après décès’ of Evrard Vabres, notaire et secrétaire du Roi. Although this was a substantial collection, the inventory contained only a few mentions of Aldine editions (the 1522 quarto edition of

⁶⁰ The copy is cited in Austin, *The Library of Jean Grolier* (n. 23 above), no. 70. It was listed in the *Catalogue des livres du cabinet de M. de Boze*, Paris, 1753, p. 72, no. 327. Circumstances in support of this suggestion are: (1) the date (Jean Grolier had died two years before the Legrain inventory was compiled, which means that he had more than one occasion to purchase volumes owned by Grolier, whose library was sold twice: the first time when he fell in disgrace; and the second time after his death); (2) the date range of the Aldines owned by Legrain (the ones which can be identified with certainty were invariably printed between 1514 and 1534, which is also the date range for well over half the Aldine editions known to have been owned by Grolier); and (3) both Grolier and Legrain belonged to the same social milieu.

⁶¹ Other printers or publishers who are frequently mentioned include: Johannes Froben; Christophe Plantin; the Giunta family; Vincenzo Valgrisi.

⁶² A. Parent-Charon, ‘Le commerce du livre étranger à Paris au XVI^e siècle’, in *Le livre voyageur. Constitution et dissémination des collections livresques dans l’Europe moderne*, ed. D. Bougé-Grandon, Paris, 2000, pp. 95–108 (106). It is also worth noting that here the appraisers make a distinction between the early production of the Aldine workshop and that of Aldus’s heirs.

⁶³ On the role of the ‘libraire juré’ in the French book trade, see D. Pallier, ‘L’office de libraire juré de l’Université de Paris pendant les guerres de religion’, *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1, 2002, pp. 47–69.

Plautus and the 1521 octavo of Apuleius), as well as various books published by Froben and Plantin, along with many unidentified German editions.⁶⁴ It seems worth considering whether the material appearance of some early Aldines – devoid of the dolphin and anchor device on the title-page – might have hindered their identification by the ‘libraire jurés’. This would be consistent with the lack of many of the early pocket-sized editions from early French inventories. Bare entries such as ‘Lucanus’ or ‘Juvenal. Persius’ are often encountered and may well have been Aldine editions, but we cannot be certain of the identification. This is the case of the Vabres inventory, where the section ‘Livres en Latin 8°’ contains a significant number of titles which could be Aldine, but nothing allows to make this attribution.⁶⁵ Many such instances are also present in the Legrain inventory, where the overall number of Aldines was certainly a good deal higher than the 31 discussed above.⁶⁶ So, was the mention of Aldus in French inventories indicative of the fame of his device? The brevity of the entries is perfectly consistent with the title-pages of the editions; but, then, brevity was a typical feature of early modern inventories. While other items such as the five-volume edition of Galen can be easily ascribed to the Aldine firm,⁶⁷ the lack of specifications in the pocket-sized editions allows them to disappear behind these records. A more in-depth and systematic study of these issues is clearly needed;⁶⁸ but until then, we will have to rely on a limited array of evidence for our knowledge of the *fortuna* of Aldines in Renaissance France.

Material Evidence from Surviving Copies

The most precise type of proof for the circulation of early printed books comes, of course, from the books themselves. This can, however, be a dangerous exercise, as it tends to produce a rather patchy trail of evidence. Books, even those which were most valued in their time, do not survive well. Think of Jean Grolier himself, from whose library we know of only about 500 extant copies; yet, it is believed that his collection must have been far larger, with

⁶⁴ Paris, ANMC, LIV, 222 (5 September 1574).

⁶⁵ Ibid., fols [5]^{r-v}, [6]^{r-v}.

⁶⁶ Paris, ANMC, LXXXVI, 101 (1567) (n. 55 above), fol. [4]^r: ‘Valerius maximus in 8o’, 5 sols, ‘Martialis in 8o’, 5 sols’, ‘horatius in 8o’, 12 sols, ‘ung aultre ovide in 8o relie en maroquin tannez’, 7 sols 6 deniers; fol. [4]^v: ‘Claudianus in 8o’, 4 sols, ‘Jamblicus in 8o’, 5 sols; fol. [5]^r: ‘Euripidis Tragedie grece in 8o en deulx volumes’, 15 sols, ‘Pindarus in 8o’, 8 sols, ‘Opera homeri in 8o relie en deulx volumes’, 20 sols, ‘Opianus in 8o’, 5 sols, and other examples. Not all these Aldine editions lacked the printer’s device on the title-page, but the consistencies in the price estimates between the ‘named’ Aldines and this second group of inferred ones would suggest that they were bibliographically similar.

⁶⁷ This is the case, e.g., for Gilles Heron’s Galen; see n. 39 above.

⁶⁸ I am currently completing a monograph entitled *Italian Books and the French Renaissance*, which will discuss this and other issues linked to the circulation and collection of Italian printed books in early modern France.

estimates oscillating between 1,000 items, as suggested by Paul Needham, to 3,000, as put forward by Annie Charon.⁶⁹ Yet, despite such heavy losses, Grolier's books survived far better than others, protected by their bibliophilic aura.⁷⁰ Even illustrious libraries suffered from successive alterations and changes of taste in the style of bookbinding, causing them to lose traces of ownership. Many such examples are found, for instance, in the collection of François I, whose books were altered, when his son and successor, Henri II, had the centre of the boards carved out in order to insert his own coat of arms.⁷¹ Nevertheless, when the material evidence is available and correctly analysed, it yields valuable information about the use of early printed books by contemporary readers.

Collectible since the time of their production, Aldine editions have survived far better than other books of the same age and particularly so when they have an illustrious provenance. They are also usually in a better state of preservation and, within libraries, are held in special collections. In French libraries, they are normally found in the *Réserve des Livres Rares*, regardless of the beauty or significance of the individual copy – the Aldine cachet is considered a good enough reason to give special treatment. Already in the sixteenth century, Aldines were well taken care of, not least because they were more expensive than most printed books. Indeed, they were treated at times with such care that often we would not be able to tell if they were owned by a contemporary collector were it not for the binding.⁷² Ruled copies are a sign of distinction; but, in Aldine books, this is frequently the only mark of use to be found.⁷³

Aldine editions made excellent gifts, and not merely as presentation copies. Many survive bearing the trace of an *ex-dono*. A copy of the 1542 edition of Girolamo Ferrari's *Emendationes in Philippicas* was given to an anonymous owner thirty-five years after its date of printing. Covered simply in limp parchment, it was not a particularly fine copy; but its

⁶⁹ A. Charon, 'Les grandes collections du XVI^e siècle', in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530–1789*, ed. C. Jolly, Paris, 1988, pp. 84–99 (88).

⁷⁰ See F. Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, 'Aldine Collecting and Aristocratic Values in French Bibliophily Before and After the French Revolution', in this volume.

⁷¹ See the many examples illustrated in Laffitte and Le Bars, *Reliures royales* (n. 30 above), e.g., pp. 61, 67, 68, 85 and 117–20.

⁷² Some examples of Aldines known to have circulated in early modern France solely because of their typically French blind-tooled binding: *Vocabularium* (1502) and *Peri poleon* (1502), Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, Rés. Q. 0019 (1–2); Plautus, *Comoediae* (1522), Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, Rés. O. 135; Cicero, *Epistolae ad Atticum* (1513), Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 22923 Res. Information about various others (though mostly later items) can be found in the British Library Database of Bookbindings at <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/bookbindings/>, last accessed 31 October 2017.

⁷³ E.g., the 1522 edition of Plautus, *Comoediae*, preserved at Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, Rés. O. 135; the 1534 Cornelius Tacitus, also in Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, Rés. D. 404; the 1505 Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Derelictorum ab Homero libri quatuordecim*, at Périgord, Bibliothèque d'Etude et du Patrimoine, Rés. D XVI 853; and the 1541 Terence, also at Périgord, Res. D XVI 851.

owner still felt that it was worthy of being remembered and wrote on the title-page: ‘Ja[n]. 24 1577. Des Planches me la donné.’⁷⁴ Patrons also gave or bequeathed Aldines to religious orders; for instance, two of the three Italian books donated by the local magistrate Andrea de Baugy to the Jesuit College in Bourges were Aldine editions.⁷⁵ A Grolier copy of the 1504 commentary on the *Posterior Analytics* by Johannes Philoponus, purchased in the 1536 forced sale of the collection, was purchased by the Gondi family in Paris and later donated to the Capuchin convent in Joigny.⁷⁶ The library of the German Nation of the University of Orléans often received gifts or bequests from students: a copy of the 1556 *Epistolae clarorum virorum* was given to it in 1608, after a long series of ownerships.⁷⁷ Such gifts could also travel far: the 1528 edition of Paul of Aegina’s *De re medica* now at St Andrews University Library bears the inscription: ‘Liber co[m]mun]is bibliothecae ex dono viri doctissimi georgij bucharani.’⁷⁸ Educated in Paris, where he taught for a few years after graduating in 1528, George Buchanan is likely to have purchased the volume while he was residing in the French capital. Although the original binding is not preserved, the end-leaves have been retained and are unmistakably French, which indicates that it was bound in France and then brought back to Scotland.⁷⁹

The Aldine firm itself was often happy to send copies of their publications as personal gifts. Aldo Manuzio the Younger sent a copy of the 1571 edition of Velleius Paterculus to Paris as a gift to Claude Dupuy, who duly annotated the book with the inscription ‘Donum Aldj Manutii’.⁸⁰ Collaborators of the firm received frequent dispatches from Venice. Marc-Antoine Muret, residing in Rome for most of his adult life, was often consulted on the quality of newly printed texts and was used to receiving individual sheets from Aldo the Younger.⁸¹ For example, in January 1575 Aldo sent to Muret in Rome five sheets of Caesar’s *Commentaries* and two sheets of Terence, adding: ‘I should very much like to receive any further comment you may have on that, as there is still time to edit the annotations. I believe

⁷⁴ Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, v.13.1839.

⁷⁵ Bourges, Bibliothèque municipale, D 1259 in4: Bernardino Loredan, *In M. Tullii Orationes de lege agraria*, Venice, Paolo Manuzio, 1558; and E 488 in8: Julius Caesar, *Commentarii cum correctionibus Pauli Manutii*, Venice, Paolo Manuzio, 1559.

⁷⁶ Conihout, *On Ten New Groliers* (n. 22 above), p. 7 and n. 3.

⁷⁷ Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, D 3128 (1).

⁷⁸ St Andrews University Library, TypIV.B28AP.

⁷⁹ The watermark of a hand surmounted by a five-pointed star strongly suggests French provenance. I could not find an exact match in C. M. Briquet, *Les filigraines: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vols, Amsterdam, 1968; however, the design of the individual features of the watermark points towards the end of the sixteenth or possibly the early seventeenth century.

⁸⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Res. J- 2367.

⁸¹ For the correspondence between Muret and the Manutius family see E. Pastorello, *L’epistolario manuziano. Inventario cronologico-analitico (1483–1597)*, Florence, 1957, as well as the more recent J. E. Girot, *Marc-Antoine Muret: Des Isles Fortunées au Rivage Romain*, Geneva, 2012.

that everything – the paper, the text and the quality of the printing – will please you.’⁸²

Similar instances are very frequent in the exchanges between Aldo and Muret; and Muret, in turn, used to pass on interesting information to other scholars, both in Italy and France.

The circulation of second-hand Aldine editions was also a phenomenon of substantial importance, and it involved not only books from the time of Aldus, but all the editions printed by the firm. Fine copies – and Grolier’s are a case in point here – were actively sought after. Claude Dupuy and Jacques Auguste de Thou both owned second-hand volumes from his collection.⁸³ A copy of the 1501 edition of Giorgio Valla’s *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus* was first purchased by a ‘A. E. M. Perrotus’ in 1543, and then in 1558 by a ‘Janus Belus’, who drew beautiful illustrations in the margins of the text.⁸⁴ The volume eventually entered the collection of the Augustinians in Orléans and from there went to the Bibliothèque municipale. Pierre Bullioud, a learned Hebraist, purchased a second-hand copy of the 1508–1509 *Rhetores Graeci*; he annotated the volume, noting that the book had previously belonged to Sante Pagnini, one of the foremost Hebrew scholars of the Renaissance.⁸⁵ This illustrious provenance, which gave Bullioud access to Paganini’s annotations, glosses and corrections to the text, would have increased its value to him.

Copies of more common Aldines were often traded. A copy of the 1497 Iamblichus had changed hands four times by the early seventeenth century.⁸⁶ The 1501–1504 edition of *Poetae Christiani*, formerly in the monastery of Chezalbenoist near Bourges and now at the Bibliothèque municipale, contains annotations in two or three different hands, all from the sixteenth century.⁸⁷ Naturally, as the book belonged to a religious order, it could be used by many readers. A miscellany containing the *Poetae tres egregii*, printed by the heirs of Aldus and Andrea Torresani in 1534, together with two French editions of Aelius Donatus (1545)

⁸² Aldo Manuzio to Muret, 8 January 1575, quoted in Girot, *Marc-Antoine Muret* (n. 74 above), p. 402: ‘Mando insieme cinque fogli de’ *Commentari* di Cesare, che insieme [i.e., with Muret’s *Orationes*] fo stampare; e credo vi piaceranno. Faccio anche fare le figure di nuovo, per esser le vecchie troppo vergognose. Ancora due fogli del Terentio, che credo vi doveranno piacere. Haverò caro aver, se ci havete altro sopra: che per le scholie sarà a tempo. Credo che tutto e di carta, e di correttione, e di stampa doverà piacervi.’

⁸³ De Thou purchased a copy of Martial, which is now at London, British Library, c.19.b.5; Dupuy owned a Philostratus, which is now Bibliothèque nationale de France, Res. J- 877.

⁸⁴ Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. C 173.

⁸⁵ Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 108782. For the libraries of Pagnini and Bullioud, with a specific focus on the Hebrew texts, see M. Hulvey, ‘Les bibliothèques retrouvées de Sante Pagnini, dominicain de Lucques et de Pierre Bullioud, “gentil-homme” lyonnais: en hébreu et en grec’, *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1, 2009, pp. 79–106.

⁸⁶ Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, Inc 123. It contains the signatures of ‘Bouhier’, ‘J. Rigauld’ and ‘Tondot’ (all sixteenth century) as well as J. A. Chassignet (seventeenth century). The library of Jean IV Bouhier is perhaps the largest single collection on which the Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes was founded.

⁸⁷ Bourges, Bibliothèque municipale, D 652 in4.

and Herodotus (1528), was owned by three different readers in the sixteenth century.⁸⁸ All three annotated one part or the other, but it was the third and later reader who was interested in the Aldine, and thus the one who annotated its margins.

The Troyes copy of the *Ecphrasis in Horatii Flacci artem poeticam*, printed in 1546, is one of many Aldines which were interfoliated, as the space offered by the already generous margins was not considered sufficient by the reader.⁸⁹ The text is annotated between the lines, glosses are added in the margins and the inserted leaves are filled with notes. A similar case is the 1514 Greek Hesychius in Aix-en-Provence.⁹⁰ Explanations and translations of individual words are written on the printed page, with all other notes on the inserted leaves. The history of ‘precious’ Aldines has been well studied, and deservedly so; but less visually striking items also merit attention. Some copies were collected, not for their texts, but instead for their cultural value as material objects. Others, instead, were read intensively and bear the visible signs of this use. These two types of book represent the two sides of Aldine collection, use and perception in early modern France.

Finally, a note on methodology is also necessary. For logistical reasons, much, though not all, of the research for this paper was carried out in French libraries and archives. Yet we know that early printed books already travelled a great deal at the time of their publication and still continue to do so through public and private sales. This is particularly true in the case of Italian Renaissance books and Aldine editions most of all, as they were always desirable and collectible items. Copies which were in France during the Renaissance – even with very illustrious provenances – can now be found outside the country. We know of a large number of Grolier copies scattered around the world, thanks to Austin’s census;⁹¹ and the enduring interest in the figure of Grolier as a collector means that more copies continue to be discovered.⁹² Other provenances are less well known. The seminal study of the Ramey collection at the Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum in New York, undertaken by Nicholas Pickwoad, recorded five Aldine editions formerly owned by the Ramey family in the south of France.⁹³ At least one of these was second-hand at the time of purchase, a common feature of

⁸⁸ Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. D 307.2.

⁸⁹ Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, x.8.957. On title-page, signature ‘Jacobj Cappellj’; on the upper right-hand margin, motto ‘A ce s’applique’.

⁹⁰ Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, D.473.

⁹¹ Austin, *The Library of Jean Grolier* (n. 22 above).

⁹² See, e.g., Conihout, *On Ten New Groliers* (n. 22 above).

⁹³ N. Pickwoad, ‘The Interpretation of Bookbinding Structure: An Examination of Sixteenth-Century Bindings in the Ramey Collection in the Pierpont Morgan Library’, *The Library*, ser. 6, 3, 1995, pp. 209–49. The five Aldines are PML 125351, 129960, 125035, 125355 and 125092.1.

this remarkable collection, which the material evidence convincingly demonstrates was a library assembled for reading, and not for display.

Another study has highlighted two other Aldines at the Pierpont Morgan which belonged to the opposite category of book. Paul Needham's *Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings*, a catalogue of the most outstanding bindings now in the collections of the Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, describes among other items two Aldine editions preserved in beautiful French bindings.⁹⁴ The first, the 1497 edition of Theophrastus, *De historia plantarum*, included in the Greek Aldine Aristotle published between 1495 and 1498, has the coat of arms of Henri II and was probably executed in the atelier of Claude de Picques.⁹⁵ The second, the full five-volume set of the Greek Aristotle, also has a notable binding – possibly by the Wotton binder – but no recognizable provenance.⁹⁶ Similar examples are found in the catalogue of the Aldine editions in the Ahmanson-Murphy collection. A copy of the 1502 Lucan is preserved in a binding executed by the Pecking Crow workshop in Paris (c. 1540–1550).⁹⁷ No other marks indicate the early French provenance. These examples are typical of the difficulties encountered in identifying early French provenances of Aldines outside France: many do not have a named provenance, but are bound in a French fashion or, as in the case of the St Andrews copy of Paul of Aegina discussed above,⁹⁸ have paper (or often waste material) of French origin in the structure of the binding.

It would be extremely difficult to identify such items remotely without the specialist studies, databases and exhibitions which have been devoted to the investigation of Aldine press books held in various institutions or to the study of early provenances of their holdings. It is even more difficult to track down copies which are now in private collections. Given the cultural and monetary value of Aldines, many exemplars have doubtless been preserved, but remain hidden. Yet some modern collectors have endeavoured to make their libraries known or even accessible to scholars and the broader public. An Aldine edition formerly owned by François I, the 1520 Quintus Curtius, which is currently in the private collection of T. Kimball Brooker, was described by him in an article of 1997.⁹⁹ The recent exhibition held at

⁹⁴ P. Needham, *Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings*, New York, 1979.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 59.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 70. Needham also describes two Grolier copies from the Morgan collection, at nos 41 and 42.

⁹⁷ *The Aldine Press: Catalogue of the Ahmanson-Murphy Collection of Books by or relating to the Press in the Library of the University of California, Los Angeles: Incorporating Works Recorded Elsewhere*, Berkeley, 2001, no. 56. Other relevant examples in the Ahmanson Murphy collection are described in the catalogue at nos 60, 71, 487, 686. The 'Note to the Reader', pp. 33–8, discusses examples of bindings and provenances.

⁹⁸ See n. 78 above.

⁹⁹ Brooker, 'Bindings Commissioned for Francis I's "Italian library"' (n. 28 above), p. 63.

the Grolier Club, *Aldus Manutius: A Legacy More Lasting than Bronze*, displayed a number of items never previously seen together, some with early French provenances, like the Le Court copy of Bolzanio's *Institutiones* mentioned above.¹⁰⁰ So, while it is true that we are far from a comprehensive understanding of Aldine collecting in early modern France, there are many people at work uncovering new evidence.

Conclusion

The *fortuna* of Aldine editions in early modern France varied, depending on fluctuations in the status of the books as texts and material objects. The Greek books were in most cases first editions of the texts they printed; so, the Aldine version was often the only one available in the marketplace. This explains, for instance, why Girolamo Aleandro wanted to import a number of books for his students in Paris directly from the Aldine firm.¹⁰¹ Aldine editions of Latin texts were also sought after. Aldus published better and newer versions of the most prominent authors, making his editions attractive to the scholarly public.

This was bound to change, as French publishers financed new, cheaper versions of many Aldine texts, sometimes translations from Greek into Latin, and from Latin into French. Students no longer needed to purchase costly Aldines, as they were now able to obtain the new editions brought out by Josse Bade, François Regnault and others.¹⁰² These French editions provided more accessible versions of texts – whether because of the price or the language or because the general look of the book appealed to a French readership.¹⁰³ As a result of this development, owning an Aldine in France acquired a new meaning. The French imitations made the originals more collectible. Aldines were never meant for mass consumption, and now it was no longer necessary to buy them for the content.¹⁰⁴ This, together with the increasing interest of the royal entourage in the Aldine venture and the rise of antiquarianism among French scholars, transformed these books into symbols of social

¹⁰⁰ See n. 7 above. On the Grolier Club exhibition, see Clemons, 'Aldine Tributaries' (n. 7 above).

¹⁰¹ See P. de Nolhac, *Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce. Matériaux Nouveaux d'Histoire Littéraire (1483–1514)*, Rome, 1888, p. 69, and R. Menini and O. Pédeflous, "Les marginales de l'amitié." Pierre Lamy et Nicolas Bérauld lecteurs de Lucien de Samosate (BNR Rés. Z 247)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 74, 2012, pp. 35–71 (41).

¹⁰² For a more systematic discussion, see S. Graheli, 'The Circulation and Collection' (n. 15 above), pp. 53–60.

¹⁰³ French humanist editions, however, soon began using Aldine printing types; see N. Barker, 'The Aldine Roman in Paris, 1530–1534', *The Library*, ser. 5, 29, 1974, pp. 5–20, supplemented by W. Kemp, 'Latomus, F. Gryphe, Augereau and the Aldine Romans in Paris, 1531–33', *The Library*, ser. 6, 13, 1991, pp. 23–47.

¹⁰⁴ While small format books of hours were usually estimated at between 1 or 2 sols, an Aldine book of hours in 16° was estimated at 7 sols; see R. Doucet, *Les Bibliothèques parisiennes au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1956, pp. 74 and 124, no. 210 (inventory of Jean Le Féron).

status. This prestige lasted long after Aldus's death, since his heirs wisely continued to adopt the dolphin and anchor device with 'AL' on the left and 'DUS' on the right.

Most early modern French collections did not contain Aldines. Among these were libraries of lawyers or doctors, when centred on their professional interests; small religious libraries; and the collections of merchants or artisans. But while the average French library did not normally include Aldine editions, it is unusual to find an outstanding collector who did not find it necessary to own at least one specimen of such fine printing, either on account of its intellectual interest or as a cultural status symbol.