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Shanti Graheli, 'Books, Booklists, and Materiality in the Early Modern Parisian Household: Evidence from the Minutier Central, 1580–1620', in R. Adams and J. Glomski (eds.), *Seventeenth-Century Libraries: Problems and Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2023, forthcoming).

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This essay investigates the materiality of Parisian libraries between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, explored through the lens of the *inventaires après décès* (probate inventories) held in the Minutier Central in Paris.<sup>1</sup> The core corpus for this study includes just over a hundred inventories compiled between 1580–1620.<sup>2</sup> Booklists are often studied to determine the contents of a private library—with attention to titles and genres—or to investigate questions of taste and reading practices. Even studies with a forensic approach to notarial documents have often ended up reducing booklists to a snapshot of contents.<sup>3</sup> Yet, scholars have long acknowledged the shortcomings and partialities of these documents.

In fact, probate inventories can serve as sources of practical information, such as the topography of the book in the early modern home, the appraisal process, and the relative importance of books among the other contents of the household. Here, I propose to analyse probate inventories in terms of what they express explicitly and what they reveal unintentionally, inspired both by a structuralist approach and by the methodological concerns of the field broadly defined as 'documentary archaeology'.<sup>4</sup> Booklists (and probate inventories in general) necessarily find important interpretive perspectives in both schools of thought: the legal requirements underpinning their compilation made them highly structured texts, subject to specific stylistic rules and broadly standardized descriptions.<sup>5</sup> Essential for our understanding of these documents as historical sources are questions related to the historic preservation, collection, and survey of notarial minutes in the city of Paris.

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to acknowledge the support of the Bibliographical Society for the undertaking of this study, thanks to the award in 2017 of a Major Grant, Antiquarian Booksellers' Association Award. I also wish to thank Henriette Partzsch, Nina Lamal, and the editors of this volume, Robyn Adams and Jacqueline Glomski for reading and commenting on this piece. While any errors remain my own, their support has been essential to completing this essay. Editorial conventions: in transcribing text from the original documents, I have preferred a conservative approach, only modifying the original spelling to improve legibility (e.g., 'à' instead of 'a', 'l'une' for 'lune').

<sup>2</sup> In exploring these materials, I have been guided by published sources and archival guides indicating the presence of books in individual documents, though on each occasion I have consulted the entire folder (*liasse*). This has allowed me to identify several additional inventories that had not been previously noted for containing booklists. The number of inventories actually surveyed, therefore, is significantly higher than the small corpus isolated here, as inventories that contain books are in the minority.

<sup>3</sup> Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy. Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991).

<sup>4</sup> Mary C. Beaudry, 'Documentary Archaeology: Dialogues and Discourses', in James Symonds and Vesa-Pekka Herva (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199562350.013.3.

<sup>5</sup> Alexandre H. Schutz, *Vernacular Books in Parisian Private Libraries of the Sixteenth Century according to the Notarial Inventories* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), p. 2.

While capitalizing on the normative nature of these documents, I argue that a further interpretive dimension must be added to sheer structural determinism—firstly, these documents have left many elements unexpressed because of inherent documentary biases; and secondly, they were used in ways other than the explicit intention with which they were created. From the days of their compilation, booklists created for legal purposes were used, also, as instruments for bibliographic research. Borrowing concepts and frameworks from textual philology, the history of furnishings, the history of emotions, and archival studies, I contend that materiality—of the books and of their surroundings, of the booklists themselves, and of the inventory operations—is a crucial factor in considering these documents as sources for critical cultural and historical investigation.

### **Probate inventories as sources: scholarly traditions and approaches**

The minutes of Parisian notaries were still held privately until a law, spearheaded by librarian and archivist Ernest Coyecque and finally promulgated in 1928, required that these documents be deposited at the Minutier Central at the Archives Nationales.<sup>6</sup> Nearly a century on, these materials have been surveyed extensively and widely studied.<sup>7</sup> The investigations of sixteenth-century libraries by Roger Doucet and Alexandre Schutz in the 1950s took a systematic approach, albeit with crucial limitations.<sup>8</sup> Investigations for the seventeenth century have often privileged self-contained corpora; Françoise Lehoux, for example, in the 1970s surveyed the libraries of Paris physicians while investigating their general frame of life.<sup>9</sup>

Henri-Jean Martin's milestone study on the book world of seventeenth-century Paris, building on an extensive survey of the Minutier Central, took a much wider historical approach compared to its antecedents, encompassing the production as well as the consumption of books, reaching broader but less specific conclusions.<sup>10</sup> For the study of pre-1701 libraries, Martin surveyed some 600 inventories through both quantitative and qualitative techniques of analysis. Among the limitations he identified in his corpus was a discussion of what the inventories do not tell, with a focus on lost books, female book ownership and intellectual engagement, and social conventions that may have an impact on

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<sup>6</sup> Françoise Mosser, 'Les instruments de recherche du Minutier Central des notaires de Paris: Quatre-vingts ans de travaux', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 166 (2008), pp. 481–513; William Ritchey Newton and J. Maarten Ultee, 'The Minutier Central: A Research Note', *French Historical Studies*, 8 (1974), pp. 489–493.

<sup>7</sup> Madeleine Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier central des notaires de Paris. Inventaires après décès du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (2 vols., Paris: Archives Nationales, 1982, 1997); Madeleine Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier central concernant l'histoire de la musique (1600–1650)* (2 vols., Paris: Archives Nationales, 1967, 1974); Marie-Antoinette Fleury, *Documents du Minutier central concernant les peintres, les sculpteurs et les graveurs au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1600–1650)* (Paris: Archives Nationales, 1969), vol. 1; Marie-Antoinette Fleury and Martine Constans, *Documents du Minutier central concernant les peintres, les sculpteurs et les graveurs au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1600–1650)* (Paris: Archives Nationales, 2010), vol. 2. See also Mosser, 'Les instruments de recherche du Minutier Central', for a comprehensive bibliography and rationale of finding guides and research tools.

<sup>8</sup> Doucet explored sources up to 1560, while Schutz limited his enquiry to titles in vernacular languages. Roger Doucet, *Les Bibliothèques Parisiennes au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1956); Schutz, *Vernacular Books in Parisian Private Libraries*.

<sup>9</sup> Françoise Lehoux, *La cadre de vie des médecins Parisiens aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1976).

<sup>10</sup> Henri-Jean Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (2 vols., Geneva: Droz, 1999). This study is based on Martin's doctoral thesis, completed in 1969.

the representation of books in documentary sources.<sup>11</sup> In this context, he lamented that while we study inventories from a social history point of view, it is impossible to apply methodologies from the Social Sciences to the study of early modern inventories.<sup>12</sup> In expressing this, Martin was perhaps underestimating the power and influence of the ‘archival turn’ in early modern studies. Pioneered by scholars like Martin himself, Lucien Febvre, and Natalie Zemon Davis, such studies have taught us that we can glean more from inventories than titles and numbers, and that more detail might be lurking beneath the surface of these documents.<sup>13</sup>

The use of probate inventories in book historical studies makes it possible to contextualize the books within the other objects of a household, and within the overall appraised value of a household’s contents. Unlike the catalogues of libraries that were circulating increasingly more often in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century among humanist and erudite circles, booklists contained within probate inventories lend themselves to disclosing the *relative* importance of books in the lives of early modern readers. In doing this, the idiosyncrasies of booklists and of probate inventories as historic sources must be taken into consideration.<sup>14</sup> First of all, not all successions would necessarily require that an inventory be compiled. The compilation of a probate inventory took place either in the case of a dispute among the heirs, or in the presence of children who were not yet of age, and thus required a parent or a guardian to look out for their rights.<sup>15</sup> What is more, not all books were necessarily included in a probate inventory, but only those that were deemed to have a significant impact on the succession: the cheapest and the oldest books were usually bundled up together and are not listed individually in this kind of document.<sup>16</sup> If the succession was of no consequence, there was no need to commission the costly and time-consuming inventory process. While books were not necessarily luxury items in absolute terms, for some individuals it would have been a luxury to purchase even the cheapest.<sup>17</sup> The existence of a probate inventory and the ownership of books, therefore, already assume a certain element of social discrimination, which is acknowledged in the present discussion.<sup>18</sup>

Books were among the first goods to require a specialist appraiser, a fact that is revealing of their status as commodities. Since the sixteenth century, they were inventoried by a distinct category of booksellers, the *libraires jurés* (accredited booksellers).<sup>19</sup> This operation, which was commissioned and paid for separately, was called the *prise des livres* (‘appraisal of the books’), and was usually carried out on a different quire of paper by the person tasked with that section of the appraisal. Occasionally, inventories preserved in the Minutier Central contain the original list established by the bookseller alongside the version

<sup>11</sup> Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris*, vol. 1, pp. 535–551.

<sup>12</sup> Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris*, vol. 1, p. 535.

<sup>13</sup> James Daybell, ‘Archives’, in Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 124–127.

<sup>14</sup> Two volumes that discuss some of the advantages and pitfalls of working with historic booklists and catalogues have appeared in this very series: Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds), *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2013) and Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree, and Graeme Kemp (eds), *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

<sup>15</sup> Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Shanti Graheli, ‘Readers and Consumers of Popular Print’, *Quaerendo*, 51 (2021), pp. 61–94, especially p. 74.

<sup>17</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (4<sup>th</sup> ed., London: Duckworth, 1975), p. 212.

<sup>18</sup> Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*, pp. 4–5.

<sup>19</sup> Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris*, vol. 1, pp. 53–55.

copied into the single probate inventory, as can easily be ascertained through palaeographic evidence. The booklist as originally compiled by the bookseller is commonly separate from the appraisal of the other contents and written on a different stock of paper, further emphasizing that the people carrying out this task were employed separately, even though it would be by commission of the notary tasked with the overall appraisal. Through the seventeenth century, it became increasingly more common for different types of goods to require the intervention of different specialists, for example in the case of jewellery, art, or musical instruments.<sup>20</sup> These trends would continue to develop throughout the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, with the rise of specialized trades, as discussed by Natacha Coquery in her exploration of eighteenth-century Parisian boutiques.<sup>21</sup>

While the status of books in the probate inventory signals their uniqueness as objects in the early modern household, it also leads to documentary incongruities. Partly because of the intrinsic separation within the documentary evidence itself, the study of early modern books and libraries comes with the temptation to isolate them from other material evidence. In turn, this carries the risk of over-stating the relative importance of books, forgetting that they existed alongside other possessions. In the case of illustrious collections, consciously represented by dedicated lists and celebrated in works such as Louis Jacob's *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques publiques et particulières* (1644), the intention to separate the books from other more mundane objects was explicit, following long-standing practices of book collecting as self-fashioning, which would continue to grow in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>22</sup>

These different typologies of booklist—the ones created for legal purposes to serve the heirs, often in disposing of a library, as opposed to those compiled or commissioned by the owner of a library as a mark of prestige—underscore the paradox intrinsic to any effort in appraising the 'value' of libraries. Notaries' booklists demonstrate that books were almost unfailingly far less valuable (in monetary terms) than most objects in the household. Yet the value of books was (and still is) necessarily subjective, depending on emotional attachment and the reception of texts, rather than being simply confined to their material worth, contingent on market forces.<sup>23</sup> Used books are a particularly appropriate example: heavily annotated copies would generally lose commercial value, though the provenance of those annotations could, on occasion, turn a used book into a sought-after and highly valuable copy.<sup>24</sup>

The period between 1580 and 1620 represented a transitional juncture for the appraisal of books. By then, many editions produced in the first age of print had become largely obsolete, but some had become or were becoming collectible antiquarian items.

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<sup>20</sup> I would like to acknowledge and thank Marc Jaffré for many conversations on this topic over the years, based on his extensive knowledge of French probate inventories, especially for the seventeenth century.

<sup>21</sup> Natacha Coquery, *Tenir boutique à Paris au XVIIIe siècle: luxe et demi-luxe* (Paris: Édition du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2011).

<sup>22</sup> Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris*, vol. 1, p. 474. Louis Jacob, *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques publiques et particulières qui ont été et qui sont à présent dans le monde* (2 vols., Paris: Rolet Le Duc, 1644), USTC 6035314.

<sup>23</sup> Trends of collecting as self-fashioning would be exasperated in the following centuries, as bibliophilic endeavours would bring many a collector to bankruptcy. For an excellent example, see John A. Sibbald, 'Book Bitch to the Rich—the Strife and Times of the Revd. Dr. Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1776–1847)', in Shanti Graheli (ed.), *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 489–521.

<sup>24</sup> Shanti Graheli, 'Used Books and the Republic of Letters', in Ute Schneider (ed.), *Imprimatur. Ein Jahrbuch für Bücherfreunde*, 27 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021), pp. 65–84.

Some examples discussed below offer pointers for disentangling the different meanings of the value (monetary, affective, antiquarian) of books. It is in the context of these contrasting perspectives that studying such documentary sources through an interdisciplinary approach is particularly productive.

### **Books within the household**

Approaching books by looking at the early modern home as a microcosm allows us to reposition them within the home and the broader sociality of early modern readers, their material lives and inhabited spaces. This section investigates the location of books within the household as presented in the sample of 111 probate inventories identified as the core corpus for this study. If the appraisal process almost always led to an unnatural but inevitable separation of the books from the other possessions, then the materiality of the inventory itself compounded that separation. This is a central issue in the exploration of questions related to uses of the book as represented in notary's booklists. While for the rest of the household goods we find a probate inventory organized on a room-by-room basis, frequently the books were not assigned to a specific room in the household. About forty per cent of all the examples considered here (52 out of 111) do not present an explicit statement of where the books were kept; the *prisee des livres* was carried out by the bookseller, implicitly working within the area of his expertise—it is not known whether this was accompanied by a physical delimitation of space, or if books scattered around the house were collected in a single place to aid the inventory operations. Just over half of the inventories in the sample contain a formal statement explicitly addressing the location of the books within the household, to various degrees of precision. In some cases, the location of the books is simply defined as “en la maison” (“in the house”), with no further detail—we can perhaps interpret such instances as disclosing the presence of books across multiple locations. There may be hints, too, to disturbances in the process. Titles listed outside of their own category or format, for example, may indicate a silent change of location. Other documents contain more detailed information in identifying the location of the books, including a room specifically used as a library (this was unusual in private dwellings), a study, the bedroom, or simply a landing. A home study was the designated space for books in 35 out of 111 examples. These cases are evenly distributed across the timespan explored here, starting as early as 1581.

When considering the location of books as described in probate inventories, of course, we must take into account that unlike furniture or large paintings, individual books were easily moved. After the death of a loved one, the rest of the family would continue to inhabit the house; the inventory may be produced well after a death, for example if a widowed parent remarried. While a wardrobe or a chest would probably stay put, stray books left outside of their normal location may well be moved back where they belonged, either by a member of the family or by those compiling the inventory. The materiality of books today may still contribute to reconstructing incomplete or missing information. Extraneous objects stored in books, such as pressed leaves or flowers, or damage from food or water may hint at their migration within and outside of the home.

The inventory operations themselves, meanwhile, may well cause objects to be moved, disrupting the very space they were meant to faithfully represent. In compiling the probate inventory of Anne Robert (1617), of which the booklist had been entrusted to Jean

Le Bouc, the books kept in the house at Villetaneuse were carted to the house in Paris.<sup>25</sup> Accordingly, the inventory separates the books by indicating which titles in folio, quarto, octavo and so on had been brought in from Villetaneuse. So for these items we have lost details of the books' usual location even from within the snapshot provided by the probate inventory. Investigating the possessions of Catherine de Medici, inventoried in 1589, Kerri-rue Michahelles interpreted absences in probate inventories as clues to the movement of certain objects, as well as discussing the practice of removing objects to storerooms in the home for the purposes of compiling the inventory.<sup>26</sup> While the example of Catherine de Medici's inventory cannot be seen as representative of its time, it is suggestive of broader practices because it was by necessity documented in far greater detail.

The location of books in probate inventories may be complemented by the study of book furniture, which offers important clues as to the intended location of books, if not of their actual uses. This takes us as close as possible to understanding the physical location, monetary and emotional value of books within the household. Within the designated spaces, several inventories describe storage facilities for books. Shelves and bookcases were often found in the study, and expressed as *armoires*, *tablettes*, or *poupitres*, designating different typologies of storage.<sup>27</sup> Shelves were defined as *étagères*, *planches*, or *aix*.<sup>28</sup> Some examples of detailed descriptions for storage facilities include: "un petit bureau de boys de chesne" and "deux pupittres de boys de chesne à mettre livres", respectively describing "a small oak desk" and a space designated for reading, furnished with "two wooden shelves designed to store books".<sup>29</sup> In the case of Jehan de Therouenne, royal counsellor (d. 1581), the inventory gives a detailed description of a modest space to keep a library, adjacent to the room with a garden view, furnished with two old lectern bookcases.<sup>30</sup> The library of lawyer Jehan Crestot, inventoried in 1618, was a little larger, containing two large bookcases (one with six, one with four shelves) and a smaller one with two shelves, all set up in the study.<sup>31</sup> Berthellémy Presdeseigle, counsellor of the king and controller general of finances,

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<sup>25</sup> Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 218, Anne Robert, seigneur de Villetaneuse, avocat au Parlement, 14 July 1617. It would seem that only books in smaller formats were brought from Villetaneuse, with details given for the quartos (fol. 16v), octavos (fol. 19r) and sexto-decimos (fol. 20r).

<sup>26</sup> Kerrie-rue Michahelles, 'Catherine De Medici's 1589 Inventory at the Hôtel de la Reine in Paris', *Furniture History*, 38 (2002), pp. 1–39: 4–5.

<sup>27</sup> Following the definitions as given in the contemporary Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: Adam Islip, 1611) (USTC 3004892): *armoire*: 'cupboard' or 'little booke-press' (fol. F3v); *poulpitre* or *poupitre*: 'lecterne', 'high desk', 'a Presse for bookes to stand in' (fol. Rrr4v); *tablette*: 'a little table, or board' (fol. Ffff4v), though in most instances explored here, 'tablette' certainly indicates a bookcase.

<sup>28</sup> Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie*, gives several definitions for *planche*, including 'generally, any shelve', fol. Qqq1r. He does not know the modern meaning of 'étagères' or 'estager', which are clearly used across our corpus to mean 'shelves' as they still are today. 'Aix' is not present in this spelling, but 'aisselle' is given as 'a little planke, board, or shingle of wood' (fol. Dij2r).

<sup>29</sup> Paris, ANMC, XXI, 52/A, Antoine de Senneton, conseiller du Roi, 27 July 1583.

<sup>30</sup> Paris, ANMC, XI, 71, Jehan de Therouenne, conseiller du Roi au Parlement, 24 April 1581. The original reads: "en l'estude ... joignant ladite chambre avec veue sur le jardin ... deux vieulx poulpitres du bois ... l'un à trois estageres et l'autre à quatre servant à mestre livres."

<sup>31</sup> Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 218, Jehan Crestot, avocat en parlement, 2 January 1618, fol. 4r. The original reads: "trois tablettes servans à mettre livres dont deux grandes et une petite de bois de chesne l'une à six etaigers et l'autre à quatre et la petite à deux."

required a further division between books and papers, and owned bookshelves as well as two cupboards to store papers, which were kept under lock.<sup>32</sup>

Social and marital status naturally contributed to determine where one might live, how many books one might own, and where these were stored. Unmarried men were more likely to live in a smaller space, with teachers or students living in a single chamber or small set of chambers in college lodgings, where all their possessions were located. Similar patterns may be found in the case of priests or canons, who lived within the grounds of their church and kept their books in the same place.<sup>33</sup> Within a nuclear family, the formal legal ownership of the books was usually restricted to the husband. In five examples within the corpus studied, where a husband outlived his wife, the *prise des livres* contains an explicit statement indicating that the books had been the sole property of the husband, or that they were located in his private study.<sup>34</sup> In these cases, the explicit location of books in the study would seem to be an expedient to demarcate property within the estate, and not only a statement of location.

It was unusual for books to be located within the more public spaces in the home, though this did happen. In a handful of cases, books were kept either “en la salle”, the largest room, where the family would eat and spend most of their free time; or occasionally in the bedroom, which is the case with a number of chivalric novels and other literature of entertainment.<sup>35</sup> These may be taken as evidence that access to those books was unmediated within the household, though it remains circumstantial evidence at best. Provenance information, though fraught with its own documentary challenges, is more useful in outlining the extent of a family’s extended access to books.<sup>36</sup> Mediated access to books and reading may affect particularly women and children, as we know from the study of conduct manuals and from enquiries using provenance information.<sup>37</sup> The location of books in separate spaces, however, may simply be a choice of appropriate furnishing and decoration of the living quarters, rather than a conscious choice in limiting access to reading.

Even with books tucked away in a dedicated area, storage may not have been sufficient. In two cases within our corpus, all or some of the books appear to be stored in the loft (*grenier*), suggesting a number of volumes that exceeded the prime storage space

<sup>32</sup> Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 218, Berthellémy Presdeseigle, conseiller du Roi, général en sa cour des Monnaies, 1 March 1617. The original reads (fol. 5v): “une paire d’armoires à deux petits vollets fermant à clef servant mettre papiers” and (fol. 6r): “une paire d’armoires servant à mettre livres à six tablettes.”

<sup>33</sup> Examples include the following inventories: Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 203, François Moreau, principal du collège des Dormans, 2 January 1588; Paris, ANMC, XLIX, 182, Jacques Jacob, prêtre au collège de Cambrai, 20 September 1595; Paris, ANMC, VI, 167, Symon Le Roulx, prêtre, clerc en l’église Sainte-Croix, 28 June 1600; Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 213, Jean Marqué, prêtre et grand boursier du Collège de Laon, 12 May 1607; Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 216, Pierre Broulard, precepteur au Collège de la Marche, 2 July 1613.

<sup>34</sup> For example, in the case of Paris, ANMC, XXXIV, 24, Isabelle Auger, wife of Jehan Guybert, chirurgien, 30 January 1599; or Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 214, Charlotte De Loynes, wife of Nicolas Ramet, 12 July 1610.

<sup>35</sup> “En la salle”: Paris, ANMC, VII, 83, Jehanne Foullon, femme de Nicolas Le Maire, marchand pelletier et bourgeois, 19 October 1601; “Romans dans la chambre”, Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 203, Antoine Delaporte, 14 November 1588. The latter inventory is from a family of book merchants, though these ‘romans’ would seem to have belonged to the private household and not to their business.

<sup>36</sup> Nicholas Pickwoad, ‘The Interpretation of Bookbinding Structure: An Examination of Sixteenth-Century Bindings in the Ramey Collection in the Pierpont Morgan Library’, *The Library*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 27 (1995), pp. 209–249; Marie-Dominique Leclerc, ‘Ex-libris manuscrits et notes dans les impressions de grande diffusion (XVIIe–XIXe siècle)’, *Histoire et Civilisation du Livre*, 2 (2006), pp. 323–345.

<sup>37</sup> An excellent example for early modern England is Jennifer Richards, ‘Reading and Hearing *The Womans Booke* in Early Modern England’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 89 (2015), pp. 434–462.



within the home.<sup>38</sup> Only rarely did the house include a specific location chiefly designed for the books, defined as either *librairie* or *bibliothèque*.<sup>39</sup> These are all larger collections of a few hundred titles. Where the location of the books is made explicit within a private household of multiple rooms, the study is most frequently where they are kept. In the case of larger homes, where there might be more than one study, these may be further defined according to their position within the house, for example clarifying if the room had a view, which gives a very visual perception of the life individuals may be leading at home. In the home of Barnabé Brisson, whose possessions were inventoried in 1591, books were stored “en la grande estude”.<sup>40</sup> The study, broadly defined, was a space for solitary work, containing a desk, shelves and other storage facilities. This was crucially also the location for any weapons that may be present in the house and for cash money: high-value and dangerous items which were best kept in a secluded space.<sup>41</sup> This would again demarcate a separation of this space from the rest of the household, and a necessity for intermediation where others besides the head of the household required access to the books. Books may not have been kept in a locked cupboard, but the separation of space nevertheless created a boundary within the home.

In some cases, where a man’s profession took him to different parts of the city on business, the books might be more likely to be spread around. The inventory of Nicolas Duchesne (1610), a prosecutor at the Châtelet and a bailiff, lists three different houses. Two of these were in the city centre—the family home in rue Galande and a second house at Saint-Germain-des-Prés—both on the left bank of the Seine and within walking distance to the Châtelet.<sup>42</sup> The study was located in the house near Saint-Germain-des-Prés, where Duchesne had administrative duties as a bailiff, suggesting a separation between his private life and his business. The family home was the space that contained all the normal furnishings such as beds and cots, mirrors, wardrobes, paintings, rugs, as well as plates, cutlery, and linen. Conversely, the second home was very sparsely furnished, with just the essentials—including a bed, a cupboard, a desk and chairs, a rug, and a few knives—all of lesser value and more limited quantity than the equivalent objects as inventoried in the family home. All the books described in the Duchesne inventory, however, would appear to have been located in this second house. Here was a handsome set of royal ordinances, handbooks of judicial practice and customary law, complemented with regional and national histories. All these could be understood within the broader skillset of a man in Duchesne’s profession. But the list also included texts of hagiography and devotion, a couple of bibles, and even two volumes of *Amadis de Gaule*. Duchesne also had a study in the family home, but here only weapons and money were listed; neither books, nor furniture to store books was kept there. The library, it must be concluded, was considered an integral part of his

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<sup>38</sup> Paris, ANMC, C, 165, Nicolas Duchesne, procureur au Châtelet et procureur fiscal du bailliage de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 29 December 1610, fol. 9r. The original reads: “au grenier ... deux tablettes de bois ... servant à mettre livres.” Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 214, Pierre Lomede, avocat en la cour du Parlement, 7 October 1610, fol. 13r: “livres trouvez tant au grenier que es estudes.”

<sup>39</sup> Paris, ANMC, XXIV, 263, Jean Olivier, sieur de Leuville, gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi, 25 September 1591 (“en la librairie”). Paris, ANMC, XXIII, 136, Gaspard de Brianne, avocat, 19 April 1615 (“en l'estude et bibliotheque”).

<sup>40</sup> Paris, ANMC, LXXVIII, 155, Barnabé Brisson, seigneur de la Boissière et de Gravelles, conseiller au conseil d'Etat et président au Parlement, 7 December 1591, fol. 17r.

<sup>41</sup> Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 213, René de Villequier, 18 May 1607.

<sup>42</sup> Paris, ANMC, C, 165, Nicolas Duchesne.

professional persona, and as such, was kept where it could conveniently be used or displayed.

In the case of larger households, especially religious houses, the books were likely to be interspersed across several areas, according to their different functions. The late sixteenth-century inventory of the Carmelite house describes books placed across four different locations: the library, the vestry, the choir, and the prior's lodgings, where all the important documents were located.<sup>43</sup> For the later part of the seventeenth century, systematic evidence for the location of the library within individual monastic establishments in the congregation of Saint-Maur in France can be found in the *Monasticon Gallicanum*, a collection of monasteries' architectural plans compiled in the nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup> This work is a treasure trove for the study of book culture as it was embedded into architectural planning, although it reflects the mission and vocational approach to books and reading of Benedictine congregations specifically, and should not be taken as the measure for all monastic libraries. Most of the monasteries illustrated in the *Monasticon* show the library in the immediate proximity of the abbey and by the night quarters, further evidencing the vital function of the library in monastic life. Complementing what we know about the creation of architectural spaces to store and use books, documents like the Carmelite inventory provide an overview of where the books were actively used and stored in the everyday life of the monastery, following the rhythm of the liturgical calendar.

### **Cherished or stowed away? Storage and the value of books placed in context**

The value of books and their placement within the house are useful categories to be investigated jointly, as they could be deeply interconnected. Yet this was far from a linear equation. Books kept in *pacquets* (bundles) offer a useful point for reflection in terms of practical storage arrangements. In his study of sixteenth-century Parisian libraries, Roger Doucet considered this chiefly as an arrangement for cheap books, while Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun added that this was also a way of reducing the expenditure incurred in commissioning the inventory operations.<sup>45</sup> Together, these observations explain the presence of bundles for most cases, though some examples remain that defy such categorizations. Kate van Orden, whose scholarly interests cut across book history and music, has pointed out that in the case of music parts, the existence of bundles does not necessarily designate cheap items, but that rather it identifies items that required to be used in sheets or parts by separate users in ensemble activity.<sup>46</sup> The proliferation of music scores for the concerted performance of madrigals, *canzoni*, or motets from the sixteenth century posed a practical problem: what was the ideal preservation unit? A formal binding only suited the single part, as so many surviving examples of individual Bassus, Tenor, Altus, and Cantus volumes demonstrate. But other examples survive, suggesting that the performance itself could be a unit of preservation. Amelie Roper has explored such

<sup>43</sup> Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 202, Couvent de Carmes, 18 September 1587.

<sup>44</sup> Achille Peigné-Delacourt and Léopold Delisle, *Monasticon Gallicanum: Collection de 168 planches de vues topographiques représentant les monastères de l'ordre de Saint-Benoit, Congrégation de Saint Maur avec deux cartes des établissements Bénédictins en France* (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1871).

<sup>45</sup> Doucet, *Les Bibliothèques Parisiennes*, p. 11; Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*, p. 6.

<sup>46</sup> Kate van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), Chapter 2, esp. pp. 39–42.

examples in the form of ephemeral printed materials, such as polyphonic broadsides that could be used by four individuals gathered around the same table.<sup>47</sup> What could be done for more substantial scores that required to be used by multiple users at once? Preservation of unbound or stitched sheets in loose bundles was probably the most practical form of storage. Alongside considerations about the practical uses of such materials, the evidence offered by the estimated value of some bundles included in probate inventories further demonstrates that bundles were not limited to cheap books; they may well include items that were best used unbound (and, occasionally, books that had not been bound yet). The library of the artist Daniel Dumonstier, appraised in 1629, is a good example that features bundled music.<sup>48</sup> All music parts in the Dumonstier collection were held in bundles, and these were notably valuable items, with each *pacquet* appraised at several *livres tournois*.

The music collection documented by the Dumonstier inventory is also useful in highlighting the coexistence of printed music and musical instruments within the same domestic spaces.<sup>49</sup> This is a feature that we see repeated across other seventeenth-century inventories with printed music collections of some relevance. For example, Claude de La Morlière, notary at the Châtelet (1613), owned several music parts, kept in the study adjoining his rooms, alongside a small lute.<sup>50</sup> The music collection of Hugues Yver, seigneur de La Courtille and counsellor to the king, and his wife Anne Damours was so large, that the books and instruments were held across multiple locations—an increasingly common occurrence in later decades.<sup>51</sup> The music books and tablatures were held both in the cabinet and in the study, bundled up according to edition, clearly to allow for an easy retrieval of the materials required for each performance.<sup>52</sup> The collection was completed with several musical instruments held in the *salle* of their Paris home, including eight lutes, a spinet, a guitar, and nine viols; these were appraised in the presence of Pierre Bossu, “maître facteur d'instruments”.<sup>53</sup> The family also kept several items for music making in their house in the country, at Yèbles: these included some music parts, a lute, and even a harpsichord kept for their daughter.<sup>54</sup> By considering printed music alongside the musical instruments held in the household, rather than in isolation, it is possible to achieve a much more satisfactory understanding of the habitual uses of these books by various members of the family. The correlation between the location of subject-specific books and other objects is also worth exploring across different areas. A good example is represented by the storage arrangements for mathematical books and instruments. While outside of the chronological remit of this study, the collection of scientific instruments kept by the royal mathematician Pascal Duhamel (1565) alongside his books offers evidence about this practice.<sup>55</sup> Inferable

<sup>47</sup> Amelie Roper, ‘German Music Broadsheets, 1500 to 1550: Production, Persuasion and Performance’, in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 400–441. For a visual example, see Figure 17.6 (426).

<sup>48</sup> Daniel Lecoer, *Daniel Dumonstier 1574–1646* (Paris: Arthena, 2006).

<sup>49</sup> Lecoer, *Daniel Dumonstier*, p. 41.

<sup>50</sup> Paris, ANMC, IX, 296, Claude de La Morlière, notaire au Châtelet de Paris, 17 September 1613. Cited in Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier central concernant l’histoire de la musique*, vol. 1, pp. 870–871.

<sup>51</sup> Paris, ANMC, IV, 111, Hugues Yver, seigneur de La Courtille, conseiller du roi et auditeur en la chambre des comptes, and Anne Damours his wife, 24 May 1622. Cited in Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier central concernant l’histoire de la musique*, vol. 1, pp. 874–877.

<sup>52</sup> Paris, ANMC, IV, 111, Hugues Yver and Anne Damours, fols 14 and 20.

<sup>53</sup> Paris, ANMC, IV, 111, fols 3 and 9v.

<sup>54</sup> Paris, ANMC, IV, 111, fols 22, 23v, 29v.

<sup>55</sup> Paris, ANMC, CXXII, 126, Pascal Duhamel, lecteur du Roi en mathématiques, 1565. Note: this document is not listed in the appendix, as it pre-dates the chronological range explored here.

information from the list of mathematical books owned by Jean Du Temps (c.1596) is less direct, though it still bears witness to a collection where practice and theory were deeply interconnected.<sup>56</sup>

Physical location, as these examples also show (especially in the case of the music scores and instrument kept for the enjoyment of a child), may have a direct relation to emotional value. In this context, studying shared storage arrangements, or storage arrangements relative to other objects, can be very productive. The location of certain volumes within the home is particularly interesting in the case of precious books, where emotional and monetary value are directly related. On rare occasions, a family would own one or two books, so precious in themselves that they were kept under lock and key alongside the jewellery. The 1587 inventory compiled at the death of Marye Lecourt, wife of Bertrand Richard, included a couple of illuminated books of hours on vellum, gilt, and ruled throughout, bound in red calf.<sup>57</sup> For security reasons, and possibly for emotional ones, too, these were kept with the precious objects of the house. Such examples are a reminder that differences in value may lead to a re-categorization of books as commodities and material objects, rather than merely texts. In this context, books of hours are frequent outliers in the context of inventory operations, being the titles most likely to be listed outside the formal booklist.

By and large, however, books were not particularly precious, and they represented almost invariably a minor value among an individual's possessions, as demonstrated by comparing the appraisal of books to the appraisal of other objects of everyday life. The inventory compiled at the death of Jehanne Alix in 1588, for example, shows that even expensive books were not distant in value from other essentials. A pair of nicely bound books in this inventory, for example, were appraised at a significantly lower sum than certain undergarments belonging to the deceased.<sup>58</sup> The books were described as two large volumes of French chronicles, bound in red leather, appraised at 1 *livre*.<sup>59</sup> The 1585 inventory of Nicolle Desplaces, a curate at Saint-Landry (a church today no longer extant on the Ile de la Cité), similarly shows the books as a small item in the overall appraisal.<sup>60</sup> All texts were strictly relevant to his profession as a curate and were mostly functional copies, but also included precious items, such as a breviary with gilt binding. Other essential goods included wine, furniture, clothes, and linens, amounting to well over the appraisal value of the books.

Such relative values are perhaps motivated by the fact that it would be far easier for the commoner household objects to be sold as second-hand, rather than the books. This might explain why one of the categories listed with the greatest care—and one that appears unfailingly in these inventories—is the *linge* (linens). Of the entire content of the inventory, this was probably the easiest to find uses for through sale, reuse or recycling, and transformation into new products, such as rag paper. However, this is not to say that the books could not fetch a considerable price at a sale. Evidence from the appraisal and sale of

<sup>56</sup> For Du Temps, see Alexander Marr, 'A Renaissance Library Rediscovered: The "Repertorium librorum Mathematica" of Jean I du Temps', *The Library*, 7<sup>th</sup> ser., 9 (2008), pp. 428–470.

<sup>57</sup> Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 202, Marye Lecourt, femme de Bertrand Richard, procureur en la court de parlement, 13 April 1587, fol. 17r. The original reads: "Une peires d'heures en parchemin enluminees dorées lavées et reiglées couvertes en vellin rouge."

<sup>58</sup> Paris, ANMC, XLV, 160, Jehanne Alix, wife of Gabriel Pelé, marchand coffretier malletier bourgeois de Paris en Rue de la Lanterne, 12 December 1588, fol. 8r.

<sup>59</sup> Paris, ANMC, XLV, 160, fol. 4v.

<sup>60</sup> Paris, ANMC, XLV, 160, Nicolle Desplaces, ancien curé de Saint-Landry, 4 September 1585.

the library of René Potier, bishop of Beauvais (1616) shows that books sold on average at twice the value that had been originally estimated.<sup>61</sup> The market value of books, however, may be more difficult to predict as a good sale was contingent on the right buyer coming along. Some items, exceptionally valuable to their owners and virtually worthless for anyone else, may not even be worth listing in a probate inventory.

Presences and absences in the inventory of Charlotte De Loynes (d. 1603), wife of Nicolas de Rumet, are suggestive of the untold items in probate inventories, in consideration of what held a clear monetary value and what did not.<sup>62</sup> Clothes and especially the jewellery were meticulously listed, alongside furnishings, coverings, cutlery, and other objects. The *prisee des livres* is second-last, followed by a long list of deeds detailing all formal matters relevant to the succession.<sup>63</sup> These papers were extremely well organized. They were grouped by theme and organized by class mark, and included a record of the marriage, rental agreements, and debts. Among the last pages we find the expenses sustained during Charlotte's illness and after her death: five months' worth of assistance by the physician and the apothecary; her funeral service; her marble tomb and an epitaph inscribed in the Carmelite church, where she was laid to rest.<sup>64</sup> These were matters of legal import that also carried an emotional weight.

Compared with the stupendous depth of detail in documenting both business and family papers, the absences in the De Loynes inventory are all the more striking. On two occasions in the inventory, the notary and his team remark of certain items that they are "not included or appraised, as it is customary that they should not be listed in the inventory": this includes, on the one hand, family portraits, and on the other, a set of manuscripts and papers, listed at the end of the *prisee des livres*.<sup>65</sup> Portraits of the deceased, her husband, and their parents were of no commercial value, and therefore were irrelevant for the operations of inventory, even though they would have been of tremendous value to the family. The books and papers leave more of an open question, as some are listed explicitly, including items of little value. The contents of the library as described in the *prisee des livres* were nothing extraordinary, largely including titles from

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<sup>61</sup> Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1769, fols 595r–628r for the inventory, and fols 629r–635r for the summary document. For a discussion of this manuscript, see *infra*.

<sup>62</sup> Charlotte De Loynes, inventory, cited above, note 27. The inventory, compiled in 1610, was in all likelihood commissioned before Rumet's second marriage to Lancelotte De La Barre, which would justify the time elapsed between Charlotte's death in 1603 and the inventory operations in 1610. See François Haudicquier de Blancour, *Nobiliaire de Picardie, contenant les généralitez d'Amiens, de Soissons, pays reconquis et partie de l'élection de Beauvais, le tout justifié conformément aux jugemens rendus en faveur des nobles de la province* (Paris: De La Caille, 1693), p. 476.

<sup>63</sup> Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 214, fols 17r–20v (books) and 21r–41v (deeds).

<sup>64</sup> Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 214, fols 34r–35v. The location of the burial as the Carmelite church on Place Maubert in Paris was confirmed in Jean Baptiste Pierre Jullien de Courcelles, *Histoire généalogique et héraldique des pairs de France: des grands dignitaires de la couronne, des principales familles nobles du royaume et des maisons princières de l'Europe, précédée de la généalogie de la maison de France* (12 vols., Paris: for the author, 1822–1833), vol. 6, ad vocem: 'De Loynes', p. 8.

<sup>65</sup> Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 214. Family paintings, fol. 14v: "Item sept tableaux et portraits tant du père et freres dudit sieur Rumet que deladite damoiselle Charlotte Deloynes sa femme non prisés à cause que on n'a pas coustume de les mettres en inventaire" ("Seven paintings and portraits of the father and brothers of the aforementioned Rumet and of the aforementioned Charlotte Deloynes his wife, not appraised as it is not customary to include them in the inventory"); books, fol. 20v: "Item plusieurs livres escrits à la main papiers et menuisiers non prisés parce que on n'a pas coustume de les mettre en inventaire" ("Several handwritten books, papers and miscellany items not appraised as it is not customary that they be included in the inventory").

Rumet's legal profession, histories and books of local costumes, heraldry, and even—among the bundles—a rare mention of “deux paquets d'edits et discours en foeuille non relies prisés vingt soubz, XX ss” (“two bundles of edicts and speeches, in sheets and unbound, appraised at twenty *soubz*”), designating single-sheet political texts, perhaps of the kind famously collected by Pierre L'Estoile.<sup>66</sup> Of the devotional items we would expect in the *prise des livres*, we find a breviary, a pocket-size diurnal, and four books of hours. The latter especially were precious books, kept in a small bundle; three were on vellum, and were illuminated.<sup>67</sup> There is, however, no bible. Is it possible, then, that the family bible—traditionally inscribed with important life events and genealogical information—was retained among the worthless and yet emotionally invaluable books listed under “plusieurs livres escripts à la main, papiers et memoires” (“numerous manuscript books, papers, and memoires”)? While we may only speculate on such matters, Charlotte De Loynes's probate inventory offers unusually detailed insights into the impact of archival practices on the representation of day-to-day life in seventeenth-century Paris, and the role of books therein.

### Probate inventories and booklists as sources in the seventeenth century

While we might take it for granted that booklists in probate inventories are used as scholarly sources today, it is perhaps less known that they were widely used as bibliographic sources by trade professionals and by scholars around the time of their creation. Indeed, early modern bibliophiles were well aware of the value of booklists for any kind of erudite research.<sup>68</sup> The example of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc as a collector of lists illustrates how probate inventories and the booklists contained therein were perceived and used by their contemporaries as practical instruments for bibliographic and bibliophilic research. An exceptional bibliophile for the breadth of his interests and knowledge of the book world, Peiresc learnt from the example of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli that booklists were the essential instrument for the early modern scholar.<sup>69</sup> Peiresc's correspondence shows a keen interest in gathering lists of titles of various kinds, including thematic bibliographies created for personal use, records of the latest publications such as the catalogues of the Frankfurt book fairs, listings of volumes in private and institutional libraries, and the lists of titles established upon a collector's death under the supervision of a notary.<sup>70</sup> His knowledge of booklists as a genre, his understanding of the peculiarities of each type, and of their

<sup>66</sup> Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 214, fol. 19v. For Pierre L'Estoile's collection of ephemeral materials, see Tom Hamilton, *Pierre de L'Estoile and his World in the Wars of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

<sup>67</sup> Paris, ANMC, XVIII, 214, fol. 17v: “Item quatre paires d'heures en un paquet cotte A les trois de velin enluminee deux in 4o et deux in 16o prisee sept livres dix soubz, VII £ X ss.”

<sup>68</sup> Shanti Graheli, ‘Booklists and the Republic of Letters: The Case of Peiresc’, in Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree, and Graeme Kemp (eds), *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 33–60. This essay is largely based around Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1769.

<sup>69</sup> Angela Nuovo, ‘Ritratto di collezionista da giovane: Peiresc a casa Pinelli’, in Francesco Solinas (ed.), *Peiresc et l'Italie. Actes du colloque international. Naples, le 23 et le 24 juin 2006, Istituto per gli Studi Filosofici, Palazzo Serra di Cassano* (Paris: Alain Baudry et Cie, 2009), pp. 1–17; Anna Maria Rauguei, *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli e la sua biblioteca* (Geneva: Droz, 2018).

<sup>70</sup> Graheli, ‘Booklists and the Republic of Letters’. Large sections of Peiresc's correspondence were published in Philippe Tamizey de Larroque (ed.), *Lettres de Peiresc* (7 vols., Paris: 1888–1898). Henceforth, this is abbreviated as *Lettres de Peiresc*.

shortcomings, too, contributed to formulating queries and requests sent across his epistolary network until his death in 1636.

The creation of booklists as part of a probate inventory was seen as a most important last resort for anyone who may be interested in gaining access to the books within a certain collection. The early modern scholar knew that libraries were prone to dispersal, therefore the compilation of the inventory was a crucial time for the appraisal of the materials and for gaining access to them before they changed hands. Peiresc and his friends, such as the Dupuy brothers, Pierre Gassendi, Lorenzo Pignoria and others kept updated wish lists on each other's account, and operated on the understanding that one would watch out for opportunities to purchase items for the others. Certain old but valuable titles could only ever become available as second-hand copies, a notion that is often reiterated in Peiresc's letters. The sale of old libraries in Paris was considered a good opportunity to secure otherwise unavailable titles.<sup>71</sup>

Peiresc kept a vast number of booklists drawn from different sources and produced for various purposes. Self-fashioned booklists, created for the collector's personal use, as well as for the use of friends and acquaintances, account for a substantial number of Peiresc's bibliophilic enquiries. Often, the lists preserved information about the materiality of the libraries they represented. The example of the manuscript held by the Marciana library in Venice, listed with their correct pressmarks, is a case in point.<sup>72</sup> Other material features of the volumes described in each booklist may also be documented. The list of manuscripts found at the Bourbon castle in Moulins was compiled in 1523, after the Bourbon lands were seized by Francis I.<sup>73</sup> It was compiled by Pierre Antoine, *conseiller du Roi*, and Mathieu Espinette, canon of Moulins and librarian.<sup>74</sup> The inventory was then integrated by the expression 'deficit' ('missing') next to all the items no longer available in their original location.<sup>75</sup> Such a level of precision was allowed by the use of two earlier inventories as a basis for the new one. The list was compiled so that the king's new possessions could be accounted for, so naturally it had to be precise. Wherever possible, an explanation was provided by the compilers: next to "Gyron le Courtois" we find the usual note 'deficit' to the left-hand side, and to the right-hand side the addition "N[ot]a que le Roy

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<sup>71</sup> For example, see the letter from Peiresc to the Dupuy brothers, Aix-en-Provence, 31 March 1627, in *Lettres de Peiresc*, vol. 1, pp. 176–189 (184). Similar instances are recorded in the following letters, all references being to *Lettres de Peiresc*: Peiresc to Pierre Dupuy, Aix, 11 July 1627, vol. 1, pp. 276–285 (285); Peiresc to Pierre Dupuy, Aix, 16 January 1633, vol. 2, pp. 415–421 (419); Peiresc to Pierre Dupuy, Aix, 12 December 1633, vol. 2, pp. 661–666 (662); Peiresc to Jacques Dupuy, Aix, 22 May 1635, vol. 3, pp. 315–318: 318; Peiresc to Jacques Dupuy, Aix, 15 October 1635, vol. 3, pp. 387–392 (389); Peiresc to Jacques Dupuy, Aix, 18 November 1636, vol. 3, pp. 604–607 (606); Peiresc to Jacques Dupuy, Aix, 23 December 1636, vol. 3, pp. 621–623 (622).

<sup>72</sup> Graheli, 'Booklists and the Republic of Letters', pp. 39–40.

<sup>73</sup> Charles III, Duke of Bourbon, Count of Montpensier (1490–1527) was appointed Constable of France by Francis I, holding the office from 1515 to 1521. Issues of succession caused the relationship between Charles and Francis to deteriorate when the constable refused to marry the queen mother in second marriage. Charles of Bourbon fled in 1523, after which the Crown seized all his possessions.

<sup>74</sup> The list can be found in Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1769, fols 6r–17v, as well as Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Dupuy 488, fols 211r–221v. Le Roux de Lincy notes the existence of a third copy in the Library of St Victor in Paris. The list in the Dupuy library may possibly be the original or its contemporary, while the other two, both compiled in the seventeenth century, are copies of this one. For the authenticity of the list in Dupuy 488, see Marie-Pierre Laffitte, 'Les ducs de Bourbon et leurs livres d'après les inventaires', in *Le duché de Bourbon: des origines au Connétable. Actes du colloque des 5 et 6 octobre 2000* (Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule: Bleu autour, 2001), pp. 170–178, especially 173.

<sup>75</sup> Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1769, fols 6r–17v.

le a eú” (“Note that the King took it”).<sup>76</sup> Clarifications about holdings are not limited to the text, but are also concerned with the materiality of the book. The entry, “La congratulation et graces de la Nativité du Roy Charles Viii<sup>e</sup> de ce nom ensemble de Nostredame du Puy en Auvergne à ung fermant d’argent doré” (“The felicitations and graces pronounced at Notre-Dame of Le Puy-en-Velay in Auvergne for the birth of king Charles VIII of his name, with one gilded silver clasp”), designating a richly decorated volume to celebrate the birth of Charles VIII, is corrected by the indication that the silver clasp described as part of the binding had disappeared.<sup>77</sup> In retaining such information, the seventeenth-century collections of Peiresc and Dupuy preserved a record for the materiality of earlier libraries.

As well as obtaining inventories of libraries wherever possible, a physical visit to the library itself was highly desirable, as the hope of finding hitherto neglected treasures was a powerful force for members of the Republic of Letters. Yet, notes of disappointment follow the accounts of many such visits. Joseph Justus Scaliger was not shy of expressing his feelings in this regard, for example, upon a visit to a library in Bonnevaux.<sup>78</sup> Though he may be particularly colourful in expressing his disappointment, Scaliger was by no means alone in doing so. Many of Peiresc’s queries, too, ended in frustration, as he attempted to secure reliable versions of ancient texts, or promising new works. Several of his visits to libraries are documented by his own notes in MS 1769, including one to the royal library with Nicolas Rigault and Pierre Pithou in April 1617.<sup>79</sup> A few remarkable volumes were judged by Peiresc on the basis of the materiality of the volume: size, quality, and age of the script; quality and frequency of illustration and illumination. A Hebrew bible was appraised at a staggering 100 *livres* by Pierre Pithou and his friends-*estimateurs* (presumably, *libraires jurés*).

While the chief purpose behind the redaction of a probate inventory was a legal one, commissioned by the heirs for the purposes of succession, early modern French intellectuals used these as search tools with a view to tapping the riches of contemporary libraries. Many such explorations took place in Paris, while searches conducted elsewhere were reported to the great bibliophiles in the capital, such as the Dupuy brothers or Pierre Pithou. A letter from Nicolas Le Fèvre (1544–1612), lacking the address but presumably to one of the Dupuy brothers, is an excellent example of how these wanderings in the provinces may unfold. “I have seen the library of St Maurice in Angers”, he wrote, “where I found no great thing.”<sup>80</sup> Moving on to Nantes, he was stuck in his lodgings during a storm that lasted for days, and he was finally able to visit the famed library of the archdeacon Le Gallo.<sup>81</sup> The library was understood to be uncommonly large for the time and place where it was assembled, and Le Fèvre was particularly keen to pay a visit. Seeing the books during a first visit was not a

<sup>76</sup> Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1769, fol. 11v. It should be noted that, while it contains details of missing items, the transcription and discussion of the list by Le Roux de Lincy does not give additional notes such as the one discussed here. Antoine Le Roux de Lincy, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque des ducs de Bourbon en 1507 et en 1523, précédé d’une notice sur les anciens seigneurs de ce nom* (Paris: Crapelet, 1850).

<sup>77</sup> The original note reads: “no[te] que le fermant ny est point” (“note that the silver clasp is no longer present”). Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1769, fol. 7r.

<sup>78</sup> Joseph-Juste Scaliger, *The Correspondence of Joseph Justus Scaliger*, eds. Paul Botley and Dirk van Miert (8 vols., Geneva: Droz, 2012), vol. 1, p. 347.

<sup>79</sup> Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, MS 1769, fol. 121r.

<sup>80</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Dupuy 700, Nicolas Le Fèvre to Dupuy (?), Nantes, 22 December 1586, fol. 80. The original reads: “J’ay veu la Bibliothèque de St Maurice d’Angers, ou je n’ay trouvé grand chose” (fol. 80r).

<sup>81</sup> On this large Breton collection, see Marcel Giraud-Mangin, ‘La bibliothèque de l’archidiacre Le Gallo au XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècle’, *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique de Nantes et de Loire-Atlantique*, 76 (1936), pp. 105–120.



problem, as the man left to guard the library granted him access to anything he wished to consult, but the size of the collection itself, estimated between 4,000 and 5,000 volumes, posed an issue. Since Le Gallo's death, the executors had not commissioned the appraisal of the books, nor an inventory, except for the theology titles. The visitor therefore proceeded to leaf through the books of philosophy one by one, but he reported that there was nothing very special, as the books were all twenty years old or more, many imported from Germany.<sup>82</sup> The heirs perhaps became wise to the dangers of allowing free visits in the absence of a formal inventory, as Le Fèvre later reported the impossibility of visiting a second time. Less than a month later he complained that "the executors each have a key, and given that there are three of them, it is difficult to arrange".<sup>83</sup> If there had been an inventory, he continues, he would have had a copy made, but there still was no list of the books.

Le Fèvre's visits to the north-west French libraries, and especially his comments about Le Gallo's collection, are suggestive of the importance of the formal inventory and appraisal of books for the pursuit of scholarship, second-hand purchases, or the transcription of texts that were otherwise unavailable. An inventory and sale following a death offered a narrow window of opportunity to secure certain valuable items. It is not surprising that news concerning the redaction of an inventory circulated among interested parties, and was eagerly exchanged. When Peiresc sought news about the library of Cardinal Georges d'Armagnac (c. 1501–1585), he made multiple enquiries in the surroundings of Avignon, including with the notary who had been tasked with the probate inventory as he was likely acquainted with the latest details.<sup>84</sup> It took Peiresc the best part of eight years to locate the inventory of the books, so naturally the expectations were much higher than the gain. It was perhaps the eager expectations that caused such disappointment when it proved impossible to access certain libraries. In particular, the dispersal of a collection without the possibility of purchasing rare items was a cause for frustration and concern. Peiresc expressed such feelings in a letter to Pierre Dupuy in January 1628: "I have much regretted the dispersal of the books and instruments of Mr Alleaume. I would have happily paid for those armillary spheres and the glass globes."<sup>85</sup>

Given the recurrence of such events, especially where the heirs may not have been as interested in bibliophilic matters as the unfortunate deceased, it is no surprise that details related to the appraisal of the books in such circumstances were disseminated far and wide by interested parties among the bibliophilic circles. In early 1597, Nicolas Le Fèvre wrote to Jacques-Auguste de Thou, lamenting the death of Pierre Pithou (1539–1596), scholar and fellow collector. With earnest solicitousness for Pithou's life work, Le Fèvre expressed the wish to honour the deceased by completing his unfinished work, and mentioned individual bundles of papers as crucial to the intellectual side of this inheritance.

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<sup>82</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Dupuy 700, Nicolas Le Fèvre to Dupuy (?), Nantes, December 1586 [date illegible, but after 22 December], fol. 81r.

<sup>83</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Dupuy 700, Nicolas Le Fèvre to Dupuy, Nantes, 19 January 1587, fols. 85r–86v. It is inferred that all three keys were needed for any one individual to enter the library. The original reads: "... les exequuteurs [*sic*] du testament eu ont chascun une clef lesquelz estans trois il est difficile d'assembler." (fol. 85r).

<sup>84</sup> Graheli, 'Booklists and the Republic of Letters', pp. 45, 52.

<sup>85</sup> Peiresc to Dupuy, s.l., 8 January 1628. *Lettres de Peiresc*, vol. 2, pp. 472–483: 478: "J'ay grand regret à la dissipation des livres et instruments de feu Mr Alleaume. J'eusse bien payé volontiers cez bussoles suspendües en forme d'astrolabe et de globe de verre." This was perhaps Nicolas Alleaume, *conseiller au parlement*, who had died in 1621.

The identity of the bookseller tasked with the appraisal of the books was a matter of interest, both to the Pithou family, and to his friends, as the fate of the library was cause for great concern. The *prisee des livres* therefore prompted a keen interest across the scholarly community. The family wished for the bookseller Mamert Patisson to appraise the library and see how much it could fetch in a sale, but few people were well acquainted with the true value of the collection, so it was reported that the process was likely to be a slow one.<sup>86</sup> These considerations bear witness to the importance of the inventory operations, and to the prestige attached to them in the case of prominent libraries.

Keen to secure gems from important collections, and perhaps also considering (*memento mori*) that one day their own books would fall prey to appraising hands, bibliophiles made a point of learning the trade practices of the *libraires jurées*, and followed closely the proceedings of important inventories and subsequent sales. The death of the printer and bookseller Claude Morel, as discussed in Peiresc's letters, is suggestive of this. Morel had died on 16 November 1626; the following year, Peiresc wrote to Dupuy, asking if an inventory had been commissioned for the content of his warehouses. Peiresc wanted to find a copy from a special print run of Church Fathers printed on large paper, the only volume in that series that he owned in the smaller, wider-circulating version. Morel had been in the habit, Peiresc knew, holding back a few copies of each edition printed on special paper, to be used on the occasion of stock sales.<sup>87</sup> It was his close knowledge of Morel's own business practices that allowed for the informed guess that he might finally be able to complete his set. So it was through a keen understanding of the bookseller's own practices, and of the material workings of the inventory operations, that Peiresc sent his Parisian friends to investigate.

The value of probate inventories as sources—specifically, sources that represented the materiality of the book—was well understood already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as these examples demonstrate. The privileged position of the *libraires jurées* was equally clear to interested parties; the booksellers undertaking the inventory would be the first to come across items of interest. The Parisian booksellers tasked with the appraisal of books were powerful men in the trade among their peers, as probate inventories were a daily occurrence, and often an inevitable expenditure upon inheritance. However, there was another kind of power they held—access to knowledge—that made these book trade practitioners key nodes within Parisian intellectual circles in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

## Conclusions

Taken at face value, booklists may give the false impression that they aim to disembodify, to dematerialize the book, and indeed, that they succeed in doing so. On the contrary, I have argued here for the important position occupied by materiality in our interpretive approaches to books and booklists alike. Materiality—of the books described, of the inventories, of the rituals and omissions of the inventory operations, of the practical uses and afterlives of booklists as sources and as objects in their own right—remains a central concern to critical work utilizing these documents.

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<sup>86</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Dupuy 700, Nicolas Le Fèvre to Jacques-Auguste de Thou, St-Germain, 15 January 1597, fols 105r–105v.

<sup>87</sup> Graheli, 'Booklists and the Republic of Letters', p. 55.

As well as representing the material features of individual volumes, inventories allow for more comprehensive insights into the bibliographic ecosystem of the early modern household. By studying storage (and co-storage) arrangements as portrayed in the inventory, much can be inferred about the practical and social uses of books as material objects. This may significantly affect questions of function, of performance and performativity, as discussed in the case of music scores and instruments, but also of scientific instruments and texts, as well as liturgy.

Shared or contiguous storage may also offer insights into the emotional value of books. Books of little monetary value may still be of enormous affective value, and probate inventories as a whole offer important evidence in this respect. The study of historic furnishings, the domestic location of objects, silent omissions, and the practical arrangements for the inventory operations more broadly, may all be suggestive of past practices. In exploring these documentary materials for hidden details, we thus gain a glimpse of books as they were used and experienced in the early modern Parisian home.

The value of booklists as sources has been understood and widely utilized by scholars for centuries. Compounded by the materiality of booklists as documentary evidence, however, it is only too easy to isolate them from the rest of a probate inventory, not least because of the trend—emerging from the second half of the sixteenth century, and becoming increasingly more prominent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—to circulate booklists for reference and for commercial purposes. These bibliophilic practices offer crucial insights into the perception of probate inventory booklists and their long-acknowledged significance as research tools. In this capacity, they were all but disembodied entities, requiring the intervention of a specialist appraiser, documenting the existence and location of books, testifying to their physical makeup and defects—in short, re-materializing a library to the mind's eye.

### **Appendix: Probate inventories used in the present study**

This appendix contains all the inventories used first-hand in this study, following the order of their archival coordinates. Within the same folder, the order is chronological. All references are to Paris, Archives Nationales. To allow for an easy retrieval of these documents, I have given the reference in the same form that is used to input a search into the Archives Nationales' online search engine, the *Salle des Inventaires Virtuelle*. This comprises the abbreviation MC (Minutier Central) and ET (for 'Étude', that is, the notarial study), followed by the number of the Étude and of the folder. Note that some of the individual inventories cited here may not appear in the search results, if the folder has not been surveyed in its entirety yet, or if the survey results have not been uploaded to the finding aid.

#### **MC/ET/III/191**

Pierre Le Veau, prêtre et clerc de l'oeuvre et fabrique Saint-Jean-en-Grève (7 February 1584)

#### **MC/ET/III/192**

Renée Nicolay, veuve en premières noces de Dreux Hennequin, seigneur d'Acy, et en secondes noces de Jehan Lhuillier, seigneur de Boullancourt (7 August 1585)

Marguerite Paulmyer, femme de Georges Danes, conseiller du roi et auditeur en sa chambre des comptes (26 August 1585)

**MC/ET/III/501**

Étienne Tournebus, conseiller du roi au parlement, et Suzanne Canaye, sa femme (30 March 1616)

**MC/ET/III/508**

Simon jr Pietre, conseiller et médecin ordinaire du roi (27 September 1618)

**MC/ET/VI/167**

Symon Le Roulx, prêtre, clerc en l'église Sainte-Croix en la cité (28 June 1600)

**MC/ET/VII/83**

Jehanne Foullon, femme de Nicolas Le Maire, marchand pelletier et bourgeois de Paris (19 October 1601)

**MC/ET/XI/71**

Jehan de Therouenne, conseiller du Roi au Parlement (26 April 1581)

**MC/ET/XI/114**

Pierre Framery, pédagogue au collège de Navarre (3 May 1605)

**MC/ET/XI/115**

Jacques Langens, docteur en théologie (10 July 1609)

**MC/ET/XVIII/202**

Jacques Challopain, avocat au Parlement (2 April 1586)

Deorde Boutin, conseiller du roi en la cour de Parlement (4 November 1586)

Estienne Fontaine, prêtre, principal du collège de Calvi (4 November 1586)

Marye Lecourt, femme de Bertrand Richard, procureur en la court de parlement (13 April 1587)

Jehan Gouyn, avocat en la cour de parlement (11 July 1587)

Couvent de Carmes (18 September 1587)

**MC/ET/XVIII/203**

François Moreau, principal du collège des Dormans [-Beauvais] (2 January 1588)

Charles Arondel, chevalier anglais (4 January 1588)

Estienne Courant, procureur au Chatelet (17 May 1588)

Anthoine de la Porte, bourgeois de Paris (14 November 1588)

Macé Régnard (11 December 1589)

**MC/ET/XVIII/213**

Jean Marqué, prêtre et grand boursier du Collège de Laon (12 May 1607)

René de Villequier, chevalier des ordres du roi (18 May 1607)

Jehanne Sandrier, femme de Christophe Escuyer, conseiller du roi (11 April 1608)

**MC/ET/XVIII/214**

Jacques Vyolle, seigneur d'Andrezel et d'Aigremont, conseiller du Roi en la cour de Parlement et premier président de requestes (15 February 1610)

Charlotte Deloynes, femme de Nicolas Rumet, avocat au Parlement au siège des grands jours du comté de la Pairie de France (12 July 1610)

Claude Legrand, femme de Guillaume Rebours, conseiller du roi en ses conseils d'Etat et Privé (9 August 1610)

Pierre Lomede, avocat en la cour du Parlement (7 October 1610)

**MC/ET/XVIII/215**

Barthélemy Perdulcis, docteur régent en la faculté de médecine en l'université de Paris (13 January 1611)

Léon Dollet, avocat en la cour de Parlement (22 June 1611)

Vincent Baudouyn, bourgeois de Paris (6 July 1611)

**MC/ET/XVIII/216**

Pierre Pépin, commissaire au Châtelet (21 May 1613)

Marie Garnier, femme de Pierre Le Roy, procureur au Parlement (10 June 1613)

Pierre Broulard, precepteur au Collège de la Marche (2 July 1613)

Symon Pietre, chirurgien juré (24 October 1613)

Charles Dumonceau, conseiller du Roi en ses conseils d'Etat et Privé, procureur général en la cour des Aides (3 March 1614)

**MC/ET/XVIII/217**

Bienvenue Buisson, femme de Andre Charton, seigneur de la Douze Conseiller en Parlement (7 March 1616)

Jehan Segulier, avocat en Parlement (24 March 1616)

Moise Bougault, maître peintre (26 April 1616)

**MC/ET/XVIII/218**

Louis Buisson, conseiller et procureur général de la feuë reine mère, avocat en la cour de Parlement, et Ysabeau Landas sa femme (1 March 1617)

Berthellémy Presdeseigle, conseiller du Roi, général en sa cour des Monnaies (1 March 1617)

Michel Le Tellier, Conseiller du Roi en sa cour des Aides (8 June 1617)

Anne Robert, seigneur de Villetaneuse, avocat en Parlement (14 July 1617)

Jehan Crestot, avocat en parlement (2 January 1618)

François Chauvelin avocat en la cour de Parlement et Marie Charmolin, sa femme (19 January 1618)

Nicolas Quelain, conseiller du Roi en Parlement (5 February 1618)

Marye Coupe, femme de Pierre Denetz, conseiller du roi en sa chambre des comptes (9 September 1619)

#### **MC/ET/XXI/52/A**

Antoine de Senneton, conseiller du Roi (27 July 1583)

Augustin Morel, dit Morely, conseiller du roi en la justice de son trésor (25 May 1583)

Jehan Bertrand, conseiller du Roi (9 April 1585)

Jehan Cuthe, conseiller du Roi en la justice de son trésor (4 July 1584)

#### **MC/ET/XXIII/134**

Denys Duboys, avocat en Parlement (29 December 1589)

Francois de Villeneuve, maistre couvreur de maisons (28 March 1589)

Jacques Malingre and his wife Anne Bobyne, avocat en Parlement (20 February 1590)

Nicolas Jadde (?), escollier au college saint Michel (7 September 1590)

#### **MC/ET/XXIII/136**

Gaspard de Brienne, avocat (19 April 1615)

François Placet docteur régent en la faculté de Médecine en l'Université de Paris (5 May 1616)

#### **MC/ET/XXIV/136**

Martin Akakia, conseiller, lecteur et médecin ordinaire (15 December 1588)

#### **MC/ET/XXIV/263**

Francois Trousson, sieur du Coudray (4 January 1591)

Jehan Éronnelle, marchand bourgeois de Paris (14 January 1591)

Jean Olivier, sieur de Leuville, gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi (25 September 1591)

#### **MC/ET/XXVI/38**

Michel Michon, prêtre, chanoine de Poitiers, maître et administrateur de l'Hôpital-Saint-Anastase (27 November 1590)

**MC/ET/XXXIV/24**

Denis Trouve, avocat en la cour de Parlement, et sa femme Marie Cestier (?) (4 July 1594)

Isabelle Auger, femme de Jehan Guybert, chirurgien (30 January 1599)

**MC/ET/XXXIV/25**

Marguerite Fourgonneau, femme de Pierre Trouve, procureur en Parlement (1 August 1601)

**MC/ET/XXXIV/27**

Marie Houzeau, femme de marchand fripier (20 June 1613)

**MC/ET/XLV/160**

Nicolle Desplaces, ancien curé de Saint-Landry (4 September 1585)

Jehanne Alix, femme de Gabriel Pelé, maître coffretier-malletier (12 December 1588)

Jehan François, prêtre, chapelain en l'église Sainte-Marie-Madeleine (20 October 1589)

François Chenet, bachelier en décret, curé de Sainte-Croix en la Cité, au presbitère de l'église (29 December 1589)

Denis Renezis, procureur en la cour de Parlement (2 october 1590)

**MC/ET/XLV/161**

Marie Arroger, veufve de feu Pierre Ribot, procureur en parlement (8 February 1592)

Cardin Breton, prebstre habitué en l'église de la Madeleine en la cité (19 September 1596)

Marguerite Bechet, femme de Martin Robillard, avocat en la cour de Parlement (7 January 1597)

Charles Brodeau, avocat en la cour de Parlement (12 December 1597)

Claude de Tudeu, sieur de La Bournalière, conseiller au Parlement, et Nicole Hennequin sa femme (December 1599)

**MC/ET/XLV/162**

Claude Maille, femme de Denis d' Ivry, marchand (12 October 1601)

Girarde Brouet, femme de Guillaume Lusson, docteur régent en la faculté de Médecine (27 September 1600)

Jehan Menessier, mesureur de grains (7 January 1608)

Martin Robillart, avocat au parlement (4 August 1604)

**MC/ET/XLIX/182**

Claude de Vivenot, prêtre (4 February 1595)

Jacques Jacob, prêtre au collège de Cambrai (20 September 1595)

Jehan Rozée, avocat en Parlement et Charlotte de Sametion sa femme (16 February 1600)

Jérôme Grenier, conseiller, notaire et secrétaire du roi (5 October 1600)

**MC/ET/XLIX/189**

Nicolas Grison, avocat en la cour de Parlement (21 December 1601)

Charles Gaillard (18 January 1603)

Romain Delacourt, prêtre, procureur et receveur de la faculté de théologie (19 February 1603)

Jean Basannier, sieur de Chauveron ancien secrétaire du duc d'Angoulême (12 November 1604)

Bertrand Pezeron, prebste curé (17 December 1604)

Geneviefue Moreau (24 November 1605)

**MC/ET/LXXVIII/155**

Madeleine Tanneguy, veuve de Jérôme de Chomedey, conseiller de l'Hôtel-de-Ville (7 January 1591)

Anne Le Pelletier, notaire et secretaire du Roi (7 July 1591)

Claude Cousin, femme de Charles Millot (6 August 1591)

Barnabé Brisson, seigneur de la Boissière et de Gravelles, conseiller au conseil d'Etat et président au Parlement (7 December 1591)

**MC/ET/LXXXVI/156**

Claude Vize, marchand et bourgeois de Paris (15 February 1581)

Jehan du Four, marchand orfèvre (17 February 1581)

**MC/ET/LXXXVI/158**

Geneviève Boucher (?), femme de Jehan du Boys, jadis valet de chambre et apothicaire de feu Monsieur frère du roi (10 September 1584)

Martin Allain, prebste curé des Sts. Innocents à Paris (10 March 1584)

Olivier Vallin, abbé et mandataire de St. Jehan d'Orbestier (17 July 1584)

**MC/ET/LXXXVI/167**

Michel de Vaissiere, marchand et bourgeois de Paris, marchand et bourgeois de Paris (1 September 1593)

**MC/ET/LXXXVI/168**

Ursine Denisot, femme de Guillaume Olivier (30 March 1595)

Raoullin Boyvin, marchand et bourgeois de Paris (27 October 1595)



**MC/ET/C/165**

Germain Cocquet (6 January 1608)

Nicolas Duchesne, procureur au Parlement de Paris (29 December 1610)

**MC/ET/CV/98**

Michel Marescot, médecin ordinaire du Roi (7 November 1605)

**MC/ET/CV/224**

Michel Duboille, avocat (1 December 1587)

Gilles Dupré, commissaire au Châtelet (29 April 1588)

Regnault Loyseau, avocat en la cour de Parlement (1 September 1588)

**MC/ET/CV/232**

Jacques Cornuty, docteur regent en la faculté de médecine de Paris (2 September 1616)

**MC/ET/CIX/57**

Gaspart de Berges, receveur avocat du roi et conseiller du roi (26 August 1594)

Jehan Rochon, docteur regent en la faculté de médecine de Paris (January 1596)

Emanuel Chahu, procureur general du roi en sa cour de Parlement (16 November 1598)

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