

One book, five printers
Shared printing in early sixteenth-century Paris
(Franciscus Lichetus, *Commentaria*, Paris, 1520)

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Sommaire

La participation cachée de plusieurs imprimeurs dans une même édition pose des problèmes pour le calcul de statistiques de travail des officines en question. Une liste offre de nombreux exemples de ce phénomène peu soupçonné à l'époque des post-incunables. L'article documente un cas extrême : cinq imprimeurs parisiens qui participent d'une façon peu explicable à l'impression des *Commentaria* du franciscain Franciscus Lichetus (Paris, 1520). La suite de la publication de ce livre est également surprenante, occasionnant la poursuite des franciscains devant le Parlement de Paris pour l'utilisation d'une approbation non autorisée par l'université de Paris.

The phenomenon of 'shared editions' is well known: two or more booksellers jointly finance the publication of a work (typically a large or otherwise expensive one) and arrange to have their names displayed in the imprint or colophon, either severally or singly. In the latter case of single names, the edition is issued in variant states, each with the name, device or address of one of the partners on the title-page. Less commonly recorded are cases where it is the printing, rather than the financing and distribution, which is shared between two or more workshops. A typical example might occur when the preliminary gatherings were not ready until some time after the body of the book was printed off and a different workshop had to be contracted to print the new material. In an example of this sort, each of the printers involved will have set and printed a recognisable discrete section of the book; for example, a specific group of chapters or some other major division of the text.

Shared printing has been discussed with respect to the London trade in the period around 1600. Philip Gaskell in his *New introduction to bibliography* (based in part on earlier work done by Sir W.W. Greg in *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*) points to frequent examples in the early seventeenth century and later.¹ However, Fredson Bowers, in a rather hostile review of Gaskell,² stated that 'shared printing was not common about 1600 except for massive books'. In a reply to Bowers, Peter Blayney put forward the view that on the contrary 'the practice was *decidedly* common in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and was very far from being confined (or even predominantly

confined) to massive books'.³ Blayney followed this up with a more detailed account of shared printing in London in the early seventeenth century in *The Texts of King Lear and their origins* where he suggests that up to half the London printers around 1605 shared printing, some less frequently than others.⁴ The benefit of this practice is because, as Gaskell pointed out, 'With the copy accurately cast off, setting could begin anywhere in the book, and more than one part of it could be set in type at a time.'⁵

David McKitterick has highlighted this controversy by pointing out the problems which are posed by this potentially large volume of shared editions for the *Short-Title Catalogue of English Books 1475–1640*, which aimed to identify and number each recorded example of the work of each English printer in this period: the discovery of such a large number of shared editions threatens to render impossible the maintenance of the existing STC numbering system which sought to list issues under separate STC numbers.⁶ Almost any section of a book might have been printed by other printers than the one stated in the imprint. This would make the calculation of annual production figures for a particular workshop quite hazardous.

The case which we are going to examine here is from a much earlier period and in Paris, not London: an edition of Franciscus Lichetus's commentaries on Duns Scotus's commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, published in 1520. This book is an example of shared printing where sections of text were divided between five or more different printers but in a manner which is not at all coherent. Sometimes one printer will print a long section of text; at other times two or three printers alternate in printing small numbers of leaves, sometimes sharing the leaves within a single gathering. The result is visually messy, as the printers made little attempt to achieve typographical uniformity. The body text used in the book varies from printer to printer (though all use gothic types); the style of the headlines (the running titles and foliation) are more disparate still, one of the printers using roman type while others use a number of contrasting gothic types. Analysis of this variation also draws on elements of compositorial habits in the printing house to differentiate the portions printed by the different workshops. It cannot be said that the analysis will in itself lead to any rational explanation of why the book was printed in such a strange fashion.

Franciscus Lichetus

Franciscus Lichetus of Brescia was a Franciscan theologian of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and was one of the foremost Scotists of the time.⁷ He had taught Scotist

theology at the University of Naples for a number of years and had then found himself launched on a new career in the hierarchy of the Franciscan Observants. He was elected Minister General in 1518 and then undertook an extensive tour of all the Order's provinces, dying of the plague in Buda in December 1520 while on a mission to Hungary.⁸ His commentaries on Duns Scotus's commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences* were used by Lucas Wadding in his edition of Duns Scotus's *Opera* over a hundred years later.⁹ In Lichetus's lifetime, these commentaries had appeared in separate parts in a number of editions printed in Italy. Shortly before his death, they were collected into a single volume published in Paris, which was itself reprinted in Venice in 1588/1589.¹⁰

The 1520 Paris edition of Lichetus's *Commentaria* on Duns Scotus was prepared for the press by Baptista de Castilliono, a former pupil, probably trained in the Franciscan *studium* which Lichetus had directed for a number of years on an island in Lake Garda,¹¹ and who was by that time a professor at the Franciscans' college at the University of Paris.¹² It is possible that Lichetus was himself in Paris in 1518, as an edition of the Statutes of the Franciscan order edited by Lichetus is recorded as being printed there following the Franciscans' General Chapter held in Lyon that summer at which Lichetus was elected Minister General.¹³

The 1520 edition of the *Commentaria*

The *Commentaria* is a large folio volume of some 548 leaves, divided into four sections, each with its own title page.¹⁴ The main title page states that it was sold by (*i.e.* published by) the Parisian bookseller Jean Granjon:¹⁵

Veneunt apud preclarum bibliopolam Ioannem Granion apud clausum brunellum, signo magni Iunci appendente ('on sale at the shop of the distinguished bookseller Jean Granjon in the Clos Bruneau at the hanging sign of the Large Reed').

Three of its four colophons also say that it was printed by Granjon (*impressa per Ioannem Granion*), though the final colophon states that it was printed by Jean Du Pré for Jean Granjon (*impressa per Ioannem de Prato impensis Ioannis Granion*). Some of the title pages have the woodcut compartment of Hémon Le Fevre¹⁶ but with his initials removed from the shield in the bottom section. The *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle*¹⁷ records title-page variants for the book: some copies do not have the compartment of Le Fevre and some copies have the statement *Approbata per famatissimam Parisiensem*

Vniuersitatem omni diligentia: que approbatio in principio cuiuslibet libri est impressa ('approved with great care by the celebrated University of Paris, which approbation is printed at the beginning of one or other of the books'), the approbation itself being dated 17 October 1519.

The book has an appearance typical of this sort of scholastic text: dense pages set in two columns of rotunda gothic type with marginal notes. However, a slightly closer inspection shows a number of surprising variations in the typography of the pages. There are several different text types and heading types, and the running titles in particular show considerable variation in type (several different gothics, both textura and rotunda, and some sections with roman type) and also variation in the setting of the folio numbers (sometimes lowercase, sometimes uppercase, sometimes in roman, sometimes in gothic). This strongly suggests that more than one printing house had a hand in producing the book. The possibility that the copies examined have a mixture of sheets from different editions can be discounted, since all the copies examined show the same variation.

At first glance, the wording of the colophons might be thought to indicate that this variation was due to the book being divided between two printers: Granjon for the first three sections and Du Pré for the fourth. This conjecture does not in any way fit the facts. There is no record of Granjon working as a printer: Renouard records him only as one of the *libraires-jurés* of the University,¹⁸ and furthermore the typographical variations mentioned above are not neatly confined within each of the four sections of the book but are found distributed within each of the sections. There is in addition a great variety in the woodcut initials used in the volume, which were clearly not the property of one single printer or bookseller. It seems likely that a number of printers worked on this book and that the sections for which they were each responsible were not coherent self-standing portions of the text.

Appendix 1 gives a description and collation of each of the four parts of the 1520 *Commentaria*, based on the British Library copy. The collations show a pattern typical of shared printing: there are discontinuities in the sequences of signatures in some of the parts of the book. In particular, the second part (*Commentaria super libro secundo Sententiarum*) has the broken signature sequence A–T PP–ZZ &&. There is no break in the text between gatherings T and PP (in fact, the word 'acceptatio' is divided over the page break) but the differences in the types used makes it clear that the two sections were printed by two different printers. The volume does not have a signature sequence AA–OO which gathering PP could

have been intended to follow. In the third part (*Commentaria super libro tertio Sententiarum*), gatherings ggg, hhh and iii are signed in sixes, whereas the rest of the gatherings are signed in eights: the different types used also suggest that these three gatherings were produced in a different workshop from the rest of this section of the book.

It is possible to distinguish the material and typographical characteristics of five different printers and to identify the sheets printed by each. The printers in question can be identified from their types, initials and compositorial habits as displayed in other works produced by them around 1520. The table below shows the allocation of sheets to each of the five printers. The elements of the identification will be discussed next.

Table of stints

pt 1: π^2 a-l⁶ m⁸ n-z & con rum aa-cc⁶ dd⁸

π^2	Jean II Du Pré	1 sheet
a ⁶	Guillaume Desplains	3 sheets
b-l ⁶ m ⁸	Nicolas Des Prez	34 sheets
n-x ⁶	Guillaume Desplains	27 sheets
y-z & con rum aa-cc ⁶ dd ⁸	Jean Cornillau	28 sheets

pt 2: $^2\pi^2$ A-D^{6/8} E-T⁶ PP-ZZ &&⁶

$^2\pi^2$ A ⁶	Jean II Du Pré	4 sheets
B ⁸	Jean Cornillau	4 sheets
C ⁶ D ⁸ E-N ⁶	Pierre Vidoue	34 sheets
O-R ⁶	Jean II Du Pré	12 sheets
S-T ⁶	Pierre Vidoue	6 sheets
PP-ZZ && ⁶	Jean Cornillau	30 sheets

pt 3: aaa-fff⁸ ggg-iii⁶ kkk⁸

aaa-fff ⁸ [-fff1.8]	Jean II Du Pré	23 sheets
fff1.8 ggg-iii ⁶ kkk ⁸	Jean Cornillau	14 sheets

pt 4: $^3\pi^2$ A-S⁶

$^3\pi^2$ A-E ⁶ F1.6	Jean II Du Pré	17 sheets
$^2F^6$ [-F1.6]	Jean Cornillau	2 sheets
$^2G-K^6$	Jean II Du Pré	12 sheets
$^2L^6$	Jean Cornillau	3 sheets
$^2M^6$	Jean II Du Pré	3 sheets
$^2N^6$	Jean Cornillau	3 sheets
$^2O-P^6$	Jean II Du Pré	6 sheets
$^2Q-R^6$	Jean Cornillau	6 sheets
$^2S^6$	Jean II Du Pré	3 sheets

In addition to typographical differences observable in this pattern of shared setting, a pattern of contrasting compositorial habits can be identified which help to confirm the identifications of the five printers. The table below summarises the main elements of this analysis.

Jean II Du Pré

- Named as printer in the final colophon (which is set in his type);
- Roman running titles with uppercase foliation;
- distinctive initials;

Du Pré printed the following sheets:

pt 1: π^2

pt 2: ${}^2\pi^2$ A⁶, O–R⁶

pt 3: aaa–fff⁸ [–fff1.8]

pt 4: ${}^3\pi^2$ A–E⁶ 2 F1.6, 2 G–K⁶, 2 M⁶, 2 O–P⁶, 2 S⁶

Guillaume Desplains

- Signatures with Arabic numbers (\$1–\$4)
- Running titles in textura gothic 110T
- Distinctive initials

Desplains printed the following sheets:

pt 1: a⁶, n–x⁶

Nicolas Des Prez

- Distinctive initials
- Running titles set in rotunda gothic with uppercase foliation

Des Prez printed the following sheets:

pt 1: b–l⁶ m⁸

Jean Cornillau

- Signatures with dots: \$.i.–\$.iiij.
- Running titles set in textura gothic 116T
- Shares initials with Du Pré in pt 4

Cornillau printed the following sheets:

pt 1: y–z & *con rum* aa–cc⁶ dd⁸

pt 2: B⁸, PP–ZZ &&⁶

pt 3: fff1.8 ggg–iii⁶ kkk⁸

pt 4: 2 F⁶ [–F1.6], 2 L⁶, 2 N⁶, 2 Q–R⁶

Pierre Vidoue

- Distinctive initials

- Running titles set in rotunda gothic
- Direction line with 'S' (for 'Scotus'?); also found in Du Pré's work in pt 2 sheets P and R)

Vidoué printed the following sheets:

pt 2: C⁶ D⁸ E–N⁶, S–T⁶

Analysis

From this it can be seen that Jean II Du Pré was the main contributor, setting many of the prelims and title-pages and significant sections of parts 2, 3 and 4. Jean Cornillau printed the next largest amount, possibly collaborating with Du Pré, as on two occasions they both worked on sheets in the same gatherings (fff and ²F) and they shared initials in pt 4. As has been noted, Cornillau's stint in pt 2 contributes to a non-consecutive signature sequence where he set sheets PP–ZZ &&⁶ although there are no corresponding sheets AA–OO. Des Prez, Cornillau and Desplains each printed major portions of the sheets of part 1. The setting of part 4 is particularly odd, with Du Pré and Cornillau at times setting alternate gatherings.

Why was the setting of the work distributed in this way? Don McKenzie's article 'Printers of the mind' advises caution on speculations about the undocumented working practices of printing shops.¹⁹ In the absence of any archival evidence such as day books from this early period, there is little choice other than to speculate. It does seem that there must have been a need for the job to be finished quickly and that different parts were worked on simultaneously in different shops. This can be deduced from the effort needed to print the whole work: there are 274 folio sheets (or 548 formes), perhaps representing eight months work in total or approximately two months for each of the four sections. The colophon dates span a period of just five weeks, which would seem to confirm the hypothesis of simultaneous working rather than completion of the four parts in succession.²⁰

Other Parisian examples of shared printing

The question arises as to whether Lichetus's *Commentaria* is a unique example of shared printing in Paris at this period or whether it is an example, possibly extreme, of a practice which was more widespread but which has not been generally recognised. The list in Appendix 3 records some other Parisian examples of shared printing in the second decade of the sixteenth century, based on an examination of the French post-incunables in the British Library. It is clear from this that the phenomenon must have been much more widespread

during and after this period, especially in the case of large scholarly works. Dr Lotte Hellinga informs me that she has occasionally found examples from the incunable period.²¹

The implications of this finding are just as serious for quantitative studies of French post-incunable printing as for the English early-seventeenth-century cases discussed earlier.

The aftermath: suppression of the edition

If the story of the production of this book is odd, the story of its aftermath is even more strange. Whatever the reasons might have been for the apparent haste in getting the volume printed, rivalries between the Franciscan order and the Faculty of Theology in Paris seem to have conspired to have the work withdrawn from circulation.²²

Although the *Commentaria* was published in April or May 1520 with an *approbatio* issued on 17 October 1519 by Hieronymus Clichtovius, the rector, and Nicolaus Dorygni, the chancellor of the University of Paris, the university claimed in August 1520 that it had issued no such *approbatio* and complained to the Parlement, threatening that it would place placards in the streets of Paris to disavow the Franciscans' claim. The following day, the Franciscans acknowledged that the *approbatio* was unauthorised and promised to withdraw the copies which had been printed and to hand them over within 15 days. However, only one or two hundred copies were handed in of the 1,250 printed.²³ The University consequently repeated its demand for placards to be posted condemning the Franciscans, who replied that they had attempted to recall the books and that they had reprinted the preliminaries to change the mention of the approbation so that it referred to Duns Scotus's original text and not to Lichetus's commentary.

On 18 March 1521, nearly two years after the original publication, the case was heard by the Parlement de Paris, which placed a general restriction on the publication of theological works which had not received prior approval by the University. The Franciscans were given a further two months to recover the remaining copies of the edition, failing which the University was given permission to post placards with a text agreed by the court. On 17 June 1521, the Parlement approved the text of the placard which the University was authorised to post on street corners in Paris.²⁴

This documentation provides a very interesting glimpse of the history of the work following its publication (though no mention is made of the circumstances of its printing). We learn that

1,250 copies were produced and that 300 were sent to Rouen and ‘elsewhere’;²⁵ several hundred copies were retrieved following the Parlement’s order but it was impossible to retrieve the entire edition in spite of an extension of time. The Franciscans appear to have attempted to modify the preliminary gatherings in order to remove the text of the disputed *approbatio* and to modify other mentions of it. Copies of the edition exist in (at least) two states; the earlier state is the one with the *approbatio*; the later state has modifications to several of the sectional title pages and to the prelims of part one.

It seems clear that numbers of copies escaped the University’s attempt to have them recalled. Most surviving copies appear to have the second state of the prelims without the contested *approbatio*. Two copies in the Bibliothèque Mazarine are defective, lacking at least the title page. Mme Isabelle de Conihout has identified one of these Mazarine copies as being in a binding from the library of Cardinal Michel Le Masle which passed after his death to the Sorbonne. She has suggested that both of the Mazarine copies show signs that they remained unbound in sheets until the seventeenth century.²⁶ It seems possible that these were copies which were retrieved by the Franciscans and handed over to the University with their title pages removed. So far, only the copy in St John’s College, Cambridge, and one of the defective Mazarine copies have revealed the original state of the preliminary gathering with the University’s *Approbatio* (see Appendix 2). A number of other copies examined lack the title page and other parts of the preliminary gathering. Several copies survive with provenance evidence which shows that they were in Franciscan houses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Examination of further copies is likely to provide more information on this question.

Conclusion

There seem to be several general conclusions to be drawn from this investigation of the printing and publication of Lichetus’s *Commentaria*. The first is that shared printing was common in early sixteenth-century Paris, especially for large scholarly works. The same may be true (but as yet unrecognised) for other printing centres and for other periods. The implications of this are that attempts to compute measures of output for the printing houses of the time should only be undertaken after consideration has been given to this phenomenon.

Secondly, the story of the University’s *approbatio* and its suppression confirms Professor Don McKenzie’s warnings in his article ‘Printers of the mind’ about the risk of drawing

conclusions about printing house practices from the evidence of the physical book without the confirmation of independent documentary evidence.²⁷ In the case of the *Commentaria*, the two states of the edition, with and without the *approbatio*, might easily lead to the conclusion that the title page was originally printed before the *approbatio* had been received from the University and was subsequently re-issued with a modified wording to announce the award of the *approbatio*. The evidence from James Farge's transcriptions from the registers of the Parlement tell a completely different story: the book was originally issued with an *approbatio* which was suppressed after protracted legal representations by the University.

APPENDIX 1

Description of British Library 3837.i.1²⁸

Franciscus Lichetus, *In Iohan. Duns Sco. super Primo. Secundo. Tertio & Quolibetis clarissima commentaria*, Paris, Jean II Du Pré [et al.], for Jean Granjon, 1519/1520. 2°.

In a contemporary Parisian blind-stamped calf binding over wooden boards, with a number of institutional pressmarks in manuscript on the front free endpaper with the inscription ‘Livr^a da Pedr^a’, suggesting a possible origin in a Spanish or Portuguese Franciscan house.

Part 1: Commentaria super libro primo Sententiarum

Title-page ($\pi 1^f$): [in red and black, within the compartment of Hémon Le Fevre (Renouard 602) without the letters ‘hf’ in the shield in the bottom section] REVERENDIS|simi. P. F. Francisci Leuchetti de Bri-|xia: ordinis minorum obseruantissimi: | theologi subtilissimi ac totius Seraphi-|ci Francisci ordinis Generalis Mi-|nistri meritissimi in Iohan. Duns | Sco. super Primo. Secundo. Ter|tio & Quolibetis Clarissima Com|mentaria: subtilium difficulta-|tum perpulchre solutiones: ap-|parentium prelibati Scoti | contradictionum solutiones: | demum opinionum mul-|tarum scotico dogma-|ti obuiantium de-|structiones: fe-|liciter inci-|piunt. | [woodcut] | CVeneunt apud preclarum bibliopolam | Ioannem Granion apud clausum brunellum. signo magni Iunci appendente:

Collation: π^2 a-1⁶ m⁸ n-z & con rum aa-cc⁶ dd⁸; 186 leaves, foliated [2] iii-Clxxxii.

Colophon (dd8^v): Impressa per Ioannem Granion: ex | Impositione Ven. P. Fratris Baptiste de Castilliono | Mediolanensi [sic] prouincie Mediolani nec non cura et solici-|tudine eiusdem Parisius. Anno. domini. M. quingente-|simo. xix. die. vero. vltima marcij.

Contents: $\pi 1^f$ title-page; $\pi 1^v$ dedicatory letter from Franciscus Lychetus to the Emperor Maximilian, dated ‘Ex Gymnasio nostro in priuincia [sic] Brixie .xvi. Febrnarij [sic] .M.D.xvij.’ (16 February 1517); 14-line poem to the Emperor Maximilian by Baptista Fiera, Mantuanus; $\pi 2^f$ dedicatory letter to Franciscus Leuchettus by brother Baptista de Castiliono, Mediolanensis, dated ‘Ex Ceuobio [sic] Minoritanorum apud Parisios degentium. Anno .M.D.xx. sub Resurrectionis Dominice augustissimam solennitatem. Mensis Aprilis die vigesimaquinta.’ (25 April

1520); *Approbatio* of Marcus Saracho, Archbishop of Lepanto and Vicar General of the Bishop of Brescia, dated from the episcopal palace in Brescia, 1 February 1517; $\pi 2^v$ 20-line poem to Franciscus Leuchetus by brother Franciscus de Frangipane; $a 1^r$ start of text; $dd 8^v$ end of text; colophon.

Printed by Jean II Du Pré (π^2), Guillaume Desplains (a^6 , $n-x^6$), Nicolas Des Prez ($b-l^6$ m^8) and Jean Cornillau ($y-z$ & *con rum* $aa-cc^6$ dd^8). Set from the 1518 edition printed by Guido Bonazzari ‘in prouincia Brixiaë’.

A variant for the preliminary gathering signed AA^4 is recorded by Adams and the Bibliothèque Mazarine.

Part 2: *Commentaria super libro secundo Sententiarum*

Title-page ($^2\pi 1^r$): [*within the compartment of Jean Granjon (not Renouard 397)*] PERITISSIMI VI|ri. F. Francisci Leuchetti de Brixia, ordinis minorum regularis | obseruantiae totiusque seraphici Francis. Ordinis generalis Mi-|nistri dignissimi. In Io. Duns Scot. super secundo Senten. | clarissima Commentaria ... Approbata per famatissimam Parisien. | vniuersitatem omni diligentia: quae ap-|probatio in principio cuiusli-|bet libri est impressa. | [three dots] | [*device of Jean Granjon (Renouard 395)*] | **C**Veneunt apud praeclarum bibliopolam Ioannem Granion | apud clausum brunellum, in signo magni Iunci appendente.

Collation: $^2\pi^2$ A–D 68 E–T 6 PP–ZZ && 6 ; 180 leaves, foliated [1] ii–clxxx.

Colophon (&& 6^r): Impressa per Iohannem Granion: ex Im|positione Ven. P. Fratris Baptiste de Castilliono | Mediolanensis prouincie Mediolani nec non cura et | solitudine eiusdem Parisius. Anno domini. M. | quingentesimo. xx. die vero. xxv. Aprilis.

Contents: $^2\pi 1^r$ title-page; $^2\pi 1^v$ woodcut of professor giving lecture, with a slot with the caption ‘Franciscus Leuchettus generalis minister’; $^2\pi 2^r$ start of text; && 6^r end of text; colophon; && 6^v blank.

Printed by Jean II Du Pré ($^2\pi^2$ A 6 , O–R 6), Jean Cornillau (B 8 , PP–ZZ && 6) and Pierre Vidoue (C 6 D 8 E–N 6 , S–T 6). Set from the 1517 edition printed by Paganino Paganini in Salò.

A variant issue of the title page omits mention of the Sorbonne's *Approbatio* and has variants in the setting of the imprint: 'Veneunt apud preclarum bibliopolam | Ioannem Granion apud clausum bru=|nellum: in signo magni Iunci appendente.'; the title-page verso has the same contents as in part III (from the same setting of type?).

Part 3: Commentaria super libro tertio Sententiarum

Title-page (aaa1^r): [*within the compartment of Hémon Le Fevre (Renouard 602) without the letters 'hf' in the shield in the bottom section*] PERITISSIMI VI|ri. R. P. F. Francisci Leucheti de Brixia | ordinis Minorum regularis obseruan|tie totiusque seraphici Francisci Ordi|nis generalis Ministri dignissimi | In. Io. Duns Scot. super ter|tio Sententiarum clarissima Com|mentaria subtilium diffi. per|pulchre solutiones apparen-|tium prelibati Scoti contra|dictionum solutiones demum | opiniouum [*sic*] multarum Sco-|tico dogmati obuiantium | destructiones: felici-|ter incipiunt. | [*woodcut*] | Veneunt apud preclarum bibliopolam | Ioannem Granion apud clausum bru-|nellum: in signo magni Iunci appendente.

Collation: aaa-fff⁸ ggg-iii⁶ kkk⁸; 74 leaves, foliated [1] II-lxxii [*sic*].

Colophon (kkk8^v): Impressa per Ioannem Granion: | ex Impositione Ven. P. Fratris Baptiste de Castilliono | Mediolanensis: prouincie Mediolani nec non cura et sollicitudine eiusdem Parisius. Anno domini. M. quin-|gentesimo. xx. die vero. vltima martij.

Contents: aaa1^r title-page; aaa1^v dedicatory letter from Frater Franciscus Lychetus to the Emperor Maximilian, dated as in part 1; poem of Baptista Fiera, as in part 1; aaa2^r start of text; kkk8^v end of text; colophon.

Printed by Jean II Du Pré (aaa-fff⁸ [-fff1.8]) and Jean Cornillau (fff1.8 ggg-iii⁶ kkk⁸). Page aaa1^r is identical to the equivalent page in part 1 ($\pi 1^v$) and seems to be printed from the same type. Set from the 1518 edition printed by Guido Bonazzari 'in prouincia Brixiaë'.

Part 4: Commentaria in Quodlibeta

Title-page (³ $\pi 1^r$): *within the compartment of Hémon Le Fevre (Renouard 602) without the letters 'hf' in the shield in the bottom section*] PERITISSIMI VI|ri. R. P. F. Fran. Leucheti de Bri-|xia totius ordi. Mino. generalis mi|nistri: In Ioan. duns Scotum sulper questionibus Quodli. claris|sima Commentaria. subtilium dif|ficultatum

perpulchre solutio-|nes: apparentium prelibati sco|ti contradictionum solutiones | demum opinionum multa-|rum Scotico dogma|ti obuiantium destru|ctiones: feliciter | incipiunt. | [woodcut] | Veneunt apud preclarum bibliopolam | Ioannem Granion apud clausum bru-|nellum: in signo magni Iunci appendente.

Collation: ³π² ²A–S⁶; 108 leaves, foliated [2] II–cvij.

Colophon (²S⁶^r): Impresa per Ioannem de Prato | Impensis Ioannis Granion: | ex Impositione Ven. P. Fratris | Baptiste de Castilliono Me-|diolanensis prouincie Medio|lani nec non cura et sol|licitudine eiusdem Pa|risius. Anno do|mini. M.D.XX | die vero iiij. | Mensis | Apri-|lis.

Contents: ³π¹^r title-page; ³π¹^v dedicatory letter from Frater Franciscus Lychetus to the Emperor Maximilian, dated as in part 1; poem of Baptista Fiera, as in part 1; ³π²^r dedicatory letter to Lichetus by Baptista de Castilliono, as in part 1; *Approbatio* of Marcus Saracho, as in part 1; ³π²^v poem by Franciscus de Frangipane, as in part 1; ³A¹^r start of text; ²S⁶^r end of text; colophon; ²S⁶^v 20-line poem by Franciscus Flavius de Carticeto to all professors of the Franciscan order, praising Lichetus; woodcut.

Printed by Jean II Du Pré (³π² ²A–E⁶ ²F1.6, ²G–K⁶, ²M⁶, ²O–P⁶, ²S⁶) and Jean Cornillau (²F⁶ [–F1.6], ²L⁶, ²N⁶, ²Q–R⁶). Pages ³π¹^v and ³π²^r (the inner forme of sheet ³π) are identical to the equivalent pages in part 1 (π¹^v and π²^r) and appear to be printed from the same type. Set from the edition of 1517, printed by Paganino Paganini in Salò.

Bibliographical references: *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle*, 1520, no. 2398 ; Adams L2099.

Copies examined

Cambridge, St John's College (N.3.11) : shelfmark N.3.11: outer top corner of first three leaves of prelims damaged; has a variant setting of the prelims (AA⁴) with the *Approbatio* of the University of Paris as recorded in Appendix 2; has the variant title-page leaf of part II which omits mention of the *Approbatio*.

Cambridge, Trinity College: shelfmark F.16.56: lacks final gathering; provenance: inscription on title page 'fratris Gregorij de hugindino (?) [or 'hegnedino?'] hungari', with date 1569; inscription on first leaf of text 'Stephanus chalzonus'.

Cambridge, University Library: shelfmark G*.8.22(B): has the variant title-page leaf of part II which omits mention of the *Approbatio*.

Shaw, One book, five printers

Granada, Universidad: shelfmark A.6.40 (digitised copy <http://hdl.handle.net/10481/9560>): has the variant title-page leaf of part II which omits mention of the *Approbatio*; provenance: 'de la comp^a de Jesus de granada'.

The Hague, KB: shelfmark 226B.18: has the variant title-page leaf of part II which omits mention of the *Approbatio*.

London, British Library: shelfmark 3837.i.1: title-page leaf of part II mentions the *Approbatio*; copy described above; provenance: 'Livr^a da Pedr^a'.

London, Lambeth Palace Library: shelfmark H890.D8L9: with the variant title-page leaf of part II which omits mention of the *Approbatio*; provenance: Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), Archbishop of Canterbury, 1533–1556 (D. Selwyn, *The Library of Thomas Cranmer*, Oxford, 1996, no. 212); contemporary 16th-century English blind-stamped binding.

Madrid, Universidad Complutense: digitised copy <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/ucm.5325323139>: with the variant title-page leaf of part II which omits mention of the *Approbatio*; provenance: 'Colegio de la Concepción de Alcalá'.

Oxford, Bodleian Library: shelfmark OO 95 Th: provenance: 'da liura de S. Frs de Xas' with shelfmark in same hand: 'de pro speculatio. Caza 2.No.–9.' and stamp with 'De Xabregas da livraria de S. Frco' (Portuguese Franciscan house) and 'M. Romeri & amico[rum]'.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France: shelfmark D.1930: lacks prelims and final 2 leaves; provenance: 'Conuentus Capucin. Paris[] Sti Honorati X', 'emptus duobus scutis'.

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine: shelfmark 1640: has preliminary gathering signed A⁴ with the University's *Approbatio* but lacks title page; provenance: 17th-century binding of Cardinal Le Masle.

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine: shelfmark 1640/1: lacks prelims.

Copies recorded

Barcelona, Biblioteca Universitaria; Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale (lacks title page); Cambridge, Emmanuel College; Cracow, Biblioteka Bernardynów; Dublin, Trinity College; Falconara Marittima, Biblioteca francecana e picena; Florence, Biblioteca provinciale dei frati minori francescani; Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek; Glasgow, University Library; Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek; Madrid, Biblioteca nacional; Norcia, Biblioteca comunale diocesana S. Benedetto; Oxford, Brasenose College; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, D.222; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, D.1929; Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II; Salamanca, Universidad; Urbino, Biblioteca Universitaria; Valognes, Bibliothèque municipale; Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale.

APPENDIX 2

The original preliminary gathering of part 1

First gathering, apparently signed AA⁴ (AAij)

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1640 ; lacks first title page.

AA1: missing

AA2^r (damaged at top right): ‘Frater Franciscus Lychetus Brixianus ... Ex Gymnasio nostro in prouincia Brixie .xvj. Februarij .M.D.xvij.’; poem to the Emperor Maximilian by Baptista Fiera, Mantuanus [= $\pi 1^v$]

AA2^v (damaged top left): dedicatory letter to Franciscus Leuchettus by brother Baptista de Castiliono, Mediolanensis, dated ‘Ex Coenobio Minoritanorum apud Parisios degentium. Anno .M.D.XX. sub Resurrectionis Dominice Augustissimam solenniatiem. [sic] Mensis Aprilis die vigesimaquinta.’ [= $\pi 2^r$ (reset), without the *Approbatio* of Marcus Saracho].

[AA]3^r: 20-line poem to Franciscus Leuchetus by brother Franciscus de Frangipane [= $\pi 2^v$]

[AA]3^v: the *Approbatio* of Marcus Saracho [= $\pi 2^r$, second item]; *Approbatio* of the University of Paris, issued by Hieronymus Clichtoveus, rector, 16 Kal Nov. 1519 [= 17 October 1519] (see below for full text).

[AA]4^{r and v}: Tabula Questionum, in 2 columns.

Cambridge, St John’s College, N.3.11 (outside top corner of first three leaves damaged).

[AA]1^r: title page, as in British Library copy, top outer corner torn away.

[AA]1^v: with top outer corner torn away (dedicatory letter from Franciscus Lychetus to the Emperor Maximilian, dated ‘Ex Gymnasio nostro in priuincia [sic] Brixie .xvi. Febrnarij [sic] .M.D.xvij.’ (16 February 1517); 14-line poem to the Emperor Maximilian by Baptista Fiera, Mantuanus); as in British Library copy ($\pi 1^v$), with the same typographical mistakes.

AA2^r: top outer corner torn ; as in Bibliothèque Mazarine copy, above.

AA2^v: top outer corner torn; as in Bibliothèque Mazarine copy, above.

[AA3^r]: top outer corner torn; ; as in Bibliothèque Mazarine copy, above.

[AA3v]: outer top corner torn; as in Bibliothèque Mazarine copy, above.

[AA4r/v]: as $\pi 2$ in the British Library copy.

Approbatio huius operis facta per vniuersitatem Parisien.

Ego Hieronymus Clichtoneus [*sic*] Rector vniuersitatis Parisien. & Nicolaus dorygni Cancellarius eiusdem totaque facultas veneranda theologorum insignis vniuersitatis Parisien. Notum facimus omnibus presentes nostras inspecturis & audituris: quomodo post diligentem lectionem & recognitionem huius operis Reuerendissimi Patris Fratris Francisci Leuchetti de Brixia totius ordinis Minorum generalis ministri, *super* primo, secundo, tertio: & quodlibetis doctoris subtilis Scoti facta per doctores eiusdem facultatis. Protestationum, immo potius omni commendatione & laude dignum & *tanquam* a viro approbatissimo vereque doctissimo emanatum. In cuius fidem & testimonium ego Hieronymus Rector de consensus totius vniuersitatis haec manu propria subscripsi & sigillo magno eiusdem facultatis theologicae communiui. Datum Parisij [*sic*] .xvi. Kalendas Nouembres. Anno Millesimo Quingentesimo .xix.

APPENDIX 3

Other Parisian examples of shared printing

- 1509 Isidore of Seville, *Praeclarum opus quod ethimologiarum intitatur*, Jean Barbier [and Antoine Bonnemere], for Jean Petit, 1509.
 2°: a⁸ b-r⁶.
 Barbier: a⁸ b⁶ c1,2.5,6 d⁶ f-g⁶ h1,3.4,6 i-l⁶m2,3.4,5 n-p⁶ q2,3.4,5 r⁶.
 Bonnemere: c3.4 e⁶ h2.5 m1.6 q1.6.
Inventaire chronologique, 1509, no. 121; *Imprimeurs parisiens*, iii, no. 153.
 British Library 7.b.22.
- 1513 Saint Augustine, *Opuscula*, Jean Barbier [and another printer], for Jean Petit, 1513.
 2°: ā ē a-z A-N⁸ O-P⁶; rum aa-xx⁸ yy⁶ zz⁴.
 Barbier: ā ē a-z L-N⁸ O-P⁶; aa-ii qq-xx⁸.
 Another: A-K⁸; rum kk-pp⁸ yy⁶ zz⁴.
Inventaire chronologique 1513, no. 490; *Imprimeurs parisiens*, iii, 208.
 British Library 3628.aaa.2.
- 1513 Joannes Duns Scotus, *Secundus liber super sententias*, Nicolas Des Prez [and Jean Barbier and Jean de La Roche], for Jean Granjon, 1513.
 2°: a-b⁶ cc-qq⁶.
 Barbier: a-b⁸ cc-hh nn-oo⁶.
 La Roche: ii-mm⁶.
 Des Prez: pp-qq⁶.
Inventaire chronologique 1513, no. 567; *Imprimeurs parisiens*, iii, p.154.
 British Library C.81.d.11(2).
- [1513] Pierre d'Ailly, *Questiones super primum tertium et quartum Sententiarum*, [Jean Barbier and Jean Bienaise], for Jean Petit, [c.1513].
 8°: ^πa-c8 a-z & con A-M⁸.
 Barbier: ^πa-c8 a-z & con⁸.
 Bienaise: A-M⁸.
Inventaire chronologique 1515, no. 998; *Imprimeurs parisiens*, iii, no. 207.
 British Library 847.l.2.
- 1514 Joannes Franciscus Brixianus, *Quattuor primum approbatis religiosis quibusque viuendi regulas*. [Jean Barbier and another printer], for Jean Petit, 1514.
 4°: a B-V⁸; Aa-Ff⁸; a-c⁸ d-e⁶ f⁸ g⁶.
 Barbier: a B1,2.5,6 C-V⁸; a-c⁸ d-e⁶ f⁸.
 Another: B3,4.5,6; Aa-Ff⁸; g⁶.
Inventaire chronologique, 1514, no. 958; *Imprimeurs parisiens*, iii, p. 162.
 British Library 4071.bb.19.
- [1514] Joannes Duns Scotus, *Primus liber super sententias*. [Nicolas Des Prez, Jean Barbier, J. Marchant and another], for Jean Granjon and Nicolas Des Prez, [1514].
 2°: a-x⁸.
 Des Prez: a-b n-o⁸.
 Barbier: c-g p-x⁸.
 Marchant: h-i⁸.
 Another: k-m⁸.
Inventaire chronologique, 1513, no. 567.
 British Library C.81.d.11(1).
- [1514] Joannes Duns Scotus, *Liber quartus super sententias*. [Jean Barbier and Jean Marchant?], for Jean Granjon, [1514].
 2°: aaaa-zzzz &&&& con con con con rum rum rum rum AAAA⁸ BBBB⁴ CCCC⁸
 DDDD-EEEE⁶.

Marchant: aaaa-gggg⁸.
 Barbier: hhhh-zzzz &&&& con con con con rum rum rum rum AAAA⁸ BBBB⁴
 CCCC⁸ DDDD-EEEE⁶.

Inventaire chronologique, 1513, no. 567.

British Library

- [1515] Olivier Maillard, *Nouum diuersorum sermonum opus*. Jean Barbier [and Michel Lesclencher], for Jean Petit, [1515].

8°: a-x⁸ y⁴; A-T⁸.

Barbier: a-x⁸ y⁴.

Lesclencher: A-T⁸.

Inventaire chronologique, 1515, no. 1167; *Imprimeurs parisiens*, iii, no. 236.

British Library 846.i.16.

- [1515] Durandus de Sancto Porciano, *In quattuor sententiarum libros questionum*. [Jean Barbier and Antoine Aussourd], for Jean Petit, [1515].

2°: A-E⁸ F¹⁰ a-r⁸ t-z A-Z Aa-Pp⁸.

Barbier: c h-i m-n p-q⁸.

Aussourd: A-E⁸ F¹⁰ a-b d-g k-l o r⁸ t-z A-Z Aa-Pp⁸.

Inventaire chronologique, 1515, no. 1080; *Imprimeurs parisiens*, iii, p. 170.

British Library 469.b.12.

- 1516 Gulielmus Arvernus, *Operum summa*. [Guillaume Desplains and Nicolas Bérault], for François Regnault and Nicolas Des Prez, 1516.

2°: ā ē⁴ a-x⁸ y⁴; aa-dd⁸ ee⁶; A⁶ B² A-B⁸ C-X AA-CC⁸ DD⁴ EE-VV⁸ XX⁶.

Desplains: ā ē⁴; A⁶ B² GG-VV⁸ XX⁶.

Bérault: a-x⁸ y⁴; aa-dd⁸ ee⁶; ²A-B⁸ C-X AA-CC⁸ DD⁴ EE-FF⁸.

Inventaire chronologique, 1516, no. 1369; *Imprimeurs parisiens*, iii, no. 334.

British Library 472.b.11.

- 1516 Alexander Carpentarius, *Destructorium viciorum*. Guillaume Desplains [and successors of Jean Barbier], for Gilles de Gourmont and Claude Chevallon, 1516-1517.

2°: aa-cc a⁸ b-g⁶ h-z & A-F⁸.

Desplains: aa-cc a⁸ b-g⁶ h-y E-F⁸.

Barbier: z & A-D⁸.

Inventaire chronologique, 1517, no.1506.

British Library 29.e.15.

- 1517 Joannes Major, Scotus, *Editio super tertium Sententiarum*. [Guillaume Desplains and Berthold Rembolt], for Jean Granjon, 1517.

2°: ā ē⁴ a⁸ b-z & ? A⁶ B⁸.

Desplains: l-z & ? A⁶ B⁸.

Rembolt: ā ē⁴ a⁸ b-k⁸.

Inventaire chronologique, 1517, no.1661.

British Library C.130.e.1.

- 1517 Bible. New Testament. Epistles. Latin. *Epistole diui Pauli apostoli: cum commentariis Iacobi Fabri stapulensis*, [Pierre Vidoue and Nicolas Des Prez?], for François Regnault and Jean de La Porte, 1517.

2°: ā ē⁸ ī⁴; a-z A-C⁸; D⁶.

Vidoue: ā ē⁸ ī⁴; D⁶ (final gathering and preliminaries).

Des Prez: a-z A-C⁸.

Inventaire chronologique, 1517, no. 1540.

British Library 1355.k.8(1).

- [1517] Petrus Tommai, Ravennas, *Compendium iuris ciuilis*. [Guillaume Desplains and the successors of Jean Barbier], for Regnault Chaudière, [1517].

8°: a-y⁸ z².

- Desplains: a-f⁸.
Barbier: g-y⁸ z².
Inventaire chronologique, 1517, no. 1716.
British Library C.108.b.13(2).
- 1518 Joannes Major, Scotus, *In Mattheum expositio*. Guillaume Desplains [and Pierre Vidoue], for Jean Granjon, 1518.
2°: π⁶ a⁶ b-c⁴ a-r A-C⁶.
Desplains: a-r⁶.
Vidoue: π⁶ a⁶ b-c⁴ A-C⁶.
Inventaire chronologique, 1517, no. 1891.
British Library C.55.h.2.
- 1518–1519 Athanasius, *Opera*. [Jean II Du Pré and Antoine Aussourd], for Jean Petit, 1518–1519.
2°: ☉⁶ a-z & A-H⁸ I⁶ K⁸ aaa-iii⁶.
Du Pré: ☉^{2,3,4,5} a-z & A-H⁸.
Aussourd: ☉^{1.6} I⁶ K⁸ aaa-iii⁶.
Inventaire chronologique, 1519, no. 1982; *Imprimeurs parisiens*, iii, no. 396.
British Library C.48.c.4.
- [1520] Jacobus de Voragine, *Sermones pulcherrimi de sanctis*. [Jean Cornillau and Michel Lesclencher], [c.1520].
8°: A-X Aa-Hh⁸ Ii⁴.
Cornillau: A F-K P-R V Aa⁸.
Lesclencher: B-E L-O S-T X Bb-Hh⁸ Ii⁴.
Copinger 6533; Pellechet v, 163.
British Library C.48.c.4.
- 1520/1521 Albricus Philosophus, *Allegoriae poeticae*, [Pierre Vidoue and Michel Lesclencher], for Jean de Marnef, 1520 [1521? n.s.].
4°: π⁴ A⁸ B⁴ C-D⁸ E⁴ F⁸ G⁶ H⁸.
Lesclencher: A⁸ B⁴ C⁸.
Vidoue: π⁴ D⁸ E⁴ F⁸ G⁶ H⁸.
Inventaire chronologique, 1520, no. 2224.
British Library 4506.aa.20.
- 1520/1521 François Dupuis, *Cathena aurea super Psalmos*, [Pierre Vidoue and Jean Cornillau], for Jean Petit, 1520 [1521 n.s.].
4°: AA⁸ BB⁴ a-y⁸ A-Q⁸ R⁶.
Vidoue: a-m o-s⁸.
Cornillau: n t-y⁸ A-Q⁸ R⁶ AA⁸ BB⁴.
Inventaire chronologique, 1521, no. 93.
British Library C.83.d.4.

Possible illustrations

Running titles

Secundi Tertie Prima Fo. XXXV.
C Dico q̄ si tale vniuersale t̄m̄ includeret vnitatem nu
 meralem: nunq̄m posset vere predicari de pluribus sup-
 intellectu possibili. Tertio: vt ibi causatur in differentia
 actualis: qua actū ip̄a natura est indeterminata: siue is-
 differens ad quodlibet suppositū: z vt sic of in potentia

Jean II Du Pré Part II O1^r Fo. XXXV roman, uppercase

Secundi Tertie Prima Fo. lxxxiiii.
z addit nec est particularis de felicitate cui nunq̄m sit realis
 sine aliquo istoz: non t̄m̄ est de se aliqd istoz: sed est pri⁹ nas-
 essentia: nam per diffinitionem alicuius demonstratur eti
 stentia de illo: vt sup̄a patuit in isto secundo .vi. prima. q.
 tertia. An quocumq̄ ex eo esse nonitur essentia semper nos

Pierre Vidoue Part II N6^r fo. Lxxxiiii rotunda gothic, lowercase

Primi Tertie Tertia fo. LXXV.
 possit immediate imutare aliquem sensum: q̄ solū sensibilibz
 se imutant: si imutat intellectū t̄m̄ immediate imutat: vel
 sponderi ad primā rōnem. Sensus huius litere est: q̄ si il-
 le cōceptus de quo est certitudo. s. conceptus entis sit aliuz



Nicolas Des Prez Part I m8^r Fo. LXXV. rotunda gothic, uppercase




Primi Tertie Quarta. lxxv.
 cāt an̄ notitiā creatāz ifallibilē. q̄ sola lux cāt actū: aut lux cū
 rōnū z obō. Si pri⁹ h̄ ē valde icōueniēs: q̄ tūc ab intellectu
 d. i. q. i. z in q̄li. q. 15. Sed t̄m̄ d̄nr̄ obiecta intellect⁹ diuini p
 actū ipsius itell's. imo ante actū itell's diuini nullū penit⁹

Guillaume Desplains Part I o1^r Fo. Lxxv. textura gothic, lowercase

Initials

Four examples of initial letter C

1	Nicolas Des Prez	Part I	b3 ^r	
2	Guillaume Desplains	Part I	q4 ^v	

3	Jean Cornillau	Part I	z3 ^r	<p style="text-align: right;">¶ Distinc. x</p>  <p>Iste in q̄tū o aliquom Int piū. f. f. h ugdu tra de fu in. vi. lib huius vitatis est ista: q̄ve dicitū</p>
4	Jean II Du Pré	Part II	R1 ^r	<p>effectus ambozum vt supra ¶ Questio</p>  <p>Certe beatn ctam stomū corda tus nē tiam r atur arti. 3. do. Si queris per quid affirm</p>
5	Pierre Vidoue	Part II	S5 ^r	<p style="text-align: center;">Distinctionis.</p>  <p>Certe angel lus pe rit pe btus: instat ¶ Si duo. p̄mū est d̄ illis m</p>

images taken from digitised copy at Universidad de Granada

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Philip Gaskell, *New introduction to bibliography*, Oxford University Press, 1972, (reprinted with corrections 1974), Winchester, St Paul's Bibliographies, 1995, p. 168.
- 2 F. Bowers, 'McKerrow revisited', *PBSA*, 67, 1973, p. 109–25: 118.
- 3 Peter W. M. Blaney, 'The prevalence of shared printing in the early seventeenth century', *PBSA*, 67, 1973, p. 437–443: 437.
- 4 Peter W. M. Blaney, *The Texts of King Lear and their origins*, vol. 1: *Nicholas Okes and the First Quarto*, Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 49–52.
- 5 Gaskell, *New introduction*, *op. cit.*, p. 41 and 168.
- 6 D. McKitterick, "'Not in STC": Opportunities and Challenges in the ESTC', *The Library*, 7th s., 6, 2005, p. 178–194.
- 7 His name is variously spelt: Lichetus, Lychetus, Lechetus, Leuchettus, Leucheuttus, Lucettus, and in Italian, Francesco Lichetto or Lechetto.
- 8 A full account of what is known of his career is given by Erich Wegerich, 'Bio-bibliographische Notizen über Franziskanerlehrer des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Franziskanische Studien*, 29, 1942, p. 150–97, esp. 169–74. See also Lucas Wadding, *Scriptores ordinis minorum*, Rome, 1906, p. 84; J.H. Sbaralea, *Supplementum et castigatio ad Scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci*, Rome, 1908, t. 1, p. 276.
- 9 Joannes Duns Scotus. *Opera omnia, quae hucusque reperiri potuerunt, collecta, recognita, ... & commentariis illustrata, a PP. Hibernis, Collegij Romani S. Isidori Professoribus, ...* Lugduni, sumptibus Laurentii Durand, 1639, 12 vols (edited by Lucas Wadding).
- 10 *Super primo senten.*, [Naples], Sigismondo Mayr, 1512; *Super secundo Senten.*, Salò, Paganino Paganini, 1517; *Super primo & tertio Sententiarum*, Brescia, Guido Bonazzari, 1518; *Super quaestionibus quolib.*, Salò, Paganino Paganini, 1517; *In primum, secundum, & tertium Sententiarum libros, Ioannis Scoti commentaria; eiusdem auctoris Quolibeta*, Venice, Giovanni and Federico Zenaro, 1588/1589.
- 11 Wegerich, 'Bio-bibliographische Notizen' *op. cit.*, p. 170–71.
- 12 Baptista de Castillione's dedicatory letter ($\pi 2^r$), dated 25 April 1520, is addressed to Lichetus. Baptista describes himself as *eiusdem ordinis atque instituti professor* (a professor of the Franciscan order and its college) and signs the letter *ex Ceuobio* [*sic* for 'cenobio'] *Minoritanorum apud Parisios degentium* ('from the convent of the Franciscans living in Paris'). He explains that he was sent as a protégé of Lichetus to study Scotist theology at the University of Paris: *memorauero* [*sic* for 'memorauero'] *quod tuo pater indulgentissime et iussu et permissu ad clarissimam Parisiorum missum Achademiā: vt Scoticis lucubrationibus per tuam sapientiam elucidatis erudirer* ('I can call to mind that I was sent to the famous academy of Paris by your command and licence, most kindly Father'). He has arranged for the printing of the *Commentaria* as a tribute to his master: *Quare vt grati discipuli & boni filii specimen preberem: curauī pro totius ordinis commodo, luculentissima scripta tua in Gallia, Hispania & ceteris transmontanis provincijs efflagitata impressioni mandare, sciens id toti ordini fore perquam gratum, & sperans tue paterne celsitudini non iniucundum* ('therefore, so that I might give the appearance of a grateful pupil and a good son, I have arranged for the printing, for the benefit of the whole order, of your excellent writings which are in

-
- demand in France, Spain and the other countries on this far side of the Alps, in the knowledge that this will be extremely pleasing to the whole order and in the hope that it will not be displeasing to your paternal Reverence’).
- 13 *Abbreuiatio Statutorum tam papalium quam generalium auctoritate apostolica facta in conuentu diui Bonauenturae ciuitatis Lugdunensis ... in capitulo generali totius ordinis sancti Francisci, anno ... M.D.XVIII.* [Paris, Josse Badius, 1518]. *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle*, 1518, no. 1953. The preface, dated 1 September 1518, is signed by Franciscus Lichetus.
 - 14 A full description is given in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.
 - 15 Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle*, Paris, Minard, 1965, p. 181–82.
 - 16 Philippe Renouard, *Les Marques typographiques parisiennes des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris, 1926, no. 602.
 - 17 Brigitte Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle*, t. 2, 1511–1520, Paris, Imprimerie municipale, 1977, 1520, no. 2398.
 - 18 Renouard records his dates of activity as 1504–1522.
 - 19 D.F. McKenzie, ‘Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 22, 1969, p. 1–75, reprinted in *Making Meaning: “Printers of the Mind” and Other Essays*, edited by Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez, S.J., Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.
 - 20 Colophon of part 1: 19 March 1519 (1520 n.s.); colophon of part 3: 20 March 1520; colophon of part 4: 4 April 1520; colophon of part 2: 25 April 1520.
 - 21 Personal communication.
 - 22 I am indebted for the material which follows to James K. Farge, Curator of the Rare Book Room, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, who has generously provided transcriptions from the archives of the Parlement de Paris which document the Parlement’s attempt to suppress the book: Paris, Archives nationales, X^{1A} 4867, fol. 539^r–541^v, 18 March 1521, and X^{1A} 1523, fol. 238^r, 17 June 1521. The problems which arose following the publication of the *Commentaria* are mentioned in J. K. Farge, ‘The origins and development of censorship in France’, in: *The Renaissance in the streets, schools and studies. Essays in honor of Paul F. Gandler*, ed. K. Eichenbichler and N. Terpstra, Toronto, Victoria University Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008, p. 233–245: 240.
 - 23 ‘Et des lad. xv^{me} jour, parties n’apportent lesd. livres et premiers feulletz, mais seulement en apportent ung cent ou deux, combien qu’il en y eust de imprimez XII^cL.’
 - 24 ‘Et au surplus a ordonné et ordonne la Court que lad. universite pourra faire publier une cedulle telle que par la Court luy sera baillée, signee du greffier d’icelle, et la faire actacher *in locis publicis et compitis*.’
 - 25 ‘Est *similiter* advenu que, l’impression faicte, lesd. Cordeliers en ont envoyé III^c à Rouen et ailleurs.’
 - 26 Personal communication.

²⁷ McKenzie, 'Printers of the mind', *op. cit.*

²⁸ In the transcriptions and collations, letters deriving from resolved contractions and abbreviations are printed in italics. Long esses are transcribed with modern round esses.

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