

## EARLY PARISIAN EDITIONS OF THE WORKS OF COQUILLART

A recent article by Michael Freeman<sup>1</sup> presents a bibliography of pre-1600 editions of the works of the fifteenth-century writer Guillaume Coquillart. Dr Freeman's purpose in compiling this bibliography was to identify the sources to be used in a new edition of the works of Coquillart which he is preparing. It is the intention of this present article to provide a commentary on Dr Freeman's bibliography by examining some of the material in greater detail, both for the evidence it provides for Parisian printing and publishing practices and also in the hope that further clarification of bibliographical facts will help in dating and grouping the editions for purposes of textual study.

In addition to a small number of pamphlets containing only one or two poems, Freeman lists a series of seven editions of Coquillart's collected poems entitled ›Les droitz nouveaulx‹ printed between c.1517 and c.1530, and a series of seventeen editions entitled ›Les œuvres maistre Guillaume Coquillart‹ printed between 1532 and 1597 (of which five were not printed in Paris).

### *Les droitz nouveaulx*

All seven editions of ›Les droitz nouveaulx‹ are undated. Six are quartos of thirty-six leaves signed A-I<sup>4</sup> or a-i<sup>4</sup>. The other edition, printed by the widow of Jean Trepperel, has eighty-eight leaves signed aa<sup>4</sup> bb<sup>4</sup> A-V<sup>4</sup>. This quite clearly sets it off as the first edition of the text. A more elaborate edition is likely to antedate smaller, more cheaply produced editions, and the evidence of the signatures of the preliminary gatherings (signed aa and bb), in contrast to the single signature sequence of the other editions, is very strong evidence<sup>2</sup>.

This edition (Freeman no 4) also has a privilege and is clearly confirmed as the first edition of ›Les droitz nouveaulx‹. It only remains to provide a date for it.

Freeman's date ›after 1512‹ can be accepted as the starting point: Jean Trepperel died in 1511 or 1512. A woodcut on the title-page shows the arms of one Jean Godard who obtained an ecclesiastical office in Reims in December 1512. The date of this book is probably somewhat later than this. Between 1512 and 1517 Trepperel's widow worked in association with Jean Janot. After 1517 they sign their books separately. It is therefore very likely that a book with one name only must be later than the cessation of the partnership. Since Janot himself issued two reprints of the book (Freeman nos. 6 and 7), the *editio princeps* must itself have been printed before his death in 1521. The date can thus be restricted to the four-year period 1517–1521.

Freeman's edition no. 5, also by the widow of Jean Trepperel, is to be put at much the same date. The two editions by Janot clearly could also have been printed no later than 1521. In spite of the partnership which had existed between these two printers, the four editions which they produced are in two distinct groups. The two Trepperel editions, both with privileges, do not have the same version of the shields on their title-pages as do the Janot editions. Janot clearly did not have access to the

1 M. J. Freeman: *Les éditions anciennes de Coquillart*. In: *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, xxxvi, 1974, pp. 87–104.

2 R. B. McKerrow: *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*. Oxford 1928. pp. 188–192. R. A. Sayce: *Compositorial practices and the localisation of printed books, 1530–1800*. In: *The Library*, 5, xxi, 1966.



Trepperel blocks and had to have his own cut. The Trepperel blocks were still in existence about ten years later when they were used by Alain Lotrian who had succeeded Trepperel's widow. Lotrian's typographical material (eg. the large ornamental types used on the title-page) seems to be that used by Trepperel and is distinct from that in Janot's two editions. The same comment applies to Freeman no. 9 which seems to be one of the rare books issued by Jean II Trepperel whose device it bears. It was printed with Lotrian's typographical material, which is further confirmation that Jean II Trepperel's books were in fact issued by Lotrian<sup>3</sup>. These two Lotrian editions are given the date c. 1530 by Freeman since it is from this date that Lotrian was definitely working on his own account. However, Renouard suggests (p. 284) that he was in business from c. 1525 and it may be more sensible to give these books a date between c. 1525 and c. 1532 (the date of the first edition of the ›Œuvres‹ by Galliot Du Pré). The final edition of ›Les droitz nouveaulx‹ printed by Philippe Le Noir should presumably be given a similar date: Le Noir started in business in c. 1522.

It is possible that detailed work on the typographical material employed by these printers would bring some further clarification to the dating and sequencing of these books. This would, however, be a difficult task since most of these printers were typical of producers of popular vernacular material at this time in that they rarely date their work. From the textual point of view such clarification is not really necessary, since only Freeman no. 4 is of any textual interest and its dates have been narrowed sufficiently to give a pointer to the likely cultural background within which the series of editions of Coquillart was launched. I would suggest that these seven editions appeared within the fifteen-year period 1517–1532 and possibly within a shorter period between those dates. It is of course quite possible that other editions were printed which have failed to survive. Only one edition (the first) survives in as many as four copies, and one edition is recorded only as an entry in a sale catalogue.

The details of the seven editions of ›Les droitz nouveaulx‹ are summarized below.

Paris, widow of Jean Trepperel, [1517–1521]  
4°: aa<sup>4</sup> bb<sup>4</sup> A-V<sup>4</sup>  
»A lescu de France«

- Bnat; Bnat (Rothschild); Besançon; Chantilly.  
Freeman no. 4.  
Paris, widow of Jean Trepperel, [1517–1521]  
4°: A-I<sup>4</sup>  
»a lenseigne de lescu de France«  
Reims; Troyes.  
Freeman no. 5.  
Paris, [Jean Janot], [1517–1521]  
4°: a-i<sup>4</sup>  
»A lenseigne saint Jehā baptiste«  
Bnat.  
Freeman no. 6.  
Paris, Jean Janot, [1517–1521]  
4°: a-i<sup>4</sup>.  
»a lēseigne saīct Jehā baptiste«  
Grenoble.  
Freeman no. 7.  
Paris, Alain Lotrian, [1525–1532?]  
4°: a-i<sup>4</sup>.  
»a lenseigne de lescu de France«  
Bnat.  
Freeman no. 8.  
Paris, [Alain Lotrian?, for Jean II Trepperel], [1527–1532]  
4°: a-i<sup>4</sup>.  
»a lenseigne de lescu de France«  
Bnat; Reims.  
Freeman no. 9.  
Paris, Philippe Le Noir, [1527?–1532?]  
4°: 36 ff.  
»a lēseigne de la Rose blanche couronnée«  
Freeman no. 10.

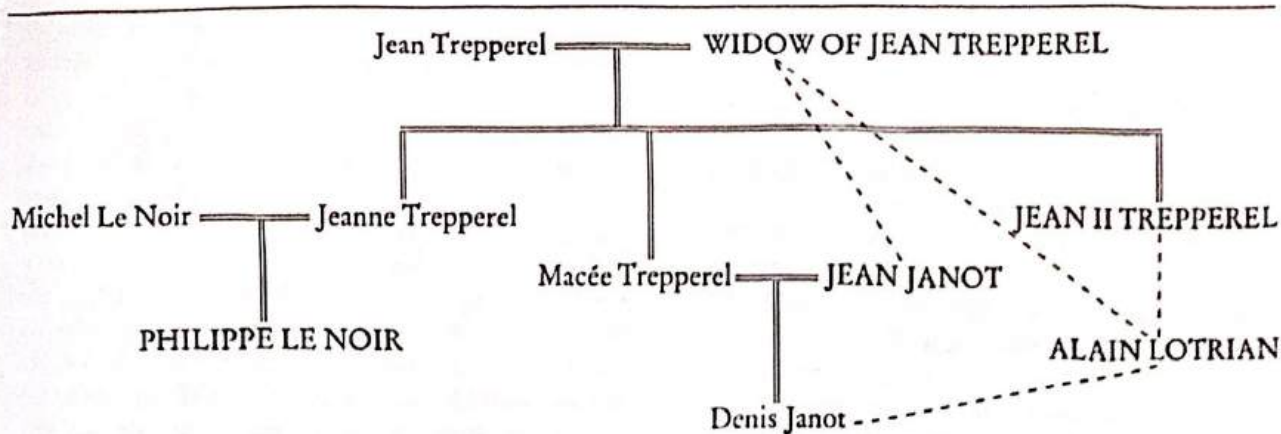
It is important to note that these seven editions were not published by a succession of independent bookseller/printers. On the contrary, the text did not pass out of the hands of a small group of printers interrelated by marriage and trade connections. The table below shows these family connections as double lines and trade connections as single lines.

A further indication of the close connection between these printers is to be found in their addresses. Only three different addresses are found in the seven editions, since we are dealing with only three printing firms whose business premises passed on to each successive owner of the firm.

Trepperel's address »à l'enseigne de l'Escu de France« in the rue Neufve Notre Dame passed first to his widow (1511/1512) in association with Jean Janot; from 1517 it was used by his widow alone, Janot having moved to an address in the same street »à l'enseigne saint Jehan Baptiste«. On the death of Trepperel's widow in 1525 the firm passed to Alain Lotrian at the same address. We have already seen

<sup>3</sup> P. Renouard: Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens. Paris 1965 (reprint). p. 414.





Family and business relationships between publishers of Coquillart's *Les droitz nouveaulx*.

that Jean II Trepperel used the same address in books published in conjunction with Lotrian in 1528–1532. There is a further connection between the Escu de France and a publisher of Coquillart. The earliest known printed works by Coquillart *Le plaidoie dentre la simple et la rusee* (Freeman no. 1) and *Lenqueste de Coquillart touchant le debat dentre la simple et la rusee* (Freeman no. 2) were both printed with the device of Antoine Caillaut which incorporated an Escu de France. However, Renouard does not record that Caillaut ever printed at that address in the rue Neufve Nostre Dame nor that there was any trade connection between Caillaut and Jean Trepperel.

These two books printed by Caillaut can be given a more precise date than that suggested by Freeman. Caillaut's career stretched from 1483 to 1506 (Renouard). The device found in these two books was first used by him in 1491 (though it had earlier been used by Pigouchet in 1489, according to BMC, viii, 42). To judge by the reproduction of the device in Tchemerzine (IV, 15) there is no trace of the damage which becomes apparent in and after 1493. Furthermore, the type shown is Caillaut's 84B which was in use in 1492 (BMC, viii, 42). The date for these two books can therefore be put more precisely as [1492].

#### Use of quire numbers

Before passing on to discuss the second series of editions of Coquillart's poems, there remains an interesting typographical feature of several editions of *Les droitz nouveaulx* which warrants discus-

sion. This is the presence of quire or sheet numbers on several of the title-pages. These numbers take the following forms: *xxij* (no. 4), *IX* (no. 5), and *ix.c.* (nos. 6, 8, 9, 10). It is not at all difficult to see what these numbers must represent. They show the total number of sheets or quires which should be found in a complete copy of the book, as the letter *c* for *cahier* or quire suggests. It can quickly be verified that the numbers are accurate. There are twenty-two sheets in edition no. 4 and nine sheets in the other editions. This practice of putting quire or sheet numbers on the title-page of a book is typically Parisian and belongs to precisely the period in question (c. 1510–c. 1550). W. A. Jackson discussed the practice in an article some years ago and also gave examples of its use outside France<sup>4</sup>.

Jackson suggests that, unlike the register whose purpose was to aid the binder, the sheet numbers found on title-pages were intended to help the bookseller calculate the price of the book. If a quarto book sold at *n* sous per sheet, then the price of a quarto in nine sheets could quickly be calculated as *9n* sous. A further use could perhaps be in the warehouse. With many similar books lying in piles of separate sheets, the number on the title-page might tell the warehouseman how many sheets he must gather together to provide a complete book for dispatch to a customer or to a binder.

None of the editions of Coquillart figure in Jackson's lists of examples of sheet numbers,

<sup>4</sup> W. A. Jackson: Printed quire and sheet numbers. In: *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 8, 1954, pp. 96–102.



though the printers concerned are all named in the article. (A number of the suggested dates for their books given by Jackson would seem to be erroneous, judging from Renouard's indications of the limits of their careers.) The Harvard catalogue of sixteenth-century French books states (p. 162) that »a substantial proportion of the Paris examples known are Trepperel-Janot publications«. Most of the other printers mentioned by Jackson were closely associated with Trepperel and Janot, as is shown in this article: eg. Lotrian, Sergent, Leber, Bonfons, Le Noir. A closer study of these books (which are unfortunately rather rare) would undoubtedly contribute to the problem of dating the production of such presses producing cheap popular books. Since the group of printers can be shown to be fairly compact and the typographical styles are conservative, close study of the typographical material used would help establish at least a relative chronology which would help to date other material from the same presses.

#### *Les Œuvres maistre Guillaume Coquillart*

A similar pattern of interconnection between publishers and printers can also be uncovered in the new series of Coquillart's works, first published in 1532. Although the initiator of the series, Galliot Du Pré, seems not to have had any close connection with the Escu de France group, a number of subsequent editions survive from printing houses connected with Trepperel and his descendants.

The Escu de France address is found in an edition of 1533 printed by Pierre Leber. Leber did not use this address, however, and it seems clear that he printed the edition for the bookseller Alain Lotrian who traded at that address at the time. The description of nos. 14 and 15 given by Freeman suggests that they are not separate editions but copies of a shared edition printed by Leber (whose name appears in the identical colophon in both sets of copies) for Lotrian and another bookseller, Pierre Sergent, whose identity can be deduced from the address »a lenseigne saint Nicolas« which appears on the title-page of no. 14. Cases of booksellers and printers sharing the costs of an edition and issuing it with variant title-pages, each with the name of one of the partners, are of course very com-

mon at this period. Strictly these variants are not separate editions but simply variant states in the title-page of a single edition. Nos. 12 and 13 in Freeman's catalogue are possibly a further case of this phenomenon, as Freeman suggests in his note to no. 13. Further proof would need to come from a close bibliographical examination of the two »editions«.

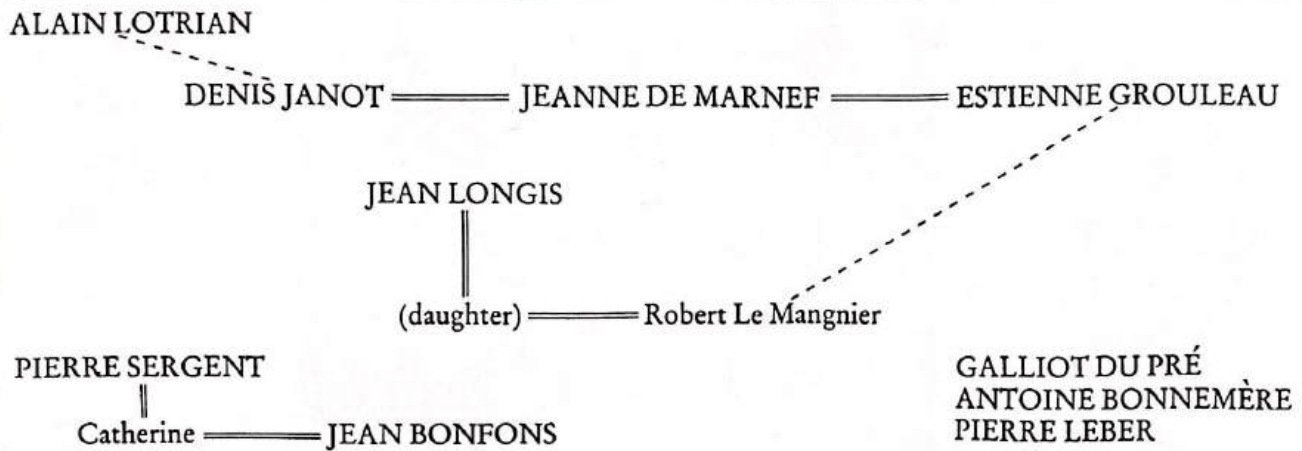
The address »a lenseigne saint Jehan Baptiste«, originally that of Jean Janot in 1517, reappears several times in the list of editions of the »Œuvres«. Janot's more famous son, Denis Janot, printed an edition in 1534 for the booksellers Pierre Sergent and Jean Longis. The names of all three appear in the colophon of this edition. Freeman records a copy with the name of Longis on the title-page (Freeman no. 17) and a further copy (no. 18) whose title-page has the address »a lēseigne saint Iehan Baptiste« indicating the printer Denis Janot. This seems to be a further case of a single edition shared between several booksellers. It is very likely that Freeman no. 21 is a further copy of this edition with a refreshed title-page: Freeman comments that it is identical to nos. 17/18 except for the title-page which bears Longis's name but is not dated. The reason for refreshing the title-page could be due to Longis having a stock of unsold sheets of the book long after they were printed and wishing to pass them off as new or else to his purchasing stock from one of the other partners in the publication and wishing to have his own name on the title-page. No date can be suggested for this refreshed title-page. Longis did not die until 1562 and the reissue could have taken place at any time between 1534 and that date.

Two other editions with the address »a lenseigne saint Jehan Baptiste« are Freeman no. 22 (Jeanne de Marnef, 1546) and Freeman no. 23 (Estienne Grouleau, 1553). One sees again that the text of Coquillart is being handled almost as a family possession. Jeanne de Marnef was the widow of Denis Janot (cf. nos. 17, 18, 21) and continued to trade at his address between 1545 and her marriage to Grouleau who thereupon took over the business. The two remaining editions in this series were produced by Jean Bonfons who had inherited the business of his father-in-law Pierre Sergent, the publisher of no. 14. Their device was the »enseigne saint Nicolas«. The ten booksellers and printers concerned in this series of editions can be grouped



as shown in the following diagram. Once again, family relationships are shown by double lines and trade relationships by single lines. Three names

do not show close links with any of the others. Janot and Lotrian had already appeared in the table given earlier.



*Publishers and printers of Coquillart's Œuvres*

The twelve Parisian editions of the *Œuvres* recorded by Freeman should be reduced to eight, as follows.

Paris, Antoine Bonnemère, for Galliot Du Pré, 1532.

8° or 16°: a-t<sup>8</sup> v<sup>4</sup>.

Freeman nos. 12 and 13.

Paris, Pierre Leber, [for Pierre Sergent and Alain Lotrian], 1533

8°: A-T<sup>8</sup> V<sup>4</sup>.

»à l'enseigne saint Nicolas« and »à l'enseigne de lescu de France«

Freeman nos. 14 and 15.

Paris, Denis Janot, for Pierre Sergent and Jean Longis, 1534.

16°: A-S<sup>8</sup>.

»à l'enseigne saint Jehan Baptiste«

Freeman nos. 17 and 18. No. 21 is probably a copy of this edition with a refreshed title-page: Jean Longis, n. d.

Paris, Jeanne de Marnef, 1546.

16°: A-O<sup>8</sup>.

»à l'enseigne saint Jean Baptiste«

Freeman no. 22.

Paris, Estienne Groulleau, 1553.

16°: A-O<sup>8</sup>.

»à l'enseigne saint Jean Baptiste«

Freeman no. 23.

Paris, Jean Bonfons, [1547-1568]

8°: A-P<sup>8</sup> Q<sup>4</sup>.

»à l'enseigne saint Nicolas«

Freeman no. 24.

Paris, Jean Bonfons, [1547-1568]

8°: A-P<sup>8</sup> Q<sup>4</sup>.

»à l'enseigne saint Nicolas«

Freeman no. 25, apparently different from no. 24.

Paris, n. p., 1597.

8°: 283 ff.

Freeman no. 28.

#### Conclusion

It is difficult to say why the production of these two series of texts of Coquillart should have stayed in the hands of such a small group of families and associates during a period of approximately thirty-five years. Leaving aside the Lyonese editions by François Juste, almost all of the editions were produced by printers at three establishments: the Escu de France, Saint Jehan Baptiste, and Saint Nicolas. In part the reason will be that these establishments specialised in the production of vernacular literary material, but if the number of editions is a guide, the series was a successful one likely to have attracted rivals. Competition presumably existed even among the close family groups which have been identified. One wonders whether there might have been some idea that the text was the property of this group of printers and that even after the expiry of the widow Trepperel's privilege, this right was respected. This seems unlikely since it is precisely at this period that the privilege was being developed in order to assert and to enforce such rights. The wording of a typical privilege bears witness to the threat of piracy in the printing trade of the time. The answer may lie in the idea of specialisation of production. These suggestions need to be pursued further by the investigation of similar texts.