

# 53 • Publishing and the Map Trade in France, 1470–1670

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Cartographic publishing grew slowly and haltingly in France from 1470 to 1670. Early in this period, attempts to publish maps were rare and geographically dispersed; by 1650, a relatively prosperous and concentrated activity existed in Paris, animated by a small network of somewhat specialized geographers and publishers who had the necessary tools and competence to publish maps. The market was also large enough to ensure that investments in publication would be profitable. France's late entry into the European market was due less to the lack of competent cartographers than to poor publishing facilities, slow technological advancements, and probably also to the French public's lack of interest in cartographic images. Thus France's specialization in cartography was a late development, and in the period covered here one cannot dissociate cartographic publishing from the more general evolution seen in the world of books and prints.

We can distinguish three phases during this period, based on geographical, technological, and corporate developments. In the first phase, from 1480 to around 1580, the woodcut technique dominated the art of prints in France. The centers of production were dispersed: Strasbourg, Lyons, Paris, as well as Le Mans, Poitiers, and Tours. For the most part the influences were Italian and Rhenish. The split between typographic printing and printing of images had not yet occurred—the initiative to publish maps and plans emanated as often from letterpress printer-booksellers as it did from printed image publishers. Around the end of the sixteenth century, at the time when copperplate engraving was replacing the woodcut technique, a rivalry developed between the two trades. Printers had organized themselves early as a guild, and woodcutters and engravers still benefited from their status in a “free trade” and were determined to maintain it. The second phase felt the preponderant influence of Flanders and then of Amsterdam: Dutch maps were imported, counterfeited, or plagiarized by Parisian publishers for half a century (1580–1630). It was not until 1630–70 that the third phase, that of France's independent cartographic publishing, began producing works in quantity and quality conceived and completed in France.<sup>1</sup>

## A CENTURY OF TRIAL AND ERROR, 1480–1580

With the exception of the woodcut T-O maps in the *Ety-mologies* of Isidore of Seville (Strasbourg, ca. 1473, and Paris, 1499), *La mer des hystoires* (the French translation of *Rudimentum novitiorum*; Paris, 1488, and Lyons, 1491), and *Les histoires de Paul Orose* (Paris, 1491),<sup>2</sup> the only cartographic incunabula published in France were the plates of the French edition of the *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* by Bernard von Breydenbach, printed in Lyons in 1488 by two Germans, Michel Topié and Jacques Heremberck. It included a series of seven views of cities engraved on copper, the first example of this procedure in France. The last view, the one of Jerusalem, unfolded into a map of Palestine (fig. 53.1).<sup>3</sup> The second French edition of the *Peregrinatio* (1489) used the original wood blocks cut in Mainz in 1486.

Our understanding of the introduction of woodcutting and engraving of prints in France—on the outskirts of the kingdom in Burgundy, Flanders, and the upper Rhine—suffers from the lack of archival documents and precise imprints on the surviving prints.<sup>4</sup> The disappearance of most prints that circulated during the sixteenth century as separate sheets distorts our understanding of French production, and the terminological vagueness that persisted throughout the century makes archival research difficult. Without the addition of the expression “in paper” in no-

1. This chapter is based primarily on the work of Mireille Pastoureau, *Les atlas français, XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles: Répertoire bibliographique et étude* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Cartes et Plans, 1984), and Marianne Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1986).

2. Tony Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps, 1472–1500* (London: British Library, 1987). *La mer des hystoires* also contains a map of Palestine.

3. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 85–87.

4. See Marianne Grivel, “Les graveurs en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *La gravure française à la Renaissance à la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, exhibition catalog (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California, Los Angeles, 1994), 33–57, and idem, “La réglementation du travail des graveurs en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Le livre et l'image en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure, 1989), 9–27.

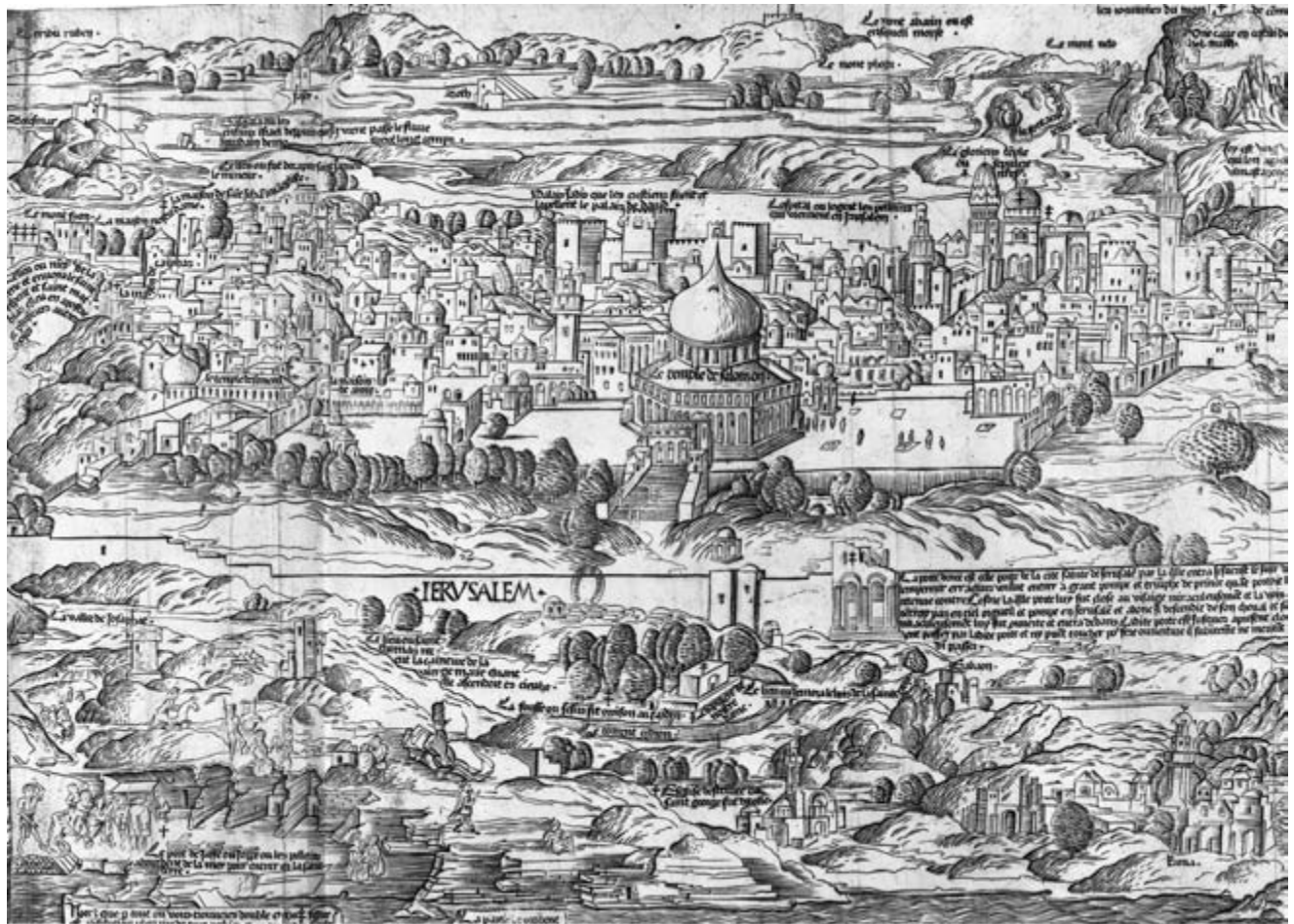


FIG. 53.1. DETAIL OF JERUSALEM AND THE HOLY LAND. Engraving on copper from *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* by Bernard von Breydenbach (Lyons: Michel Topié and Jacques Heremberck, 1488).

Size of the entire original: 26.5 × 125 cm. Photograph courtesy of the BNF (Réserve des livres rares et précieux, Rés. J. 155, between 36 and 37).

tarized documents, it is not clear whether such terms as *imagier* (picture maker) or *tailleur d'histoires* (literally, cutter of stories) refer to woodcutting, engraving, or to sculpting. As for the term *graveur* (engraver), it was not until 1570–80 that the word stopped referring to metal engravers, wood carvers, or engravers of seals; the expression *graveur en taille douce* (fine-line copper engraver), which implied working with a burin, did not become common until the seventeenth century. The cutting or engraving of maps was not yet considered a specialized trade in its own right. Very few woodcutters or engravers specialized in maps before the publication of the *Le theatre francoys* in 1594, the first French atlas. All its maps were engraved by a copper engraver of Flemish origin, Gabriel I Tavernier.

#### THE PIONEERING ROLE OF LYONS

During the first half of the sixteenth century, woodcutters and engravers were scattered around the French provinces and not concentrated in Paris, where the Court had not

yet settled. The first regional French map, that of the diocese of Le Mans, was published in Le Mans in 1539 by Macé Ogier; the works of Pierre Garcie (*Le grant routier*, 1520–21 and 1541–42) and those of Elie Vinet (*L'antiquité de Bourdeaux*, 1565) were published in Poitiers by the booksellers Enguilbert and Jean de Marnef. In association with the activities of the Gymnase de Saint-Dié, maps, treatises, and several editions of Ptolemy's *Geography* were published in Strasbourg.<sup>5</sup> Lyons was uncontestedly the most active publishing city in France outside Paris or Strasbourg, which was still emerging at this time from Germanic cultural influence.

Situated on the eastern border of the kingdom, Lyons was open to innovations from Germany and Italy and around 1470 was one of the first cities of France to have a printing press.<sup>6</sup> The absence of *métiers jurés* (sworn

5. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 371–80.

6. On publishing in Lyons, see Natalie Zemon Davis, "Le monde de l'imprimerie humaniste: Lyon," in *Histoire de l'édition française*, under

trades or trade guilds) allowed the printing workshops to multiply and attract a qualified workforce from different parts of France and Europe. Lyons also took advantage of its four annual fairs, which facilitated exchange and credit. Occupying a highly strategic political and military position between 1494 and 1540 because of the Italian ambitions of the kings of France, Lyons played the role of a de facto capital, as Paris was not preeminent until after the religious wars at the end of sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries.

The first publications in Lyons were strongly inspired by German models. Examples include Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* and the 1535 edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, which reused the woodblocks from the Strasbourg editions of 1522 and 1525 for the maps and their decorative borders, with minor alternations.<sup>7</sup> The *Epitome de la corographie de l'Europe*, published by the famous printer-publisher Balthazar Arnoullet, was also directly inspired by a German source: the *Cosmography* of Sebastian Münster. Arnoullet obtained a privilege in 1550 for a "Description de l'Europe." For this work, he assembled woodcut views of cities with accompanying text by his brother-in-law, the Protestant Guillaume Guérout. Illustrated with two maps and seven city plans, the first edition appeared in 1552, followed by a more complete edition in 1553 with two maps and nineteen plans and views, but the work remained unfinished. The maps and the views of this second edition, which had a different format and style, were anonymous. They were probably done by different woodcutters, such as Bernard Salomon, to whom the views of Lyons and Tivoli are positively attributed (and perhaps also those of Tours and Paris).<sup>8</sup>

The twenty-one woodcuts by Arnoullet—of which twelve were derived from Münster's *Cosmography*—appeared again in *Plantz, povrtraits et descriptions de plusieurs villes et forteresses . . .* published by the bookseller-publisher Jean d'Ogerolles in 1564 with texts by Antoine Du Pinet. To this group, d'Ogerolles added previously unpublished maps and views from Arnoullet's collection (such as Poitiers, Bordeaux, and Montpellier), some direct copies from Münster's *Cosmography* (including Acre and Jerusalem), as well as woodcuts from different sources, such as Gemma Frisius's world map copied from Peter Apian's *Cosmographie*.<sup>9</sup> In total, the work contains forty-two woodcuts.

Guillaume Rouillé, a native of Tours trained by the Venetian publisher Gabriele Giolito, succeeded in making a name for himself among the great bookseller-publishers in Lyons thanks to an original editorial strategy: the use of the vernacular. More than a third of his publications were in French, Italian, or Spanish. The range of subjects was vast: in addition to nonclassical poetry and emblem books, he published works by historians and contemporary travelers, taking special care with the illustrations. In 1560, he published a book of mottos, *Le sententiose im-*

*prese*, by Gabriele Simeoni of Florence, to which was appended a description of the Auvergne written in the form of a dialogue (*Dialogo pio et speculativo*).<sup>10</sup> A woodcut map of Limagne accompanied the *Dialogo*, as it did again in the French translation the following year. Rouillé also published several works by Nicolas de Nicolay, including his translation of Pedro de Medina's *Arte de navegar* (*L'art de naviguer*, 1553), which was supplemented by a map of the Atlantic Ocean engraved on copper, as well as Nicolay's *Navigations et peregrinations orientales* (1568), a work about his trip to Turkey that was embellished, as the title page says, with many "true-to-life figures."<sup>11</sup>

Bookseller-publishers, such as d'Ogerolles and Rouillé, and printer-publishers, such as Arnoullet, took initiative in publishing these predominantly woodcut maps and plans in Lyons, seeing them as illustrations for books. Very few of the separately printed maps of the seventeenth century have survived. One of the rare examples from Lyons is the perspective view of that city engraved on copper around 1550. With impressive dimensions (twenty-five sheets, 170 × 220 cm), it is still not known by whom and for whom the map was made.<sup>12</sup>

#### THE EMERGENCE OF THE PARISIAN MARKET

The locus of the production of prints in Paris shifted during the sixteenth century between two distinct neighborhoods. During the first half of the century, most woodcutters and engravers lived near the university booksellers, on the Left Bank, south of the Seine. Around 1550–60, a group of *imagiers* settled on the Right Bank, in the neighborhood of Les Halles, primarily on rue Montorgueil, and became quite prosperous. The arrival of numerous Flemish engravers in Paris, after the sack of Antwerp in 1576, led to the gradual decline of the Right Bank *imagiers*. These talented Flemish copperplate engravers settled on the Left Bank, near the booksellers on rue Saint-Jacques, who were quickly attracted by the use of copperplate engraving for illustrations.

#### The *Imagiers* of Rue Montorgueil, 1550–1600

Most of the *imagiers* on rue Montorgueil and the surrounding area came originally from the Left Bank uni-

the direction of Henri Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (Paris: Promodis, 1982–), 1:254–77.

7. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 85 and 380–85.

8. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 225–27.

9. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 131–33.

10. Robert W. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-Bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570* (Chicago: For the Newberry Library by Speculum Orbis Press, 1993), 527.

11. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, 435–43.

12. *Le plan de Lyon vers 1550* (Lyons: Archives Municipales de Lyon, 1990).



versity neighborhood's circle of printers. They included Germain Hoyau, Alain de Mathonière, François de Gourmont, and Pierre Boussy.<sup>13</sup> By 1575, a colony of more than fifty woodcutters gradually emerged in the Montorgueil neighborhood, a group linked by marriages, godparenthood, or partnership agreements. Their work was dedicated to producing separately published woodcuts, whether as draftsmen, cutters, or simply as publishers; often they combined the three functions. Based on the small amount of production that has survived, these images from rue Montorgueil, of varying quality, seem to have dealt with a variety of subjects—the Bible, ancient history, contemporary politics, scenes of daily life, and maps.

Except for the famous eight-sheet plan of Paris, published by Olivier Truschet and Germain Hoyau ca. 1553 (see fig. 50.11), there are few traces of cartographic images emanating from rue Montorgueil. Three other maps published by Truschet were cut following the example of the work of known cartographers: in addition to a map of the city of Guînes (ca. 1559) copied from a manuscript by Nicolas de Nicolay, Truschet published *Description de la haulte et basse Picardye* (ca. 1559–60), attributed to Jean Jolivet, and *Nouvelle description des Gaules* (1560) by Jolivet.<sup>14</sup> Only one map is known by Nicolas Lefebvre, a “maker of images on paper at the Epinette, rue Montorgueil,” the *Lyon, cité opulente* of 1555 (plate 63). The large *Pourtrait de la Rochelle* (fig. 53.2) is the only surviving work of François Desprez, an active print publisher around 1570. As *maître boursier* (treasurer and financial administrator), Desprez established the publishing house on the rue Montorgueil at the sign “au Bon Pasteur” with Hoyau and Mathurin Nicolas.<sup>15</sup>

These traces imperfectly reflect the cartographic printing of rue Montorgueil, which was abundant, judging from extant notarial documents. In 1552, Nicolas Lefebvre, by whom only the view of Lyons is known, signed a contract with Thomas Texier, *tailleur d'histoires et figures*, rue Saint-Jacques, for the cutting of nine images: Rome, Paris, Naples, Constantinople, Venice, Frankfurt, Geneva, Antwerp, and Lyons.<sup>16</sup> The same Lefebvre, in association with Hoyau and Nicolas, obtained a privilege for maps of Rhodes, Crete, and Madagascar on 15 March 1560.<sup>17</sup>

The inventory made after the death of Denis de Mathonière in 1598 is informative.<sup>18</sup> The son of Alain de Mathonière, the publisher of the last edition of Oronce Fine's map of France (1557), Denis de Mathonière was definitely the most active *imagier* on rue Montorgueil after 1580. At the time of his death, he possessed blocks for eleven maps out of a total of ninety-four sets of blocks. The inventory specifies the number of blocks used for each map and its estimated value. The prices of the blocks seem to have been modest, ranging from ten livres per block for the Postel world map to five sols (or a quarter livre) for the

small blocks of the rivers of Europe.<sup>19</sup> Eight maps were accompanied by their manuscript versions, that is, by the drawings that were used as models (*patrons*) by the cutter. For three of them—the world map by Guillaume Postel, the map of Palestine, and the map of Paris—the prints were also priced.

The author of the world map, Guillaume Postel, is the only author mentioned. This six-sheet woodcut map, cut in 1578 by Jean II de Gourmont, exists in only one impression, dated 1621, and bears the address of Denis de Mathonière.<sup>20</sup> As for the eight-sheet map of Paris mentioned in the inventory, it was probably the one cut in 1553 by Olivier Truschet and Germain Hoyau. These two maps were accompanied by their manuscript versions. Does this mean that de Mathonière had the original drawings in his possession, or that he had made manuscript copies? That the world map and the map of Paris came from different places suggests that, as the activity on rue Montorgueil declined at the end of the sixteenth century, Denis de Mathonière was able to channel the cutting and publishing of maps done by his colleagues through his firm.

#### Booksellers in the University Neighborhood

Parisian book publishers, who had located in the university neighborhood, where teachers and students were their principal clients, seldom had maps prepared except

13. Jean Adhémar, “La rue Montorgueil et la formation d'un groupe d'imagiers parisiens au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique, Historique, et Artistique, Le Vieux Papier*, fasc. 167 (1954): 25–34.

14. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, 438–39 and 322.

15. Maxime Préaud et al., *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Promodis, 1987), 105–6.

16. Paris, Archives Nationale, Minutier central, LXXIII-18, 30 June 1552. Cited by Grivel, “Les graveurs en France,” 44. Amount of the contract: thirty livres tournois.

17. The privilege is mentioned by Adhémar, “La rue Montorgueil,” 29.

18. Georges Wildenstein and Jean Adhémar, “Les images de Denis de Mathonière d'après son inventaire (1598),” *Arts et Traditions Populaires* 8 (1960): 150–57. The inventory is in Paris, Archives Nationale, Minutier central, XV, 48.

19. The universal map “by Monsieur Postel” (six blocks, sixty livres), the city of Paris (eight blocks, thirty livres), Palestine (eight blocks, fifteen livres), the map of France (four blocks, six livres), the map of Africa (four blocks, three livres), the map of Piedmont (eight blocks, four livres), the map of England and Scotland (four blocks, three livres), the Red Sea (four blocks, six livres), the map of England and Scotland (two blocks, twenty sol tournois), the map of Belgium (two blocks, twenty sol tournois), Africa (two blocks, twenty sol tournois), and the rivers of Europe (four small blocks, twenty sol tournois).

20. See figure 47.6 and Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps, 1472–1700*, 4th ed. (Riverside, Conn.: Early World, 2001), 166–67 (no. 144).



FIG. 53.2. *POURTRAIT DE LA ROCHELLE & DES FORTERESSES QUE LES REBELLES Y ONT FAIT DEPUIS LES PREMIERS TROUBLES JUS[Q]U À PRESENT.* Published in Paris by François Desprez, with privilege [1573]. From rue Montorgueil, this woodcut plan was published on the occasion of the siege of La Rochelle in February 1573. It is completed by a series of small insets, which show the royal armies in front of La Rochelle and by an allegory titled “Piete et ivstice,” which invites subjects to obedience. The

original of this plan, acquired by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, was found attached to a sequel by the Lyonnais engraver Jean Perrissin titled “Quarante tableaux ou histoires diverses qui sont mémorables touchant les guerres, massacres, et troubles advenus en France ces dernières années . . .” (ca. 1570). Engraving on wood.

Size of this facsimile: 57 × 56 cm. Photograph courtesy of the BNF (Cartes et Plans, Ge C 22 500).

to serve as illustrations for their works.<sup>21</sup> For example, in 1517, the bookseller-publisher Reginald Chaudier asked Oronce Fine to produce a map of Jerusalem to illustrate a new edition of Breydenbach’s *Peregrinatio*.<sup>22</sup> The publication in 1575 of François de Belleforest’s and André

21. On Parisian printing workshops of the sixteenth century, see Annie Charon-Parent, “Le monde de l’imprimerie humaniste: Paris,” in *Histoire de l’édition française*, under the direction of Henri Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (Paris: Promodis, 1982–), 1:236–53.

22. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, 170.



Thevet's works, both titled *Cosmographie universelle* and both inspired by Sebastian Münster's *Cosmography*, marked a shift in cartographic interest.

The initiative for publishing Belleforest's *Cosmographie* came from Nicolas Chesneau and Michel Sonnius, both *libraires jurés* (affiliated booksellers) of the University of Paris who, according to the privilege of 22 May 1572, aimed to adapt Münster's work for the French market and to complete the work of the Lyonnais publishers.<sup>23</sup> To do this, they looked for new sources of information for French cities and compiled and cut or engraved new maps, investing a large amount of money.

Belleforest's *Cosmographie* includes 163 map and views, fifty-nine of which are devoted to France, with about forty of them appearing for the first time. The other blocks were essentially copied from the *Cosmography* of Münster (forty-nine), the *Civitates orbis terrarum* of Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg (twenty), the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* of Abraham Ortelius (thirteen), and the *Plantz, pourtraitz et descriptions . . .* by Antoine Du Pinet (seventeen). Except for three of Italian composition, all were woodcuts, and on only two do names appear. Four maps bear the name of Raymond Rancurel (Orléans, Beauvais, Chalon-sur-Saône, and Mâcon); three others have been attributed to him (Loches, Auxerre, and Angers). The map of Paris bears the name of Pierre Eskrich (or "Cruche"). Eskrich was no neophyte in map woodcutting; he had cut a map of Geneva, three maps of the Holy Land (in the 1560s for different French editions of the Bible, published in Lyons and Paris), as well as the famous *Mappe-monde nouvelle Papistique* published in 1566–67 in Geneva under the direction of an Italian Protestant, Jean-Baptiste Trento (see fig. 11.5).<sup>24</sup> The local authors of city plans remained anonymous except for Philibert Espiard for the map of Semur-en-Auxois and the painter Evrard Bredin for the map of Dijon (see fig. 50.10).

Of the two publishers of Belleforest's *Cosmographie*, Nicolas Chesneau seems to have been the most involved in cartographic publishing. Before 1575, he had already published two maps. The first, of the siege of Modon (Methone) and Navarin (Pylos) (1572), was published as a separate sheet with Chesneau's address, "Au Chesne Verd," and also in Pietro Bizzari's history of the war between the Venetians and the Turks.<sup>25</sup> The second, a map of Angers by Adam Vandellant, was prepared in 1575 for an unpublished history of Anjou.

### The Gourmonts

The first generation of the Gourmont family, originally from Cotentin and established in Paris at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was split between the book trade and the print trade.<sup>26</sup> The second generation of this family illustrates the link between the booksellers of the uni-

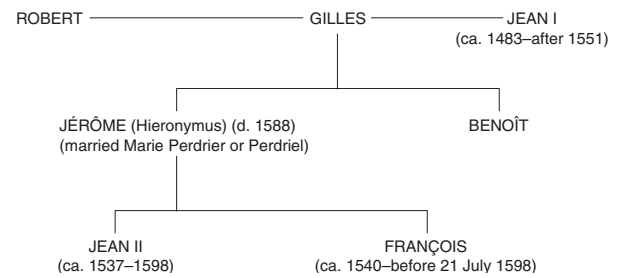


FIG. 53.3. THE GOURMONTS.

versity neighborhood and the *imagiers* of rue Montorgueil (fig. 53.3). The most famous family member, Gilles de Gourmont, received permission to be a bookseller in 1507 and settled first on rue Saint-Jean de Latran (now the rue des Ecoles), then on the rue Saint-Jacques. He belonged to a group of humanist printers-booksellers in France and was the first to have printing done with Hebrew and Greek characters. His brother, Jean I de Gourmont, became a master printer in 1508 and devoted himself mostly to the art of prints. He is known for about fifty pieces that were engraved with a burin.

Two members of the second and third generations achieved renown in cartographic publishing. The first, Jérôme de Gourmont, the successor and probably the son of Gilles de Gourmont, published four maps by Oronce Fine: the cordiform world map (1536), a map of Saint Paul's travels (1536), and one of the first maps of France (1538).<sup>27</sup> In addition, Jérôme published a map of Palestine by Martin Brion, three anonymous maps (Italy [1537], Germany [1545], and England [1548]), and the Iceland portion of the *Carta marina*.<sup>28</sup> The Gourmont from the third generation to distinguish himself was Jean II de Gourmont, probably the grandson of Gilles de Gourmont. He was an *imagier* and a *tailleur en bois* before becoming a bookseller in 1581. His address at rue Saint-Jean de Latran, at the Arbre Sec, is confirmed from 1571. In the field of cartographic publishing he is known for two important woodcuts: a world map in the shape of a fool's head of about 1575 (fig. 53.4) and

23. Pastoureaux, *Les atlas français*, 55–64.

24. See Frank Lestringant, "Une cartographie iconoclaste: 'La mappe-monde nouvelle papistique' de Pierre Eskrich et Jean-Baptiste Trento (1566–1567)," in *Géographie du monde au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. Monique Pelletier (Paris: Éditions du C.T.H.S., 1989), 99–120, esp. 107–9.

25. BNF, Cartes et Plans, Ge D 17227.

26. On the Gourmonts, see Préaud et al., *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes*, 142–45; André Linzeler and Jean Adhémar, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du seizième siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1932–38), 1: 436–46; and *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1933–), vol. 16, col. 807–9.

27. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, 171, 183, and 176.

28. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, 94 (no existing copy of the Palestine maps is known) and 364.

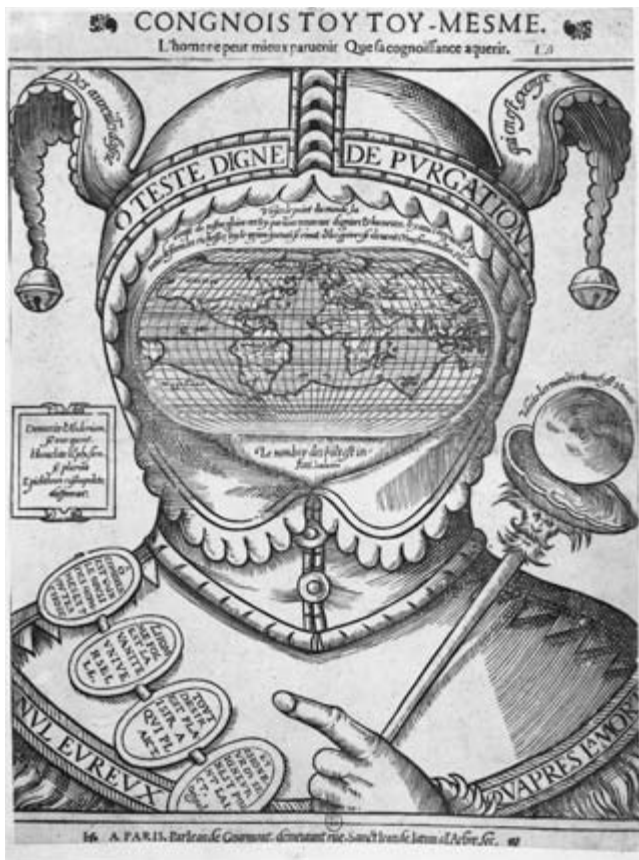


FIG. 53.4. JEAN II DE GOURMONT, *CONGNOIS TOY TOY-MESME*, PARIS, CA. 1575. This woodcut map of the world in the shape of a fool's head is derived from Abraham Ortelius's world map 1570. A series of epigrams in French denounce the follies of humanity and draw attention to the vanity of this world. The motto on the collar reads: "no one is happy except after death." Size of the original: 19 × 15 cm. Photograph courtesy of the BNF (Estampes, Facéties et Pièces de Bouffonnerie, vol. I, T.f. 1 Rés.).

Guillaume Postel's six-sheet world map.<sup>29</sup> The woodblocks for this map became the property of Denis de Mathonière. Jean II's brother François de Gourmont, also an *imagier et tailleur d'histoires*, settled on rue Montorgueil in the 1550s, where he became connected to Nicolas Lefebvre and to the Hoyau family through godparentage. François probably rejoined his brother in rue Saint-Jean de Latran at the end of the 1570s and became a bookseller in 1587. Although it would be an exaggeration to speak of a Gourmont dynasty in the realm of cartography, these few maps bear witness to the family's true interest in cartography as well as to the relationships between the world of the booksellers and that of the *imagiers*.

#### Relations between Lyons and Paris

Interactions between Lyons and Paris seem to have been frequent, especially in the matter of "borrowing" subjects,

willingly or no. Balthazar Arnoullet had plagiarized Sebastian Münster, but also feared becoming a victim of counterfeiting himself, as indicated by his letter to the reader in the second edition of Guillaume Guérout's *Epitome* (1553): "And if there were not certain usurpers of our labor . . . I would have illustrated the present work with more images, but I have held them back until the entire work is finished." His fears were not unfounded. In 1552, a contract in Paris between the *imagier* Nicolas Lefebvre and the woodcutter Thomas Texier concerned the drawing of nine "city images,"<sup>30</sup> seven of which had already been published the same year by Arnoullet in the first edition of the *Epitome*. The first edition of the *Epitome* included a map of Germany cut by Jérôme de Gourmont in Paris in 1545. Three decades later, the publishers of the Paris 1575 edition of Belleforest's *Cosmographie* used the same woodblock of Limagne by Gabriele Simeoni that had been used in the original Lyons edition (1560) by Guillaume Rouillé. At that time, it seems that the Lyons printings were more often being plagiarized by the Parisian printers rather than the other way around.

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE LOW COUNTRIES, 1580–1630

#### FLEMISH ENGRAVERS IN PARIS

The end of the sixteenth century was a period of change for map and print publishing in France. Until the 1580s, with the exception of the Fontainebleau period and the few examples from Lyons, the dominant technique both for book illustrations and for separate prints was the woodcut.<sup>31</sup> During the decade of 1575–85, however, many Flemish engravers, notably from Antwerp, which was caught up in religious turbulence, were attracted to the Parisian market (approximately 350,000 inhabitants). Bringing with them their finely honed skills in copper engraving, they settled in the faubourg Saint-Germain-des-Prés, a privileged zone from the time of Charles IX (r. 1560–74), and quickly attracted the attention of the publishers and the Parisian public.

The work of André Thevet bears witness to this decisive turning point.<sup>32</sup> His *Cosmographie universelle* contained about two hundred woodcut images, thirty-five of which

29. Shirley, *Mapping of the World*, 157–58 (no. 134), and p. 1572, note 20.

30. See p. 1572, note 16.

31. Grivel, "Les graveurs en France."

32. Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, 529–46, and Frank Lestringant, "Thevet, André," in *Les atlas français, XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles: Répertoire bibliographique et étude*, by Mireille Pastoureaux (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Cartes et Plans, 1984), 481–95.

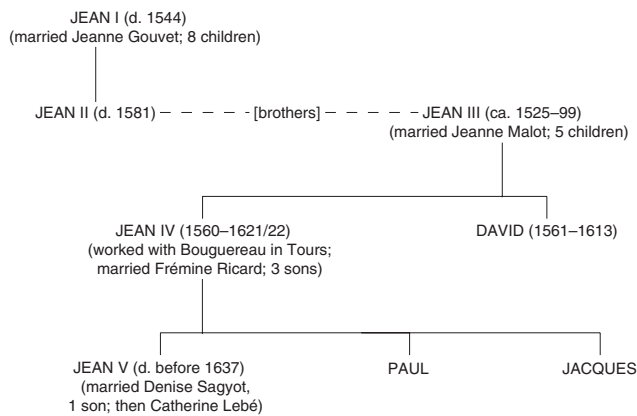


FIG. 53.5. THE LECLERCs.

were maps. This work was published by the bookseller Pierre L'Huilier in 1575. Fewer than ten years later, he engaged a Flemish engraver, Thomas de Leu, to prepare the images for his *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres* (Paris, 1584). This was the first major book of copper-engraved portraits published in France. The eighty-four small maps of Thevet's "Grand insulaire," which remained unfinished, were also engraved on copper probably by the same engraver, Thomas de Leu, in 1586.

The decline of the woodcut technique and the transfer of the center of engraving to the rue Saint-Jacques may be explained by two factors: the new taste for copper engraving as performed by the Protestant immigrants and the political miscalculation of the wood-cut *imagiers*, whose satirical images showed their sympathy with the League, the Catholic anti-Huguenot movement. As the religious wars came to a close, the League's defeat, the accession to the throne of Henri IV (1589), and the subsequent toleration of Protestants codified in the Edict of Nantes (1598) meant the decline in a market for the work of the Montorgueil *imagiers*. The fact that some publishers moved to the Saint Germain area on the Left Bank, including François de Gourmont, Jean III Leclerc, and Jean IV Leclerc, is evidence of this shift (fig. 53.5).

In the field of cartography, *Le theatre francoys*, the first "national atlas" published in France, is probably the most striking example of this change (fig. 53.6).<sup>33</sup> Taking advantage of the presence of the new king, the court, and Parlement (legislative assembly), which had moved to Tours from 1590 to 1594, a bookseller from Tours, Maurice Bouguereau, undertook the publication of *Le theatre francoys*. He gave the task of engraving to a Flemish copperplate engraver, Gabriel I Tavernier, who had been a refugee in Paris since 1573 and who had also relocated to Tours in 1590. Although it had been conceived by its publisher as the symbol of a reunified kingdom, *Le theatre francoys* covered only part of the territory, and only a third of the maps (six out of eighteen) are of



FIG. 53.6. FRONTISPIECE FROM *LE THEATRE FRANCOYS*. The text continues "In Tours by Maurice Bouguereau, a bookseller with his shop at the Petite Fontaine of Carroy de Beaulne. With the privilege of the King [1594]." As the first atlas printed in France and devoted exclusively to France, the work was conceived by Bouguereau to be the symbol of the unification of the kingdom, and he dedicated it to Henri IV. The frontispiece, which includes the arms of France and Navarre, is decorated with an allegory of geometry at the right (ruler, square, and compass) and another allegory of geometry at the left (sextant and map). Photograph courtesy of the BNF (Réserve des livres rares, Rés. Fol. Lk7 2).

France. Three of those were previously unpublished: Blaisois, by Jean du Temps; Touraine, by Isaac François; and Limousin, by Jean Fayen. The three others had been published earlier: the map of France, by Guillaume Postel; Maine, by Macé Ogier; and Brittany, from Bertrand d'Argentré's *Histoire de la Bretagne* (1588). The twelve

33. Pastoureaux, *Les atlas français*, 81–83, and François de Dainville, "Le premier atlas de France: *Le Théâtre francoys* de M. Bouguereau–1594," in *La cartographie reflet de l'histoire: Recueil d'articles*, by François de Dainville (Geneva: Slatkine, 1986), 293–342.



other maps were copied from Flemish sources: Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (eight maps) and Gerardus Mercator's *Galliae tabulae* (four maps).

#### MAPS FROM THE LOW COUNTRIES: IMPORTATION, COUNTERFEITING, AND IMITATION

For half a century after the publication of *Le theatre francoys*, French cartographic publishing was under the direct influence of the Netherlands. There were two main channels of influence: the sale in France of maps published in the Netherlands and the French imitation of Dutch maps, either counterfeit (with the name of the original author preserved) or plagiarized (the content copied but the author's name removed or changed).

#### The Diffusion of Dutch Maps in Paris

Melchior II Tavernier, the grandson of Gabriel I Tavernier, maintained strong ties to the Netherlands, whence his family originated (fig. 53.7).<sup>34</sup> In Paris in 1628, he published *Geographia vetus* by Petrus Bertius (Pierre Bert), regent of the state university of Leiden, a Protestant center of learning. Bertius became a Protestant refugee in France and was named *géographe du roi* in 1618.<sup>35</sup> Tavernier also turned to a skilled copper engraver from Amsterdam, Cornelis Danckerts, for engraving a twenty-four-sheet map of France in 1637.<sup>36</sup> An important part of his activity was the resale in Paris of Jodocus and Henricus Hondius's maps from Amsterdam, as noted on these maps from 1622: "also sold by Melchior Tavernier in the île du Palais at the Sphère Royale." In 1632, Tavernier published an atlas titled *Theatre géographique du royaume de France* patterned entirely after the *Theatrum universae Galliae* of Johannes Janssonius published the previous year. Only nine of the sixty-two maps were published in Paris by Tavernier; forty-eight are from the *Theatrum universae Galliae*, and twenty-eight even bear the imprint of Jodocus or Henricus Hondius.<sup>37</sup> Tavernier also distributed the maps of Willem Jansz. Blaeu. In 1638, the inventory made after the death of his wife, Sarah Pitten, names among the creditors two merchants in Amsterdam: "M. Henri Hondieux" for 500 livres, and "sieur [Guillaume] Bles [Blaeu]" for 1,000 livres.<sup>38</sup>

Other Parisian merchants also imported and sold Dutch maps, and trade between France and the Low Countries continued throughout the seventeenth century. Merchandise from the Netherlands appears in the collections of great publishers of prints, such as Nicolas I Langlois, Pierre I and Pierre II Mariette, and those of publishers of lesser importance who specialized in maps, such as Nicolas I Berey. The inventory of 1665 after Berey's death, mentioned "another portfolio filled with several copies from Holland [the Netherlands] that are maps in several

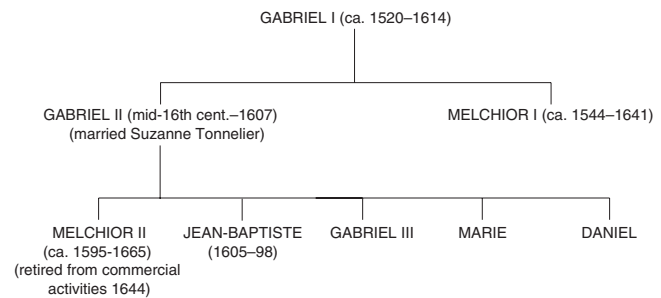


FIG. 53.7. THE TAVERNIERS.

sheets . . . fifty-four copies of the four parts of the world . . . with text, printed in Holland.”<sup>39</sup>

#### Counterfeiting and Plagiarizing of Dutch Maps

With or without the consent of the author or the publisher, many maps produced in Paris were similar to those from the Netherlands in the first half of the seventeenth century. From the Netherlands, the maps of the Hondiuses and Janssonius were the most often imitated, along with those of Nicolaas I and Nicolaas II Visscher, Petrus Bertius, the Blaeus, and others.

Loeb-Larocque's study of seventeenth-century cartographic publishing in Paris paid special attention to various forgeries of Jodocus Hondius's double-hemisphere map of 1617.<sup>40</sup> This map was published in Paris with at least five different imprints: by Jacques Honervogt (an engraver originally from Cologne) in 1625 (fig. 53.8); by Melchior II(?) Tavernier, who reprinted it five times from 1625 to 1638 (Tavernier had received the copperplate from Honervogt); by Michel van Lochom in 1636; by Nicolas I Berey in 1641; and by Gérard Jollain in 1655

34. On the Taverniers, see Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 377–79; Préaud et al., *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes*, 288–90; and Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 469–80. It is difficult to distinguish the activities of Melchior I and his nephew Melchior II; a (?) has been used in some identifications in this chapter.

35. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 65–66.

36. Marie Antoinette Fleury, *Documents du Minutier central concernant les peintres, les sculpteurs et les graveurs au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1600–1650)* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1969), 670; cited by Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 469.

37. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 471–80.

38. Fleury, *Documents du Minutier central*, 663; cited by Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 469.

39. Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 170.

40. Louis Loeb-Larocque, "Ces hollandaises habillées à Paris, ou L'exploitation de la cartographie hollandaise par les éditeurs parisiens au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Theatrum orbis librorum: Liber Amicorum Presented to Nico Israel on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Ton Croiset van Uchelen, Koert van der Horst, and Günter Schilder (Utrecht: HES, 1989), 15–30.



FIG. 53.8. JODOCUS HONDIUS, *NOVA TOTIUS TERRARUM ORBIS GEOGRAPHICA AC HYDROGRAPHICA TABULA*, 1625. Engraving on copper, this map was copied, with or without the author's permission, following Jodocus Hondius's double-hemisphere world map of 1617. The same copper engraving is found with the imprint of Melchior II(?) Tavernier (there were five printings from 1625 to 1638) and

Gérard Jollain in 1655. Some slightly different versions were printed by Michel van Lochem in 1636 (engraved by Henry Le Roy) and by Nicolas I Berey in 1641 (engraved by Hugues Picart).

Size of the original: 39 × 55.5 cm. Photograph courtesy of the BNF (Cartes et Plans, Rés. Ge C 24992).

(again using Honervogt's copperplate). Copying was not limited to a few important maps, such as maps of the world and the continents, which are indispensable for creating an atlas. All or part of a set of maps was imitated. In 1643, Jean Boisseau published a small world atlas, *Trésor des cartes géographiques*, in which all of the maps except for two (thirty-six maps out of thirty-eight) were faithfully copied from the Mercator-Hondius *Atlas minor* (1628).<sup>41</sup> The practice of plagiarizing prints or maps seems to have been common in the seventeenth century, and it does not seem to have been dishonorable: consider, for example, the copies of Dutch maps from the Netherlands (of Artois and Boulonnaise, Hainaut and Cambrésis, Luxembourg, and Savoy) signed by Pierre Duval, the nephew of Nicolas I Sanson d'Abbeville, in 1646 and published by Pierre I Mariette.<sup>42</sup>

## THE AGE OF INDEPENDENCE, 1630–1670

### THE CREATION OF A MARKET

The French public became familiar with cartographic documents very slowly: in 1564, Antoine Du Pinet complained that for many uneducated individuals, world

41. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 497–500.

42. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 135. Also, in the world of prints, Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 105, gives the example of prints of eight sailors by Stefano Della Bella, which were plagiarized by the engraver François Collignon at the request of François Langlois, and this apparently without in any way affecting the relations between the artist and his plagiarizer. It appears, Grivel concludes, that this practice of being plagiarized was part of the price of being famous more than it was an indication of a fraudulent practice.



maps were used more for certain decorative images and wall coverings than for instruction.<sup>43</sup> In 1609, the same confusion existed among the customs officials of Rouen, who considered a box of globes and nautical charts to be “cheap goods and wallpaper” and unjustly demanded that a Parisian bookseller pay a tax from which the bookseller’s merchandise was normally exempt.<sup>44</sup> Later, and even more surprising, Gabriel Naudé, the cardinal Jules Mazarin’s famous librarian, neglected to mention maps in his book on erecting a library except in the chapter on ornamentation and decoration.<sup>45</sup>

During the first half of the seventeenth century, however, public interest in cartography was stimulated. As François de Dainville showed, the Jesuits played an important role in this development.<sup>46</sup> As missionaries, they were both authors and users of maps. As educators, they had also been fervent popularizers of geographical information among young people. One Jesuit, Father Philippe Briet, made a complete series of classical and modern maps for his *Parallela geographiae* (1648–49) that were to be used for teaching geography in *collèges*.

The Thirty Years’ War also contributed to an increased public interest in maps, especially during the 1630s, when France became involved in the conflict, at first covertly, then openly after 1635. It was during the same decade that the work of the French military engineers started to be published. The wars of Louis XIV only increased the trend. Military officers became the principal buyers of maps, as indicated by a decree of the king dated 7 April 1668 concerning the terms and conditions for marketing maps.<sup>47</sup>

Around 1650, the interest in geography and cartography expanded beyond the circle of specialists and scholars, such as Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc and Marin Mersenne, and French high society became infatuated: news was spread by a nascent press (*Mercure françois*, for example), which accorded increasing significance to geographical matters; reports by travelers and missionaries were read and discussed in the *salons*, and it in fact became fashionable to take geography lessons with a specialist such as Nicolas Sanson.<sup>48</sup> As evidence of this growing enthusiasm, geography and cartography even began to feature in literary works of fiction. About twenty allegorical maps from this period have been identified, the most famous of which was the *Carte de Tendre*.<sup>49</sup> Published in *Clélie, histoire romaine* (1654), a novel by Madeleine de Scudéry, the map shows the many possible voyages that the lover’s heart could take.

In the second half of the century, large map collections began to be compiled, such as that of Gaston d’Orléans, the brother of Louis XIII. Consisting of about two thousand items in twelve volumes, it was left to the king upon d’Orléans’s death in 1660.<sup>50</sup> Also assembled were several

extensive series of topographical works (maps, plans, and views) by the great print collectors, such as François-Roger de Gaignières (tutor to the royal children), 117 of his 272 volumes related to geography, and that of the abbot Michel de Marolles.<sup>51</sup> A taste for maps had now spread more broadly in society, outside the confines of the aristocratic *salons* into those of the bourgeoisie, if one judges especially by the suggestion made by Pierre Le Moyne, who reminds young women of their conjugal duties in these terms: “It is not necessary that a woman abandon her housework, divorce her husband, renounce honest pleasures and civil society, and shut herself up in a room hung with maps and furnished with globes and astrolabes.”<sup>52</sup>

43. Antoine Du Pinet, *Plantz, povtraitz et descriptions de plusieurs villes et forteresses, tant de l’Europe, Asie, Afrique que des Indes, & Terres Neuves* (Lyon: Ian d’Ogerolles, 1564), dedication to François d’Agoult: “It is true that as science’s worst enemy is a coward, or an ignorant person, there are also enough people who do not notice stories, nor general or detailed cosmographic Charts, and take even less notice of plans and models of a city, or the description of their geographical situation since it seems to them that such things are made for pleasure. But as in astrology, the spheres, astrolabes, and other astronomic instruments seem trivial for those who do not understand them; learned people understand the courses of the stars. In the same way, it seems that the cosmographic charts are used more for certain board games and wall coverings than for instruction.”

44. BNF, Manuscrits, MS. fr. 22113, pièce 30.

45. Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Paris: F. Targa, 1627).

46. François de Dainville, *La géographie des humanistes* (Paris: Beauchesne et Ses Fils, 1940).

47. See pp. 1587–88 on the conditions of sale.

48. Dainville, *La géographie des humanistes*, 359–75.

49. Enid P. Mayberry-Senter, “Les cartes allégoriques romanesques du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Aperçu des gravures créés autour de l’apparition de la ‘Carte de Tendre’ de la ‘Clélie’ en 1654,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 89 (April 1977): 133–44; “Cartes allégoriques: Le Pays de Tendre,” *Magasin Pittoresque* 13 (1845): 60–62; Franz Reiting, “Mapping Relationships: Allegory, Gender and the Cartographical Image in Eighteenth-Century France and England,” *Imago Mundi* 51 (1999): 106–30; idem, “The Persuasiveness of Cartography: Michel Le Nobletz (1577–1652) and the School of Le Conquet (France),” *Cartographica* 40, no. 3 (2005): 79–103; Jeffrey N. Peters, “‘Sçavoir la carte’: Allegorical Maps and the Cartographics of Culture in Seventeenth-Century France” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1996); and idem, *Mapping Discord: Allegorical Cartography in Early Modern French Writing* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004).

50. Charles Du Bus, “Gaston d’Orléans et ses collections topographiques,” *Bulletin de la Section de Géographie* 55 (1940): 1–35.

51. Grivel, *Le commerce de l’estampe*, 207–14.

52. *Gallerie des femmes fortes* (1663), pt. 2, p. 49, cited by Dainville, *La géographie des humanistes*, 370. See also the mention of two maps in the inventory of the assets of an inhabitant of Limoges after his death in 1679, in Louis Guibert, “Les archives de famille des Péconnet de Limoges,” *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin* 46 (1898): 262–300, esp. 277–84.

THE EMERGENCE OF AN INDEPENDENT PRINTED  
CARTOGRAPHY IN FRANCE

Two individuals played a key role in the emergence of an independent printed cartography in France: the engraver-publisher Melchior II Tavernier and the engineer-publisher Christophe Tassin. From the 1620s, at the same time as the copies of Dutch maps were being imported and copied, Tavernier published the work of several military engineers, including René Siette (*Portrait de la ville de Cleyrac*) and Jérôme Bachot (*Aunis*). In 1638, in his dedication of his maps of Italy and Spain, he expressed to Cardinal Richelieu his desire to develop a truly French cartography: “We can produce in France what up to the present foreigners have furnished for us and what we possess only because of them.” He highlights his efforts to achieve this goal: “knowing that so far no one in France has made an effort and no one was willing to pay what is necessary in order to engrave maps, nor take the time that the work requires, its rewards being small and unimportant; nevertheless, I have not stopped doing my best from time to time to provide the public with some works of geography.”<sup>53</sup> In fact, on the lookout for new talented people, Tavernier “discovered” the young Nicolas Sanson and published his first maps. Although their collaboration was limited both in its duration (1632–43) and the number of maps published (about twenty), it was decisive for Sanson’s career, prompting him eventually to settle in Paris and to apply himself completely to map production.

The other individual, Christophe Tassin, an *ingénieur et géographe du roi*, developed close relationships with the publishing world.<sup>54</sup> Early in 1630, he became the godfather of one of Melchior II Tavernier’s daughters. Unlike many engineers, his work was not limited to making manuscript maps. In 1631, he obtained a ten-year privilege to publish his atlas covering the French provinces and from 1633 to 1635, he transferred his privilege to five booksellers and printsellers (Sébastien Cramoisy, Martin Gobert, Melchior II[?] Tavernier, Jean Messenger, and Michel van Lochoy), who co-published most of his work (seven atlases).<sup>55</sup> By bringing together the work of military engineers—usually completely original—Tassin helped popularize the work of his engineering colleagues for a public whose cartographic curiosity increased gradually throughout the Thirty Years’ War. The commercial success of Tassin’s atlases, which were published in several editions, is evidence of this growing interest.

THE ORGANIZATION OF CARTOGRAPHIC PUBLISHING  
IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PARIS

The Parisian market for published cartographic works became stronger during the first decades of the seventeenth century. The public interest in cartography was be-

coming more widespread at a time when some engineers and geographers began supplying original material. But how did maps move from the hands of geographers to an interested public? To better understand this, it is necessary to examine the legislative and statutory framework for cartographic publishing, to see who was involved, and to learn the terms and conditions for the commercialization of maps.

Map publishing benefited from legislation that regulated the print trade.<sup>56</sup> As a new craft, a late development in a society that had for so long been hierarchical, printing images remained an open trade despite different attempts during the first half of the seventeenth century to establish it as a guild. In contrast to the book trades (booksellers, printers, and binders), image printing was not controlled by corporate regulations that required its members to be apprenticed, to create a masterpiece, and to pay fees to obtain the status of a master. This nonregulation was reaffirmed forcefully and definitively by a decree of the Conseil d’Etat signed in Saint-Jean-de-Luz on 26 May 1660: as an art relating to pleasure and not to necessity, springing from imagination and talent, printing images was open to anyone who was competent, including foreign artists.

It was nonetheless still closely supervised. From 1586, letters patent tended to reduce the number of printing presses per *imagier*. To avoid mixing different genres, letters patent also ensured that presses were equipped with large tympanes to print images, not text. The goal was to force the *imagier* to depend on the letterpress printer to print the legends or captions on the prints and, in particular, to discourage the printseller’s encroachment on the bookseller’s monopoly by only allowing the printseller to publish books that consisted of more images than text (*livres à figures*). Until 1650, the rivalry between the two professions grew sharper, each trying to appropriate for itself the prerogatives of the other. In June 1618, the new regulations for the book and print trades authorized syndics of the book trades to visit the *imagiers*, as much to monitor (that is, censor) their products as to verify the type of press they had. In the next few years, the two cases that brought Melchior I Tavernier into conflict with the syndics of the book trade illustrate the bitterness of the struggle.<sup>57</sup>

53. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 469; the maps of Spain and Italy are listed on 471 (4) and (7).

54. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 437–68.

55. On Tassin, see also chapters 48 and 49 in this volume.

56. See Grivel, *Le commerce de l’estampe*, 83–122, for details on the evolution of the legislative context of engraving.

57. See Grivel, *Le commerce de l’estampe*, 87–88. In both 1618 and 1620, the syndics of the book trade seized books from Melchior I Tavernier, who was an engraver and a printer but not a bookseller. Although the first seizure was of literary works, such as Michel de Montaigne’s *Essais* and Blaise de Lasseran-Massencome Montluc’s



It was not until 1650 that an explicit legal text ended these tensions by reaffirming the monopoly of the booksellers over typography: *imagiers* were forbidden to sell images that had more than six printed lines or images with text on the back; the fine for infraction was 400 Parisian livres.<sup>58</sup>

Established in the name of the king, in the form of letters patent, and registered within about a month by Parliament, the privilege had two distinct functions: the permission to print and a temporary monopoly for printing and distribution. The distribution privilege, which lasted on average between ten and twenty years, was valid within the boundaries of the kingdom. Offenders were punished by the destruction of plates (if a print or a map was involved), by confiscation of impressions, or by a large fine.<sup>59</sup> Obtained at the request of a publisher, a merchant, a woodcutter or engraver, or the author (in the case of a map, the geographer), a privilege was a transferable right, attached to the object rather than to a person, and consequently it could be transferred by the original holder to another person.

A privilege was only one way for the woodcutter or engraver or the printseller to prevent the counterfeiting of their work. Like prints, maps were not necessarily subject to the rules of a privilege, but by the seventeenth century, privileges were being requested for cartographic documents. Publishers from the Low Countries, such as the Hondius family and the Blaeus, did not hesitate to ask the king of France to protect them from the improper distribution of their productions within the kingdom of France. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the geographers' concerns about protecting their intellectual property, and the interest of the authorities in being able to control the production of potentially sensitive works (maps of borders, plans of fortified places, and nautical charts) led to the legal obligation of obtaining a privilege to publish any map.<sup>60</sup>

Even though counterfeited and plagiarized works seem to have been quite common, and such maps were printed without any indication of a privilege, we know of only a few examples of lawsuits about this. Nicolas Sanson, in association with his publisher Pierre I Mariette, won a court case against Pierre Sainton in 1653. Sainton, a minor *enlumineur* (colorer) established near the church of Saint-Séverin, had counterfeited a double-hemisphere map published two years earlier by the plaintiffs (figs. 53.9 and 53.10).<sup>61</sup> The documents detail not only the offense but also the sentence. Sainton was sentenced to watch his copperplate be broken and his publications confiscated, to Sanson's benefit, but one impression of the map survived and is now in Paris.<sup>62</sup>

#### PARTICIPANTS

As a result of guild monopolies, map publishing slipped from the hands of printer-booksellers and came under the

control of those who cut, engraved, published, and sold prints. They alone had the equipment, skills, and freedom to engrave images or to have them engraved. This change had significant consequences: because it was forbidden for engravers to print text using letterpress, maps were only rarely accompanied by printed commentaries, as that would have required an association between a bookseller and a publisher of prints. Most atlases published in France therefore consisted solely of maps, unlike those being printed in the Netherlands, which had maps and texts closely linked, often on the same paper.

If engravers and publishers of prints constituted a relatively homogenous group, linked by contracts, marriages, and godparentage, there still existed important financial disparities among them. Three groups can be distinguished: the major publishers, such as Melchior II Tavernier, Pierre I and Pierre II Mariette, and François and Nicolas Langlois, who dominated the market without necessarily giving cartography a preponderant place; the medium publishers who specialized in maps, such as Jean Boisseau and Nicolas I and Nicolas II Bery; and the numerous lesser-known engravers-publishers, who occasionally published a few maps, such as Jacques Lagnet, Michel and Pierre van Lochom, Etienne Vouillemont, Balthazar Moncornet, Louis Boissevin, and Jean Messenger.<sup>63</sup>

#### The Major Print Publishers

Among the most successful print publishers, Melchior II Tavernier belonged to a family with a tradition of involvement in cartographic publishing. Their sign "À la Sphère Royale" beginning in 1638 bears witness to this tradition. However, in 1644, Melchior II retired from business and sold his stock to his two main competitors, Pierre II Mariette and François Langlois, who published more topographical subjects without making it their specialization.

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*Commentaries*, in the second case illustrated books, which were clearly in the domain of the printers of copperplates and not of booksellers, were seized. At the conclusion of the first trial, Tavernier was condemned and required to adhere to the regulations. The outcome of the second trial is not known; we have only Tavernier's vehement plea.

58. Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 89–90.

59. Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 104–12, esp. 106.

60. Decree of the king's counsel on 16 December 1704 (BNF, MS. fr. 22119, f° 165–69). See Mireille Pastoureau, "Contrefaçon et plagiat des cartes de géographie et des atlas français de la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *La contrefaçon du livre (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, ed. François Moureau (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1988), 275–302.

61. Pastoureau, "Contrefaçon et plagiat," 283, and Shirley, *Mapping of the World*, 435–36 (no. 413).

62. The documents on the sentence are in Paris, Archives Nationales, Y 8735.

63. Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, distinguishes between major, medium, and small publishers (161–81) and provides details on each of them (275–386).

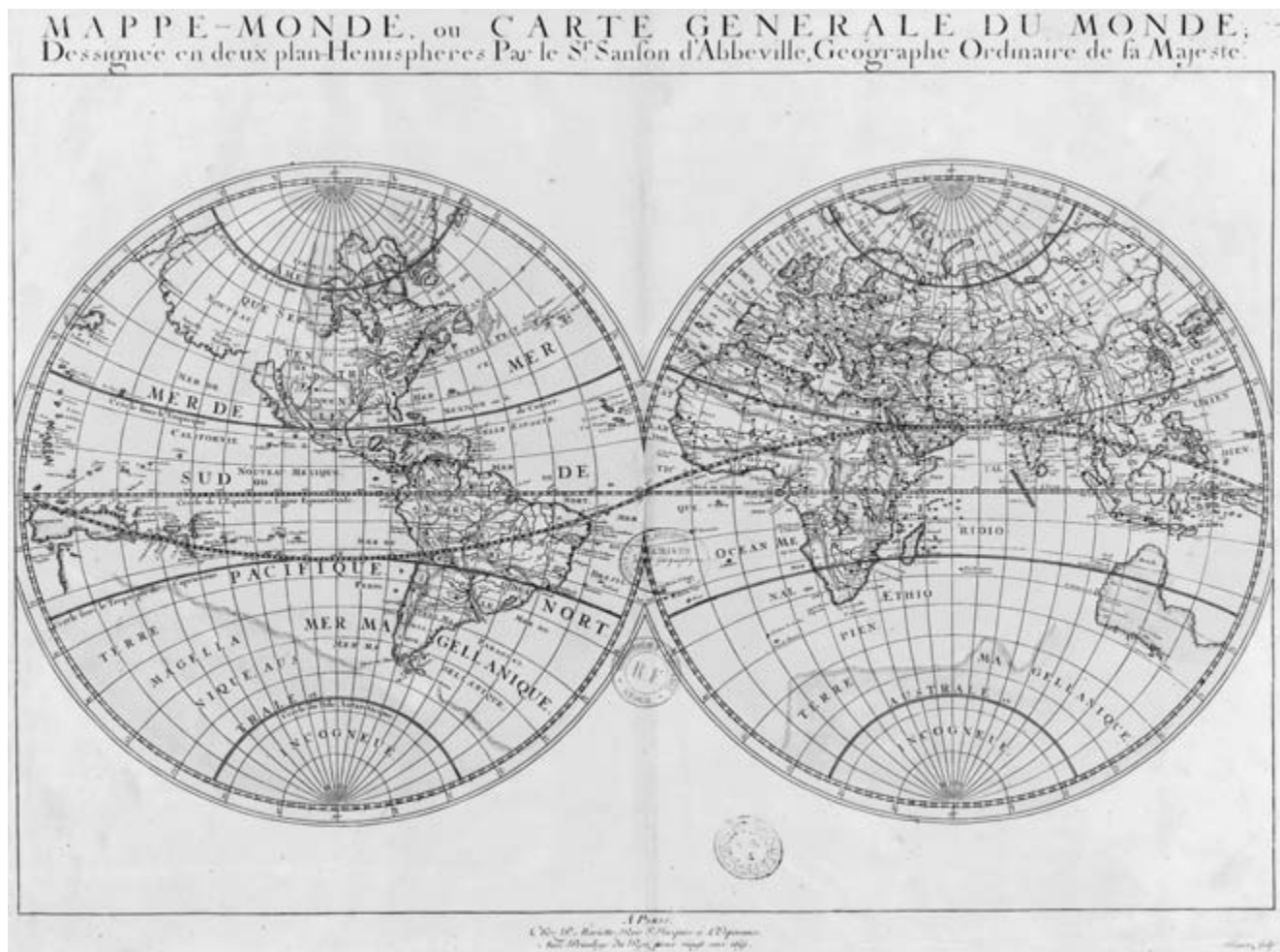


FIG. 53.9. NICOLAS SANSON, *MAPPE-MONDE, OU CARTE GENERALE DU MONDE DESSIGNÉE EN DEUX PLAN-HEMISPHERES*, 1651. The map, engraved on copper and illuminated, published in Paris by Pierre I Ma-

riette, rue Saint-Jacques à l'Esperance, "with the authorization of the king for twenty years" (at bottom). See figure 53.10. Size of the original: 35.5 × 53 cm. Photograph courtesy of the BNF (Cartes et Plans, Ge DD 2987 [76]).

François Langlois was a painter, publisher-printseller, and bookseller who lived on rue Saint-Jacques "Aux Colonnes d'Hercules." In 1637, only 5 percent of his stock consisted of topographical plates or blocks. The rest was composed of ornamental engravings (43 percent), landscapes (23 percent), mythological scenes (10 percent), religious engravings (8 percent), portraits (7 percent), and scenes of war (3 percent). In 1644, he bought part of Tavernier's stock. In 1655, eight years after Langlois's death, his son Nicolas I held about 11 percent of his holdings as topographical prints. After the death of his wife in 1701, the inventory of his assets revealed that the number of plates and blocks relating to architecture and topography had increased significantly to 26 percent of the business, or as much as the religious images. Langlois distributed the maps of French geographers, such as Tassin, Sanson, and Duval, as well as those of foreign cartographers, such

as Nicolaas Visscher and Vincenzo Coronelli.<sup>64</sup> But, in contrast to the Mariette family, who would become the regular publishers for the Sanson family from 1648 to 1671, Langlois never became involved in any major publishing projects.

The case of the Mariette family is especially instructive.<sup>65</sup> As the son of a Parisian bourgeois, Pierre I Mariette established himself as a publisher and seller of prints in 1632 "à l'Anguille" in the île du Palais, then at rue Saint-Jacques, first "à l'Elephant" (1633) and eventually "à l'Esperance" (1637). His son Pierre II succeeded him in 1637 at the same address and bought up most of Tavernier's collection in 1644. A complete inventory of his stock exists

64. Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 175–81.

65. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 345–49, and Préaud et al., *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes*, 228–34.



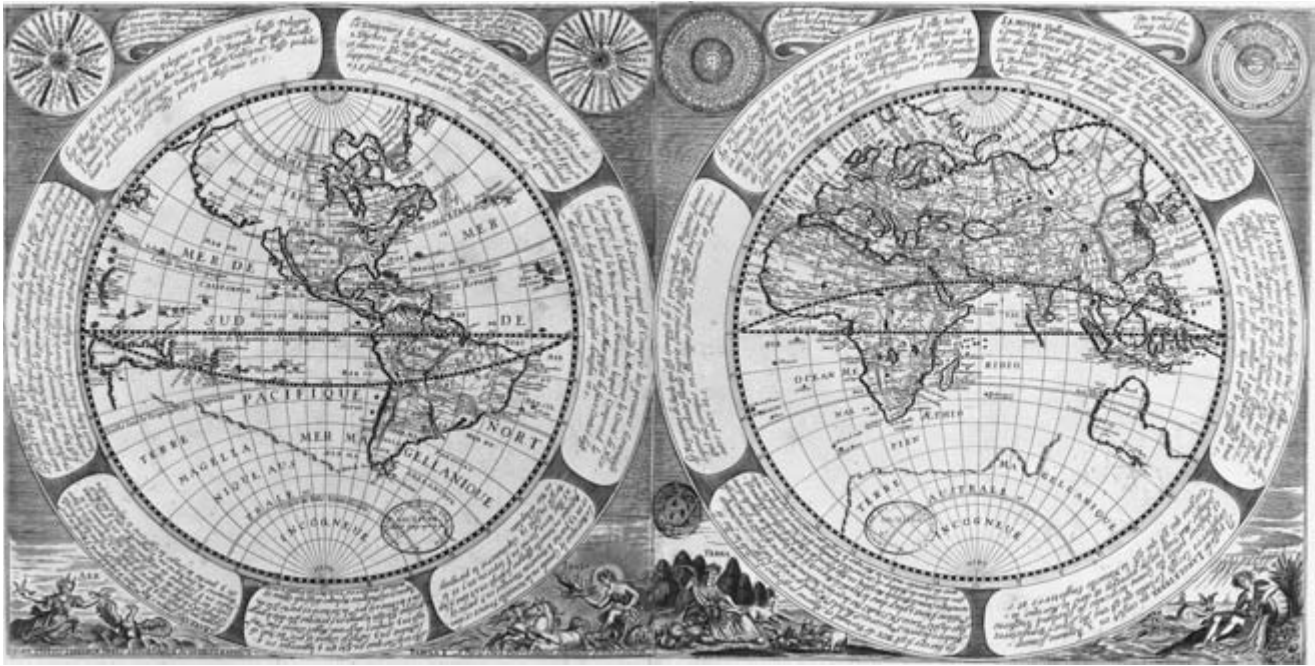


FIG. 53.10. PIERRE SAINTON, *NOVA TOTIUS TERRARUM ORBIS GEOGRAPHICA AC HYDROGRAPHICA TABULA*, 1653. Engraved on copper and illuminated, published in Paris by Pierre Sainton. This is an imitation of Sanson's double-hemisphere map world map (fig. 53.9). The aus-

tere appearance of Sanson's map was embellished by wind roses, allegorical vignettes of the four elements, a calendar, and short texts about different countries.

Size of the original: 35.5 × 69 cm. Photograph courtesy of the BNF (Cartes et Plans, Ge DD 2987 [78] B).

for 1644, made after the death of his wife, Madeleine Colemont.<sup>66</sup>

Like Langlois, Mariette did not make map publishing his main activity. Having five presses in his attic, he printed the works of the main engravers of his time: Jean Rabel, Israël Silvestre, Stefano Della Bella, and others. But he played an active role in map printing: he possessed as many as 304 copperplates of maps, which were estimated to be worth 13,000 livres. In addition to the Sanson atlases that were published by him, Mariette distributed *Le théâtre géographique de France* (sixty maps, 1650–53), an example of the well-known practice of sharing or selling plates among publishers. The core of this atlas consisted of twenty-six of Tassin's maps, complemented by seventeen maps printed by Mariette himself, ten maps published by Michel van Lochom, and additional maps published by Tavernier, Boisseau, Leclerc, and others, and even copies of Dutch maps. Mariette also acted as Paris distributor for the maps of his contemporaries (like Tassin) and Dutch publishers, such as Blaeu.

#### Medium Publishers Who Specialized in Maps

We have little biographical information about Jean Boisseau, *enlumineur du Roy pour les cartes géographiques* (the king's illuminator for maps).<sup>67</sup> His name appears in the Paris archives in 1631 because he had borrowed a

sum of money from Melchior II(?) Tavernier. He rapidly developed his specialization in cartography, at the same time publishing books dealing with heraldry, genealogy, and chronology. He published some maps himself around 1635 (the Netherlands, Alsace, the diocese of Aire), but he did most of his work after 1640, thanks to having bought up plates that were already engraved and to his copying of foreign maps. In 1641 Boisseau published *Topographie françoise* by Claude Chastillon, *ingénieur du roi*, who had died in 1616 (fig. 53.11). Although we do not know how Boisseau came into possession of the 550 engraved items in this work (military scenes, views of houses and châteaux, and plans of cities), some of which had undoubtedly already been engraved (forty-five of them bore an imprint that was not Boisseau's), his role as publisher is not in question. A year later he published a new edition of the *Theatre géographique du royaume de France* by Jean IV Leclerc (the successor of Maurice Bouguereau) with the title *Théâtre des Gaules*.<sup>68</sup> In 1643, he reissued the previously mentioned *Trésor des cartes géographiques*, which was a partial copy of the Mercator-Hondius *Atlas minor*, and, in 1648, he published *Théâtre*

66. Paris, Archives Nationales, Minutier central, CIX-217.

67. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 67–73; Préaud et al., *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes*, 56–57.

68. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 97–120.



FIG. 53.11. CLAUDE CHASTILLON, TITLE PAGE OF *TOPOGRAPHIE FRANCOISE*, 1641. Published in Paris by Jean Boisseau, who reused the engraved frontispiece from the *Théâtre géographique du royaume de France*, by Léonard Gautier, which had been published by the widow of Jean IV Leclerc, from whom Boisseau had bought back the plates. The title is framed by the portraits of Henri IV, pictured as a French Hercules holding the globe, and by Louis XIII as Apollo. At their feet, a map of Paris is spread out. At the top of the page is a second crowned globe, one side of which is covered by the map of France.

Photograph courtesy of the BNF (Cartes et Plans, Rés. Ge DD 4871).

*des citez*, a volume of views and profiles copied in part from the plates of Matthäus Merian the Elder. After 1650, Louis Boissevin took over part of his business (the reissue of *Trésor des cartes* and of *Topographie françoise*)<sup>69</sup> and, after obtaining in 1657 a permit to engrave and print an armorial and a book on administrative geography, Boisseau disappeared without a trace.

Nicolas I Berey and his son Nicolas II, who died in 1665 and 1667, respectively, were also publishers who specialized in cartography.<sup>70</sup> In 1635, Nicolas I, an *enlumineur* from Champagne, married Jacqueline Demache,

the widow of *imagier* Jacques de Lapierre. Demache brought with her three-fourths of her inheritance from her first husband. In 1639, Berey set up under the sign “Aux deux globes,” indicating his specialization in cartography from then on. In 1644, with another printseller, Antoine de Fer, he acquired for 3,500 livres the copperplates of Christophe Tassin. The inventory after the death of Berey’s wife in 1646 indicates the nature of his stock at that time: in addition to religious engravings, games for children, and decorative chimney screens, his stock included several illustrated books (geography, perspective, architecture, and fortifications), and in particular a set of maps and topographical views, including Berey’s share of the copperplates bought from Tassin.<sup>71</sup>

The inventories after their deaths in 1665 and 1667 confirm the Bereys’ interests.<sup>72</sup> The usual subjects of prints of the time were present (landscapes, portraits, religious topics, and master paintings) and illustrated books (such as decorated Bibles and books on astronomy, heraldry, and armorial bearings). But geographical subjects made up the main part of the inventories: maps and topographical views (copperplates and prints), atlases by Tassin, Beaulieu, Sanson, and authors from the Low Countries (Ortelius, Mercator, and Braun and Hogenberg), armillary spheres and globes, both mounted and as gores, usually imported from the Low Countries, as well as mathematical instruments (such as compasses, astrolabes, and divided circles). When Alexis-Hubert Jaillot succeeded them, the Bereys’ business was definitely the best-stocked cartographic establishment in the capital, although that does not necessarily mean that it did a great deal of publishing. Except for reissues of Tassin’s atlas and the publication of a small atlas of Europe in 1651, titled the *Carte générale de la géograrhie [sic] royalle* (fifteen maps) and attributed to Tassin,<sup>73</sup> the Bereys refrained from taking publishing risks that might be beyond their means.

#### PUBLISHING OUTLETS FOR THE GÉOGRAPHES

Geographers who wished to publish their work could work for a publisher, be their own publisher, or obtain a

69. Préaud et al., *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d’estampes*, 57.

70. Grivel, *Le commerce de l’estampe*, 167–71.

71. Grivel, *Le commerce de l’estampe*, 168–69. According to the numbering of Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 437–68, there were 232 of Tassin VII and Tassin VIII’s copper engravings (pp. 451–67), sixty-eight from Tassin III (pp. 442–44), thirty-six engravings of Tassin VI (pp. 446–50), and fifty large copper engravings, likely from Tassin II (pp. 439–41), these different titles (except Tassin VI) were republished by Nicolas Berey in 1644, 1648, or 1652. The rest of the copper engravings fell to Antoine de Fer, who also republished them.

72. Paris, Archives Nationale, Minutier central, XI-201, 3 July 1665, and VI-531, 16 December 1667.

73. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 438–39.



privilege and collaborate with one or several publishers, paying the cost of engraving and printing. Nicolas Sanson and his nephew Pierre Duval are two geographers who successively explored the advantages and disadvantages of these options.

The first solution came naturally to a geographer at the beginning of his career. During the 1630s, Nicolas Sanson, still an engineer at Abbeville, agreed to supply Melchior II Tavernier with the manuscripts of about twenty maps, including a map of the post routes in France (1632), one showing the French rivers (1634), ancient Greece (1636), and maps of the Roman Empire (1637). The risk was to lose the authorship and ownership of the maps. In fact, confronted with Tavernier's indiscretions, Sanson ended their partnership in 1643. He then settled in Paris and tried to publish his own work from 1643 to 1648. He published his famous geographical tables, which proposed a hierarchical system of geographical names related to a country or a group of states. This publication contributed greatly to his reputation. He also published independently the quarto atlases of the four continents: Europe (1647), Asia (1652), Africa (1656), and America (1657).<sup>74</sup>

Pierre Duval began his cartographic career in 1646 by adapting maps from the Low Countries for Pierre I Mariette, but after obtaining the title of *géographe du roi* (with an annual salary of 350 livres) in 1650, as an example of the second solution, he began to publish his work himself. From 1654 to 1672, he issued about ten small atlases, which closely followed military theaters or were aimed at the educational market. At the same time, he continued to supply manuscripts to various publishers: the Bereys, Nicolas Langlois, and Antoine de Fer. In 1672 he became the first French geographer to publish a catalog of his work.<sup>75</sup>

The last solution was to share the cost and the risks with a professional publisher. Learning from his first experience with Melchior II Tavernier, and now enjoying an excellent reputation as a geographer, Nicolas Sanson made four contracts with Pierre I Mariette from 1648 to 1657 on very favorable terms. In exchange for sharing the privilege and supplying cartographic drawings, Sanson demanded half ownership of the engraved plates. Mariette agreed to engrave and print the maps at his own expense. The system was ingenious: neither of them could sell a complete atlas without access to the copperplates in his partner's hands, and the maps bore the address of either Mariette or Sanson. But as he was not versed in commercial practices, Sanson progressively deposited his share of the copperplates at Mariette's shop, entrusting him with the responsibility of distributing the printed maps. In 1671, after the death of his father, Guillaume Sanson took Pierre II Mariette to court accusing him of acting improperly in the sale of his father's maps.

## TERMS AND CONDITIONS FOR SELLING MAPS

### Where Maps Were Sold

From the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the print trade was centered again on the rue Saint-Jacques and in the university neighborhood. The main publishers and printsellers in the seventeenth century, such as Mariette and Langlois, had shops there, but there were also shops on the periphery: the neighborhoods of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, the cemetery of the Saints-Innocents, the galleries of the Louvre, the île du Palais (île de la Cité), and on the quais and the bridges along the Seine. Around 1650, and even more so in the last third of the century, a shift occurred that concentrated geographers and map publishers toward the quai de l'Horloge on the île du Palais;<sup>76</sup> they thus moved closer to the sellers of scientific instruments and to a significant clientele, the legal profession. Examples of this movement include Melchior II Tavernier's move to the quai de l'Horloge in 1638 and Pierre Duval's move in 1664 to an apartment that overlooked the same quai (fig. 53.12).

The types of places where maps were sold were varied.<sup>77</sup> The most prosperous merchants had their own shops; for example, Nicolas I and Nicolas II Berey rented a small shop—with the previously mentioned evocative sign “Aux deux globes”—on the quai des Augustins for 1,060 livres annually. This shop was briefly described in the inventory (1668) after the death of Nicolas II Berey. The premises were cramped, poorly organized, and the shop was open to the street through a window frame. There was a small room in the back, which served as a kitchen and a storage room. A small closet above the shop was used as a bedroom and a storeroom at the back of the courtyard sheltered the supplies. The printing press was installed in the attic and the copperplates were arranged in a separate storeroom that was above another store where the prints were stored.<sup>78</sup> On an engraving of 1681, we have the good fortune to see the shop at the time when it was occupied by the successor of the Bereys, Alexis-Hubert Jaillot (fig. 53.13).

Many mapsellers were content with an apartment and a simple sign on the street. The successive addresses of Pierre Duval show that he had difficulty finding a stable

74. On Sanson, see Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 387–436, and Nicolas Sanson, *Atlas du monde*, 1665, ed. Mireille Pastoureau (Paris: Sand et Conti, 1988).

75. Liste des cartes, des livres et autres œuvres de géographie que P. Du Val géographe ordinaire du Roy a fait graver et imprimer jusqu'à l'année 1672 et qu'il fait distribuer chez lui (BNF, Impr. 8° Q pièce 315). On Duval, see Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 135–66.

76. Mary Sponberg Pedley, “The Map Trade in Paris, 1650–1825,” *Imago Mundi* 33 (1981): 33–45.

77. Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 33–38.

78. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 229.

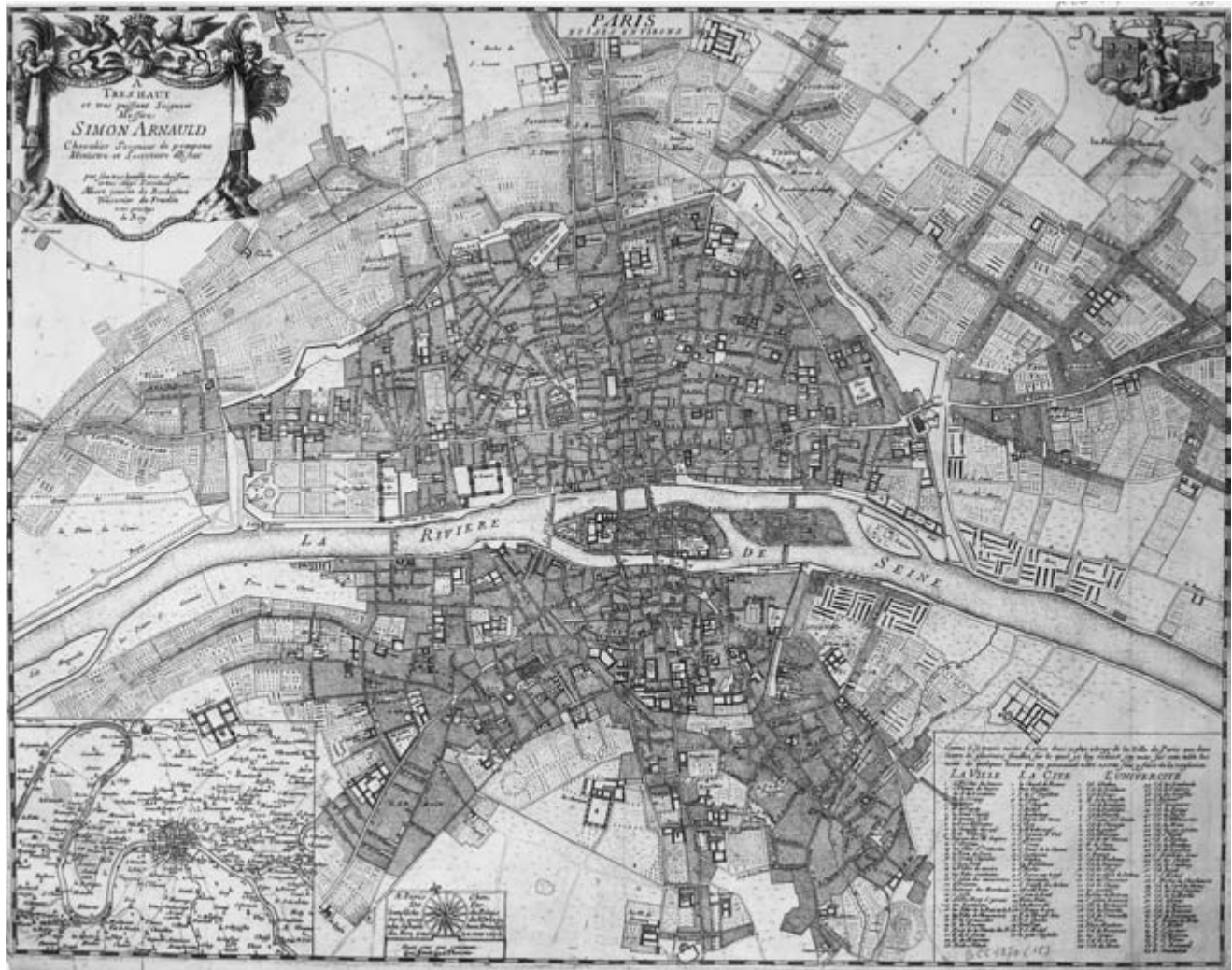


FIG. 53.12. ALBERT JOUVIN DE ROCHEFORT, DETAIL OF CENTRAL PARIS FROM A MAP OF PARIS AND ITS SURROUNDINGS, 1676. Engraving on copper, published in Paris by Nicolas de Fer, île du Palais on the quai de l'Horloge, with the king's authorization for twenty years. The main centers of cartographic publishing were rue Montorgueil and the

galleries of the Louvre on the Right Bank of the Seine, the university neighborhood on the Left Bank (especially rue Saint-Jacques and the quai des Augustins) and the quai de l'Horloge on the île du Palais.

Size of the original: 54.5 × 69.5 cm. Photograph courtesy of the BNF (Cartes et Plans, Ge CC 1270 [15] B).

and desirable location. In 1664, when he moved to the quai de l'Horloge, he did not have a shop, but was content to occupy, with his wife and two daughters, two rooms on the third floor and three rooms on the fourth floor of a house that looked out onto the quai.<sup>79</sup> There was room for his press and his material in the attic, whereas the plates of engraved copper and his manuscripts were carefully kept in a strong box. The Sansons, who lived away from the other geographers and engravers, were a special case. When he arrived in Paris, Nicolas Sanson first settled on the Right Bank in the neighborhood of the Halles near the church of Saint-Eustache (rue des Prouvaires). In 1651, he moved nearer to the palais du Louvre and nearer to the Seine and the Left Bank: he then lived on the rue de

l'Arbre-Sec, in the cloister of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois. When he died in 1667, his son Guillaume, because of his function as *géographe du roi*, was allowed to live in the Grande Galerie du Louvre, which Henri IV had had built to house the best artisans and artists of the kingdom.

Prints, and later maps, were also sold by *etaleurs* (streetsellers), who put their merchandise out on trestles and easels in special spaces (cloisters, galleries of the Palais Royal) or simply in the streets. There was also a section reserved for painters, booksellers, and printsellers at the great fair of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and we know that Gabriel I Tavernier had a booth there. Finally, prints

79. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 136–37.





FIG. 53.13. ALMANAC FOR THE YEAR OF GRACE MDCLXXXI: DETAIL OF “LES NOUVELISTES DU QUAY DES AUGUSTINS.” To the right of the door is Alexis-Hubert Jaillot’s shop, “Aux deux Globes.” Jaillot was the successor of both Nicolas I and Nicolas II Berrey, father and son. Photograph courtesy of the BNF (Estampes, Collection Henin, t. 59, 5127).

also found their way into the countryside by means of traveling salesmen who came to Paris several times a year to replenish their stock.

#### Conditions of Sale

We have only indirect sources for details about the prices of prints and maps in the period, such as contracts between engravers and publishers and probate inventories, which for financial reasons probably underestimate the values. Thus we know very little about the map engraving market during this period: in 1668 the engraver René Michault was hired to engrave seventeen maps for Pierre II Mariette in royal format (50 × 65 cm) for 510 livres or about thirty livres per map.<sup>80</sup> The inventory of Madeleine Colemont supplies valuable details about Mariette’s stock in 1664: the price of a plate seems to be based not only on its format but also on the renown of the geographer. Indeed, the copper engravings of Nicolas Sanson’s maps were the preferred pieces in Mariette’s stock: 104 plates

were estimated at 8,000 livres, or about eighty livres each, whereas the copper engravings of the maps of Pierre Duval or Philippe de La Rue were worth only twenty to twenty-seven livres each. For the other single-sheet maps, the price of the copper engravings varied from twelve to twenty-five livres; for certain double-sheet maps, the price went up to fifty livres per engraving.

It is even more difficult to determine the price of a printed map. The inventory after the death of Pierre Duval (1683) sheds some light by providing not only the price of the plates (for example, “101 large plates of maps . . . worth 5,000 livres” or approximately fifty livres per plate), but also estimates of prices of printed maps: uncolored (*en blanc*) maps were sold for three sols per sheet, and those that were *divisée*, that is, with boundaries highlighted by watercolor, were sold for four sols.<sup>81</sup> In comparison, a pound of butter cost eight sols at that time and a pound of candles, seven sols.<sup>82</sup>

Information about print runs is also hard to obtain. The number of copies printed varied according to the intended distribution. It is probable that fewer than five hundred maps were printed at one time. Grivel gives only one example of the number of copies made of maps: in 1686, Jean-Baptiste Nolin was hired to engrave twenty-six plates for Vincenzo Coronelli and to supply him with four hundred impressions from each plate, not including the extras (for which no figure was given) that he could print for himself.<sup>83</sup> In case of a second printing, Nolin would have to supply Coronelli with two hundred impressions.

The maps were distributed either as separate sheets or bound. When bought by the sheet, they could be mounted on canvas, satin, or silk and on rods for display or folded and placed into a slipcase for the convenience of the traveler or soldier on duty. Selling maps bound as a collection seems to have been the more lucrative activity. Some publishers took advantage of their monopoly for selling the maps that they published, such as the Mariettes for the Sansons, by pressuring their clientele to purchase entire collections. After the officers in the king’s armies, who were major buyers of maps, complained, a royal decree was issued on 7 April 1668, forbidding such practices and mandating the retail sale of individual sheets. The decree softened the blow to mapsellers by offering a financial

80. The example is given by Grivel, *Le commerce de l’estampe*, 220. The contract gives details about the maps: there was a map of France, and thirteen maps of the provinces of France (Anjou, Languedoc, Dauphiné, Provence, Normandy, Brittany, Orléanais, Île de France, Champagne, Burgundy, Lyonnais, Guienne, and Gascogne), and three maps of neighboring areas: Spain, Switzerland, and Brabant (Paris, Archives Nationale, Minutier central, XLIII-126, 19 January 1668).

81. Pastoureaux, *Les atlas français*, 136.

82. Grivel, *Le commerce de l’estampe*, 231.

83. Grivel, *Le commerce de l’estampe*, 233.

compromise—their right to double the price of maps sold this way.<sup>84</sup>

As the Duval inventory showed, maps were sold uncolored (*en blanc*) or colored (*enluminées*). If colored, they were about 30 percent more expensive. Like other popular prints (calendars, fashion plates), maps were frequently enhanced with color, yet we know very little about the trade of illuminator, who worked on pieces at home.<sup>85</sup> The colors were made of pigments mixed with water and gum arabic. They were applied to the print that had been sized to prevent the ink from running. Finally, a varnish was applied over the coloring to give it luster.<sup>86</sup>

Although we know Jean Boisseau was honored with the title *enlumineur du Roy pour les cartes géographiques*, such specialization in the field of mapmaking was probably an exception. In seventeenth-century France, maps were generally colored in outline: political and administrative divisions were enhanced by a line of color; the cities were sometimes underlined with red and the forests with green; cartouches and other decorative elements were usually left uncolored.<sup>87</sup> Decisions about coloring were not left to the colorist's whims: the cartographer supplied models, as we see in Pierre Duval's inventory after his death, which lists: "79 maps *divisées* by M. Duval to be used as a model . . . 7 livres." Applied without esthetic concerns, the coloring followed precise instructions to enhance the map's meaning. In this period, coloring usually served to highlight and distinguish the boundaries of a country, of an administrative division, or of a jurisdiction; maps colored thus were called *divisée*. When different jurisdictions overlapped in the same territory, it was recommended to color several impressions of the same map, each one differently, as Guillaume Sanson indicates in *Introduction à la géographie*.<sup>88</sup> In rare instances, color was used to associate disparate elements that belonged to one entity and to mark opposing political entities. (For example, on one map of Germany, color was used to identify the cities of the Hanseatic League to distinguish them from the imperial cities).<sup>89</sup>

#### International Trade in Maps

Foreign trade in maps existed but information is difficult to find. The main movement was from the Netherlands, undoubtedly through the port of Rouen,<sup>90</sup> where maps and globes were included with booksellers' items and were exempt from all import duties as a result of the king's letter patent of September 1603. This import trade appears to have been extensive and continued late into the century, but the volume, terms, and conditions are difficult to specify.

Thanks to a set of notary documents published by Fleury, we know that at the beginning of the century the

*dominotiers* (woodcutters specializing in decorative images) of rue Montorgueil sent much of their print production to Spain.<sup>91</sup> By this route, woodcut maps were also exported to Spain, as seen through two agreements signed between the traders and Parisian woodcutters. On 27 July 1605, François Tremblay bought four dozen maps of Spain from Jean Leclerc and Thomas de Leu, in addition to several thousand devotional images; and on 26 November of the same year, Leclerc provided four and a half dozen maps of Spain and other areas to a trader, Thomas Gauvin.<sup>92</sup>

By the 1650s, the cartographic market in France had developed enough that a geographer, Nicolas Sanson, and a publisher of prints, Pierre I and Pierre II Mariette, could launch the publication of a world atlas composed solely of newly compiled maps, not copied in any way from maps produced in the Netherlands. This atlas, titled *Cartes générales de toutes les parties du monde*, appeared in 1658 and contained 113 maps. Around 1670, the generation of pioneers (Tavernier, Sanson, the Bereys) ended, and a new generation of map and atlas publishers, Jaillot and de Fer, even more ambitious than their elders, took over. With the creation of the Académie des Sciences in 1666 and the cartographic activities that it stimulated, a new era began for French cartography to the benefit of new publishers. At the beginning of our period, France's cartographic role had largely been as a plagiarizer of maps produced mainly in the Netherlands. France's published maps were now about to be plagiarized by others in their turn.

84. Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 101–2 and 200 (BNF, Manuscrits, Collection Delamare, MS. fr. 21558, pièce 145, and MS fr. 21733 fols. 57–58).

85. Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 28–30.

86. Hubert Gautier, *L'art de laver; ou, Nouvelle manière de peindre sur le papier, suivant le coloris des desseins qu'on envoie à la cour* (Lyons: T. Amaury, 1687; reprinted Portland, Oreg.: Collegium Graphicum, 1972), 28–30: explanation of "the true rules of illumination," a technique different from that used for a wash drawing or watercolor.

87. Catherine Hofmann, "L'enluminure des cartes et des atlas imprimés [en France], XVIe–XVIIIe siècle," *Bulletin du Comité Français de Cartographie* 159 (1999): 35–47.

88. [Guillaume Sanson], *Introduction à la géographie* (Utrecht, 1692), 85.

89. Pastoureau, *Les atlas français*, 470, which explains the use of color in Melchior II(?) Tavernier's atlas, titled *Théâtre contenant la description de la carte générale de tout le monde* (Paris, 1640).

90. See p. 1579, note 44.

91. Parisian merchants testified that they knew the traders to whom they had delivered duly paid, marked items to be exported to Spain. See Fleury, *Documents du Minutier central*, 763–84. On the exportation of prints to Spain, see Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 257–60.

92. Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 259.