L2 Editorial Identity Performance:

French-Language Publication in Dutch-Speaking Environments in the Burgundian Low

Countries

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Our understanding of late medieval and early modern culture, across Western Europe, has

increasingly involved a grasp of the strategies by which subjects such as authors or courtiers

construct particular selves for consumption by their audiences.[1] These constructions may be

considered from various perspectives—not at all mutually exclusive—such as the

management of public reputation (*fama*), or the use of *ethos* as a mode of persuasion

according to the tenets of Aristotelian rhetoric.[2] More recently formulated, but no less

productive in this connection, is Judith Butler's notion of identity performance, whereby a

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[1] Important studies include Stephen GREENBLATT, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Lisa JARDINE, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); Cynthia J. BROWN, *Poets, Patrons, and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 197–246; Adrian ARMSTRONG and Sarah KAY, *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from the 'Rose' to the 'Rhétoriqueurs'* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), pp. 172–77.

[2] On the former, see especially *Fama: The Politics of Talk and Reputation in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Thelma S. Fenster and Daniel Lord Smail (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).

subject's identity is constructed through repeated public performances.[3] Initially developed in gender studies, this concept has the methodological advantage of ahistoricity, and hence wide adaptability: it does not, for example, presuppose the performer's familiarity with specific rhetorical techniques. As such it lends itself well to an evaluation of self-construction, which in literary culture is relevant not only to authors but also to other cultural agents: translators, editors, printers. In the case of editors and publishers, identity performances are mediated in large part through the paratext and materiality of early printed books. The quasi-philological apparatus and mythographically inspired iconography that characterize various editions by Jean de Tournes (1504–64), for instance, establish a professional and cultural identity that is strongly marked as scholarly and humanistic.[4] More generally, commercial prompts on title-pages—such as indications, true or otherwise, that a work has been recently revised and expanded—encourage perceptions of the publisher as responsive to the latest developments in literature or learning.[5]

Identity performances of this kind assume an additional dimension when work is published in a language other than the main working language of the enterprise. In the late

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[3] See especially Judith BUTLER, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1990); Moya LLOYD, 'Performativity, Parody, Politics', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 16 (1999), 195–213.

[4] Alfred CARTIER, *Bibliographie des éditions des de Tournes, imprimeurs lyonnais*, 2 vols (Paris: Éditions des Bibliothèques nationales de France, 1937–38), describes de Tournes's editions in detail.

[5] On prompts of this kind, see Ian MACLEAN, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion: The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions, 1560–1630* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, this was precisely the context in which French-language texts were often printed in the Burgundian Low Countries: Dutch was the first language (L1), or at least the primary working language, of the publisher. The relationship between French- and Dutch-language cultural activities in the region, including performance and publishing as well as writing and translating, is currently undergoing major re-evaluation as scholars identify increasingly numerous and complex interdependencies between speakers of the two vernaculars.[6] A proper understanding of these must consider the role of print publication, all the more so because the region played a very significant role in the early history of Francophone printing: it was here that William Caxton is considered to have published the first known printed book in French, and that Colard Mansion produced the first editions of several major works and translations.[7] Accordingly, in what follows I explore the

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[6] See especially Johan OOSTERMAN, 'Tussen twee wateren zwem ik: Anthonis de Roovere tussen rederijkers en *rhétoriqueurs*', *Jaarboek De Fonteine*, 49–50 (1999–2000), 11–29; Graeme SMALL, 'When Indiciaires Meet Rederijkers: A Contribution to the History of the Burgundian "Theatre State"', in *Stad van koopmanschap en vrede: Literatuur in Brugge tussen Middeleeuwen en Rederijkerstijd*, ed. by Johan Oosterman (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 133–61; *Literature and Multilingualism in the Low Countries (1100–1600)*, ed. by Samuel Mareel and Dirk Schoenaers (= *Queeste* 22.1 (2015)); Adrian ARMSTRONG, '"Half dicht, half prose gheordineert": Vers et prose de moyen français en moyen néerlandais', *Le Moyen Français*, 76–77 (2015), 7–38.

[7] The most recent and relevant studies are Lotte HELLINGA, 'William Caxton, Colard Mansion, and the Printer in Type 1', *Bulletin du bibliophile*, no. 1 (2011), 86–114; Renaud ADAM, 'Colard Mansion, passeur de textes?', in *Le Roman français dans les premiers*

ways in which paratext and physical presentation construct the public identity of Dutch-speaking publishers in their French-language (L2) editions. In particular, I consider to what extent their L1 is perceptible and, where appropriate, how these performances differ from those in the same publishers' Dutch-language output. I begin by surveying trends in a corpus of editions produced up to 1530 (the date commonly taken as marking the emergence of new tendencies in printing, at least in the French-speaking world), before devoting detailed analysis to two editions of work by the Franco-Burgundian rhetorician Jean Lemaire de Belges.[8] In the process, I develop or adapt a number of concepts with wider methodological relevance to book history and cross-cultural textual transmission.

The first of these concepts responds to our lack of detailed knowledge of workshop arrangements, which makes it impossible to establish the precise contributions of individuals—compositors, copy-editors, commissioned translators—to the finished product.[9]

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imprimés, ed. by Anne Schoysman and Maria Colombo Timelli (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2016), pp. 11–24.

[8] On the significance of 1530 in the periodization of early printing, see Margaret M. SMITH, 'Medieval Roots of the Renaissance Printed Book: An Essay in Design History', in *Forms of the 'Medieval' in the 'Renaissance': A Multidisciplinary Exploration of a Cultural Continuum*, ed. by George Hugo Tucker (Charlottesville, VA: Rookwood Press, 2000), pp. 143–53; Albert LABARRE, 'Les Incunables: La presentation du livre', in *Histoire de l'édition française*, ed. by Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier, 4 vols (Paris: Promodis, 1982–86), I (1982), 195–215.

[9] The fullest account of printers' professional activities and environments in the region is Renaud ADAM, 'Imprimeurs et société dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et en principauté de

Accordingly, I propose the notion of the 'implied publisher' as an analytical tool. Literary studies has long used the term 'implied author' to designate a constructed creative intelligence to which artistic choices are ascribed independently of the historical author's intentions and options.[10] By analogy, the 'implied publisher' attributes aesthetic and technical decisions to the publisher (in most cases the printer) of a given edition, whatever the actual workshop practice may have been.[11] Indeed, since publishers—whether or not readers could identify them from colophons, marks, and so forth—implicitly bore the ultimate responsibility for their products as far as both readers and judicial authorities were concerned, the implied publisher is a valid model through which to establish how contemporary

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Liege (1473–*ca* 1520)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Liège, 2011), pp. 190–255.

[10] On the implied author as 'the product of ideas about the work's purpose developed by the reader', see Monika FLUDERNIK, *An Introduction to Narratology* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 26.

[11] The relationship between printers and publishers calls for brief comment. The printer, publisher, and seller of a book were not necessarily the same person; however, in the region and period under consideration, it was rare for printers and publishers to be distinct (ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', pp. 204–14, 241–42). The implied publisher should be construed as designating the person to whom an audience would ascribe all decisions unless there is evidence, such as a name or a printer's mark, for others having contributed to the process. To work with the model of an implied rather than historical publisher does not, of course, make empirical evidence irrelevant. On the contrary, such evidence (for example, the sources of fonts or woodcuts) helps to delineate the context within which an implied publisher's decisions can be interpreted.

audiences are likely to have regarded the publishers of what they read.[12] However, not all

implied publishers are relevant to the question of L2 identity performance. Analysis must

exclude editions whose publisher is not explicitly named, on a title-page or in a colophon: the

readers of anonymous editions may ascribe particular traits and choices to the implied

publisher, but cannot predicate them of an individual whose native or working language can

be identified.

Hence the corpus compiled for the purposes of this study—established on the basis of

the *Universal Short-Title Catalogue* (USTC), and listed in approximately chronological order

in the Appendix—cannot cover the whole range of French-language publications produced in

the Low Countries.[13] In the first place, it must exclude editions of which no copies have been

located, since they cannot be proven to have existed.[14] In the second place, it must exclude

editions whose publisher is not named, even if the publisher's identity can be inferred from

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[12] Contemporary audiences must themselves be constructed through a model of some kind. I

consider them as a version of Jonathan Culler's 'ideal reader', which represents the readings

acceptable to the audience's horizon of expectation insofar as this can be established. See

Adrian ARMSTRONG, *Technique and Technology: Script, Print, and Poetics in France, 1470–*

1550 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 11−13; Jonathan CULLER, *Structuralist Poetics:*

Structuralism, Linguistics and the Study of Literature (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul,

1975), p. 124.

[13] <http://www.ustc.ac.uk> [accessed 28 March 2016]. In the interests of economy, I refer to

most editions solely by USTC number; fuller details are supplied in the Appendix.

[14] Editions in this category include *Tractat de la noble art de l'eguille* (Antwerp, Willem

Vorsterman, [1530]; USTC 83860), which appears to differ from the edition listed below as

USTC 80726.

other evidence.[15] In the third place, it excludes publishers whose native or primary working language was not Dutch. This does not apply solely to obvious cases such as the French-speakers Jean Brito and Colard Mansion in Bruges, let alone Jean de Liège in Valenciennes or the Anglophone William Caxton; it also applies to Martin Lempereur, a Frenchman who moved from Paris to Antwerp in 1525.[16] The Valenciennes bookseller Antoine Membru is an

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[15] Among the editions thereby excluded are *L'An des sept dames* ([Antwerp]: [Dirk Martens], [1503]; USTC 30912); Pseudo-Aristotle, *Le Secret des secrés Aristote* ([Antwerp]: [Govaert Bac], [1495]; USTC 70839); Olivier de LA MARCHE, *Le Chevalier Délibéré* (Schiedam: [Otgier Nachtegael], [1498]; USTC 71208); and Julien FOSSETIER, *De la glorieuse victoire obtenue devant Pavie* ([Antwerp]: [Symon Cock], [1525]; USTC 441973).

[16] For brief introductions to Brito and Mansion, see *De vijfhonderdste verjaring van de boekdrukkunst in de Nederlanden* (Brussels: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1973), pp. 248–49, 212–15; ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', pp. 126–30, 345–49. On Jean de Liège, see Hélène SERVANT, 'Jehan de Liège, premier imprimeur valenciennois', *Valentiana*, 1 (June 1988), 6–11. On Caxton, see HELLINGA; ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', pp. 123–26. On Lempereur, who printed a greater volume of material in French than in Dutch but most of whose production was Latin, see Jean–François GILMONT, 'La Production typographique de Martin Lempereur (Anvers, 1525–1536)', in *Le Livre évangélique en français avant Calvin: Études originales, publications d'inédits, catalogues d'éditions anciennes*, ed. by Jean-François Gilmont and William Kemp (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 115–29. I include Jan Lettersnijder, often supposed to be a native of England, and Henrick Eckert van Homberch, from Butzbach in Hessen, as their main working language was Dutch: see *Post-Incunabula and their Publishers in the Low Countries*, ed. by Hendrik D. L. Vervliet (Dordrecht: Springer Science + Business Media, 1978), p. 48; ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', pp. 153, 156–59, 297.

interesting case: all three of the editions that bear his name were printed by others—Dutch-speakers in at least two instances—who are not themselves named, so that readers would be likely to ascribe any identity performance to Membru.[17] In the fourth place, I exclude non-book publications such as broadsheets and lottery cards, which were used differently from

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[17] All these editions are of work by the rhetorician Nicaise LADAM. USTC 72782 and 13005 both present the topical poem *Le joyeux reveil de le election imperialle au magnifique honneur de treshault, tresexcellent, tresillustre et trespuissant prinche Charles*; the colophon of each simply reads 'Imprimé pour Anthoine Membru, libraire de la croix Sainct Andrieu' (Printed for Anthoine Membru, bookseller at the sign of the St Andrew's cross; fols [A]4^r, [A]2^v). The former edition was printed by Thomas van der Noot in Brussels. The printer of the latter has not been identified; its cheaper production, on two leaves rather than four, suggests that it may be a pirated edition with a misleading colophon. I am grateful to Katell Lavéant for this observation. Finally, USTC 57772 presents a prose letter and poem, under the title *Le Double des lettres que le grant Turc escript à monsieur le grant maistre de Rodes environ la sainct Jehan, l'an mil ccccc.xxii, avec une epistre de la cité de Rodes envoyée à la saincte foy catholicque*. It was printed by Adriaen van Berghen in Antwerp, who simultaneously produced a Dutch-language version with the same characters and title-page illustration (USTC 437186): the French colophon bears the indication 'pour Anthoine Membre [*sic*], libraire, qui fait le libraire' (for Anthoine Membru, who acts as bookseller), while the Dutch reads 'Gheprent tAntwerpen by mi, Adriaen van Bergen, int gulden missael' (Printed in Antwerp by me, Adriaen van Berghen, at the sign of the golden missal'; fols [A]4^v, A4^v). Orthography and punctuation in quotations from early editions are normalized in accordance with standard editorial practice.

books and where paratext cannot be defined in the same way.[18] Finally, I do not consider

multilingual vocabulary books where French was accompanied by one or more other

languages. Though quantitatively quite significant in the region's print production, these were

by definition not necessarily for use solely by Francophones; their title-pages themselves

were typically multilingual.[19] The resulting corpus comprises forty-nine editions across a

very wide variety of text-types, from poetry and romance to current affairs, Biblical material,

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[18] Editions thereby excluded are the broadsheets *La Lignie de Hollande* (Amsterdam: Doen

Pieterszoon, 1518; USTC 437013) and *Afin que chascun puisse savoir les fautes touchant

diverses sortes de deniers estranges* (Antwerp: Jan Lettersnijder, [1525]; USTC 55590). A

1522 lottery card ostensibly printed by Laurens Hayen in 's-Hertogenbosch (USTC 442056)

has no attested copies. On printing for lotteries, see ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', p. 245.

[19] On vocabulary books, see especially *Le Livre des mestiers de Bruges et ses dérivés*, ed. by

Jean Gessler (Bruges: Le Consortium des Maîtres Imprimeurs Brugeois, 1931). Their title-

pages were typically multilingual: see, for example, *Vocabulair pour apprendre romain et

flameng. Vocabulaer om te leerne walsch ende vlaemsch* (Antwerp: Roland van den Dorpe,

[1501]; USTC 78015). However, colophons were normally provided in a single language:

either Latin, where that language plays a major role in the text (USTC 70746, 78049), or the

printer's native Dutch (USTC 70743, 78033, 78015, 83816). An exception is Noël de

BERLAIMONT, *Vocabulare van nieus geordineert [...]. Vocabulaire de nouveau donné et de

rechief recorrigé* (Antwerp: Jacob van Liesveldt, 1527; USTC 78045), which bears both a

French and a Dutch colophon. This was published towards the end of the period surveyed,

and as such may reflect a later state of workshop practice or simply the idiosyncrasies of an

individual publisher.

and valuta books.[20] Five of these editions can be dated up to and including 1500; three to 1501–10; four to 1511–20; and the remainder to 1521–30. By far the most strongly represented printer is the prolific and durable Willem Vorsterman, with twenty-three editions of which the first is datable to 1510; he is followed by Michiel Hillen (nine editions, 1516), Jacob van Liesveldt (five editions, 1525), and the much earlier Gheraert Leeu (three editions, 1482).[21] While the principles of its compilation are restrictive, this corpus enables analysis to focus clearly on the identity performances of named L2 publishers. At the same time, I adduce examples from other editions where these illuminate particular practices and tendencies.

The best place to begin examining the corpus is at the end of each edition; with the colophon, where publishers are normally identified. A major difference from standard Francophone practice is immediately apparent: the overwhelming majority of these editions adopt a first-person form. As early as 1487, the colophon to Leeu's edition of the romance *Paris et Vienne* (USTC 70568) contains the formulation 'emprientée [*sic*] en Anvers par moy Gherard Leeu' (printed in Antwerp by me, Gheraert Leeu; fol. g3^r). First-person colophons of this kind are entirely typical in Dutch-language publications; indeed, the colophon of Leeu's

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[20] A number of USTC entries have been disregarded on the grounds that they represent duplicates, or variant states, of other entries. USTC 5546 and 72803 are variants of USTC 55616 and 442664; USTC 49948, 70221, 72896, and 77906/441920 duplicate respectively USTC 441710, 57878, 80715, and 10448/77905.

[21] The remaining publishers are represented by a single edition: Arend de Keyser (1483), Adriaen van Liesvelt (1500), Henrick Eckert van Homberch (1507), Thomas van der Noot (1508/9), Jan Lettersnijder (1527), Johannes Grapheus (1527), Hendrick Peetersen van Middelburch (1528), Robert Peril (1530), and Symon Cock (1530).

simultaneous Dutch-language edition of *Paris et Vienne* contains the phrase 'bij my Geraerdt

Leeu' (by me, Gheraert Leeu; USTC 435854, fol. f6^v).[22] However, such colophons are very

much rarer in French-language editions: most attested examples originate from Dutch-

speaking cities in the Low Countries. Within the corpus, then, the prevalence of first-person

forms must be regarded as a major trace of the publishers' L1. Publishers are not conforming

fully to the practices that Francophone readers might expect if, as would be very likely, they

have read French-language editions printed outside the region.[23] In this respect, while

publishers' L2 identity performance is *grammatically* competent (the first-person expressions

are correctly formed), it is *discursively* incongruous, since it reflects the conventions of a

different linguistic and commercial environment. However, this account calls for some

chronological nuance. Where there is evidence of evolution in a publisher's French-language

output, it involves the publisher adopting first-person forms that he had previously not used:

this is the case for Leeu's editions and, more significantly in view of the larger body of

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[22] Similar formulations often appear in the colophons of Latin editions produced by Dutch-

speaking printers. That of *Horae ad usum Trajectensem* (Antwerp: Adriaen van Liesvelt,

1495; USTC 63532) includes 'per me Adrianum de Liesvelt' (by me, Adriaen van Liesvelt;

fol. M4^v); that of Dionysius CARTHUSIANUS, *De vita sacerdotum opusculum* (Antwerp:

Willem Vorsterman, 1517; USTC 436982) includes 'per me Guilielmum Vorstermannum'

(by me, Willem Vorsterman; fol. G4^r). Alfred W. POLLARD, *An Essay on Colophons with*

Specimens and Translations, intro. by Richard Garnett (Chicago: The Caxton Club, 1905),

reproduces various early colophons from across western Europe: first-person expressions

appear in several of these (e.g. pp. 18, 47, 54, 85, 86, 92, 125, 151, 152, 174).

[23] For evidence of the cross-border character of the book trade in and around the Low

Countries, see ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', pp. 259–61, 397–427.

material, for those of Hillen.[24] This is striking, for it suggests that these publishers initially

tended to follow the prevailing usage in their Francophone target market before reverting to

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[24] The first Leeu edition in the corpus (USTC 57878) has no first-person formulation, in

contrast with his two near-contemporary editions of the same text in Dutch (each edition's

colophon contains the expression 'bi mi Gheraert Leeu' (by me, Gheraert Leeu): USTC

435460, fol. q8^r; USTC 435504, fol. q6^r), and with his two subsequent French-language

editions considered here (USTC 70568, 71221). Leeu's first French edition is also unusual in

that the colophon translates his surname: 'par Gerart Lyon' (by Gheraert Leeu; fol. m7^v).

Other printers did not follow this practice, presumably because it may have caused confusion

and harmed sales, though they normally adopted French equivalents of forenames (e.g.

Guillaume for Willem, Arnoul for Arend) and place names (e.g. 'porte de la chambre' for the

Kammerpoort in Antwerp). There is a similarly isolated and early instance of a French-

speaking publisher's surname being translated into Dutch: when Guy Marchant brought out a

Dutch-language version of Sebastian BRANT's *Narrenschiff* in Paris in 1500 (USTC 436642),

the colophon referred to him as 'Guide coopman ghenaemt' (Guy, known as the Merchant;

fol. p7^v). A generation later, however, such naming was standard practice for Martin

Lempereur, whose name took the equivalent forms 'Martinus Cæsar' (Martin the Emperor) in

his Latin publications and 'Merten de Keyser'—by which he is best known to book

historians—in his Dutch imprints. The practice of adapting anthroponyms to the language of

the accompanying text was of course already an established tradition in respect of Latin

names.

For Hillen, while editions published in 1529–30 consistently employ first-person

expressions, the same is not always true of editions published before the mid-1520s (USTC

13004, 65921, 80703). His name was normally rendered as 'Michiel van Hoochstraten' in his

native habits. Perhaps, though, the explanation is that first-person forms had become increasingly familiar in French-language editions in the region.[25] In other words, an identity performance that seemed discursively incongruous in 1520 may have been rather more orthodox a decade later. Towards the end of the period, in fact, first-person forms sometimes became even more visible by figuring on the title-page as well as, or instead of, in the colophon.[26]

Two colophons are of particular interest for publishers' identity performances. Vorsterman's edition of a guide to needlework, the *Tractat de la noble art de l'eguille* (USTC 80726), identifies Vorsterman as printer on the title-page; however, the colophon on the final page is in Dutch: 'Gheprent tot Antwerpen in die camerstrate in den gulden eenhoren by my Willem Vorsterman' (Printed in Antwerp in the Kammerstraat, at the sign of the golden

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Dutch-language editions and as 'Michiel de Hoochstrate' in his French-language editions, alluding to his origins in Hoogstraten.

[25] The French-language editions of Martin Lempereur seem to corroborate this hypothesis. In the period 1529–30 some of his editions bore a first-person formulation in the colophon or elsewhere (e.g. USTC 10438, 47255, 73243, 53240, 80724), while others did not (e.g. USTC 19758, 9488, 378, 5481). Hence a native French speaker active in the region adopted—at least intermittently—the practice of his Dutch-speaking peers.

[26] Vorsterman was particularly fond of first-person forms on title-pages: USTC 80709, 34432, 55616, 80726. In USTC 34432 the title-page forms part of an interwoven set of references that indicate a collaborative venture: the colophon (fol. X8^r) bears no name, and is followed (fol. X8^v) by the mark of Martin Lempereur. Other first-person forms appear on title-pages of publications by Grapheus (USTC 55602), Jacob van Liesveldt (USTC 80710), and Cock (USTC 57867).

unicorn, by me, Willem Vorsterman; fol. f4ᵛ). Whatever the reasons behind this—and it is tempting to assume that the colophon was reproduced, inadvertently or otherwise, from a Dutch-language edition that Vorsterman was printing at the same time—, the publisher's public identity is framed with particular insistence as that of an entrepreneur whose linguistic and commercial horizons extend beyond those of the target readership for this (or presumably any other) edition.[27] Even more fascinating is the lengthy colophon to Gheraert Leeu's edition of *Les Pregnostications* [*sic*] *pour l'an 1493* (USTC 71221), by the prolific almanac author Gaspar Laet the Elder:

> Ces prognosticacions et jugemens de l'an M.CCCC.XCIII, comme ilz sont escrips par moy Jaspar Laet, les ay bailliét à Gerard Leew mon amy, emprainteur en Anvers. À laquelle impression j'ay esté presens, curant diligamment que par nonchaloir d'aulcuns ou malice, comme aultrefois l'ay trouvé, que riens aultrement que j'aye fait ne soit escript. Pour ce, quilconque ces seuls mes prognosticata desirez, ayez les de moy aucteticques, *lesquelz du signe de la ville d'Anvers et de moy Gerard Leew impresseur vous veez signez;* lesquelz sont vraiement fais par moy et emendez ou

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[27] No Dutch-language edition survives, but Vorsterman printed an English version around the same time (USTC 437461), implying a systematic project with international reach. The colophon of the English edition is also in Dutch. See Gertrude WHITING, *A Lace Guide for Makers and Collectors* (New York: Dutton, 1920), pp. 396–97. The range of Vorsterman's commercial reach is most strikingly attested by his printing of ten Protestant works in Danish in 1529 and 1531, for the Lutheran humanist Christiern Pedersen (USTC 437430, 407358, 437536, 437564, 437573–74, 437584–87). While Pedersen was then resident in Lier near Antwerp, the language of these publications clearly indicates an orientation towards export.

corrigeez. Se aulcuns aultres soubs mon nom sont circumfereez, je ne vœil que quelque foy vous y [a]djoustez (fol. [A]6ᵛ; my italics).

(I, Gaspar Laet, have supplied these prognostications and judgements for the year 1493, in the form in which I wrote them down, to my friend Gheraert Leeu, printer in Antwerp. I was present when they were printed, taking good care that nothing other than what I composed might be included as a result of certain people's negligence or malice, as I have previously encountered. For this reason, if anyone wishes to have these prognostications of mine alone, you can have the authentic ones from me *which you see marked by the images designating the city of Antwerp and me, Gheraert Leeu, the printer*. Those have been truly composed, and amended or corrected, by me. If any others are circulated under my name, I don't wish you to put any faith in them.)

The claim to authority and concern for correct transmission are not unusual in early printed paratexts, though this is a distinctly early example of the kind. What is especially striking is the slippage of the first person, which moves from Laet to Leeu and back again. Are the readers of this edition to surmise that the colophon is voiced alternately by author and publisher, with Leeu inserting an aside (italicized above) into a monologue by Laet? Or that Leeu is ventriloquizing Laet, and letting the mask slip when referring to his own name? In fact there is a straightforward reason for the grammatical awkwardness, for comparison with the colophons of recent Leeu editions of Laet's almanacs in Latin and Dutch reveals a gap in the French text. The Latin and Dutch colophons, otherwise very similar to their French counterpart, refer to three authenticating images: those of Leeu and Antwerp as mentioned in the French text, but also Laet's own, each of which is duly represented in a small escutcheon

below the colophon.[28] The French edition's colophon is accompanied by the same three images; we must therefore assume that 'et de moy Gerard Leew' (and me, Gheraert Leeu) should read 'et de moy *et de* Gerard Leew' (and me *and* Gheraert Leeu), and that the whole colophon is voiced by Laet. Yet the Francophone readers of the *Pregnostications* are unlikely to have suspected a faulty text; unless they could compare it with Leeu editions in other languages, or identify Laet from the relevant escutcheon (not at all a straightforward task), they would most probably have read the colophon as alternating between the author's and publisher's voices.[29] In any case, however Leeu's apparent interjection might be interpreted, the colophon clearly constructs a relationship of intimate interdependence: Leeu has conceded full authority over the text to Laet, while reputationally benefiting from a popular author's display of trust. Leeu's performance is one of editorial and commercial integrity, one that invites the author to perform in his stead.

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[28] 'quæ signo civitatis Antwerpiensis nostro et Gerardi Leeu impressoris notata videbitis' (which you will see marked by an image designating the city of Antwerp, my own mark, and that of Gheraert Leeu, the printer): *Prognosticationes magistri Jasparis Laet de Borchloen de anno domini M.CCCC.XCI* (USTC 436035), fol. A8ᵛ; 'die metter wapenen van Antwerpen ende onsen hanteekene ende meester Gheraerts mercke voerseyt gheteekent syn' [which are marked by the arms of Antwerp, my own mark, and the mark of Master Gheraert mentioned previously]: *Pronosticaten meester Iaspers Laet van Borchloen vanden jare ons heeren duzent CCCC ende XCI* (USTC 436136), fol. a8ᵛ. See ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', p. 246.

[29] Such shifts of voice would not be particularly unusual for readers of this period: see *Le 'Slipping' dans les langues médiévales*, ed. by Jürg Rainer Schwyter, Erich Poppe, and Sandrine Onillon, Cahiers de l'ILSL, 18 (Lausanne: Institut de Linguistique et des Sciences du Langage de l'Université de Lausanne, 2005).

Elsewhere in the corpus, such ostentatious attention to textual accuracy is more of a solo performance by the publisher. This is apparent in Vorsterman's 1529 *Nouveau Testament* (USTC 55616), an edition of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples's translation from the Vulgate, for which costs and materials were apparently shared with Martin Lempereur.[30] The edition's colophon proclaims not only the facts of publication, but also a concern for correct language and for helpful cross-referencing between different books of the Bible:

En Anvers recongneu et diligemment purgé de toutes faultes et incorrections, et aussy de toutes superfluitez de l'orthographe. Avec les concordances des passaiges de la sainte escripture mises aux marges au dessus des estoillettes. Et fut achevé d'imprimer en l'an mil cinq cens et vingtneuf, le dixhuytiesme jour de janvier, par moy Guilame [*sic*] Vorsterman (fol. BBB6$^\mathrm{v}$).

(Reviewed in Antwerp, and diligently purged of all defects and errors, and also of all excesses in spelling, and with concordances with passages of Holy Writ provided in the margins next to asterisks. Printing was completed on 18 January 1529 by me, Willem Vorsterman.)

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[30] A variant state of this edition, USTC 5546 (see n. 20 above), bears Lempereur's name and as such does not figure in our corpus. See Wouter NIJHOFF and M. E. KRONENBERG, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, 8 vols (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923–71), hereafter NK, no. 2506. The same year, Vorsterman and Lempereur collaborated anonymously in publishing a tract by Luther, *La Maniere de lire l'evangile et quel profit on doibt en attendre* (USTC 10437).

The claims of linguistic and textual mastery are not quite borne out in the text, where orthography is relatively devoid of otiose letters but includes such indisputable 'superfluitez' as 'hau*l*te' and 'd'iceu*l*x' (fol. A4ʳ; my italics). More pertinent, of course, is the impression of careful workshop correction, and indeed the moral integrity that this implies: 'purgé' and 'superfluitez' both had well-established ethical connotations.[31] The term 'recongneu' calls for close attention in this respect. It should probably be understood as 'reviewed', in other words, as referring to the activity of workshop correctors in scrutinizing and emending a text; Vorsterman had used the equivalent term, *oversien*, on the title-page of a Dutch-language Bible that he had printed a few months before (USTC 452543). While 'recongneu' might also be read as signifying some form of official theological approval, there is no documentary confirmation of such approval elsewhere in the edition, and in any case Bible translations were considered acceptable by the authorities unless they were accompanied by paratexts of Lutheran inspiration. However, in view of potential official hostility even to moderate evangelical publications (as Martin Lempereur knew from his Parisian experience), publishers may have been pleased to exploit the ambiguity of 'recongneu'.[32] It is doubtless

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[31] See the relevant entries in the online *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, version 2015 (DMF, 2015). ATILF-CNRS and Université de Lorraine, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf> [accessed 14 August 2016]. Later in the sixteenth century, debates over spelling could take on a theological character; see Nina CATACH, *L'Orthographe française à l'époque de la Renaissance (auteurs—imprimeurs—ateliers d'imprimerie)* (Geneva: Droz, 1968), pp. 51–67.

[32] This ambiguity is also apparent in Latin *recognoscere*, which could have the meanings 'approve' and 'authorize' as well as 'review'. Lefèvre d'Étaples's biblical translation, while conservative in its reliance on the Vulgate, had been officially condemned by the Sorbonne and Parliament of Paris in 1525 and 1526; see Wim FRANÇOIS, 'The Condemnation of

for the same reason that the Vorsterman/Lempereur edition omits the prefatory epistles with which Lefèvre d'Étaples had accompanied the 1523 edition of his New Testament translation, printed in Paris by Simon de Colines (USTC 60656). Vorsterman had included these in his previous edition of Lefèvre d'Étaples's translation, printed in 1524–25 (USTC 5539); their author was not named, but each piece was advertised as an 'epistre exhortatoire' (exhortative epistle) on the relevant title-page of this multi-part edition. Four years later, however, the epistles were theologically contentious enough to risk falling foul of an imperial edict proclaimed in 1526 concerning heresy in Flanders, which condemned to public burning not only books by Luther and other named authors, but also:

> alle Evangelien, Epistelen, Prophetien ende andere boucken van der helegher
>
> schrifturen, in Duutsch, Vlaemsch ofte walsche, gheappostilleert, ghegloseert, oft
>
> hebbende prefatie of prologue, inhaudende dolijnghen ofte erreuren, ofte doctrine van

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Vernacular Bible Reading by the Parisian Theologians (1523–31)', in *Infant Milk or Hardy Nourishment? The Bible for Lay People and Theologians in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Wim François and A. A. den Hollander (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), pp. 111–37. On French–language Bibles and on religious publication in and around Antwerp, see especially Bettye CHAMBERS, 'What Ever Happened to *Sola Scriptura*? Text and Paratext in Sixteenth-Century French Bibles', in *Infant Milk*, pp. 141–64; Paul ARBLASTER, '"Totius Mundi Emporium": Antwerp as a Centre for Vernacular Bible Translations, 1523–1545', in *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, ed. by Arie-Jan Gelderblom, Jan L. de Jong, and Marc van Vaeck (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 9–31; Andrew G. JOHNSTON and Jean-François GILMONT, 'L'Imprimerie et la Réforme à Anvers', in *La Réforme et le livre: L'Europe de l'imprimé (1517–v.1570)*, ed. by Jean-François Gilmont (Paris: Cerf, 1990), pp. 191–216.

den voorseyden Luther ende zyne adherenten, by der Helegher kercke ghereprobeert

ofte repugnerende der ghemeene leerijnghe ende doctrine van der zelver.[33]

(all gospels, epistles, prophecies, and other books of Holy Writ, in Dutch, Flemish, or

French, with annotations or glosses, or prefaces or prologues, that contain

misinterpretations or errors, or the doctrine of the aforementioned Luther and his

adherents, which are condemned by the Holy Church or contradict its general

teaching and doctrine.)

Two years before his 1529 *Nouveau Testament*, Vorsterman had taken a different

approach to the correctness of a text. His 1527 edition of *Responce sur les lettres du roy de

France aux princes electeurs* (USTC 39009) ends with three pages of errata, introduced by

the heading 'Faultes et erreurs commisez par trop grande hastiveté en ce present livre'

(Defects and errors committed through excessive haste in preparing this book; fol. M4ʳ). Yet

the performance that follows is one of patchy L2 competence as well as attentiveness;

formulations are discursively appropriate, but not always grammatically or orthographically

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[33] The epistles appear in USTC 5539, fols a2ʳ–6ᵛ, A2ʳ–B1ᵛ; they are edited in Eugene F. RICE,

The Prefatory Epistles of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Related Texts (New York: Columbia

University Press, 1972), pp. 449–56, 457–68 (nos 137, 138). On their doctrinal implications,

see also Jonathan A. REID, *King's Sister—Queen of Dissent: Marguerite of Navarre (1492–

1549) and Her Evangelical Network*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2009), I, 176–80. The edict, dated

17 July 1526, is reproduced in *Ordonnancien, statuten, edicten ende placcaten, ghepubliceert

in de landen van herwaerts-over* (Ghent: Jan van den Steene, 1559; USTC 64526), fols I4ʳ–6ʳ

(quoted passage from I5ᵛ).

competent. To begin with, Vorsterman's line references locate errors 'au 16. Linie' (fol. M4[r]); *linie* is not a typical graphy of Middle French *ligne* ('line'), but the equivalent term in Middle Dutch.[34] Moreover, corrections are not always wholly appropriate themselves. The entry 'rejecter vouloint lisez retracter vouloint' (for 'wished to reject', read 'wished to retract'; fol. M4[v]) overlooks a misspelled conjugation, while 'son intention lisiez sa intention' (for 'his intention', read 'his intention'; fol. M4[r]) is a classic case of hypercorrection. Along with the Middle Dutch character of some of the graphies in the preceding pages—'franschoys', 'franschoyse', 'franschois' (French; fols A3[v], B8[r], H3[v])—the errata reveal that the performance of French is one of L2, through which the publisher's L1 occasionally shows.

Similar cases can be encountered elsewhere in the corpus. In some instances they involve misspellings on title-pages, which cannot fail to attract attention in this prominent position: *Cronicque abresiét* (for *abregiét*, 'abridged'; USTC 80703), *destuction* and *encoere* (for *destruction* and *encore*, 'destruction', 'additionally'; USTC 80714), *Somme en briefs* (for *en brief*, 'in brief'; USTC 80721), *aesté deffijés* (for *a esté deffié*, 'was challenged'; USTC 59125). These generally appear to be simple errors or typos rather than betraying any specific Middle Dutch influence. However, since the publisher and place of publication are identified in each case, readers may well ascribe the misspellings to inadequate L2 knowledge on the part of publishers whom the colophons clearly locate in a Dutch-speaking environment.[35] L1

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[34] DMF 2015 does not record the graphy *linie* for *ligne*. Both Middle French *ligne* and Middle Dutch *linie* are feminine nouns, rendering Vorsterman's preceding *au* surprising.

[35] The clearest possible Middle Dutch influence is in USTC 80721, where the pluralizing of *briefs* may derive from the MD noun *brief* ('written document'). For USTC 59125, printed by Peetersen, a contemporaneous Dutch-language edition by Vorsterman exists (USTC 410523);

shows through L2 in a different way in Vorsterman's edition of the *Recollection des merveilleuses advenues*, a verse chronicle begun by George Chastelain and continued by Jean Molinet (USTC 26182). The colophon mentions that the edition was 'imprimé en la ville marchande et renommée d'Anvers' (printed in the famous commercial city of Antwerp; fol. E6ʳ); this formulation, which does not appear elsewhere in the corpus, translates into French an expression commonly used in Dutch-language imprints from Antwerp: *die vermaerde coopstat van Antwerpen*.[36] The colophon of Robert Peril's *Triomphe de Boulogne* edition (USTC 80731) echoes the Dutch phrase more distantly: its Latin equivalent, *in mercuriali oppido Antwerpiensi famatissimo* (in the very famous commercial city of Antwerp), is

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further research may reveal whether the French text derived from the Dutch or vice versa. Some of the graphies in Thomas van der Noot's edition of Ladam's *Le joyeux reveil*, printed for Antoine Membru (USTC 72782), are also worth noting. The occurrence of *paijs* (lands) on the title-page, rather than *pays* or *pais*, seems incongruous (especially since the character *y* was part of the available character set), while *esliere* for *eslire* (elect; fol. [A]2ᵛ) recalls the equivalent MD verb *eligeeren*. As Membru is the only named publisher, readers may simply suspect inattentive copy-editing in this case.

[36] See Hubert MEEUS, 'Printing Vernacular Translations in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp', *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 64 (2014), 108–37 (p. 109). For a discussion of the *Recollection*'s colophon and its implications, see Adrian ARMSTRONG, '"Imprimé en la ville marchande et renommée d'Anvers": Antwerp Editions of Jean Molinet's Poetry', in *Between Stability and Transformation: Textual Traditions in the Medieval Netherlands*, ed. by Renée Gabriël and Johan Oosterman (= *Queeste*, 23.2 (2016)), 123–37 (p. 128).

rendered as 'à la très renommée et mercurialle ville de Anvers' (fol. 12^r).[37] Finally, in a few editions L1 is present in the paratext alongside L2. The Dutch colophon of the *Tractat de la noble art de l'eguille* has been noted above; three other Vorsterman editions (USTC 10448, 77905, 34094) include a large woodcut depicting the arms of Burgundy, the Empire, and Antwerp, the latter framed by phylacteries on which Dutch text indicates the city's various municipal privileges (fol. A1^v in each edition).[38] It is particularly clear in these instances that L2 performance is not the only option available to the publisher.

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[37] Versions of the Latin formula appear, for example, in the colophons of Peter of Spain, *Summulae logicales* (Antwerp: Gheraert Leeu, 1486; USTC 435815), fol. [LL]5^v; *Gemmula vocabulorum, cum addito* (Antwerp: Mathias van der Goes, 1487; USTC 435860), fol. L8^r; Albertanus of Brescia, *De arte loquendi et tacendi* (Antwerp: Gheraert Leeu, 1487; USTC 435877), fol. b4^r. The sense of the Middle Dutch and Latin terms *mercuriael*, *mercurialis* is based on Mercury's standing as the god of trade.

[38] The cut is reproduced and the Dutch text explained in Émile PICOT, *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron James de Rothschild*, 5 vols (Paris: Morgand, 1884–1920), II (1887), 582–83.

The reverse process is apparent in *Den camp vander doot*, a Dutch translation of Olivier de La Marche's *Chevalier Délibéré*, printed by Otgier Nachtegael in 1503 (USTC 425427) with the same woodcuts that Nachtegael had used when printing the French original a few years earlier (see n. 15 above). Nachtegael adds a French-Dutch glossary to enable readers to make sense of the woodcuts, which include phylacteries bearing French text. See Susie Speakman SUTCH, 'Cross-Cultural Intersections in the Middle Dutch Translations of *Le Chevalier délibéré* by Olivier de La Marche', in *The Multilingual Muse: Transcultural*

The presence of L1 may be typographic as well as linguistic: Dutch-language printing generally used textura fonts during the period surveyed, by contrast with the bâtarde fonts that were much more characteristic of vernacular printing within the kingdom of France.[39] Hence, when French text is printed in textura, this reflects the prevailing typography of the region rather than the language of publication. To adapt the terminology of translation studies, the use of textura in this context is a 'source-oriented' element; it owes more to its publisher's existing materials and habits than to the expectations of its putative readership. Conversely, when French material is printed in bâtarde within a demonstrably Dutch-speaking environment, this indicates a 'target-oriented' approach, which matches the assumed expectations of readers rather than the publisher's established practices.[40] Publishers may vary their typography (if resources permit), and inflect their identity performances accordingly, from one edition to the next. This is precisely what Gheraert Leeu did at the

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Poetics in the Burgundian Netherlands, ed. by Adrian Armstrong and Elsa Strietman (Oxford: Legenda, forthcoming).

[39] See H. D. L. VERVLIET, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1968), pp. 36–48, 51–52; ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', pp. 223–24. There are inevitable exceptions to this broad tendency, and it must be noted that French and Dutch variants of textura existed (VERVLIET, 'Sixteenth-Century Printing Types', pp. 42–43; ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', pp. 171, 179). Guy Marchant's Dutch-language *Narrenschiff* (see n. 24 above), a Parisian product, is unsurprisingly printed in bâtarde.

[40] Theo HERMANS, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and System-Oriented Approaches Explained* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 36–37, provides the most useful distinction between source-oriented and target-oriented approaches in translation studies, and the implications of the different perspectives.

beginning of the period surveyed. His edition of Nicolaus Pergamenus's *Dyaloge des creatures* of 1482 (USTC 57878), the earliest edition in our corpus, employs a textura font with an even more pronounced Netherlandish aspect than usual: it includes a raised *punctus*, a punctuation mark that does not normally appear in French-language printing even when textura is employed, but that often figures in the textura sets used in Dutch-language contexts up to around 1500.[41] Five years later, Leeu's *Paris et Vienne* (USTC 70568) adopts a character set very much more like a bâtarde, whereas his simultaneous Dutch edition (USTC 435854) uses textura. The contrast confirms the linguistic associations of the respective fonts, though the bâtarde characters seem to have proved fragile and were rapidly discarded afterwards.[42]

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[41] The raised *punctus* appears, for example, in Mayno de Mayneriis, *Dyalogus der creaturen* (Delft: [Christian Snellaert], 1488; USTC 435947). Four of the five French-language editions printed by Jean de Liège in Valenciennes use a textura font with a raised *punctus*; the set had perhaps been acquired from a Dutch-speaking supplier. These editions are discussed, and further Dutch-language precedents identified, in Adrian ARMSTRONG, 'Molinet imprimé: Perspectives éditoriales', in *Les premiers imprimés français et la littérature de Bourgogne*, ed. by Jean Devaux, Matthieu Marchal, and Alexandra Velissariou (Paris: Champion, forthcoming).

[42] *De vijfhonderdste verjaring*, pp. 288, 302–03. Most multilingual vocabulary books were printed in a single font, whether textura (e.g. USTC 70743) or bâtarde (e.g. USTC 19977). Both fonts are used, for Dutch and French respectively, in a vocabulary published by Vorsterman around 1530 (USTC 76318); this cannot be directly compared with the other vocabularies known to have been printed in the region, as it appeared much later than most of them and could draw on Vorsterman's exceptionally broad stock of type.

Most publishers initially follow Leeu in using textura for their French-language output, whether for technical, economic, aesthetic, or ideological reasons.[43] Towards the end of the period, the practices of Vorsterman and Hillen change. From the mid-1520s Vorsterman tends to use a bâtarde for his French imprints, with textura as an occasional display font.[44] A few years later, Hillen would print French text in roman type, but make similar use of textura for display purposes (USTC 13012, 49516, 53684). He used roman and italic fonts in his Latin publications as early as 1515 and 1523 respectively, but was still using textura as the basic font for his Dutch editions in the early 1530s.[45] In typographical

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[43] Examples include USTC 5762, 80696, 26182, 13004, 80703, 80715, 55779, and 57867.

[44] Examples include USTC 5539, 53928, 53239, 39009, 34094, 10448, and 77905. Vorsterman also produced a Dutch-language edition of *La Coronnation de l'empereur Charles cinquiesme*, entitled *Die crooninghe van den Keyser, gheschiet te Boloigne la grasse* (USTC 400487); this has the same general layout as the French editions (USTC 10448 and 77905), but is printed in textura. His 1529 *Nouveau Testament* (USTC 55616) uses bâtarde alone.

[45] ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', p. 224. Vorsterman first used roman and italic fonts in 1522 and 1525 respectively (ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', p. 224); there are very sporadic display uses of roman in USTC 5539 (first part, fol. a1^r; second part, fol. B2^r; the book comprises three parts with separate sequences of signatures). Much earlier uses of roman are attested in the region (VERVLIET, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types*, p. 63; ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', pp. 152, 223), though many readers of Dutch were slow to develop familiarity with it, according to the publisher's preface to *Refereynen int vroede* (Ghent: Joos Lambrecht, 1539; USTC 402963): 'Ick schaems my der plompheyt, datmen in onzen landen zo menyghen mensche vindt, die ons Nederlantsch, Duutsch of Vlaemsche sprake, in Romeynscher letteren gheprentt, niet

terms, then, publishers' L2 identity performances tend to manifest their L1 practice until late in the period, when—as major publishers accumulate experience and resources—readers can have a more target-oriented visual experience.[46]

Another late development is a tendency for woodcuts in prominent positions, on or near the title-page or final page, to localize an edition in both geographical and ideological terms. By representing Burgundian, imperial, and/or local allegiances, either through images of individuals or through heraldic and other symbols, these illustrations leave readers in no doubt as to their provenance and their publishers' political affiliations. An exceptionally early example, as so often, appears in Leeu's output: a large printer's mark depicting Antwerp as

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ghelezen en can, zegghende dat hy de letteren niet en kendt, maer het dijnkct hem Latijn of Griecx te wezen' (I'm ashamed of the obtuseness in our region, where so many men can be found who can't read our Netherlandish, Dutch, or Flemish language when it's printed in roman type, saying that they don't know the letters but they think that it's Latin or Greek; fol. A1$^\mathrm{v}$).

[46] One further, albeit much rarer, indirect visual trace of L1 in these editions is the use of Arabic rather than roman numerals. Publishers in the southern Low Countries broadly seem to adopt Arabic numerals earlier than those in France. R. A. SAYCE, 'Compositorial Practices and the Localization of Printed Books, 1530–1800', *The Library*, 5th ser., 21.1 (1966), 1–45 (pp. 21–24), notes this phenomenon from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, and the evidence of our corpus suggests that this tendency also applies to earlier decades. Arabic numerals are used in the signatures of Leeu's 1482 *Dyaloge des creatures* (USTC 57878); in both the foliation and the signatures of Vorsterman's 1529 *Prieres et oraisons de la Bible* (USTC 34432); and within the text of Vorsterman's 1527 *Responce sur les lettres du roy de France aux princes electeurs* (USTC 39009).

normally represented on the city's arms (a walled enclosure with a large central turret and

two smaller flanking turrets, topped by two severed hands), accompanied by flags bearing the

imperial arms and the marriage arms of Mary of Burgundy.[47] Most images of this kind,

however, appear only in the 1520s; the overwhelming majority appear in topical imprints that

have a clear political relevance to the region.[48] Vorsterman's 1520 *Triumphe du*

couronnement de l'empereur (USTC 442664) bears a cut of the imperial coronation on the

title-page, and the imperial arms figure below the colophon (fol. B4ʳ). His *La Bataille faicte*

par delà les mons devant la ville de Pavie of 1525 (USTC 53928) is even more ostentatiously

framed by political insignia, appropriately for a news publication devoted to a major imperial

victory over France. A large woodcut on the title-page is a veritable compendium of

Hapsburg/Burgundian motifs, including the St Andrew's cross and fire steel of Burgundy, the

imperial eagle and arched crown, the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and Emperor

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[47] USTC 70568, fol. g3ᵛ; see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8600062n/f84.item> [accessed 20

December 2016]. On the specificity of these arms, see Susie Speakman SUTCH, 'De Gouda-

editie van *Le Chevalier délibéré*: Een boek uitgegeven in eigen beheer', in *Geschreven en*

gedrukt: Boekproductie van handschrift naar druk in de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar

Moderne Tijd, ed. by Herman Pleij and Joris Reynaert (Ghent: Academia Press, 2004), pp.

137–55 (p. 148).

[48] Slightly earlier examples figure in the two Ladam editions anonymously printed for

Antoine Membru in 1519 (USTC 72782, 13005). The former, by Thomas van der Noot, bears

a large cut of the Burgundian arms on the title-page and a smaller image of the imperial arms

after the colophon (fol. [A]4ᵛ). The latter, which has no separate title-page, bears the imperial

and Burgundian arms side by side between the title and text.

Charles V's device *Plus oultre* (further beyond).[49] The colophon (fol. [A]4ᵛ) is followed by a cut that figures frequently in Vorsterman's output, depicting the imperial eagle, on which is superimposed an escutcheon bearing the arms of Antwerp with another imperial eagle in chief. A close copy of the cut on the title-page appears at the end of an edition by Jacob van Liesveldt (USTC 55779, fol. [A]4ᵛ), while Vorsterman's eagle image figures at the end of numerous other French-language imprints from the late 1520s (e.g. USTC 53239, fol. [A]4ᵛ; 10448, fol. B4ᵛ; 77905, fol. B4ᵛ; 34094, fol. C4ᵛ).[50] The latter three editions also, as noted above, contain an image of the Burgundian and imperial arms along with those of Antwerp. Other publishers use similar motifs on their title-pages: Jacob van Liesveldt and Hendrick Peetersen van Middelburch both reproduce an imperial eagle and Charles V's device (USTC 80710, 59125); Hillen also uses the imperial eagle (USTC 49516, 53684); Symon Cock uses a medallion-style image of Charles V, highly appropriate to a book that largely contains woodcut images of European coins (USTC 57867). In all these instances, publishers' L2 identity performances involve direct or indirect visual indications of a locality—Antwerp, or the Burgundian Low Countries more generally—and of the political loyalties associated with

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[49] See <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k859468n> [accessed 20 December 2016].

[50] It is not surprising that images in Vorsterman's and Van Liesveldt's editions should resemble each other so closely. Vorsterman exchanged various woodcuts with fellow printers as a matter of course; see, for example, Rita SCHLUSEMANN, 'De uitwisseling van houtsneden tussen Willem Vorsterman en Jan van Doesborch', *Queeste*, 1 (1994), 156–73. In USTC 5539, the woodcut compartment that frames the title-page of the third part (fol. AA1ʳ) includes a shield bearing the imperial arms; it is otherwise dominated by religious motifs.

it.[51] A distinction is thereby drawn between language and polity: even as they communicate to their audiences in French, these publishers emphatically disavow any connection with the kingdom of France.

To complement this overview of practice, and to demonstrate the interactions of various elements of publishing performance, I now turn to two editions of compositions by Jean Lemaire de Belges. The successor to Jean Molinet as Burgundian *indiciaire* (official poet and chronicler), Lemaire was to switch his political loyalties around 1511, leaving the

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[51] ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', p. 203, notes that imperial images often accompany and reinforce references to a privilege that has been granted to the publisher. Images and references to privileges do appear together in some of the editions referenced in this paragraph: USTC 72782, 442664, 53239, 10448, 77905, 49516. In most, however, no privilege is mentioned: USTC 13005 (possibly pirated: see n. 17 above), 53928, 55779, 34094, 80710, 59125, 53684, 57867 (though the sole extant copy may lack its closing leaves, and therefore a colophon: its final gathering is a bifolium, in contrast with the quaternions that precede it). Equally, some editions of topical material mention a privilege but contain no imperial images; this applies, for example, to USTC 13012 and 54350. Neither Vorsterman nor Hillen, the most prolific French-language publishers in our corpus, consistently pair references to privileges with imperial images. Hence, while in some editions an imperial image might be seen as representing the authority by which the publisher's privilege is granted, the overall use of such images cannot be accounted for in this way. Even where an image accompanies the reference to a privilege, of course, it can contribute to a publisher's identity performance in other ways.

service of Margaret of Austria to write in support of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany.[52] Before

that point, between 1507 and 1509, three editions of topical works by Lemaire appeared in

the Low Countries. The *Chansons de Namur* (1507; USTC 57627) celebrates a victory in the

Ardennes won by local peasants over French forces; the *Pompe funeralle* (1507; USTC

26124) is a prose account of Philip the Handsome's funeral in Mechelen, and is accompanied

by a verse epitaph in dialogue form in which Lemaire celebrates his two predecessors as

indiciaire, George Chastelain and Molinet; and the *Concorde du genre humain* (1509; USTC

80696) marks the 1508 Peace of Cambrai and praises Margaret of Austria for her important

role in proceedings.[53] Each edition is the work of a different publisher whose native or main

working language was Dutch: the Antwerp-based Henrick Eckert van Homberch (previously

based in Delft) produced the *Chansons*; Vorsterman printed the *Pompe*, which I do not

consider here since he is not explicitly credited; and Thomas van der Noot published the

Concorde in Brussels. If Lemaire had actively sought out printers in the region, his choices

are not at all surprising: the only active printers in the southern Netherlands at the time were

located in Antwerp, with the exception of the newly-established van der Noot.[54] In short, very

few other options were available outside France; and publication within the kingdom was

presumably inconceivable, given Lemaire's professional situation in the service of Margaret

of Austria, and the emphatically Burgundian orientation of his work in this period. At the

same time, it is rather surprising that Lemaire—if indeed he did take steps to have these

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[52] On Lemaire's career, see Pierre JODOGNE, *Jean Lemaire de Belges, écrivain franco-bourguignon* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1972).

[53] On these editions, see ARMSTRONG, *Technique and Technology*, pp. 136–45.

[54] On activity in the region outside Antwerp during the early sixteenth century, see ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', pp. 168–85.

pieces printed—should have worked with three different enterprises in less than eighteen months, between October 1507 and January 1509. We might speculate that this enabled Lemaire (or indeed his printers) to spread any possible risk, whether commercial or reputational.

The *Chansons de Namur* (USTC 57627), Eckert's only French-language publication, is printed in the same textura font as his Dutch publications.[55] Nothing in the printed text betrays any direct linguistic influence of the publisher's mother tongue. Hard *g* is rendered as *gh* in a few instances (e.g. *gheldroise*, *Gheldres*, 'of Guelders', 'Guelders'; fols a3ᵛ, a6ʳ), but Lemaire himself occasionally adopts this practice in the partly autograph manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Dupuy 503.[56] Hence the graphy is more likely to reflect Lemaire's own habits—hardly surprising in a native of the region, from Bavay in the county of Hainaut—than those of his printer. The edition bears no separate title-page: this is not typical of Eckert's production, and doubtless reflects economic imperatives, as it permits the complete text to be fitted into six quarto leaves. Its colophon is relatively brief: 'En octobre mil cincq cens et sept. Imprimé en Anvers par Henri Heckert' (In October 1507. Printed in Antwerp by Henrick Eckert; fol. a6ᵛ). Eckert's colophons are normally somewhat

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[55] This is a variant of the widely-used type described as 'Lettersnijder's English Textura' (identification number T20) in VERVLIET, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types*, pp. 120–21. Eckert's Latin publications tend to use a rotunda font, though textura figures as a display font, and is used in some cases for the main text. Conversely, rotunda is occasionally used in the paratext of Dutch-language material. The association between rotunda and Latin in Low Countries printing extends as far back as 1474: ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', p. 102.

[56] Jean LEMAIRE DE BELGES, *Chronique de 1507*, ed. by Anne Schoysman and Jean-Marie Cauchies (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 2001), pp. 52, 102, 120, 128, 130, 136.

fuller, supplying a more exact date and/or address, and in the first-person form that typifies Dutch-speaking publishers' practice.[57] In this respect, then, Eckert seems to have adopted the prevailing usage in his target market. Overall, his L2 identity performance combines source-oriented (textura) and target-oriented (colophon) elements; he approaches the expectations of his public without wholly corresponding to them.

Like the *Chansons*, the *Concorde du genre humain* is printed in a textura font that recalls the Dutch-language publications in which it was typically found.[58] The same effect is produced, more strikingly, by Van der Noot's mark; an image of a merknight, representing his workshop address *inden Zeeridder* (at the sign of the merknight), accompanied by the xylographic Dutch legend 'Ic sals ghedinken' (I'll remember).[59] The ostentatious presence of the edition's Dutch-language context gives a particular savour to its colophon, which in its own right is remarkable for its use of verse both to indicate details of publication and, even more distinctively, to deride the spelling habits of the Cambrai bookseller Philipot Le Cocq.

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[57] e.g. 'Gheprent tAntwerpen, binnen die Camerpoorte, int huys van Delf, by mij Henrick Eckert van Homberch. Int iaer ons heeren MCCCCCII, den XXVI. dach van maerte' (Printed in Antwerp, inside the Kammerpoort in the house of Delft, by me, Henrick Eckert van Homberch, on 26 March in the year of Our Lord 1502): Hendrik Herp, *Dits die grote ende nieuwe spiegel der volcomenheyt* (USTC 410040), fol. dd8^r.

[58] The font is of the same kind as that used in Eckert's edition of the *Chansons* (see n. 55 above). It also figures in Van der Noot's other French-language publication, the *Joyeux reveil* anonymously printed for Antoine Membru (USTC 72782).

[59] Fol. C8^v; see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k70356v/f38.item> [accessed 20 December 2016]. Over his career Van der Noot had four different workshop locations, each with the same name: ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', p. 392.

In association with a Parisian printer, Le Cocq had recently printed *La Paix faicte à Chambray* (USTC 26149), a small volume of verse by Nicaise Ladam that celebrates the Peace of Cambrai in the same way as the *Concorde*. Van der Noot is unimpressed:

> Imprimé dedens Bruxelle
>
> par moy, Thomas de la Noot,
>
> le mois que le prince volt
>
> premier entrer en icelle,
>
> qui fut en janvier mil cincq cens et wyt, et Madame nasquit en ladicte bonne ville, le
>
> semblable mois, l'an mil CCCC quatre vingtz.
>
> Un certain imprimeur nous a fait 'Chambray' lire
>
> là où nous pronunchons par droicture 'Cambray':
>
> ou il cuide enricher no langue, à dire vray,
>
> ou de sa cocquardise il nous veult faire rire.[60]

(Printed in Brussels by me, Thomas van der Noot, in the month that the prince made his first entry there. This was January 1508 [1509 n.s.], and Madame [*sc.* Margaret of Austria] was born in the same city in the corresponding month, in 1480. A certain printer has given us 'Chambrai' to read, whereas our proper pronunciation is

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[60] Jean LEMAIRE DE BELGES, *La Concorde du Genre Humain*, ed. by Pierre Jodogne (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1964), p. 80, ll. 909–19.

'Cambrai'. Either he truly thinks he's enriching our language, or he's trying to make us laugh at his idiocy.)

The offending spelling, which appears not only on Le Cocq's title-page but throughout Ladam's text, is in fact wholly justifiable: the poet introduces the first piece in the edition by punningly locating his study (*chambre*) in Cambrai.[61] Van der Noot is doubtless prompted by commercial competition to express his unconvincing orthographic purism, but in expressing it he engages in a remarkable identity performance. While the colophon's *par moy* formulation again recalls the Dutch printing practices in which first-person formulations are much more common, its reference to 'no langue' (our language) gives added piquancy to Van der Noot's pedantry. The first-person plural possessive identifies the printer not only as a speaker of French[62]—indeed a more competent speaker than Philipot—but also as a member

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[61]   En Chambray ma chambre ay fermée

Où moy, songeur tout postulé,

Fis cest ouvraige intitulé

L'Attente de paix refformée.

(In Cambrai I shut myself up in my study, where I, a dreamer much in demand, composed this work, entitled *Hope for an Improved Peace*.) Nicaise LADAM, *La Paix faicte à Chambray* (Paris: [Guillaume Bignaux] for Philipot Le Cocq of Cambrai, [1508]), fol. a1ᵛ.

[62] Which indeed he was: he would subsequently translate various works out of the language. See Yves G. VERMEULEN, *Tot profijt en genoegen: Motiveringen voor de productie van nederlandstalige gedrukte teksten 1477–1540* (Groningen: Wouters-Noordhoff/Forsten, 1986), p. 125; ADAM, 'Imprimeurs', pp. 352–54. We would therefore be safe in assuming that Van der Noot had devised the *Concorde*'s colophon and other paratext himself.

of the community of French-speakers in the region, together with the author whose work he

has just published and the customers whom he is inducing to buy it. On one level this is of

course a sales pitch, and all the more persuasive for expressing 'our' language in the

distinctively north-eastern form *no* rather than *nostre*.[63] On another level, though, the

colophon affirms a certain solidarity across the Low Countries: its banter binds a Dutch-

speaking printer together with his French-speaking public, and the imperial prince-bishopric

of Cambrai with the cosmopolitan port of Antwerp and with Francophone readers across the

region.

The *Concorde*'s title-page privileges religious motifs, which are prominent in the

opening section of Lemaire's long poem but do not dominate the text as a whole. Most

obviously, the page is dominated by a large woodcut of the Virgin, which is repeated on the

verso with the xylographic legend *Mediatrix nostra in throno Dei* (Our mediator on God's

throne).[64] The text above the woodcut refers to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin,

with which the crescent moon depicted in the cut is particularly associated, before it mentions

the Peace of Cambrai: 'Composé à l'honneur de la saincte conception de la gloriose Vierge,

le jour de laquelle fut conclue à Cambray la tresheureu [*sic*] paix' (Composed in honour of

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[63] *No* was also a convenient form for poets, offering a monosyllabic alternative to *nostre*:

Christiane MARCHELLO-NIZIA, *La Langue française aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, 2nd edn (Paris:

Nathan, 1997), pp. 177–78. However, in the explicitly regional context of the *Concorde*'s

publication, its value as an instance of dialectal variation is the more prominent. See Kristian

NYROP, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, 6 vols (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske

Boghandel/Nordiske Forlag, 1899–1930), II (1903), 389 (¶ 549).

[64] See <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k70356v/f3.item> and

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k70356v/f4.item> [accessed 20 December 2016].

the holy conception of the glorious Virgin, on which day the most auspicious peace was concluded in Cambrai; fol. A1ʳ). Moreover, it refers to the *Concorde* as a 'traictié' (treatise; fol. A1ʳ), a term that in early Francophone printing usually indicates either religious works or practical instructional publications.[65] While these elements are relevant to the political event celebrated by Lemaire—*traictié* inevitably echoes the treaty concluded at Cambrai, whereas the themes of peace and intercession associate Margaret of Austria with the Virgin—, in conjunction they are likely to lead potential buyers to expect a predominantly religious work. Their use is not specific to cultural or linguistic considerations; rather, it reflects Van der Noot's early tendency to seek a diverse public, rather than the clearly defined market in the Dutch-speaking urban bourgeoisie towards which he would later orientate most of his production.[66] In this case he has not simply sought a French-speaking public, but appealed to pious readers who may have had little interest in Lemaire's complex imagery and artistic self-consciousness, nor even in the political events that he commemorates. Like Eckert, Van der Noot performs an L2 identity that combines source- and target-oriented traits, though his more elaborate paratext produces a more complex result. There is a distinctly uneasy balance between the source-oriented font and printer's mark and, on the other hand, the target-oriented title-page and colophon—through which the publisher seeks respectively to maximize his audience through appeals to piety, and to affirm his linguistic solidarity with readers.

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[65] *Traicté* also appears often in its other major sense, in the titles of ephemeral publications that announce the signing of treaties and/or reproduce their text.

[66] See Herman PLEIJ, *De wereld volgens Thomas van der Noot, boekdrukker en uitgever te Brussel in het eerste kwart van de zestiende eeuw* (Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1982), p. 20.

Eckert's and Van der Noot's editions of Lemaire exemplify a more general feature of implied publishers' L2 identity performances: they typically involve a combination of source- and target-oriented elements. This is perhaps most apparent in Vorsterman's later editions, where bâtarde fonts familiar to Francophone readers coexist with woodcuts in which the publisher's home city is prominent (though of course the target audience would share the political affiliations of those images). Other source-oriented features include first-person colophons, visual traces of L1 printing techniques, and the direct or indirect presence of L1 features in the L2 paratext, some or all of which may coexist with the most fundamental target-oriented element: the use of French. Publishers may have had little or no choice in respect of certain presentational features, notably fonts; nevertheless, those features bear cultural meanings for readers, who would have had broad expectations of editions' presentation and paratext, and as such it is appropriate to consider their relative significance for each identity performance. This significance may vary not only from one edition to another, but also across text-types and over time. As we have seen, woodcuts that advertise local and/or political affiliations play a particularly important part in topical publications, while—as the evolution of Hillen's colophons suggests—a source-oriented element may become more target-oriented as its audience grows more familiar with it.

Finally, it is useful to consider the L2 identity performances of implied publishers in the context of 'passing', the term used in the theory and practice of identity politics to designate 'the process whereby individuals, who are assumed to have a fixed monolithic identity, attempt to appropriate the characteristics of the "Other" and desire not to be recognised as different.'[67] As a conceptual framework, this has its limitations. It is

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[67] Juliette PATTINSON, '"Passing unnoticed in a French crowd": The Passing Performances of British SOE Agents in Occupied France', *National Identities*, 12 (2010), 291–308 (p. 291).

incompatible with the notion of identity performance, which by definition runs counter to assumptions of a 'fixed monolithic identity' that can somehow be overlaid with other traits. Moreover, it does not account for the behaviour of the publishers in our corpus, who are precisely *not* attempting to convince others that they are Francophones: their title-pages and colophons mention names and places that, especially in conjunction, readers were likely to assume indicated Dutch-speaking printers. Nevertheless, the tendencies we have observed can be illuminatingly recast in terms of the key principles of 'passing'. Linguistic competence, while essential, is only one element of the *habitus* required for a subject to 'pass'.[68] Also essential are physical appearance and behaviour; these are manifested as target-oriented visual and typographical features of editions. Crucially, the different elements of a 'passing' *habitus* may vary widely according to the performer and setting, revealing that ostensibly predictable markers of identity are in fact fluid.[69] Again, this is precisely what we have seen in publishers' L2 identity performances. Individuals' choices, types of publication, and evolving contexts of reception all play an important role; a presentational feature that is source-oriented in one set of circumstances may not be source-oriented in another. In all cases, publishers' L2 identities are constructed through a dynamic process of negotiation between visual, textual, paratextual, and typographical factors—a process in which L1 is never purely linguistic, and never completely effaced.[70]

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[68] PATTINSON, p. 294.

[69] PATTINSON, pp. 297–302, 305.

Appendix: L2 Editions with Named Dutch-Speaking Publishers Produced in the Low Countries up to 1530

USTC no.[71]	Author (where known) and title	Place and publisher	Date[72]	ISTC/NK[73]
57878	Nicolaus Pergamenus, *Le Dyaloge des creatures*	Gouda, Gheraert Leeu	1482	id00159750
70711	*Le Traictié de la paix*	Ghent, Arend de Keyser	1483	it00421800
70568	Pierre de La Cépède, *Paris et Vienne*	Antwerp, Gheraert Leeu	1487	ip00112800
71221	Gaspar Laet the Elder, *Les Pregnostications* [*sic*] *pour l'an 1493*	Antwerp, Gheraert Leeu	[1492]	il00021500
70646	*Les Ressamblances des empraintes des deniers d'or et d'argent*	Antwerp, Adriaen van Liesvelt	1500	ir00149350
57627	Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Les Chansons de Namur*	Antwerp, Henrick Eckert van Homberch	1507	1339
80696	Jean Lemaire de Belges, *La Concorde du genre humain*	Brussels, Thomas van der Noot	1508/9	3375
26182	George Chastelain and Jean Molinet, *Recollection des merveilleuses advenues*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	[1510]	2625
13004	Nicaise Ladam, *Memoire et epitaphe de Ferdinand d'Aragon*	Antwerp, Michiel Hillen	[1516]	3326

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[71] A number of USTC entries have been disregarded on the grounds that they represent duplicates, or variant states, of others. USTC 5546 and 72803 are variants of USTC 55616 and 442664; USTC 49948, 70221, 72896, and 77906/441920 duplicate respectively USTC 441710, 57878, 80715, and 10448/77905.

[72] Where dates are not specified in the editions themselves, they are supplied from the USTC or from NK. A slash expresses Easter dating; a hyphen expresses a period of publication extending over two calendar years.

[73] ISTC: *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue: The International Database of 15th-Century European Printing* <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/index.html> [accessed 11 August 2016].

80703	Nicaise Ladam, *Cronicque abresiét*	Antwerp, Michiel Hillen	1516	1296
34811	*Nouvelles bonnes lesquelles sont produictes et venuez d'Orient*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	[1517]	1601
442664	*Le Triumphe du couronnement de l'empereur*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	1520	2076
80714	Manuel Borges, *Une merveilleuse et veritable copie d'unes lettres [...] du tremblement de terre*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	1522	2702
65743	Gaspar Laet the Elder, *Pronostication de l'an 1522*	Antwerp, Michiel Hillen	1522	—
65921	Hernán Cortés, *Les Contrées des iles*	Antwerp, Michiel Hillen	[1522]	620
80715	Bethlem, *Item ce livre devot a escript ung honnourable homme d'eglise*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	1524	2418
5539	*[Nouveau Testament]* (three parts; no overall title-page)	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	1524–25	2503
80718	*La Bataille faicte par delà les mons devant la ville de Pavie*	Antwerp, Jacob van Liesveldt	[1525]	258
53928	*La Bataille faicte par delà les mons devant la ville de Pavie*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	[1525]	2385
80721	*Somme en briefs des principaulx articles de la paix entre l'empereur et le roy de France*	Antwerp, Jacob van Liesveldt	[1526]	3887
441710	*La Valuacion des monnoyes commenchant le premier jour de mars en l'an 1526*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	[1526]	2104
80722	*Evaluation par les generaulx des monnoyes des deniers d'or et d'argent*	Antwerp, Jan Lettersnijder	[1526]	893
53239	*La Triumphante Entrée et couronnement de Fernant de la royalle majesté de Honguerie et de Boheme*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	1527	762
53771	*Remede convenable pour si bien vivre en ce monde que nous puissions acquerir le royaulme des cieux*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	[1527]	3793
39009	*Responce sur les lettres du roy de France aux princes electeurs*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	1527	1269
55602	*Une Epistre satiricque envoyée de par cognoissance au roy de France*	Antwerp, Johannes Grapheus	1527	767
55779	Montricharte, *Memoires des nouvelles que le josne Montricharte a apporté de Romme*	Antwerp, Jacob van Liesveldt	[1527]	1538
34094	*La Maniere de la deffiance faicte par les heraulx des roys de France et d'Engleterre à l'empereur*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	1528	3495

80707	*Ung Traictiez en brief de la deffianche du roy de Franche faicte au tresnoble empereur Charles, et la response dudit empereur*	[Antwerp], Jacob van Liesveldt	[1528]	3978
80709	*Prophesies du très noble, très puissant et très excellent empereur Charles*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	[1528]	2302
80710	*La Desfianche faicte au trespuisant et noble empereur Charles de par le roy de Franche et roy d'Engleterre*	Antwerp, Jacob van Liesveldt	[1528]	700
59125	*En ceste maniere a esté deffié l'empereur de par le herault du roy de Franche*	Antwerp, Hendrick Peetersen van Middelburch	[1528]	3496
55616	*Le Nouveau Testament*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	1529	2505
80712	*Les Lettres nouvelles envoyées par le roy d'Angleterre à l'empereur sur la delivrance des enfans de France et la responce dudit empereur*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	1529	3384
34432	Otto Brunfels, *Les Prieres et oraisons de la Bible*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman [and Martin Lempereur]	1529	2577
80711	*Le Sacq des ars et sciences*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	1529	3829
37509	Sebastian Virdung, *Livre plaisant et très utile pour apprendre à faire et ordonner toutes tabulatures hors le discant*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	1529	4057
13012	*Le Siege de la ville de Vienne en Ostrice tenu par l'empereur de Turquie*	Antwerp, Michiel Hillen	1529	1904
49516	*Ordonnance de l'entrée faicte par l'empereur Charles en la ville de Boulongne en Italie en l'an 1529*	Antwerp, Michiel Hillen	1529	1650
54350	Jean Thibault, *La Triumphe de la paix celebrée en Cambray*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	[1529]	3943
10448	*La Coronnation de l'empereur Charles cinquiesme*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	1530	2725
77905	*La Couronnation de l'empereur Charles cinquiesme*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	1530	629
53684	*L'Entrée de la tressacrée majesté imperialle faicte en la ville de Ausbourg*	Antwerp, Michiel Hillen	1530	761
80725	*Les Quinze effusions du sang de nostre sauveur Jesu Christ*	Antwerp, Michiel Hillen	1530	753
80726	*Tractat de la noble art de l'eguille*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	[1530]	3977
80731	*Triomphe de Boulogne en l'honneur du couronnement de Charles V*	Antwerp, Robert Peril	1530	3981
73269	Jacques de Caestre, *Pronostication de l'an 1531*	Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman	[1530]	2597
57867	*L'Evaluation de toutes deniers d'or et d'argent par figures*	Antwerp, Symon Cock	[1530]	—

| 441736 | *Les Quinze effusions du sang de nostre sauveur et redempteur Jesu Christ* | Antwerp, Michiel Hillen | 1530 | 753 |