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Learning in the life of a sixteenth-century French nobleman:
the case of Nicolas de Livre, friend of Jean Bodin

Starting with Donald Kelley's Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship (1970), a number of important studies over the last thirty years have painted a rich picture of the cultural activities and self-conceptions of French noblemen of different types during the intense transformations of the second estate that characterized the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.ⁱ The nobles of the robe, often recently ennobled by holding high office in the judiciary, were noted for their cultivation of learning and erudition, grounded in long years of legal studies, large personal libraries and a special interest in local and national history and law; this milieu spawned the scholars responsible for the "historiographical revolution" in late sixteenth-century France.ⁱⁱ At the same time, the nobles of the sword, traditionally defined by their long record of military valor and service to the king, and more recently by their hostility to the newcomers from the robe, increasingly recast the justification for their status in terms of inherited virtue and refinement of manners.ⁱⁱⁱ The shift to courtly values, which were soon widely emulated among

the nobility and beyond, involved a new emphasis on conversation, complex rules of decorum, and a wide-ranging "curiosité," distinct from the bookish erudition of the sixteenth-century robe and displayed instead in witty repartie and in the practice of collecting the valuable, the beautiful and the unusual.^{iv}

These studies have yielded insightful collective portraits of the robe and the sword as they participated in the shift from medieval to absolutist monarchy, which this case study of an individual nobleman could not and does not aim to contest. What the analysis of the career and literary production of one individual can offer, however, is a reminder of the complex variety of choices still open in the mid-sixteenth century as part of a strategy of upward mobility, when entry into both the robe and the sword nobilities was still possible, and when not all nobles fit neatly into one category or the other. The family of Nicolas de Livre had acquired noble status through a fairly typical combination of high office in city government and the ennobling royal office of notaire et secrétaire du roi. Although our Nicolas de Livre was an avocat and could have chosen the career of a magistrate, instead he angled toward the kind of office usually held by nobles of the sword and landed an appointment as bailli of Senlis, in which capacity he could withdraw to his nearby castle to pursue his learned interests. Thus an eighteenth-century academician reported on the manuscript annotations made by Nicolas de Livre in a copy of Henri Estienne's De la précellence du langage françois (1579), in which Livre had noted in the margins various terms of war and falconry which he had taught to Estienne.^v Here we catch a glimpse of the future bailli sharing with one of the leading humanist scholars of the day his learned philological insights into the terminology of those activities most closely associated with the old nobility--war and hunting. Nicolas de Livre thus combined interests generally associated with two incompatible types of noble values.

What ideals of nobility were entertained by Nicolas de Livre, a learned nobleman, but not of the robe longue? Where did his attitudes fit into the spectrum of positions staked out amid the growing ideological and political conflicts between sword and robe nobilities in the sixteenth century? What role did learning play in the affirmation of his social position? These are some of questions I will address in examining Livre's career. In particular, I will analyze what remains of his literary activity. Livre's translation of an Italian treatise on earthquakes published in 1575 at first view seems undramatic, even dull; when studied more closely, however, it tells a rich story about Livre and his contacts with another, more famous learned humanist--Jean Bodin.

Nicolas de Livre's political career:

Our Nicolas de Livre first appears in the archives in 1560 when his father, "Nicolas de Livre the elder, secretary of the king, seigneur of Ravenel, Vienne and Ronquerolles"^{vi} made a donation to "his son Nicolas de Livre of a house in Paris, rue des Cinq-Diamants formerly called rue de la Vieille-Courroie, which has its entrance on the said street across from the rue Trousse-Vache, from the garden of which house a fountain runs into the street which has been there for one hundred years and more."^{vii} The donation also included the "fief and seigneurie of Pommeuse in the village of Chessy-en-Brie, near Lagny-sur-Marne, a house on the outskirts of Brie-Comte-Robert, rue du Cimetière, and everything that might belong to the said faubourg, to the area and environs of Brie-Comte-Robert."^{viii} Four years later the father died, leaving three children--Nicolas, Adrien and Charlotte. Our Nicolas was then a barrister at the Parlement.^{ix} We can surmise that he was approximately in his thirties at that point (his mother, Marie du Drac, was born in 1502).^x In 1571, resident in the rue des Quatre-Fils, he was assessed a tax of 100 livres in the "free gift" levied that year, a sum which placed him approximately in the fifth wealthiest

percentile of all Parisian contributors.^{xi} On July 7, 1575 he married Elisabeth de Longueil, daughter of a barrister (avocat) at the Parlement, who brought with her a dowry of 10,000 livres and the pedigree of a family ennobled (through office-holding) as early as the late 14th century.^{xii} Around the same time Nicolas inherited the seigneuries of Vienne and Humerolles from his brother Adrien, "one of the hundred gentlemen of the king's household," who died between 1571 and 1575.^{xiii} By inheritance and marriage Nicolas de Livre thus settled into the financial and social position characteristic of his family of royal and urban officials in high administration and justice, which can be traced to the late fifteenth century.^{xiv}

In a line of direct ascendance, Nicolas' paternal grandfather Jean de Livre, at first a clerk to the greffier Hugues Alligret, became greffier criminel himself at the Parlement de Paris at the latter's resignation in his favor in 1486 and was royal notary and secretary under Charles VIII (in 1495).^{xv} After 1485 this position conferred not only exemption from taxes, but also ennoblement transmissible to one's descendants, and the purchase of this office constituted the "quickest and easiest path to noble status for the wealthy bourgeois of the sixteenth century."^{xvi} By this point, in any case, if not before, we can be sure that this branch of the Livre family had entered the nobility. Jean's relatives included a conseiller ès requêtes, a premier huissier au Parlement and a receveur des amendes de la cour; their sons and daughters, insofar as is known, married in the same milieux.^{xvii} Our Nicolas' father, Nicolas I de Livre, was royal notary and secretary under Francis I from 1519 until his resignation in 1555.^{xviii} He became city councillor in 1537 and remained so until his death in 1564. He was elected prévôt des marchands for two years in 1554, and approved by Henri II, despite the king's own rule that officials of the high court and administration should not serve in municipal office.^{xix} In 1536 he purchased the land and seigneurie of Ronquerolles, in the bailliage of Senlis, which would benefit his son, our Nicolas.^{xx}

Nicolas II's generation carried on the established family patterns, marrying within the same circles of high urban and royal officials. Nicolas's sister Charlotte married Nicolas Lhuillier, conseiller du roi and lieutenant civil de la prévôté de Paris, who was elected prévôt des marchands in 1576^{xxi}; her dowry of 10'000 livres was identical to that of Nicolas' wife, Elisabeth de Longueil. Nicolas senior had attempted to pass on to our Nicolas his position as city councillor just before his death in June 1564, but the motion was declared null and void because the father had not designated a proxy to transmit his resignation "according to the custom."^{xxii} In any case our Nicolas was an avocat in the Parlement, an activity which after a decree of 1544 did not risk dérogeance from his noble status.^{xxiii}

In time Nicolas was appointed bailli and captain of Senlis (Oise), probably in 1582.^{xxiv} The position of bailli was prestigious, effectively awarded only to nobles after the 15th century, although the requirement of military distinction was less important at a place like Senlis, long since integrated into the kingdom, than in more rebellious areas of the South, for example.^{xxv} The baillis were first established in the 13th century to implement royal justice and administration and succeeded in encroaching gradually on seigneurial justice.^{xxvi} But by the sixteenth century the baillis themselves were expected, indeed even required, in matters of justice, to defer to their lieutenants in the actual administration of the bailliage. The nobles selected as baillis usually came either from the nobility of the sword or (as in the case of Livre) from the high officers in circles close to the king, rather than from the magistracy--from the short rather than the long robe: they were not expected to have the legal training and experience required to render justice in the increasingly complex judicial system of the sixteenth century. After appointment, baillis would typically continue to reside at court or on their lands.^{xxvii} Despite his own legal experience as an avocat, from which he could have pursued a career in the magistracy, Nicolas de Livre

seems to have adhered to the practice of the absentee-bailli. A donation dated 1587 lists Nicolas the bailli as residing in Paris rue des Quatre-Fils.^{xxviii} He also spent time at his château at Ronquerolles (in the bailliage, near Pierrefonds), as two sources report.^{xxix} His administration was accordingly impersonal, with many extant sentences delivered "in the name of the bailli," by the lieutenant general Philippe Loisel.^{xxx}

Nicolas de Livre's tenure as bailli would probably have elapsed without special mention in the contemporary chronicles of Senlis had he not been in office during the activities of the Ligue. Livre faced opposition especially from certain notables, including the bishop and the son of an earlier governor, Rasse de Saint-Simon, who tried to supplant Livre on the authority of letters of commission from the duke of Aumale.^{xxxi} It is presumably this manoeuver which prompted Livre to seek confirmation of his position from the king. The acts of Parlement for August 17, 1588 record a declaration by the king that "his intention always was and is still now to maintain and preserve Nicolas de Livres sieur d'Humerolles as bailli and captain of Senlis ... to have, hold and exercise that function with the same rights and in the same way as his predecessors had ... so that no one other than the said sieur d'Humerolles may have command of the governorship of the city either for the bearing of arms or for any other activity, under the authority of the lieutenant general of Isle-de-France."^{xxxii} Nevertheless Rasse de Saint-Simon at the head of a Ligueur party succeeded in overrunning the city in February 1589. D'Humerolles (as the contemporary accounts refer to him) was imprisoned and taken to Paris.^{xxxiii} The contemporary judgment that Livre "had done his duty well of keeping the city" does not necessarily justify the portrait painted much later of a royalist hero, beloved of his constituents for his "kind administration" and acting with calm serenity in the most difficult moments.^{xxxiv} Nonetheless it is clear that Livre acted as a loyal officer of the king; the title of "chevalier de

l'ordre du roi" first appears alongside his name in January 1589.^{xxxv} He was restored to his office after the siege and battle of Senlis (May 1589), one of the first decisive royalist victories, and continued in office until his death in 1592.^{xxxvi} He left no children; his sister Charlotte was his heir.^{xxxvii}

Nicolas de Livre offers an example of a career in the robe courte, in high administration, as distinct from both the career of a noble of the sword and from that of a noble of the long robe. Although his brother Adrien served in the king's guard, military prowess was not noted among the family's accomplishments; in any case the family's noble pedigree did not warrant sword status. On the other hand, although Livre was an avocat and might have become a magistrate, he did not follow that course--perhaps he sought a position that would leave him more leisure for his intellectual pursuits; there is no hint in the extant evidence of Protestant inclinations, which might have constituted another reason for his career choice. Or perhaps Livre hoped to slip into the sword nobility in this way; at a later date, after military dress was completely abandoned, the robe courte was assimilated into the nobility of the sword.^{xxxviii} One can only wonder (since he had none) whether Livre's descendants might have entered into the old nobility in this way. More likely, Livre's decision to shun high judicial office would have led to an impasse rather than to continued rise in status: although "living nobly" remained an ideal for many of the recently ennobled, upward mobility passed through the holding of high office (and the concomitant acknowledgement of original ennoblement) throughout the seventeenth century.^{xxxix}

What is clear, in any case, is that in becoming a published author, Livre was unusual among the robe courte which he joined, although not so unusual for the milieu of the notaires et secrétaires du roi in which he was raised. A rough survey based on the Bibliothèque française of La Croix du Maine, which purported to provide the most complete bibliography of works in

French of its time (published in 1584), shows that nobles who did not belong to the long robe were rarely published authors. Robins constituted 80% of the authors whose profession is identifiable; clerics, pedagogues and doctors ranked ahead of noblemen in the numbers of published authors each social category produced.^{xi} But among the noblemen, the notaries and secretaries to the king constituted a particularly cultured milieu.

Starting in the 14th century a succession of royal secretaries are identified with the composition of historical and literary works; in the late 15th century these included the fathers of famous authors like Guillaume Budé and Clément Marot--who amassed considerable libraries and composed (unpublished) treatises and poems of their own.^{xii} A recent study of this noble corps under Francis I emphasizes how frequently they were involved in literary patronage and in the "renaissance of letters" associated with Francis' reign. They supported especially the learned poets indebted to the "grands rhétoriciens," but also some of the Pléiade poets, and they participated in Francis' project of advancing French through translations from both classical and modern languages. Those sent abroad as ambassadors were particularly well suited to translate from modern vernaculars (notably Italian and Spanish) and most often translated works of an entertaining variety (as our Nicolas would). Their strategy, dubbed "half-learned, half-mondain," led them to cultivate intellectual contacts within the royal court and by forming small convivial groups for literary interchange.^{xiii} This is precisely the milieu in which our Nicolas and his siblings were raised. Nicolas' sister Charlotte and her daughter Anne went on to own each a good number of books,^{xiiii} while Nicolas himself cultivated learning and literary interests through contacts that he might have formed at the Parlement or at court, notably with Jean Bodin.

Jean Bodin's famed Six livres de la République would not have appeared in 1576, in the words of the author, "if one of my friends, for the natural affection that he bears to the public,

had not incited me to publish it, and that is Nicolas de Livre, sieur de Humerolles, one of the gentlemen of this kingdom most fond of all good sciences."^{xliv} This relationship can first be traced to 1568 when in the Paradoxe de Malestroit Bodin cites as his source for a reference to the devaluation of coinage under Philip the Fair "Monsieur de Livres, a man accomplished in good learning."^{xlv} In 1575 Bodin composed a prefatory Latin poem for Nicolas de Livre's only published work, a French translation of an Italian treatise on earthquakes.^{xlvi} Thereafter Bodin's references to Livre focus on this book. In the République Bodin praises Livre for his observation that the worst earthquakes have always occurred in September; Bodin adduces this conclusion, supported by a number of examples, as evidence for his argument that September, the month in which the world was created, is particularly prone to fatalities and important changes.^{xlvii} Bodin referred again to Livre years later in his last work, the Universae naturae theatrum, published in 1596 but composed in 1590, in which he praises Nicolas de Livre, who had since become bailli of Senlis, as a "man of singular erudition."^{xlviii} Nicolas de Livre thus constitutes a rare example of one of Jean Bodin's friends. They may have met while they were both avocats at the Parlement of Paris, starting in 1562 for Bodin, and at least as early as 1564 for Livre^{xlix}; they may also have circulated in the same milieux close to the court during the years preceding the Estates General of 1576, at which Bodin fell out of favor for opposing the king's wishes.ⁱ Even in the years of greater isolation that followed, as he withdrew to Laon,ⁱⁱ Bodin kept up with Livre at least to the extent of knowing that he was still alive and bailli of Senlis in 1590.ⁱⁱⁱ

Livre earned high praise for his erudition in history and for his fondness for "all good sciences" from Jean Bodin, but other contemporaries give us glimpses of his learning as well. We have seen above how Livre contributed to Henri Estienne's commentary on the French language. Livre's work in local cartography is also on record, when Damien de Templeux

mentioned that he based his map of Valois published in 1621 on "a memoir and writing of the late sieur de Humerolles."^{liii} But Livre's own published work gives us the best insight into the motivations and interests of this learned nobleman.

Livre's discussion of nobility:

Nicolas de Livre composed and published his Discours du tremblement de terre in 1575, as he was settling into the marriage and income suited to his social standing.^{liv} But he clearly perceived a tension between his rank and his learned interests. He devotes much of his translator's preface to a justification of his preference as a nobleman for learning over both the art of war and the administration of justice. He begins by deploring the ignorance of the French which forces them to turn to other nations for the knowledge which they have failed to cultivate themselves.

If our ancestors ... had been as curious of the marvelous effects of nature as they were diligent in establishing laws and ordinances for the preservation of their state or in spreading their renown throughout the world with the noise of their victories, beautiful experiences would have been revealed to us since then; but having remained as if buried until now, [these experiences] leave men astonished before many things, which Frenchmen are forced to learn from foreigners and, borrowing their works, to take advantage shamefully of the diligence and labor of others. ... The evil was indeed so great that at one time a nobleman was considered a commoner and thought to forsake the race of his ancestors if he seemed to want to spend some leisure in the knowledge of these things.^{lv}

As if to dispell the remains of that unhappy notion, Livre gives historical precedents for the

noble cultivation of knowledge. The druids, for example, who were the most noble and admired "men of the long robe" in ancient Gaul, knew "all the secrets of nature."^{lvi} Furthermore, the greatest princes and warriors of antiquity wanted to know such things perfectly and to be admired and renowned for their learning as well as for their military prowess. For they knew well, Livre concludes with a timeless justification, rehearsed by a number of Renaissance philosophers, including Jean Bodin, that "to search for the beauties of nature is to open a path and a step to rise to the knowledge of divine things."^{lvii}

In praising the druids here, Livre's point is not so much to play into the arguments of contemporary robins against the military values of the sword nobility (as Jouanna argues was the agenda of many who praised the Gauls over the Franks as ancestors of the French),^{lviii} but rather to show the limitations of either kind of narrow interpretation of noble virtues, whether strictly grounded in the administration of justice (as the robe would have it) or in military prowess (as the sword insisted). Instead, past models of nobility, both the druids who administered justice and the ancient generals, teach us that nobles of all kinds must also cultivate the contemplative sciences more generally, and the study of nature specifically. Livre develops a third ideal of nobility, through which France would attain greater glory than ever; his is an ideal based in philosophical contemplation and the cultivation of letters, which echoes programs like that of the Pléiade or the Palace Academy of Henry III.

After this justificatory argument from historical precedent and moral edification, Livre digresses for a few pages to consider the causes of the different accomplishments of various peoples and why some excel in war and state-building while others are best in the arts and sciences. Taking issue tacitly with Bodin, Livre summarizes the climate theory for which Bodin's Methodus of 1566 was famous, although it was not original with Bodin.^{lix}

Some have tried to explain this by saying that [the varying talents of peoples] stem from the diversity of celestial regions and climates, and that the people of the North, because of their bodily strength and internal heat, are coarser in their mental abilities and naturally drawn to the arts of war; on the contrary those who live near the South are more wily and witty and willingly turn to the sciences while avoiding business as much as possible. And as for those other nations situated in between, from the 35th to the 48th parallels, they have an active mind and are therefore equally skilled at war and at contemplation.

Livre then proceeds to express his own cogent doubts.

This has some appearance of truth that could persuade us to believe it, if on the other hand we did not know very well that the Egyptians were once men of war and business as much as or more so than the Northern peoples. And furthermore to say that the sciences took their source in that place is [true] only insofar as there is no people on earth more ancient than that one and that theirs is one of the first inhabited parts of the world.^{lx}

Instead, Livre argues that the course of a nation is comparable to the lifespan of a person, evolving from vigorous military activity in youth to more sedate contemplation in old age, which "takes pleasure in knowing the causes of all the marvels which it saw in the passing of time."^{lxi}

Such is indeed the pattern of development for France, Livre continues: "Who is so lacking in judgment as not to see that this is the case for France? in which the best part of the people having been hindered by war for the defense of the country or by the distribution of justice has long lived without being able to apply its mind to the consideration of the works of nature."^{lxii} But in the last 20 or 30 years, since Francis I called back the learned from their exile, this "best part of the people" has turned to the study of "all kinds of science." Livre's source for this theory of the historical stages of the development of a people may well be the passage in Ammianus

Marcellinus which an anonymous reader signals in the margin of his copy.^{lxiii} In any case this prefatory discussion suggests that Livre shared conversations with Bodin on the subject, although the two disagreed. Instead of considering national dispositions as fixed by climate, Livre sees the opportunity for change and hails the dawn of a new age, repeating a humanist topos of praise for Francis I's royal patronage of letters.^{lxiv}

Although Bodin praises Livre in print in various works, Livre does not mention Bodin, even in this passage of the preface in which Livre clearly alludes to him. Perhaps this is because Livre disagrees here with Bodin; but perhaps it is also a sign of the asymmetry of a relationship between noble and non-noble. The "friendship" of which Bodin is explicitly proud functions in part like a relationship of patronage, in which the person of lower status benefits from association with the person of higher status, but not vice versa. Livre presumably approved of Bodin's contributing a Latin ode of praise to his work, which highlights the serious philosophical and religious qualities of his translation of a rather light-hearted Italian original. It is also true that in 1575 Bodin had not yet acquired the international renown that the publication of the République would bring him later, but Livre did not go on to publish another work, as he implies he would in his preface, in which he might have cited a more famous Bodin.^{lxv} On the other hand, Bodin only dedicated a liminary poem, rather than any of his numerous works, to Nicolas de Livre; Livre himself did not dedicate his translation to anyone. Thus Bodin did not seek official protection or monetary reward from Livre, and his praise of Livre rings more genuine than his (quasi obligatory) praise of the love of learning of the nobleman to whom he had dedicated his Theatrum, Jacques Mitte de Chevrières.^{lxvi} Chevrières was a patron of letters and owned various works of natural and human history, including at least one in Latin, but did not contribute any references to Bodin nor publish anything himself.^{lxvii} The tone of Bodin's dedication to his noble

patron Chevrères is thus quite different from that of his repeated references to his noble friend Nicolas de Livre. Shared intellectual interests and learned references created a friendship which spanned different social orders, although it did not entirely supplant the underlying hierarchies. Most noticeably, these hierarchies are evident in the different types of publications authored by the learned nobleman Nicolas de Livre and the polymathic scholar Jean Bodin.

Livre's choice of text and audience:

It was not perhaps unusual for an author's first publication to be a translation rather than an original work. Bodin's own first work was a translation (from Greek into Latin) of Oppian's Cynegetica (On the hunt), with commentary (1555). But unlike Livre's translation, which included tacit interpolations and "improvements," the kind of translation that Bodin offered of Oppian strove for philological accuracy, justified in a detailed commentary.^{lxviii} Secondly, Livre chose a work to translate that matched his noble status. His choice fell to a work in Italian during a time when the Italian influence at the French court is well known. Under Henri III, in the period 1574-89, more texts were translated from Italian into French than ever before or thereafter in one 15-year period.^{lxix} Furthermore, as Livre explains in some detail in his preface, he translated a work by an Italian nobleman (gentiluomo), which he heard mentioned often in conversations "in good [i.e. noble] company" while on a trip to Italy. He decided to bring a copy back with him to France, first simply as a gift for one or another of friends interested in such unusual events ("curieux de telles singularitez"). "But on my return, hearing that the earthquake was still continuing, as this gentleman himself had predicted, I developed the idea of translating it into our language, which I have since accomplished by bits and pieces, insofar as my business has given me the leisure to do so."^{lxx} Livre himself thus locates the motivation for his project in

"conversations in good company," in the timeliness of its topic (the earthquakes continued) and to the "curious" and "singular" nature of the subject under discussion--all features that would readily appeal to gentlemen at court.

Lucio Maggio's Del terremoto dialogo (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1571; reed. Bologna: Nicolo Tebaldini, ad istanza Marc'Antonio Bernia, 1624) was one of a number of works, more than one of them in dialogue form, published on earthquakes in the aftermath of the frightening quake of Ferrara, 1570.^{lxxi} Maggio recounts that he was going to investigate the damage caused by the earthquake, when he encountered his good friend Sr Fabiano Albergati leaving the city along with other gentlemen who had gathered there for the wedding of the prince of Urbino. Maggio was easily convinced that "it was safer to hear others tell about [the earthquake] than to experience it in person" and joined the departing group. Maggio then purports to recount the conversation which ensued among this group of gentlemen travelling by carriage, as Captain Paol de Casal and Count Iulio della Porta asked questions of Fabiano Albergati on the causes and nature of earthquakes.^{lxxii} Del Terremoto is Maggio's only known published work; he dedicated it in one short paragraph to Francesco Maria Feltro della Rovere Prince of Urbino and duke of Sora.^{lxxiii} Of Maggio we know only what he tells us himself, that he was a student, along with Albergati, of Paris Grassi, who was at one time the chief of protocol of the Bolognese episcopacy.^{lxxiv} This kind of philosophical conversation among gentlemen is a locus amoenus (or agreeable setting) typical of a number of Renaissance works similarly designed to present philosophical material to a genteel, vernacular readership.^{lxxv} In choosing this work to translate, one can surmise that Livre too intended to write for an audience of gentlemen. Indeed, drawing on topoi typical of books aimed at a broader vernacular rather than a narrower scholarly audience, Livre emphasizes not only the philosophical beauty of the subject matter, but

also the agreeableness of its presentation, which Maggio has turned "so nicely and with such ease ... that there was none who did not take pleasure in reading [his book]."^{lxxvi}

Although Livre clearly meant to write for his peers, one can wonder what kind of readers he actually reached. Despite, or perhaps as witnessed by, the rarity of extant copies, Nicolas de Livre's translation appears to have been somewhat successful.^{lxxvii} It appeared in two separate editions in 1575 (Paris: Duval) and (Paris: L'Huillier), both of which bear on the title page the claim "avec privilege."^{lxxviii} Presumably only one of the two editions could have actually had the privilege to print the text for the usual 7 to 10 years. It was most likely DuVal, since a second issue of the DuVal edition appeared in 1579. Furthermore the L'Huillier edition bears the marks characteristic of a pirated edition: narrower margins and tighter setting, including abbreviations (for cheaper production) and numerous errors.^{lxxix} Another possibility is that the L'Huillier edition may have appeared prior to the DuVal edition, given its use of foliation rather than pagination, the absence of an index which is present in DuVal, the correction in the DuVal edition of many mistakes found in L'Huillier (as per annotations extant in one copy of the L'Huillier edition)^{lxxx} and the appearance of an additional reference in DuVal.^{lxxxi} These kinds of changes might have been introduced by correctors at the print shop and need not have involved authorial intervention. Without further information concerning the privileges, however, the exact relation between these two editions may be impossible to unravel.

Even prior to Livre's translation there is evidence of an interest in Maggio's original in France: in a work first published in 1573 Ambroise Paré had cited Maggio for his description of an earthquake which made the sea boil so that fish and terrestrial animals died from the extreme heat.^{lxxxii} Most importantly, two sets of anonymous but contemporary marginal annotations in extant copies give some insight into the range of readers that were attracted to the French

translation.^{lxxxiii} The first, annotating the L'Huillier edition, was knowledgeable in Latin and interested in classical culture. These annotations include corrections to many of the mistakes in L'Huillier, usually to correspond to the DuVal edition, whether the annotator was working from the latter, or preparing for it. In addition, this reader provides Latin sources (largely from Seneca's Natural questions, but including the Ammianus Marcellinus passage mentioned above) on numerous occasions, for passages both interpolated by Livre and found in Maggio's original; he also cites parallels to the text taken from Vergil's Aeneid and the neolatin poet Palingenius, along with the translation of Palingenius into French by Scévole de Sainte-Marthe (which dates from 1569). It is presumably the same person who annotated, in a fancier Italic hand rather than the French cursive of the notes to the text, the map of the moving mountain which Livre proudly adds to his work. This annotation comprises not only a quotation from Psalm 113 but also, in describing the provenance of the map, the extra information that the map was sent to "secrétaire Bourdin"; it reveals that this reader must have been close to the same court circles as Livre.^{lxxxiv}

While this reader was both well educated and socially well connected, another reader who left traces in his copy of the work seems quite different. Annotating a DuVal edition, he corrects a few obvious errors; then he reads Livre as a source for knowledge about the natural world and the ancient world rather than as a structure on which to attach his own learning. He flags simple definitions (for example element, zodiac...) and basic principles which he seems to be learning here--whether in Aristotelian natural philosophy (nature fears a void, a body that moves another must overcome its resistance), logic (what is true of a genus is true of particular species that belong to it) or Livre's philosophy (God pays more attention to princes than to other people). He notes a digressive comment that the Olympiads occurred every five years, and some of the more spectacular cases of earthquakes described.^{lxxxv} This reader, far from knowing Latin

and classical literature, seems rather to be using *Livre* as a first introduction to knowledge not only about nature but also about ancient culture. Thus a work that *Livre* first composed for an audience of peers, to advance his reputation, his ideal of nobility and the rebirth of letters in France more generally, spread the results of his intellectual interactions to a varied readership ranging from one well-educated and with courtly connections to one in search of more basic cultural and natural philosophical information.

Livre's translation:

Despite his praise for *Maggio*'s original, *Livre* announces in the preface that he has taken liberties in translation and spends some time discussing the difficulties of his task, as was common among translators of the period.^{lxxxvi} *Livre* announces that he has cut as superfluous repetitions "which the sweetness of our language could not well tolerate." *Livre*'s French seems no less verbose, in fact, than *Maggio*'s Italian, but *Livre* did cut some references to the purely Italian context, among them for example a passage in which *Maggio* describes his service to the Cardinal Paleoti.^{lxxxvii} On the other hand, *Livre* notes proudly that he has "interwoven in a number of places not only periods but sometimes whole pages, where the obscurity of the subject seemed to call for greater light or when there was a possibility of enriching it with some reason or example." *Livre* mentions in particular his addition of the "story and portrait of a moving mountain, which (I am sure) will give no less pleasure than surprise." He is confident nonetheless that

in all of this I acted with such honesty and strayed so little from [the original author's] intention that I am sure that he himself in seeing this work again would confess that it had not been worsened in my hands and that the dress which I gave it, even while disguising

it a little bit, nonetheless takes away nothing from the first and naive beauty that it bore beyond the mountains.^{lxxxviii}

While Livre is confident that he has been faithful to the spirit of the Italian original, he is more bashful about his choice of words. Like other translators of natural philosophical works into French in this period, he pleads for indulgence concerning his use of a few Latin words: "this matter has never yet been treated by one of us" and these Latin words are "so necessary and meaningful and already so beloved in France that I hope that in the long term they will be well received and will easily acquire citizenship here."^{lxxxix} After citing the ancient precedent of Latin borrowings from the Greek, Livre invokes the patriotic nature of his accomplishment which should overshadow its shortcomings: "that single hindrance should not rightly slow down my enterprise which is more laudable than not, if one considers the duty and natural service in which each man is obligated toward the country in which it pleased to God to have him be born."^{xc} Proud to contribute in this way to the intellectual awakening and maturity of his country, which he praised earlier in the preface, Livre indeed transforms, despite his protestations of faithfulness to the spirit of the Italian original, not only the language but also the message and tone of Maggio's work, introducing religious and moral considerations where there had been none, and proposing alternative explanations which parallel Jean Bodin's rather than Maggio's writings on the subject.

Through the character of Fabiano Albergati, whose authority is never seriously challenged in the dialogue, as he answers the questions of his travel companions, Maggio presents the standard Aristotelian theory of earthquakes, which attributes them to the pressure of underground vapors. When questioned by his companions about his reliance on the authority of Aristotle, Fabiano responds: "Aristotle said things which are not always true, but in that he is

excusable for he was guided only by natural lights and human understanding. ... But whoever has tried to distance himself too much from Aristotle has not been far without becoming embroiled in inexplicable difficulties and labyrinths."^{xc} While admitting the limits of Aristotle's merely natural lights, Fabiano is confident that he can "tell you the truth, without however turning far away from his opinion."^{xcii} Aristotelian theory explains not only the nine types of earthquakes that Fabiano enumerates, but also the origin of underground springs (from the condensation of watery exhalations) and the saltiness of the sea (from the earth rubbing off on the water).^{xciii} Fabiano is also faithful to the spirit of Aristotelian naturalistic explanations. While the earthquake that shook the world at the death of Jesus Christ and the Flood were miracles, "the earthquake, simply considered, is not a miracle. ... It comes from natural causes which men can know and therefore is not a miracle."^{xciv}

But Maggio did not follow Aristotelian naturalism to the extreme position of a Pomponazzi who had explained even miraculous events in naturalistic terms. Instead Maggio places miracles in a separate category of supernatural events and acknowledges that even natural phenomena are ultimately under divine control. Thus Fabiano concludes his consideration of the preventive measures against earthquakes by recommending piety:

There is no better remedy than to turn toward God who, although he acts through the intermediary of natural causes, is nonetheless the first cause which gives more force to all the effects of nature than do the secondary causes: and he alone through his infinite mercy can deliver us when he wishes of this obstacle and of all other misfortunes that are more dangerous.^{xcv}

Maggio does not explicitly engage in contemporary debates concerning the premonitory significance of earthquakes.^{xcvi} Nonetheless, his emphasis on the natural causes assignable to

earthquakes (which can still be suspended by divine intervention) places him in the camp of Polydore Vergil and those who denied their significance as divine messages.

Livre's translation grafts an opposite interpretation onto what remains at the core the same text. Far from shortening Maggio's prose, as he had warned in the preface, Livre rather embellishes on it. Without radically cutting or changing Maggio's sentences, Livre modifies the tone of Maggio's work by adding to it in both small and large segments. With only a few words here and there Livre regularly introduces the Bible alongside Maggio's Aristotle. When, for example, Maggio gives Aristotelian reasons for the immobility of the earth, Livre adds that they should be convincing "even if the authority of the divine Hebrew Poet (Psalm 104) were not there to assert that the earth rests immobile in the center of the universe."^{xcvii} By a kind of preterition Livre reminds the reader, as Jean Bodin would later in his Theatrum, that the testimony of the Bible far outweighs any arguments of Aristotle's.^{xcviii} Livre is similarly anxious to repair Maggio's shocking omission of Biblical testimony in his discussion of the rainbow as a merely optical phenomenon, adding that the rainbow is also a sign of the divine pledge not to destroy the human race by flooding (Genesis ch. 9).^{xcix} Livre simply juxtaposes Biblical and Aristotelian explanations: thus Ecclesiastes I, 7 reports that the waters of the sea (and not just Aristotelian exhalations) contribute to the formation of underground springs. Livre does not draw attention to the contradictions between the two explanations, but implies that both can hold at the same time. By contrast Bodin explicitly criticizes Aristotle on this point before advancing the "more divine and most ancient opinion ... drawn from the secrets of the Hebrews."^c Although a number of late Renaissance philosophers, including Bodin, attacked and sought alternatives to Aristotelianism, Livre steers clear of philosophical disputes and presumes instead that Maggio would approve of his additions, taken from the most infallible source of all. Following a certain

tradition of Aristotelian natural philosophy, Maggio had simply omitted the Bible as a source of natural knowledge. By introducing biblical arguments, Livre undermines the authority of Aristotle, which can only pale by comparison with the divine word; but Livre does so subtly rather than explicitly or combatively.

In longer interpolations Livre continues to introduce religious considerations into Maggio's naturalistic presentation of the subject. When Maggio denies that double and triple suns are prodigies which announce earthly events, Livre does not disagree--for nothing on earth could be so significant as to affect the celestial spheres^{ci}--but Livre goes on to reassert the constancy of divine attention to human affairs. God watches over princes especially, who represent his justice on earth: their dreams are often premonitory, their deaths are usually announced by natural signs like comets and earthquakes; the linkage between natural and human events is due not to natural but to supernatural, divine causes. If the celestial region is immune to the impact of the earthly world (as Jean Bodin would also maintain in the Theatrum), Livre is careful to remind us that God does use nature to speak to men in the sublunary world.^{cii} Livre thus adheres in earnest to his prefatory statement that "to search for the beauties of nature is to open a path and a step to rise to the knowledge of divine things."

For Maggio the final cause of earthquakes "is the same as for many other similar accidents, which nature seems to have put forward for the diversity and embellishment of this universe." While Maggio sees no moral significance to the phenomena, Livre juxtaposes a quite different interpretation:

But we can also say that it happens sometimes by divine vengeance, that is, that God wills and orders most often that such inconveniences occur to punish the sins of his people, as we see many examples in the Holy Scriptures, as he writes in Second Kings,

Shifting from "sometimes" to "most often" within the sentence, Livre ends up forcefully asserting the significance of earthquakes as prodiges. Although he disagrees with Maggio, Livre's emphasis on the supernatural message beyond the natural causation of such events is typical of many of his compatriots, who were keenly interested in the portents carried by unusual natural phenomena, particularly during the chaotic years of the wars of religion (1562-94).^{civ}

But Livre continues even beyond the norms of contemporary beliefs when he introduces divine agency among the efficient, as well as the final, causes of earthquakes. After Maggio's long discussions of Aristotelian exhalations, Livre adds the hypothesis that the sea can be a contributing cause,^{cv} then another, completely different, type of explanation.

Some have also attributed this efficient cause to the earthly spirits and demons who, residing ordinarily in the caves of the earth, mingle with divine permission among the secondary and natural causes, and always make the effects of such quakes more marvelous, so that they seem not to stem from a dead cause but from workers who labor with judgment and intelligence. Possibly from there came the fable of Aeolus which Poets have imagined to be the king of the winds, who gives them freedom and imprisons them again when he pleases. But we who are seeking the truth by natural reason will leave that to theologians or to those who are better versed in these allegories and the interpretation of fables.^{cvi}

Although in this passage Livre does not pursue the idea of a demonic causation of earthquakes, relegating it to the purview of theologians, at the end of the French text Livre has Fabiano reiterate the idea with supporting evidence.

Livre's first piece of evidence is a point of erudition of which he seems to have been

particularly proud and which also impressed Jean Bodin who referred to it in his liminary poem. When Fabiano mentions the subterranean noises that can announce an earthquake, Captain Paol chimes in with a description of the holes and crevasses to which ancient soothsayers went to receive visionary inspiration. Drawing on Isidore of Seville, whom he does not cite, Livre's Paol sees in that practice the origin of "oracula" from "os" for mouth (or the hole through which the earth, or something inside the earth, speaks).^{cvi} The digression becomes a stepping stone to Livre's second point, set in the words of the authoritative Fabiano, who confirms his earlier hypothesis.

Everything you say (answered Fabiano) entirely confirms what I was saying yesterday about those terrestrial demons who, mixing with nature, are most often the cause of all those marvels which we see happen, either by thunder or by earthquakes, like making a mountain move from one place to another, or lifting a castle to the sky and immediately setting it down again in its place and a thousand other similar things, for which to try to give reasons is to attempt the impossible and goes beyond the scope of human understanding in natural things.^{cvi}

This passage, Livre's final interpolation and the last discussion of the causes of earthquakes (the rest of the text focuses on their consequences) sums up Livre's contribution very skillfully. Even what had seemed a benign addition, announced with pride in the preface for the "portrait" that he provides of it, of a mountain that moved in Germany in 1560, is used in this final analysis as more evidence for the demonic causation of these phenomena. While most contemporaries accepted earthquakes as both natural phenomena and divine portents, Livre's conclusion has the radical consequence of eliminating earthquakes from the purview of natural philosophy--they are "beyond the scope of human understanding." It would be therefore useless and perhaps even

impious to attempt to give natural reasons for the demonic agency behind them.

Whether Livre influenced Bodin or vice versa is impossible to say for certain, but the similarity between Livre's final position and that of Bodin in the Universae naturae theatrum is striking. In his work of natural philosophy published twenty years later Bodin concludes, taking a stronger stand than Livre and ridiculing Aristotelian explanations in a way that Livre does not, that earthquakes along with other violent phenomena traditionally explained by exhalation theory can only be the work of demons. If it seems incredible, argues Bodin, that demons should have such power as to tear down mountains of earth, forests, cities and buildings then "it is all the more incredible and unreasonable that from a very light and insensible exhalation in the soft air such power should emerge as can shake not only the greatest sea but also the earth," and he finishes by citing four lines from his own poem on the subject, composed to accompany Livre's work.^{cix} Deeply hostile toward natural magic and Paracelsus, Bodin draws a sharp distinction between demonic and natural causes. He does not suggest, as Livre does, that the two types of causes act conjointly; rather, according to Bodin, demons act directly with the permission of God "so that neither storms nor lightning nor epidemic diseases nor earthquakes have ordinary causes and effects that are in accordance with nature."^{cx} Both Livre and Bodin agree in any case on the essential point, which distinguishes them from the proponents of natural magic, that demonic actions are beyond the scope of human understanding, let alone human control. Bodin thus repeatedly calls for natural philosophers to confess their ignorance and renounce the silly explanations that they have ventured for phenomena which they cannot understand.^{cxi}

Aside from a philosophical agenda similar to Bodin's, Livre's interpolations reveal some of the sources available to him. Livre cites for example André Thevet, "book 2 of his Cosmography" for the case of an earthquake in Cairo that lasted five days. Thevet's

Cosmographie universelle, dedicated to the king on January 1, 1575, appeared in March 1575,^{cxii} and no doubt was soon circulated at the court given its royal sponsorship. Livre was thus well placed to be one of the first to cite Thevet in print in the same year as it was published; he is also one of the first to misquote him, introducing "Cairo" where Thevet only speaks of Egypt more generally.^{cxiii} Citing from memory or from a commonplace notebook as is characteristic of Renaissance scholarship, Livre culls from Thevet then distorts an isolated "fact" that fits his own purpose.^{cxiv} Other bookish references added by Livre include Georg Agricola for a passage in which Maggio explains that the sun has little or no effect on the production of exhalations,^{cxv} and Pico della Mirandola for his opinion that the saltiness of the sea has no natural cause but results from divine intervention--a position which Bodin adopts wholeheartedly in the Theatrum without mentioning Pico or Livre.^{cxvi} Livre also draws on personal contacts to introduce information into his translation. Given the number of times he refers to it, Livre was most proud of the example of the moving mountain, for which he provides an engraving.

There was a mountain covered with trees and two ponds which, detaching itself from another, started to move from Easter until the following June 1560 and at first advanced by one league per day, but shortly thereafter moved more slowly, so that near the end it only moved 35 fathoms [per day]. This marvel having been seen by persons worthy of confidence, Mr. Congneit [sic for Coignet], Ambassador of the King of France toward the Swiss sent a picture of it to the court on June 6, 1560, which he had received in Saleurre [for Soleure] from doctor Amerbachius, adding that the said mountain was nearing so close to a village named Kling that the inhabitants of the place had fled, fearing that it would crush them.^{cxvii}

While Bodin mentions in the Theatrum that "we ourselves saw [the map] not without

marveling," he probably relied on Livre for the details of his description since he mentions Livre's work directly thereafter.^{cxviii}

Despite Livre's sense of the need to justify his scientific interests as a nobleman, the court of Henri III clearly facilitated his work of learning, by putting him in contact with André Thevet's work so soon after his publication and with the interesting reports of ambassadors, for example. But the key to Livre's original intellectual positions seems to have been his interaction with Jean Bodin. Although Livre never cites Bodin and differs from him on the climate theory as an explanation of the aptitudes of different peoples, it seems most plausible that Livre's interpolations of Biblical quotations and his theory of the demonic causation of earthquakes stem directly from exchanges with Bodin. In the Theatrum Bodin relies heavily on evidence from the Old Testament and defends the same positions as Livre, but more forcefully and with less ambiguity, sustaining throughout an entire work his fundamental conviction that natural philosophy is a guide to the divine. Livre's translation, on the other hand, has no coherent message since it presents without choosing between them the positions that Livre found in Maggio's book and those he introduced in interpolations.

Learning and the circulation of both bookish and directly observed information played an important role in Livre's self-definition as a nobleman neither of the sword, nor of the robe. Livre hails the cultivation of letters over military and administrative virtues and gives an example through his work of what such cultivation should look like. Written in the vernacular, for a worldly, genteel audience, Livre's translation is both entertaining and edifying to read: he includes surprising new information (illustrated with a map) and yet returns repeatedly to a pious position that reminds the reader of the divine origin of natural phenomena. Livre's work is primarily the product of his interactions with others, often other gentlemen, whether in person

(with the ambassador Coignet at court) or through books (with the Italian Maggio), but also with a commoner more learned than he, Jean Bodin. Livre's learning ranged across a number of Latin sources (from Isidore of Seville to Pico della Mirandola), which were not particularly difficult of access in sixteenth-century France, but which were certainly well beyond the standard fare of authors studied in school. But Livre applied this learning to a work and a topic both timely, conversational and "curious."

Livre's cultural strategy, like that of the royal notaries and secretaries who included his father and grandfather, is well assessed as "part-learned, part-mondain." His literary production was on the one hand a contribution to an early "republic of letters" which could ignore boundaries of time, place or social status, in the pursuit of the restoration of classical learning and (in this case) of pious natural philosophy. On the other hand, Livre's translation of Maggio's book was also a contribution to his social standing in a specific, worldly and courtly milieu. The accomplishments that made Livre most proud were ones in which he facilitated and spread knowledge of interest to his peers--translating a foreign book that would appeal to them, publishing a little-known map, recirculating Isidore of Seville's etymology for "oracula," or giving Henri Estienne tips about terms of falconry and war. Livre's learning and goals were not comparable to those of the famous robins of his time, but infused learned philological concerns and knowledge into the interest that would gradually spread in the next century to most of the older nobility (starting here in a nobleman of the short robe), for natural and local curiosities and "useful and pleasant" knowledge of many kinds, including natural philosophy.^{cxix}

NOTES

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For a recent synthetic essay, see Robert Descimon, "Chercher de nouvelles voies pour interpréter les phénomènes nobiliaires dans la France moderne. La noblesse, 'essence' ou rapport social?" Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 46 (1999), 5-21.

ii See Donald R. Kelley, Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law and History in the French Renaissance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970) and George Huppert, The Idea of Perfect History. Historical Erudition and Historical Philosophy in Renaissance France (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970).

iii See Arlette Jouanna, L'ordre social. Mythes et hiérarchies dans la France du XVI^e siècle (Paris: Hachette, 1977); Ellery Schalk, From Valor to Pedigree: Ideas of Nobility in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); and Jonathan Dewald, Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

iv See Antoine Schnapper, Le géant, la licorne et la tulipe: collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVII^e siècle (Paris: Flammarion, 1988).

v "J'ai vu un exemplaire du Livre de la Précellence de la langue Française, par Henri Estienne, où Nicolas de Livre, autrefois Maître de cet exemplaire, avoit marqué de sa main divers termes, tant de guerre que de Fauconnerie, dont il disoit avoir appris l'intelligence à l'Auteur (M. de la Monnoye)." Les Bibliothèques françaises de La Croix du Maine et de du Verdier, ed. Rigoley de Juvigny, 6 tomes (Paris: Saillant et Nyon, 1772-73), tome 2, pp. 168-69. As the preface to this work explains, M. de la Monnoye had made comments, including this one, in preparation for a republication of the Bibliothèques françaises which came to fruition only after his death. I am grateful to Marie-Dominique Couzinet for this lead.

vi On Ronquerolles, also Rouquerolles, see below note 20; Ravenel is in the canton of Saint-Just-en-Chaussée (Oise, in the bailliage of Senlis); the Vienne in question is Vienne-sous-l'Eglantier, "sis audit Leglantier et à Saint-Martin-au-Bois" which Nicolas the elder inherited from his mother in 1537; Saint-Martin-aux-Bois is located in the canton de Maignelay (Oise). See A. Margry, "Les baillis de Senlis," Comité archéologique de Senlis. Comptes rendus et mémoires 4e série, t. IX (1906): 212-231, 212 and 5e série, t. I (1908): 181-5, 183. Nicolas de Livre was also seigneur d'Humerolles; see below note 13.

vii The location corresponds approximately to the intersection of the rue Quincampoix and the rue de La Reynie today, in the fourth arrondissement. See Jacques Hillairet, Dictionnaire historique des rues de Paris, 2 vols. (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1963), II, 22, 311. This area, not far from the Hotel de Ville, was generally favored by the city councillors; see Barbara Diefendorf, Paris City Councillors in the 16th Century: the Politics of Patrimony (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 60.

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- viii Archives Nationales (hereafter AN), Insinuations au Châtelet, Y.102, f. 233 (23 October 1560). Lagny, Chessy, Pommeuse and Brie-Comte-Robert are all in Seine-et-Marne. See Guide bleu: Ile de France, 641, 644, 654.
- ix AN, Insinuations, Y.105, f. 162 (25 June 1564).
- x AN, Insinuations, Y.98, f. 293 (18 June 1552).
- xi I owe this information to Robert Descimon. For more on this unique complete tax roll see Robert Descimon, "Paris on the eve of St Bartholomew: taxation, privilege, and social geography," in Philip Benedict ed., Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 69-104.
- xii AN, Insinuations, Y.116, f. 449 (7 July 1575). On the Longueils, see Diefendorf, 57.
- xiii "L'un des cent gentilshommes de la maison du roi." Bibliothèque Nationale (hereafter BN), Cabinet des titres, Pièces originales 1579, 14 mai 1574. These gentlemen (usually numbered at 200) formed part of the royal guard; see Zeller, Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948), 106. The only Humerolles in the listings of communes is in the canton of Saint-Pol (Pas-de-Calais); A. Margry assumes that this is the Humerolles involved, although it is tempting to conjecture that Livre's Humerolles was related to Ronquerolles and in the vicinity of the rest of his lands.
- xiv Already in 1460 a Henri de Livres (whose relation to our Nicolas is not known--the variant spelling also occurs in mentions of Nicolas and his direct family) was "the king's man" in an election for the prévôt des marchands and was retained in that position until 1484 by the will of Louis XI; he was also conseiller au Parlement and président des requêtes du Palais. Jean Favier, Nouvelle histoire de Paris: Paris au XVe siècle 1380-1500 (Paris: Hachette, 1974), 242-4. The prévôt des marchands was the highest-ranking member of the Paris city government, elected by a select group of electors and ratified by the king, whose will weighed heavily in the balance; see Zeller, pp. 52-3. More generally, on the methods by which an elite in the Paris city government perpetuated itself, see Robert Descimon, "Le corps de ville et les élections échevinales à Paris aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: codification coutumière et pratiques sociales," Histoire, économie et société 13 (1994), 507-30.
- xv André Lapeyre and Rémy Scheurer, Les notaires et secrétaires du roi sous les règnes de Louis XI, Charles VIII et Louis XII (1461-1515). Notices personnelles et généalogies, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1978), I, p. 213, #436 and p. 4. Also Margry (1908), 182. Abraham Tessereau, Histoire chronologique de la grande chancellerie de France (Paris: Pierre Le Petit, 1676), 68, 70. Tessereau also notes (p. 74) that Jean de Livre is mentioned in a report of 1503 of expenses incurred 1496-1503, but the mention must be posthumous, as Lapeyre and Scheurer provide an archival reference to date Jean de Livre's death in 1498.
- xvi Diefendorf, 57-8; also Robert-Henri Bautier, introduction, in Lapeyre et Scheurer, xx.
- xvii Margry (1908), 182-3. In the genealogy that Margry provides, Jean de Livres, our Nicolas' paternal grandfather, is the first to be identified as "écuyer." His father, another Jean, is listed as sieur de Sancy married to Arnaude de Corbie, dame de Sèvres. Margry (1908), 184.
- xviii Tessereau, 80, 115.
- xix Histoire générale de Paris. Registre des délibérations du bureau de la ville, ed. François Bonnardot (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1883-), II, 339 (15 Dec 1537), IV, 327 (16 Aug 1554). On the king's rule, see Jean-Pierre Babelon, Nouvelle histoire de Paris: Paris au XVIe siècle (Paris: Hachette, 1986), 267-8.
- xx Bernard Guénée, Tribunaux et gens de justice dans le bailliage de Senlis à la fin du Moyen Age (vers 1380-vers 1550) (Strasbourg: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de

Strasbourg, 1963), 479. Ronquerolles is in the current commune of Chelles, near Pierrefonds, #382 on the map provided by Guénée.

xxi The lieutenant civil was the magistrate presiding over royal justice in Paris. For the marriage of Charlotte de Livre and Nicolas Lhuillier on September 3, 1552, see AN, Insinuations, Y.98 f. 293. The bride received a dowry of 10,000 livres tournois, in addition to clothing, a house with gardens, lands, and vineyards near the village of Bussy-Saint-Georges en Brie and another house in Paris, rue Saint-Jacques, together providing a revenue (rente) of 500 livres tournois.

xxii Registres des délibérations du bureau de la ville, V, 433. This technical error was overlooked on other occasions, however: see Diefendorf, 18.

xxiii Zeller, 16.

xxiv Margry gives 1580 on the basis of sentence dated 16 June 1580 in Livre's name, see Margry (1906), 213; but the ratification of the royal letters patent by the Parlement is dated 19 February 1582. See Lenain excerpts U2207, f. 190v (corresponding to AN X1a.5103). Margry's enumeration of the records of the bailliage of Senlis under Livre's tenure is all the more precious that the documents concerning the bailliage of Senlis were destroyed in 1914.

xxv Alain Demurger, "L'apport de la prosopographie à l'étude des mécanismes des pouvoirs (XIIIe-XVe siècles)," in Prosopographie et genèse de l'état moderne, ed. Françoise Autrand (Paris: Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 1986), 289-301, esp. 299-300.

xxvi Guénée, 64-66. On the king's strategies for controlling the early baillis, see William Chester Jordan, Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 46-64, and 147, 160, 226 on Senlis in particular.

xxvii Zeller, 168-9 on baillis, 25 and 164 on the distinction between the short and long robe; Guénée, 7, 426 on the increasing complexity of the legal system.

xxviii AN, Insinuations, Y.129, f. 188 (17 August 1587).

xxix "Le sieur de Livré possédoit le Fief de Roncherolles près de Chelles. Il avoit à Roncherolles un château, dans lequel il passoit le temps qu'il n'employoit pas aux fonctions de sa Charge. Bergeron parle du sieur de Livré, au fol. 24 de son Abrégé Historique du Valois." Claude Carlier, Histoire du duché du Valois, 3 vols. (Paris: Guillyn and Compiègne: Louis Bertrand, 1764), III, 91. Nicolas Bergeron, Le Valoys Royal (Paris: Gilles Beys, 1583), ff. 23v-24r, identifies Ronquerolles as the "habitation de Nicolas de Livré, sieur de Humerolles, bailli de Senlis." Earlier Bergeron had described Ronquerolles among the natural beauties of the Valois as one of the castles of the region "qui sont en nature." Bergeron, f. 12r.

xxx Margry (1906), 213-9. See also S. de Beaufort, "Une famille de lieutenants généraux au bailliage de Senlis aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: Les Loisel," Comité archéologique de Senlis. Comptes rendus et mémoires 4e serie. t. III (1899). Loisels held the office from 1558 to 1673. The relation between Livre and Loisel seems to have been cordial: in 1593 Nicolas' widow was godmother to Claude Loisel, the lieutenant general's new-born son. Margry (1908), 185.

xxxi M. Vatin, Senlis et Chantilly anciens et modernes (Senlis: Charles Duriez, 1847), 82.

xxxii AN U.2073, f. 130v (LeNain excerpts, Conseil).

xxxiii Jehan Mallet, "Extrait en bref de ce qui s'est passé en la ville de Senlis ... de 1414 ... jusqu'en 1594," and Jehan Vaultier, "Histoires et discours d'une partie des choses faites et passées en ce royaume qui ont eu cours depuis le 13 mai 1588 jusqu'au 16 juin 1598," in Monuments inédits de l'histoire de France 1400-1600, ed. Adhelm Bernier (Paris: Joubert, Guillemot, 1834), 75-6, 151.

xxxiv Vaultier in Bernier, 151; Vatin, 85-9.

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- xxxv Margry (1906), 216.
- xxxvi Margry (1906), 231ff.
- xxxvii Margry (1908), 185.
- xxxviii Zeller, 130.
- xxxix This is the conclusion reached by Robert Descimon, "Elites parisiennes entre XVe et XVIIe siècle: du bon usage du cabinet des titres," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes 155 (1997), 607-44.
- xl This study is of course subject to serious limitations, as its author explains. See George Huppert, "Culture and society in France 1540-84," in The Idea of Perfect History, appendix I, 185-93, p. 193.
- xli Bautier, introduction, in Lapeyre and Scheurer, xxxiii-xxxviii. For an inventory of the library of one royal secretary, Nicole Gilles, dated 1499, see R. Doucet, Les bibliothèques parisiennes au XVIe siècle (Paris: Picard, 1956), 83-89.
- xlii Sylvie Charton-Le Clech, Chancellerie et culture au XVIe siècle (les notaires et secrétaires du roi de 1515 à 1547) (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1993), parts III and IV, esp. 270-81, 314.
- xliii Diefendorf, 178.
- xliv "C'est oeuvre ... n'eust encores esté mis en lumière, si un personnage de mes amis pour l'affection naturelle qu'il porte au public, ne m'eust incité à ce faire, c'est Nicolas de Livre, sieur de Humerolles, l'un des gentils-hommes de ce royaume des plus affectionnez à toutes bonnes sciences." Jean Bodin, Les Six Livres de la République (1593, repr. Paris: Fayard, 1986), I, 14.
- xlvi "Philippe le Bel ... afoiblit tellement la monnoye d'argent ... comme nous trouvons en noz registres et mesmes en nos Annales, et en l'histoire d'Antonin, de laquelle m'a adverti Monsieur de Livres, homme accompli en bon sçavoir." Jean Bodin, Response à M. de Malestroit (first published 1566), as reprinted (from the edition of 1568) in Henri Hauser, La vie chère au XVIe siècle (Paris: A. Colin, 1932), 26. I am grateful to Marie-Dominique Couzinet for this lead. See also Bodin, Response to the Paradoxes of Malestroit, tr. and ed. Henry Tudor and R. W. Dyson (Bristol: University of Durham and Thoemmes Press, 1997), 78.
- xlvi See Ann Blair, "Un poème inconnu de Jean Bodin," Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance 54 (1992), 175-81.
- xlvi "Nous lisons aussi que les plus grands tremblements de terre qui ont jamais esté, sont advenus au mois de Septembre: ainsi que bien a remarqué Nicolas de Livres en son livre du mouvement de la terre." Bodin, République, IV, ch. 2, 77. The reference to Livre is omitted from the Latin version which Bodin composed and published in 1586 and from which translations to other vernaculars were made; see Bodin, The Six Bookes of a commonweale, ed. Kenneth McRae (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), 453 and the corresponding note, pp. A133-34. I am grateful to John Salmon for this reference.
- xlvi "Hanc etiam in libello de terrae motu adscripsit Nicolaus Liber, Sylvanectensium Praetor, singulari vir eruditione, cum historiam Italicam de terrae motu Ferrariensi Gallico sermone reddidisset." Jean Bodin, Universae naturae theatrum (Frankfurt: Wechel, 1597; first published 1596), 176. For the date of composition of the work, see the references near the end of the text to "this year 1590 in which we write." Bodin, Theatrum, 560, 563.
- xlix See R. Delachenal, Histoire des avocats au parlement de Paris (1300-1600) (Paris: Plon, 1885), 405-6 for Bodin (there were two avocats named Jean Bodin active at the same time). Livre does not figure on this list of avocats who took an oath of catholicity in 1562, as required by law; presumably he became avocat only after that year.

i In particular Bodin opposed the king's plan to alienate some of the royal domain in order to fund further religious wars. See Roland Crahay, "Jean Bodin aux Etats Généraux de 1576," Assemblee di stati e istituzioni rappresentative nella storia del pensiero politico moderno (secoli XV-XX). Atti del convegno internazionale tenuto a Perugia dal 16 al 18 sett. 1982 (Perugia: Annali della Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, 1983), 157-87. Before that, Bodin probably attended some sessions of the palace academy of Henri III in 1575: see Robert Sealy, The Palace Academy of Henry III (Geneva: Droz, 1981), 60, 66-67, 77 on Bodin; Sealy makes no mention of Livre, however. More generally, see Jacqueline Boucher, La cour de Henri III (Paris: Ouest-France, 1986).

li Bodin served the king's younger brother François d'Alençon until the latter's death in 1584 and in 1587 succeeded his brother-in-law as procureur du roi in Laon. For a compact biography of Jean Bodin see Kenneth McRae's edition of Bodin's Six Books of a Commonweale (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), introduction, pp. A3-A13.

lii Livre held this position from 1580 until his death in 1592.

liii "Paint par Damien de templeux escuier sr de Frestoy sur ung memoire et escript du feu sr de humerolles," Théâtre géographique du royaume de France contenant les cartes et descriptions particuliers des provinces d'iceluy (Paris: Jean Leclerc, 1621), map #6 by Damien de Templeux. This map is mentioned in Carlier, 91: "Nous avons de lui [Templeux], une carte et une description du Duché de Valois. La carte est de l'exécution du célèbre Jonshon [sic]: Templeux avoit dressé cette carte, sur les mémoires et sur les plans déjà tracés, par Nicolas de Livré sieur de Humeroles, Bailly de Senlis." This work of Livre's, never published, could not be found.

liv The work appeared in two different editions in the same year: (Paris: DuVal, 1575) available at the BN, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris, the British Library and the Library of Congress; and (Paris: L'Huillier, 1575) available only at the BN. The single known copy of the second issue (Paris: DuVal, 1579) is at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. I discuss the relations between these editions below.

lv "Si nos ancestres, et ceux qui ont vescu par les siecles passez en ce Royaume, eussent esté aussi curieux de considerer aucunefois les merueilleux effets de nature, comme ils ont esté diligens à establir si grand nombre de loix et ordonnances pour la conservation de leur estat, ou bien à estendre leur renommée en tous les quartiers du monde par le bruit de leurs victoires [infinies--added in manuscript to match L'Huillier edition], belles experiences nous seroyent descouvertes depuis ce temps là, qui iusques a[ujourd']huy demeurans comme ensevelies retiennent les hommes en un estonnement de beaucoup de choses, qu'ils sont contraints d'apprendre des estrangers, et empruntans leurs escrits se prevaloir honteusement de la diligence et labeur d'autrui." Nicolas de Livre tr., Discours du tremblement de terre (Paris: Du Val, 1575), sig. Aijr. All further references, except if otherwise noted, will be to this edition.

lvi "...[il y avait] autrefois en Gaule, selon que tesmoigne Caesar, des Druydes, c'est à dire des gens de longue robbe les plus nobles et estimez de tout le pays, tant à cause de leur savoir, que pour l'autorité qu'ils avoyent en toutes leurs assemblées, ausquels nulle partie des secrets de nature ne pouvoit estre cachée." Livre, sigs. Aijv-Aiijr.

lvii "Comme s'il estoit dit que la noblesse auroit tousiours l'ignorance pour compagne, et qu'il fust mal-seant à un gentil-homme de savoir ce que les plus grands princes et guerriers qui furent onques, ont voulu parfaitement connoistre, et estre autant prisez et renommez pour cela, que pour autre prouesse et grandeur qui fut en eux: sachans bien que la recherche des beautez de nature estoit s'ouvrir un chemin, et degré pour monter à la connoissance des choses divines." Livre, sigs. Aiiijr-v. Bodin had already expressed the notion that the study of nature is a stepping

stone toward God in his Methodus ad historiarum facilem cognitionem (1566), ch. 1, in Oeuvres philosophiques de Jean Bodin, ed. Pierre Mesnard (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951), 114. Bodin puts this precept into practice in his own work of natural philosophy, the Universae naturae theatrum (1596). For more on Bodin's religious justification of the study of nature, see Ann Blair, The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 18-30 and ch. 4.

lviii Jouanna, 170.

lix On the medieval antecedents to Bodin's climate theory see Marian Tooley, "Bodin and the Medieval Theory of Climate," Speculum 28 (1953), 64-83.

lx "Ce qui a bien quelque apparence de vérité, et qui nous pourroit persuader à le croire, si d'autre part nous ne savions tresbien que les Egyptiens ont esté autrefois gens de guerre et d'affaires, autant ou plus que ceux de Septentrion. Et de dire aussi que de cet endroit là les sciences ont tiré leur premiere source, c'est pour autant qu'il n'y a gueres peuple sous la terre plus ancien que celuy là, et que c'est la partie du monde des premieres habitées." Livre, sig. Aiiijr.

lxi "Qui voudra donc fonder plus avant la cause de cecy, il trouvera le cours et acheminement des republiques, voire des peuples et nations entieres estre du tout semblable à l'age de l'homme, lequel en sa ieunesse et la fleur de ses forces ne se laisse aisément ranger à l'oisive contemplation, iusques à tant que la vieillesse luy refroidissant le courage ou pour le moins attempant cette ardeur première, luy face aymer le repos, auquel mesurant le passé avec ce qui se presente alors, commence à entrer en quelque discours et prendre plaisir à connoistre les causes de toutes les merveilles qu'il a veues en la revolution des temps." Livre, sig. Aiiijr-v.

lxii "Qui est celuy si despourveu de iugement qui ne connoisse tout cela se pouvoir raisonnablement aproprier à la France? Ou la meilleure part du peuple estant empeschée à la guerre pour la deffence de son pays, ou à distribuer la iustice et connoistre des differens et querelles des particuliers, a longtemps vescu sans pouvoir appliquer son esprit à la consideration des oeuvres de nature." Livre, sigs. Aiiijv-[Av]r.

lxiii Ammianus Marcellinus, Rerum gestarum libri decem et octo, book XIV, p. 18 in (Lyon: Gryphius, 1552). "In iuvenem erectus et virum ex omni plaga, quam orbis ambit immensus, reportavit laureae triumphos. Iamque vergens in senium et nomine solo aliquoties vincens, ad tranquilliora vitae discessit. Ideo Urbs venerabilis post superbas efferatarum gentium cervices oppressas, latasque leges, fundamenta libertatis et retinacula sempiterna, velut frugi parens, et prudens, et dives, Caesaribus tanquam liberis suis regenda patrimonij iura permisit." See the copy of Livre's Discours at the BN, R. 13008, sig. Aiiijr.

lxiv For contemporary praise of Francis I as patron of letters, see William Heubi, François Ier et le mouvement intellectuel en France (1515-47) (Lausanne: F. Rouge et Cie, 1913), pp. 124-34. For other images of Francis I, see Anne-Marie Lecoq, François Ier imaginaire: symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française (Paris: Macula, 1987).

lxv Livre's intention to publish further is noted by Jean Balsamo, "Discours scientifique et discours mondain en France: le Discours du tremblement de terre de Nicolas de Livre (1575) et la Physique de Scipion Dupleix (1603)," in L'uomo e la natura nel Rinascimento, ed. Luisa Rotondo Secchi Tarugi (Milan: Nuovi Orizzonti, 1996), 457-69, on p. 460.

lxvi "If one is ennobled by erudition, you delight so much in reading and talking to erudite men that you cannot in any way do without them." "Si ab eruditione nobilitamur, sic eruditorum hominum scriptis ac coetibus delectaris, ut iis carere nullo modo possis." Bodin, Theatrum, sig. [5]r.

lxvii Blair, Theater of Nature, 18-19.

lxviii On various strategies of adaptation and translation from the classical languages, see Glyn Norton, The Ideology and Language of Translation in Renaissance France and Their Humanist Antecedents (Geneva: Droz, 1984) and John O'Brien, Anacreon Redivivus. A Study of Anacreontic Translation in Mid-Sixteenth-Century France (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

lxix Jean Balsamo, "Les traducteurs français d'ouvrages italiens et leurs mécènes 1574-89," in Le livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance, Actes du XXVIII^e colloque d'études humanistes de Tours, ed. Pierre Aquilon and Henri-Jean Martin (Paris: Promodis, 1988), 122-32, 122. Jean Balsamo counts 450 such texts (including reeditions). Livre does not figure in Emile Picot, Les français italianisants au XVI^e siècle (New York: B. Franklin, 1968); he is mentioned in Paul Chavy, Traducteurs d'autrefois: Moyen Age et Renaissance, 2 vols. (Paris-Geneva: Champion Slatkine, 1988), II, 887.

lxx "[I]l se trouva un gentilhomme natif de Boulogne, qui par maniere de passe-temps en publia tost apres un petit discours, où il declaroit si gentilmente et avec telle facilité toutes les causes et succez du tremblement de terre, qu'il n'y eut homme pour lors qui ne print plaisir à le lire. Dequoy oyant souvent deviser aux bonnes compagnies, pour me trouver sur ces entrefaites en ces quartiers là, ie delibray l'aporter avec moy plustost pour en faire present à quelque mien amy curieux de telles singularitez, que pour autre intention que i'eusse. Mais estant de retour et oyant raconter que ce tremblement continuoit encore, tel que ce gentilhomme mesmes l'avoit predict, il me print des lors fantasie de le changer en nostre langue, ce que i'ay depuis mis à execution par boutées, et selon que mes affaires m'en ont donné le loisir. Mais estant de retour et oyant raconter que ce tremblement continuoit encore, tel que ce gentilhomme mesmes l'avoit predict, il me print des lors fantasie de le changer en nostre langue, ce que i'ay depuis mis à execution par boutées, et selon que mes affaires m'en ont donné le loisir." Livre, sigs. [Av]v-[Avi]r. We know nothing about how or when Livre learned Italian, nor about the circumstances under which he made this (and possibly other) trips to Italy.

lxxi These include Iacomo Antonio Buoni, Del terremoto dialogo (Modena: Paolo Gabaldini et Fratelli, n.d. [1571]), Agostino Galesio, De terraemotu liber (1571), and Gregorio Zuccolo, Del terremoto trattata (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1571). For more contemporary sources, including manuscript eye-witness accounts, on this exceptionally violent and long earthquake which happened during the night of Nov. 16-17, 1570, see Angelo Solerti, Ferrara e la corte estense nella seconda metà del secolo decimosesto. I discorsi de Annibale Romei, gentiluomo Ferrarese (Città di Castello: S. Lapi Tipografo, 1891), xci-c.

lxxii The figures in the dialogue are probably real, although none of them warrants inclusion in biographical dictionaries of the period. The connection between the Fabiano Albergati portrayed here and Fabio Albergati, the chief Italian critic of Jean Bodin's political philosophy, some thirty years later, is probably coincidental. On the latter Albergati, see Enzo Baldini, "Albergati contro Bodin: dall'Antibodino ai Discorsi politici," in Il pensiero politico 30 (1997): Jean Bodin a 400 anni dalla morte (Florence: Leo Olschki, 1998), 287-310.

lxxiii This must be Francesco Maria della Rovere II, born in 1549, who became Duke of Urbino at the death of Guildobaldo della Rovere in 1574; he was therefore only prince of Urbino when Maggio was writing, in 1571. See Louis Moréri, Grand dictionnaire historique (Paris: Libraires Associés, 1759).

lxxiv Lucio Maggio, Del terremoto (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1571), f. 56r. See Paris Grassi, Bononiensis olim apostolicarum caeremoniarum magister, De caeremoniis cardinalium et episcoporum in eorum dioecesibus libri duo (Venice: apud Petrum Dusinellum, 1582).

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- lxxv Other courtly dialogues on philosophical topics in French include Antonio Brucioli, Dialogue sur certains points de la philosophie naturele (1556), translated from Italian; Simon Maiole, Jours caniculaires (1609), translated from Latin; Pedro Mexia, Trois dialogues touchant la nature du Soleil, de la Terre ... (1579), translated from Spanish; see also Scipion Dupleix, La curiosité naturelle rédigée en questions (1603), although he does not include a locus amoenus. Dialogues designed for other kinds of audiences used different settings. Pedagogical dialogues for use in schools, for example, typically staged conversations between children or between pupil and master: see Louis Massebieau, Les colloques scolaires du 16e siècle et leurs auteurs (1480-1570) (Paris, 1878; Geneva: Slatkine, 1978) and, more generally, my Theater of Nature, 50-55.
- lxxvi As cited in note 70. On the topos of the "useful and pleasant" which permeates works of natural philosophy aimed at a broader, notably vernacular audience, see my Theater of Nature, 33, 160, 285 n. 42.
- lxxvii As recent studies in the history of the book have shown, it is often the books that were most read which survive the least well. On this issue see Albert Labarre, "Survie et disparition des livres," Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale 30 (1988), 61-66; and the case study by Jean-François Gilmont, "La diffusion et la conservation des oeuvres de C. Scribani," Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité 53 (1977), 261-74.
- lxxviii On Denis Duval, active 1565-1619, and Pierre L'Huillier, active 1561-1602, see Philippe Renouard, Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens libraires, fondateurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle (Paris: M. J. Minard, Lettres Modernes, 1965), 137, 281-82. I am not aware of any connection between this L'Huillier and Nicolas de Livre's brother-in-law, Nicolas Lhuillier.
- lxxix I owe this assessment to the late Brigitte Moreau of the Bibliothèque Nationale.
- lxxx See L'Huillier edition BN, R. 13008. Where the L'Huillier edition reads "une chose peut estre aussi mutuellement contretouché et cela proprement s'appelle corps," the annotator follows Du Val in adding: "... contretouché et manié et cela...." L'Huillier, f. 9r, cf. DuVal edition, p. 20. Nonetheless some annotations in this annotated edition are not incorporated into the DuVal edition (compare L'Huillier f. 29v and DuVal, p. 69); for an unusual example of a manuscript correction in a DuVal edition which on the contrary follows the L'Huillier edition, see above note 55.
- lxxxi The reference to the Cairo earthquakes taken from A. Thevet is present in DuVal but missing from L'Huillier; see below note 113.
- lxxxii Ambroise Paré, Des monstres et prodiges, ed. Jean Céard (Geneva: Droz, 1971), 150, citing a passage in Maggio, f. 27r. Céard notes that Paré's knowledge of Italian is well attested.
- lxxxiii BN R.13008 and Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle 177.348. Traces of reading, including some corrections of typographical errors can also be found in a third extant copy, Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle 16.125.
- lxxxiv BN R.13008. A later hand has also added at the end of the poem by Jean Bodin the quotation from the Theatrum in which Bodin refers to Livre.
- lxxxv Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle 177.348, pp. 21, 119, 23, 26, 106, 41, 22.
- lxxxvi For a survey of their opinions see Norton, The Ideology and Language of Translation. Balsamo discusses Livre's prefatory apologies and describes his style as Ciceronian in his "Discours scientifique et discours mondain," 460-61.
- lxxxvii Compare Maggio, f. 35r; Livre, 112.
- lxxxviii "En quoy faisant neantmoins ie ne me suis tellement captivé au stile de l'auteur, que ie n'aye beaucoup retranché de redittes comme superflues, que la douceur de nostre langue ne

pouvoit bonnement souffrir: Et au contraire entrelassé en plusieurs endroits, non seulement des periodes, mais aucunesfois des pages entieres, là où l'obscurité du subiet sembloit desirer plus grande lumiere, ou bien quand le moyen s'est présenté de l'enrichir de quelque raison ou exemple. Mesmes de l'histoire et pourtrait d'une montagne mouvante, qui (ie m'assure) ne donnera moins de plaisir que d'ébahissement: M'estant en tout porté avec telle rondeur et si peu eslongné de son intention, que ie m'assure que luy mesme revoyant cet ouvrage, confessera n'estre point empiré entre mes mains, et que la robbe que ie luy ay donnée, encore qu'elle semblast tant soit peu le desguiser, ne luy oste toutesfois rien de cette premiere et naïve beauté qu'il avoit aportée de delà les monts." Livre, sig. [Avi]r-v.

lxxxix See for example the preface of François de Fougerolles who translated Jean Bodin's Theatrum as Le théâtre de la nature universelle (Lyon: Pillehotte, 1597). Like Livre, Fougerolles also uses arguments from ancient precedent and boasts of the novelty and fundamentally patriotic nature of the project; see my Theater of Nature, 201-7. For more detail on Fougerolles' neologisms from Latin, see Ann Blair, "The Languages of Natural Philosophy in the Late Sixteenth Century: Bodin's Universae naturae theatrum and its French translation," Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis, ed. Rhoda Schnur et al. (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1994), 311-21.

xc "D'une chose seulement priray-ie le Lecteur, c'est de considerer que cette matiere n'ayant iamais esté cy devant traitée par aucuns des nostres, ie ne me suis peu garder d'emprunter quelques mots Latins par cy par là, neantmoins si necessaires et signifians, et de-ia tant affectionnez à la France, que i'espere qu'à la longue ils seront bien receus, et obtiendront aisément droit de bourgeoisie. Comme nous lisons qu'anciennement ce grand orateur Romain en ses discours de Philosophie, naturaliza beaucoup de dictions Grecques auparavant incongneües en Italie. Car encore que rien ne me presse de publier ce petit livret, qu'une franche volonté de découvrir les causes de tous ces tremblemens de terre à ceux qui ne parlent autre langue que la Françoisie, si est-ce que i'ay pensé ce seul empeschement ne pouvoir iustement retarder mon entreprinse plus louable qu'autrement, si on considere le debvoir et servitude naturelle de laquelle tout homme est obligé envers le pays, là où il a pleu à Dieu de le faire naistre." Livre, sigs. [Avi]v-[Avii]r.

xcii "Je vous confesse bien ... qu'il [Aristote] a dit des choses qui ne se treuvent pas toujours vrayes. Mais en cela il est excusable, car il s'y est gouverné seulement par la lumiere de nature, et par le moyen du sens humain, avec les principes desquels il a approché si près du vray, que l'ignorance et fauces opinions des choses naturelles, ont esté par luy descouvertes au monde, avec le flambeau de verité infalible. Et quiconque s'est voulu trop eslonguer de luy, il n'a pas esté loing sans s'estre egaré et enveloppé en des difficultez et labirintes inexplicables." Livre, 77-78; Maggio, f. 24r.

xciii "Mais plustost (repliqua le Sr Fabian) ay-ie esperance de vous dire la verité, sans toutefois m'eslongner beaucoup de son opinion." Livre, p. 78.

xciii Livre, 98-99, 106-7.

xciv "Le tremblement simplement considéré n'est point autrement un miracle, pour ce que le miracle est un evenement esmerveillable, produit nu'ment de Dieu et sans autre moyen, la cause duquel est inconnue aux hommes.... Mais quant au tremblement, selon ce qu'en avons dit par cy devant, il provient des causes naturelles et que les hommes peuvent connoistre, et partant n'est-ce point un miracle." Livre, 121; Maggio, f. 38r-v. For the examples of miracles, see Livre, 123, Maggio, f. 39v.

xcv "Par ce dernier exemple nous pouvons à mon iugement conclure, qu'il n'y a remede plus

souverain, que de se retourner à Dieu, lequel encore qu'il opere par le moyen et entremise de causes naturelles, est neantmoins la cause première qui donne et imprime plus de force à tous les effets de nature, que ne font les causes secondes: et luy seul peut par sa miséricorde infinie, nous delivrer quand il luy plaist de cet inconvenient et de toutes autres mesaventures plus dangereuse que cette cy." Livre, 156-7; Maggio, f. 49v.

xcvi On the range of positions taken in these debates see Jean Céard, La nature et les prodiges: l'insolite au XVIe siècle en France (Geneva: Droz, 1977), especially ch. 7.

xcvii "L'estime, encore que le tesmoignage de ce divin Poëte Hebrieu ny feust point, qui assure la terre reposer immobile au milieu de l'univers, que desormais cette raison vous contentera...." Livre, 13; cf. Maggio, f. 5r.

xcviii Notably when Bodin provides reasoned explanations of natural phenomena only "to illustrate and confirm" conclusions first reached from biblical authority; as discussed in my Theater of nature, 88-89.

xcix Livre, 39.

c See Bodin, Theatrum, 191.

ci Maggio, f. 13r: "essendo cosa troppo vana come dicte Aristotele, il pensare che per queste picciole mutationi si debba muovere il mondo dallo stato suo." Cf. Livre, 40-41: "comme s'il y avoit sur terre un corps pour excellent qu'il feust, dont la corruption seule feust de si grande consequence à tout l'univers, qu'elle forçast mesmes les astres d'en monstrier une particuliere alteration. Car c'est grande simplese et chose digne de moquerie (dit Aristote) de penser que pour un si petit changement qu'est la mort d'un Prince, le Ciel deust recevoir quelque empechement et mutation en son cours ordinaire." This sentiment is often expressed in the French Renaissance. See Ronsard, "Hymne des Astres," v.241ff. ed. Laumonier (Paris: Marcel Didier, 1966), VIII, 160, who draws on Pliny Natural Histories II, ch. 6; and Rabelais, Pantagruéline Prognostication, ed. Michael Screech (Geneva: Droz, 1974), ch. 5, p. 14: "la plus grande folie du monde est de penser qu'il y ayt des astres pour les Roys, Papes et gros seigneurs plustost que pour les pauvres et souffreteux." On this question more generally, see Isabelle Pantin, La poésie du ciel en France dans la seconde moitié du seizième siècle (Geneva: Droz, 1995).

cii Livre, 41-43. cf. Bodin, Theatrum, 609.

ciii "La cause finale est la mesme que de beaucoup d'autres semblables accidens, que nature semble avoir mis en avant pour diversité et embellissement de cet univers. Combien qu'aussi nous pouvons dire que cela ce [sic] fait aucunesfois par une vengeance divine, c'est à dire, que Dieu veut et ordonne le plus souvent, que tels inconveniens adviennent pour punir les pechez de son peuple, comme l'on voit en plusieurs exemples de l'escriture sainte. C'est pourquoy il escrit au second livre des Roys, chap. 22. la terre s'est esmeüe et a tremblé, et les fondemens des hautes montagnes ont esté esbranlez et rompus, pour ce que le Seigneur s'est courroucé contre-eux." Livre, 85 (emphasis added). The reference is to II Kings ch. 22, v. 8. Cf. Maggio, f. 26v.

civ Céard, La nature et les prodiges, esp. ch. 13.

cv Livre introduces the Homeric term **enosichthon**, which he probably found in Seneca's discussion of earthquakes, Natural questions, VI, 23, 3.

cvi "Aucuns aussi ont raporté cette cause efficiente aux esprits et Demons terrestres, qui faisans leur residence ordinaire aux antres et cavernes de la terre par permission divine, se meslent parmy les causes secondes et naturelles, rendans tousiours les effets de ce tremblement plus admirables, et qui semblent ne pouvoir dependre d'une cause morte, mais bien d'ouvriers qui besognent avec discours et iugement: Et de là possible est venue la fable d'Aeole que les Poëtes

ont feint estre le Roy des vents, qui leur donne liberté et les r'emprisonne quand il luy plaist. Mais nous qui cherchons en cecy la verité par la raison naturelle, nous lairrons cela aux theologiens, ou à ceux qui sont mieux versez en ces alegories et interpretation des fables." Livre, 86. Cf. Maggio, f. 26v.

cvii Livre, 149. See Isidore of Seville, Etymologies: "oracula dicta eo quod inde responsa redduntur et oracula ab ore." Originum libri viginti, XV, 4, 3 (Basel: Petrus Perna, 1577), 366. See also Bodin's poem, verses 12-13: "Unde furor vatum, cum terris ora fatiscunt/ Laxius antiquis oracula dicta latinis,/ Fatales hominum generi spirantia flatus" in the front matter to Livre's Discours and in Blair, "Un poème inconnu," 177.

cviii "Tout ce que vous dittes (respondit le Sr Fabian) fait entierement pour confirmer ce que ie vous disois hyer de ces Demons terrestres, qui se meslans avec la nature, sont le plus souvent cause de toutes ces merveilles que nous voyons survenir, tant par le tonnerre que par le tremblement de terre, comme de faire marcher une montagne de lieu à autre, souslever un chasteau en l'air, et le remettre aussi tost en sa place et mille autres semblables, desquelles vouloir particulièrement rendre raison, est attenter chose impossible et qui surpasse la portée de l'entendement humain és choses naturelles." Livre, 150. Cf. Maggio, f. 47r-v.

cix "Th. At incredibile mihi videtur tantam vim daemonum esse, ut terrarum molem, sylvas, urbes, aedificia, tanto impetu diruant? M. Imo vero incredibilius est ac praeter rationem et communem sensum, a lenissima et insensibili exhalatione tantam aere mollissimo vim afferri posse, ut non modo mare vastissimum, sed etiam terram succutere possit: nam 'Terribili motu solidas urbes, turreaque caducas. /Civibus attonitis immani sorbet hiatu/ Terra, vel horrendo mugitu verberat auras, /Faucibus elisis' ut alibi carmine lusimus." Bodin, Theatrum, 174. In marginal note: "in prooe. libri de motu terrae, Gallice promulgato a Nicolao De Livres."

cx "Quo fit, ut nec procellae, nec fulmina, nec morbi populares, nec terrarum labe, ordinarias et naturae congruentes habeant causas aut effectiones." Bodin, Theatrum, 178.

cxii On these confessions of ignorance in Bodin, see my Theater of Nature, esp. 144-46.

cxiii I am grateful to Frank Lestringant for this information.

cxiv André Thevet, Cosmographie universelle (Paris: L'Huillier, 1575), f. 32v. The reference to Thevet and the associated passage in the text are present only in the DuVal edition. Compare DuVal 115, L'Huillier, f. 48v.

cxv On commonplace books as fact-gatherers for natural philosophy see Ann Blair, "Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book," Journal of the History of Ideas 53 (1992), 541-51.

cxvi Livre, 69; cf. Maggio, f. 21r. Livre might be thinking of a passage in De re metallica (1556), book III, in which Agricola denies that the rays of the sun can draw things out of the inner parts of the earth; see Georg Agricola, De re metallica libri XII in Ausgewählte Werke, tr. and ed. Georg Fraustadt and Hans Prescher (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1974), VIII, 130.

cxvii "Puis que la mer est ainsi salée, comme vous dittes, au moyen des exhalations terrestres eslevées du fond de la mer et recuites par lardeur du Soleil (attendu que telle chose ne se peut faire que par quelque espace de temps) pensez vous que quand le monde fut fait premierement, que l'eau de la mer feust salée? Je croyrois que non (respondit le Sr Fabian) ains penserois plustost que ce mal seroit depuis survenu avec une infinité d'autres, et que pour la desobeissance de nostre premier pere, soit ensuyvie une rebellion quasi universelle de tous elemens, et de toutes autres choses créées icy bas pour nostre usage, comme un vray chastiment et punition de l'homme, combien que nous en tirons tant de commoditez (à cause du sel qu'elle nous rend, qui

maintient toutes choses et les garde de pourriture et corruption) qu'au contraire nous devons loüer et remercier la sagesse et prevoyance divine de nous l'avoir faite salée plustost qu'autrement: La raison de laquelle salure ce grand Pic, Comte de la Mirande, n'atribue qu'à Dieu seul, réprouvant toute autre raison naturelle. Mais pour retourner...." Livre, 110-11, cf. Maggio, f. 34v. See Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, "Conclusiones philosophice secundum propriam opinionem numero LXXX," #40 in Conclusiones nongentae. Le novecento Tesi dell'anno 1486, ed. and tr. Albano Biondi (Florence: Olschki, 1995), 70. Cf. also Bodin, Theatrum, 198-99.

cxvii "Et mesmes depuis quinze ans en ça, la preuve s'en est veüe en Allemagne au pays de Roü, ou bien Roëtieu, auprès d'un village nommé Rofendorff, où il y eut une montagne couverte d'arbres et de deux estangs, laquelle se detachant d'avec un'autre, commença à cheminer depuis Pasques iusques au mois de Iuing ensuivant, [in margin: voy le pourtrait de ladicte montagne à la fin du livre] mil cinq cens soixante, et faisoit au commencement une lieuë de chemin par iour, mais peu après coula plus lentement, de maniere que vers la fin, elle ne faisoit plus que trente cinq toises. Cette merveille s'estant veüe par gens dignes de foy, le Sr de Congneit, Ambassadeur du Roy de France vers les Suisses en envoya le pourtrait en cour, le 6e de Iuing, 1560 qu'il avoit receu à Saleurre, du docteur Amerbatius, adioustant que la dicte montagne s'aprochoit si près d'un village appelé Kling, que les habitans du lieu s'en estoient fuiz, craignans qu'elle ne les vint accabler." Livre, 62-3. For more information on the people involved (although I have not been able to identify the places mentioned), see my Theater of Nature, 102-3 and 268 n. 83; Livre's engraving is reproduced on p. 103.

cxviii "Idem apud Helvetios contigisse autor est Amerbachius, anno MDLXI cuius portenti Cognetus Gallorum regem per literas admonuit, ac topographiam misit, quam ipsi non sine admiratione spectavimus." Bodin, Theatrum, 175-76. The rest of this passage is quoted in note 48.

cxix On the beginnings of natural philosophy in French, see Balsamo, "Discours scientifique et discours mondain," and Ann Blair, "La persistance du latin comme langue de science à la fin de la Renaissance," in Sciences et langues en Europe, ed. Roger Chartier and Pietro Corsi (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1996), 21-42.