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**A Poor Third? A Reexamination of Manuscript and Print Markets in Fifteenth and
Sixteenth Century Rouen**

An Honors Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
Honors Studies in Art History

By

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I. Introduction

Manuscript and print scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have deemed Rouen a ‘poor third’ to the workshops in Paris and Lyon.¹ Lacking the cultural status and political influence of these two major centers of book production, Rouen’s manuscript tradition has been coined an “eclectic” group of illuminators who were limited to a local, discontinuous demand for books and whose regional role “hardly even bears examination.”² One key factor limiting the market for manuscripts in Rouen was that it did not have a university with a steady demand for textbooks and humanist literature. Instead, the city relied heavily on a local demand for religious texts and as will be shown later, an export market for books of hours and liturgical books. However, as the capital of Normandy and seat of the archbishop, Rouen was a wealthy city with a local bourgeoisie. Patrons such as Cardinal George d’Amboise (b. 1460 -1510) occasionally commissioned from native illuminators and owned richly decorated copies of Seneca’s *Epistolae* and *Antiquitates Judaicae* produced by Rouennais workshops.³

Studies on Rouen’s book history have focused on the city’s manuscript production during the second half of the fifteenth century—all of which post-date the English occupation of France from 1419 to 1449.⁴ These studies largely focus on the manuscripts produced by the atelier of the

¹ Dylan Reid, “Renaissance Printing and Provincial Culture in Sixteenth-Century Rouen,” *University of Toronto Press* 73, no. 4 (2004): 1011.

² John Plummer and Gregory Clark, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420-1530* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1982), 77; Jean-Dominique Mellot, “Rouen and Its Printers from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries,” in *Printed Matters: Printing, Publishing, and Urban Culture in Europe in the Modern Period*, edited by Malcom Lee and Tim Kirk (London: Routledge, 2002), 9.

³ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Latin 8551; and Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 1581.

⁴ For a study of the Rouennais illuminator, Maître de l’échevinage de Rouen, see Claudia Rabel, “Artiste et clientèle la du Moyen Age: les manuscrits profanes du Maître de l’échevinage de Rouen” *Revue de l’art* 84 (1989): 48–60. For studies of the manuscripts produced post 1449 CE, see Georges Ritter, Jean Lafond, and Société de l’histoire de Normandie, *Manuscrits à Peintures de l’école de Rouen: Livres d’heures Normands* (Rouen: A. Lestringant, 1913); and Catherine Yvard, ‘Minute masterpieces: study of a late fifteenth-century French book of hours (CBL, W MS 89)’, Trinity College, Dublin, PhD thesis, 4 vols., IV, (2004), 83–92. For studies on the oeuvre of Rouennais

Mâitre de l'Échevinage of Rouen, a group of illuminators active during the last half of the fifteenth century, and the patronage of Rouen's Cardinal George d'Amboise (b. 1460 -1510).⁵ My intention is not to dispute the claim that Rouen's regional role in the manuscript trade has been misunderstood, but rather, that these studies have ignored the significance of Rouen's manuscript production during the first half of the fifteenth century—especially during the English occupation of France from 1419 to 1449—for the subsequent success of Rouennais print on the English market.⁶ Between 1419 and 1449, Rouen was an epicenter of political and economic exchange between Normandy and England. The city's manuscript ateliers experienced a period of unparalleled patronage from an international, elite clientele, and the city's booming export market to England attracted artistic talent from Paris, which experienced a period of economic and artistic decline beginning in the 1420s. As a result of Rouen's unprecedented manuscript production and cultural exchange with England during the first half of the fifteenth century, Rouen's subsequent printing industry during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was able to outcompete every major printing center in Europe—including Paris—in the production of liturgical books for the English market.

illuminator and historieur, Robert Boyvin, see Elliot Adam, "Retour sur l'œuvre de Robert Boyvin, enlumineur à Rouen vers 1500," in *Peindre à Rouen Au XVIe Siècle*, ed. Frédéric Elsig (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2018), 100–119; and Isabelle Delaunay, "Le Manuscrit Enluminé à Rouen Au Temps Du Cardinal Georges d'Amboise: L'œuvre de Robert Boyvin et de Jean Serpin," *Annales de Normandie* 45 (1995): 211–244. For a study on local Rouennais manuscript production see Rowan Watson, *The Playfair Hours: A Late Fifteenth Century Illuminated Manuscript from Rouen* (London: Victoria Albert Museum, 1984).

⁵ Adam, "Retour sur l'œuvre de Robert Boyvin," 100–119; and Delaunay, "Le manuscrit enluminé à Rouen," 211–244.

⁶ The English occupation of Normandy (1419-1449) has been discounted as a period in which Rouen's primary function was to serve as a diplomatic waystation and an economic link between England and Paris, thereby reducing Rouen's historical and economic influence. See Mellot, "Rouen and Its Printers," 8–9.

Recently, there has been a growing effort to re-examine Rouen's competitive position in international manuscript markets of the late medieval and early Renaissance period. Scholars such as Catherine Reynolds, Anne E. Curry, and Martha Driver, have recognized Normandy's decisive position in the manuscript trade between England and Normandy during the early fifteenth century, and have discussed Rouen's role in servicing the need of England's aristocracy for manuscripts.⁷ However, scholars have yet to undertake an extensive investigation of Rouen's manuscript production for the English market, nor to provide an examination of the impetus for and later success of Rouen in capturing the export market for printed liturgical books to England. In his study on Rouennais *incunabula* (early volumes printed prior to 1501), Alain Girard places Rouen as a close second to Parisian ateliers in the production of Sarum liturgical books—a figure which has not been given serious attention since his 1986 publication.⁸ In the last decade, the international effort to digitize repositories of manuscripts and printed volumes necessitates a reexamination of Rouen's output during early decades of print, particularly the city's production of English liturgical books, Rouen's most valued market for books.

Manuscript and print industries were not isolated entities during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The arrival of print in Europe in 1450, and later, in France in 1470 marked the beginning of a period of exchange, experimentation, and competition between printed books

⁷ See Catherine Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists in Fifteenth-Century Normandy," in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, edited by David Bates and Anne Curry (London: A&C Black, 1994), 299–313; Anne E. Curry, "Lancastrian Normandy: A Jewel in a Crown?" in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, edited by David Bates and Anne Curry (London: A&C Black, 1994), 235–52; and Martha W. Driver, "'Me Fault Faire': French Makers of Manuscripts for English Patrons" in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c.1100-c.1500*, edited by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Carolyn P. Collette, Maryanne Kowaleski, and Ad Putter (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2009), 420–43.

⁸ Alain Girard, "Les incunables rouennais: imprimerie et culture au XVe siècle," *Revue Française d'histoire Du Livre* 55 (1986), 471–73.

and their manuscript counterpart.⁹ The nature of this ‘exchange’ was not only a negotiation of style and materiality (the materials used to produce the pages of manuscripts and printed books, such as vellum and parchment) between the hand-written and printed book, but also a period when the markets for manuscripts and printed books were profoundly interconnected. For these reasons, examining the conditions of Rouen’s manuscript industry in the decades preceding the arrival of print in Rouen in 1485 is necessary for understanding Rouen’s subsequent contributions to the early history of the printed book, and in particular, the success of Rouennais print on the English market.

The focus of this study is twofold. The first part of the paper examines Rouen’s historical conditions and the city’s manuscript production during the first half of the fifteenth century. The second part investigates how Rouen’s printing ateliers captured the export market for English liturgical books during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In this paper, I argue that Rouen’s rise to political and economic preeminence during the English occupation of Normandy established a tradition of English aristocratic patronage in the city and attracted talent away from Paris to Rouen, the new artistic capital of France. These two phenomena, I argue, laid the foundation for Rouen’s success in capturing the export market for printed liturgical books to England. Rouen, rather than being France’s poor stepchild of print, was in fact a vibrant printing center that experienced a brief, yet brilliant period of dominance in the production and marketing of Sarum missals. It achieved this dominance largely through the voluminous production, material hybridity, and nationalistic marketing strategies of one Rouennais printer, Martin Morin.

⁹ Larisa Grollemond, “A Material Legacy: Hybridity and French Manuscript Illumination from the Late Fifteenth through Sixteenth Centuries,” in *Hybridity in Early Modern Art*, edited by Ashley Elston and Madeline Rislow (New York: Routledge, 2022) 80–98.

Morins accomplishments, however, drew on the patronage pattern developed during the English occupation of France.

II. Establishing Elite Patronage

The English occupation of France from 1419 to 1449 was a period marked by political and military upheaval across France, yet Rouen, by contrast, rose to political and economic distinction as the new capital of English occupied France.¹⁰ As a result of Rouen's favorable political and economic position, Rouen's cultural production profited significantly, and the city's manuscript ateliers were able to establish a stronghold in the English market for hand-written books.

Beginning in 1419, Rouen became home to English nobles settling abroad and the locus of commercial and political affairs across the Channel. Furthermore, Rouen was a vibrant site of English patronage for paintings, textiles, and manuscripts.¹¹ According to Catherine Reynolds, during the English occupation of France, Rouen was a site for both the French and English aristocracy to acquire those materials necessary for maintaining their expected standard of living, which included the employment of artists.¹² The case of one Jeanne du Pont underscores this point. In 1430, Jeanne was unable to find a buyer for altar cloths and vestments in Paris, so she

¹⁰ Normandy was of particular interest to England's King Henry V (r. 1413-1422) during the waning years of the Hundred Years War because King Henry V was a descendant of William the Conqueror (r. 1066–1087), the first Norman King of England. Henry invaded Normandy within two years of his reign in 1415 in pursuit of his ducal rights and desire to revive the ancient links between the duchy of Normandy and the kingdom of England. Rouen was one of the last cities to fall under English control in 1419, effectively cementing England's occupation of France. It was not until 1449 that the French, under the reign of King Charles VII (r. 1422-1461), would reconquer Normandy from the English. For a history of the British invasion of Normandy in 1419, see Anne E. Curry, "Lancastrian Normandy," 235-241.

¹¹ Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists," 310.

¹² Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists," 310.

took these items to Rouen where they were quickly bought either by Cardinal Beaufort or Cardinal Louis of Luxembourg.¹³ Jean's inability to find a buyer for her goods in Paris also suggests that while Paris suffered economically under English control, Rouen's unique position as the capital of English-France created opportunity for the city's local industries to encroach on new markets for commercial and cultural goods. As a result of Rouen's rise to political and cultural prominence during the first half of the fifteenth century, the city's manuscript illuminators and ateliers were able to enjoy commissions from aristocratic, even royal patrons, akin to the those enjoyed by illuminators in Paris and Lyon.

English aristocrats frequently acquired Rouennais devotional and liturgical books from illuminators working within the city, which in turn, established a tradition of artistic exchange between Rouen and England—conditions which Rouen's print ateliers would enjoy well into the sixteenth century.¹⁴ The following examples demonstrate the involvement of Rouennais manuscript ateliers in servicing the highest sectors of English society and the frequency of artistic exchange between England and Rouen. Furthermore, these instances of royal and aristocratic patronage of Rouennais illuminators represent a counter-narrative to previous claims about Rouen's insignificant contributions to and position within the manuscript trade during the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance.¹⁵

One example of aristocratic patronage, indeed patronage from a royal family, is a psalter (BL, MS Cotton, Domitian A XVII) that was originally commissioned between 1400 and 1405,

¹³ Guy Thompson, *Paris and its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime, 1420-1436* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 22–23.

¹⁴ According to Reynolds, an illuminated manuscript acquired from Normandy was a natural souvenir for the English, just as the Normans would often import Nottingham alabasters from England. See Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists in Fifteenth-Century Normandy," 311-312.

¹⁵ See Mellot, "Rouen and Its Printers," 9

which was later adapted for a member of England's royal family. The additions to the psalter are attributed by Catherine Reynolds to the Master of the Royal Alexander, an anonymous illuminator who worked in Paris but moved to Rouen in the 1430s. The psalter was originally commissioned for a French royal patron, identifiable from the style of the manuscript as King Louis, Duke of Guyenne (b. 1397- 1415).¹⁶ Between 1430-1431, the Master of the Royal Alexander, now working in Rouen, overpainted Louis's French royal arms with British royal arms, thus converting the figure into that of King Henry VI of England, who would have been a child at the time (fig. 1).¹⁷ King Henry VI was aged between seven and nine when he made his first and only trip to France from April 1430 to January 1432, a likely period for such a gift to be presented to the young king. A series of miniatures, such as an interior of a chapel with a bishop and other clerics sitting in stalls (fol. 12r), monks reciting the psalms (fol. 122v), and King David playing with other musicians (fol. 206v) were likely added to make the book more attractive to a child.¹⁸

Another instance of Rouennais illuminators securing royal patronage from England is a Sarum book of hours (BL MS Harley 1251), commissioned by John, Duke of Bedford (b. 1389 - 1435). John was the third surviving son of King Henry IV and was created Duke of Bedford in 1415. Upon his brother, King Henry V's death in 1422, John was made regent of France and spent the remaining years of his life governing Normandy from Rouen.¹⁹ A skilled general and

¹⁶ Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists," 304.

¹⁷ Jean Porcher, *Les Belles Heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1953), 26–27. Fol. 13r, Fol. 50r, Fol. 75r, Fol. 98r, Fol. 178r, and Fol. 207r in BL, MS Cotton, Domitian A XVII show portraits of the young King Henry VI with the overpainted royal arms of England.

¹⁸ Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists," 304.

¹⁹ Michael Prestwich, *A Short History of the Hundred Years War* (London: I.B. Tauris and Company, 2017), 127–137.

combatant, John was a respected leader in both military and political affairs, and was also memorialized by Shakespeare as ‘John of Lancaster’ in *Henry IV* and as the ‘Duke of Bedford’ in *Henry V*. His richly illuminated manuscript was produced in Rouen between 1430 and 1440 by the Fastolf Master, a Parisian illuminator whose relocation to Rouen will be discussed later.²⁰ The book was highly personalized to the tastes of its owner and includes three donor portraits, each of John kneeling in prayer (fig. 2). Several personal touches were also added to his prayer book after his death in 1435, including his obit in the calendar: ‘Obiit Johannes dux bethford[ie] m.iiii.xxxv’ (‘John, Duke of Bedford died in 1435’). In addition, John’s badge was added to several miniatures, including a miniature of a funeral service (fol. 148r) which begins the Office of the Dead—presumably an image of the duke’s funeral (fig. 3).

A final instance of patronage from England’s most notable aristocracy is a Sarum book of hours (Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 40-1950) commissioned for John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (ca. 1388 to 1453) (s). The illuminator of this book of hours, the Talbot Master, was active in Rouen during the 1430s and takes his name from his patron. John Talbot was the Chief English commander and renowned war hero during the final years of the Hundred Years War. Talbot’s military prowess earned him the appropriate names such as ‘the Terror of the French’ and ‘the English Achilles,’ and he was celebrated as such in William Shakespeare’s ‘Talbot’ play in *Henry IV*.²¹ Talbot was based in Rouen beginning in 1435 and there he commissioned three richly decorated manuscripts. These include the ‘Shrewsbury Book,’ presented to Margaret of Anjou in 1445 (Bl, MS Royal 15 E VI), and three books of hours for Sarum use (Fitzwilliam

²⁰ The Fastolf master is known to have relocated from Paris to Rouen in the 1420s and then to England in the 1440s. See Driver, “Me Fault Faire,” 423.

²¹ A. J. Pollard, “Talbot, John, first earl of Shrewsbury and first earl of Waterford (c. 1387–1453), soldier.” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004.

Museum, MS 40-1950, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 41-1950, and Aberdeen, Blairs College, deposited at Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Dep.221/1). The Shrewsbury Book is the most elegant of the group, and although not a book of hours, its Rouennais origin underscores the involvement of Rouen's manuscript ateliers in servicing England's elite members of society.

III. Attracting New Talent

In addition to attracting aristocratic patronage, another sign of the vitality of the Rouennais book market, indeed its preeminence over Paris at this time, was the movement of several illuminators from Paris to Rouen during the 1420s through the 1440s. During the English occupation of France, Rouen displaced Paris as the new artistic capital, and naturally, Parisian artisans migrated north to take advantage of the personal safety and economic prosperity available to them in Rouen.

Although England and France arrived at a brief period of peace in 1420, political and military unrest in France was by no means over.²² Paris, now officially under English rule, was in a dreadful state. The Armagnacs, who disapproved of Henry V's new claim to the throne, had surrounded the city and were "touzjours couroient autour de Paris les Arminalz, pillant, robant, boutant feuz, tuant, efforçant femmes et filles, femmes de religion."²³ Food prices hit exorbitant

²² With the Treaty of Troy signed in 1420, England and France arrived at a brief period of peace. King Henry V of England was sworn in as the rightful heir to the French throne, affectively disinheriting the young Dauphin, Charles VII, and Henry would act as regent of France until the current French king, Charles VI, passed.

²³ My translation reads 'The Armanacs always ran around Paris, plundering, robbing, setting fires, killing, and raping women and children and nuns.' See Alexandre Tuetey, *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, 1405-1449* (Paris: H. Chapman, 1881), 142.

levels, the plague devastated the city's population, and "power and money were flung with centripetal force away from Paris to the provincial centers of France."²⁴

Consequently, artistic production in Paris suffered immensely. Manuscript production plummeted, luxury industries like goldsmith work fell into decline, and textile production ceased entirely.²⁵ Even after the French recovered Paris in 1436, the city could not reclaim its position as the artistic center of Europe and artists no longer gravitated to the capital as local sources of work were now available.²⁶ With Paris in disarray, Parisian manuscript illuminators were quick to migrate to the thick-walled garrison town of Rouen. The following instances of Parisian illuminators, each of whom relocated to Rouen during the English occupation of Normandy, demonstrate Rouen's attractiveness as an artistic center as well as the available markets in Rouen for local patronage and international sales across the Channel.

The Fastolf Master, whose presence in Rouen during the 1420s to 1440s has already been noted in the preceding section, began his career in Paris in the second decade of the fifteenth century. After spending time living and working in Rouen, the Fastolf Master spent the remainder of his career in England, likely following the aristocratic patronage he established during his time in Normandy. Currently, there are twenty manuscripts attributed to the Fastolf Master and his presence in Normandy is evidenced by several books of hours produced in Rouen.²⁷ His style is rooted in Parisian traditions and characterized by boldly drawn, outlined

²⁴ Prestwich, *A Short History of the Hundred Years War*, 132; and Leslie Williams, "A Rouen Book of Hours of the Sarum Use, c. 1444, Belonging to Thomas, Lord Hoo, Chancellor of Normandy and France," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature* 75 (1975), 192.

²⁵ Susie Nash, *Between France and Flanders: Manuscript Illumination in Amiens* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 25.

²⁶ Nash, *Between France and Flanders*, 25.

²⁷ J. J. G. Alexander, "A Lost Leaf from a Bodleian Book of Hours," *Bodleian Library Record* 8:5 (1971), 248–51. Alexander attributes eighteen manuscripts to the Fastolf master, nine of which are for English use. Driver attributes

figures with expressive features and landscapes constructed of flat surface patterns and stylized natural details. In addition to BL MS Harley 1251, another Sarum book of hours produced by the Fastolf Master is New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 105, illuminated in Rouen between 1420 and 1425. This book of hours was commissioned for Sir William Porter of Lincolnshire, an English nobleman who was knighted at Harfleur in 1415 and spent much of his military career in France. Porter fought at the siege of Rouen in 1419 and in 1428, he was attendant on King Henry VI as a household knight.²⁸ The Fastolf Master personalized Porter's private prayer book by adding a donor portrait on fol. 84v, which shows Porter kneeling in prayer (fig. 5). An escutcheon bearing Porter's coat of arms appears on several folios, including the January calendar page (fol. 4r) and beside a miniature of the Virgin and Child enthroned (fol. 85r).

The Fastolf Master's career in Rouen was not only sustained by patronage from English aristocrats, but from Rouen's bourgeoisie as well. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 27, a book of hours for Rouen use, was illuminated by the Fastolf Master between 1420 and 1430 in Rouen. This book of hours was commissioned for Jean Guerin (b. 1370 to 1433), canon of Rouen Cathedral and one of the judges present at the trial of Joan of Arc in Rouen in 1431.²⁹ Jean's coat of arms appears on several folios throughout the manuscript (fig. 6).³⁰

three more manuscripts to the Fastolf Master: the Sobieski Hours (Windsor, Royal Library); Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, MS ABM h4a; and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 575. The books of hours produced by the Fastolf Master in Rouen are BL MS Harley 1251; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 105; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 27; Cambridge, St John's College, MS N. 24; and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 560. See Driver, "Me Fault Faire," 422.

²⁸ Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists," 308.

²⁹ Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists," 307.

³⁰ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 27, fols. 39v, 46v, and 47v show an escutcheon with the Geurin family coat of arms.

An anonymous illuminator known as the Master of the Golden Legend also originated in Paris, but temporally abandoned the capital in the 1430s for the safety and prosperity of Rouen before returning to Paris in the 1440s.³¹ His influential style was taken up by a group of illuminators in Paris, who also followed the main practitioner to Rouen during the 1430s. The style of the Master of the Golden Legend is linear and economic, with motifs and entire compositions frequently repeated. Similar to the Fastolf Master, pen and ink are used to outline contours and parallel hatching is used to model tonalities. The figures conform to a limited range of types, sharing emphatically drawn facial features and a rather stunted physique.³² A book of hours at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BL MS lat. 1158), produced in the style of the Master of the Golden Legend, was commissioned in Rouen for an English aristocrat, Ralph Neville, 1st Earl of Westmoreland. The style of the manuscript attests to the presence of practitioners of the Master of the Golden Legend style in Rouen during the 1430s.³³ Although originally produced for Use of Paris, several added folios and prayers converted the book of hours into an appropriate prayer book for an English owner. A donor portrait of Ralph Neville and his children on fol. 27v (fig. 7) and a portrait of Neville's wife, Jeanne Beaufort, and her children on fol. 34r were added by the artist to personalize the French prayer book for its English users.

Another instance of Parisian illuminators abandoning the capital in pursuit of artistic and economic opportunity in Rouen is The Hoo Master, named for his work on the Hours of Lord Thomas Hoo (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS 12 R 31). The Hoo Master began his career in

³¹ Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists," 300.

³² Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists," 299.

³³ Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists," 303.

Paris but moved to Rouen during the 1440s. The Hoo Master's style is characterized by naturalistic landscapes and a painterly technique, and his sophisticated use of highlights, shading, and glazes lends his figures an animated quality.³⁴ The English patron of MS 12 R 31, Lord Thomas Hoo, served as Chancellor of Normandy and France starting in 1437.³⁵ His presence in France is first recorded in 1426 where his early military career was successful. He fought alongside Lord Talbot, first early of Shrewsbury (mentioned above), in 1436. In the later years of his career, he served diplomatic positions in France, and until he left permanently for England in 1450, Lord Hoo frequently stayed in Normandy where he owned a substantial amount of land. MS 12 R 31 was likely commissioned around the time that Lord Hoo married Eleanor Welles in 1444. At this point, Lord Hoo's access to French artist would have been restricted to Normandy³⁶ and the presence of the Hoo Master's hand in the 'Shrewsbury Book,' also dated 1445, suggests that Lord Hoo's book of hours was also produced in Rouen.

A final instance of a Parisian illuminator relocating to Rouen to take advantage of the booming market for manuscripts was the Master of the Royal Alexander, whose work on a book of hours (BL, MS Cotton, Domitian A XVII) was discussed in the preceding section. The Master of the Royal Alexander's presence in Rouen is also evidenced by another Sarum book of hours (BL MS Sloane 2468) produced in 1420. Although commissioned for the open market, the Sarum hours were likely acquired by John and Eleanor Umfray of Barton Seagrave in England.³⁷

³⁴ Williams, "A Rouen Book of Hours of the Sarum Use," 191.

³⁵ Williams, "A Rouen Book of Hours of the Sarum Use," 190.

³⁶ Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists," 303.

³⁷ Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists," 305.

Two calendar notes, now erased, commemorate John and Eleanor's marriage on April 16, 1453, as well as the birth of their daughter, Joanna, on February 15, 1454.

The pattern of Parisian illuminators relocating to Rouen between 1420 and 1440 suggests that Rouen assumed a distinctive position in the regional and international book trade during the first half of the fifteenth century. By the end of the English occupation of Normandy in 1449, Rouen had established a pattern of elite, international patronage from England and a rich exchange of artistic production across the Channel. However, the era of the handwritten book was beginning to wane, and its successor, the printed book, soon arrived on international markets. Paris was the first city in France to receive a printing press at the Sorbonne in 1470 and it was not until 1485 that the first printing press was established in Rouen. Although manuscript production continued in Rouen after the introduction of print, patronage from England's aristocracy ceased and the city's manuscript ateliers returned to servicing a largely local and regional demand for liturgical books and books of hours.³⁸ However, Rouen's already established historical, economic, and cultural connections with England created ripe conditions for the success of Rouen's print ateliers in servicing the English market.

IV. The Arrival of Print in Rouen

The frequency of manuscript production in Rouen for aristocratic patrons in England during the first half of the fifteenth century, as discussed above, prepared the city's subsequent printing industry to capture the export market for English liturgical books. During Rouen's fifteenth-century 'golden age,' the city's manuscript ateliers enjoyed commissions from the highest sectors of English society, notably from King Henry VI, John, Duke of Bedford, John Talbot,

³⁸ Watson, *The Playfair Hours*, 15-16.

Earl of Shrewsbury, and Margaret of Anjou.³⁹ This causal connection between manuscript and print production in Rouen has not previously been recognized, however, because scholars have treated the two industries in Rouen as entirely separate entities. The first extensive investigation of Rouen's printing industry during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was Edouard Frère's 1893 publication, which was also the first to examine the production of Martin Morin (active 1490-1522), Rouen's most prolific printer during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁴⁰ More recently, scholars such as Alain Girard, George Painter, and Margaret Lane Ford, have acknowledged the competitive position of Rouen's printing ateliers in serving the English market for liturgical books, although they, like Frère, make no mention of the relationship between Rouen's manuscript and print industries.⁴¹

Jean Dominique-Mellot offers a brief examination of Rouen's manuscript production during the fifteenth century in his publication on Rouen's printers, yet reduces Rouen's manuscript production to a period of little historical importance.⁴² Similarly, while Frère, Girard, and Gordon Duff acknowledge the quality and quantity of the books printed by Martin Morin,⁴³ their studies also isolate Morin as a character solely belonging to the printed tradition, when in

³⁹ See page 7—8.

⁴⁰ Ed. Frère, *De l'imprimerie et de La Librairie à Rouen Dans Les Quinzième et Seizième Siècles, et de Martin Morin, Célèbre Imprimeur Rouennais* (Rouen: A. Péron, 1893).

⁴¹ Alain Girard, "Les Incunables Rouennais: Imprimerie et Culture Au XV^e Siècle." *Revue Française d'histoire Du Livre* 55, 53 (1986): 463-525; Margaret Lane Ford, "Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, edited by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 179–202; and George D. Painter, Dennis Rhodes, and Howard M. Nixon, "Two Missals Printed for Wynkyn de Worde," *The British Library Journal* 2, no. 2 (1976): 159–71.

⁴² Jean-Dominique Mellot, "Rouen and Its Printers from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," in *Printed Matters: Printing, Publishing, and Urban Culture in Europe in the Modern Period*, eds. Malcom Lee and Tim Kirk (London: Routledge, 2002), 9.

⁴³ Gordon E. Duff, *The Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535* (Cambridge: University Press, 1906), 80-82.

fact, Morin’s successful career owed much to the material and commercial systems established by Rouen’s manuscript industry. This second section, then, will cast new light on the synthesis of manuscript and print traditions in Rouen by investigating several facets of Martin Morin’s career, including his voluminous production, nationalistic marketing strategies, and material hybridity. Morin’s impressive career flourished during the first several decades of print in Rouen—a time of frequent exchange between the well-established manuscript tradition and burgeoning print industry.

V. High Volume of Production

Rouen’s first printing press was established by Guillaume Le Talleur, a Norman, in the Saint-Lô district of the city in 1485.⁴⁴ Although Rouen’s cathedral chapter had invited the *venditores librorum impressorum* (‘the sellers of printed books’) to set up under its protection, the print booksellers generally avoided the booksellers’ portal near the cathedral—territory that was historically claimed by manuscript craftsmen. Documentation of a capitular decision by the cathedral chapter on July 7, 1483, suggests the arrival of print in Rouen had troubling effects. The record details an altercation between the manuscript *libraires* (‘booksellers’) who banded together to expel vendors selling printed books on the parvis of the cathedral. However, the cathedral chapter intervened and decided to allow vendors to continue to sell printed material provided that they only sold “libros peroptimos et utiles” (‘very good and useful books’).⁴⁵ Thus, while the cathedral welcomed the printed book onto the Rouennais market, it appears its arrival

⁴⁴ Jean-Dominique Mellot, *L’édition rouennaise et ses marchés (vers 1600-vers 1730): dynamisme provincial et centralisme parisien* (Paris: École nationale des chartes, 1998), 27.

⁴⁵ Inventaire Somaire, Arch. Dep, series G, vol II, pp 241. For other accounts of this dispute, see Edward Frère, *De l’imprimerie et de La Librairie à Rouen Dans Les Quinzième et Seizième Siècles, et de Martin Morin, Célèbre Imprimeur Rouennais* (Rouen: A. Péron, 1893), 5-7; and Watson, *The Playfair Hours*, 31.

was met with hostility from competitors. Whatever the reason, the first Rouennais printers chose to establish their workshops elsewhere. Martin Morin, Guillaume Le Talleur's successor, also chose to remain in the Saint-Lô district, and successive Rouennais printers established workshops in the parishes of Saint-Jean and Saint-Michel near the Place du Vieux-Marché, and Saint-Matin-du-Pont near the banks of the Seine.⁴⁶

From the onset of print in late fifteenth-century Rouen, print ateliers were quick to begin exporting liturgical books and books of hours to England. Although Paris and Lyon dominated the market for humanist literature, books of hours, and university texts on the continent,⁴⁷ Rouen carved out its own place in European book markets.

Over the next several decades, Rouen became the top supplier of Sarum missals for export to England, largely because, as Gordan Duff notes, Rouen had the strongest cultural ties with England of any town in France.⁴⁸ The figure largely responsible for elevating Rouen to such a competitive position within early European book markets is Martin Morin, active in Rouen between 1490 and 1522. Morin's atelier was the most productive workshop during the early decades of Rouen's printing industry, producing forty volumes within just the first eight years of his career.⁴⁹ A missal for Sarum use, printed in 1492 by Morin (fig. 8), was the first Rouennais incunabulum produced for export to England, marking the beginning of a rich period of

⁴⁶ Mellot, "Rouen and Its Printers," 11.

⁴⁷ Jeanne-Marie Dureau, "Les premiers ateliers français," in *Histoire de l'édition française*, eds. Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 163–75.

⁴⁸ Gordan Duff acknowledges that "Rouen seems to have been, amongst all the towns of France, the most connected with England as regards to the book trade." Duff, *The Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders*, 82.

⁴⁹ Alain Girard documents the number of editions printed by each of Rouen's major ateliers from 1485 to 1501. Following Morin's 40 editions is Guillaume le Talleur (34 editions), Jean le Bourgeois (27 editions), and Jacques le Forestier (26 editions). See Girard, "Les incunables rouennais" 471-73.

production from Morin's workshop.⁵⁰ Between 1480 and 1530, Rouen became the premier printing center for servicing the English demand for liturgical books, and the city's success is largely indebted to the incredible quantity of volumes printed by Martin Morin's atelier.

The continued impact of Rouen's historic and cultural ties with England is evidenced by the success of Rouen's printing industry in capturing the market for English liturgical books. Martin Morin's atelier was formative for elevating Rouen to a highly competitive position in early markets for printed liturgical books and the astonishing quantity of Sarum missals printed by Morin during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries attests to the continued strength of Rouen's ties with England. The digitization of incunabula and printed books over the last several decades has proven invaluable in quantifying the production of missals for English use across Europe during the early decades of print. In an effort to re-examine Rouen's role in servicing the English market for printed liturgical books, I gathered data from multiple short title catalogues and documented the number of Sarum missals produced both on the continent and in England from the years 1480 to 1530.⁵¹ I selected this chronological range because it encompasses the fifty years of production of printed Sarum missals, with the first missal for English use printed in 1487 in Paris by Guillaume Maynial.⁵² By the year 1534, however, exports of Sarum missals to England from the continent ceased almost entirely.⁵³ The results of

⁵⁰ English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), no. 16166, 'Missale secundum vsum ecclesie sarisburien[se], printed in Rouen in 1492 by Martin Morin.

⁵¹ For quantifying the number of Sarum missals produced between 1480 and 1530 in Europe, I gathered data from the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (ISTC), and the International Short Title Catalogue (ISTC), as well as the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC).

⁵² English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), no.16164, "Missale as vsum Sarum incipt feliciter' printed in Paris in 1487 by Guillaume Maynial.

⁵³ On December 25, 1534, King Henry VIII of England signed Act 25, which significantly restricted the procurement of foreign-bound books in England, thus significantly reducing the number of liturgical books produced for English markets in France. Duff discusses at length the implications of Act 25 for foreign book sellers in England. See Duff, *The Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders*, 277-78.

this study reflect an astonishing result: between the years 1480 and 1530, Rouen printed more editions of Sarum missals for English use than any other city in Europe—outproducing Paris, the printing mecca of Europe (see table 1.1-1.3). Furthermore, Martin Morin’s workshop was responsible for just under half of Rouen’s output during this period. Out of fifty-seven missals for English use produced between 1480 and 1530, Rouen printed twenty-nine missals while Paris fell just behind at twenty-seven missals. A less close third was England, which produced ten missals during this period, followed by Antwerp, Basel, and Venice, which collectively produced five missals for English use. Rouen’s ability to capture the market for Sarum missals is significant considering the Sarum missal was, above all, the most popular book on the market in pre-Reformation England, as every priest and church in the land was obliged to own a copy.⁵⁴

One weakness of my methodology, which is important to note, is that the results of this study rely on materials which exist today in libraries and repositories across the United States and Europe. It does not take in to account the undocumented printed materials that have been lost or destroyed. Nonetheless, the extant materials and available data demonstrates the extremely competitive position of Rouen in European book markets during the early years of the printed era and provides new evidence that France’s municipalities played a much more significant role in servicing international markets for printed books than previously considered.⁵⁵ Furthermore, Morin’s ability to capture the market for Sarum missals demonstrates the continued importance

⁵⁴ Painter, Rhodes, and Nixon identify the Sarum missal as the most popular book on the market in pre-Reformation England. See Painter et al., “Two Missals Printed for Wynkyn de Worde,” 159.

⁵⁵ Rouen’s position in early markets for printed books has previously been considered as stunted and incapable of competing with the university, royal, and international markets available to print ateliers in Paris, Lyon, Antwerp and Venice. See Mellot, “Rouen and its printers from the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries,” 10-11. Alain Girard recognized the competitive position of Rouen’s print ateliers in servicing the English market, but only in the years of the incunabula (books printed pre-1500 CE). See Girard, “Les incunables rouennais,” 489-490.

of the commercial and historical systems established between Rouen and England during the first half of the fifteenth century for the city's subsequent printing industry.

VII. Nationalistic Marketing Strategies:

One of the key strategies deployed by Morin which elevated Rouen to such an extremely competitive position in early European printing markets was his pioneering use of Saint George and the Dragon woodcuts on the title pages of his Sarum missals. Rouen's unique position as the former capital of English-France created deep cultural ties between Rouen and England during the early fifteenth century, which in turn, enabled Morin to quickly identify and deploy inherently English imagery to increase the demand for his printed volumes across the Channel. Imagery of Saint George proliferated throughout England during this period, and would have aroused nationalistic, hagiographic, and even chivalric responses in the English viewer.⁵⁶ Saint George was England's patron saint as well as a symbol deployed by Henry VIII (r. 1509 -1547) to legitimize his campaign against Louis XII.⁵⁷ Furthermore, English printers and publishers frequently used images of Saint George in their printed volumes and on their shop signs, such is the case of the English printer Richard Pynson (b. 1449 -1529), who referred to his shop in his colophons as 'under the sign of St George.'⁵⁸ The first English printer to include an image of

⁵⁶ Yu-Chiao Wang, "The Image of St George and the Dragon: Promoting Books and Book Producers in Pre-Reformation England," *The Library* 5, no. 4 (December 2004), 371.

⁵⁷ Wang notes that Henry VIII may have deployed imagery of Saint George and the Dragon to legitimize his campaign against the French King Louis XII. Imagery of Saint George had strong connections with King Henry V's triumph over the French at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415, and would have aroused strong anti-French, pro-English sentiments. See Wang, "The Image of St. George and the Dragon," 372-382.

⁵⁸ Wang, "The Image of St George and the Dragon," 384.

Saint George and the Dragon in a printed volume was Julian Notary in his 1504 edition of the *St Albans Chronicle*.⁵⁹

However, Martin Morin was the first printer in Europe to recognize the potency of this nationalistic imagery and include a woodcut of Saint George and the Dragon in a printed volume.⁶⁰ An early edition of a Sarum missal, printed by Morin sometime between 1497 and 1500, includes an image of Saint George and the Dragon on the title page of the missal (fig. 9).⁶¹ The image, which is used in several of Morin's later volumes, shows Saint George on horseback slaying a dragon in the foreground. Behind sits a princess in distress, who also points to England's coat of arms. Since its original use in Morin's 1497 edition of the Sarum missal, the image of Saint George and the Dragon became the most frequently used image to promote Sarum liturgical books in France and in the Netherlands.⁶² As Wang notes, the repetitive use of the image for this purpose may have caused a shift in its meaning: it changed from a symbol of Englishness to shorthand for 'a continental liturgical book of Sarum Use'—a way of instantaneously recognizing a popular book.⁶³ Following Morin's use of the image in 1497, the esteemed Parisian printer, Antoine Verard, used Morin's woodcut in his own edition of the *Art of Good Lywyng & Good Deyng*,⁶⁴ and again, in his title page for his own 1508 edition of the

⁵⁹ Wang, "The Image of St George and the Dragon," 372.

⁶⁰ Despite the image of Saint George and the Dragon's overtly nationalistic connotations, English printers were not the first to utilize the image in printed volumes. English printers could not satisfy the heavy demand for the technical requirements for high-quality printing of rubrics, musical notations, and woodcut illustrations, thus more than sixty percent of service books for English use printed before 1557 came from foreign presses. See H.S. Bennet, *English Books and Readers: 1475 to 1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 65-66.

⁶¹ *Missale secundum vsum ecclesie Sarum* (Rouen: Martin Morin, after 1500), STC 16170, British Library, IC.43967.

⁶² Wang, "The Image of St George and the Dragon," 394.

⁶³ Wang, "The Image of St George and the Dragon," 394.

⁶⁴ ESTC no. 791.

Sarum missal (fig. 10).⁶⁵ Morin's same woodcut was also used by the English printer Wolfgang Hopyl in his 1511 edition of the Sarum missal (fig. 11).⁶⁶

Martin Morin's ingenuity is apparent not only in the incredible quantity of his production, but his innovative marketing strategies as well. The fact that a Rouennais printer, rather than a Parisian or Lyonnais one, was the first to recognize and deploy imagery that successfully appealed to both an English and continental audience attests to the continued significance of Rouen's cultural and historical connections with England into the printed era, as well as Rouen's preeminence as a major printing center in France. However, another important component of Rouen's—and Morin's—success in early print markets is the exchange between and experimentation within the materiality of handwritten and printed books.

VIII. Material Hybridity

The continued impact of Rouen's cultural ties with England established during the early fifteenth century is perhaps most evident in Morin's synthesis of the materiality and markets between handwritten and printed books. The provenance of several Sarum missals, each printed by Morin, indicates that the market for Rouennais liturgical books profited from the impressive record of clientele established by the manuscript tradition in Rouen during the first half of the fifteenth century, which, as mentioned above, include, among others, King Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou, and John Talbot, Duke of Bedford. However, in order to continue to attract aristocratic patronage during the printed era, it appears that printed books had to emulate their manuscript counterpart

⁶⁵ ESTC no. 16182a.

⁶⁶ ESTC no. 16188.

by adding hand-painted decorations to woodcut illustrations. This synthesis of materiality between the manuscript and print traditions—or material hybridity—and Morin’s choice to deploy this strategy in order to secure aristocratic patronage from England, provides yet another instance of how Rouen’s manuscript industry and tradition of artistic exchange with England directly impacted the success of Rouennais print on the English market.

The materiality of one Sarum missal, printed in 1497 by Morin (fig. 12), exemplifies the continued significance of Rouen’s manuscript tradition for the city’s subsequent printing industry. One of the finest examples from Morin’s oeuvre, this early Sarum missal includes several woodcuts with hand-painted illuminations. Among the woodcut illustrations with added color are illustrations of the Crucifixion, God the Father Enthroned, the Mass of Saint Gregory, the Resurrection, and Christ being prepared for his crucifixion. The most richly decorated woodcuts in the missal are the illustrations that accompany ceremonials, particularly the rituals leading up to and during Easter. Furthermore, the missal was not printed on paper, as most printed editions were at this time, but rather, was printed on vellum—the traditional materiality of manuscripts. This edition of the Sarum missal, which was later presented to King George III of England, is one seven extant copies of Morin’s 1497 edition of the Sarum missal, and the only surviving copy on vellum.

Another instance of Morin transcending the manuscript and print traditions is a 1497 edition of the Sarum missal, which was purchased by a member of the English aristocratic Cornwallis family. Several sixteenth-century inscriptions on the back leaves of the book detail the lineage of the Cornwallis family, and indicate the Thomas Cornwallis (b. 1529?), was likely the first owner of the missal. Similar to the previous example, hand-painted decorations were added to woodcut illustrations at the opening of the Canon and Order of the Mass, which was

likely the most frequently used section of the book. Among the decorated illustrations are the Crucifixion and God the Father Enthroned (fig. 13 and 14)—additions most certainly made to attract an aristocratic patron, who understood the continued value of the hand-written book.

A final example of material hybridity in Morin's oeuvre is a later Sarum missal, printed in 1510. The missal was purchased by Sir Adrian Fortescue (b. 1497-1538), a courtier at the court of King Henry VIII of England who was executed in 1539 and later beatified as a Roman Catholic martyr. While most of the pages were printed on paper, the four leaves of the Canon of the Mass—the most heavily used pages in a missal—were printed on vellum. Like the previous two examples, the woodcut illustrations representing the Crucifixion and God the Father also include hand-painted decorations (fig. 15). Although we cannot prove that Morin was responsible for adding polychrome to the woodcuts, these instances of material hybridity in liturgical books, each of which were destined for the English market, underscore the continued impact of the manuscript tradition—both its materiality and its markets—on the subsequent printing industry in Rouen. Morin's ability to secure aristocratic patronage from England demonstrates the commercial significance of Rouen's cultural exchange with England during the first half of the fifteenth century.

IX. Conclusion:

We see, then, that the history of Rouen's manuscript and print industries during the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance were more connected than previously considered. The dominating presence of Rouennais print in the market for English liturgical books was, in part, a result of the city's exceptional manuscript production and patronage during the first half of the fifteenth century. The English occupation of France (1419-1449 CE) redistributed the power and

influence of France's major political and cultural centers of the period towards smaller municipalities that provided a higher degree of personal safety, economic opportunity, and political quietude. As a result, England's bourgeoisie, aristocracy, and royalty established residencies in Rouen and began to patronize the city's manuscript ateliers and artists. From 1419 to 1449, Rouen created a pattern of patronage from the highest sectors of English society and produced some of the finest and richest manuscripts of the period.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the relocation of Parisian illuminators to Rouen attests to the vitality of the city's artistic production during the period.

With the advent of print during the late fifteenth century, Paris and Lyon once again became the leading centers of book production in France. However, Rouen established its own preeminent position in early book markets. Rouen's ability to corner the market for English liturgical books, largely through Martin Morin's high volume of production and innovative marketing strategies, suggests that the city was able to draw upon systems of cultural exchange and elite patronage already established across the Channel during the early fifteenth century. Finally, perhaps the most evident connection between Rouen's manuscript and print traditions is the instances of material hybridity in missals printed by Morin. The synthesis of materiality between printed and hand-written books, as well as the continued support of Rouen's printing industry by England's aristocracy, underscores the strong historical and material connection between the two media.

Rouen thus forms an important case study that allows us to expand our understanding of smaller book centers and the processes of manuscript and print patronage within them. It also

⁶⁷ Several examples of Rouennais manuscripts produced for England's aristocracy include BL MS Harley 1251, produced for John Duke of Bedford, BL, MS Cotton, Domitian A XVII, presented to King Henry VI, and the 'Shrewsbury Book' gifted to Margaret of Anjou.

deepens our knowledge of manuscript and print production during this period by broadening the horizon of scholarship beyond Paris and Lyon, providing new insights into how export markets functioned at this time. This study contributes to the turn towards studying smaller centers established recently by scholarship on manuscript and print production in Amiens and Brittany during the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance.⁶⁸ Like those in Brittany and Amiens, Rouen's manuscript and print industries provide fruitful patterns of patronage and markets for books that fill necessary gaps in our understanding of early Renaissance book culture.

Furthermore, the patronage pattern established in Rouen which gave rise to the city's later success in the printed era, is perhaps not an isolated occurrence. The understudied centers of Venice, Basel, and Cologne each cornered various sectors of the English market for printed books in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and may provide important avenues for further research. Venice dominated the market for the total number of books exported to England from 1460 to 1520 by an astonishing margin.⁶⁹ Recent scholarship on the city's book production has highlighted the frequent interaction between manuscript illuminators and printers, although a deeper investigation into the city's manuscript patronage and markets may prove beneficial for understanding its success as a print center.⁷⁰ Basel, too, had a surprising rise to preeminence as

⁶⁸ For a study on manuscript and print markets in medieval Brittany, see Diane E. Booton, *Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. For an investigation into manuscript production and markets in Amiens, see Nash, *Between France and Flanders: Manuscript Production in Amiens*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

⁶⁹ Venice was the leading supplier of books into England during the 1480s and 1490s, largely cornering the market for canon law and legal texts. See Margaret Lane Ford, "Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, edited by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 183.

⁷⁰ For studies on the interaction of manuscript and print industries in fifteenth and sixteenth century Venice, see Lilian Armstrong, "The Decoration and Illustration of Venetian Incunabula: From Hand Illumination to the Design of Woodcuts," in *Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450-1500. Fifty Years That Changed Europe*, edited by Cristina Dondi. Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2020; Armstrong "The Impact of Printing on Miniaturists in Venice after 1469." In *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520*, edited by Sandra Hindman

the premier supplier of patristic texts to England during the dates specified above, yet it remains an understudied center for book production.⁷¹ Cologne, which outperformed both Paris and Lyon combined in total exports of printed books to England in the 1480s,⁷² has few studies dedicated to examining the cultural and historical systems in place which gave rise to the city's success. Applying the methodologies used in this study of Rouen's manuscript and print industries to other small book centers would provide a useful framework for understanding issues of marketing and patronage more broadly.

In sum, the historical, cultural, and material connections between the manuscript and print traditions requires us to consider their histories as deeply intertwined. Rouen's situation demonstrates that the advent of printing in Europe did not cast manuscript production to the side entirely, but rather, printers drew upon already existing patterns of patronage and modes of production to give their nascent industry a competitive edge.

(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 174–204; and Helena Szépe, “Venetian Miniaturists in the Era of Print,” in *The Books of Venice*, edited by Lisa Pon and Craig Kallendorf (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 2005), 31–60.

⁷¹ Ford, “Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland,” 191.

⁷² Ford, “Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland,” 189.

(Table 1.1) Sarum missals printed in Rouen between 1480 and 1530 CE

ESTC/USTC/ISTC no.	Place	Date	Printer
ESTC 16166	Rouen	1492	Martin Morin
ESTC 16171	Rouen	1497	Martin Morin
ESTC 16170	Rouen	ca. 1500	Martin Morin
ESTC 16176	Rouen	1501	Martin Morin
ESTC 16182	Rouen	1506	Martin Morin
ESTC 16182a	Rouen	1508	Guillaume Bernard
ESTC 16182a	Rouen	1508	J. Huvin
ESTC 16184	Rouen	1508	Martin Morin
ESTC 16183	Rouen	1508	Martin Morin
ESTC 16186	Rouen	1509	P. Violette
ESTC 16220	Rouen	1509	P. Violette
ESTC 16187	Rouen	1510	Martin Morin
ESTC 16188.5	Rouen	1511	Martin Morin
USTC 111310	Rouen	1511	Martin Morin
ESTC 16192 / 16194	Rouen	1514	Martin Morin
ESTC 16195.5	Rouen	1515	Martin Morin
ESTC 16221	Rouen	1516	P. Olivier
ESTC 16196	Rouen	1516	P. Olivier
USTC 111410	Rouen	1517	Martin Daubet
USTC 207019	Rouen	1517	Martin Daubet
ESTC 16222	Rouen	1517	P. Olivier
ESTC 16198	Rouen	1518	E. Hardy
ESTC 16201/16201.3/ 16201.7	Rouen	1519	P. Olivier
USTC 111329	Rouen	1519	Martin Morin
USTC 145282	Rouen	1520	Robert Mace [et] N. Mullet

ESTC 16204	Rouen	1521	P. Olivier
ESTC 16204.5	Rouen	1521	P. Olivier
ESTC 16223	Rouen	1530	P. Olivier
ESTC 146170	Rouen	1530	Nicolas Le Roux

Total: 29 missals
Morin: 13 missals

(Table 1.2) Sarum missals printed in Paris between 1480 to 1530 CE

ESTC/USTC/ISTC no.	Place	Date	Printer
USTC 765785	Paris	1487	Guillermus Maynyal
ESTC 16169	Paris	1497	U. Gering & B. Rembolt
ESTC 16174	Paris	1500	J. Higman & W. Hopyl
USTC 142785	Paris	1502	J. Du Pre
ESTC 16175	Paris	1500	J. Du Pre
ESTC 16177	Paris	1503	T. Kerver
ESTC 16178	Paris	1504	J. Du Pre
ESTC 16180	Paris	1504	Antoine Verard
ESTC 16181	Paris	1504	Wolfgang Hopyl
ESTC 16182a	Paris	1508	Antoine Verard
ESTC 16189	Paris	1511	R. Cousturier
ESTC 16191	Paris	1513	Bertholdum Rembolt
USTC 144146	Paris	1513	Bertholdum Rembolt
ESTC 16193	Paris	1514	W. Hopyl
ESTC 16195	Paris	1515	W. Hopyl
ESTC 16197	Paris	1516	J. Kerbriant
ESTC 16200	Paris	1519	N. Higman
USTC 145434	Paris	1521	Jean Adam, Jean Bienayse [et] Jean Petit
USTC 184347	Paris	1523	Claude Chevallon
ESTC 16203	Paris	1521	Johannis Petit

USTC 145787	Paris	1526	F. Regnault
ESTC 16205	Paris	1526	F. Regnault
ESTC 16205.5	Paris	1527	J. Petit
16206	Paris	1527	N. Prevost
16208	Paris	1527	Francois Regnault
16210	Paris	1529	F. Regnault
USTC 146172	Paris	1530	F. Regnault

Total: 27 missals

(Table 1.3) Sarum missals printed in London, Antwerp, Venice, and Basel between 1480 and 1530 CE

ESTC/USTC/ISTC no.	Place	Date	Printer
16164	Westminster	1487	G. Caxton
16172	London	1498	Wynkyn de Worde
16172.5	London	1500	s.n.
16173	London	1500	Richard Pynson
16179	London	1504	Richard Pynson
16182a.5	London	1508	Wynkyn de Worde
ESTC 16188	London	1511	W. Hopyl
16190	London	1512	Richard Pynson
16202	London	1520	Richard Pynson
16205.3	London	1526	Francois Regnault
16167	Venice	1494	H. de Landoia
16168	Venice	1494	H. de Landoia
16165	Basel	1498	M. Wenssler

16207	Antwerp	1527	C. Ruremund
16209	Antwerp	1528	C. Ruremund

Total: 15 missals



(Fig. 3) British Library, BL MS Harley 1251, Fol. 148r. Miniature of John, Duke of Bedford's funeral service with his coat of arms.



(Fig. 4) Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 40-1950. Book of hours belonging John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, fol. 83r.



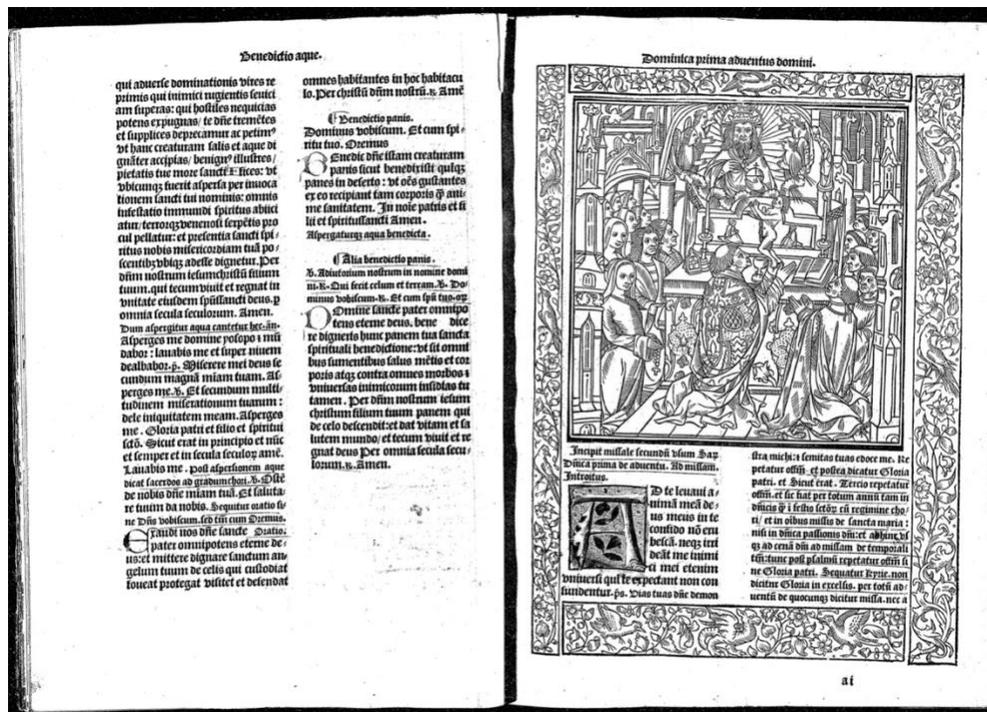
(Fig. 5) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 105, Fol. 84v. Donor portrait of Sir William Porter of Lincolnshire, kneeling in prayer.



(Fig. 6) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 27, Fol. 39v. Shows Jean Guerin (b. 1370 to 1433), canon of Rouen Cathedral's, coat of arms.



(Fig. 7) Master of the Golden Legend, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BL MS lat. 1158), Fol. 27v. Donor portrait of Ralph Neville and his children.



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(Fig. 8) *Missale secundum vsam ecclesie sarisburien[se]*, (Rouen: Martin Morin, 1492), ESTC no. 16166.



(fig. 9) Title page of Sarum missal, *Missale secundum usum ecclesie sarisburien[se]*, (Rouen: Martin Morin, c. 1497-1500), ESTC no. 16170.



(Fig. 10) Title page of Sarum missal, *Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarum*, (Paris: Antoine Verard, 1508), ESTC 16182a.



¶ hinc deus erimum fortis in is armis / Quo ducit victores angli / sic virebus omnes
 Et cetera in nitus fulgente georgius: at cum / Preclat: belloq; valent: ut formula quonda
 ¶ b fidei meritum stant virtute dsachone. / Emicuit victus: et cetera regna subegit.

(Fig. 11) Back page of Sarum missal, *Missale s[e]c[un]d[u]m vsum insignis ecclesie Sa[rum]*, (London: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1511), ESTC 16182a.



(Fig. 12) Hand-painted woodcut showing the crucifixion (left) and a hand-colored woodcut of Christ enthroned (right). *Missale Saresbueriense (Salisbury), sive Missale secundum Sarum* (Rouen: Martin Morin, 1497), ESTC no. s113344, STC no 16171.



(Fig. 13) Hand-painted woodcut showing the crucifixion. *Missale Saresbueriense (Salisbury), sive Missale secundum Sarum* (Rouen: Martin Morin, 1497), ESTC no. s113344, STC no 16171.



(Fig. 14) Hand-painted woodcut showing God the Father. *Missale Saresburiense* (Salisbury), sive *Missale secundum Sarum* (Rouen: Martin Morin, 1497), ESTC no. s113344, STC no 16171.



(Fig. 15) Hand-painted woodcut showing the God the Father. *Missale secundu[m] vsum insignis ecclesiae Sa[rum]*. (Rouen: Martin Morin, 1510), ESTC no. 16187.

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