

*Le Moyen de parvenir:*  
The Earliest Known Edition, Its Date,  
and the Woman Who Printed It \*

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The author of *Le Moyen de parvenir* has managed to conceal tantalizingly from generations of readers not only many of the text's meanings, but also the circumstances surrounding its initial publication in the early seventeenth century. The enigmatic title-page, giving no author, printer, place, or date, was responsible for the theory that Beroalde de Verville is not the author.<sup>1</sup> This theory may have been generally discounted, but hitherto we have still known only that the first edition appeared in Paris<sup>2</sup> at some point between 1610 and 1620.<sup>3</sup> And the identity of the anonymous printer who dared publish such a satirical work does not even appear to have been widely known at the time, since no clue is given in contemporary accounts, so far as I am aware. This continuing uncertainty has prevented us from knowing much about the milieu in which the work was first promoted or about the precise chronological relationship between *Le Moyen de parvenir* and the rest of Beroalde's output, especially *Le Palais des curieux* (1612), with which it has so many direct links.

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<sup>1</sup> This theory originated in the eighteenth century: see C. Royer's introduction to his 1896 edition of *Le Moyen de parvenir*, reprinted Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970, pp. ii-iv.

<sup>2</sup> See Guillaume Colletet's biography of Beroalde, in Colletet, *Vies des poètes tourangeaux*, Paris, Seattle, Tübingen: Papers on French Seventeenth Century Literature, 1989, pp. 17-40 (33).

<sup>3</sup> See Royer, *op. cit.*, p. xxxi.

However, there has been recent progress in the bibliographical study of *Le Moyen de parvenir*. H el ene Moreau and Andr e Tournon have identified the earliest known edition, which seems to be the very first.<sup>4</sup> It exists in at least three states.<sup>5</sup> In what follows I will argue that the bold printer of this edition was almost certainly a woman: Anne Sauvage, the widow of Mathieu Guillemot. Moreover, the edition appeared between 1614 and 1617, most probably in or around 1616. I will set out the evidence for these assertions in Section 1. Readers who have no particular interest in working through this evidence might be best advised to jump to Sections 2 and 3 for discussions of Anne Sauvage, the Parisian printing family into which she married, and Beroalde de Verville's relationship with the Guillemots.

## 1. Evidence

The printer(s) of the earliest known edition sought to safeguard her, his or their identity by leaving as few obvious typographical traces as possible. The 595 duodecimo pages<sup>6</sup> contain only three typographical ornaments: a band, an ornamental initial C (both p. 1) and a cul-de-lampe (p. 617) (see Plates 1 and 2 below).

The cul-de-lampe is of a design used by many printers in hundreds of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century books. Although these include several by Beroalde, the design cannot be

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<sup>4</sup> See H. Moreau and A. Tournon's introduction to their edition of *Le Moyen de parvenir*, 2 vols (facsimile and transcription), Aix-en-Provence: Universit e de Provence, 1984, facsimile vol., pp. I-IV. The facsimile vol. is a reproduction of a copy held in the Biblioth eque Municipale de Marseille which represents the earliest known state of this edition. It might be added that the British Library also holds a copy of this earliest known state (1080.b.8).

<sup>5</sup> Two are identified by Moreau and Tournon (*op. cit.*, pp. II-IV), a third by N. Kenny (review of Moreau and Tournon's edition, *French Studies*, 39 [1985], pp. 196-7).

<sup>6</sup> The pagination runs to 617, but in fact there are (2 +) 593 pages: see Moreau and Tournon, *op. cit.*, p. X.

specifically linked to him.<sup>7</sup> Nowhere have I come across an exact replica of the cul-de-lampe which is used in *Le Moyen de parvenir*. The band and initial C are much less widespread and therefore more revealing: only in books printed by the Guillemot family have I found versions identical to the ones which appear in *Le Moyen de parvenir*. The band occurs several times in the poetry anthology *Le Parnasse* (1607), printed by Mathieu Guillemot (Plate 3), and also in the new edition of the anthology which his son Mathieu II printed in 1618.<sup>8</sup> This band was clearly in the family's stock over a number of years, and from 1610 it would have been the property of the widow of Mathieu I.

The ornamental initial C found in *Le Moyen de parvenir* was in use for a shorter length of time and so can be dated rather more precisely. The design itself is not unique to the Guillemots: one version of it appears in works printed by Antoine Du Brueil.<sup>9</sup> At least six distinct versions were used by the Guillemot family over the years:

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<sup>7</sup> Moreau and Tournon raise the possibility of such a link (*op. cit.*, p. X).

<sup>8</sup> For occurrences of the band, see *Le Parnasse*, Paris, 1607, e.g. fols 1<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>, 76<sup>v</sup> (16 occurrences in all); *Le Parnasse des plus excellens poetes de ce temps*, Paris 1618, 2 vols, e.g. I, fols [ā vii<sup>r</sup>], 147<sup>r</sup>, 172<sup>v</sup> (31 occurrences in all). These works also contain a band which symmetrically complements the one used in *Le Moyen de parvenir*: see *Le Parnasse*, e.g. fol. 18<sup>v</sup> (18 occurrences in all); *Le Parnasse des plus excellens poetes de ce temps*, e.g. I, fol. 1<sup>r</sup> (two occurrences in all).

<sup>9</sup> He uses it in the following works, all printed in Paris: Antoine de Nervèze, *Les Œuvres morales*, [1605] (joint edition with Toussaint Du Bray), fol. 72<sup>v</sup>; *Les Muses gaillardes. Recüeillies des plus beaux esprits de ce temps [...] Seconde edition*, 1609, fol. 37<sup>v</sup>, sig. N [i]r; Torquato Tasso, *La Hierusalem*, translated by Blaise de Vigenère, 1610, pp. 183, 413; Nicolas de Cholières, *Des Contes, et discours bigarrez [...] Desduits és apresdinees du carnaual*, 1611, fol. 82<sup>r</sup>. The ex-ligueur Du Brueil himself had connections with Beroalde, who contributed to anthologies printed by the former: *La Muse folastre*, Paris, 1600, fols 35, 38 (plus a further poem added to the 1603 edition, fol. 42); *Le Sandrin ou verd galand*, Paris, 1609, fols 1<sup>r</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>. However, Du Brueil does not seem to have used exactly the same version of the initial C as that found in *Le Moyen de parvenir*; it appears nowhere in the 53 books printed by Du Brueil which I have consulted.

1	1612	M. Fumée, <i>Du Vray et parfait amour</i>	Guillemot widow and S. Thiboust
1	1614	J. de Serres, <i>Inventaire general de l'histoire de France</i>	Mathieu II Guillemot (and P. Mettayer)
2	1616	Hotman family, <i>Opuscules françoises</i>	Guillemot widow
2	?	F. Beroalde de Verville, <i>Le Moyen de parvenir</i>	?
3	1617	F. Loubayssin de la Marca, <i>Historia tragicomica</i>	Guillemot widow
4	1617	A. Loisel, <i>Memoires des pays, villes [. . .] de Beauvais</i>	S. Thiboust
5	1618	B. Legrain, <i>Decade commençant l'histoire du roys Louys XIII</i>	Guillemot widow
6	1631	Paracelsus, <i>Les XIV. livres des paragraphes</i> , translated by C. de Sarcilly	Jean Guillemot

Only Version 2, used in a 1616 edition of works by the Hotman family, printed by Mathieu Guillemot's widow (Plate 5), is identical to the initial C found in *Le Moyen de parvenir* (Plate 1).<sup>10</sup> This suggests that the widow also printed *Le Moyen de parvenir* at about the same time. Version 1 of the initial was used by her (in association with her son-in-law or stepdaughter's husband Thiboust) in 1612 (Plate 4) and then in 1614 by her son Mathieu II, who was collaborating with Mettayer but was also closely associated in this period with his mother (as I shall explain in Section 2 below). In both instances the initial is in a deteriorated condition, which is presumably why the Guillemot widow had a new, clearer version made at some stage between 1614 and 1616. By 1617 she was using yet another version, which suggests that the *Moyen de parvenir* version was no longer in use. So Version 2

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<sup>10</sup> Version 3 is also reproduced below (Plate 6).

existed certainly in 1616, and probably no earlier than 1614 and no later than 1617. Consequently, it seems that the earliest known edition of *Le Moyen de parvenir* was printed by the Guillemot widow between 1614 and 1617, most probably around 1616. If the work appeared in 1614, then there is an outside chance that Samuel Thiboust might also have been involved, since he was in association with her from 1612 to 1614. Another possibility is that her son Mathieu II used her typographical material (as in the 1614 edition of Serres's *Inventaire general*). However, although he may have been involved in some way, given that he was only about twenty in 1614 it is hardly likely that he would have initiated a venture such as the printing of *Le Moyen de parvenir*. And only from 1622 did he publish any works jointly with his mother. A final possibility is that Mathieu III, son of Mathieu I's brother Daniel, might have been involved in some way. However, I have found no firm evidence of any collaboration between him and Mathieu I's widow. Moreover, the years in which *Le Moyen de parvenir* is likely to have been printed coincide with the period of greatest independence in publishing activity which the widow ever enjoyed (as will emerge in Section 2).

Further evidence of the date and printer is provided by other typographical similarities between the earliest known edition of *Le Moyen de parvenir* and works printed by the Guillemot widow in 1616 and 1617. In particular, a set of italics used in *Le Moyen de parvenir* (Plate 2) is also found in the widow's 1616 edition of the Hotmans (Plate 7) and in her 1617 edition of Loubayssin's *Historia tragicomica*.<sup>11</sup> Although italics of the same size were used in the widow's 1612 edition of Beroalde's *Palais des curieux* (joint with Thiboust) or in her son's 1614 joint edition of Serres's *Inventaire general*, in these cases they were not identical to the italics in

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<sup>11</sup> The distinctive italic upper-case A (l. 5) and lower-case z (ll. 3, 4, 5) which appear in Plate 2 are also used in Plate 7 (ll. 8, 9, 10, 18, 22). The same set of italics, including this z, also occurs in the 1617 edition of Loubayssin's *Historia tragicomica* (fol. [ã vi<sup>v</sup>]). I have not found italics of precisely this design and size in the work of other printers, though a more systematic survey would be needed to confirm whether or not this set is in widespread use.

*Le Moyen de parvenir*.<sup>12</sup> All of which confirms that Beroalde's celebrated text was certainly printed within the Guillemot family, and almost certainly by Anne Sauvage in about 1616, probably alone rather than in conjunction with another printer.

## 2. Anne Sauvage and the Guillemot Dynasty

So how did a woman come to print one of the most notorious works of the early seventeenth century?

Printing widows were an exceptional social group in the Renaissance. Although many were purely figureheads, while the business was run by a brother, son or son-in-law, a few took over the responsibilities and decision-making of their deceased husband and so virtually became entrepreneurs in their own right, a rare position indeed for women in the world of trade.<sup>13</sup> Anne Sauvage may have belonged to this more independent band, at least for some of her career. After her husband's death in 1610 she did not follow the obvious course of remarriage. Instead, over the next quarter of a century, at least 58 editions were printed in her name. Of these, at least 36 (i.e. 62%) were produced jointly with other publishers. In all, she collaborated with at least 13 printers during 25 years.<sup>14</sup> Given her apparent independence of spirit, it may be no

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<sup>12</sup> See Beroalde de Verville, *Le Palais des curieux*, pp. 1-5 and chapter-titles; Serres, *Inventaire general*, 4 vols, I, fols [ā vii<sup>r</sup>] [ē viii<sup>r</sup>]. Nowhere in these books does one find the exact design of the distinctive italic A and z of *Le Moyen de parvenir*.

<sup>13</sup> See A. Charon-Parent, "Le monde de l'imprimerie humaniste: Paris", in *Histoire de l'édition française*, 4 vols, n. p.: Promodis, 1982-6, edited by R. Chartier, H.-J. Martin and J.-P. Vivet, I, pp. 237-53 (249); N. Z. Davis, "Women in the arts mécaniques in sixteenth-century Lyon", in *Lyon et l'Europe: Hommes et sociétés. Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Richard Gascon*, 2 vols, Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1980, I, pp. 139-67 (147-8, 154-6, 159).

<sup>14</sup> These approximate figures have been compiled using R. Arbour, *L'ère baroque en France: Répertoire chronologique des éditions de textes littéraires*, 5 vols, Geneva: Droz, 1977-85, and V.F. Goldsmith, *A Short Title Catalogue of French Books 1601-1700 in the Library of the British Museum*, Folkestone and London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1969-73.

coincidence that she entered the *querelle des femmes* by printing a riposte to a recently published misogynistic diatribe.<sup>15</sup>

Anne Sauvage married into the Guillemot family, which was soon to become one of the major Parisian printing dynasties.<sup>16</sup> Her husband Mathieu set up in 1584<sup>17</sup> and by the next year was based in the Palais. Whereas many Paris printers in the late 1580s and early 1590s supported the Ligue, Guillemot and the other major Palais printers opted instead for the Royalist camp and took refuge in Tours, where Henri III had gone in 1589.<sup>18</sup> Having left Paris some time between 1589 and 1590, in October 1591 Guillemot joined forces with seven other refugee printers in a formal association

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<sup>15</sup> Adam Scaliger, chevalier de l'Escale, *Le Champion des femmes. Qui soutient qu'elles sont plus nobles, plus parfaites, & en tout plus vertueuses que les hommes. Contre vn certain Misogynés anonyme auteur & inuen- teur de l'imperfection & malice des femmes*, Paris, 1618. The text being countered is Jacques Olivier's *Alphabet de l'imperfection et malice des femmes*, Paris: J. Petit-Pas, 1617. "Jacques Olivier" is almost certainly a pseudonym of Alexis Troussel: see I. Maclean, *Woman Triumphant: Feminism in French Literature 1610-1652*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977, pp. 31-3.

<sup>16</sup> See Figure 1. In order to establish this incomplete family tree, I have collated a variety of archival information presented by the following: Y. Chaussy, "Libraires et imprimeurs parisiens en 1624", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (1971), pp. 1-21; J. de la Caille, *Histoire de l'imprimerie et de la librairie*, Paris: J. de la Caille, 1689; J.-R. Lottin de Saint Germain, *Catalogue chronologique des libraires et des libraires-imprimeurs de Paris*, Paris: J.-R. Lottin de Saint Germain, 1789; H.-J. Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1598-1701*, 2 vols, Geneva: Droz, 1969; D. Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue (1585-1594)*, Geneva: Droz, 1976; P. Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers, graveurs, fondeurs de lettres, faiseurs de fermoirs, enlumineurs, parcheminiers et papetiers*, Paris: H. Champion, 1901; *idem*, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondeurs 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, 1965. Where these sources conflict, I have given the logical solution, if only one is possible.

<sup>17</sup> Martin gives 1594, but this is a misprint for 1584 (*op. cit.*, I, p. 347).

<sup>18</sup> See Pallier, *op.cit.*, p. 129.

necessitated, it seems, by the prevailing economic crisis.<sup>19</sup> When Guillemot had left Paris, it appears that both his first wife, Marie Le Voirrier, and their son Pierre I were still alive. However, by November 1594, when he had returned, both were dead.<sup>20</sup> Mathieu I's second marriage, with Anne Sauvage, must have taken place between about 1589 and 1594, and it soon produced another future printer of stature, Mathieu II.<sup>21</sup>

Mathieu I had returned to the Palais, which flourished as a major center of the book trade in the 1590s and early seventeenth

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<sup>19</sup> See E. Giraudet, *Une Association d'imprimeurs et de libraires à Paris réfugiés à Tours au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Tours: Rouillé-Ladevèze, 1877.

<sup>20</sup> See the document dated 7 November 1594 which Pallier transcribes (*op.cit.*, p. 512). It is an agreement ending a dispute regarding assets which Guillemot had left behind with his in-laws, the Le Voirrier family, when fleeing "5 ans auparavant". This suggests he had left in 1589 or 1590. When the assets were left with Guillemot's in-laws, his wife Marie Le Voirrier had presumably been alive; she is now mentioned as being dead. Moreover Mathieu I is now described as claiming the inheritance of his son Pierre, and indeed as being his "héritier": Pierre must have died in infancy. The Pierre who later became a printer must therefore be another child, from either Guillemot's first or second marriage.

<sup>21</sup> Renouard quotes from a 1623 document which mentions "Anne Sauvage, veuve de Mathieu Guillemot, libraire, et Mathieu leur fils" (*Documents*, p. 73). Anne Sauvage is also mentioned as Guillemot's widow in a 1624 document reproduced by Chaussy (*op. cit.*, p. 19). These two documents prove that La Caille (*op. cit.*, p. 174) is wrong in assuming that Marie Le Voirrier is Mathieu I's widow. Lottin (*op. cit.*, p. 70) and Renouard (*Répertoire*, p. 191) reproduce this error. Since another document shows that Mathieu II, "fils de Mathieu", married and was already a bookseller in 1614 (Chaussy, *op. cit.*, p. 12 n. 63), 1594 seems the latest possible date for his birth and so for his parents' marriage. 20 was the age at which most sons of printers and booksellers would be admitted to the guild. In secondary literature there has been some confusion of Mathieu II, who eventually became a syndic of the Parisian printers' guild, with Daniel Guillemot's eldest son, whom I am calling Mathieu III: La Caille presents Mathieu II as Daniel's son (*op. cit.*, pp. 170-1, 268-9), as does Renouard (*Répertoire*, p. 191), and neither gives Mathieu I a namesake son. However, Chaussy's document (*op. cit.*, p. 12 n. 63) proves that Mathieu II is the son of Mathieu I, as is also demonstrated by Martin (*Livre*, I, pp. 351, 383, 409-10). Comparisons of editions would be necessary to distinguish all the works of Mathieu II from those of the less well-known Mathieu III, whose career began a little earlier.

century.<sup>22</sup> After the celebrated Abel Langelier, Guillemot was one of the foremost Palais printers.<sup>23</sup> When his widow took over in 1610, she already had some 20 years experience of observing and perhaps helping with the atelier. Her address would remain the same for the rest of her career ("au Palais, en la gallerie des prisonniers"). That career can be divided into various phases. At first, from 1610 to 1612, she mostly collaborated with other printers. At least two, and perhaps several of these joint projects had been arranged by her husband.<sup>24</sup> Next she entered into an association with her son-in-law or stepdaughter's husband, Samuel Thiboust, whose name appears alongside hers, at the same address, on virtually all her title-pages between 1612 and 1614 (and on one in 1611). Thiboust left to set up his own business (from another stall in the "gallerie des prisonniers"). The years 1616-18 then saw Anne Sauvage, for the first and last time in her career, printing a relatively large number of editions (at least five per year) under her own name only.<sup>25</sup> She seems to have established herself as an independent force in exactly the period when *Le Moyen de parvenir* was printed. It is certainly likely that her son Mathieu II was also involved in this business at this time, as well as running his own in the Palais. But it is rather unlikely that someone as junior as he could have been solely responsible for his mother's apparent burst of independent activity, or for her printing of *Le Moyen de parvenir*. After this period, the Guillemot widow did gradually revert increasingly to collaboration. From 1625 to 1635, as advanced age perhaps lessened her grip on the business, most of her editions were joint ventures with Mathieu II, who in 1623 had taken over his father-in-law's business in the rue Saint-Jacques, as

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<sup>22</sup> See H.-J. Martin, "Renouvellements et concurrences", in *Histoire de l'édition française*, I, pp. 379-403 (388-90).

<sup>23</sup> See Martin, *Livre*, I, pp. 347-8, 383; *idem*, "Renouvellements", p. 389.

<sup>24</sup> See Martin, *Livre*, I, p. 348.

<sup>25</sup> I have found only one collaborative edition in this period (a Plutarch translation, published jointly with Jean Libert in 1616).

well as maintaining his own stall in the Palais.<sup>26</sup> After trading restrictions forced Mathieu II to give up his stall in the Palais, he was able in 1626 to sign a contract of association with his mother, enabling him to maintain a foothold and an outlet in the Palais.<sup>27</sup> The financial rewards gained by the widow from this contract suggest that she was certainly not under his thumb.<sup>28</sup>

Throughout her career, Anne Sauvage remained in those sectors of the market in which her husband had specialized. Unlike Daniel and Jean Guillemot, who produced Latin books, she followed her husband by printing only vernacular texts, mainly French but occasionally Italian or Spanish. Her essential aim therefore was to disseminate to an educated but not extremely erudite audience a range of new French writing and of classical or modern texts in translation. As such she was typical of Palais printers at the time. A large part of her production consists of translations of literary, moral and historical authors, such as Aesop, Laonicus Chalcondylas, Plutarch, Ovid, Quintus Curtius, Cervantes, Francisco Loubayssin de la Marca and Joseph Hall. She continued her husband's predilection for bilingual editions, in French and another vernacular, as well as his entry into the market of expensive, lavishly illustrated translations destined for an aristocratic audience: in 1614, together with the widow of Abel Langelier, she published her famous edition of the *Imagines* of Philostratus, translated by Blaise de Vigenère. As for the wide range of new French writing she published, it included literary, historical and military texts, as well as miscellanies on a variety of themes. And finally, one rather adventurous publication was the 1616 collection of *Opuscules françoises* by members of the Hotman family, including the influential *Antitribonian* by François. Although the name Hotman no longer had the subversive ring that it would have had a generation earlier, it is unlikely a traditionalist Catholic or else highly cautious printer would have touched this. The same of

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<sup>26</sup> See Martin, *Livre*, I, p. 351.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 383.

course goes for *Le Moyen de parvenir*, which was coming off the same presses at about this time.

### 3. Beroalde de Verville and the Guillemots

*Le Moyen de parvenir* was by no means the first work by Beroalde to be printed by the Guillemot family. Beroalde, Mathieu I and doubtless Anne Sauvage went back a long way: they almost certainly knew one another as fellow refugees in Tours in the early 1590s. After Mathieu I had returned to Paris and Beroalde had stayed behind as canon of Saint-Gatien in Tours, the former none the less printed many works by the latter (alone or jointly with others): *Le Cabinet de Minerve*, 1596; *Quatriesme partie des Aventures de Floride, qui est l'Infante determinee*, 1596; *Les Amours d'Aesionne*, 1597; *La Pucelle d'Orleans*, 1599; *Les Tenebres, qui sont les lamentations de Jeremie*, 1599, *Le Tableau des riches inventions couvertes du voile des feintes amoureuses, qui sont representees dans le Songe de Poliphile*, 1600 (Beroalde's edition of Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia*). The connection with this printing house did not die with Mathieu I: in 1612 his widow, in association with Thiboust, published Beroalde's *Palais des curieux*. Moreover, the same printers (together with Guillaume Marette) also produced in 1612 a collection of alchemical treatises including the *Livre des figures hieroglyphiques* by pseudo-Nicolas Flamel, who may well be none other than Beroalde himself, as has recently been argued.<sup>29</sup> Even if this is not true, the Guillemots were still involved in eight of the eleven major works which Beroalde published from 1596 onwards.

So when Beroalde claims in *Le Palais* that his innocuous manuscript version of *Le Moyen de parvenir* has been stolen and rewritten in scurrilous vein (pp. 461-2), in fact he is making surreptitious advance publicity for a work which was to be published by the same printer between two and five years later. Needless to say,

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<sup>29</sup> See C. Gagnon, "Identification de l'auteur du *Livre des figures hieroglyphiques*", in *Ecole pratique des hautes études, IV<sup>e</sup> section, sciences historiques et philologiques, annuaire*, 1976-77, pp. 569-70.

*Le Moyen de parvenir* hardly reads like an "innocent" text to which someone has added a few obscene "contes desagréables" and dangerously satirical barbs. What better publicity than to evoke these details while expressing shock at them, as does the Beroalde of *Le Palais*? It seems that *Le Moyen de parvenir* did exist in some manuscript form before the publication of *Le Palais* in 1612, and that it may well have been further revised by Beroalde before its own publication between 1614 and 1617. This chronology helps explain the curious direct parody of *Le Palais* which is found throughout *Le Moyen de parvenir*.<sup>30</sup>

Within the actual text of *Le Moyen de parvenir*, there are, unsurprisingly, no explicit indications of its printer. The names of certain interlocutors could well have come to Beroalde's mind because of the works which he knew Anne Sauvage to be printing at the time: "Philostrate", "le Viginaire" (Blaise de Vigenère), "Hotoman" . . . . Two printers do figure in the anecdote about Rabelais's mule:<sup>31</sup> Michel Fezandat, who printed the *Quart livre*, and Jean du Carroy, who was about 86 in 1616 but a "ieune verdaud" in the period when the anecdote is set. Du Carroy, who died in 1616, was also in Tours during the Ligue (which he had initially supported). He was notorious for printing things which got him into serious trouble (as had happened as recently as 1610) and so might himself have seemed a likely printer of *Le Moyen de parvenir*.<sup>32</sup> It is perhaps not too cynical to suggest that Beroalde, by mentioning him, was falsely pointing the finger at him as the printer of this text, to divert attention from the Guillemots. Indeed the cul-de-lampe in *Le Moyen de parvenir* might have had the

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<sup>30</sup> See N. Kenny, "Satire, parodie et philosophie chez Beroalde de Verville", in *Burlesque et formes parodiques: Actes du colloque du Mans (4-7 décembre 1986)*, edited by I. Landy-Houillon and M. Ménard, Paris, Seattle, Tübingen: Papers on French Seventeenth Century Literature, 1987, pp. 231-47 (234-42, 244-5, 246, 247).

<sup>31</sup> *Le Moyen de parvenir*, edited by Moreau and Tournon, facsimile vol., pp. 359-61.

<sup>32</sup> On Du Carroy, see Pierre de l'Estoile, *Mémoires - journaux*, edited by Brunet et al., 12 vols, Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1875-96, VIII, p. 89; XI, pp. 38-9; Renouard, *Répertoire*, p. 124.

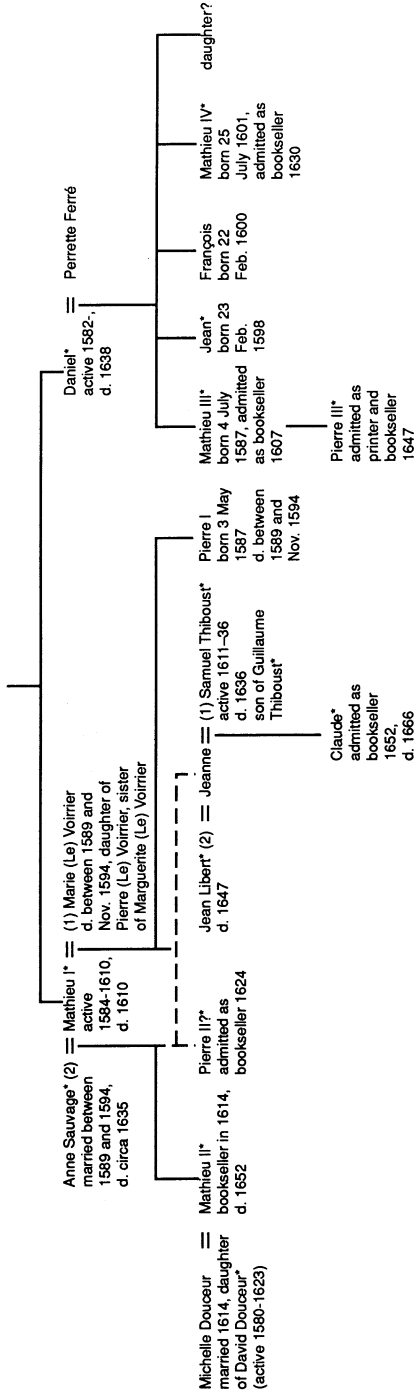
same purpose, since Du Carroy used this design very frequently, unlike the Guillemots.<sup>33</sup>

An even more precise dating of the earliest known edition of *Le Moyen de parvenir* would be possible if further evidence came to light in the Guillemot widow's output: an identical version of the cul-de-lampe, or further instances of the band and ornamental C. What does now seem clear is that *Le Moyen de parvenir* was indeed Beroalde's last work to be published, his swansong subverting many of the things to which he had devoted his career, such as philosophy and religion. He and Anne Sauvage would doubtless have been pleased to learn that the identity of the work's first printer or printers would remain concealed for some 375 years.

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<sup>33</sup> Analysis of the typographical material used by Du Carroy and his widow shows that neither of them did print the earliest known edition of *Le Moyen de parvenir*.

Figure 1: Guillemot Family



\* = printer and/or bookseller.


--- = it is not clear whether Anne Sauvage or Marie Voirrier was the mother of Jeanne and Pierre II.



LE MOYEN  
DE PARVENIR.

*Premiere Table.*

QUESTION I.



AR est il, que ce fut au temps, au siecle, en l'indiction, en l'Aere, en l'Hegire, en l'hebdomade, au lustre, en l'Olimpiade, en l'an, au terme, au mois, en la sepmaine, au iour, à l'heure, à la minute, & iustement à l'instant, que par l'avis & progréz du Daimon des spheres les esteufs descheurent de credit, & qu'au lieu d'eux furent auancees les molles balles, au preiudice de la noble antiquité, qui se jouoit si joliment. Con-  
fuz soient ces inuenteurs de nouveautez,  
qui gastent la jeunesse, & contre les bon-

A

DE PARVENIR. 617  
 stro ville, aupres le portail de la grande  
 Eglise :

*Vous qui auez mine d'estre homs,  
 Et qui semblez estre hommasses:  
 Apportez quatre gros és troncs,  
 Afin que l'œuure se parface.*

Et ie vous promets que vous y gagnerez:  
 & dauantage, y apprendrez tout ce qu'il  
 y a de bon en ce monde; ce que ie vous  
 prouueray en toutes & maintes sortes.



FRANÇOISES.



LE PARNASSE  
DES PLUS EXCELLENS  
POETES DE CE TEMPS:

O V,

MUSES FRANCOISES  
R'alliées de diuerfes parts.



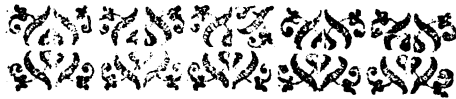
A V R O Y

POVR SES ESTRENNES  
de l'an 1,99.



*Plus prompt que les filles des ondes  
Grosses des sauldres bluetians,  
Qui brauent les roches immondes,  
De mille vrayets prouietans:  
Le veux desfocher me tempestes*

*Deffus la langue infinié.  
Des siecles monstres à cent testes,  
Et vainqueur grauer tes conquestes  
Sur le front de l'Eternité.  
Mais pendant que s'enfle mes veines*



DV VR AY ET PAR-  
FAICT AMOVR.

LIVRE SEPTIESME.

**C**haride trouua en ceste nuit  
le repos si doux que le ma-  
tin ne l'auit debout, & estoit  
à haute heure auant le So-  
leil quasi outrepasé le quart  
de nostre Hemisphere quand elle se leua.  
Estant habillée, & descendue de sa cham-  
bre pour aller au plus proche temple fai-  
re ses prieres, elle demanda où estoit le  
Seigneur Polete. Vn de ses facteurs luy  
dit que dès l'aube du iour on auoit ap-  
perceu vn vaisseau prez le port, qui pour  
estre fort enfoncé en l'eau sembloit estre  
bien chargé, & qu'aucuns marchans de la  
ville l'estoient venu querir pour voir quel-  
le marchandise c'estoit. A ce que ie voy,  
dit Charide, vostre maistre est celuy, quia  
X ij



# L'IMPRIMEVR

AVX LECTEURS.

**C**OMME j'ay veu que ces petits liures en François de Messieurs les Hotmans estoient desirez d'un chacun, & qu'il ne s'en trouvoit plus, mesmes de ceux des trois freres: j'ay creu profiter au public si ie les rassemblois tous en vn volume, non pour la conformité des matieres, lesquelles à la verité sont fort differentes, mais pour celle du nom: estant chose assez rare que plusieurs d'une famille, mais de diuerse profession, se soient rencontrez en vn mesme desir de mettre leurs conceptions par escrit, pour leur contentement particulier; aucuns mesmes pour esgayer leur esprit en contredisant à l'opinion commune; ce qui neantmoins peut seruir à l'vtilité publique,

à ij

*Libro segundo.* 117

## CAPITULO III.



REO que no solamente yo, que tengo el pecho sencillo, y sin malicia; mas el hombre mas cauto y sospechoso del mundo, v- uiera creydo, conocido que v- uiese el buen natural de DON Pedro, sus virtuosas costumbres, y el amistad que me tenia: y visto con que afecto me auia hablado, que solo vna voluntad lleuada de vn ardiente deseo de seruirme, le auia hecho dezir las palabras que el proprio y sin la persuasion de nadie, me auia tenido. Y cierto todas las vezes que vengo a considerar quan diferente era lo que pensaua de lo que dezia, como se a visto por los efectos, me parece

H iij

## E P I S T R E.

neussent enuïé un si grand bien à ce Royaume. Nous auons aussi obligation à Monsieur de Villiers Hotman son fils, qui nous a conserué ce tresor & qui aujourd'huy le nous communique. Du consentement & aduen duquel j'ay pris la hardiesse de le vous dedier (Monsieur) comme à celuy qui honorez la memoire du pere, Auteurs de cet escrit; qui cherissez le merite du fils, qui mesmes auex voulu estendre vostre affection iusques à moy; mais principalement comme à celuy qui par vostre prudence & longue experience iugerez sainement combien le conseil contenu en ce discours est necessaire & profitable en nostre siecle: & par vostre authorité (acquise par tant de signalez services par vous rendus à cet Estat dedans & dehors le Royaume, mesmes en vostre legation d'Angleterre; & lesquels pour leur donner leurs vives couleurs & les mettre en leur iour, demandat un meilleur pinceau que le mien) le maintiendrez contre ces esprits enuieux & freuilans qui font gloire d'efflurer les ouurages les plus excellens quand ils ne les peuent ruyner: & Dieu fera s'il luy plaist que par vostre moyen & des autres Seigneurs du Conseil, amateurs du bien public, nous aurons ce contentement de voir nostre France receuoir