

Translation as Editorial Mediation: Charles Estienne's
Experiments with the Dissemination of Knowledge

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Charles Estienne (1504-64) is often presented as the son, brother, or uncle of better-known members of his family, all printers of renown. Most of the Estiennes are well known for their contribution to philology and their erudite editions; in the Estienne landscape made of 'editiones principes' and learned dictionaries, Charles, in contrast, appears as the man of 'second' editions, translations, vulgarizations. He is also remembered as the bankrupt of the family. Yet, he may well be the Estienne who is the closest to our modern editing ventures: by including his readership in the conception of his catalogue, by adapting existing works to a public he hopes to be larger and larger, by addressing French-reading only audiences and young students, Charles Estienne questions the boundaries of edition and blurs its boundaries with communication and translation. This paper proposes a new appraisal of his work as an editor and as a mediator of Renaissance culture, both Classical and contemporary.

The second son of Henri Estienne (the Elder), he worked as a printer in Paris for a brief decade between 1552 and 1564, not by choice but by circumstance, after completing a degree in medicine in 1540, publishing a treatise on human dissection in 1545-1546, writing several books for young people between 1535 and 1550, and composing

translations from Latin and Italian.¹ A family member of secondary importance, surrounded by the figures of the Estienne dynasty of humanist editor-printers, he became the head of the printing house when his brother Robert left for Geneva. His father and Robert, together with Robert's son Henri (the Younger), all are epic heroes of the French historiography recounting the history of French printing. Charles, on the contrary, is the son who brings the family enterprise to bankruptcy in 1561 and dies in a debtors' gaol three years later.

Thus in the *Annals de l'imprimerie des Estienne ou Histoire de la famille Estienne et de ses éditions*, published between 1535 and 1543, Antoine-Auguste Renouard introduces the brief chapter on Charles, placed between those devoted to his older brothers, Robert and François, and his nephew, Henri, with praise sounding like an apology: he provides, in advance, excuses for this character, first defined by the weakness of his career, compared to the fecund and legendary achievements of his family members, and second by the final financial disaster. Under the title 'Charles Estienne, le seul de ce nom' [Charles Estienne, the only one of this name], the status of Charles as an outsider to the dynasty is, by chance, reaffirmed: not a founder, not even a heir, he stands as the exception in the saga of the Estiennes.

Charles Estienne, le plus jeune des trois fils de Henri, fut médecin, Imprimeur habile et savant distingué. Si comme typographe il n'a pas conquis à l'égal de son frère et de son neveu, Robert et Henri, ce renom impérissable qui immortalise cette fameuse famille, il doit venir après eux partager leur

¹ For a brief bio-bibliography, see Hélène Cazes, 'Charles Estienne', in Colette Nativel (ed.), *Centuriæ Latinæ II, Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières, A la mémoire de Marie-Madeleine de la Garanderie* (Geneva : Droz, 2006), 313-318.

célébrité, et avec d'autant plus de justice qu'étrangère à ses premières études, cette profession dans laquelle il sut obtenir des succès ne devint la sienne que par l'effet des persécutions ecclésiastiques qui mirent Robert en nécessité de chercher un refuge dans une terre étrangère..²

Again, in the general biographical dictionary published by the brothers Firmin-Didot in 1856, Charles Estienne is given the role of a hero in a romantic novel, surrounded by epic founders: he bears the weight of having brought the dynasty to bankruptcy and stands as a testimony to the abuses of religious persecution in France. The story of his life reads, then, as a lament over the French religious wars and a paean to his personal sacrifice: he is deprived of his destiny as a brilliant physician and looks after his brother's business and young nephews' welfare instead of ensuring his own posterity. Still, in the generally disastrous climate of the 1560s, exemplified by his own individual failure, Charles is recognized as a noble character, gifted with loyalty and 'sentiments', and a prolific and talented author. The bankruptcy is thus a sign of the cruelty of the circumstances and a symbol of France's politics, with Charles the 'Catholic' brother in a family of Protestant genius-printers.

² Antoine-Auguste Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne ou Histoire de la famille Estienne et de ses éditions*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Jules Renouard et Cie, 1843 ; repr. Mansfield Center CT, 1999), 352 : 'Charles Estienne, the youngest of Henri's three sons, was a physician, a skilled printer, and a distinguished scholar. Although as a typographer, he could not, like his brother and nephew, Robert and Henri, achieve the same undying fame that has immortalised this illustrious family, he must be placed next in line in sharing their renown. This is only fair, especially as his studies had not prepared him for this profession, in which he nevertheless achieved some success. He adopted it only as a consequence of the religious persecution that obliged Robert to seek refuge in a foreign country.' All translations are the author's except where otherwise noted.

Estienne (Charles), (...) s'était préparé par de fortes études à la profession de médecin, et très jeune il fut reçu docteur (...) Resté fidèle à la foi catholique, Charles dut pour sauver les intérêts de ses neveux, dont il était le tuteur, prendre pour son compte la direction de l'imprimerie de son frère Robert, lorsque celui-ci s'exila de Paris avec toute sa famille. Cette circonstance lui permit de manifester ses sentiments comme parent, son mérite comme imprimeur et sa science comme auteur et éditeur d'excellents ouvrages, particulièrement consacrés à la médecine et à l'agriculture.³

Mediocre in comparison to Robert Estienne, the editor-printer of the Bible and author of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (1532), and his son Henri, the prolific and talented editor-printer of classical texts and author of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (1572), Charles occupies the position of transmitter and populariser. He added French works and translations to the more scholarly and Latin editions in the Estienne catalogues. Remembered as an author for his numerous booklets of vulgarisation and his *Prædium rusticum*, known through its French translation and adaptation as the *Trésor de*

³ [Firmin-Didot, Frères], 'Estienne, Charles', in *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, 46 vols., ed. Ferdinand Heofer, (Paris: Firmin-Didot Frères, 1856), Vol.15, col. 482-85 col. 'Estienne [Charles] (...) had studied hard to become a physician and at a very early age had graduated in medicine. (...) He remained a Catholic and when his brother Robert left Paris with his whole family for exile he was forced to take on the direction of the printing house in order to protect the interests of his nephews, whose guardian he was. These circumstances enabled him to demonstrate his feelings as a **relative**, his merit as a printer, and his knowledge as an author and editor of excellent works, particularly those in the fields of medicine and agriculture.'

⁴ Léon Feugère, *Essai sur la vie et les ouvrages de Henri Estienne* (Paris: Delalain, 1853), 41: 'The glory of his [Robert's] works and name shed a kind of obscurity over his two brothers, although one of them deserved more fame. (...) Charles (...) authored many books, some of which remained popular after his death, and should still be held in high esteem today'.

la maison rustique and its translations into many other languages, Charles may have been not a second-rate Estienne, but a new kind of printer, defined not so much as a scholar as a vulgariser:

L'éclat de ses [Robert] travaux et de son nom a jeté une sorte d'obscurité sur ses deux frères, dont l'un cependant était digne de conserver plus de réputation : (...) Charles (...) a été auteur de nombreux ouvrages dont quelques uns ont eu une vogue qui lui a survécu, et méritent encore aujourd'hui une sérieuse estime⁴

The historiographical nature of these accounts written in the nineteenth century, at a time when patriotic myths were being created, is consistent: the tragic conclusion of Charles's life, after three years in debtors' gaol, represents the general collapse of France during the reigns of Henry II and Charles IX. This narrative, echoing the story of Robert's exile, presents Charles's printing experience as an accident and his failure as one of the many manifestations of collateral damage in the wars of religion. The biography serves the larger purpose of romantic and post-romantic patriotic historiography in nineteenth-century France, namely the construction of national unity and the reconciliation of all parties and religious communities.

Charles's short career as a printer can today be understood as an original and emblematic venture to transform a scholarly catalogue into one suited to the needs and use of a larger, French-speaking readership, interested in contemporary literature and history as well as in Classical languages and cultures. Departing from his father's and Robert's editorial practices, Charles embodies another side of Renaissance learned

culture: the new Italian literature, the vulgarisation of antiquarian encyclopedias, accounts relating the most recent historical events, and the composition of new reference books. For example, he wrote, translated, and published, amongst others, an Italian comedy, *Gl'Ingannati*, a travel guide to France entitled the *Guide des Chemins de France*, and a collection of Ciceronian commonplaces, the *Thesaurvs M. Tulli Ciceronis*. The printing activities of this prolific writer, then, appear as one more experiment in mediating knowledge and reaching out to a new, French-speaking audience ignorant of, or less familiar with, Latin.

At the turning point when French was becoming the language of culture and administration, between the 1539 Edict of Villers-Coterêts making French mandatory for official royal documents and Du Bellay's 1549 publication of the *Defense et Illustration de la langue française*, Charles's productions and activities represent a new model for editors and printers. It is one of mediation, both intellectual, through compilations, translations and reference books, and practical, since it provides for multiple copies and uses images, thanks to the technology of the printing press. In this perspective, Charles's career is, indeed, devoted to publishing: making works public, creating a public, and producing publications. The polysemous nature of the word 'publish' – as both the action of making known and the action of disseminating through print – is illustrated by the large array of examples given in Nicot's 1606 French dictionary for the entry 'publier': the meanings of the term, ranging from public proclamation to the divulgence of secrets, are reinforced with Latin words and phrases. All refer to the dissemination of a fact or revelation of a secret, leading up to the most specialised meaning, the action of making

books available. Quoting Guillaume Budé, Nicot inserts contemporary meanings born of book culture into ancient examples of promulgations or rumours:

publier: *Publier à son de trompe, et cri public*, Praeconio promulgare, B./ *Publié*, Praeconio promulgare, B. / *Estre publié et divulgué*, Per ora hominum ferri. / *Les livres sont publiez*, Exierunt libri.⁵

A similar ambiguity endows the French word ‘éditer’ with the meanings of copy-editing and publishing: although quoting much later examples, the *Trésor de la langue française* summarises the main meanings of the term as follows:

Éditer: A. Domaine du *comm.* 1. *Emploi trans.* Assurer la reproduction, la publication et la diffusion d'une œuvre. (...) / B. *PHILOL.* Établir le texte d'une œuvre, éventuellement accompagné de notes critiques et de commentaires, en vue de sa publication.⁶

This bi-partition was already present in Robert Estienne’s 1532 Latin *Thesaurus* for the verb ‘*Edo.*’⁷ Its multiple meanings lie at the core of the editorial practices linking

⁵Jean Nicot, *Le Thresor de la langue francoyse tant ancienne quemoderne* (Paris: 1606). Consulted on *Dictionnaires d'autrefois*: <http://artflsrv01.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdico1look.pl?strippedhw=publier> (accessed June 2013). ‘To publish: to make public by way of trumpets and public cry: Praeconio promulgare, B./ To be published and divulged: Per ora hominum ferri. The books are published: Exierunt libri.’

⁶*Trésor informatisé de la langue française*: www.atilf.atilf.fr (accessed May 2013) : ‘To edit : A. Business. 1. *Transitive verb.* To ensure the reproduction, publication and dissemination of a work. (...) / B. *PHILOL.* To establish the text of a work, possibly with critical notes and commentaries, with a view to publication.

⁷ Robert Estienne, *Roberti Stephani Thesaurus Linguae Latinæ*, 4 vols. (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1532; repr. Basel: E. and J.R. Thurnis, 1740), Vol. 2, 178.

translation, edition, and publishing: reproduction of a text is a means, amongst others, of disseminating it. The accessibility of the text (intelligibility, lay-out, and so on) involves establishing its authority and preparing it for different readers, elaborating reading guides, including annotations and, eventually, translating. Charles's versatility, as annotator, summariser, commentator, translator and, finally, printer, illustrates the range of activities contained in this notion of 'edition', when it is conceived of as mediation.

The multiple functions generally attributed to the humanist editor-printer-bookseller, a one-person orchestra, reflect the polysemous nature of the verbs 'publier', to make known and to print, and 'éditer', to edit and to publish, and of the adjectives 'public', 'known' and 'widespread', and 'vulgaire', 'vernacular' and 'common'. In a world where readership was acquiring a new dimension thanks to the printing press, extending the public for a given text was a matter for discovery and experimentation. Charles seems to have explored all the ways of doing so, as author, editor, and printer. However, his demise seems to confirm how specialized the various functions generally were: the Estienne family included scholarly editors and printers like Robert (the Elder) and both Henri's, as well as book-sellers like François. Charles attempted to add another dimension, vulgarisation, which would expand the readership to include non-Latin-literate readers. The adaptations of scholarly or classical works for the young, the translations, and the program of publications appear to be a consistent and audacious plan for mediating, through popularisation, access to ancient and modern knowledge.

A first ensemble within Charles's works consists of small booklets derived from Lazare de Baïf's commentary on a passage in the *Corpus iuris* and three short treatises concerning Roman *realia* (boats, clothing, and vases) for young readers, while working

on an illustrated complete edition of de Baïf's texts for learned ones. These first publications look like the showcasing works of a preceptor. In fact, Charles was studying law and medicine in Padua in the first years of the 1530s and became tutor to de Baïf's son and future poet, Jean-Antoine, born during de Baïf's time as Francis I's ambassador to Venice. As early as 1535, he composed and published at Robert's press an adaptation 'intended for teenagers' of de Baïf's treatise on vases.⁸ Two years later, he published at François' press an adaptation of the treatise on boats, to which he added an adaptation of the treatise on clothing.⁹ Between the two brothers' editions and various pirated copies, numerous editions of the first titles appeared in Lyons and Paris. In the same decade, Charles produced another edition of de Baïf's four works, gathered together, completed, and illustrated, and accompanied by Antonio Telesio's treatise on colours; it was published by Robert in 1536, with subsequent printings in 1537, 1541, 1547, 1549 and 1550, and was quickly followed by many re-editions and copies.¹⁰

This first ensemble of editions and adaptations represents a declaration of principle regarding strategies of 'publication', that is, of dissemination, and a response to

⁸ Charles Estienne and Lazare de Baïf, *De Vasculis libellus, ad adulescentulorum causa ex Baysion decerptus* (Paris : Robert Estienne, 1535).

⁹ Charles Estienne and Lazare de Baïf, *De re navali libellus in adolescentulorum bonarum literarum studiosorum favorem, ex Bayfii vigiliis excerptus et in brevem summulam facilitatis gratia redactus...* [Second edition] (Paris: François Estienne, 1537).

¹⁰ Lazare de Baïf, *Annotationes in L. II 'de captivis, et postliminio reversis', in quibus tractatur de re navali ; ejusdem annotationes in tractatum 'de auro argento leg.', quibus vestimentorum et vasculorum genera explicantur. Antonii Thylesii de coloribus libellus, a coloribus vestium non alienus. Edidit Carolus Stephanus* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1536.). Froben had published de Baïf's four treatises in Basel in 1531. For a modern edition of Telesio's treatise, see Antonio Telesio de Cosenza, *Petit traité des couleurs latines (De coloribus libellus)*, ed. Michel Indergandant Christine Viglino (Paris: Estienne, 2010).

the question of how to make a recent and an erudite scholarly work known. The most immediate answer is by vulgarisation, mediating a text to a new audience through the use of the spoken language – French mainly – and the choice of the so-called compendious style. In this case, de Baïf's Latin is, literally, broken down into smaller, simpler units (words), and glossed in French, and sometimes Italian, other vernaculars, and even dialects, so as to make the original book accessible to a larger readership. Presented as publications for the young, the adaptations of the treatises are conceived as a first step, preparing them to read the complete edition. Abridgments and partial translations thus constitute a strategy for educating an audience in the making, methodically breaking up the complex questions into simple ones and the large texts into small elements, and building linguistic bridges between a Latin corpus and vernacular practice. Briefer than the erudite treatises they claim to summarise, they are also made up of shorter sentences and paragraphs, thus forming a *via compendiosa*, a step-by-step means of access.

With the summaries of de Baïf's treatises, Charles perfected a model for the abbreviation of scholarly works in the years 1535-1546, one whose goals and achievements he readily exposed in the prefaces of these apparently modest booklets. This same pattern of vulgarisation is found in his subsequent works as a trade mark of his own style. According to his frequent declarations, he is proud of conforming to the Ciceronian ideal of brevity, as he states in the prefaces of his treatise on dissection and his treasury of Ciceronian phrases.¹¹

¹¹ Charles Estienne, *La dissection des parties du corps humain, divisée en trois livres faitz par Charles Estienne ...* (Paris : Simon de Colines, 1546), 2, and *Thesaurus M. Tulli Ciceronis (auctore C. Stephano)* (Paris : Charles Estienne, 1556), 1-4.

The simple style, appropriate for teaching and recommended and practised by Charles, is defined by Cicero as a ‘style without quality’, characterized by an absence of perceptible rhetorical devices and a lack of ostentatious elegance. The ideal style, says Cicero, ‘is restrained and unpretentious, modelling itself on common usage, but differing from the ineloquent more than would appear. This is why those who listen to it, although incapable of speaking that way, are confident they could do so.’¹² The *via compendiosa*, the way to explain and make clear, first appears, then, as an absence of speech ornaments in speech: figures, tropes, quotations. In the preface to his treatise on dissection, Charles defines it as his duty [*devoir*] to adopt such a style:

Car du style, il ne sent rien moins que son Ciceron : par ce que ne nous sommes grandement amusez a l’aornement de belles parolles ou mesures et poix de sentences : estimans avoir satisfait a quelque partie de nostre debvoir, si nous remonstrions en brief la vraye forme, situation, connexion, et office des parties, selon nostre mediocrité et petite puissance¹³

Paradoxically, this stylistic ideal of brevity results in a discourse that is in fact lengthier

¹² Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Orator*, 23 (section 76): ‘Summissus est et humilis, consuetudinem imitans, ab indisertis re plus quam opinione differens. Itaque eum qui audiunt, quamvis ipsi infantes sint, tamen illo modo confidunt se posse dicere.’

¹³ Charles Estienne, *La dissection des parties du corps humain divisee en trois livres*: ‘For, regarding the style, its essence is nothing less than Ciceronian because we have not played at embellishing the text with beautiful words nor with cadences and weighty maxims. We reckoned we had in part discharged our duty by giving a brief demonstration of the true shapes, locations, connections, and functions of the parts of the body, according to our poor and very modest capacities.’, p. 2.

on account of the repetitions of words and ideas, whereas the ideal lack of not displaying any distinct features becomes a recognizable feature in itself.¹⁴ In this perspective, the booklets of vulgarisation appear as elements of a larger body of writings, modular and never-ending. Moreover, following the pattern established for the abbreviations, Charles soon composed his own booklets, such as the *De Re hortensi* and *Sylva*.¹⁵ In 1554, he brought together all the ones he had written on gardens, nurseries, plants, and trees and published them as a work on rural matters entitled *Prædium Rusticum*.¹⁶ Modular in principle, his booklets were thus emancipated from the tutelage of a source and become a personal and independent style for writing scientific works directed at young or lay readers.

Not only the style – theoretically inelegant and non-descript in order to ensure better communication of the ideas expressed – but also the character of the author are devoid of specific qualities: the writing is not owned or presented as personal, but rather as the adaptation, bland and unassuming, of another (and better) text. Charles, the second author of the popularised treatise, is actually presented in the first and last lines of the preface as a third, mediating party involved in the production, placed between reader and author: he receives letters and supplications from the reader but also authorisations and permissions from the author. Being himself both reader and author, through popularising the original treatise, he becomes this ‘author without specific qualities’, characterised by

¹⁴ On this topic see Hélène Cazes, ‘Charles Estienne: fortunes et faillites d'une entreprise de vulgarisation’, in Violaine Giacomotto-Charra and Christine Silvi (eds.), *Lire, choisir, écrire : la vulgarisation des savoirs du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance* (Paris: Presses de l'École des Chartres, 2013), p. 109-131.

¹⁵ Charles Estienne, *De Re hortensi libellus* (Paris: François Estienne, 1536) ;

¹⁶ Charles Estienne, *Prædium Rusticum, in quo cujusvis soli vel culti vel inculti plantarum vocabula ac descriptiones earumque conserendarum atque excolendarum instrumenta suo ordine describuntur* (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1554).

the lack of characterisations, in style and content. In both cases, the mediation is only considered successful if it remains imperceptible. Charles, then, in his role as secondary author embodies the simple style as defined by Cicero. Literally, he presents himself as a middle-man: on the one hand he records the young readers' complaint that they are deprived of de Baïf's books because they are too difficult, and on the other, he obtains de Baïf's permission to compose a simpler version.

When Charles adopted popularisation as a model for writing, he entered a career of mediator, rather than recognised author. By placing his name in a secondary position in his books, after that of the original author of an edition or a commentary, he depicted himself as both reader and transmitter, never appearing alone on the front page of his early publications. Furthermore, when he composed his own little treatises on vocabulary and *realia*, as of 1536, he followed the structure and style he had used for the de Baïf abridgments and text-books. His 1545-46 treatise on dissection and the series of translations from Italian keep the same style and ethos, Charles giving himself the role of mediator rather than author. Remarkably, his most personal works were published with his name appearing only once, as printer-editor, on the title-page, as if authorship was not even in question. Thus he remained in the background of even his own creations. The only space in which he allowed his name to stand on its own was in his prefaces. However, as Genette has said, the preface appears liminally, on the fringe of a work, the threshold to authorship but shared with the invisible participants in the publication, namely the typographer, printer, editor, and publisher.¹⁷

¹⁷ See Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), 7-8.

Up until his involvement in the family press in 1550, Charles was the editor of all the texts he had published, and sometimes the author as well. The line of division between the two functions is difficult to draw, however, when the work of abridgment is in actual fact that of rewriting. This separation of roles is rendered even more delicate for Charles as his theory of mediation – through summaries, text-books, and editing – is based on the erasure of his own name: the legitimacy of the vulgarisation is presented as conferred and confirmed by the first author, de Baïf.

Moreover, the adaptations of learned works for the young were published at the same time as the 1537 lavishly illustrated unabridged edition of de Baïf's full collection of treatises, the *Annotationes*, briefly presented in Charles's short address to the reader confirming the author's consent. The treatises are thus edited for two different readerships, but by the same editor, and at the same publisher's. The booklets for young readers are a variation on the scholarly edition, offering partial translations of phrases and words that would be developed in Charles's original publications.

In the preface to the adaptation of the treatise on vases, Charles lengthily explains his methods and beliefs regarding his process of vulgarisation. He first asserts the need to adapt the original to a new audience, then praises the very idea of vulgarisation, legitimising the process, as we said, by means of the original writer's authorisation. After condemning the disdain shown by certain scholars for the public, he emphasises the dangers of bad vulgarisation, performed without the original author's assent. Finally, he praises de Baïf for helping to mediate his knowledge to an inexperienced readership:

Questi sunt his diebus apud nos aliquot pueri, bonarum literarum desiderio, quantum ipsi iudicare potuimus, ualde affecti, se non omnia

intelligere quæ in libello Bayfii de uasculis continerentur ; vehementer cupere, ut quemadmodum ille vir doctus, eruditioribus & bene literatis operam dederat: eadem quoque ratione efficeret, vt iuniores tyrunculi, saltem aliquid vtilitatis & emolumenti ex eius vigilijs perciperent ac sentirent. Quod cum ille audisset, ut est certe incredibili humanitate praeditus, et publicae utilitatis amantissimus, facile passus est suum libellum in breuem quamdam summulam contrahi, quemadmodum in re uestiaria non multis ante diebus factum fuerat, in gratiam adolescentulorum. Neque enim (ut intelligas Lector) eo est uir ingenio, qui sibi tantum tribuat, ut doctos solum et eruditos amet, puerorum ingenijs non faueat. cuiusmodi fortassis erunt nonnulli qui suam eruditionem tanquam arcanum quiddam et diuinum uideri cupiunt : neque uulgo palam esse, ne forte grauitatis et authoritatis suae iacturam faciant : quasi uero sibi tantum et doctis nati essent. illud scimus, tantum laudis fœnus non parere scriptum aliquod insigne apud rudes & tyrunculos, quantum apud eruditiores & magis literatos adferre soleat. / Præterea non modicam iacturam docti alicuius nomen facere, siquando scriptum suum temere a quoquam inuertatur atque immutetur, quinetiam corrumpatur potius dum ille puerorum studijs bene consultum putat. Hoc certe nemine latere puto. & sunt (mea quidem sententia) plusquam plagiariorum pœna digni qui huiuscemodi furtis delectantur. & sibi nomen ac laborem alienum attribuunt: nisi id quidem ab authore prius impetrarint, atque eius animum ad puerorum studium inclinarint. Quemadmodum sane de hoc libello, vt de priore quoque diligenter a nobis factum est. Non enim vir grauis, & Senatorijs negotijs præpeditus, qualis est noster Bayfius, animum suum, altiora subinde cogitantem, ad hæc puerilia tam facile demittere potuisset. Tantum hoc, incredibilem eius humanitatem erga adolescentulos bonarum literarum desyderio flagrantem, testatur quod eorum causa, non permittat solum, sed etiam alteri negotium committat, vt libellus suus puerorum ingenijs aperiat, & lucidior fiat atque in

compendium redactus vulgaria vasculorum nomina illis indicet. Quod factum, siquidem tibi placebit lector, est unde Bayfium semper laudes & ames.¹⁸

Such a declaration of vulgarisation, like the editor's profession of faith, is repeated in preface after preface. For example, it is echoed in the booklet on clothing, where Charles, in a dialogue with himself, summarises his principles of how to disseminate knowledge successfully:

¹⁸ Charles Estienne and Lazare de Baïf, *De Vasculis libellus, ad adolescentulorum causa ex Bayfio decerptus* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1535), 3-4: 'Recently, quite a few children, truly inspired by the desire to learn (insofar as we can be judge of this), have been coming to us with a complaint: in de Baïf's little book on vases, there were some passages they were not able to understand. This learned man had written for scholars and the well-read. They dearly wanted him to provide them with the same kind of work, but this time for younger students, something that would at least give them a sense and an idea of all the useful and rewarding facts learned from his nights of study. De Baïf is, beyond any doubt, a great humanist, serving the public good. When he heard of this request, he granted permission, without arguing, to summarise his small treatise into a sort of short résumé, the way his book on clothing had been abridged not long before. For you should know, dear Reader, that de Baïf is not the kind of man to think so highly of himself that he would care only about educated readers and scholars and disregard the minds of the young. There may be some scholars of that type, though, who want their erudition to be seen as something mysterious and sacred, as if intended only for themselves and their fellow-scholars, and not made accessible to all; it is as if this were a waste of their seriousness and authority. For sure, we know that a work of value will not yield as much profit among ignorant and inexperienced readers as among scholars and well-read people. On top of this, it is no small loss for the reputation of a scholar if one of his works is ruthlessly misinterpreted and mutilated, and even corrupted, while the perpetrator thinks he is acting for the good of studious young people. This has escaped no one, I would say. But those who enjoy making this kind of theft deserve, in my opinion, a punishment even worse than the penalty for plagiarism. For they claim as their own someone else's name and labour, unless they have obtained the author's permission first and managed to adapt his discourse for the purpose of educating children. This, of course, is the case for this little book, as it has been for our previous ones. Such a man of authority as our de Baïf, destined to pursue the affairs of the State, could not easily bring his mind, always reflecting on higher matters, down to the level of these childish productions. Now this alone proves his amazing love for young people who seek out good books: thinking of them, he not only gave his permission, but trusted the work to a third party, wanting his short treatise to be accessible to them and made clearer, composed as a compendium and containing an index of the vernacular names of vases. This has been done. And for this, Reader, forever love and praise de Baïf. '

Id certe cum diligentius perspiceremus, atque audiremus quotidie nonnullos conquerentes, quod Lazarus Bayfius, vir alioqui gravissimus, non æque pueris atque eruditoribus [sic] consulisset: ne quid posthac eorum vtilitati detractum esse quisquam amplius iudicaret, visum est nobis operæ præcium, summam eorum quæ in libello de re vestiaria continentur, breuibus perstringere, atque in ordinem disponere, ex ipsius authoris voluntate: præmissa interim vulgari vestium ac colorum interpretatione, vt vel etiam in hac parte adolescentuli bonarum literarum cupidores sibi quoque satisfactum putent: nulla tamen authoris grauitate imminuta: sed tantum est ipsius opusculo selectis ijs quæ ad puerorum vtilitatem facere videbantur.¹⁹

In this perspective, translation appears as the continuation of the editing work done by the second author, the vulgariser: it is presented as a means of providing access to the original text, not as a substitute. The model of the simple style – which provides access to the text for inexperienced readers – is actually a re-composition of the material, made comprehensible through the provision of lexicographical information. De Baïf’s complex and multi-layered writing is thus rendered intelligible to young readers by means of two transformations: a reorganisation of the material into smaller units (the words

¹⁹ Charles Estienne and Lazare de Baïf. *De Re vestiaria libellus, ex Bayfio excerptus, addita vulgaris linguae interpretatione, in adulescentulorum gratiam atque utilitatem. Secunda editio* (Lyons: M. and G. Trechsel, 1536), 3: ‘We are **certainly** thoroughly aware, and reminded daily **by** the queries we receive, **that** Lazare de Baïf, that man of the greatest authority in every respect, has not been showing the same care for youth as for scholars. In order that no one can complain any longer about young people being deprived in any way of the benefit of learning, we thought it would be worth resuming all the information given in the work on clothing in a short booklet and, with the author’s assent, rearranging the order in which the materials are presented. Meanwhile, we have started by translating the words for clothes and colours into the vernacular, to please these eager young minds in their desire to learn. The original writer’s authority is in no way diminished. We have just selected out of this book the elements that could be useful to young readers.’

themselves) and a univocal meaning ensured by glosses and simplification. The translation into French thus constitutes a continuation of this process: the elimination of polysemy, clarification, and repetition. The very effective concision is then emphasised by the nuclear and modular structure of the didactic text: organised as a progressive lexicon, giving the terms of a nomenclature of the knowledge to be shared, Charles's short texts look very much like vocabularies.

Charles himself presents these adaptations as a process of digestion, the breaking down and synthetising of the complex elements:

We have thus made the whole sum of the naval topics into a digest in this booklet, to make the knowledge of these matters, until now understood by only a few, easier for you.²⁰

Faithful to this pattern, Estienne starts all his booklets with a definition, both basic and representative of his method for popularisation: meanings are illustrated by quotations (proverbs or Classical texts), whereas the word introduces the object. The treatise on vases, for example, begins with the definition of vase, which expands on Classical references, vernacular equivalents, and etymology:

Vas, Ung vaisseau, quod antiqui uasum dixere, (quo etiam nomine Cato et Plautus utuntur) id significat quod uel liquorem, uel quidpiam aliud continet in usum nostrum : uel etiam quo liquorem haurimus, siue haurire significet Puyser : ut Haurire aquam ex puteo : siue quod uulgo dicitur, Humer, ou avaller ut ille impiger hausit Spumantem pateram. Il en avala une

²⁰ Charles Estienne, and Lazare de Baïf, *De re navali libellus in adolescentulorum bonarum literarum studiosorum favorem, ex Bayfii vigiliis excerptus et in brevem summulam facilitatis gratia redactus...* [Second edition] (Paris: François Estienne, 1537), 3: 'totamque rei Navalis summam in hunc libellum ita digessimus, vt facillima iam vobis futura sit huius rei cognitio, quæ hactenus a [per quidem] paucis fuit intellecta.'

pleine tasse sans se faire prier. Ea uero ratione primum ab hominibus inuentum et excogitatum uas fuisse puto, ne manus uasculorum officio semper fungentes, identidem uariis liquoribus inficerentur, dum interdum etiam impurissima quaeque manibus tractanda sunt. praeterea usus et utilitatis gratia, alioqui diuturnum ignis calorem manus perferre cogentur, et in profundissimas lacunas demitti, siquidem vasorum vsum semper praebere illis necesse est.

Vasculum, (*vng vaisselet, Vng petit vaisseau*) vasis diminutivum, quo non solum ad diminutionem significandam vtimur, sed etiam ad ornatum. Græci autem τεύχη καὶ χεύματα vocant, quæ nos vasa. & vascula, discimus.

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The same model is used for all the booklets derived from de Baif's works, including those on clothing and boats, although it also serves for those written by Charles as textbooks on gardens, forests, and nurseries. Thus the treatise on boats opens with a general definition of vessels, modelled on the same blueprint.

NAVIS (græcis ναῦς dicta) quid sit, notius est omnibus quam vt longiori interpretatione opus habere videatur. comprehendit enim tam ea instrumenta quibus per flumina, stagna, lacus, & huiuscemodi aquas dulces,

²¹ *Ibid.*, 5-6: (...) 'Vase, *Ung vaisseau* [a vessel], which the Ancients called *vasum* (as did Cato and Plautus), means as anything that contains a liquid, or according to our usage, anything else; or again, it means anything from which we draw a liquid, drawing in the sense of fetching, in our vernacular language, *Puysier* — to draw water from a well; or again, in our vernacular, *Humer* or *Avaller*, as in 'readily he drained the foaming bowl': *He swallowed the cupful only too willingly*. I think that the vase was first invented and conceived by humans so that they did not have to fill their hands in lieu of vases, carrying different kinds of liquids in the same manner, for sometimes these same hands held impure things. Moreover, for practical reasons and on account of their usefulness, vases were always absolutely needed, for otherwise people were obliged to transport constantly burning fire in their hands as they plunged into the deepest caves. *Vasculum* (*vng vaisselet, Vng petit vaisseau*) [a vessel or small vessel] is the diminutive form of vase, which we use for expressing, not only something small, but also something of ornamental value. We learn that the Greeks used to call the objects we know as vases and small vases, τεύχη καὶ χεύματα. '

animi causa [6] circumuehimur, aut vtilitatis nostræ, Vel lucri gratia aliquid circumferimus: quam ea quibus maria nauigamus, & in varias regiones transfretamus, vel belli, vel etiam mercium gratia.

[...][7]NAVIGIVM, cum, a naue descendere videatur, & quasi nauis ipsius actionem, hoc est nauigatione, & iter quod nauis sit, Græci πλοῦν vocant, significare (ut ex Iureconsulti verbis latissime ostendit Bayfius) tamen etiam pro omni nauis genere quo in mari vtitur persæpe & frequentius sumi solet: & id significare potissimum quod græci πλοῖον vocant, *toute espece de batteau, galee, ou navire*. Unde paruum & magnum nauigium dixit Cicero de oratore: & dissolutum ac dissipatum nauigium protulit idem ad Atticum, *nave rompue, cassee, et brisee*.²²

The translation provided at the beginning of the booklet compiled for beginners is conceived simply as a tool. Translations into French and Greek are two sides of the same didactic coin: on the same occasion as they learn the definition of a Latin word, children will understand its meaning thanks to the French translation and will also learn Greek.

This system resembles a table for acquiring vocabulary: two elements are coupled together, one unknown, the other well-known and serving as a contextual definition. This

²² Charles Estienne, *De re navali*, 1537, 5-7: 'NAVIS (Greeks say ναῦς) is a term sufficiently well-known that no longer explanation is required. It pertains as much to the boats we use for circulating on rivers, ponds, lakes, and other bodies of freshwater, or transporting goods, be it for pleasure of profit, as to the vessels used for navigating the seas and transporting products to various regions, for either war or commerce. [7] NAVIGIVM, derives from *Navis*, and pertains, first, to the functioning of the boats, the act of navigating as well as the route the vessel takes. The Greeks use the word πλοῦν (as de Baïf demonstrates at length quoting the words of a lawyer). But it can also mean any kind of boat in use at sea, and this meaning is by far the most frequent. For this last definition, the Greeks preferred the word πλοῖον, *toute espece de batteau, galee, ou navire* [all kinds of boat, galley or ship]. This is why Cicero, in *The Orator*, uses this same word for talking about small and large boats, while in the letters to Atticus providing us with a broken, destroyed vessel, *nave rompue, cassee, et brisee* [broken, smashed, shattered].'

so-called table is itself dynamic: Greek and Latin are subsumed by familiarity with French.

As such, though, the lexical entry provides access to the presentation of the scholarly treatise: the word exposes the object and the discourse on the object. Thus, as the Classical reference does for a scholarly text, so the lexical definition links the modern acceptance to the knowledge of the ancient text; but the lexical definition also provides access to the understanding of the original text – through mastering the Latin language – although it never constitutes a continuous translation. By creating a familiar context for the Latin and scholarly passages, it invites readers to expand their knowledge by simultaneously acquiring words and information. This fragmentary structure of the linguistic definition actually functions as a frame for transmitting and memorising information, as well as for learning elements of language: the definition of an object is arrived at by mastering the words describing the object. Thus, for Charles's Latin booklet on gardens, the entrance into the book is a set of definitions in Greek, Latin, and French that describe gardens in real terms.

This model of transmitting information through linguistic glosses is particularly evident in his anatomical treatise, composed in Latin before 1539 but published only in 1545, with the French version following in 1546.²³ This work, printed in folio and lavishly illustrated, was not intended for young readers; nor was it presented as a popularisation, even in its French version. Rather, it was *the* masterpiece on anatomy in

²³ Charles Estienne, *De dissectione partium corporis humani libri tres* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1545) and *La dissection des parties du corps humain divisee en trois livres* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1546). As stated in the first paragraphs of the Latin and French prefaces, a dispute between Charles and his collaborator, the barber Estienne de la Rivière, prevented publication before 1545.

mid-sixteenth-century France. However, the method of presenting information and making knowledge accessible is similar to the ‘simple style’ used for ‘young minds eager to learn’. For presenting the anatomical details of the parts of the human body, Charles provides a series of names and linguistic equivalences, constructing his treatise like an extended vocabulary: the term is given first in Latin, with Greek equivalents, then in French, with French, Latin, Italian, and dialectal equivalents. Thus he provides the reader with a nomenclature, which in turn constitutes a system of knowledge.²⁴ The presentation of the different parts of the body starts, accordingly, with a list of their names. For instance, the section on muscles begins with a survey of the words designating them, and even describing flesh.

C'est la partie que les latins ont appellée muscle, et les plus elegamment parlans tores et lacertes : dont sont nommés toreux et lacerteux, ceulx que les grecz appellent charnus c'est a dire ayant beaucoup de chair. Aulcuns veulent que les lacertes se disent seulement des plus petits muscles a la similitude d'ung petit lezard que les latins appellent lacerte. Les aultres aiment mieux nommer et entendre par lacertes les membres faicts et composés de plusieurs muscles : dont les anciens ont dit un homme avoir puissants et raides lacertes entendant les bras forts et robustes. Et ce que nous appellons muscles en l'homme aulcuns le nomment aux fruitcz poulpes.²⁵

²⁴ See Hélène Cazes, ‘Le *De Dissectione partium corporis humani* (1545) et son double français: Charles Estienne traducteur de lui-même’, in *Tous vos gens a latin, Le latin, langue savante, langue mondaine (XIVe-XVIIe siècles)*, ed. Emmanuel Bury (Genève: Droz, 2005), 365-77, for a study of the translation process for this anatomical treatise.

²⁵ Charles Estienne, *La Dissection*, 90: ‘This is the part the Romans called muscle and those who speak most elegantly called *tores* and *lacertes*: hence we call *torous* and *lacertous* muscles those that the Greeks call fleshy, meaning having a lot of flesh. Some people claim that only the small muscles are called *lacertes*, being similar to a small

The lexical method perfected by Charles in his early booklets – defining terms for providing information – thus develops in two different directions over the span of his career: firstly, in the grammar and pronunciation treatises, lexicons, and dictionaries, which he published frequently and consistently;²⁶ secondly, in the learned commentaries and continuous translations, examples of the latter being his French renderings of the Italian comedy *Gl'Ingannati* in 1540 and Terentian comedy, *Andria*, in 1542.²⁷ In the case of both, he used one single and constant methodology for rendering Italian or Latin chefs d'oeuvre, hitherto accessible only in the original languages, intelligible to a larger audience.

The French theatre translation of a contemporary Italian comedy was published in the same year as a booklet treating of plant nurseries and orchards and dedicated to

lizard, called *lacerte* in Latin. Others prefer to call and designate by *lacertes* limbs having several muscles: hence the Ancients used to say that a man has strong and straight *lacertes*, meaning powerful and firm arms. And what we call muscle in humans, some people call pulp in fruit.'

²⁶ See, for instance, Charles Estienne, *De recta latini sermonis pronuntiatione et scriptura libellus : ob hoc maxime aeditus ut nostri adolescentuli facilius condiscant, eam linguam, cui quotidie dant operam, pate, distincte, ornate, pronuntiare et scribere* (Paris: François Estienne, 1541); *Principia elementaria juvenibus maxime accommodata* (Paris: Regnaud Chaudière, 1546); *Latinae linguae cum graeca collatio ex Prisciano Latinae linguae cum graeca collatio ex Prisciano* (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1554).

²⁷ Charles Estienne, *Gli Ingannati. La comédie du sacrifice des professeurs de l'Académie vulgaire senoise, nommez Intronati, célébrée ès jeux d'un karesme prenant, à Senes, traduite de langue Tuscanne par Charles Estienne* ([Paris: Pierre Rosset, 1540], republished in 1543, 1548, 1549, 1556, and with a different title in 1542, *La première comédie de Terence, intitulée l'Andrie, nouvellement traduite du latin en françois, en faveur des bons esprits, studieux des antiques récréations* (Paris: Antoine Rosset, 1542).

Jacques de Mesmes, President of the Paris Parliament.²⁸ It did not teach Latin but, through a survey of Latin words and Classical texts, presented the latest Italian trends in landscaping gardens and parks, adapting them for a French audience. Both these translations, together with that of the Terentian comedy, demonstrate a shift in the definition of the readership to be addressed by so-called popularisation, from young readers to an adult audience.

The translation of *Gl'Inganatti*, which proved immediately successful in bookstores in Paris and Lyons, is definitely not directed at children: the topic is inappropriate (a marriage obtained by simulating a rape and staging an elopement), and the preface is addressed to the Dauphin, praising the use of the French language and lamenting the poor usage found in contemporary French comedies:

notre langage, tant pour exprimer, comme aussi pour orner et décorer quelque chose n'est de rien pour le présent inférieur au leur [les Anciens], combien que pour la plupart du leur soit descendu. Mais à ce que maintenant j'en aperçois, notre rude vulgaire a fort sincopé la manière ancienne en matière de Comédie, ou pour autant qu'elle lui semblait de trop de frais, ou possible pour ce qu'il ne l'entendait point bonnement.²⁹

²⁸ Charles Estienne, *Seminarium, et plantarium fructiferarum praesertim arborum quae post hortos conseri solent* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1540).

²⁹ Charles Estienne, *Comédie du sacrifice. Traduite de langue tuscanne par Charles Estienne* (Lyons : François Juste, 1543), 4: 'Our language, as much in terms of expression as of ornamentation and embellishment, is no longer inferior in any respect to [those of the Ancients], although most of it derives from theirs. But, as far as I can see now, our rude vernacular authors have completely wiped out the old way of writing comedies, either because it seemed too sophisticated or, quite simply, it was completely beyond their comprehension.'

Thus, the translation enterprise is a demonstration, proving the nobility of the French language. Nearly ten years before Du Bellay's *Defense et illustration de la langue française*, Charles's translation enabled the vernacular to attain an elevated literary register and compete with the Classics. The translation of *Gl'Igannati* is a means of mediating the manner of the Ancients, a return to the classical standards of drama, as indicated by the comparison between French and the Classical languages. For the first time, Charles's French renderings scattered throughout various works are made into one single, continuous, independent translation, standing on its own, forming a complete opus. Dedicated to a member of the nobility, as was the *Seminarium*, this publication marks a turning point: a new elite is recognised, one who is not as familiar with scholarly Latin as the first generations of humanists had wished.

The translation of Terence's *Andria* in 1542 confirms this new orientation. It had been preceded, one year earlier, by Charles's edition of the Latin text with comments in the form of glosses and didactic digressions. He indicated explicitly in the title that his aim was to make it easier for young people to read Terence by including explanations, an analysis of the play's structure, commentaries providing words and good Latin expressions, and emendations of linguistic mistakes.³⁰ He also claimed to acquaint the young readers, not only with *Andria*, but with all of Terence's plays. Composed for readers 'ignorant of the classical languages', as the Greek word *amusus* defines them on

³⁰Charles Estienne, *P. Terentii Afri Comici, Andria : omni interpretationis genere, in adolescentulorum gratiam facilior effecta. Ut ex hac comoedia, omnes deinde alias ab eodem Comico conscriptas, nullo negotio adsequantur iuvenes bonarum litterarum studiosi. / Addita est constructionis ratio, tum uulgaris, tum etiam Latina : Item scholia, quae selectiorum uocabulorum uim, et bene latinarum locutionum formulas contineant : cum Ciceronis, et bonorum auctorum sermone conferant : corruptam ac uitiatam loquendi consuetudinem emendent* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1541).

the first page of the dedicatory preface, the explanations and annotations, providing linguistic and cultural explanations, opened the door to mastering the Latin found in good authors and understanding Classical literature. In its aims and method, the work prefigured our modern student editions such as those in the Penguin series. A textbook on Latin pronunciation was published simultaneously by François Estienne.³¹ Its title alludes to the value of practising Latin ‘every day, fluently, concisely, and elegantly’ (by performing a play, for example, which might well be the *Andria*) and declares its main goal is to teach young students how to speak and write Latin.

In 1542, however, Charles’s French translation of *Andria* was published for yet another public, adults for whom French equivalences and contexts were insufficient and a continuous translation was necessary. Remarkably, he used neither of his brothers’ presses for this first attempt at translation from Latin: rather, he chose to publish with André Rosset. It could well be that the printer was under contract to the Estiennes, although the device used is not one of theirs. Charles’s goal, once again, is expressed in the title: to bring *Andria* to ‘des bons esprits, studieux des antiques’ [good minds intent on studying the Classics] through translation into French. The translation represents another form of vulgarisation, namely substitution.³²

³¹ Charles Estienne, *De recta latini sermonis pronuntiatione et scriptura libellus : ob hoc maxime aeditus ut nostri adolescentuli facilius condiscant, eam linguam, cui quotidie dant operam, pate, distincte, ornate, pronuntiare et scribere* (Paris, François Estienne, 1541).

³² Charles Estienne, *Principia elementaria juvenibus maxime accommodata* (Paris: Regnaud Chaudière, 1546) and *Les principes et premiers éléments de la langue latine*, (Paris: Regnaud Chaudière, 1546).

As of 1541, Charles the mediator began to assert himself as a translator; however, after 1545 he made French translation his exclusive manner of popularising works. Mostly he translated his own Latin works, or at least had them translated, for they do not bear his name or that of any other translator. The most obvious examples of translation being thus used as an instrument of popularisation are a Latin textbook and the above-mentioned treatise on dissection, both published in 1546.³³ Without writing a word on this experimentation in self-translation, Charles seems to be reaching out for complementary readerships, as if Latin and non-Latin-literate audiences would, if brought together, ensure a clientele. The anatomical book, addressed to adults, and the textbook, to children, no longer distinguish – as did Charles’s earlier abridgements from de Baif’s *Annotations* or vocabularies – between young, soon-to-be proficient readers requesting help with Latin and older ones who needed no kind of linguistic assistance. The dividing line between the two readerships, previously age-defined, has now become cultural: scholars read in Latin, amateurs in French.

In both cases, though, Charles’s conception of translation includes an editing process allowing for amplifications, continuations, modifications and transformations of the original. Thus in translating Ortensio Landi’s *Paradoxes* in 1553-54, freed from any didactic intent, he takes the Italian work as a pretext for a rhetorical display of virtuosity and provocation, adding a chapter on women, changing a topos, and so on.³⁴ Editor, author and printer of his own works, Charles is the absolute master of his text and presents it as a composite creation destined to please everyone. Catering to the largest

³⁴ Ortensio Landi, *Paradoxes* (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1553). For a discussion of these changes, see the introduction to *Paradoxes*, ed. Trevor Peach (Geneva: Droz, 1998), 17-19.

audience that can be defined in terms of language proficiency – those who can read Latin plus those who can read only French – he is, literally, vulgarising his own publications and, later, those issued by his press.

Charles's most striking strategy for attracting a large audience seems to be a dual publication of the same work, one in Latin, one in French, in separate but simultaneous versions. This is a characteristic of the catalogue of works he published once he took over the press from Robert in 1550. Thus in 1552 he prints Pierre Danès's *Apology* first in Latin, then in French.³⁵ In 1553, he follows the same pattern for simultaneously publishing originals and their translations, with Villegagnon's Latin treatise on the Maltese War³⁶ and Claudio Tolomei's Italian oration on peace.³⁷ Although, as we said, we do not know if Charles is the translator of all these works, we can be sure that he is the editor and printer, since his name appears as such at the bottom of the title-pages.

The practice of simultaneously publishing original and translation seems in fact consistent with Charles's manner of composition in his first works: it is modular, adding new elements to an existing one according to a pattern that enables continuation.

Eventually, the smaller units, once assembled, result in a new work. Such is the case for

³⁵ Pierre Danès, *Altera Apologia pro Rege Christianissimo contra Caesarianos: in qua de causis belli inter Regem & Caesarem recens orti brevissime & verissime agitur* (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1552) and *Apologie faite par un serviteur du Roy contre les calomnies des Imperiaux: Sur la Descente du Turc* (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1552).

³⁶ Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, *De bello Melitensi, & eius eventu Francis imposito, ad Carolum Caesarem V. Nicolai Villagagnonis commentarius* (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1553) and *Traicté de la guerre de Malte & de l'issue d'icelle fausement imputée aux Francois. A l'empereur Charles V* (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1553).

³⁷ Claudio Tolomei, *Oratione di monsignor Claudio Tolomei ambasciatore di Siena: Recitata dinanzi ad Henrico. II. christianissimo re di Francia* (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1553); Claudio Tolomei, *L'Oraison du seigneur Claude Tolommei, ambassadeur de Siene, prononcée devant le Roy à Compiègne, au mois de décembre, l'an 1552, traduite d'italien en langue françoise* (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1553).

both the *Praedium rusticum*, made up of short treatises on gardening and planting that had themselves been made from gathering lexical entries into a booklet, and the *Dictionarium historicum ac poeticum*, a series of elucidations organised like a dictionary and made up from the various annotations and short monographs Charles published before 1553.³⁸ Remarkably, these last two compilations – compilations of compilations, really – met with international success after his bankruptcy and death. They appealed to a wide readership in both Latin and many vernacular languages, continuing to be successful sellers for two centuries.³⁹ The modular format, inherent to the project, allowed for continuation, translation, and adaptation. This may well be Charles's greatest success: he devised a humanist and dialogic form for writing and sharing knowledge, one that could transcend generations and commercial failures on account of its openness and flexibility.

His experiments with accessibility and mediation are in line with the humanist publications of vocabularies, dictionaries, and translations, at a time when the first mass-production of books resulted in establishing norms for grammar, spelling, and levels of language, but also for selecting the base text to be used and choosing the lay-out.⁴⁰

³⁸ Charles Estienne, *Dictionarium historicum ac poeticum : omnia gentium, hominum, locorum, fluminum ac montium antiqua recentioraque ad sacras ac prophanas historias, poetarumque fabulas intelligendas necessaria vocabula complectens, bono ordine complectens* (Paris: Charles Estienne, 1553).

³⁹ Charles Estienne, *Dictionarium* (...) (Geneva: Franciscus Perrinus, 1566; Geneva: Jacques Crispin, 1633; Paris: Jean de Tournes, 1651, etc.).

⁴⁰ See Nina Catach, *L'orthographe française à l'époque de la Renaissance: Auteurs, imprimeurs, ateliers d'imprimerie*. (Genève: Droz, 1968); Martine Furno, 'Le mariage de Calepin et du Thesaurus, sous l'olivier de Robert Estienne, à Genève, en 1553', in *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance*, 63(3), 511-32; the introduction of Robert Estienne, *Traicté de la grammaire françoise: 1557*, Ed. Colette Demaizière (Paris: Champion, 2003) ; and also Bernard Colombat, *La grammaire latine en France à la Renaissance et à l'âge classique: théories et pédagogie* (Grenoble: ELLUG, 1999); *La*

Standing at the cross-roads where the erudite practices of Renaissance lexicographers, grammarians, and polygraphs of the Renaissance converged, Charles's pedagogical works were nevertheless a novelty: their modular structure and re-publication in larger collections constituted a dynamic method for effecting a change of reader. Booklets and treatises embodied his belief that publications could create readerships and lines of division such as age or language could be crossed. In this way, he proposed translations as glosses of excerpts or whole works, conceived as the constitutive elements in a larger virtual sum of knowledge, one which potentially could be written, and which was partially realised in some domains, for example in the *Praedium* and *Dictionarum historicum*. As he claims in his prefaces, Charles not so much aimed at a student readership as he sought to build one made up of children, teenagers, and well-read amateurs. To achieve this extended audience, reaching out beyond specialists and scholars, he blurred the distinctions between them by translating – the ultimate means of including those who knew no Latin in his science- and literature-reading public. Teaching Latin was another strategy for making these potential readers part of the Estienne clientele: rather than being contradictory, it too was modular. All these different editorial mediations participated in the same on-going project of making Classical and scholarly culture accessible and comprehensible to a larger audience.

lexicographie française du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: actes du Colloque international de lexicographie dans la Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, 9-11 octobre 1979, Ed. Colloque international de lexicographie, and Manfred Höfler (Wolfenbüttel: Die Bibliothek, 1982); Terence Russon Wooldridge, *Les débuts de la lexicographie française. Estienne, Nicot et le Thresor de la langue francoyse (1606)* (Toronto, Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977); for the translators, *La traduction à la Renaissance et à l'âge classique*, Ed. Marie F. Viallon (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 2001).

Far from being an obscure character, then, Charles appears as a virtuoso player of secondary and tertiary roles, a communicator before the age of mass education, one who explored and assembled all the ways of making a text meaningful, relevant, and alive. Literary history has tended, since Romanticism, to prefer original authors to mediators, organising bibliographies based on their names, for instance, and often forgetting editors and translators. Thus Charles's name came 'second' to those of his father, the founder of the press, and Robert and Henri (the Younger), who wrote dictionaries, scholarly editions of Classical texts (often *principes editiones*), and original works. These scientific and literary achievements gave them the status of author, whereas Charles, with his versatility and his booklets, was not as highly considered. This 'secondary' activity, repeatedly affirmed by Charles himself, defined his role as editor, translator, and populariser. Yet as the explorer of how to establish new dialogues with readers, he left a legacy of books that could be adapted, updated, and used as reference tools. In so doing, he initiated networks where adaptation and translation increased the number of participants and the posterity of the works in question. For this reason, he is indeed a humanist printer, combining editing, translating, and publishing in order to create new, larger, and ever-expanding readerships.