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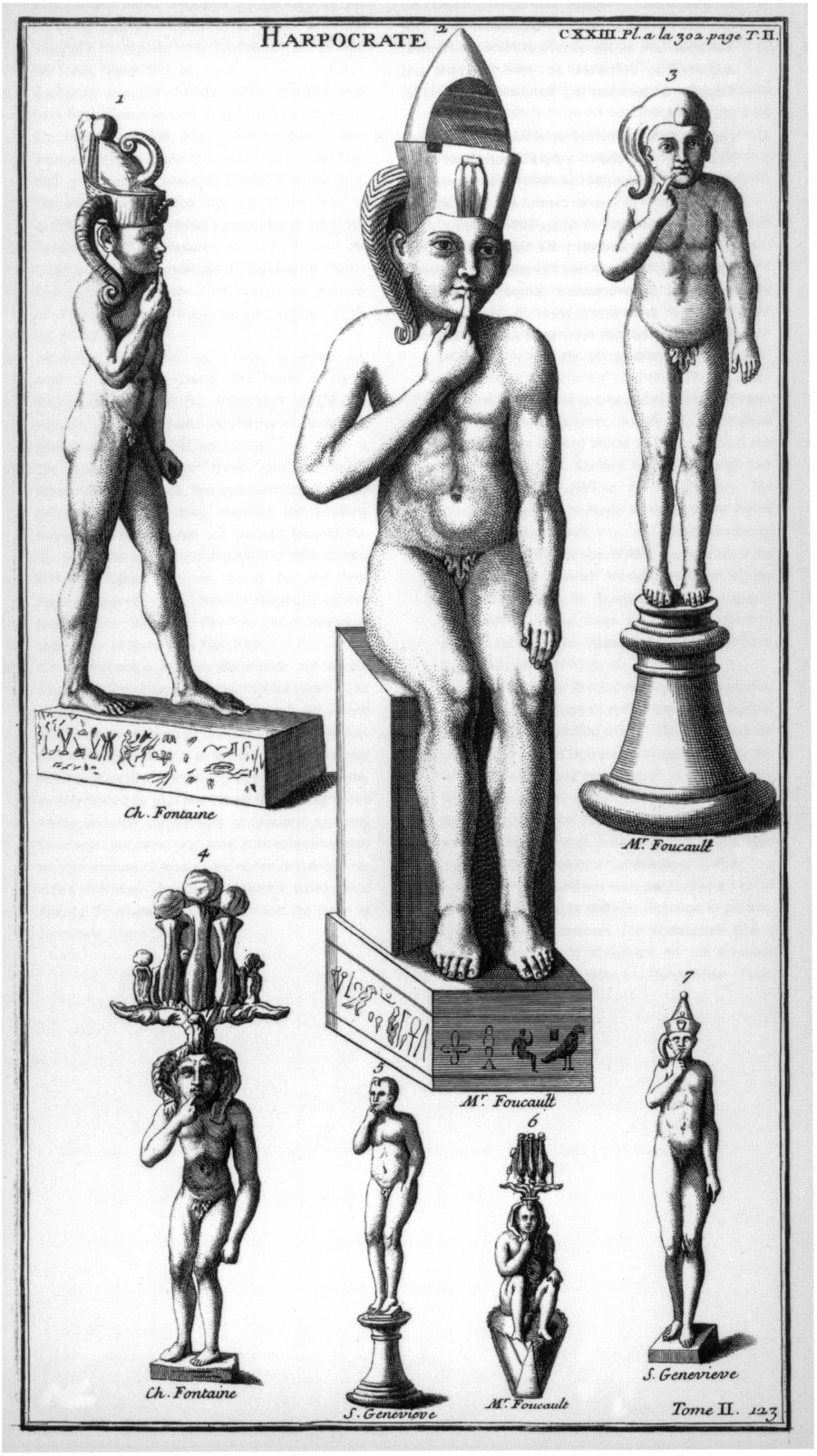


Fig. 1: Bernard de Montfaucon, »Antiquité expliquée«, Paris: Delaulne, 1719, t. 2, pl. 123.

Cecilia Hurley

The Vagaries of Art-Book Publishing

Bernard de Montfaucon (1660–1741) and his Subscription Enterprises

Paris witnessed two major financial innovations in 1716. John Law, the Scottish financier and advocate of paper money, opened a new bank, which was soon proposing shares in his Company of the West. Fortunes seemed to be made as prices leapt from 500 to 18,000 livres. But disaster soon followed and by October 1720 the rue Quincampoix, site of the headquarters of his bank, was littered with worthless share certificates. Few of the many speculators who lost their investment in that adventure would have acknowledged the value of an English-inspired paper-based scheme for the publication of expensive books, the subscription enterprise. Nevertheless, this system, which promised its adherents a return, albeit much more modest, on their initial investment and was proposed not by a banker but rather by a Benedictine monk, proved to be much more successful.[1] For in 1716, Bernard de Montfaucon launched the first project for printing a book by subscription in France when he issued the prospectus for his fifteen-volume, lavishly illustrated "Antiquité expliquée" (1719–1724) (fig. 1).[2] The subscriptions were numerous and the system gradually began to gain its adepts.

Certainly, the widespread use of subscriptions in France did not develop until the second half of the eighteenth century, but the "Antiquité" was not destined to remain for much longer the sole example of such a publishing method.[3] Several of the Maurist editorial ventures of the period were financed in this way, as was the famous "Recueil Crozat".[4] Without wishing to establish a general rule, it is safe to say that during the 1720s and 1730s in France it was usually large-scale scholarly enterprises and richly illustrated books that were published in this way.[5]

Economic Considerations

Before the use of the subscription system, the financial risks of an edition were to a great extent assumed solely by the publisher. He bought the manuscript offered to him by an author and then applied for the "privilège" – the permission to print.[6] Once this had been granted, he could then begin to produce it. The cost of the production of a book was high and the addition of engravings could increase quite considerably this figure: prices for illustrative engravings ranged from three to sixty livres per plate. More expensive were portraits, which cost on average 330 livres.[7] Against this investment had to be weighed the number of copies that could be printed. Two to three thousand copies seem to be the maximum that could be printed from one copperplate before it needed to be reworked.[8] It is scarcely surprising that engravings, unless an integral part of the book and its argument, were usually confined to a second edition, when the success of the book had already been attested.

For the publisher the risks were therefore spectacular: the cost of printing a book was not negligible and in the case of low sales the editor could lose considerable sums of money. And so various means had to be sought to find the initial capital and limit the risks, including private and public patronage. Certain of the French provinces were, for example, prepared to subsidise works relating to local history. Thus it was that for Dom Gui-Alexis Lobineau's "Histoire de Bretagne" (Paris: L. Guérin, 1707) the Breton parliament paid 14,000 livres to cover two thirds of the cost of the production.[9] Were funds of this type not available then

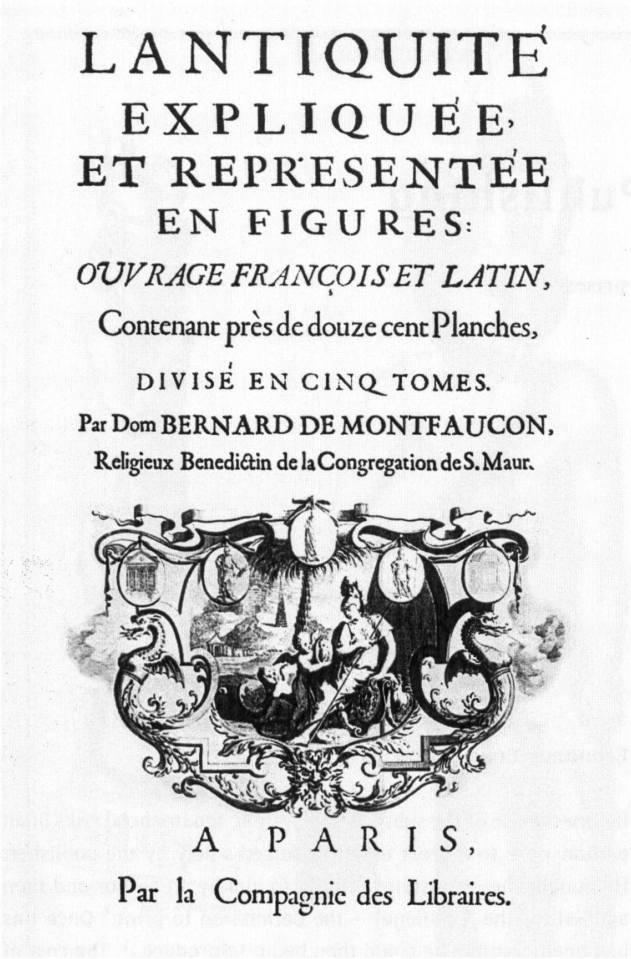

LANTIQUITÉ
EXPLIQUÉE,
ET REPRÉSENTÉE
EN FIGURES:
OUVRAGE FRANÇOIS ET LATIN,
Contenant près de douze cent Planches,
DIVISÉ EN CINQ TOMES.
Par Dom BERNARD DE MONTFAUCON,
Religieux Benedictin de la Congregation de S. Maur.
A PARIS,
Par la Compagnie des Libraires.

Fig. 2: Bernard de Montfaucon, »prospectus for Antiquité expliquée«, title-page.

there was a further option open: by forming an association several publishers could work together, dividing the costs and thus the risks of an edition.[10] Even so, it was still felt that this was not sufficient, especially in the rather dangerous economic climate of the early eighteenth century. The French therefore began to adopt a model already used with considerable success by the English for a century, and more recently introduced into Holland – that of the subscription.

The System of the Subscription at the Beginning of the eighteenth Century

Subscription is basically a way of ensuring that there will be sufficient money for the production of a book: the publisher invites those who intend to buy the completed work to pay a certain sum in advance.[11] Conditions varied from one project to another, but the general pattern was often the same. A prospectus was issued describing the projected work and the conditions; at least one sheet of this prospectus was to be printed on the same paper and in the same characters as the projected book, allowing the subscribers to be certain of its typographical quality.[12] Usually the subscribers were invited to pay part of the price of the work before publication.[13] Against this payment a certificate was issued; when the book was completed, the bearer presented his certificate, paid the balance and could then collect his copy. For their willingness to make this pre-payment the subscribers were rewarded with a preferential price.[14] Other advantages were available for those who could commit themselves to a greater sum of money. Were they to subscribe to five copies they could receive a sixth copy either free or at a greatly reduced price. The editor, for his part, was required to produce the work as he had presented it in the prospectus, and within a certain period of time.

The system first began in England, probably with John Minsheu's "Ductor in linguas" (1617).[15] For the next fifty years the number of attested subscription projects remained relatively low, and it was not until the last decades of the seventeenth century that significant numbers of such projects were undertaken.[16] From England the subscription scheme then spread to Holland: the earliest projects there seem to date to the second half of the seventeenth century.[17]

Subscriptions in France

It was to be almost a further fifty years until a similar project was launched in France by Bernard de Montfaucon. The first use of this new system clearly merited some words, if not of apology, at least of explanation. In his prospectus for the "Antiquité" (fig. 2), issued in 1716, Montfaucon emphasised the scale of his planned work: "Les gravûres qui montent à mille ou douze cent planches

in folio, contiennent environ quarante mille figures, qui ne peuvent être expediées diligemment, qu'en y mettant un grand nombre d'habiles Graveurs."[18] Without some financial security such a project would be, he concluded, very difficult to envisage: it was for that reason that he and his editors "ont été conseillez de suivre l'usage d'Angleterre & d'Hollande, qui est de proposer des souscriptions".[19] The use of a scheme in England and Holland was not in itself a guarantee of success and he hastened to point out in the following sentence that the English and many French had already let it be known that they would be prepared to subscribe. He also felt confident that subscribers would be found in other countries and ventured to list them: "Flandre, Hollande, Allemagne, Espagne & Italie".[20]

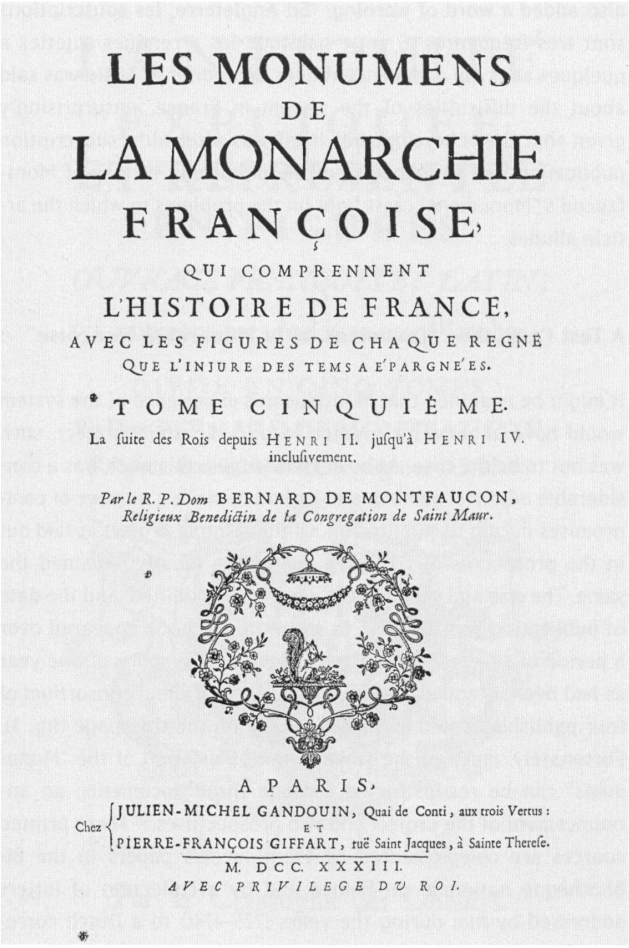
Although the subscribers may have needed to be reassured of the viability of this new system, Montfaucon himself seems to have suffered from remarkably few doubts. Only a few months later, and well before the completion of the "Antiquité" had allowed him to measure its success, he was already launching a new subscription project for the edition of the "Joannis Chrysostomi opera omnia".[21] The prospectus appeared in 1717 and it is interesting to note that, far from remaining faithful to the details of the first project, the author and publishers were already willing to introduce several variations.[22] The subscriber who was prepared to buy six copies of the work was to pay twenty sols less per copy, whilst the purchase of twelve copies gave a further reduction of thirty sols.[23] One can only salute the daring of the Benedictine monk who was not only the first to attempt this type of publication in France but who also had the courage to undertake with a different consortium of editors and with different conditions a second project of this type before he could even measure the success of the first.

The immediate reception of the idea does not seem to have belied Montfaucon's confidence. An article in the "Dictionnaire de Trévoux" noted the innovation and raised no immediate objection: "Souscription, dans le Commerce de la Librairie se dit de la consignation qu'on fait d'une certaine somme d'argent que l'on avance pour l'édition d'un livre, à la charge d'en avoir un ou plusieurs éxemplaires quand il sera imprimé, selon que l'on a consigné pour un ou pour plusieurs, & de l'avoir à meilleur marché que ceux qui n'auront pas souscrit. [...] Elles viennent de s'introduire en France en 1717 pour le Recueil d'Antiquité qui va paroître incessament. Elles ont été très-nombreuses pour cet Ouvrage, & l'on en a même refusé un grand nombre."[24] Fifteen years later, the article devoted to subscriptions in the "Encyclopédie", although largely repeating what the author of the "Trévoux" article had to say, tried to nuance the argument a little more. Whilst admitting that "c'est un avantage égal pour l'un & pour l'autre: car par ce moyen, le libraire a les fonds nécessaires pour exécuter une entreprise, qui aûtrement seroit au-dessus de ses forces; & le souscripteur reçoit en quelque façon l'intérêt de son argent, par le prix modéré qu'il paye de ces livres", the author also added a word of warning: "En Angleterre, les souscriptions sont très-fréquentes, & cette habitude les a rendues sujettes à quelques abus qui commencent à les décréditer."[25] Little was said about the difficulties of the system in France, unsurprisingly given that the "Encyclopédie" itself was after all a subscription publication, but examination of the publishing history of Montfaucon's "Monumens" casts light on the problems to which the article alludes.

A Test Case: the "Monumens de la Monarchie françoise"

It might be imagined that Montfaucon's experience of the system would have allowed for greater ease in this third project; such was not to be the case. As he acknowledged, this work was a considerable editorial gamble, and he had to make a number of compromises during its publication. Of the original project as laid out in the prospectus of 1727 very few of the details remained the same. The size and scope of the work were modified, and the date of publication was delayed. In addition, the book appeared over a period of several years instead of within the space of one year as had been intended, and only one of the original consortium of four publishers could include his name on the title-page (fig. 3). Fortunately, much of the story of the publication of the "Monumens" can be reconstructed through three documents, an announcement of the project and two prospectuses.[26] These printed sources are complemented by Montfaucon's papers in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and by a collection of letters addressed by him during the years 1725–1740 to a Dutch correspondent, Jacques-Philippe d'Orville, professor at the University of Leiden.[27]

A first plan for the work bears no date but must have appeared in late March or April 1725.[28] Here no mention is made of the subscription scheme; Montfaucon simply presents his idea for the book and invites all those who may have comments or additional material to contact him. This type of plan was not an integral element of subscription projects and had already been used before 1716. It was rather an element of the "République des lettres" – the network of savants sharing information.[29] Two years later, the first prospectus appeared, to be followed by a second one in 1729. In the 1727 prospectus the first three pages are devoted to remarks on the scale of the project, his main sources for the research and examples of the material to be presented; then follow the subscription conditions. Four volumes were planned, containing more than four hundred plates. For this the total price was to be eighty livres, forty to be paid in advance and forty when the work was completed. For the large-paper version each of the two payments was to be of sixty livres. Strangely enough, and contrary to the practice in the two earlier prospectuses, no attempt was made by the author to emphasise the advantage to the subscriber by comparing the cost if bought after publication.[30]



LES MONUMENS
DE
LA MONARCHIE
FRANÇOISE,
QUI COMPRENNENT
L'HISTOIRE DE FRANCE,
AVEC LES FIGURES DE CHAQUE REGNE
QUE L'INJURE DES TEMS A E'PARGNE'ES.
TOME CINQUIÉME.
La ſuite des Rois depuis HENRI II. juſqu'à HENRI IV. incluſivement.
Par le R. P. Dom BERNARD DE MONTFAUCON,
Religieux Benedictin de la Congregation de Saint Maur.

A PARIS,
Chez JULIEN-MICHEL GANDOUIN, Quai de Conti, aux trois Vertus :
ET
PIERRE-FRANÇOIS GIFFART, ruë Saint Jacques, à Sainte Thereſe.
M. DCC. XXXIII.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROI.

Fig. 3: Bernard de Montfaucon, »Monumens de la Monarchie françoise«, Paris: Gandouin & Giffart, 1729–1733, t. 5 (1733), title-page.

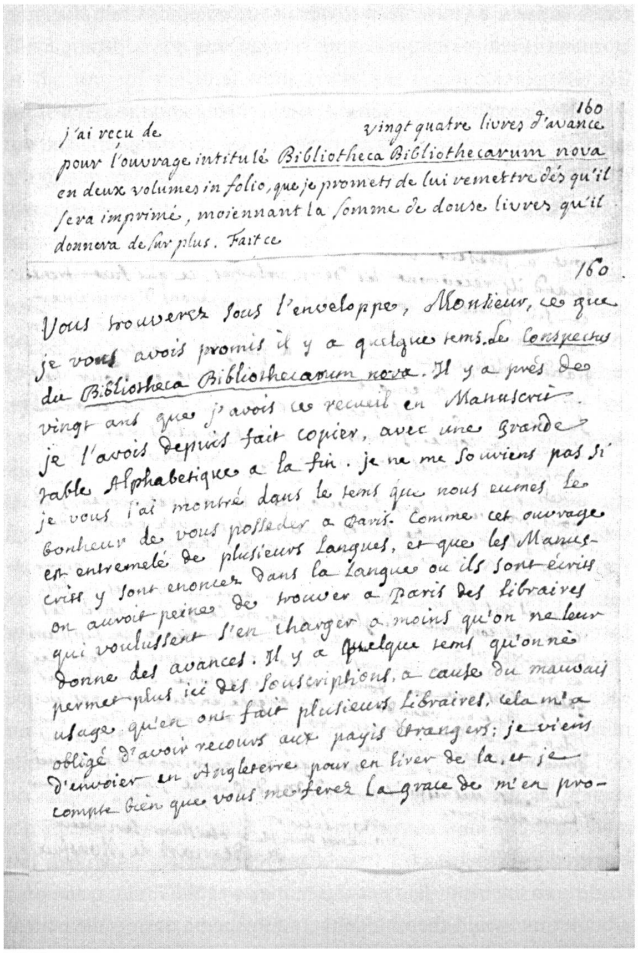
An immediate answer to the question of why Montfaucon did not stress the advantage to be had by buying the "Monumens" in advance might be assumed to be that there was no need to do so. Given the success of the "Antiquité", whose first edition had sold out very quickly, occasioning a second printing, he was surely confident that the book was going to be in demand and therefore felt no need to encourage those who were hesitating by emphasising how much they stood to save. This was, however, not the case. In fact, Montfaucon was well aware that this publication was a considerable editorial gamble. A book such as the "Antiquité" was guaranteed to sell: classical history was still the central point of a good education, and an illustrated history of antiquities would be an essential feature in a scholarly or noble library. Post-classical and medieval monuments were not so popular. Very little interest had as yet been evinced for such pieces, which were not even considered as being works of art. At best, they had a historic and documentary value; and yet Montfaucon felt himself obliged to explain their potential interest. With refreshing honesty he admitted in the plan of 1725 that the "Antiquité" presented a collection of monuments from "les tems les plus florissans de la Grèce & de la Rome" whilst the "Monumens" were going to recount "plus de dix siècles de barbarie". His only real argument is that of the utility of the work: "Mais outre que le goût & le genie de tems si grossiers font un spectacle assez divertissant, interêt de la Nation compense ici le plaisir que pourroient faire des monumens d'une plus grande élegance."[31] It is tempting to wonder whether he would have pursued the project had the reaction to his first plan not been as positive as the great majority of the letters quoted by de Broglie seem to suggest.[32]

Despite any lingering doubts about the popularity of the "Monumens", he launched the subscription project in 1727 with a group of four publishers: Etienne Ganeau, Pierre-François Giffart, Guillaume Cavelier and Nicolas Gosselin.[33] Prospectuses were sent out and the subscriptions began to come in. Fortunately Montfaucon kept a record of the subscriptions since, contrary to the English practice, French books did not as a general rule include a list of subscribers.[34] These lists give an interesting insight into the purchasing public. As might be expected many of the religious community subscribed, either for themselves or for the library of their monastery. Others who had met Montfaucon either on his travels or during a visit to Paris were also sent details of the project.[35] For example, in a letter to Jacques-Philippe d'Orville dated 22 May 1725, Montfaucon enclosed the "Plan" (1725) for the "Monumens". "Je mets ici sous l'enveloppe un de mes plans des Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise. Je crois en avoir déjà donné quelques uns pour vous les envoier."[36] Four years later, announcing the launch of the subscription he said, "je ne doute pas que vous ne tâchiez de m'attirer quelques souscripteurs."[37] His hopes were not misplaced: d'Orville himself subscribed for a large-paper copy and also managed to find a further seven subscriptions, two of which were for large-paper copies.[38]

The list of subscribers to the "Monumens" goes some way to prove Montfaucon's confidence that he would attract subscribers from all over Europe. Correspondents in England, Holland, Poland, Switzerland and Germany are to be found alongside the French. Any attempt to assess the reception of the "Monumens" cannot be based on these documents alone, which provide, at most, approximate figures for the number of copies sold and the names of those who subscribed.[39] A book purchased is after all not a book read. It is also very difficult to draw too many conclusions from the list of names available. The method of advertising the book, the sending out of the prospectus, necessarily implies a restricted circle of acquaintances and friends. As has been very succinctly stated recently, "on ferait bien de considérer les listes comme des albums de famille ou, mieux encore, comme des clefs des réseaux de la République des Lettres."[40]

A widespread network of purchasers clearly raised the problem of payments. There was a clear advantage to asking one person to co-ordinate the subscriptions in a given country, as d'Orville did in Holland and as Richard Walker did in England. Even when a large number of subscriptions were regrouped in the hands of one person, the problem of the transfer of the funds still remained. The surest method was the bill of exchange, but the system was cumbersome, and not always entirely secure. D'Orville's lack of confidence in the reliability of this type of payment is betrayed by the fact that he insisted on sending two copies of a bill of exchange.[41] Four years earlier Montfaucon had commented to d'Orville: "Il y auroit bien des gens qui y souscriroient ici: mais il faudroit pour cela que l'auteur ou le libraire eut a Paris quelque correspondant libraire qui reçût les souscriptions evaluees a la monnoie de France."[42] This remark was echoed by Richard Walker in London, who was dealing with fourteen subscriptions for the "Monumens": "je vous prie de me faire avertir quand vous aurez un Libraire correspondant à Londres".[43] Montfaucon tried to simplify the operations as much as possible in Paris, telling d'Orville that although other agents could be contacted, he should prefer that the payments should come through Mr. Cottin: "j'aimerois mieux que ce fut sur Mr Cottin".[44]

Once the financial questions had been sorted out there still remained the problem of packing up the books and sending them out. D'Orville began to demur at the price of the transport, and asked Montfaucon to send out the copies of the second volume only when the third was also ready, believing that this would reduce the cost.[45] But as the Benedictine pointed out there was no reason whatsoever to delay since the transport costs were worked out strictly according to the weight of the books to be sent.[46] Despite these minor inconveniences, Montfaucon was soon to be thankful for the possibility of asking for subscriptions outside France; he said in a letter to d'Orville in October 1733 when announcing his next work, the "Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum" that "Il y a quelque tems qu'on ne permet plus ici des



160

j'ai recu de vingt quatre livres d'avance pour l'ouvrage intitulé Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum nova en deux volumes in folio, que je promets de lui remettre dés qu'il sera imprimé, moiennant la somme de douze livres qu'il donnera de sur plus. Fait ce

160

Vous trouverez sous l'enveloppe, Monsieur, ce que je vous avois promis il y a quelques tems. Le Conspectus du Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum nova. Il y a prés de vingt ans que j'avois ce recueil en Manuscrit. je l'avois depuis fait copier, avec une grande table Alphabetique a la fin. je ne me souviens pas si je vous l'ai montré dans le tems que nous eumes le bonheur de vous posseder a Paris. Comme cet ouvrage est entremelé de plusieurs Langues, et que les Manuscrits y sont enoncés dans la Langue ou ils sont écrits on auroit peines de trouver a Paris des libraires qui voulussent s'en charger a moins qu'on ne leur donne des avances. Il y a quelque tems qu'on ne permet plus ici des Souscriptions, a cause du mauvais usage qu'en ont fait plusieurs Libraires. cela m'a obligé d'avoir recours aux pays Etrangers; je viens d'envoier en Angleterre pour en liver de la, et je compte bien que vous me ferez la grace de m'en pro-

Fig. 4: Bernard de Montfaucon, manuscript subscription certificate for Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum, (Bodleian Library, Oxford, ms. D'Orville 487, f. 160r).

souscriptions, à cause du mauvais usage qu'en ont fait plusieurs Libraires. Cela m'oblige d'avoir recours aux payis étrangers."[47] (fig. 4)

The launching of a subscription scheme and the request for advance payment meant that the publisher and the public had entered into a contract, and that the former was accountable to the subscribers for the money entrusted to him. As was pointed out in the "Code de la Librairie", "la feuille appellée Prospectus, [...] contiendra les conditions dont le Libraire se chargera envers les Souscripteurs, soit pour le prix des Livres & le temps de leur livraison, soit pour la qualité du papier & des caractères qui seront par eux employés".[48] The contract into which the publisher and the subscriber entered was made binding by the certificate, signed by the publisher, which recapitulated the main terms of the agreement. Blank copies of this are to be found in Montfaucon's papers: "Nous soussignez, Etienne Ganeau, Nicolas Gosselin, Guillaume Cavelier & Pierre-François Giffart, Libraires à Paris, reconnoissons avoir reçu comptant de M. par forme de souscription, la somme de quarante livres, à quoi a été réduit, en faveur des Souscripteurs, le prix en feüilles du Livre intitulé Les Monumens de la Monarchie françoise [...], en quatre volumes in folio, de petit papier: & ce pour un exemplaire dudit Livre, que nous promettons fournir en feüilles à M. dans tout le courant de l'année mil sept cent vingt neuf, en payant comptant pareille somme de quarante livres que dessus. Fait à Paris le jour du mois de mil sept cent vingt-sept."[49] The publisher thereby acknowledged receipt of a sum of money from an individual. According to the terms laid out this money was the first payment for a book that would then be delivered in sheets during the course of 1729 and after payment of a second, determined, sum of money.

An advance payment from a subscriber clearly demanded a certain amount of trust in the publisher's promise to produce the book. By the time of the subscription for the "Monumens" some measure of confidence in the system had no doubt been established and thus Montfaucon no longer felt himself obliged to promise, as he had done in the "Antiquité" prospectus, that the money would be safely guarded: "Tout l'argent sera remis à Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, qui le mettra sous sûre garde dans un coffre fort dans la chambre du Procureur General de l'Ordre, dont ledit Procureur General aura une clef, & Dom Bernard de Montfaucon une autre."[50]

That the money should not be embezzled was only one of the subscribers' worries. They also had to trust the publisher to have estimated correctly the capital needed for the book, and to have ensured that all the sources of income included in the original budget could be exploited. Were there to be a sizeable deficit the publishers could ask the subscribers to pay more. This was apparently the problem with one project at the time, since Montfaucon includes in a letter written in 1725 the following comment: "Ceux qui auront acheté les souscriptions de Mr. Clermont seront surpris quand les libraires leur demanderont le payement tout entier. M. Clermont n'aiant rien payé."[51] Likewise the publishers needed to be sure that they had not received a vain promise from the subscribers. If the latter were to delay the collection of the book, and hence the payment of the second instalment of the money, the publishers would find themselves burdened with a copy that they could not legally sell to another buyer. Given the rather tight budgets within which they were working, this tying up of capital could prove to be disastrous. A clause in the "Code de la Librairie" attempted to protect them by stating that subscribers were bound by law to collect and pay for their copies within a certain length of time, and that if not they had forfeited their first payment and the publisher could sell the book: "le Conseil a rendu plusieurs Arrêts pour obliger les Souscripteurs à retirer leurs Exemplaires dans le délai de six mois ou un an: passé lequel temps les Souscriptions demeurent nulles & de nul effet."[52]

The financial guarantee was, however, only one of the conditions that had to be fulfilled. Much more difficult to predict was when exactly the subscribers would see the result of their investment. The publishers were meant to deliver the finished product within an allotted time: "qu'il [le libraire] sera tenu de livrer dans le temps porté par la Souscription."[53] But delays were common, especially in the case of an illustrated book. In France the subscribers to the "Recueil Crozat" had reason to wonder when they were ever going to see a return on their money: the production of the "Sacre de Louis XV" occupied all the best engravers of the period, preventing their participation in any other work.[54] Montfaucon reassured d'Orville that the work would eventually be finished: "M. Crozat poursuit toujours son dessein, et vous n'avez rien a craindre pour vôtre souscription."[55] Even a work without illustrations could be subject to delays: the first volume of Vatable's "Biblia Sacra" announced in the prospectus of 1720 for 1721 did not appear until 1729, whilst the second was eventually published in 1745.[56]

There were also a number of delays in Montfaucon's own project. The repeated references found in his letters to the fact that the work on the "Monumens" is progressing may well be no more than a friend recounting his daily occupations. But it cannot be excluded that a sense of responsibility to his subscribers lies behind these comments. After all, the "Plan" issued in 1727 had promised that, although no definite date could be given for the publication of the work, "on donnera neanmoins l'ouvrage dans tout le cours de l'an 1729".[57] The second prospectus, the "Avis" (1729), revised this date slightly, saying that all five of the volumes should be finished before Easter 1731.[58] As it was, the fifth volume did not appear until two years after this date.

Montfaucon was no stranger to problems of this kind: the rhythm of publication of the successive volumes of his "Joannis Chrysostomi opera" was very slow. According to the prospectus issued in 1717 the first two volumes were to be published by the end of that year, to be followed by biennial instalments, each of a further two volumes.[59] It is true that the project was increased

from eleven volumes to a total of thirteen, but even so the work should have been completed by 1727. The last volume actually appeared in 1738. To judge by the tone of his letters to the publishers, Montfaucon was becoming increasingly exasperated by the delays: "Il est tems, Messieurs, de reprendre le St Jean Chrysostome. Les trois mois portés dans le contrat sont ecoulés depuis que le cinquieme et le sixieme sont finis. Ces deux volumes sont allez beaucoup trop lentement, depuis le tems qu'ils furent commencez nous devrions avoir fini le septieme et le huitieme." He hastened to add that it was absolutely not his fault that there were problems: "j'ay toujours fourni abondamment de la copie, et je n'ai jamais gardé les épreuves, qu'autant de tems qu'il falloit pour la correction." His only regret was that he had not already gone to a higher authority in an attempt to force them to expedite the publication: "je devois avoir recours a Mr. le Garde de Seaux pour vous obliger a faire diligence."[60] Tassin, in his note on the book, identified the main source of the problem as being the "mésintelligence des Libraires, & la difficulté qu'on avoit de trouver dans l'Imprimerie de bons compositeurs en grec."[61]

In an attempt to satisfy the subscribing public, Montfaucon thus felt it necessary to provide volumes on a regular basis rather than waiting for the whole work to be finished. For the "Monumens" the same idea was adopted, and each of the five volumes was to be collected as it was printed. A practical problem soon became apparent. Instead of issuing five separate certificates, one for each volume, only one had been provided for the whole series. Unless the subscribers presented this document they could not claim the first volume. However, they would then need it to claim each subsequent part. Thus it was that when a volume was finished, each subscriber had to deliver his certificate; this was then returned with the fact that the volume had been collected duly noted and a reference to the transaction made in the bookseller's lists. In a postscript to the letter in which he announces the second volume, Montfaucon draws d'Orville's attention to the need to send in the certificates: "vous aurez, s'il vous plaît, soin d'envoier les billets de souscription, qu'on vous renvoira en certifiant au dos que vous avez levé le second tome."[62] Small wonder that Montfaucon began to feel exasperated by these complications and told d'Orville that he would no longer agree to a similar arrangement. "Ce que je puis vous assurer c'est que je ne ferai plus d'ouvrage qui se debite volume à volume. Je vois par mon experience qu'il y a trop d'embarras. Un ouvrage à plusieurs volumes doit se debiter tout ensemble autant que faire se peut."[63]

A further problem could arise when, as was the case with the "Monumens", the size of the work increased quite significantly. Were a book being published without a subscription project this should not have presented too many difficulties: the publisher had not made a firm commitment to any price and could fix it according to the production costs and the profit he hoped to make. In the case of a subscription publication, however, he had engaged himself to present a certain number of volumes and at a certain cost to the purchaser. Demanding a supplementary sum at the time of the final transaction was not recommended, although it may occasionally have been necessary. This was the unenviable situation in which Montfaucon's publishers for the "Monumens" found themselves when the author increased the work by more than 25%. No longer was the work going to appear in only four volumes, but rather in five. This considerable change was caused by Montfaucon's wish to include text recounting the history of France. Such a sizeable modification clearly represented a large increase in the amount of capital that the publishers had to invest. Some money could be saved on the engravings, and it was perhaps for this reason that the original figure of 400 plates quoted by Montfaucon found itself reduced to 308 when the book was finally published.[64] Even so, this was not enough to allow the supplementary volume to be financed, and thus the booksellers had to revise their original project. No longer were there to be only two payments; instead, they felt obliged to ask the purchasers to pay the second sum in instalments. For the second and for the third volumes twelve livres were to be paid, for the fourth ten livres, and for the fifth six livres.[65] The overall sum was still to be forty livres and it was felt that none of the subscribers would object to this mode of payment since "l'interêt est si petit".[66]

Several other, less important but nonetheless irritating complications were attendant upon subscription publications. When the subscriber paid the first instalment to the publisher a certificate was issued. For his own personal records the publisher would also make a note in his register. For the second payment and the collection of the book this register did not however carry legal weight: only upon presentation of the certificate could the second part of the transaction be completed. Nonetheless these notes could be, and often were, lost. D'Orville wrote to Montfaucon to explain that although a total of eight copies should be sent to Amsterdam, he could only send seven subscription notes "car le huitième pour un exemplaire de grand papier n'27 a été égaré parmi des papiers par un de mes amis."[67] Fortunately the note was subsequently found since, as Montfaucon wrote in reply, the bookseller could not rely solely on the entry in his register. If someone else were to come into possession of the certificate, they could then claim the copy of the book.[68] Nor was it only the subscribers who were liable to lose the certificates. Montfaucon himself arrived back at Saint-Germain-des-Prés one day only to discover that the thirteen subscription notes for the "Antiquité" that he had pushed into his pocket had fallen out: "je soubsigné declare que les numero 11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18. de petit papier et les numero 51.52.53.54.55. de grand papier, de l'antiquité expliquée et representée en figures donnez par les Libraires pour les souscripteurs sont perdus étant tombés de ma poche le 21 de juillet et qu'ainsi on n'y doit ajouter foy, supposé qu'on les apporte apres l'impression. fait ce 21. de juillet 1716. fr. Bernard de Montfaucon."[69]

The certificate, signed by the publishers, was thus the legal proof of the contract. This was, however, to pose further problems for Montfaucon. The first prospectus had been distributed and the subscriptions began to come in; money was collected and the certificates, duly filled in and signed by the consortium of four editors, were sent out. But then, unhappy with the conditions of his project, Montfaucon broke off his contract with the first group of editors and negotiated a new one. One of the original four – Giffart – remained, joined by Julien-Michel Gandouin. A note amongst his papers makes it clear that Montfaucon did not regret the decision: "Mon reverend pere, Votre Reverence m'a fait L'honneur de souscrire aux Monumens de la Monarchie françoise, ouvrage auquel je travaille et faits travailler avec beaucoup de diligence. Mais comme jay rompu avec nos libraires qui ont signé les billets d'obligation; ces Billets ne pouvant plus servir de rien, je vous en envoie un autre signé de ma main et vous prie de me renvoyer celuy des libraires pour le leur remette. L'ouvrage ira beaucoup mieux."[70] Inevitably, the change of publishers midway through the subscription project necessitated extra work: all those who had entrusted their money to the original group of publishers were requested to keep their certificate until they claimed the first volume when a new note, this time signed by Giffart and Gandouin, would be sent to them.[71]

At last, in 1733, Montfaucon could announce to d'Orville that the last volume of the first part of the "Monumens" was completed. Unfortunately, despite his conviction that the other four parts of the work should appear, it proved impossible to find a publisher willing to take the risk. He prepared a large number of the drawings for the second part "à grands frais" but "quand il fallut les faire graver, les graveurs les mirent à si haut prix, que je ne trouvai de libraire qui voulût s'en charger".[72] Even so, the Benedictine did not despair, and only two days before his death, as de Boze says in his obituary notice, "le 19 décembre dernier, il communiqua encore à l'Académie le plan & les desseins de la seconde partie des monumens de la Monarchie Françoise, qu'il alloit publier en trois volumes."[73]

The publishers maybe felt, given that the "Monumens" had not been as successful as the "Antiquité", that they would be better not to risk too much money. The reviews were certainly none too friendly, but then neither had they been for the "Antiquité". More significant is that, unlike the earlier work, there was to be no second edition and no "Supplément". There were a limited number of translations and edited versions.[74] Only towards the end of the nineteenth century was there an effort, albeit unsuccessful, to increase the 1,000 copies available in the French language.[75]

It is therefore tempting to describe the editorial gamble of the "Monumens" as having been, if not an unmitigated disaster, at least far less successful than Montfaucon would have wanted. By all appearances he should have been much happier with the "Antiquité". But this may well be an underestimation of the entrepreneurial instincts of the Benedictine monk who introduced the subscription system to France. A shrewd observer of the market and of the financial stakes, it is questionable whether he wished to flood the market with his books. He repeatedly asserted that the decision to reissue the "Antiquité" was very foolish: "l'ouvrage, dont on avoit tiré dix-huit cens exemplaires, fut si gouté, qu'en 2 mois il fut tout vendu. Les Libraires excités par ce prodigieux débit, sans consulter l'auteur, en firent aussi-tôt une seconde édition, qu'ils tirerent à plus de deux mille: aussi le livre ne fut-il plus si recherché."[76] The more limited number of copies of the "Supplément" was preferable since "Ces volumes sont devenus rares, comme le seroient les dix premiers, si l'avidité des Libraires ne les avoit pas trop multipliés."[77]

According to the article in the "Encyclopédie", "le souscripteur reçoit en quelque façon l'intérêt de son argent, par le prix modéré qu'il paye de ces livres"[78]. The question that needs to be considered is whether the subscriber's loan was seen to be generating interest long-term or short-term. That is, was the debt not repaid when, at the time of publication, the reader who had been sufficiently prudent (or daring) to lend money to the editor received his copy of the book at a lower price than did those who preferred to wait until they could see the work to decide whether or not to purchase it? Such would be the accepted reading of the phrase. Yet Montfaucon, aware no doubt of the increasingly bibliophile tendencies of his contemporaries, was keen to ensure that his books, available in few copies and thus all the more valued, might continue to increase in price.[79] Unhappy with the marketing strategy of his publishers for the earlier work, he attempted with the "Monumens" to achieve a better result. He had possibly misjudged though; given the poor response to the work and the fact that he ended up losing money this time, it is rather tempting to see, with hindsight, the irony in the comparison of the great success of the "Antiquité" with the early gains being made in one of John Law's schemes: "[...] le prix de cet ouvrage monte comme les actions qu'on prend sur la Compagnie des Indes."[80]

1 On the role of Montfaucon see: Martin, Henri-Jean, *Les Bénédictins, leurs libraires et le pouvoir: notes sur le financement de la recherche au temps de Mabillon et de Montfaucon*, in: Le livre français sous l'Ancien Régime, Paris: Promodis, 1987, pp. 79–88; Kirsop, Wallace, *Pour une histoire bibliographique de la souscription en France au XVIIIe siècle*, in: Trasmissione dei testi a stampa nel periodo moderno, II seminario internazionale, Roma/Viterbo 27–29 giugno 1985 a cura di Giovanni Crapulli, Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1987, pp. 255–282. A full study has recently been produced in an unpublished thesis: Jestaz, Juliette, *Bernard de Montfaucon: mauriste et antiquaire: la tentative de l'Antiquité expliquée 1719–1724*, in: Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves [...] de l'École nationale des Chartes, 1995, pp. 169–173.

2 Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures ... par Dom Bernard de Montfaucon*, 10 vols., Paris: Delaulne, 1719; Montfaucon, *Supplément au livre de l'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures par Dom Bernard de Montfaucon*, 5 vols., Paris: F. Delaulne, 1724.

3 A precise figure for the number of books published in this way is difficult to establish, but it is clear that during the second half of the eighteenth century subscription publishing became much more common in France. Candaux, Jean-Daniel, *L'annonce des livres nouveaux au 18e siècle*, in: Transactions of the Sixth International Congress on the Enlightenment, Brussels July 1983, Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century, vol. 216, 1983, pp. 234–237; Petit, Nicolas, *L'éphémère, l'occasionnel et le nonlivre à la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (XV–XVIIIe siècles)*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1997, pp. 223–227. For England the details of subscription publishing are much clearer thanks to the work done by the team at the University of Newcastle, led by P. J. Wallis & F. J. G. Robinson. See: Wallis, P. J., *Book subscription lists*, in: The Library, 5th series, vol. XXIX, no. 3, September 1974, pp. 255–286, and Lamoine, Georges, *Le projet PHIBB de Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Recherches dans le domaine de la vente de livres par souscription en Grande-Bretagne au XVIIIe siècle*, in: Revue française de l'histoire du livre, 1979, pp. 371–380.

4 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des manuscrits (hereinafter BNF, MSS) ms. fr. 18817 contains a further seven projects by the Maurists in the years between the prospectus for the *Antiquité Expliquée* and that for the *Supplément à l'Antiquité Expliquée* (1722). For Crozat's *Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux et d'après les plus beaux dessins qui sont en France [...]*, 2 vols., Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1729–1742, see Haskell, Francis, *The painful birth of the art book*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1987.

5 See Saugrain, *Code de la librairie et imprimerie de Paris*, Paris: aux dépens de la Communauté, 1744 (reprint: Farnborough: Gregg, 1971), p. 128, "Article XVIII: Conference: Arrêt du Conseil du 10 Avril 1725, Art. 3. Ne sera proposé au Public aucune Souscription que pour l'impression d'Ouvrages considérables qui ne pourront être faits sans ce secours".

6 During this period the author usually surrendered all rights to his text against payment of a certain sum of money and a number of copies (his "présents"). The details varied from case to case but the sums of money were not normally very high: 50, 100 or 200 livres.

7 Grivel, Marianne, *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVIIe siècle*, Genève: Droz, 1986, p. 218.

8 Hind, Arthur M., *A history of engraving and etching from the 15th century to the year 1914*, London: Constable and Company, 1923, p. 15: "Without steel-facing, copper-plates [...] might be made to yield one, two, or even three thousand impressions, but the deterioration is constant, and the last prints would be mere ghosts of the original composition."

9 Laurain, Madeleine, *Les travaux d'érudition des Mauristes: origine et évolution*, in: Mémorial du XIVe centenaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris: Vrin, 1959, pp. 231–271.

10 Kirsop, Wallace, *Les mécanismes éditoriaux*, in: Histoire de l'édition française, II, Le livre triomphant 1660–1830, Roger Chartier & Henri-Jean Martin eds., Paris: Fayard, 1990, pp. 15–34.

11 Kirsop 1987 (cfr. note 1); Martin, Henri-Jean, *La prééminence de la librairie parisienne*, in: Histoire de l'édition française, II, Le livre triomphant 1660–1830, Roger Chartier & Henri-Jean Martin eds., Paris: Fayard, 1990, pp. 331–355.

12 *Encyclopédie*, t. XIII, Neuchâtel: chez Samuel Fauche, 1765, p. 500. "Prospectus: mot latin introduit dans le commerce de la Librairie, particulièrement dans celui des livres qui s'impriment par souscription. Il signifie le projet ou programme de l'ouvrage qu'on propose à souscrire, la matiere qu'il traite, le format, & la quantité de feuilles & de volumes qu'il doit avoir, le caractere, le papier, soit grand, soit petit, qu'on veut employer dans l'édition; enfin, les conditions sous lesquelles se fait la souscription, ce qui comprend principalement la remise qu'on fait aux souscripteurs, & le tems auquel l'ouvrage souscrit doit se délivrer (D.J[aucourt].)".

13 Sometimes this first payment was not demanded; the promise to buy a copy of the book was sufficient. Note that there are two words in German: the advance payment contract is called "Pränumeration" and the simple promise to buy is the "Subskription".

14 *Encyclopédie*, t. XV, Neuchâtel: chez Samuel Fauche, 1765, p. 416. "Les conditions ordinaires des souscriptions sont, du côté du libraire, de fournir les livres à meilleur compte aux souscripteurs, qu'aux autres, à un tiers, ou un quart du prix de moins; & de la part des souscripteurs, de payer moitié du prix avancé, & le reste en recevant les exemplaires."

15 At least this is the first book for which a list of subscribers is available.

16 For early subscriptions in England see the excellent articles by Sarah Clapp: *Subscription publishers prior to Jacob Tonson*, in: The Library, fourth series, vol. XIII, n8 2, Sept. 1932, pp. 158–183; *The subscription enterprises of John Ogilby and Richard Blome*, in: Modern Philology, vol. 30, May 1933, pp. 365–379; *The beginnings of subscription publication in the seventeenth century*, in: Modern Philology, vol. 29, November 1931, pp. 199–224.

17 Rooden, Peter T. van & Wesselius, Jan Wim, *Two early cases of publication by subscription in Holland and Germany: Jacob Abendana's "Mikhlal Yophi" (1661) and David Cohen de Lara's "Keter Kehunna" (1668)*, in: Quaerendo XVI, 2, 1986, pp. 110–130.

18 *L'Antiquité expliquée, et representée en figures: ouvrage françois et latin, Contenant près de douze cent Planches, divisé en cinq tomes. Par Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, Religieux Benedictin de la Congregation de S. Maur* [prospectus], Paris: par la Compagnie des Libraires, de l'Imprimerie de Florentin Delaulne, 1716, p. 5. This number of 40,000 figures does seem inflated, and it is of interest to note a passage in the preface to the completed work where Montfaucon states that there are about 1,120 plates containing about 30–40,000 figures. For those who object that this number seems exaggerated, and that 30 figures per plate will not allow for the details to be seen, he gives the following explanation: "je compte dans ce grand nombre toutes les figures qui composent les images & les histoires; c'est-à-dire les hommes, les animaux remarquables, les vases, les autels, & autres choses semblables; la seule table Isiaque en a plus de deux cens, dont chacune pourroit être le sujet d'une dissertation." (*L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (cfr. note 2), t. I, Preface, p. xi.)

19 *L'Antiquité [prospectus]* (cfr. note 18), p. 5.

20 *L'Antiquité [prospectus]* (cfr. note 18), p. 5.

21 *Joannis Chrysostomi opera omnia quae exstant* [...], 13 vols., Paris: sumptibus Guerin, Robustel, Barbou & Desprez, 1718–1738.

22 Cf. BNF, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms fr. 18817, f. 312r: "1718. Au commencement de cette année Dom Bernard de Montfaucon a fait paroitre deux projets d'ouvrages considerables. Le premier regarde l'edition nouvelle des ouvrages de S.t Chrysostome [...] le 2.d regarde un ouvrage au quel il a travaillé aussi depuis plus.rs années qui a pour titre [...]". However, there is no reason to imagine that the two did appear simultaneously.

23 BNF, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms fr. 18817, ff. 287–306: *Avis au public pour les souscriptions de la Nouvelle Edition des Ouvrages de S. Jean Chrysostome en Grec et en Latin [...] Par le R. Pere Dom Bernard de Montfaucon [...]*, here pp. 38–39.

24 *Dictionnaire universel françois et latin* [...], Nancy: Pierre Antoine, 1740, vol. 5, cols. 2129–2130.

25 *Encyclopédie*, t. XV, Neuchâtel: chez Samuel Fauche, 1765, pp. 416–417. An interesting comment on the situation in England is to be found in the preface to J. Morgan's *A complete history of Algiers*, London: printed for the author by J. Bettenham, 1728, which contains many complaints about the difficulties of raising subscriptions. The author asserts bitterly that it is a "received Maxim among the Generality of even the greatest Readers, 'Never ask Me to Subscribe, and I'll never ask You.'" (pp. xx–xxi).

26 *Plan d'un ouvrage qui aura pour titre Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise* (s.l.n.d.); *Plan pour les souscripteurs aux Monumens de la Monarchie françoise, Par le R.P. Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, Religieux en l'Abbaye de Saint Germain des Prez*, Paris: Ganeau, Giffart, Cavelier & Gosselin, 1727, BNF, Imprimés, LJ1 27; *Avis au public pour les souscriptions à l'Ouvrage qui aura pour titre, Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise, qui comprennent l'Histoire de France, avec une grande quantité de Figures de chaque Regne, que l'injure des tems a épargnées. Cinq Volumes in-folio. Par Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, Benedictin de la Congrégation de Saint Maur*, Paris: Gandouin et Giffart, 1729, BNF, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms. fr. 18817, f. 394r–v. Hereinafter *Plan* (1725), *Plan* (1727) and *Avis* (1729).

27 Bodleian Library, Oxford, ms. d'Orville 482, 486, 487 (hereinafter Bodl., ms d'Orv.). Montfaucon and d'Orville exchange countless pieces of information regarding the recent publications in their respective countries, as well as a host of details about individuals of the period.

28 The date can be established with relative precision thanks to his correspondence: BNF, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms. fr. 17701, f. 166 bis, letter from Montfaucon to Dom Calmet, dated 25 March 1725: "J'en vais imprimer le plan, dont je vous enverrai quelques exemplaires." By 10 May a correspondant in Montpellier, le président Bon, had already had time to read the plan and to reply to Montfaucon (ms. fr. 17703, f. 105).

29 Viala, Alain, *Naissance de l'Écrivain: sociologie de la littérature à l'âge classique*, Paris: Minuit, 1992; Bots, Hans/Waquet, Françoise, *La république des lettres*, Paris: Belin, 1997.

30 For the *Antiquité* the subscribers were to pay a total of 140 livres for the petit papier and 200 livres for the grand papier, half before printing and half after. To those who had not subscribed, however, "on le [l'ouvrage] vendra sans aucune diminution; le petit papier en blanc 230 livres, & le grand papier en blanc 300 livres": *L'Antiquité [prospectus]* (cfr. note 18), p. 5.

31 *Plan* (1725) (cfr. note 26), p. 1.

32 Broglie, Emmanuel de, *La société de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés au dix-huitième siècle: Bernard de Montfaucon et les Bernardins 1715–1750*, Paris: Librairie Plon, 1891, 2 vol., t. II, pp. 193 ff.

33 Mellot, Jean-Dominique/Queval, Élisabeth, *Répertoire d'imprimeurs/libraires* XVIe–XVIIIe *siècle: État en 1995*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997, p. 279, n8 1681, Ganeau; p. 295, n8 1787, Gosselin; p. 153, n8 888, Cavelier.

34 BNF, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms. lat. 11915, ff. 149r–160v; ms. fr. 19641, ff. 25r–27r. On this question see Wittmann, Reinhard, *Subskribenten- und Pränumerantenverzeichnisse als lesersoziologische Quellen*, in: Buch und Leser: Vorträge des ersten Jahrestreffens des Wolfenbütteler Arbeitskreises für Geschichte des Buchwesens 13. und 14. Mai 1976, Herbert Georg Göpfert ed., Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1977, pp. 125–159.

35 Tassin described Montfaucon as being "l'un des plus grands ornemens de la Congrégation de S. Maur" and added "il ne venoit à Paris aucun étranger, pour peu qu'il fût homme de Lettres, qui ne voulût voir le Père de Montfaucon et s'entretenir avec lui": Tassin, René Prosper, *Histoire littéraire de la congrégation de Saint-Maur, ordre de S. Benoît, où l'on trouve La vie & les travaux des Auteurs qu'elle a produits, depuis son origine en 1618, jusqu'à présent* [...], Bruxelles et à Paris chez Humblot, 1770, p. 585 & p. 589.

36 Bodl., ms d'Orv. 487 (cfr. note 27), f. 11v, à Paris ce 22 Mai 1725.

37 Bodl., ms d'Orv. 487 (cfr. note 27), f. 103v, Paris ce 8 janvier 1729.

38 BNN, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms. fr. 17706, f. 31r, à Amsterdam ce 2 Mai 1729.

39 Cf. Speck, W.A., *Politicians, peers, and publication by subscription 1700–1750*, in: Books and their readers in eighteenth-century England, Isabel Rivers ed., Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982, pp. 47–68: "At least subscription lists document a precise readership" (p. 65).

40 Kirsop 1987 (cfr. note 1), pp. 271–276, esp. p. 276.

41 As seen by Montfaucon's reply to him: "Je vous renvoie, Monsieur, la lettre de change de 220 ll. j'ai touché l'argent de l'autre: ainsi je n'ai plus a faire de celle la, que vous ne m'avez envoiée que pour suppléer a l'autre en cas que je ne l'eusse pas reçue." (Bodl., ms. d'Orv. 487, f. 113r, à Paris ce 29 Mai 1729).

42 Bodl., ms. d'Orv. 487 (cfr. note 27), f. 1lr, à Paris ce 22 Mai 1725.

43 BNF, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms. fr. 19641, f. 65v., 6 avril 1728.

44 Bodl., ms. d'Orv. 487 (cfr. note 27), f. 109r, à Paris ce 25. fevrier 1729.

45 BNF, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms. fr. 17706, f. 33v, à Amsterdam ce 22 juillet 1730: "je vous prie de guarder [sic] des exemplaires à l'occasion du troisieme tome, quand nous les pourrons faire venir ensemble, pour eviter des frais".

46 Bodl., ms. d'Orv. 487 (cfr. note 27), f. 125r–v, 8 août 1730: "je croiois qu'on payoit le port selon les poids des choses qu'on envoie et comme le poids du second et du troisieme tome sera double, les frais de transport seront aussi doubles, et cela revient toujours au même".

47 Bodl., ms. d'Orv. 487 (cfr. note 27), f. 160r, à Paris, octobre 1733. The work is Montfaucon's *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum nova*, 2 vols, Paris: chez Briasson, 1738.

48 Saugrain 1744 (cfr. note 5), p. 129 (arrêt du conseil, 10 April 1725).

49 BNF, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms. lat. 11915, f. 161r: printed billet de souscription.

50 *L'Antiquité, [prospectus]* (cfr. note 18), p. 6.

51 Bodl., ms. d'Orv. 487 (cfr. note 27), f. 6r, Paris, ce 17. septembre 1724.

52 Saugrain 1744 (cfr. note 5), p. 127.

53 Saugrain 1744 (cfr. note 5), p. 129.

54 See Haskell 1987 (cfr. note 4), pp. 35–37.

55 Bodl., ms d'Orv. 487 (cfr. note 27), f. 110r, à Paris ce 25. mars 1729.

56 Published by Quillau. The delay in the publication was attributed, in the "Avis au lecteur" at the beginning of the second volume, to the difficulties in collating the notes.

57 *Plan* (1727) (cfr. note 26), p. [4].

58 *Avis* (1729) (cfr. note 26), p. [2].

59 "Le troisième et le quatrième seront achevés deux ans après. On fera une plus grande diligence sur les Volumes suivants." (BNF, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms. fr. 18817, f. 306r = Avis [...] p. 37).

60 BNF, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms. lat. 11915, f. 211r.

61 Tassin 1770 (cfr. note 35), p. 602. In this he seems to be following the version presented by Montfaucon himself in his autobiographical sketch, ms. lat. 11915, ff. 13–20, here f. 18r, and published by Broglie 1891 (as note 32), vol. 2, pp. 311–323, here p. 320.

62 Bodl., ms d'Orv. 487 (cfr. note 27), f. 124r, à Paris ce 24 juin 1730.

63 Bodl., ms d'Orv. 487 (cfr. note 27), f. 156v, à Paris ce 12 juillet 1733.

64 Henry Cohen, *Guide de l'amateur de livres à gravures du XVIIIe siècle*, cinquième édition (Paris: chez P. Rouquette, 1886) coll. 407–408, mentions 302 plates & 6 double plates.

65 *Avis* (1729) (cfr. note 26), p. [2]. For the large-paper version the figures were: vol. II, 20 livres, vols. III and IV, 15 livres each, and for vol. V 10 livres.

66 *Avis* (1729) (cfr. note 26), p. [2].

67 BNF, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms. fr. 17706, f. 33r, à Amsterdam 22 juillet 1730.

68 Bodl., ms. d'Orv. 487, f. 125r, à Paris, ce 8 Aout 1730.

69 BNF, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms. fr. 19641, f. 80r.

70 BNF, MSS (cfr. note 4), ms. fr. 19641, f. 69r. This document is not signed: it seems to be a fair copy, with a space left to insert the date and the signature.

71 *Avis* (1729) (cfr. note 26), p. [2].

72 Broglie 1891 (cfr. note 32), vol. II, p. 322.

73 De Boze, *Éloge du P. de Montfaucon*, in: Histoire de l'Académie Royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres et les Mémoires de Littérature tirées des Registres de cette Académie, depuis l'année M.DCCXLI. jusques & compris l'année M.DCCXLIII. Tome seizième, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1751, pp. 320–334, here p. 333.

74 *Trésor des antiquités de la couronne de France [...] Collection très-importante de plus de trois cents planches* ... , 2 vols., La Haye, chez P. de Hondt, 1745 and *Gedenkstukken van der fransche Monarchie verbeeld in meer dan drie honderd konstplaten*, 2 vols. in 'sGraavenhaage, by Pieter de Hondt, 1745.

75 L. Favre, [Subscription notice for reedition of Montfaucon's Monumens de la Monarchie françoise], Niort: typographie de L. Favre, s.d. [1877]), BNF, Imprimés: LJI 28A. Favre explained the need for the reedition in the following words: "Cet ouvrage, d'une érudition prodigieuse et auquel recourent constamment les historiens et les personnes qui s'occupent de nos annales nationales, ne se rencontre que rarement en librairie, où il atteint des prix très élevés."

76 Tassin 1770 (cfr. note 35), p. 608–609.

77 Tassin 1770 (cfr. note 35), p. 609.

78 *Encyclopédie*, t. XV, Neuchâtel: chez Samuel Fauche, 1765, pp. 416–417.

79 Viardot, Jean, *Livres rares et pratiques bibliophiliques*, in: Histoire de l'édition française, II, Le livre triomphant 1660–1830, Roger Chartier & Henri-Jean Martin eds., Paris: Fayard, 1990, pp. 583–614.

80 Letter dated 30. II. 1719, in: *Lettres inédites de Dom Claude de Vic à Fr. Marmi*, éd. Léon G. Pélissier, Montpellier, 1890, p. 39, quoted by Poulouin, Claudine, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures (1719–1724) par Bernard de Montfaucon*, in: Dix-huitième siècle, n8 27, 1995, pp. 43–60.

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