

The Golden Compasses

The History of the House of Plantin-Moretus

Leon Voet

bron

Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. The History of the House of Plantin-Moretus*. Vangendt & Co, Amsterdam / Routledge & Kegan Paul, London / Abner Schram, New York 1969-1972. (2 delen)

Zie voor verantwoording: http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/voet004gold01_01/colofon.php

© 2008 dbnl / erven Leon Voet

[Deel I]



(1) *Overleaf*: Christophe Plantin. Oil painting on panel by an anonymous sixteenth-century master (University Library, Leiden). This portrait was given to the University by the Raphelengius family. A contemporary copy is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. In the top left-hand corner of the original the year of painting and the sitter's age are indicated with the words: ANNO 1584 AETATIS 64. The copyist, however, erroneously wrote ANNO 1554 AETATIS 64.

Preface

The *Officina Plantiniana* can be regarded as the most important printing and publishing house that Belgium has ever had. It was founded in 1555 by Christophe Plantin, a poor journeyman bookbinder from the neighbourhood of Tours who, in one of the most turbulent periods of Western history, succeeded in making himself the greatest typographer of his day, and it was continued until 1876 by his descendants, the Moretuses. The rise and the heyday of the *officina* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries coincide with an era in which scholars from the Low Countries - the present Belgium and Holland - were able to play an extremely important part in the development of Western thought. The history of the *Officina Plantiniana* is therefore more than an account of the fortunes of a large capitalist enterprise: it also reflects and is part of the great cultural currents of the West. Since the records of the house have, providentially, been preserved almost intact it is possible to illumine the story in all its aspects and problems with an incredible wealth of detailed and accurate data.

The first chapters of Volume I outline the life and work of Christophe Plantin and of his successors the Moretuses, and attempt to show these successive generations of masters of the *Officina Plantiniana* at work against the political, social and cultural background of their times.

After moving several times Plantin settled in 1576 in a house in the Vrijdagmarkt in Antwerp, where for three centuries his *Gulden Passer* (Golden Compasses) was a unique combination of luxurious patrician residence and industrial workshop, and was then handed over to the city of Antwerp in 1876 with all the treasures it contained and made into a museum. There are chapters which trace the architectural history of the *Gulden Passer*, list the *objets d'art* that were assembled there in the course of the

centuries - and in some cases disappeared on one or other of the occasions on which the estate was divided up, and describe the formation and the contents of the library, one of the few private collections of books that, after belonging to the same family for three centuries, can still be seen and used in its original setting.

These two facets of the history of the *Officina Plantiniana* - the story of the masters of the firm and of the house in which they resided and worked - culminates in the chapter 'The Plantin house as a humanist centre'. This was the most difficult chapter to write, for it was here that the task of weighing and assessing was most delicate; it attempts to estimate the significance of the *Gulden Passer* and its masters for the cultural life of the Renaissance and the Baroque.

The *Gulden Passer* became a museum in 1876, but it had long before been one of Antwerp's tourist attractions. In the two final chapters of Volume I, past visitors and their reactions are described, and then the reader is taken on a tour of the venerable Plantinian house as it is today.

The *Officina Plantiniana* was a large-scale undertaking and its account-books have come down practically complete. In Volume II the printing and publishing activities of the Plantin-Moretus family are studied. They are seen negotiating and wrangling with authors or in difficulties with the authorities over 'privileges' and *approbationes*, ordering paper and parchment or fitting out their workshop, having punches and matrices prepared and lead type cast. The reader will be introduced to the bustling and sometimes explosive world of the journeyman printers and become acquainted with the scores of problems great and small which confronted Plantin and his successors.

Producing a book is one matter; selling it quite another. A complex distribution network had to be set up to get the works bearing the Plantinian compasses on the market, and this system had to be continually adapted to changes in the general economic, political and cultural situation in Europe. This forms the theme of the second part of Volume II and it is illustrated and augmented by a series of tables.

The works which Plantin and the Moretuses printed and published, or of which they shared the costs will in due time be listed in a descriptive catalogue: it will contain an estimated 4,000 titles and comprise several volumes.

It is hoped that these volumes of *The Golden Compasses* will give a suitably full and detailed picture of a dynamic family and of the production of an undertaking that must be reckoned among the greatest of the international printing houses which Western civilization has seen.

Antwerp, 26th May 1967

List of plates and illustrations

Text illustrations marked with an asterisk; plates numbered.

- (1) Christophe Plantin. Oil *frontispiece*
painting by an anonymous
sixteenth-century master.
- (2) Christophe Plantin. *facing 1*
Engraving by Joannes
Wiericx, 1588.
- (3) Bookbinding, ascribed to *facing 16*
Christophe Plantin (1555).
- (4) Title-page of Hendrik *between 16 & 17*
Niclaes, *Den Spiegel der*
Gherechticheit (second
edition), supposed to be
printed by Plantin around
1562.
- (5) Page from the same work, *between 16 & 17*
showing a grapevine
reminiscent of Plantin's
second emblem.
- (6) Opening pages of the first *facing 17*
book Plantin ever printed
(Bruto, *La institutione di*
una fanciulla nata
nobilmente, L'institution
d'une fille de noble maison;
1555).
- (7) Title-page of *La* *facing 24*
magnifique et sumptueuse
pompe funebre faite aus
obseques et funerailles
du... empereur Charles
Cinquième, the text of
which was printed by
Plantin, 1559.
- (8) Plantin's first privilege, *between 24 & 25*
granted by the Privy
Council of the Netherlands
(Brussels, 5th April 1554,
O.S.).

(9)

Part of one of the
thirty-two
copper-engravings in *La
magnifique et sumptueuse
pompe funebre...*

facing 25

- (10) First page of the inventory *facing* 32
of Plantin's possessions
auctioned at the Antwerp
Vrijdagmarkt, 28th April
1562.
- (11) Title-page of *Instruction facing* 33
chrestiene by Pierre
Ravillian, a heretical book
allegedly printed by Plantin
in 1562.
- (12) Deed of partnership *facing* 48
between Plantin and
members of the Van
Bomberghen family, 26th
November 1563.
- (13) Benedictus Arias *facing* 49
Montanus. Oil painting by
P.P. Rubens.
- (14) Christophe Plantin. *facing* 64
Engraving by Filips Galle,
1572. Earliest known
portrait of Plantin.
- (15) Two pages from Volume *between* 64 & 65
V (New Testament) of
Plantin's Polyglot Bible.
- (16) Poem by Christophe *facing* 65
Plantin dedicated to the
Magistrate and People of
Antwerp, printed in the
introduction to the French
editions (1581, 1587, 1598)
of Ortelius's atlas.
- (17) Pauwels van Overbeke's *facing* 80
woodcut map of Antwerp,
depicting the city before
the Spanish Citadel was
built.
- (18) Revised edition of Van *facing* 81
Overbeke's map: the
original edition has been
corrected by pasting an
improved sheet over the
southern part of the city.

- (19) The Spanish Fury at Antwerp, 4th November 1576. Etching by Frans Hogenberg, showing the fighting in front of the City Hall. *facing* 84
- (20) The Spanish Fury at Antwerp. Another etching by Frans Hogenberg, showing scenes of pillage and slaughter in the streets. *facing* 85
- (21) Plantin's deed of appointment as printer to the States General, 17th May 1578. *facing* 88
- (22) Title-page and first page from Hendrik Janssen Barrefelt's album *Imagines et figurae Bibliorum*, printed and published by Plantin probably in

1582. However, the publication is dated 1580 and 1581 and bears fictitious author's (Jacobus Villanus) and publisher's (Renatus Christianus) names. *between 88 & 89*
- (23) Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt's *Le livre des tesmoignages du thrésor caché au champ*, French translation of Barrefelt's main work, originally written in Dutch. Both versions were printed and published by Plantin, though anonymously and undated (c. 1580). *facing 89*
- (24) Christophe Plantin. Engraving by Hendrik Goltzius. *facing 92*
- (25) A Plantin imprint of 1580 still mentioning his title 'The King's Archprinter' though he had been already appointed 'Printer to the States General' in 1578. *facing 93*
- (26) A Plantin imprint of 1582, mentioning his title 'Printer to the States General'. *facing 100*
- (27) A Plantin imprint of 1582 mentioning the title 'Ducal Printer', the duke being François, duc d'Anjou et d'Alençon. Plantin dropped this title immediately after the duke's abortive attempt to seize Antwerp by force (French Fury, January 1583). *facing 101*
- (28) A Plantin imprint of 1584, when Antwerp was besieged by Parma's Spanish troops. Frans Raphelengius and Jan *facing 108*

Moretus who in Plantin's absence managed the business chose the careful wording 'By Government order'.

(29) An imprint of 1579. The *facing* 109
Tyrannies et cruauitez des Espagnols must have been very compromising in Spanish eyes. Hence Plantin printed it under the name of his son-in-law Frans Raphelengius.

(30) Plantin's last written words *facing* 116 (19th June 1589), with later additions by Jan Moretus and Jan Woverius.

- (31) The siege of Antwerp by the Duke of Parma's army (1584-85). Etching by Frans Hogenberg. *facing* 117
- (32) The Duke of Parma's entry into conquered Antwerp (27th August 1585). Etching by Frans Hogenberg. *facing* 124
- (33) 'Un labour courageux muni d'humble constance...' Verse written by Plantin in 1589, shortly before his death. *facing* 125
- (34) Justus Lipsius. Oil painting by P.P. Rubens. *facing* 136
- (35) Christophe Plantin. Oil painting by Rubens. Copied after the anonymous sixteenth-century portrait between 1613 and 1616 on Balthasar I Moretus's request. *between* 136 & 137
- (36) Jeanne Rivière, Christophe Plantin's wife. Oil painting by P.P. Rubens, commissioned by Balthasar I Moretus between 1630 and 1636. *between* 136 & 137
- (37) Triptych over Plantin's tomb (central panel). *facing* 137
- (38) Triptych over Plantin's tomb (side panels). *facing* 144
- (39) Frans Raphelengius. Oil painting by an anonymous sixteenth-century master. *facing* 145
- (40) Page from Frans Raphelengius's *Lexicon Arabicum*, published by his sons, Leiden, 1613. *facing* 160

- (41) Egidius Beys. Oil painting *between* 160 & 161
by an anonymous
sixteenth-century master.
- (42) Magdalena Plantin, Egidius *between* 160 & 161
Beys's wife. Oil painting
by an anonymous
sixteenth-century master.
- (43) Title-page of the *Psalmi* *facing* 161
Davidis published by
Egidius Beys, Antwerp,
1592. The printer styles
himself 'son-in-law and
fellow successor to
Christophe Plantin, under
the Sign of the White Lily
in the Golden Compasses'.
Jan I Moretus took legal
action to prevent his
brother-in-law from using
Plantin's name.
- (44) Title-page of *Petit*
pourmain devotieux,
another publication by
Beys, 1592. He now
indicates

- his premises as 'Plantin's smaller printing office'. *facing 176*
- (45) Title-page of *Edictum perpetuum* published in Paris, 1597, by Adrien Périer, Magdalena Plantin's second husband. He, too, called the Paris shop *Officina Plantiniana* and continued to use the Plantinian emblem with compasses and motto. *facing 177*
- (46) New Year's wish for 1573 from Jan I Moretus to Christophe Plantin. *facing 200*
- (47) Jan I Moretus. Oil painting by P.P. Rubens, commissioned by Balthasar I Moretus between 1613 and 1616, some years after his father's death (1610). *between 200 & 201*
- (48) Martina Plantin, Jan I Moretus's wife. Oil painting by P.P. Rubens, commissioned between 1630 and 1636 by Balthasar I Moretus, well after his mother's death (1616). *between 200 & 201*
- (49) Central panel of the triptych over Jan I Moretus's tomb. Oil painting by P.P. Rubens. *facing 201*
- (50) Balthasar I Moretus. Oil painting by Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, commissioned by Balthasar II Moretus immediately after his uncle's death (1641). *facing 208*
- (51) Title-page of Justus Lipsius's *Twee boecken vande stantvasticheyt*, *facing 209*

being the Dutch translation
of *De constantia libri duo*.
Both versions were
published and printed by
Plantin in 1584. The
translator Jan I Moretus
gives his name in its
original Dutch form: Ian
Mourentorf.

- (52) Letter from Balthasar I *facing 216*
Moretus to P.P. Rubens (in
Latin) about the epitaph for
the painter's deceased
brother Philip (1611).
- (53) Jan II Moretus. Oil *between 216 & 217*
painting by Erasmus
Quellin, commissioned in
1642 by Balthasar II,
nearly twenty-five years
after his father's death
(1618).

- (54) Maria de Sweert, Jan II *between 216 & 217*
Moretus's wife. Oil
painting by Jacob van
Reesbroeck, commissioned
in 1659 by Balthasar II
Moretus, some years after
his mother's death (1655).
- (55) Draft of an epitaph for *facing 217*
Philip Rubens, worded and
written by Balthasar I
Moretus (1611).
- (56) Coat-of-arms of the *facing 240*
Moretus family. Oil
painting by an anonymous
master, made for the
funeral of Joannes Jacobus
Moretus (1757).
- (57) Balthasar II Moretus. Oil *between 240 & 241*
painting by Jacob van
Reesbroeck, commissioned
in 1659 by the sitter
himself.
- (58) Anna Goos, Balthasar II *between 240 & 241*
Moretus's wife. Oil
painting by Jacob van
Reesbroeck, commissioned
by Balthasar II in 1659 as
a companion piece to his
own portrait.
- (59) Anna Maria de Neuf, *between 240 & 241*
Balthasar III Moretus's
wife. Oil painting by an
anonymous master.
- (60) Balthasar III Moretus. Oil *between 240 & 241*
painting by an anonymous
master.
- (61) Balthasar IV Moretus. Oil *between 240 & 241*
painting by an anonymous
master.
- (62) Isabella Jacoba de Mont (or *between 240 & 241*
Brialmont), Balthasar IV
Moretus's wife. Oil

painting by an anonymous
master.

- (63) Theresia Mathilda *between 240 & 241*
Schilders, Joannes Jacobus
Moretus's wife. Oil
painting by Jan van
Helmont, commissioned in
1717 by Joannes Jacobus
as a companion piece to his
own portrait by the same
artist.
- (64) Joannes Jacobus Moretus. *between 240 & 241*
Oil painting by Jan van
Helmont, made in 1717 on
the sitter's own request.
- (65) Franciscus Joannes *between 240 & 241*
Moretus. Oil painting by
Filips Jozef Tassaert, made
in 1762 on the sitter's own
request.
- (66) Maria Theresia Josephina
Borrekens, Franciscus

- Joannes Moretus's wife. *between 240 & 241*
 Oil painting by Filips-Jozef Tassaert, commissioned in 1762 by Franciscus Joannes as a companion piece to his own portrait.
- (67) Edward Jan Hyacinth Moretus. Oil painting by Jozef Delin (1852). *-facing 241*
- * General situation in the Vrijdagmarkt as existed in Plantin's time up to the mid-nineteenth century. 266
- * The *Gulden Passer* in the Vrijdagmarkt. Situation 1567. 268
- * The *Gulden Passer*. Situation 1576, after the division. 269
- * The *Gulden Passer*. Plantin's building activities of 1579-81. 272
- (68) Antwerp in 1565. Detail from the woodcut map by Virgilius Boloniensis. *-facing 272*
- (69) Detail from a survey of Antwerp, made about 1820, showing the Vrijdagmarkt and its immediate surroundings. *-facing 273*
- * The *Gulden Passer*. First stage of Balthasar I Moretus's building activities (1620-22). 279
- * The *Gulden Passer*. Second stage of Balthasar I's building activities (1637-39). 285
- * Slightly simplified plan of the Vrijdagmarkt and its neighbourhood in the middle of the nineteenth 288

- century, derived from the
1846 survey.
- (70) Survey of Antwerp by F.A. *facing* 288
Losson (1846). Detail
showing the Vrijdagmarkt
and its neighbourhood.
Names of streets have been
poorly translated into
French.
- (71) Courtyard of the Plantin *facing* 289
house: looking south.
- (72) Courtyard of the Plantin *facing* 292
house: looking north.
- (73) Courtyard of the Plantin *facing* 293
house: north-west corner.
- * The *Gulden Passer*. 294
Franciscus Joannes
Moretus's building
activities (1761-63).

- * The Vrijdagmarkt and its neighbourhood, present situation. Derived from the latest official survey. 297
- * Plan of the Plantin-Moretus Museum: ground floor. 298
- * Plan of the Plantin-Moretus Museum: first and second floors. 299
- (74) Front of the Plantin house. *facing* 300
- (75) Entrance to the Plantin-Moretus Museum. *facing* 301
- (76) The office (now Room 10). *facing* 304
- (77) The big drawing-room on the ground floor (now Room 2). *facing* 305
- (78) The Justus Lipsius Room (now Room 11). *facing* 308
- (79) The drawing-room on the first floor (now Room 21). *facing* 309
- (80) The drawing-room in the front building (now the 'Salon Emile Verhaeren'). *facing* 316
- (81) Baroque cabinet in Room 2. *facing* 317
- (82) Late seventeenth-century cabinet in Room 2. *facing* 320
- (83) Harpsichord and spinet combined into one. *facing* 321
- (84) Spanish gilt leather in the Lipsius Room. *facing* 324
- (85) Sixteenth-century Brussels wall-tapestry in Room 1. *facing* 325
- (86) Wooden lion on ornamented pedestal. Carved by Paulus Diricx (1621). *facing* 332
- (87) *Seneca Dying*. Oil painting by P.P. Rubens, commissioned by Balthasar *facing* 333

I Moretus between 1613
and 1616.

- (88) The great library (now *facing* 336
Room 31). The altar-piece
by Pieter Thijs is seen in
the background.
- (89) Another view of the great *facing* 337
library (Room 31).
- (90) Page from the catalogue of *facing* 340
the Plantinian library
compiled by Balthasar I
Moretus (1592).
- (91) Page from the second *facing* 341
catalogue of the Plantinian
library, compiled about
1675.

- (92) Books from the Plantinian *facing* 348 library. Plantin's monogram on the spines, was presumably applied by Balthasar II or III Moretus.
- (93) Illuminated ninth-century *facing* 349 manuscript containing Sedulius's *Carmen Paschale* and Prosperus's *Epigrammata*, bequeathed to Plantin by Theodoor Poelman.
- (94) The so-called *King facing* 352 *Wenceslas Bible*, fifteenth-century Bohemian manuscript. First page of Genesis.
- (95) Miniature from the *King facing* 353 *Wenceslas Bible*.
- (96) Page from the 36-line *facing* 356 Gutenberg Bible. This fine copy once belonged to the Augustinian Monastery at Antwerp.
- (97) Renaissance bookbinding *facing* 357 by Claus van Dormale (Antwerp, 1543).
- (98) Gilt leather bookbinding, *facing* 360 made at Antwerp, around 1565.
- (99) Title-page of a Plantinian *facing* 361 publication, given by the printer to his friend Abraham Ortelius.
- (100) Page from the *Album facing* 364 *Amicorum* of Abraham Ortelius, showing a poem and dedication by Christophe Plantin (8th September 1574).
- (101) Sonnet by Anna Roemers *facing* 365 Visscher, written by the

- poetess's own hand and addressed to Balthasar I Moretus (c. 1640).
- (102) Address dedicated to the Prince and Princess of Orange, printed by Christophe Plantin in their presence (14th December 1579). *facing* 404
- (103) A token of homage to the Queen of France, the King and Queen of the Belgians and two French princesses, printed in presence of the royal visitors, 1834. *facing* 405
- (104) The staff of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in 1902. *facing* 412
- (105) Eulogy dedicated to Albertus F.H.F. Moretus by the foreman and journeymen of the press (1828). *facing* 413

Acknowledgments

ACL (Brussels) photographs: 13, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87.

Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: 4.

Municipal Archives, Antwerp: 69.

Municipal Gallery of Prints, Antwerp: 17, 18, 19, 20, 31, 32, 70.

Pembroke College, Cambridge: 100.

Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp: 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 51, 52, 55, 56, 67, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 83, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105.

University Library, Leiden: 1, 5, 39.



(2) *Overleaf*: Christophe Plantin. Engraving by Joannes Wiericx, 1588. The original copperplate is also in the collection of the Plantin-Moretus Museum. With a biographical note written by Plantin's grandson Frans Raphelengius (cf. p. 5).

Part I
The Plantin-Moretus Dynasty

Chapter 1

Christophe Plantin, a Prince of Printers

In 1548 or 1549 Christophe Plantin, a humble French journeyman bookbinder, arrived in Antwerp with his wife Jeanne Rivière and his young daughter Margareta. He was to establish himself permanently in the city on the Scheldt and there acquire a reputation that still remains undimmed after four centuries.

*Origin and youth*¹

Who was Christophe Plantin? In 1606, scarcely seventeen years after the death of the great printer, Plantin's grandson, Balthasar I Moretus, was to claim in a letter to the bishop and the chapter of Antwerp that his grandfather belonged to a 'race illustre', but the family fortune and estates had gone to an elder brother.² Names and details were given in a document of later date, preserved in the Moretus family:³ Plantin's father was Charles de Tiercelin, lord of La Roche du Maine, a captain who had won glory and renown in battle in the service of the French kings, but had been able to bequeath little more than his fame to his descendants. Charles de Tiercelin's sons had been obliged to make their own way in life. Christophe and one of his brothers went to Normandy. Intending to practise trade, they decided to change their name so as not to disgrace their noble family.

1. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 3-8; Clair, *Plantin*, pp. 1-6.

2. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 6.

3. The 'Van der Aa document', so called because it was found among the papers of *Jonker van der Aa* (died 1848), a relation of the Moretuses. Published by Van der Straelen, *Geslagtlyste*, p. 7; reproduced in its entirety by Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 5-6.

Riding across a meadow, they let their choice of name be inspired by certain plants: Christophe chose the plantain, his younger brother the leek, called *porrée* in French. ‘Plantin’ became a printer, ‘Porret’ an apothecary.

All his life the printer Plantin did in fact maintain the closest relations with the apothecary Pierre Porret, each addressing the other as ‘brother’, yet Plantin's origin must nevertheless have been more workaday and plebeian than later generations of the Moretus family permitted themselves to proclaim. The descendants of the printer, having become rich, seem to have mistaken their dreams of nobility for reality.

Plantin never claimed aristocratic birth for himself; in a letter to Jean Sylvius, lord of Sapigny,¹ he soberly called himself a commoner [*plebeius homo*].² In 1550 he had himself entered on the citizens' roll of Antwerp as the equally plain and modest ‘Christoffel Plantin Janssz[one] van Tours’ [Christophe Plantin, son of Jean, of Tours].³

These assertions could perhaps be regarded as part of the smokescreen laid down by Plantin to protect his noble family from the shame done them by the branch that had gone into trade. Another document, however, has been preserved: a letter addressed to Christophe Plantin from none less than Pierre Porret himself, in which the latter outlines his ‘brother's’ youth - and at the same time gives details concerning his origin that sound anything but noble.

Before examining this interesting and remarkable document more closely, however, it is preferable to deal with the problem of the year and place of Plantin's birth.⁴ His widow and daughters included the words ‘he lived 75 years and departed this life on 1st July 1589’ in the epitaph on his

1. [March] 1572: *Corr.*, II, no. 322.

2. In a letter of 25th December 1580 to his daughter Magdalena (*Corr.*, VI, no. 896), Plantin emphasized that he had never been able to depend on his parents and family: ‘Car nous n'avons jamais eu rien de nos parents que charges et cousts et si avons commencé premièrement mesnage du seul labour de nos mains.’ [For we have never had anything from our parents but burdens and costs, and consequently we could only set up house through the labour of our own hands.]

3. Cf. further p. 12.

4. M. Rooses, ‘Plantijns geboortejaar en plaats’ in *Bulletijn van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, 2, 1882, pp. 191-202 (text incorporated in *Musée*). The documents given in the Appendix to this article (extracts from deeds from the Antwerp Municipal Archives referring to Plantin's age) were reprinted in *Suppl. Corr.*, nos 278-281.

tombstone.¹ The portrait that Jan Wiericx engraved in 1588 has ‘aet[atis] LXXIII’, which would also make 1514 the year of Plantin's birth. But Frans Raphelengius, Plantin's grandson, was sceptical about this statement. In an interesting biographical note, written under a print of the Wiericx portrait (a note that is now in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, after passing through the hands of various families related to that of Raphelengius) he says that his grandfather was born in May 1520. But he goes on to point out that his parents and the other members of the family were convinced that his grandfather had already reached the age of 75 in 1589 - a conviction based on what Plantin himself had declared shortly before his death. Frans Raphelengius himself stuck to his first opinion, saying ‘I believe that grandfather was barely 70 years old; this is clear from numerous letters which I have had in my hands and which he wrote in his youth to Alexander Grapheus’.²

These letters are not extant, but on the other hand a number of deeds were discovered in the Municipal Archives at Antwerp in which Plantin stated his age - and gave figures that come close to his grandson's estimate.³ In 1561 Plantin gave his age as 40, making 1521 the year of his birth, and in 1564 as ‘45 years or thereabouts’. In 1570 he was still 45 according to his own declaration, advancing his year of birth to 1525, but in 1572 he returned to something nearer the earlier figures, giving his age as 54 (year of birth 1518). Finally, in 1576, he quoted his age as ‘about 56 years’, which would make 1520 his year of birth.

In two other documents dated 30th April 1582⁴ and 31st December 1583⁵ respectively, and belonging therefore to the last few years of Plantin's life, the printer again indicated that he had been born in 1520. A portrait of Plantin by an unknown artist in the University of Leiden gives two figures that also point to 1520: ‘Anno 1584. Aetatis 64.’⁶

1. ‘Vixit Ann. LXXV, desit hic vivere Kal. Quinctil., Anno Christi MDXXCIX’. For the complete text of the epitaph, see: Rooses, *Musée*, p. 379.
2. Latin text: Rooses, ‘Plantijns geboortejaar en plaats’, and Rooses and Sabbe, *Catalogus Museum Plantin-Moretus*; French translation: Rooses, *Musée*, p. 3; English translation: Clair, *Plantin*, p. 239. Reproduction: plate 2.
3. Cf. p. 4, n. 4.
4. *Corr.*, VII, no. 984 (Plantin's application to the Antwerp city magistrate).
5. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1014 (Plantin's ‘Relation d'aulcuns griefz’ against Philip II), p. 132.
6. The copy after this painting, in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, gives the incorrect ‘A^o 1554 Aetatis 64’. Cf. H. Bouchery-F. van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, 1941, p. 22.

Plantin himself seems thus to have had only a vague idea of his correct age, but although shortly before his death he cherished the conviction that he had been born in about 1514, in his younger years the printer had preferred dates that varied around 1520. In this case the opinion of the younger Plantin is more acceptable,¹ and for want of more positive information it should be assumed that the great printer was born in or about 1520.

Plantin's birthplace also poses a problem of historical criticism. In the Antwerp citizens' roll, Plantin registered himself as being 'from Tours'.² It seems, however, that he did not mean Tours itself, but its district. Presumably Plantin, to avoid possible difficulties with the clerk who made the entry, chose to give the name of the large and well-known French city rather than the small place in its vicinity where he had actually been born. At all events Frans Raphelengius, the writer of the biographical note discussed above, in a eulogistic poem that he composed in 1584 'en l'effigie de mon père grand', has his grandfather say: 'près de Tours en Touraine a prins mon corps naissance'.³

But in which of the many small places around Tours was Plantin born? Frans Raphelengius, in the biographical note, mentions Chitré near Chastellerault, but follows this immediately with a hesitant 'ut puto' [in my opinion]. Chitré in fact lies too far from Tours to be considered, quite apart from the fact that it is in Poitou. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most biographers stated that Plantin was born in Mont-Louis, a few miles from Tours - without, however, bringing forward any proof. In the nineteenth century scholars began to show a preference for Saint-Avertin, which lies still closer to Tours, but again without advancing any decisive arguments.⁴ When examination of the sixteenth-century baptismal registers of Saint-Avertin, unfortunately only preserved from 1574, yielded a rich crop of Plantins whilst not a single one was to be found in the registers of Mont-Louis, modern scholars concurred with this view.⁵

1. See also p. 120.

2. Cf. p. 12.

3. For the text of this poem see Rooses, *Musée*, p. 379.

4. Rooses enumerates these authors in *Musée*, p. 4, n. 1.

5. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 4.

It may be concluded that in all probability Christophe Plantin was born in, or about, 1520 at Saint-Avertin near Tours. His father was called Jean.

This is more or less all that would be known about the first thirty years of Plantin's life were it not for the letter written by Pierre Porret on 25th March 1567 to his 'brother' Plantin.¹ A remarkable letter in a remarkable year. It was remarkable because, as will be discussed later in more detail, 1567 was for Plantin the 'year of the great fear'. Compromised by his association with Calvinists, involved in an anti-Spanish press at Vianen, the printer awaited fearfully the arrival of Alva and the threatening Spanish repression. In the letters that he wrote at the time to his powerful Spanish friends, he emphasized his Catholic orthodoxy in every possible way with monotonous regularity.

It was in that same year that Pierre Porret wrote a letter to the friend of his youth in which he relates how he, Porret, extolled Plantin's Catholicism to 'monsieur le chevalier d'Angolesme' (Henry of Angoulême, illegitimate son of Henry II and Grand Prior of France), explaining to this dignitary the reasons for their close friendship and describing Plantin's youth in detail, particulars that he repeats at great length to his friend - to someone, that is, who was after all much better acquainted with those particulars than Porret. It is as if Porret wanted to warn his friend: 'this is all that I have said'.

The letter no doubt had a deeper significance, but presumably more by reason of certain details that Porret withheld and that very probably related to the religious opinions of Porret and Plantin in those years, than because of any inaccuracy in the details that were furnished.² A number of facts,

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 27. English translation: Clair, *Plantin*, pp. 236-238.
2. Plantin's biographers are practically unanimous in their surprise for this epistle. Most of them believe the piece to be relevant to the religious attitude and the perils of the young Plantin. In fact in the beginning of his letter, Pierre Porret expressly emphasized the religious aspect: 'Mon frère, Je vous advertys que jamais monseigneur le chevalier d'Angolesme ne me rencontre qu'il ne me desmande de vos nouvelles, comme vous vous portés et que c'est que vous faictes. Il vous ayme grandement et qui plus l'incite à ce, c'est qu'il a bien entendu que jamais on ne vous a sceu faire trover bon ny condescendre à la nouvelle religion, quelque grande liberté qui se soit sceu monstrier par delà... [Plantin had saved a German servant of d'Angoulême for the Catholic religion, for which the nobleman was grateful.] Or ce n'est pas tout, car il a fallu que je luy aye récité, de point en point, la cause de nostre fraternité et si grande amytié, et comme nous avons estés nouris ensemble dès la grande jeunesse.' [My brother, I must inform you that my lord of Angoulême never meets me without asking me for news of you, how you are, and what you are doing. He has great affection for you and what most encourages him in this is the fact that he understands full well that you have never been known to approve of or stoop to the new religion, whatever great liberty has been manifested in those parts... Now this is not all for I have had to account to him, in all particulars, the reason for our brotherliness and great friendship, and how we were brought up together from our earliest childhood.]

including some concerning Porret's relations at Lyons and Plantin's stay in Caen, can be checked against other sources; they have been found correct.¹

What did Porret write to Plantin concerning his friend's youth?² Plantin's father was a footman. Fleeing from the plague that had decimated his household - and, as far as can be made out from the context, had carried off Plantin's mother³ - he made his way to Lyons with his only surviving child and there entered the service of Claude Porret, the aged obediary of the church of Saint-Just, whom Jean Plantin had already served at the university. This person was actually Antoine Porret, according to documents from Lyons.⁴ Pierre Porret was a nephew of this 'Claude' Porret, in whose house he came to know Plantin and to love him as a brother.

'Claude' Porret had four other nephews, his sister's sons, whom he brought up in his house. One of these, Pierre Puppier, went to study at the universities of Orleans and Paris and was accompanied by Jean Plantin and his son. This was the end of Christophe Plantin's Lyons period, which must have been very short. No more than a child when he arrived at

1. Or at least partly correct: Pierre Porret made some extraordinary mistakes when giving the names of his relations at Lyons.
2. For the Lyons period see V.L. Saulnier, 'Sur le séjour à Lyon de Christophe Plantin' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 18, 1956, pp. 96-100. A more detailed account is N.Z. Davis, 'Christophe Plantin's childhood at Saint-Just' in *De Gulden Passer*, 35, 1957, pp. 107-120.
3. 'C'est celluy [= Pierre Puppier] que vous avés servi à Paris et Orléans, lorsque feu vostre père vous amena chez ledict seigneur obédiencier, fuiant la peste quand tous mouraient en vostre maison.'
4. As is explained - independently of one another - by Saulnier and Davis. Pierre Porret made another mistake of this sort: he called Antoine Puppier the husband of 'Claude' Porret's sister, whereas in the Lyons documents the father of Pierre Porret's cousins is given as Mathieu Puppier. However, this mistake is more understandable than the incorrect reporting of the name of the uncle with whom Pierre himself had lived so long. As Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 109, puts it: 'The latter's name [i.e. Mathieu Puppier] he might forget over the years, but to forget Antoine Porret - an odd slip of the pen!'

Saint-Just,¹ he seems to have stayed only for two or three years in Antoine Porret's house.²

When Pierre Puppier had taken his doctor's degree and had become a canon, Plantin's father left the French capital and returned to Lyons 'en attendant qu'il iroit à Tolouze', presumably to accompany another Puppier to the university there.

He left his son in Paris with some money to continue his studies. His intention had been to take the boy with him to Toulouse: 'mays il s'en alla sans vous'.³ Without pausing to elaborate on the drama of the young Plantin,⁴ left behind in Paris with insufficient means and quite alone, Porret continues in his imperturbable manner: '...ce que voyant, vous vous en allastes à Caen servir un libraire et puy, quelques ans après, vous vous mariastes audict lieu et moy je me mys apprentif appotiquère. Puy vous amenastes vostre mesnage en ceste ville, où nous avons tousjours estés ensemble et, en l'an 1548 ou 1549, vous allastes à Anvers où vous estes encore' [Seeing this, you went to Caen and entered the service of a bookseller and then, after some years, you were married in that town and I was bound apprentice to an apothecary. Then you brought your family to this city of Paris, where we were constantly in each other's company and, in the year 1548 or 1549, you went to Antwerp, where you are still].

Thus Porret supplies quite a few interesting details but, whether deliberately or not, he suppresses at least as many. Why, for example, did Plantin's

1. 'Vous estiés bien jeune [i.e. when Plantin arrived in Lyons] et n'aviés aulcune cognoissance de jamais avoyr veu vostre mère.'
2. Continuation of text in preceding note: 'Nous feusmes deux ou troys ans ensemble chez mondect oncle, avant que monsieur le docteur Pierre Puppier allast [accompanied by the Plantins, father and son] à Orléans.'
3. 'Je luy ay recité comme, après que son maistre fust chanoyne, il [i.e. Plantin's father] se retira à Lion et vous laissa icy, en ceste ville [Paris], quelque peu d'argent pour vous ententer à l'estude en attendant qu'il iroit à Tolouze, là où il vous devoit mener. Mays il s'en alla sans vous, ce que voyant, vous vous en allastes à Caen...' [I have told him how, after his master became a canon, he went back to Lyons and left you here in this town, with a little money to support you in your studies, until such time as he should go to Toulouse, where he was to take you. But he went there without you. Seeing this you went to Caen...]
4. Pierre Puppier became a canon in October 1534, but relinquished the post in the same month. In March 1537 he once more became a canon, this time for good. Pierre Puppier and Plantin's father could therefore have returned to Lyons either in 1534 or 1537. The latter date seems more likely. Plantin would then have been about seventeen.

father behave in this extraordinary fashion? A father who otherwise appears to have surrounded his child with every care, and who is depicted as a kindly man: the young Porret testified how he was always slipping him delicacies. Why did this solicitous father abandon his son? And what happened to father Plantin subsequently? Porret merely mentioned in passing that in 1567 Christophe Plantin had not yet been able to fulfil his desire of visiting his father's grave in Lyons. Apparently this was where Jean Plantin was buried and from the context it also appears that he must have died before 1562.¹ Most important of all, why did Christophe choose not to remain in the printing centre of Paris and instead go to Caen?

These are probably questions to which it will never be possible to give conclusive answers. At all events two other sources confirm that Christophe Plantin was certainly active in Caen. They even give the name of his master, Robert II Macé, who lived from 1503 to 1563,² and they state that it was in Macé's house that Plantin came to know Jeanne Rivière, the Norman girl who became his faithful life's partner.³ It is often implied that Plantin learnt printing from Robert Macé, although until about 1550 his employer was simply a bookseller and bookbinder.⁴ In his early years in Antwerp,

1. 'Il y a quelques ans que vous parliez d'aller revisiter la sépulture de feu vostre père et luy faire un service, mays vous auriés bien affaire, à présent, de trouver le lieu où il a esté enterré.' [Several years ago you spoke of revisiting your late father's grave and of having a service read for him, but you would be hard put to it now to find the place where he is buried.] This was because of the destruction of the churches of St. Just and Ste. Irénée by Huguenots in 1562, which Porret had related earlier in his letter. There was in fact a cousin of Plantin still living in Lyons in 1567: 'J'ay esté despuys quelques moys à Lion où vis je vostre cousin Jacques Plantin, fort vieux et quy jamays n'a proffité despuys qu'il a veu le ravage, de quoy ces mauldis rebelles... ont faict à St. Just et St. Liévin [error for Ste. Irénée].' [I was in Lyons a few months ago where I saw your cousin Jacques Plantin, who is now very old and has never prospered since he saw the havoc which these accursed rebels... wrought at St. Just and Ste. Irénée.]
2. Joannes Ruxelius, *Poemata*, Caen, 1646, p. 193. The Latin text is in Rooses, *Musée*, p. 379; partly translated into French in Rooses, *Musée*, p. 7; partly translated into English in Clair, *Plantin*, pp. 239-240. The Van der Aa document (cf. p. 3, n. 3) similarly makes mention of Plantin's stay with a bookseller in Caen, but does not give his name.
3. A detail furnished by the not always very trustworthy Van der Aa document. Jeanne Rivière did have a brother who lived in Caen or its neighbourhood, and a cousin, Guillaume Rivière, a journeyman printer at Plantin's *officina*, who was born in Caen or its environs. See pp. 139-140, for Plantin's wife, her origin, and family.
4. V.L. Saulnier, 'L'humanisme français et Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, p. 45, note 2. It is interesting to note that whereas Ruxelius represented Robert Macé as 'the King's printer' (and the first in Normandy and Brittany to print books with metal type), who initiated his apprentice Plantin into the secrets of the art of printing, the otherwise unreliable Van der Aa document merely describes Plantin's employer as a bookseller and bookbinder of Caen: 'Ores, Christofle Plantin estant à Can se mit au service d'un libraire qui ensemble estoit relieur; là, où il aprint à relier de livres et de faire de petits coffres pour garder des joyaux, ce qu'il fist en ce temps-là si curieusement que tout le monde estimoit ce qu'estoit faict de sa main.'

Plantin did in fact practise the trade of bookbinding, and it was this craft, rather than printing, that he must have learnt from Macé.

The chronology of this part of Plantin's career can be reconstructed roughly as follows: in 1534 or 1537, as a boy of about 14 or as a youth of about 17 years of age, he was left behind alone in Paris; shortly afterwards he made his way to Caen where, in 1545 or 1546 he must have married Jeanne Rivière, who presented him with a daughter in 1547; in 1546 or 1547 he probably returned to Paris,¹ and finally, in 1548 or 1549, at the age of about 28 or 29, he left the banks of the Seine for those of the Scheldt.

The bookbinder Plantin in Antwerp (1548/49-1555)²

According to Pierre Porret's statement in his letter of 25th March 1567, Plantin settled in Antwerp in 1548 or 1549. Balthasar I Moretus, however, in a letter of 1604, mentions only 1549, and most scholars, beginning with Max Rooses and Maurice Sabbe, have simply left it at that.

In recent years a document has been brought to light in the Antwerp Municipal Archives in which 'Christoffel Plantyn Janssz. van Tours en Franche, boeckbindere' declared that he had already resided in the town for four years.³ The document is dated 11th July 1552, which would put Plantin's arrival in the first half of 1548. It has already been shown, however, that Plantin was often confused about dates, and in the case in point - because of the war with France, French residents in Antwerp were under-

1. Nothing is known with certainty concerning this stay in Paris. Rooses (and others) have indicated that Plantin then became the owner of the house called Saint-Christophe in the rue Saint-Jean-de-Latran. This would mean that the young, newly-wed printer was already a man of ample means. But Clair, in *Plantin*, p. 7, has convincingly shown that this supposition is based on a misconception.
2. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 11-14.
3. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 227.

going investigation - it was rather in the interest of those questioned to exaggerate a little the length of their stay in the town on the Scheldt. The author is inclined to adopt Pierre Porret's cautious statement that Plantin arrived in Antwerp with his family in 1548 or 1549.

On 21st March 1550, 'Christophe Plantin, son of John, of Tours, bookbinder', having taken the prescribed oath, was registered as a citizen of Antwerp.¹ In the same year he was admitted - as a printer - to the Guild of St. Luke,² the corporation that in Antwerp included the practitioners of the various artistic crafts.

Christophe Plantin had come to feel at home in Antwerp. Except during the troubled period of 1583 to 1585, and his retirement to Paris in 1562-63, he never left 'la preclara et famosa città, la bella, nobilissima et amplissima città' as Ludovico Guicciardini, with Southern exuberance, expressed it, or, as Plantin himself rather more soberly put it,³ 'ceste noble et renommée ville d'Anvers'. He sang the praises of the metropolis many times, as proudly as any native *Sinjoor*:

*Au prudent Senat,
Et Peuple d'Anvers,
Christophe Plantin.
C'est grand honneur, Messieurs, de voir tant d'estrangers
Des quatre Parts du Monde (avec mille dangers)
Apporter ce qu'ils ont d'esprit et de puissance
Pour rendre vostre ville un Cornet d'abundance...*

[Christophe Plantin, to the wise Senate and People of Antwerp. It is a great honour, Sirs, to see so many strangers come from the four corners of the Earth, despite a thousand perils, to bring what they possess of wisdom and of

1. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 226.

2. P. Rombouts-T. van Lerijs, *De liggeren... der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, I, p. 170. It is rather strange that the bookbinder Plantin should have been entered as a printer. It is possible that he requested this, his ambition being to become a printer. It is by no means impossible, however, that the entries in the ledger of the Guild for the year 1550 were written down at a later date, when Plantin had already established himself as a printer.

3. In a letter to de Çayas, 19th December 1566 (*Corr.*, I, no. 20).

power to make your town a cornucopia]. Plantin wrote his poem in the preface to the French edition of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1581) by his friend Abraham Ortelius.¹

The Frenchman Plantin became wholly assimilated in the life of Antwerp. But why did he venture on this great step, turning his back both on Paris, the French magnet, and on Lyons, that other important printing centre where he had spent his youth, choosing instead the Brabantine town on the Scheldt? In a letter to Pope Gregory XIII dated 9th October 1574, he set out his reasons in detail:² ‘If I had taken only my personal interests into account, I could have secured for myself the benefits that were offered me in other countries and cities. I preferred Belgium (*Belgica regio*) and this city of Antwerp, however, before all others as a place in which to establish myself. What chiefly inspired this choice is that in my judgement no other place in the world could furnish more convenience for the trade I wished to practise. This city is easy of access; one sees the various nations congregating in the market-place, and here all the materials necessary for the practice of my craft are to be obtained; workers for all trades, who can be taught in a short time, are easily found; above all else I noticed, to the satisfaction of my religious belief, that this city and the whole country surrounding it far excel all neighbouring peoples in their great love for the Catholic religion, under the sceptre of a king who is Catholic in name and deed; finally it is in this country that the renowned University of Louvain flourishes, graced in all faculties by the knowledge of her many professors, of whose guidance, counsel and works I hoped to avail myself to the great benefit of the public.’

Naturally this letter should be considered critically. Plantin was in fact repeatedly requested by kings and princes to settle in their realms - *after* he had acquired international fame at Antwerp. But in 1548 or 1549 the Plantin who, after weighing up the pros and cons, decided to make his way to that city was no more than a small insignificant unit in the great anonymous mass of competent, and less competent, craftsmen. The man who wrote to Pope Gregory XIII was someone who had ‘arrived’ and was seeing his early years in the distorting mirror of success. It can also be

1. Reproduced: *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 274. See also plate 16.

2. *Corr.*, IV, no. 566.

assumed that the religious motives are rather too strongly stressed - which is only normal in a letter addressed to the head of Roman Catholic Christendom.

Nevertheless the main reasons why Plantin ventured to Antwerp are indicated plainly enough: no other town in the world offered more opportunities to ambitious young men than the commercial metropolis of the West - capital and money-lenders, a network of communications that covered the globe, and experienced craftsmen in large numbers.¹

Yet even in Antwerp the way up was long and hard. Plantin had to take things steadily at first. He soon made friends and acquaintances, however, and just as quickly acquired a reputation for the quality of his work. In 1604, in the letter that has been cited above, Balthasar Moretus described the early years of the young bookbinder's career to the Jesuit writer Egidius Schoondonck:² 'When the late Christophe Plantin came to Antwerp from France in 1549, he was at first engaged in bookbinding and making small chests and boxes, which he covered with leather and gilded, or wondrously inlaid with small pieces of leather of different colours. No one equalled him in the making of such caskets, neither in Antwerp nor in the Netherlands. Thus he soon won fame with Mercury and the Muses, that is to say amongst the merchants and the scholars who, going frequently to the Exchange, in the vicinity of which Plantin lived, or coming from thence, were obliged to look at his wares. The scholars bought elegantly bound

1. Naturally other motives could also have played some part in this. In *Christophe Plantin, imprimeur de l'humanisme*, 1944, p. 8, A.J.J. Delen suggests that Plantin made friends among the South Netherlands colony in Paris who may well have persuaded him to try his luck in their country. Sabbe, in *De meesters van den Gulden Passer*, p. 11, is of the opinion that Plantin and his wife were not satisfied with the way their affairs were going in Paris and wanted to see if they would fare any better in more favourable surroundings. In his *Plantin*, pp. 8-9, Clair lays more stress on political and religious factors. Henry II had taken energetic measures against Protestantism in France, whereby a particularly careful watch was kept on the printers and publishers; this stringent control pressed heavily on the industry. This suggestion is, however, difficult to accept: the struggle against heresy and the control of printing was much severer in the Netherlands of Charles V than in the France of Henry II. Plantin was not in fact a printer at this time but a bookbinder.
2. Arch. 12, folio 266. Cf. M. Rooses, 'Eene bladzijde uit het verloren handschrift van: "Admiranda hujus saeculi"' in *Bulletijn van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, 1, 1882, pp. 92-97. The facts are also quoted in Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 12-13 and pp. 379-380 (an edition of the Latin text of the letter).

books, the merchants caskets or other precious things that he made himself or had sent from France.’

As evidence, this enthusiastic eulogizing by a grandson is of course rather suspect. Nevertheless it is a very significant fact that in this period the magistrate of Antwerp gave Plantin many municipal registers to bind¹ and that the town recorder (*griffier*), Alexander Grapheus, gave him numerous commissions and even appears to have advanced him money to open a shop.² A number of beautifully bound volumes have been preserved which were made in Antwerp in this period. Experts have put forward quite convincing arguments for ascribing these to the young Frenchman.³ Plantin must have been a master craftsman in leather.

1. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 12 (details for the years 1552 and 1553, taken from the municipal accounts). The City Archives have also the copy of a contract, dated 1553, in which Robert van Loo was placed by his father in Plantin's care as an apprentice for a term of eight years (*Ibidem*, p. 12).
2. According to the Van der Aa document (cf. p. 3, n. 3): ‘Estant mariés ils vinrent à Anvers avec le peu de livrets de prières et semblables choses, et mirent une petite boitique (le mari des livres, et la femme des linges) dessus la bourse des marchands, la ou ils gagnèrent quelque temps leur vie assez sobrement. Il advint par après que le Sr. Scribonius Grapheus, en ce temps la greffier de la ville d'Anvers, se plaisant fort à la curiosité de la ligature de Plantin, le fit relier tous ses livres, et l'avanca et l'ayda en luy prestant quelques deniers de sorte, qu'il vint à tenir une boutique au logis qu'à présent se nomme la Rose près l'église des Augustins à Anvers.’ [Being married they came to Antwerp with a few prayerbooks and similar items and set up a small shop (the husband selling books, the wife selling lace) above the merchants' Exchange. Here they earned a modest living. A little later it happened that Scribonius Grapheus, at that time the *griffier* (town recorder) of Antwerp, being very pleased with the curiosity of Plantin's bindings, had him bind all his books and helped him by lending him some money, so that he came to keep a shop in the house which is now called the Rose, near the Augustinian church in Antwerp.] This last detail is wrong. Plantin never lived near the Augustinian church. However, in later years the printer does seem to have maintained very friendly relations with the *griffier*, Alexander Grapheus (cf. the quotation from the younger Frans Raphelengius concerning Plantin's numerous letters to this official; see also p. 369). There is also reference in one of these letters to the help Grapheus had once offered Plantin: ‘Imo ego ingratiss. essem Graphee doctiss. nisi quibus possem argumentis declararem quantum ab eo tempore quo primum in has regiones appuli me isto tuo animi candori et liberalitati debere fateor et agnoscam.’ [Firstly I would be most ungrateful to you most learned Grapheus if I did not demonstrate by all possible proofs how great is the acknowledged debt I owe to your sincerity and generosity of spirit to me at that time when I first came to these regions.] (Plantin to Grapheus, 11th July 1574: *Corr.*, IV, no. 541.)
3. Concerning Plantin and the bookbindings which he made or which were attributed to him see: Rooses, *Musée*, p. 12; L. Gruel, ‘Notice sur Christophe Plantin, relieur à Anvers (1514-1590)’ in *Journal général de l'imprimerie et de la librairie*, Paris, 1891, pp. 213-216; P. Verheyden, ‘Plantijnsche bandmerken’ in *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 8, 1910, pp. 263-265; J. Rudbeck, ‘Christophe Plantin relieur’ in *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du 4^e centenaire de Chr. Plantin*, 1920, pp. 65-72; M. Sabbe, ‘Een Plantijnsch Bandje?’ in *Het Boek*, 11, 1922, pp. 209-212; P. Högberg, ‘Reliures belges à l'Université d'Upsal’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 5, 1925, pp. 1-3; P. Verheyden, ‘Twee banden van Plantijn voor Keizer en Prins’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 15, 1937, pp. 107-119 (cf. also *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België*, 6, no. 5, 5th May 1962); J. Peeters-Fontainas, ‘Encore une reliure attribuée à Plantin’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 16-17, 1938-1939, pp. 28-30; I. Schunke, ‘Die Einbände des Christoph Plantin’ in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1956, pp. 319-330, and ‘Plantin und die niederländische Einbandkunst seiner Zeit’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 122-141; G. Colin, ‘A propos d'une reliure de Plantin’ in *Studi di Bibliografia e di Storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*, II, Verona, 1964, pp. 1-14, and ‘Une ode à Philippe II, écrite,

At the same time he was trying to augment his income. Plantin, ‘lyeur des livres et marchand, bourgeois manant de la ville d'Anvers’ [bookbinder and merchant, citizen of the town of Antwerp] concluded a contract on 14th March 1553 with Lambert Suavius, ‘architecteur de la cité de Liège’ for the purchase of 100 copies of the Acts of the Apostles at 10 stuivers each:¹ at this date the bookbinder was already buying and selling engravings and it is possible that he was also selling books, albeit on a modest scale.² Another trade, which did not demand too much of his time, probably brought in welcome extra money too. At least from 1556 onwards, Plantin acted as agent for his Parisian friend Pierre Gassen, ‘lingier de Messieurs, frères du Roi’, collecting the lace delivered by small manufacturers and sending it on to the French capital.³ It is possible that he also did this in the period 1549 to 1555, if not for Pierre Gassen, then for other principals in Paris. At all events, it is stated that his wife owned a lace shop at this time.⁴

He was established at first in the Lombaardvest; somewhat later, at least from 1552, ‘in the street running from the new Exchange to the Meir, on the west side’; this is the present Twaalfmaandenstraat, the small street that

imprimée et reliée par Plantin’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 43, 1965, pp. 65-91; W. Godenne, *Les reliures de Plantin*, 1965.

1. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 228. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 12; A.J.J. Delen, ‘Christoffel Plantin als prentenhandelaar’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 10, 1932, pp. 22-23.
2. As is stated in the Van der Aa document; cf. p. 15, n. 2.
3. M. Risselin-Steenebrugen, ‘Christophe Plantin facteur en lingerie fines et en dentelles’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 74-111. Plantin conducted this trade until 1574, but as time went on he transferred more and more of the responsibility to his daughters. Cf. pp. 143 and 145-146.
4. Van der Aa document: cf. the text on p. 15, n. 2.

*1



(3) *Opposite*: Bookbinding ascribed to Christophe Plantin. Morocco on board for a special edition (printed on blue paper) of Plantin's first book, Bruto's *La institutione di una fanciulla...* (1555). Preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

DEW Spiegel der Gerechtigheit/ths ene anschouwin

ge des warachtigen Leuens/ in welkeren sich die mensch
spiegelen mach vnde erkennen / ofie sijn leuen vnde wanderinge / sijnen wil
vnde begerie enen thoganc heft tho darfulue: Want he kan hier inne mtes
ken vnde vorstaen / so em Got in dem Geiste den wasdom gefti/ ofie sijn
vorstant vorluchter/waer inne dat der menschen salicheit begrepi stiet/waer
vth em dat Leuen der Warheit vorschinet/vnde die rust tho vinden is. In
welkeren oec mcht bewesen wert die vprechte gemeint/vn wo/ofie in vos
dangen gestalte die denst des H. Woordes ofie Christi by en is Deek wert
hier inne betuicht die warachtige Staat des Gerechtes alse ene Doom des
Leuens/daer die mensch van in dem bequime / omme darfulueft inne tho les
uen/van Gode tho geschapen/vnde in die asfallicheit van sijnem Gode wes
derumme vth genade tho geruyen vnde genouet is: daer die denst des H.
Woordes by die aeloungen sone bedeninge tho heft: vp dat die mensch in
die salicheit sines Godes wederumme mochte gebracht werde/ vnde dat ide
em ewichlic mochte wal gaen. Welcke gebenedydinge (tho heil ofie salicheit
aller volckeren) Got beloofst heft Abraham dorch sijn saet. In welkeri stam
me des Gerechtes Got sijn vorbont ewichlic vorsegelt heft: daer oec dat
saet Abrahe vth dem sulten vader des geloues/sijn Leuen inne bewysd dorch
Jesum Christum sijnen Konink vnde hogen Diester / die welke dem
suluen sude/ tho gebenedydinge vnde tho vorsefninge/na die wyse
Melchisedech/tho die rechter hant des almachtigen ewichlic
vast stiet/ vnde is em tho ein ewich dachtlicht des claren
schynsels der Herlicheit Godes / dorch welken
Christum ide vorsegelt wert met dem Geiste
der Warheit vnde der Liefden / tho
em ewich Pant der Gos
luter erfynnen.



Vorthgebracht vth thogegenent
heit der Liefden.



(6) Pages from Brutus's *La institutione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente*, the first book Plantin printed (1555).

still leads from the Exchange to the Meir.¹ The new citizen of Antwerp was awaiting his opportunity. Then, in 1555, came the great turning point in his career. Plantin would then have been about 35 years old.

The turning point: the bookbinder becomes a printer (1555)

On 5th April 1555 de la Torre, Secretary to the Privy Council, put his elegantly flourished signature on the act giving an answer ‘sur la remontrance faicte au privé conseil de l'empereur nostre Seigneur de la part de Christoffle Plantin, imprimeur et libraire juré, résident en ceste ville d'Anvers’. The applicant obtained permission to print, or have printed: ‘Le premier, l'Institution d'une fille noble par Jehan Michiel Bruto; le second, Flores de Seneca et le III^e, le premier volume de Roland furieux, traduit d'italien en francois.’²

Only a few weeks before the Council of Brabant had granted Plantin a commission as a printer,³ and only a few weeks later, Plantin's first edition left his new printing-presses: *La Institutione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente; l'Institution d'une fille de noble maison*,⁴ a manual in Italian and French on the

1. Concerning Plantin's houses, see pp. 260 sqq.
2. Arch. 1179, no. 1. For the text of this official permission see Rooses, *Musée*, p. 17. Reproduction: see plate 8.
3. On 18th February 1555, entered into the register on 30th March. This reference was recently found by Dr. L. van den Branden in the Central Archives at Brussels, Chambre des Comptes, 20, 790; Accounts for 1554-55, f^o; 18^{fo}.
4. It is generally believed that the ‘privilege’ of 5th April 1555 is the first of its kind to be applied for and obtained by Plantin, and that the first work mentioned - Bruto's *Institutione* - must be regarded as the first book Plantin printed. In fact this is not certain. Some of the known facts do indicate that the works listed in this document were the first to come from Plantin's press. In the copy of the *Institutione* offered to Grammay, Plantin states quite definitely that this was the ‘first fruit from the garden of my press’. In his memoirs, the Spanish humanist Juan Martin Cordero is equally emphatic that the *Flores de L. Anneo Seneca* (the second work mentioned in the document of 5th April 1555), which he had translated from Latin into his mother-tongue, was Plantin's first impression (Peeters-Fontainas, ‘Extrait des mémoires de Jean-Martin Cordero de Valence’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 31, 1953, p. 79). Cordero's statement can perhaps be taken to mean that although the *Institutione* was the first book Plantin printed, it was actually published by Bellerus, and the *Flores* was Plantin's first publication and the first book to carry his printer's mark. (In fact, Cordero was wrong in stating that Plantin *printed* the *Flores*; according to the type used the work was done by another printer.) The two statements together make it more than likely that Plantin's career as printer and publisher began with these two works. Clair's supposition that Plantin had printed other books before these is not supported by any positive evidence. (‘It is perhaps advisable to say that this book [the *Institutione*] was Plantin's first effort as a *master* printer, since there is a possibility that it was by no means the first book he printed in Antwerp. I consider that for at least a year previously he may have worked as a journeyman for Jean Bellère [Bellerus], and may even have been in partnership with him’: Clair, *Plantin*, pp. 15-16.)

education of young ladies of noble birth, by the itinerant Venetian humanist Giovanni Michele Bruto, who was then staying in Antwerp.¹

Plantin offered a copy to Gerard Grammay, the *receveur* (tax-collector) of Antwerp, with a specially printed inscription addressed to this powerful and influential person: ‘Suivant la coustume d'un jardinier ou laboureur, qui pour singulier présent, offre à son signeur les premières fleurs des jeunes Plantes de son jardin ou métairie je vous présente cestuy primier bourjon sortant du jardin de mon Imprimerie...’² The young Frenchman had started on the road that was to lead him to renown and immortality.

The idea of becoming a printer had undoubtedly been in Plantin's mind from the beginning. It was probably no momentary aberration that caused the bookbinder to have himself enrolled in the Guild of St. Luke in 1550 as a printer; it must have been a concrete expression of his ambition.³ Within a mere five years Plantin was able to realize this dream, in circumstances that have never been fully explained. Balthasar I Moretus, in his letter of 1604 to Egidius Schoondonck⁴ that has been quoted earlier in the chapter, gives the official family version of this turning point in Plantin's career: ‘When he had practised this craft and this trade (i.e. bookbinding and the manufacture of caskets) for some years, Gabriel de Çayas, the secretary of Philip II, learned to know and to love this able man, and as he wished to send a jewel of great value to the Queen of Spain, he ordered a casket from Plantin in which to place this precious stone. A few days later, de Çayas commanded Plantin to complete the casket and to bring it to his house that evening, as he had to send it by messenger to Spain early the next morning. Plantin did not neglect his task and towards nightfall he went out, accom-

1. Concerning Bruto and his work, see M. Battistini, ‘Jean Michel Bruto, humaniste, historiographe, pédagogue au XVI^e siècle’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 32, 1954, pp. 29-156. A facsimile edition of the *Institutione* was published in 1954 under the auspices of the ‘Vereeniginge der Antwerpsche Bibliophielen’.
2. This copy is in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. See *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens, Catalogue de l'exposition... Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1954, no. 271. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 18.
3. Another explanation, however, is possible: p. 12, n. 2.
4. Cf. p. 14, n. 2.

panied by a lad to light his way; he himself clasped the box under his arm. He had just left the street near the Exchange where he lived, which led to the Meir Bridge, and had come to that familiar place where the crucifix now stands, when some drunken men in masks bore down upon him. They were looking for a zither player who had made fools of them and hurled I know not what gibe at them. Seeing Plantin, who was carrying a box, they thought they had found the man they were seeking and who had a zither under the arm. One of them immediately drew his dagger and followed after Plantin. Full of fear, the latter fled to some steps where he set down the casket and at the same moment felt himself stabbed by this villain; and so violently that the assailant had difficulty in withdrawing his deep-thrust dagger from the body of his victim. Plantin, a touching example of steadfastness and forbearance, spoke peaceably to these men: "Gentlemen, you are mistaken. What harm have I done you?" And they, hearing the voice of a peaceful man, ran away, crying as they fled that they had set upon the wrong man. Sick and half dead, Plantin returned home. Joannes Farinalius, a surgeon who was famous in those days, and Goropius Becanus, a physician of great repute, were called: both despaired of his recovery; but the Almighty preserved him beyond all expectation for the common good, and slowly he was healed. As he no longer felt strong enough for a trade in which there is much stooping and movement of the body, there came to him the idea of setting up a printing-press. He had often seen printing carried out in France, and had done it himself. With his native shrewdness he started the business, guiding and directing it with such understanding, with God's help, that even the earliest beginnings of this press were admired, not only in the Netherlands but throughout the world.'

In 1567 Plantin himself alluded to this attack and - in a condensed form that would be practically incomprehensible without the detailed account in his grandson's letter - gave the same version of it. In the letter, 'Aux prudens et experts maistres d'écolles et tous autres qui s'employent a enseigner la langue françoise', included in *La première et la seconde partie des dialogues françois pour les ieunes enfans*,¹ published in 1567, Plantin gives an autobiographical note in verse form:

1. Reproduced: *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 264.

*Vray est que de nature
 l'ay aymé l'écriture,
 Des mots sententieux:
 Mais l'Alciate pierre
 M'a retenu en terre,
 Pour ne voler aux cieux.
 Cela voyant, i'ay le mestier éleu,
 Qui m'a nourri en liant des volumes.
 L'estoc receu puis apres m'a émeu
 De les écrire à la presse sans plumes.¹*

Both Plantin and his grandson, however, leave one very important point out of their accounts: where did the bookbinder obtain the capital to set up as a printer? In the sixteenth century establishing an *officina* did not demand the investment of an excessive sum of money, but by the same token considerable amounts were needed to keep the business going. Plantin could have earned and saved enough during his stay in Antwerp to provide himself with a printing-press and other equipment. But how did he manage for the working capital that he needed in order to buy paper and other materials, to pay his employees, and to begin on new books while waiting for some return on the money he had already invested in previous editions to come trickling back?

The account of the attack on Plantin (in 1554 or early 1555) is undoubtedly correct. The fact that his physical powers were curtailed would certainly have led him to choose a less strenuous occupation - even though he seems to have been binding books again as early as 1555, but presumably at a less wearing pace than before.² The question of how he came by the capital to see him through this difficult period, however, remains an open one.

The Moretus family must have asked themselves this question in later years. They found an answer. In the same document that represented Plantin as the scion of a noble house, the story is told in detail of how the bookbinder recognized his assailants and forced them to pay him substantial damages. The money enabled him to set up as a printer.³ The document contains so many inaccuracies and so many apocryphal elements, that this

1. The same year in a letter to H. Niclaes (*Corr.*, I, no. 74), Plantin makes a casual remark about 'his old wounds': '...et continué le train qui se porte fort bien, grâces à Dieu, ne fust ces vieilles playes susdictes, qui de rechef viennent à me remectre en soing.'
2. Cf. Arch. 38, *passim* and in vol. II, the chapter on bookbindings. See also Sabbe, *De meesters van den Gulden Passer*, 1937, p. 18.
3. Van der Aa document: cf. p. 3, n. 3. Clair in *Plantin*, p. 241, points out that in the British Museum copy of Plantin's *Index Librorum*, 1575, the previous owner had inserted a note beginning 'A mon passage à Anvers en 1817 une personne, non pas de la descendance directe de Plantin, mais cependant bien appartenant à sa famille, m'a communiqué une anecdote fort curieuse qui fait connaître comment Plantin est devenu imprimeur'. [While I was passing through Antwerp in 1817, a person, not directly descended from Plantin but belonging to the family, related a very strange anecdote to me which reveals how Plantin became a printer.] The anecdote relates the story of the attack and states that Plantin was able to set himself up as a printer with the compensation paid by the father of one of his youthful assailants.

explanation could only be accepted if there were confirmation from other sources - and such sources are lacking.

Another document puts a totally different complexion on the matter, implying that the career of Plantin the printer had its beginnings in the religious outlook of Plantin the man.

***Plantin the heretic*¹**

This revealing document is the *Chronika des Hüsgesinnes der Lieften* [Chronicle of the Household of Love], the manuscript chronicle, written in a Westphalian dialect, of the religious sect called 'The House of Love' (known in

1. F. Nippold, in his biography of the founder of the Family of Love, 'Heinrich Niclaes und das Haus der Liebe' in *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1862, pp. 323-402, 473-562, was the first to draw attention to Plantin's religious outlook, followed by C.A. Tiele, 'Christophe Plantin et le sectaire mystique Henrik Niclaes', in *Le Bibliophile belge*, 3, 1868, pp. 121-129. M. Rooses placed it in the context of Plantin's life-story (*Musée*, pp. 33-54). The letters which Plantin and Coornhert exchanged dealt partly with religious questions. B. Becker published a study of this correspondence, 'Thierry Coornhert et Christophe Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 1, 1923, pp. 97-123. M. Sabbe discussed the remarkable Barrefelt-Plantin-Arias Montanus relationship in 'Hoe stond Benedictus Arias Montanus tegenover de leeringen van Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël)?' in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, 1928, pp. 27-51. French translation: 'Les rapports entre B. Arias Montanus et Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 4, 1926, pp. 19-43; Spanish translation: 'Arias Montano y Barrefelt (Hiël y la teología ortodoxa)' in *Revista del Centro de Estudios Extremenos*, 8, 1934, pp. 63-92. Of particular interest (especially for Plantin's relations with Niclaes) is H. Bouchery's 'Aanteekeningen betreffende Christoffel Plantin's houding op godsdienstig en politiek gebied' in *De Gulden Passer*, 18, 1940, pp. 87-141. Two articles by H. de la Fontaine Verwey should also be consulted: 'De geschriften van H. Niclaes' in *Het Boek*, 26, 1940-1942, pp. 161-221; 'Trois hérésiarques dans les Pays-Bas du XVI^e siècle' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 16, 1954, pp. 312-330 (a very comprehensive and readable survey of three religious leaders, including Niclaes and Barrefelt, their teaching, following and influence). In his *Benito Arias Montano, 1527-1598. Studie over een groep spiritualistische humanisten in Spanje en de Nederlanden op grond van hun briefwisseling*, 1961, B. Rekers discusses spiritual life in the Netherlands in the context of a biography of Arias Montanus. Plantin's attitude is dealt with in great detail. Rekers's work is remarkable in that he Spanish theologian, hitherto depicted as a thoroughly orthodox figure, is here shown as someone who in his later years was on the slippery slope of heresy. However, this work contains so much carelessness, and so many erroneous suppositions and hastily drawn conclusions that its value is seriously in doubt. It should be consulted with caution and circumspection.

England as the ‘Family of Love’).¹ The founder and the leader of the sect was Hendrik Niclaes.

The compiler of the chronicle, a certain Daniel, appears to have known Plantin well, but to have been ill-disposed towards him. He relates how the Frenchman had learnt Dutch after his arrival in Antwerp, had studied the writings of Hendrik Niclaes, and had become a member of his ‘Family’. For the sake of safety this ‘prophet’ had withdrawn to Emden, which was fairly neutral in religious matters, but he frequently visited Antwerp where his son still lived. At that time he was looking for someone who would run the risk of printing his monumental *Den Spigel der gerechticheit tho ene anschouwinge des warachtigen levens* [The mirror of justice for a contemplation of the true life]. Plantin managed to interest some of his business friends in Paris in the Family of Love and to convince them of the desirability of publishing *Den Spigel der gerechticheit*. They supplied him with the necessary money for a press, while Hendrik Niclaes met the cost of the cast type, illustrations, and paper.

This was Daniel's tersely summarized explanation. Can his statement be believed, and did Plantin in fact bring out clandestine publications for the leader of this sect? In his study *De geschriften van Hendrik Niclaes* [The writings of Hendrik Niclaes] H. de la Fontaine Verwey, the greatest modern expert on heretical trends in the Netherlands of the sixteenth century, lists a whole series of publications, the printing of which he ascribes to Plantin.²

1. Library of the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde at Leiden, manuscript no. 620. The fragments relating to Plantin were published by M. Rooses, *Plantin*, 1882, pp. 393-400, and H. Bouchery, *Aanteekeningen*, pp. 133-141 (republished in *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 246), and summarized, in French, by Rooses in *Musée*, pp. 36-38.
2. Two editions of the ‘Mirror of Justice’: *Den Spigel der gerechticheit tho ene anschouwinge des warachtigen levens* (c. 1556); *Den Spiegel der gherechticheit dorch den geist der Lieffden unde den vorgodeden H.N. uth de hemmelsche warheit betüget* (c. 1562). Also five smaller texts, dated by H. de la Fontaine Verwey to c. 1555-60, or 1555-c. 1562: (1) *Evangelium offte eine fröliche bodeschop des rijcke Godes unde Christi*; (2) *De wett offte de vornömpste hövet-artyckelen des Christengheloves*; (3) *Prophetie des geistes der liefien*; (4) *Ein klachreden, die de geist der liefien unde H.N. mit sampt Abia, Joacim... over de blindheit der volckeren klagende*; and (5) *Vorkündinghe van dem vrede up erden*.

The author is inclined to agree with this eminent Dutch scholar, although there is no irrefutable evidence to bring forward, only conjectures and probabilities. Rooses tries to prove on typological grounds that the *Spiegel der gerechticheit* was printed by Plantin,¹ but his arguments leave room for doubt and his investigation only concerns the second edition of the book, dated by De la Fontaine Verwey at about 1562. On the other hand, Colin Clair hesitates to accept Plantin as the printer of these works.² His doubt has a subjective tinge: he cannot believe that the Frenchman Plantin would have produced a work that looks so Teutonic. The English scholar overlooks the fact that, according to Daniel, Hendrik Niclaes himself obtained the typographical material and imported at least some of it from Cologne.

There is a further piece of evidence that can be cited. In his letter of 20th October 1608, in which he analyses the religious beliefs of Plantin and Justus Lipsius at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury,³ the Dutch preacher Saravia states explicitly that Plantin had printed what he refers to as the *Speculum justitiae* and other works by Hendrik Niclaes.⁴

From this it may safely be assumed that between 1555 and 1562 Plantin in fact printed a number of works in the greatest secrecy at Hendrik Niclaes's expense. Whether or not the 'Bible' of the Family of Love of about 1555 or 1556 was a product of Plantin's press, and whether the first edition of Niclaes's chief work caused him to go over to printing, remains an open question. Daniel's text seems to state that was so, but it is also rather confused. He makes it appear as if the Parisian merchants only advanced Plantin money to print propaganda material for the Family of Love. But it would be equally possible to conclude from Daniel's twisted and prejudiced account that Plantin received a loan from French business friends who shared his religious opinions, but simply for the purpose of setting up his own print-

1. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 50-52.

2. Clair, *Plantin*, p. 246.

3. This letter was not published until 1950 and was therefore not available to Rooses, Sabbe, Bouchery, or De la Fontaine Verwey. H. van Crombruggen, 'Een brief van Adriaan Saravia over Lipsius en "Het Huis der Liefde"' in *De Gulden Passer*, 28, 1950, pp. 110-117.

4. 'Quum in Belgio flagraret persecutio Ducis Albani, Speculum Iustitiae H.N. aliaque ipsius opuscula Plantinus excudebat.' [While the Duke of Alva's persecution was raging in the Netherlands (this in fact is not quite true; Alva only came to the Netherlands in 1567), Plantin printed H.N.'s Mirror of Justice and other small works of this author.]

ing-press, without there necessarily being any conditions involved apart from purely financial ones, and that he only made an agreement to publish Niclaes's works after he had established himself as a printer. In the absence of further particulars it cannot be decided which of these two possibilities is nearer to the truth. What can be established is that Plantin obtained his initial capital from businessmen who, like himself, were imbued with the spirit of the Family of Love - whether or not he printed the first edition of the *Spiegel der gerechticheit*, and whether or not this caused him to forsake bookbinding for printing. Plantin's career as a printer undoubtedly has its origin in his religious convictions.

The writer of the *Chronika*, however, took the poorest possible view of these convictions. According to him Plantin was a calculating opportunist who wormed his way into Niclaes's favour simply for the sake of his own selfish ends, abandoning the leader the moment those ends had been achieved. He even alleges that Plantin and Porret abused the trust placed in them and stole from the sect. In 1562 or 1563 they are supposed to have kept for themselves a casket of gems that a Parisian jeweller had intended to bequeath to Hendrik Niclaes.¹

These suggestions seem to be completely false and distorted, prompted by resentment at Plantin's later defection from the Family of Love and by envy of his success.² As far as can be made out from letters written by, to, and about Plantin, he remained true for the whole of his life to the principles preached by Niclaes (and later by Barrefelt, the 'prophet' who seceded from the Family of Love) which he had learnt to know and to value in his first years in Antwerp.

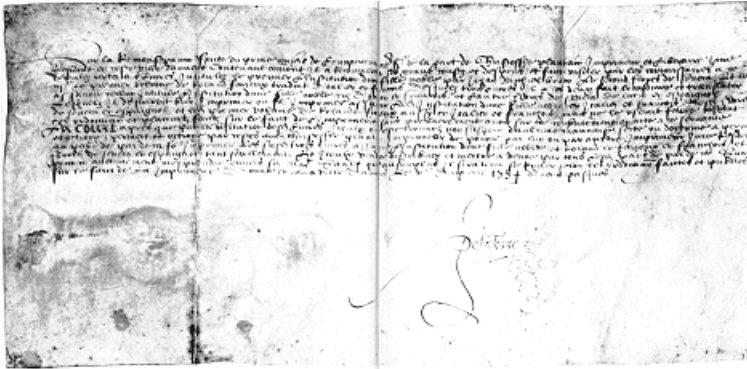
It is possible to regard the Family of Love as an Anabaptist sect and it is still classified as such in the history books, but the reality seems to have been less clear cut, however, and less susceptible of precise definition. Niclaes and Barrefelt were dreamers and visionaries and their doctrine and preaching are veiled in a confused mysticism that defies sober analysis.

H. de la Fontaine Verwey, the authority on the subject, ably characterizes the prophets, their preaching and their influence in his study, *Trois hérésiar-*

1. Concerning this event see also, p. 39.
2. The envy is quite obvious in Daniel's exposé. He even says explicitly that the 'theft' of the jewels and the beginning of Plantin's expansion were connected.



(7) Opposite: Title-page of *La magnifique et sumptueuse pompe funebre faite aus obseques et funeraillles du tresgrand... empereur Charles Cinquième...* This magnificent production was Plantin's first major work (1559), though in fact he only printed the very limited letterpress text, the actual publisher being Pierre Vernois.



(8) Plantin's first privilege, granted by the Privy Council of the Netherlands (Brussels, 5th April 1554 [Old Style]). It is written in French and allows Plantin to print three books and sell them in the Netherlands: Bruto's *Institutione*, *Flores de Seneca*, and Ariosto, *Le premier volume de Roland furieux*. They were all published in 1555.

*ques dans les Pays-Bas du XVI^e siècle:*¹ ‘In this study we wish to draw attention to three religious sects, founded in the Netherlands by the three heresiarchs David Joris, Hendrik Niclaes, and Hiël (i.e. Barrefelt), who obtained a following in Switzerland, France, England, and even in America. The three founders resemble one another, as do their doctrines and their movements. All three were of the type that von Dunun-Borkowski has called “prophetic egocentrics”. They looked on themselves as prophets, as messiahs, as sanctified men, and they judged everything - the Scriptures, Christianity, Christ Himself, according to their personal religious experiences. They divulged their mysteries only to a small number of initiates who, like their leaders, believed themselves to be perfect and above the law. The sectaries, although they had an internal organization, did not wish to set up a church in the ordinary sense. To avoid scandal, the members of these sects held strictly to the religious observances of the country where they lived, whether Catholic or Protestant, giving a symbolic interpretation to the Mass and the sacraments. This attitude caused their opponents to call them hypocrites and opportunists. Quite often they were also imputed with the worst forms of licentiousness, such as the communal sharing of wives, etc.

These people, whose extravagant claims appear ridiculous, have been deliberately left out of the history of the religious and philosophical ideas of the sixteenth century. It is assumed that rational men could never have been beguiled by such absurd and confused theories, and that these sects were comprised of no more than a handful of fanatics or the simple-minded and had only a very ephemeral life. To think this is to misunderstand the sixteenth century when, especially in matters of religion, anything was possible.

The purpose of this study is to show that, on the contrary: 1. the three heresiarchs found a fairly large public, not among “the dregs of the Anabaptists” as Fruin the great Dutch historian thought, but principally among intellectuals; 2. the sects lived on for a long time after their founders' deaths; 3. their ideas were not without influence on what Paul Hazard has called “the crisis of the European conscience”.²

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 314.

2. Original French text: ‘Dans cette étude, nous voudrions attirer l'attention sur trois sectes spiritualistes, fondées aux Pays-Bas par trois hérésiarques: David Joris, Hendrik Niclaes et Hiel [= Barrefelt] qui ont trouvé des adhérents en Suisse, en France, en Angleterre et même en Amérique. Les trois fondateurs se ressemblent comme leurs doctrines et leurs mouvements. Ils appartiennent tous trois au type que von Dunun-Borkowski a nommé: les prophétiques égocentriques. Ils se considèrent comme des prophètes, des messies, des hommes déifiés et ils jugent tout, l'Écriture, le Christianisme, le Christ, selon leurs expériences religieuses personnelles. Ils ne divulguent leurs secrets qu'à un petit nombre d'adeptes qui, comme eux, se croient parfaits et au-dessus de la loi. Les sectaires, bien qu'ayant une organisation interne, ne veulent pas organiser une église proprement dite et, afin d'éviter le scandale, ils observent rigoureusement les devoirs de la religion des pays où ils se trouvent, soit catholique, soit protestante, en donnant une interprétation symbolique à la messe et aux sacrements. Cette attitude les fait traiter d'hypocrites et d'opportunistes par leurs adversaires. Bien souvent, on leur impute aussi les pires désordres, comme la communauté de femmes, etc. Dans l'histoire des idées religieuses et philosophiques du seizième siècle, on laisse délibérément de côté ces personnages qui paraissent ridicules avec leurs prétentions insensées; on suppose d'ailleurs que des théories aussi absurdes et confuses ne peuvent avoir séduit des personnes raisonnables, que ces sectes ne comprenaient qu'une poignée de fanatiques ou de simples d'esprit et n'ont eu qu'une vie très éphémère. C'est mal connaître le seizième siècle où, surtout en matière de religion, tout est possible.

To sum up the teaching of these religious leaders it could be said that all that mattered to them was their love of God - 'the spirit of Jesus Christ' as Plantin himself expressed it.¹ Dogma and ritual were of minor importance; tolerance and respect towards those who held different opinions was a duty and an obligation.

This was the essence of Plantin's religious faith. His views on the Catholic and Protestant churches are not expressed in his letters; the printer was careful not to commit his opinion on such burning problems to paper. However, Saravia gives in his letter the substance of a conversation that he had had with Plantin at Leiden, a conversation that illumines the latter's indifference towards the outward forms of religion. According to the Dutch preacher, Plantin only regarded the existing churches as necessary in so far as they provided people - particularly the *imbeciliores* of limited understanding and feeble spirit - with a firm anchorage. 'Religions', Plantin told, 'are and always will be numerous and diverse and hostile to

Le but de cette étude est de montrer qu'au contraire: 1^o les trois hérésiarques ont trouvé un public assez large, non parmi "la lie des anabaptistes", comme pensait le grand historien hollandais Fruin, mais surtout parmi les intellectuels; 2^o que les sectes ont longtemps survécu à leurs fondateurs; 3^o que leurs idées n'ont pas été sans influence sur ce que Paul Hazard a appelé: la crise de la conscience européenne.'

1. In the letter to Ximenes, quoted on p. 29.

one another. They all in fact have much hypocrisy and sham, but none the less they should not be condemned, as long as no wrongdoing can be imputed to them, because of the people of poorer intelligence. The common man needs something of this sort, otherwise he cannot grasp heavenly and divine matters.’¹

What emerges much more plainly from Plantin's correspondence is ‘the spirit of Jesus Christ’. The sober and successful businessman was at the same time a pious mystic. When speaking of religious matters he became just as prolix and confused as his mentors Niclaes and Barrefelt. In an intolerant age he pursued the ideal of toleration - and lived up to it in his own life: he was a man of high moral principles, with a profoundly humane spirit.

Plantin remained a heterodox mystic for the whole of his life, but the moulds in which this mysticism was cast varied to the extent that he listened to two different spiritual teachers. This evolution, however, was more apparent than real. It is practically impossible even for the experts to distinguish between the teaching of H.N. (as Hendrik Niclaes is usually referred to in contemporary texts and in Plantin's letters) and that of Hiël (the ‘Life of God’ as Hendrik Janssen van Barrefelt generally called himself). The distinction lies only in nuances that are usually too subtle for the twentieth-century mind to be able to gauge or comprehend.

The generally held view is that Plantin was first a member of the Family of Love, and then followed Barrefelt when the latter broke away from the sect to establish himself as an independent ‘prophet’ in about 1573.² This

1. ‘Cum tempore quodam ruri spatiaremur Lypsius, Plantinus, et ego, nobis de religione multus variusque fuit sermo: tunc Plantinus, “religiones, inquit, sunt et semper fuerunt plurimae et variae, sibi que invicem inimicae. Habent enim omnes simulationis et dissimulationis plurimum: contemnendae tamen non sunt, quamdiu nullum scelus habent admixtum, propter imbeciliores animos. Vulgus hominum rudimentis huiusmodi habet opus: celestia et divina aliter capere non potest. Una tantum pietas est, quae simplex est, nec habet quicquam simulati. Multos religiosos mundus semper habuit, pios vere perpaucos.”’ [At that time when Lipsius, Plantin and I were walking in the country, we often had conversations about religion: then Plantin said that religions are and always will be numerous and diverse and hostile to one another... cannot grasp heavenly and divine matters. There is only piety where there is simplicity, and does not conceal anything. The world has always had many religious men; very few of them were pious.]
2. It is Rekens who states this most baldly. He even bases on this his theory that Arias Montanus, through *personal* contact with Barrefelt via Plantin, deviated from the path of orthodoxy and became a member of Barrefelt's sect. Other scholars who have concerned themselves with the subject have dealt only superficially with the chronological aspect of the problem, especially the crucial questions of when Plantin broke with H.N. and when he came in contact with Barrefelt; questions on which they have certainly not committed themselves. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 44, however, also expresses the opinion that between 1567 and 1576 Plantin had no relations with heretical ‘prophets’.

does not seem altogether correct to the present author; Plantin's correspondence suggests a rather different course of events. After settling in Antwerp, Plantin became a member of the Family of Love. His relations with Niclaes were at first very cordial and intimate: Plantin was undoubtedly an important propagandist for the sect, and possibly even one of its elders. There was some cooling off in the relationship in 1562 or 1563,¹ but the printer remained a follower of Niclaes until 1567.² Plantin's religious outlook in the years of his membership of the Family of Love are admirably revealed in the letters that he exchanged in May and June 1567 with that other visionary and scholar of genius, his fellow-countryman Guillaume Postel.³

In 1567, Plantin came into direct contact with the Spanish king and the Spanish authorities in Spain and the Netherlands; this was also the time that Alva's reign of terror began.⁴ As far as can be made out, the printer then broke all contact with Hendrik Niclaes and the Family of Love as a safety precaution. At all events there is not a shred of evidence to connect Plantin with Niclaes's sect after that date.

When the Spanish Fury of November 1576 and the subsequent revolt of the Southern Netherlands against Spanish rule brought greater freedom of religion, Plantin did not re-establish contact with Niclaes. In any case the teacher was then leading a nomadic existence about which very little is known. Even the year and the place of his death is not certain: it is thought that Hendrik Niclaes died at Cologne in 1580 or 1581.

Earlier, in about 1573, Hendrik Janssen, called Van Barrefelt after his birthplace, Barneveld near Amersfoort, had seceded and formed his own sect. It was several years, however, before Plantin found his way to this dissident group. From 1579 to 1580, the printer undertook a number of

1. Because of the story of the 'embezzled' jewels.
2. And still called on him for financial help in the summer of that year: see p. 52.
3. *Corr.*, I, nos. 30, 31, 33.
4. For Plantin's 'year of the great fear' and the subsequent expansion of his business through the contact with Philip II, see pp. 50 sqq.

business journeys in Holland. He must have met Barrefelt there and fell under the spell of the man and his prophecies. He became equally ardent as a Barrefeltist as he had been as a member of the Family of Love.¹ For his new mentor he published a number of books and tracts² - again clandestinely - and became one of his foremost collaborators and propagandists.³ Plantin's religious sentiments in this autumn of his life, under Barrefelt's influence, are well illustrated by his letter to Ferdinand Ximenes.⁴ This time Plantin's friendship with his spiritual leader was ended only by death. Barrefelt survived his follower and friend by some years, but when and where he died remains a mystery.

Plantin was a mystic all his life, faithful to the ideas and ideals of toleration of the Family of Love and the Barrefeltists. He might well be accused of hypocrisy: to the world at large he presented himself as a pious Catholic. Plantin was in fact reproached with this,⁵ but in this connection H. de la Fontaine Verwey must again be cited:⁶ 'It is not without reason that reference is made to the "unhappy people of the second half of the sixteenth century". The two religions were locked in a struggle that seemed endless and threatened the world with total ruin. To those who in all conscience did not wish or were not able to choose between the two faiths, *libertinisme* offered a refuge and a solution. To repeat what has been said earlier: this "third force" of the sixteenth century should not be confused with the Libertines of the following century. Those we are discussing were neither atheists nor freethinkers; they were profoundly religious. If, having no belief in the

1. Concerning his relationship with Barrefelt, see p. 100.
2. Cf. pp. 100-101.
3. In the letter quoted above, Saravia says that Plantin was an elder of Barrefelt's sect: 'Plantinum autem fuisse illius sectae presbyterum a pluribus accepi.'
4. Letter of 8th August 1587: *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1287.
5. The degree of acerbity has been determined by the personal outlook and religious convictions of the writers in question. On the whole, Catholic and liberal scholars have shown themselves more tolerant than their Protestant colleagues. Of the specialists who have concerned themselves with this question, only Sabbe has attempted to show that Plantin's membership of the Family of Love and of the Barrefeltist sect did not conflict with his Catholicism, and that his hero should be exonerated of the charge of hypocrisy. However, he makes a distinction - a little inconsistently - between the Family of Love and the Barrefeltists, counting membership of the latter more harmless.
6. 'Trois hérésiarques', pp. 329-330.

divine reality of ritual, they felt it was a matter of indifference whether they kept the observances of the Catholic or the reformed religion, this was not from hypocrisy or religious half-heartedness. If they were tolerant, it was not a matter of political calculation. Their acceptance of two religions one beside the other, their symbolic conception of the sacraments, and their tolerance are based on the mystic idea that religious quarrels are totally futile because, when truth appears, all dissensions, all antitheses, all that divides will vanish before the great harmony. Obviously this celestial harmony is a beautiful dream, but such dreams are much needed in the nightmare of unhappy times!¹

It may even be wondered whether Plantin, in spite of his heretical opinions, did not continue to regard himself as a good Catholic at heart.² At all events it would appear that he rather disliked the reformed faith: militant and fanatical Calvinism was not to his taste. Placed between Catholicism and Protestantism, his personal preference was for the old religion.

1. Original French text: 'Ce n'est pas sans raison qu'on parle des "tristes gens de la seconde moitié du seizième siècle". Les deux religions se combattaient dans une lutte qui semblait sans issue et menaçait le monde d'une ruine complète. A ceux qui, en conscience, ne voulaient ni ne pouvaient choisir entre les deux religions, le libertinisme offrait un refuge et une solution. Répétons ce que nous avons dit plus haut: il ne faut pas confondre cette "troisième force" du seizième siècle avec les libertins du siècle suivant. Ceux dont nous parlons n'étaient ni des athées ni des libres-penseurs; ils étaient profondément religieux. S'ils observent indifféremment la pratique de la religion catholique ou réformée, tout en ne croyant pas en la réalité divine des cérémonies, ce n'est ni par hypocrisie ni par indifférence religieuse. S'ils sont tolérants, ce n'est pas par calcul politique. Leur acceptation de deux religions différentes l'une à côté de l'autre, leur conception symbolique des sacrements, leur tolérance sont fondées sur l'idée mystique que les différends religieux sont absolument inutiles parce que, quand la vérité apparaîtra, toutes les oppositions, toutes les antithèses, tout ce qui divise disparaîtra devant la grande harmonie. Évidemment, cette harmonie céleste est un beau rêve, mais ces rêves-là sont bien nécessaires dans le cauchemar des temps tristes!'
2. The point of view which Sabbe has defended. The sympathy of the Director of the Plantin-Moretus Museum with his hero undoubtedly led him to take an over-apologetic attitude, seeking to justify by documentary evidence matters that belong more properly to the realm of the subconscious and the secret stirrings of the soul. Nevertheless the author is of the opinion that Plantin's mysticism, even when expressed and experienced in the heterodoxical Family of Love and the Barrefeltist sect, is reconcilable with his belief that he was a good Catholic - if account is taken of the religious turmoil of the sixteenth century.

*The first years as a printer (1555-1562)*¹

In the first book that he printed, *La Institutione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente*, Plantin inserted a twelve-line poem of his own devising in honour of the author. He ended with the words ‘C(hristophe) P(lantin) Esperant mieus’ [C.P. Hoping for better things].

Plantin was right to put his trust in his stars, although it must be pointed out straight away that he did not merely wait passively for what fortune saw fit to drop in his lap. It was not without reason that in 1557 Plantin took as his motto *Labore et Constantia*, represented visually by a pair of compasses. The stationary point stood for *constantia*, the moving point for *labor*: this was how Plantin himself explained the symbolism of his printer's mark in the introductory pages of the first volume of his famed *Biblia Polyglotta*.² It was Plantin's third mark. The first showed a vine-dresser pruning vine tendrils festooned around an elm, with the motto *Exerce imperia et ramos compesce fluentes*, which he used in 1555. The second was a vine tendril with the motto *Christus vera vitis*, used in 1556 and 1557.³ Plantin - and his descendants after him - continued to use this third printer's mark that so admirably reflects his outlook on life, and thus for three centuries the works that left the presses of the *Officina Plantiniana* bore the emblem of the compasses and the device *Labore et Constantia*.⁴

By labour and perseverance Plantin succeeded in working his way up in a few years to become the foremost printer in what was then one of the greatest printing centres in the western world. At the same time he bought and sold books and engravings,⁵ maps and globes,⁶ and paper and leather;

1. Plantin's early years are dealt with in most detail by Rooses in *Musée*, pp. 19-26. Concerning the works printed in this period see our Bibliography (in preparation).
2. Cf. A.M. Muntendam, ‘Critiek van Roemer Visscher op Plantin's drukkersmerk’, in *De Gulden Passer*, 14, 1936, pp. 77-79.
3. This second printer's mark shows a remarkable resemblance to a woodcut in Part 3 of H. Nicolaes' *Mirror of Justice* (see plate 5). It was undoubtedly inspired by this and therefore has a mystical and heterodox significance.
4. For the various types of printer's marks used by Plantin and the Moretuses, see G. van Havre, *Les marques typographiques de l'imprimerie plantinienne*, 1911. Cf. also our Bibliography (in preparation).
5. A.J.J. Delen, ‘Christoffel Plantin als prentenhandelaar’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 10, 1932, pp. 1-24. (The whole period 1555-1589 is discussed, but the emphasis is placed on the years 1555-1562.)
6. Cf. J. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*, 1912-1913, 2 vols. Concerning Plantin's sale of Mercator's maps and globes, see L. Voet, ‘Les relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et la maison plantinienne à Anvers’ in *Duisburger Forschungen*, 6, 1962, pp. 171-232.

he conducted a fairly profitable trade in lace with Pierre Gassen;¹ for a few chosen customers he still made bookbindings, comb-cases, embroidered mirrors and boxes; and he arranged for large-scale bookbinding to order in Paris and possibly in Antwerp.²

There is not a great deal of information about Plantin's early years as a printer, but the number of works that left his presses in the years 1555 to 1562 speaks for itself: 10 in 1555, 12 in 1556, 21 in 1557, 23 in 1558, 13 in 1559, 13 in 1560, 28 in 1561, and 21 in 1562, giving a total of 141.³ Compared with the firm's estimated total production of 1,500 to 2,000 works, these figures seem negligible. Their true significance emerges when they are compared with what other printers in Antwerp were producing at that time. Next to Plantin one of the most important figures among the Antwerp printers was Willem Silvius who, in a career that lasted from 1559 to 1580, brought out fewer books (about 120) than Plantin produced in his first seven years.

Plantin shot like a meteor into the Antwerp firmament, and from the start his sphere of activity was international. He used his contacts with Paris - and perhaps with his financial backers there - to gear much of his production to the French market and, from 1557 at least, he regularly visited the fairs at Frankfurt-on-Main, the great international mart for the European book-trade of that day.

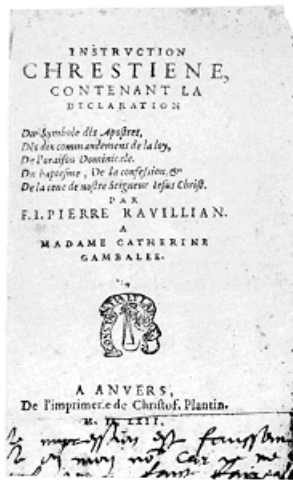
In 1561 Plantin was already using four presses.⁴ Again this figure taken by itself does not mean very much and has to be seen in its historical perspective. In the sixteenth century - and even as late as the seventeenth - *officinae* with four presses in operation ranked among the larger capitalist enterprises. The famous firm of Estienne at Geneva never had more than

1. Cf. p. 16.
2. The most important aspects of Plantin's activities in this period are recorded in Arch. 35, 36 and 38.
3. According to the dates given in the publications themselves. In fact many of these should be antedated. For example, most works showing the year 1562 on their title-pages were actually printed at the end of 1561.
4. And not eight as Rooses states in *Musée*, p. 29. (He gives the correct number - four - on p. 161.)

De nampende goeder
soetghoedende en verpoffel
te waken / Ind' vanden ghatel
son verrocht by de gheue
Dien D. / Ind' vanden ghatel
I. p. / Ind' vanden ghatel
en die p. / Ind' vanden ghatel
en die p. / Ind' vanden ghatel
en die p. / Ind' vanden ghatel

Ind' vanden ghatel / Ind' vanden ghatel
Ind' vanden ghatel / Ind' vanden ghatel
Ind' vanden ghatel / Ind' vanden ghatel
Ind' vanden ghatel / Ind' vanden ghatel
Ind' vanden ghatel / Ind' vanden ghatel
Ind' vanden ghatel / Ind' vanden ghatel

(10) Everything the printer owned was publicly auctioned at the Antwerp Vrijdagmark on 28th April 1562: first page of the inventory of the printer's possessions, with the prices they fetched on this auction.



(11) Title-page of Ravillan's *Instruction chrestienne*, a heretical book, allegedly printed by Plantin. The handwritten note at the foot of the page is by Plantin himself and states that he 'did not make it nor had it made'. It is by no means impossible that this too was the work of three of Plantin's journeymen who had earlier printed the Calvinist *Briefve instruction pour prier* (1562) clandestinely and caused their master to go into temporary exile in Paris (cf. p. 40).

four presses. In Paris in the seventeenth century, printers with more than this number could still be counted on one hand.

Right from the start Plantin appears as a typographical star of the first magnitude. Making a start was difficult, however, even for a man who had adopted *Labore et Constantia* as his motto. In those early years Plantin often undertook work put out by his fellow printers and publishers in Antwerp, Paris and Cologne, or he transferred considerable numbers of copies of his own editions to them *en bloc*, on occasion with altered title-pages bearing the address and printer's mark of the buyer. Thus *La Institutione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente*, Plantin's first book, has the address and mark of the publisher Jan Bellerus. Only the modest 'De l'imprimerie de Chr. Plantain' [From the press of C. Plantin] in the colophon commemorates Plantin's share in this edition.

The works that he printed in this period were carefully turned out and some were illustrated, but as regards their contents they were generally of the easy-to-sell type. Nor were these early products gems of typography: some none too brilliantly illustrated travel accounts and literary works, a number of small dictionaries, treatises on popular medicine, some volumes of Latin verse, and half a dozen classical authors. A large percentage of the works was in French, some in Spanish and Dutch; many of them were reprints of books that had been previously published in France.

Just one work from this period is far above the average: *La magnifique et sumptueuse Pompe funebre faite aus obseques et funerailles du tresgrand et tresvictorieus empereur Charles cinquième, celebrées en la vile de Bruxelles le XXIX. iour du mois de décembre M.D.LVIII, par Philippes roy catholique d'Espagne son fils* [The splendid and costly ceremony held on the occasion of the funeral rites of the very great and victorious Emperor Charles V, performed in the city of Brussels the 29th day of December 1558 by his son Philip, Catholic King of Spain]. This appeared in 1559, and was as magnificent in its production as the funeral procession had been.¹ There were 33 copper engravings that placed end to end formed a frieze more than 30 feet long, and a short introductory text, editions of which appeared in Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and even 'in all languages'.²

1. See plates 7 and 9.

2. Copies with French, Italian, Spanish, and German texts have been preserved.

altogether the most splendid and lavish album of a topical event that the sixteenth century produced.¹

Plantin's share in this work was limited, however. It was initiated and paid for by Philip's herald at arms, Pierre Vernois, who received a grant from the government for the purpose. The printing of the copper engravings, the most important part of the undertaking, was carried out in Hieronymus Cock's workshop that specialized in this. Plantin was only responsible for the printing of the fairly brief text. Nevertheless the fact that *La magnifique et sumptueuse Pompe funebre* bears the words 'A Anvers, de l'Imprimerie de Christophle Plantin' is in itself a significant indication of Plantin's importance in the printing world of this period. The herald at arms turned to the man who, because of his international commercial relations, could most swiftly and surely justify the money invested. He turned in fact to the foremost publisher and printer in the Netherlands.

The house in the Twaalfmaandenstraat, which Plantin had converted into a printing-office, must rapidly have become too small. As early as 1557 the printer moved to the Kammenstraat (which together with the Lombaardvest was the centre of the printing-trade in sixteenth-century Antwerp) to the *Gulden Eenhoorn* [Golden Unicorn], which he renamed *De Gulden Passer* [The Golden Compasses] in 1561.² It was there in 1562 that he encountered the blow which almost put an end to his career and in any case marked the conclusion of the first phase of his activities as printer.

The flight to Paris (1562-1563)³

At the end of February 1562 Margaret of Parma, Philip's governor-general in the Netherlands, addressed a letter to her 'dear and loyal' Jan van Immerseel, Margrave of Antwerp, commanding him to initiate a serious inquiry

1. Concerning this work see J.G. de Brouwere, 'La magnifique et somptueuse Pompe funèbre de Charles Quint, 1558' in *Annuaire de la Société Héraldique de Luxembourg*, 1950, pp. 47-62. Cf. also *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens. Catalogue de l'exposition... Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1954, no. 275.
2. Concerning Plantin's successive homes, see pp. 260 sqq.
3. Margaret of Parma's correspondence with Jan van Immerseel, Margrave of Antwerp, on the subject of the *Briefve instruction pour prier* was published by C. Ruelens, 'Christophe Plantin et le sectaire mystique Henrik Niclaes' in *Le Bibliophile belge*, 3, 1868 (republished in *Suppl. Corr.*, nos. 2-8). This episode in Plantin's life is dealt with at some length in Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 29-32. New details were brought to light by C. de Clercq, 'Deux épisodes plantiniens' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1958, pp. 155-163, and 'Jean et Jacques Taffin, Jean d'Arras et Christophe Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 125-136.

into a heretical work, a copy of which had been delivered to her, apparently printed by Plantin. The conduct of Plantin, his family and his workpeople should be thoroughly investigated for, with the exception of a proof-reader and a servant-girl, they were strongly suspected of being ‘entachés des erreurs et sectes nouvelles’.

The authorities in Antwerp in this period do not appear as zealous heresy hunters - it is significant that in this instance, as in many others, the informer went straight to the central government at Brussels - but this formal command was difficult to evade. In his answer of 1st March, Jan van Immerseel declared that he had made his way forthwith to ‘le logist et imprimerie de Chr. Plantin, imprimeur à Anvers’. Plantin himself was absent. He had been in Paris for five or six weeks by this time. The margrave nevertheless succeeded, with the help of the proof-reader and ‘ung liseur estant espagnol’¹ in laying hands on a number of copies of the heretical *Briefve instruction pour prier*, of which Margaret had sent him her copy. He also found the culprits, three of Plantin's journeymen, namely Jean d'Arras, Jean Cabaros and Barthélemy Pointer, all of French nationality.

On being interrogated the accused stated that they had printed this Calvinistic Instruction without Plantin's knowledge while he was in Paris and that the text had been sent from Metz by an uncle of Jean d'Arras. They said that the entire impression - a thousand copies - had already been dispatched to Lorraine.

On 12th March 1562 Margaret of Parma thanked her ‘very dear and well-beloved’ Van Immerseel for the zeal he had shown in this matter and in the similar investigation into the Dutch translation of the *Briefve instruction pour prier*. (For a short time this too was thought to have originated from Plantin's press, but after a number of Antwerp printers had given their opinion it was presumed on typographical grounds to have been printed in Emden.) The guilty journeymen would have to be given an exemplary punishment. As for Plantin, Article 23 of the *Plakkaten*, the

1. On the meaning and the function of ‘liseur’ cf. the chapter on proof-reading in volume II of the present work.

edicts against heresy, stated that the master-printer was answerable for his journeymen. In Brussels it was felt that there was good reason for suspecting that Plantin, his wife and other members of the family were not all that they appeared to be in matters of religion: 'il sera requis de bien enfoncer la conduite de son mesnaige.' It would also be a good idea if the proofreader and the 'liseur' were interrogated. They had left Plantin's house but still resided in the town.

Brussels seems to have been very well informed. With the utmost dispatch the margrave set to work again. Before 17th March he was able to report that he had found a thousand of the fifteen hundred copies of the *Briefve instruction pour prier*. The rest had already been sent off, the greater part to Metz, a number to Paris. The guilty journeymen would pay dearly for their misdeeds: they had been sentenced to the galleys. As to the inquiries concerning Plantin, the proof-reader and the 'liseur' had unfortunately disappeared, leaving no address behind.

In a further letter dated 17th March, Van Immerseel filled in some more details. The copies of the heretical work found in Antwerp had been burnt.¹ He had not received any suspicious reports about the 'maisnaige dudit Plantin'. As the printer himself was still in Paris 'y sollicitant certain procès', Van Immerseel felt that he could hardly invoke Article 23. 'Si esse que à son retour l'apelleray vers moy, pour oyr ses excuses.'

Van Immerseel concludes by lamenting an unforeseen difficulty: to whom should he deliver the three guilty journeymen? It was the custom in Antwerp for criminals to be fed by the town almoners, but after the sentence to the galleys had been passed these officials refused to meet the cost of keeping the journeymen. While waiting for the departure of the convoy the expense would be transferred to His Majesty and his exchequer: 'Ce que facilement viendroit à couster bien bonne somme tant pour garde que aultrement en attendant les commissaires...'

This was the end of the official correspondence, or at least of what has been preserved of it, concerning the incident of the *Briefve instruction pour prier*. The legal hair-splitting between the town almoners and the government officials over the maintenance of the galley slaves seems to have saved the

1. The search was so thorough that not a single copy seems to have escaped the fire. Investigations in Metz and Paris have not brought any to light there either.

culprits from an unhappy fate. This was certainly the case with Jean d'Arras: as early as May 1563 he turned up in Metz, where he began a new typographical career, working his way up in a few years to become the foremost Protestant printer in the town.¹ His two workmates presumably slipped through the net at the same time.

Was Plantin as innocent in this affair as the margrave felt he could assume? There is no other evidence besides the margrave's statements, and Jan van Immerseel was hardly a fanatical heresy-hunter. If Plantin was a heretic, however, he had little liking for Calvin's doctrines and steadfastly refused to distribute Calvinistic writings. At the same time it appears that he did in fact leave early in January 1562 to travel to Paris² and that he was involved in a lawsuit there.³

The writer of the *Chronika des Hüsgesinnes der Liefsten* supplies the information that Jeanne Rivière followed her husband to Paris with the children, and that all were affectionately received and given hospitality by Porret.⁴ According to the same witness, Plantin shortly afterwards rode from Paris to Kampen to find Hendrik Niclaes and implore his help and support. He then returned to Paris - by way of Antwerp. This lightning visit can be dated to March 1562.⁵ While Jan van Immerseel was absorbed in his

1. Cf. C. de Clercq, 'Jean et Jacques Taffin, Jean d'Arras et Christophe Plantin'.
2. On the 27th June 1562 the two Antwerp printers Jan Verwithagen and Jan Ryckaerts testified on oath before the Antwerp aldermen (in connection with the sale of Plantin's property, of which more later) that their colleague had left the city shortly after Christmas 1561 (see De Clercq, 'Deux épisodes plantiniens', p. 156). Plantin's journal (Arch. 36) was kept continuously up to mid-January 1562 (folios 17 and 18: entries dated 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 7th and 12th January). There are further entries on 5th March 1562 (concerning the sale of two of Mercator's maps to H. Cock) and on 14th May (a note of sums totalling 332 fl. to be paid). The next entry is dated 10th September 1563.
3. However, the first documentary evidence for this dates from 1563. On 15th November 1563 half of two adjoining dwellings in the rue d'Ablon in the Saint-Marcel district of Paris, belonging to the bookseller Lucas Brayer, were seized. According to an adjudication order of 21st July 1563, Plantin was among the creditors and was able to lay claim to the considerable sum of 1,528 *livres tournois* (Clair, *Plantin*, p. 245). The *Chronika* suggests another, less honourable motive for Plantin's departure for Paris. See p. 39.
4. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 246, p. 285: see p. 38 n. 3.
5. At the request of one of Plantin's creditors (again in connection with the enforced sale of the printer's property; see below), four journeymen swore on 1st September 1562 that they had worked at the Plantin press up to and into Holy Week, which had begun that year on 22nd March, and that Plantin had not been in his house from Holy Week until after Whitsuntide (C. de Clercq, 'Deux épisodes plantiniens', pp. 156-157). The journeymen did not say explicitly that they had seen their master during the period 1st January to 22nd March, but the way in which their oath is formulated suggests that they could well have done so, most probably in the days before Palm Sunday. On the other hand Plantin's journal has an entry for 5th March 1562 (cf. p. 37 n. 2.), which suggests that the printer was at home on that day.

investigation of the printer's affairs, the latter actually called in at Antwerp and then disappeared again in the direction of the French capital, this time for a longer period.¹

In the opinion of the author it seems reasonable to assume that Plantin was in fact the dupe of his workpeople in this affair, that he did go to Paris on some business or other, and that the three journeymen made use of his absence to print the *Briefve instruction pour prier*.² When Plantin became aware that the machinery of the law had been set in motion, for safety's sake he remained in Paris longer than was strictly necessary for his lawsuit or other business. Not until well into 1563, after an absence of a year and a half, did he return to Antwerp - no doubt after he had made sure that the affair had either blown over, or at least contained no further danger for him personally.

How Plantin kept himself in that year and a half of involuntary exile remains a question. Porret gave the printer and his family shelter and generous hospitality.³ The trade in lace with Gassen does not seem to have been completely stopped: through the agency of a certain Noël Moreau,

1. The entry in the journal dated 14th May 1562 in Plantin's own handwriting (cf. p. 37, n. 2) could be taken to show that the printer was then on a short visit to the city (perhaps on the way back from Kampen?). In this case the visit of March 1562 would have taken place on the journey to Kampen. Rooses, in *Musée*, p. 32, asserts that this entry was made in Paris, but neither text nor circumstances prove this.
2. Plantin himself stressed this in his letter of 22nd November 1575 to the Lyons printer A. Gryphius (*Corr.*, V, no. 676, p. 74): '[concerning a consignment of books which Plantin could not remember] que s'il en avoit envoyé quelques ungs durant l'accident qui m'advint par la malice de mes gens tandis que j'estois à Paris et que j'y demouray ung an ascavoir tant que messieurs de la justice eussent congneu mon innocence au faict de mesdicts serviteurs en madicte absence.' [... whether he had sent some of them at the time of the misfortune that befell me through the malice of my workpeople while I was staying in Paris and where I remained for one year till the judges had recognized that I was not guilty of what my men had done in my absence.] It is significant that the author of the *Chronika*, in spite of his dislike for Plantin, emphasized that the journeymen exploited their employer's absence and printed the 'suspect boecksken' without his knowledge. (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 246, p. 285.)
3. 'To welckerem Hüse [i.e. Porret's], dat vor Plantyn noch vor syn Wyf unde Kinderen, gene kosten gespaert worden.' [At which house no expense was spared, neither for Plantin, nor for his wife and children.] (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 246, p. 285.)

who later appears in the immediate circle of Plantin's friends, quantities of lace were dispatched to Paris on the printer's account.¹ The author of the *Chronika des Hüsgesinnes der Lieften* hints at the less honourable activity mentioned earlier. It was in these months that Porret and Plantin are alleged to have stolen the box containing precious stones from the house of the Paris jeweller who had just died and who had intended to bequeath his possessions to the Family of Love.² Hendrik Niclaes raised this ticklish question during the conversation at Kampen. Plantin declared that he did not know who had removed this precious box. The merchant had earlier sent him, in payment of his arrears, 'three costly stones' that the printer now wanted to sell.³ Considering Plantin's life and conduct it is most unlikely that he was guilty of the act with which the author of the *Chronika* imputes him.⁴ Be that as it may this text and the facts concerning the lawsuit show that the printer was owed quite considerable amounts of money in Paris at this time which, with the help of Porret and possibly of a number of minor transactions, enabled him to keep his head above water. He was even able to spend a fairly large sum on punches and matrices.⁵

In Paris on 31st August 1563 Plantin drew up the balance-sheet of his

1. Risselin-Steenebrugen, 'Christophe Plantin, facteur en lingeries fines et en dentelles' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, p. 84.
2. The account given in the *Chronika* is, as always, very confused and explicit accusations and insinuations and suspicions are almost inextricably intertwined. However, the author is quite unambiguous when he states that Pierre Porret removed the casket by himself. Plantin was then in Antwerp, but travelled to Paris shortly afterwards and appears from then on in the role of accomplice. According to the *Chronika* it was during this stay in Paris that Plantin's journeymen slipped their leash and printed the *Briefve instruction pour prier*.
3. Plantin had other jewels at his disposal in these months. On 20th August 1562 Hendrik Winckelman stated that through the agency of Noël Moreau he had received 'a gold ring embellished with four stones' in payment of two debts totalling 29 *pond 2 schellingen* and 6 *grotten* Flemish (about 180 fl.) which Plantin owed him (Arch. 98, folio 90). This is the only transaction of its kind that has been found in the Plantin archives.
4. Cf. also Rooses in *Musée*, pp. 38-39, who quotes a letter of 20th September 1591 from Pierre Porret to Jan Moretus in which Plantin's 'brother' states 'Je luy avoys baillié troys pierres de quoy je pense qu'il retira quatre ou cinq cens escus'. [I gave him three stones from which I think he made a profit of four or five hundred *écus*.] (Arch. 91, pp. 163-164.)
5. M. Parker, K. Melis, H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Early inventories of punches, matrices and moulds in the Plantin-Moretus archives' in *De Gulden Passer*, 38, 1960, p. 15.

financial transactions with the linen-draper Pierre Gassen, who advanced him quite a substantial sum of money ‘to send to Antwerp’.¹ On 10th September, Plantin's ‘journal’ at Antwerp was re-opened.² He had already been there to see how the land lay: in June, July and August 1563 he appears to have squared accounts with the Antwerp *amman*, the legal officer who acted for the central government³ - and was immediately involved in settling another irksome matter with the authorities.

In a letter of 26th June 1563, Margaret of Parma invited ‘nostre chier et bien amé Christoffle Plantin’ to go to Brussels ‘pour quelques choses qu'avons à vous faire déclarer’.⁴ The idea was presumably to question Plantin about another suspect work, the *Instruction chrestienne* by Pierre Ravillian, published in Antwerp in 1562 ‘de l'imprimerie de Christof. Plantin’. In the same bundle that contained Margaret's letter, Max Rooses found a copy of the Plantin edition of 1558 (it is completely different from the 1562 edition), together with the ‘privilege’ that was granted for this work, and the manuscript of the 1562 edition, with the autograph and fully signed approval of the canon responsible for the parish of the Church of Ste. Gudule (now St. Michel) in Brussels. In the library of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, however, there is a copy of the 1562 edition with a handwritten note by Plantin himself on the title-page ‘Ceste impression est faussement mise en mon nom car je ne l'ai faicte ne faict faire.’⁵ The presence of this note, the type employed, the printer's mark (the original wood-block of which is preserved in the Museum) show clearly enough that this second revised and suspect edition of the *Instruction chrestienne* also originated in the Plantin printing-office. Yet Plantin categorically disowns this impression, even though he personally was completely covered by the canon's authorization. Probably it was once again a case of treacherous dealing on the part of Jean d'Arras and his companions, the more so as there are reasons for believing that Pierre Ravillian was in reality a pseudonym for Jean Taffin, Cardinal Granvelle's ex-librarian who had been converted to Calvinism. In 1558 -

1. Risselin-Steenebrugen, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.
2. Arch. 36, folio 18vo.
3. Namely on 17th June, 4th July, 15th July, 19th July, 29th July and 19th August 1563 (with a final payment on 28th March 1564): Arch. 98, folio 102vo. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 30.
4. For the text and an illustration of this document see Rooses, *Musée*, p. 32.
5. See plate 11.

the year in which the first edition was published - Taffin was staying in Antwerp with Plantin and in 1561 he turned up as a preacher in Metz, where Jean d'Arras was residing! It may even be possible that Plantin employed Jean d'Arras and Jean Cabaros on the recommendation of his old friend.¹

Be that as it may, the matter of the *Instruction chrestienne* seems to have been satisfactorily shelved. Plantin already had troubles enough: on 28th April 1562 all his goods had been sold under process of law in the same Vrijdagmarkt where today the Plantin building extends along the whole of the western side.

The facts are easy to reconstruct. In the archives of the Museum there is an inventory headed by the words: 'Dese navolgende goeden toebehoorende Cristoffel Plantin indecammerstrate sijn vercocht by exercitie den achtentwintichsten Aprilis tweentsestich, ten versuerke van Loijs de Somere ende Cornelis van Bomberge' [The following goods belonging to Christophe Plantin (residing) in the Kammenstraat have been sold by order on the twenty-eighth (day) of April (fifteen hundred and sixty-two, at the request of Lodewijk van Somere and Cornelis van Bomberghen)].² The sale was carried out by order of the Antwerp *amman*.

The two merchants must have petitioned for this sale as creditors of Plantin. According to documents from the Municipal Archives a number of other creditors also put forward claims in this period, most of them after the sale, one before the sale but probably when it had already been arranged and announced.³ At first sight the procedure appears quite normal. There is one circumstance, however, that invites further inquiry. Plantin formed a company with one of these 'remorseless' creditors of April 1562, Cornelis van Bomberghen, immediately after returning to Antwerp! On 16th June 1563, three months before Plantin's return, the same van Bomberghen had, in the presence of the *amman*, formally guaranteed any sums that might have been wrongly charged to Plantin for the sale.⁴ All this suggests that the printer himself may have had some part in the official sale of his property.

In April 1562 it was still not certain what turn the matter of the *Briefve*

1. L. Voet, 'Plantin en de kring van Granvelle' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 147-149.

2. Arch. 27.

3. Cf. De Clercq, 'Deux épisodes plantiniens', pp. 156-158.

4. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 30. See plate 10.

instruction pour prier might take. Whether Plantin was personally guilty or innocent, there was always the possibility that the authorities might hold him responsible under the heresy edicts, sentence him, and confiscate his property for the benefit of the exchequer. It is even possible that Plantin's movables had already been seized under a provisional court order or at least placed under seal.¹ It is therefore conceivable that Plantin asked a few friends to forestall the authorities by staging this fictitious attachment for debt so that eventually, by this roundabout and embarrassing means, he could secure possession of his threatened property. But the printer had been able to secure his principal treasure in good time, namely his collection of punches and matrices for casting type.² Consequently not a single punch or matrix was auctioned. Late in 1563, after the storm had blown over, Plantin entered his Antwerp home again and was able with a contented mind to draw up an impressive inventory, augmented by the purchases he had made in Paris from 1562 to 1563. He did not go empty-handed to the financial backers who opened up new possibilities for him at the end of 1563.

The inventory drawn up at the time of the sale of Plantin's possessions gives an idea of the financial progress the former bookbinder had made by 1562, seven years after going over to printing, and thirteen or fourteen years after his arrival in Antwerp. Altogether the sale realized the substantial sum of 1,200 Flemish pounds (= 7,200 fl.) or, to be more exact, 1,199 *pond*, 5 *schellingen*, and 10 *penningen*. The stocks of books and cast type accounted for the greater part of this sum, bringing in roughly 406 and 457 *pond* respectively. The stock of paper (about 93 *pond*), the wood-blocks and copperplates for illustrations (about 63 *pond*), the presses, including four printing-presses and a number of smaller bookbinder's presses (about

1. The *Chronika* is the only source which states this explicitly: '... wairdorch [because of an informer] dath de Merckgrave idtsulve angeheven Werck quam vorstoren, de Gesellen gefangen nam, uude alle de Güderen van Plantyn ansloege'. [... because of which the Margrave came and interrupted that same work which had been started, took the journeymen prisoner, and seized all Plantin's goods.] (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 246, p. 285.) There is a strong probability, however, that this is what actually happened: the seizure of a suspect's property was then a normal legal procedure.
2. He probably collected these when he stopped at Antwerp in March 1562. Plantin may even have returned into the lion's den simply in order to make sure of these valuable and easily transportable articles.

52 *pond*),¹ brought the total of movable property connected with the business to about 1,075 *pond*.

This leaves only about 125 *pond* for Plantin's various household effects. This arid catalogue with the sale-prices noted after each item does not give the impression of excessive luxury: a few tables and chairs, kitchen utensils, an imposing quantity of beds and bed-linen, some of which should be included among the commercial effects, for like most sixteenth-century master craftsmen Plantin housed not only maids and servants, but also apprentices, and even journeymen and what would now be termed 'administrative staff'. There was a still more impressive quantity of baskets, chests and trunks, filled with all kinds of junk, besides two halberds and three flutes. There was not a single painting or piece of ornamental furniture. It was still a far cry from the luxurious furnishings to be seen in the present Plantin-Moretus Museum that evoke the patrician standards of Plantin's successors.

From the total of 1,200 *pond* (7,200 fl.) realized by the compulsory sale a number of creditors' claims must be deducted, but if the surmise concerning the true significance of the sale is correct, then these should not be estimated at too high a figure. In fact after Plantin's creditors had been paid, the *amman* transferred to the printer a sum of just under 480 *pond*, the proceeds from the sale of his property.² This sum was paid in six instalments, five between 17th June and 19th August 1563, and the last on 28th March 1564.³ This means that the debts, fictitious or otherwise, placed before the *amman* represented barely three-fifths of the amount raised by the sale. Plantin's other assets must also be taken into account: the money in his possession; his own apparently considerable claims as a creditor; a stock of books, possibly fairly large, in the warehouse at Frankfurt; and his collection of punches and matrices. At the moment of the disaster Plantin's assets, after deduction of his debts, can be estimated at a total of about 10,000 fl., which was a considerable sum for those days. In 1562 the Antwerp printer was already a man of means. Nevertheless as far as he and his family were concerned he

1. In *Musée*, p. 29, Rooses erroneously speaks of eight printing-presses and one bookbinder's press: the description in the inventory and the prices noted there (Arch. 27, folios 44-45) show clearly that only four printing-presses were sold.
2. Arch. 98, folio 102vo. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 30.
3. Cf. also p. 40 n. 3.

contented himself with the essentials; practically everything was invested in the business.

The master of the *Gulden Passer* emerged unscathed from the perils of 1562 to 1563 and was able immediately to widen his scope, thanks to the support of one of his ‘creditors’.

The period of the ‘Compagnie’ (1563-1567)¹

On 26th November 1563, in one of the rooms in the spacious Antwerp residence of Karel van Bomberghen, lord of Haren, five people put their signatures to five copies of a long text. They undertook to enter into partnership, forming a company that was to last for eight years, but was renewable after four. The company, for reasons which those concerned thought it unnecessary to specify, was considered to have come into being on 1st October of that year. The fifth and last to sign was Christophe Plantin who affirmed in his vigorous and typically French handwriting: ‘Je Christophe Plantin approuve tout ce qui est contenu cy dessus.’²

The printer, only just back from his enforced exile, with little more than the punches and matrices that he had managed to save,³ and a small number of books and engravings that for some reason had not ended up in the Vrijdagmarkt,⁴ had been able to insure that his business would continue on a wider basis than before; he had formed a printing company with four financial backers who could put at his disposal an amount of working capital that was remarkable for those days. The man who took pity on Plantin, or, to put it more accurately, who saw in the calm, reliable, hardworking printer an interesting investment for his money, was Cornelis van Bomberghen, who figured so largely in the affair of April 1562.

It was undoubtedly Cornelis van Bomberghen who persuaded some of his

1. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 57-66; Clair, *Plantin*, pp. 37-56. Concerning the end of the company, see Bouchery, ‘Aanteekeningen’. For the Van Bomberghen family: H. van Bomberghen, *Généalogie de la famille van Bomberghen*, 1914; F. van Ortroy, ‘Les Van Bomberghen d’Anvers’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 2, 1924, pp. 131-144; J.H. Dumont, *La vie aventureuse d’Antoine van Bomberghen, compagnon de lutte de Guillaume le Taciturne*, 1952.
2. Text in Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 380-381. The reprint in *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 229, is incomplete (the last part was left out - probably by mistake). See plate 12.
3. Listed in Arch. 36. pp. 34 sqq.
4. Listed in Arch. 36, p. 20.

relations to enter the company and to open their purses. These were his cousin Karel van Bomberghen, lord of Haren, in whose house the company was officially established; Johannes Goropius Becanus, the physician who had attended Plantin in 1555, and who was married to Catherina de Cordes, grand-niece of the two Van Bomberghens and the sister of Karel's second wife; and lastly Jacob de Schotti, Cornelis's brother-in-law. In February 1566 a fourth member of the family became a partner. This was Fernando de Bernuy, a nephew of the Van Bomberghens on his mother's side and also the guardian of Becanus's stepson.

At all events it was Cornelis van Bomberghen who invested the largest amount of money in the company and assumed responsibility for supervising its finances and keeping the accounts. Plantin, as what would now be termed the technical manager, and Cornelis van Bomberghen directed the company: 'et sera ladite imprimerie des livres latins, grecqs, hébrieux, francois, italiens, ou telz que seront trouvez propres et idoines par l'advis dudit Cornille de Bomberghes et Plantin, selon qu'ilz jugeront en conscience pouvoir estre au prouffit de ladite compagnie.' The rest of the partners contented themselves with the passive role of financial backers.

The assets of the company were divided into six parts, of which Cornelis van Bomberghen reserved three for Plantin and himself. The three other partners received one share each. In return Cornelis paid 600 *pond* (3,600 fl.) into the general fund as initial capital, while his three relatives (and later Fernando de Bernuy) each provided 300 *pond* (1,800 fl.). Plantin's contribution was made in kind. He supplied the typographical material and equipment, in particular his fine collection of matrices and punches, valued at an estimated 200 *pond* (1,200 fl.). These, however, were simply loaned to the company and remained the property of the printer. Similarly the matrices of Hebrew characters were placed at the disposal of the company by Cornelis van Bomberghen, but remained his personal property. They came originally from Karel's father, the famous Daniel van Bomberghen, who printed Hebrew works in Venice at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Apart from the profits distributed pro rata among the partners, the two 'managers' received a number of special payments. For taking care of the book-keeping Cornelis van Bomberghen received 80 *écus* a year, while Plantin was entitled to 400 fl. a year 'as his salary'. The latter received a

further 150 fl. a year to rent suitable premises, 60 fl. for the use of his matrices, and in addition to this a lump sum of 50 fl. for the small items that are necessary in the day-to-day running of a printing-press, but are difficult to keep account of: ‘de vieux linges, de feu, d’utensiles de ménage, des lessives et autres menutez.’ It was also laid down in the deed of foundation that works published by the company should bear only the name of Plantin, with the exception of those in Hebrew which, being produced with Cornelis van Bomberghen’s type, had to mention his name.

With the working capital provided by the partners Plantin’s company entered on a period of expansion. To the two presses in operation on 1st January 1564 a third was added in February of the same year, a fourth in April, and a fifth in October. A sixth press was put to work in 1565. At the beginning of January 1566 the number was increased to seven, a phenomenal figure for the time.¹ Plantin then had a total of 33 printers, compositors and proof-readers.² Measured by sixteenth-century standards, this was the equivalent of a large modern concern with some thousands of employees.

On New Year’s Day 1564 the first edition, a Virgil in 16mo, left the new Plantin presses. By the time their last work, the *A.B.C. et petit catechisme*, had been registered on 28th August 1567, the company had put a total of 209 editions on the market.³ Such figures are eloquent enough without further comment. Business was more strongly concentrated on the wholesale trade than in the previous period and based chiefly on the Antwerp booksellers, the Paris market, and the Frankfurt fairs. The fast-growing firm demanded the full attention of the master. The side-lines that had brought in welcome extra money for Plantin in the preceding years were either stopped or curtailed. The former bookbinder virtually ceased to practice this craft. He remained fairly active, however, as Pierre Gassen’s agent in the trade with Paris in lace.

The works produced were still of the sort that was easy to sell. There was a preponderance of classical authors, followed by devotional books and the volumes of profusely illustrated parables that were termed ‘emblems’. But even at this date a number of scientific treatises draw the attention, among

1. R. de Roover, ‘The business organisation of the Plantin press in the setting of sixteenth century Antwerp’ in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, p. 237.
2. *Idem*, pp. 237 and 239.
3. Listed in Arch. 4.

them the medical textbook by Andreas Vesalius and Valverde, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani* (1566), and botanical studies by Rembert Dodoens and Garcia ab Horto (1566). The Hebrew Bibles and Plantin's first Greek editions also deserve mention.

The *Gulden Passer* in the Kammenstraat soon became too cramped for the steadily growing concern. In 1564 Plantin moved for the fourth and penultimate time. He remained, however, in the Kammenstraat. From the 11th to the 15th July of that year his eighteen employees, aided by porters and waggoners, lugged the entire contents of the *Gulden Passer* to the house called the *Grote Valk* [Great Falcon] farther along the street. This house was in its turn re-christened the *Gulden Passer*: on 16th August Plantin paid Pieter Huys, the well-known painter, the sum of 5 fl. 5 st. for 'l'enseigne du compas pour pendre à la maison nouvelle'.¹

The partnership had been entered into for eight years, renewable after four. Plantin in fact kept the company accounts up to the end of the first term, to 5th October 1567.² Yet the last edition entered up for the company was completed on 28th August,³ while the journal ended on 13th July of that year.⁴ On 30th August 1567 Plantin wrote to Gabriel de Çayas, the secretary to Philip II mentioned earlier, explaining in a long letter how he had severed relations with his partners when he had realized that their religious convictions were hardly orthodox and had paid them off immediately, although this had had the effect of seriously curbing his activities.⁵ The same theme is taken up in various other letters that he addressed to influential Catholic personages at this time.

What had happened? Goropius Becanus must have belonged to the same heterodox sect as Plantin. Jacob de Schotti's orthodoxy does not appear to have been doubtful, at least not sufficiently so to be disturbing. The two Van Bomberghens and Fernando de Bernuy, however, although they may have belonged to the Family of Love,⁶ were fiery Calvinists. During and

1. Cf. p. 262.

2. Arch. 3, folio 75.

3. Arch. 4, folio 121.

4. Arch. 2, folio 43.

5. *Corr.*, I, no. 83.

6. The Van Bomberghens are usually classified - explicitly or by implication - as adherents of Hendrik Niclaes's sect. The only argument that can be put forward in support of this view is that they were partners of Plantin, Niclaes's follower. Two facts argue against this: they were ardent propagandists for the Calvinist cause, and also - and in particular - the author of the *Chronika des Hüsagesinnes der Lieften*, a confidant of Niclaes, mentions the Van Bomberghens incidentally as Plantin's partners (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 246, p. 287), but seems hardly to have known them and in any case does not connect them with the sect.

after the Iconoclasm at Antwerp (20th-23rd August 1566), they resolutely made themselves known as such and played an important part in the city's Calvinist consistory.

When the tide turned early in 1567 and Margaret of Parma's forces were pressing hard on the rebels, so that it began to look as if Antwerp too would be obliged to open its gates to the royal troops, the two Van Bomberghens decided it was high time to take precautions. In January Cornelis van Bomberghen sold his share in the company to his brother-in-law Jacob de Schotti and in February he disappeared from the Netherlands. He was probably accompanied on his flight by Karel van Bomberghen. How the latter realized his share in the undertaking is hard to say. It is even possible that the lord of Haren may have ceased to be part of the company as early as February 1566, and that Fernando de Bernuy did not actually buy a new share, but simply took over that of his kinsman. These and other small mysteries connected with the break-up of the partnership could only be cleared up by a systematic study of the accounts.

Fernando de Bernuy was just as ardent a Calvinist, and just as compromised as the two Van Bomberghens. He may have waited a little longer to see how the situation would develop, but the news of Alva's arrival must have encouraged him to make haste: on 13th July 1567 the company's journal closed with the payment of about 800 *pond* to this shareholder. That de Bernuy had already placed a safe distance between himself and the Netherlands by this time and received the money via intermediaries are possibilities that cannot be entirely ruled out.

Plantin must also have severed his financial ties with Goropius Becanus and Jacob de Schotti in the same period, thereby regaining his freedom of movement. He could therefore truthfully declare, in his letter of 30th August 1567 to de Çayas, that he had disassociated himself from his too Protestant partners, even though his explanation was not quite as full as it might have been. Plantin certainly made this move, but not the moment the Van Bom-

D'ice est declaire par le commun accord e- expresse volonte d'icellez compaignons
 tout ensemble e- Chacun d'eux que si aucun des hoirs ou tuteurs e- Curateurs
 d'icez ne vouloit ou vouloient se contenter des comptes a eice donnez pour les
 autres compaignons que non obstant les contestations ou malcontentement
 d'icellez hoirs ou tuteurs e- curateurs d'icez ne pourront contredire
 les autres compaignons de venir ou jurer e- ce sera veine de deux casz estant
 dor en ou laquelle veine vendent tout les compaignons d'icellez ensemble e- Chacun
 d'eux pour e- les hoirs tuteurs e- curateurs contredire a cette
 presente chartre quelle soit luee des biens estans en ladite compaignie sans
 pouvoir aider de ce qu'ilz ont bit e- que elle puisse estre e- ce sans nul
 fraude ou circonvention aucune

Pour approbation e- satisfaction de tout ce que dessus on a fait cinq instrumens tous
 une l'heure d'icellez e- d'icellez des mains d'icellez compaignons dont l'un d'icez
 a l'icez d'icellez e- d'icellez d'icellez compaignons que cest instrument ou chartre
 ait telle e- grande vigueur e- autorite comme tel estoit par devant
 e- d'icellez de l'icelle ville d'icellez ou il estoit fait e- d'icellez d'icellez d'icellez
 e- comme n'ont toutes les p'visions legales a ce requises se pourrissent
 volontairement a l'exécution de tout ce que est specificy e- d'icellez Renoncans
 quant e- quant a toutes cautions rechemens e- conditions de droit tant
 generales que speciales sicut de celle autorite ne vigueur que les pourrissent
 estre e- de quelconque maniere que d'icellez compaignons leurs hoirs tuteurs ou
 curateurs se pourrissent au b'ement aider le tout en parole e- l'icelle de
 non sans nul fraude ou malengin e- l'icelle

Fait en amies ce v'bj' du mois de novembre au l'icelle d'icelle Charles de
 Bomberghen L'an de grace m'c' lxxij

Je Jean Goropius Becanus approuve tout ce que est cy dessus
 Je Charles de Bomberghen approuve tout ce que est cy dessus
 Je Cornelis de Bomberghen approuve tout ce que est cy dessus
 Je Jacob Schotti approuve tout ce que est cy dessus
 Je Christophe Plantin approuve tout ce que est cy dessus

(12) *Opposite*: Deed of partnership between Plantin and members of the Van Bomberghen family (26th November 1563). On the second and final page the signatures of the five partners may be read: Joannes Goropius Becanus, Karel van Bomberghen, Cornelis van Bomberghen, Jacob Schotti, Christophe Plantin.



(13) Benedictus Arias Montanus. Oil painting on panel by Rubens. Montanus is portrayed wearing the mantle of a knight in the Spanish military order of St. James. The portrait was commissioned by Balthasar I Moretus between 1630 and 1636.

berghens and de Bernuy had revealed their true sympathies. He only took the step when his Calvinist partners were likely to be crushed in the machinery of repression and he himself was in danger of being dragged after them to destruction. It is even conceivable that the initiative for liquidation came as much from the other partners as from Plantin. The Van Bomberghens and de Bernuy may have insisted on settling their affairs before their flight, so that they could take as much in the way of cash or liquid assets abroad with them as possible. The two remaining partners, Jacob de Schotti - who had become the principal shareholder after the transfer of Cornelis van Bomberghen's portion - and Goropius Becanus, were relatively neutral in their religious opinions and therefore less of a danger to Plantin. Because of the uncertainties of the times, however, and realizing that their family enjoyed little popularity in government circles, they may also have prepared for the possibility of a hasty departure and wanted liquidation.

The break with his Calvinist partners, moreover, was not as drastic as Plantin made it appear in his letters to pro-Spanish persons at this time. Even after August 1567 he was frequently in contact with the Van Bomberghens, borrowing money from them on some occasions; these contacts and transactions, however, were carefully camouflaged in his correspondence and in his accounts.¹

In August 1567 Plantin was left on his own, but this time with a well-equipped printing-office and a still substantial working capital. Nevertheless payment of the amounts owed to his partners, and the troubled times that did anything but encourage the buying of such luxuries as books, must certainly have curbed his activities.

In these troubled months the printer was wrestling with serious financial problems. In January 1567 he complained that only three of his seven presses were working;² in August of the same year he affirmed there were

1. Bouchery, 'Aanteekeningen', pp. 106-107.
2. Letter to S. Winandus Pighius, 12th January 1567 (*Corr.*, III, no. 338). Plantin apologized for the fact that he could not produce an edition sponsored by Cardinal Granvelle because of lack of funds and money. He stated in passing that he had had to stop four (out of seven) presses. In his accounts for January 1567, however, five presses were entered as operative (De Roover, *op. cit.*, p. 239). In his letter to Pighius, Plantin probably painted too black a picture of certain aspects of his affairs, but the disorganization of trade, which he describes so vividly, and the difficulty of obtaining ready cash seem to correspond with the truth.

still only four in operation.¹ On the other hand he was successful in finding a source from which he could obtain ready money, the commodity he most needed. Late in 1566, when Paris was momentarily peaceful and therefore relatively eager to buy, he had set up a well-appointed bookshop in Porret's house in the rue Saint-Jacques, where he might hope to place a considerable stock of his books.² At the same time he had found a number of powerful Spanish patrons through whom he had been able to win the support of Philip himself for certain of his plans. He could face the future with a calmer mind than in 1562 and 1563.

Nevertheless for Plantin 1567 was the 'year of the great fear', the only time in his long career when his head was seriously in danger. He became involved in the distasteful matter of a clandestine anti-Spanish press. When Alva rode into Brussels at the head of his *tercios* on 22nd August 1567 and the repression set in, the printer had reason to fear the worst.

This crisis was not only to pass: Plantin's attempts to break out of the net that enmeshed him led to a new period of expansion, greater even than the previous one. It led to the zenith of his career - and the beginning of his great financial difficulties.

The year of the great fear (1567)³

In the province of South Holland, a few miles south of Utrecht, lies the small town of Vianen, in the sixteenth century the most important possession of the proud family of the Brederodes. During and after the Iconoclasm the seigniorship was the headquarters of the Protestant Hendrik van Brederode, the 'Great Beggar'. There were already a few printers established at Vianen, but so far as can be discovered their equipment was rather rudimen-

1. Letter to de Çayas, 30th August 1567 (*Corr.*, I, no. 83, p. 182).
2. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 171; H. Stein, 'La succursale plantinienne de Paris' in *Bibliographie moderne*, 1920-1921, p. 35.
3. This episode was dealt with in detail for the first time by Bouchery in 'Aanteekeningen'. There are interesting particulars about printing and publishing at Vianen in this turbulent period in three essays by H. de la Fontaine Verwey: 'De geschriften van Hendrik Niclaes' in *Het Boek*, 26, 1940-42; 'Over enige boeken te Vianen gedrukt tijdens het "voorspel"' in *Opstellen... aangeboden aan Dr. F.K.H. Kossmann*, 1958, pp. 20-34; and 'Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen. Een episode uit het voorspel van de tachtigjarige oorlog' in *Het Boek*, 30, 1949-1951, pp. 3-41.

tary. At the end of 1566 a new printer arrived in this ‘midden of sectarians’, or ‘hydra of revolt’ as Viglius ab Aytta more elegantly put it.

He was probably much better equipped than his Dutch colleagues, but barely had time to install himself. At the beginning of 1567 the foot companies and cavalry of Margaret of Parma started swiftly to roll up the Protestant positions. At Oosterweel near Antwerp on 13th March the inexperienced recruits of the Calvinist leader de Toulouze were surprised and massacred. On 11th April the Prince of Orange left the city on the Scheldt to head for Germany by way of Breda. On 27th April it was the turn of Hendrik van Brederode to leave Amsterdam to seek safety over the eastern frontier. On 3rd May Margaret's troops marched into Vianen.

The new printer was swept along in the general flight and hurried over the German border to the safety of Wesel. He does not seem to have had the time or opportunity to print much: perhaps one or two religious tracts by Hendrik Niclaes, although these are more likely to have been printed in Wesel. There remains little doubt, however, as to what the printer would have produced in the midden of sectarians had Brederode and his Protestant ‘beggars’ been able to stand their ground. The man had more than likely come to Vianen to set up an anti-Spanish, and presumably pro-Calvinist, press. The printer was a certain Augustijn van Hasselt. The man behind the scenes who furnished Van Hasselt with materials and enabled him to establish his printing-press, was his former employer on whose pay-roll he was entered as a journeyman printer until 2nd November 1566 - Christophe Plantin.

Plantin cannot be called a commercial adventurer. He lacked the ruthless, self-assured effrontery of such types. But he did possess their reckless spirit. His dare-devil gambling with fate carried him to the highest point of fame and prestige that a printer has ever reached - and soured his old age with racking financial worries. There is a whole world of difference, however, between recklessness and the patronizing of such an enterprise as that at Vianen. The hope of financial gain can have been only slight; the likelihood of reaping the whirlwind so much the greater.¹ As a man of

1. In fact the enterprise ended with a large deficit. Cf. Plantin's letter to Niclaes, 2nd August 1567 (*Corr.*, I, no. 74): ‘Mais depuis je n'en ay rien entendu [i.e. of Van Hasselt], non plus que de tout ce qui estoit entre les mains dudict Augustin, choses mesmes qui me mect aussi en peine, à cause que j'ay déboursé plus de cinq cens florins, tant pour papiers, cuirs, ancras, ports et advances, etc., dont je n'ay onques retiré qu'environ 40 fl. de quelque partie des Apoc. et Rec., etc.’ [But since I have heard nothing of him, nor of all that which was in the said Augustijn's possession, a matter that also troubles me because I have spent more than five hundred fl., for paper, leather, ink, transport, as well as for loans, etc., out of which I have made not more than about 40 fl. profit from some consignments of the Apoc. and Rec., etc.]

peace, Plantin always kept as far as possible from the political arena. In religion his sympathies certainly did not extend towards fanatical and belligerent Calvinism.

Augustijn van Hasselt was also a member of the Family of Love and had actually been sent by Hendrik Niclaes to Plantin to learn the craft of printing. He later became printer to the sect in Cologne. It might at first be thought that the idea was to set up a propaganda centre of the Family of Love within Hendrik van Brederode's sphere of influence. The Calvinists, however, were just as implacable and violent in their dealings with zealots of anabaptist tendencies as were the Catholics. The leader of the Family of Love thoroughly disapproved of the venture and censured Plantin as well as Van Hasselt;¹ nevertheless he helped to cushion them to some extent from its unfavourable financial consequences.² The Vianen enterprise was certainly not begun on the initiative of Niclaes's sect.

Taking all these factors into account, it would appear that Plantin was forced into this adventure against his will by Calvinist elements. The real culprits are not far to seek. When these events took place the *Officina Plantiniana* was still a company. Three of Plantin's partners were ardent Calvinists - and Karel van Bomberghen was the brother of Antoon van Bomberghen, Hendrik van Brederode's fierce lieutenant who was killed by a shot from a Spanish harquebus in October 1568, when the army of William of Orange was crossing the Gete.

It may be assumed that it was Plantin's Calvinist partners who, influenced by their kinsman Antoon van Bomberghen, aimed at setting up the anti-

1. *Chronika (Suppl. Corr.*, no. 246, pp. 288-289). In fact the author of the *Chronika* expressly says that Van Hasselt went to Vianen to print 'partisan [i.e. anti-Catholic] books'. Cf. also Bouchery, 'Aanteekeningen', p. 109.
2. By buying up the materials Van Hasselt had retained and setting him up in Germany as printer to the sect: *Chronika (Suppl. Corr.*, no. 246, p. 289).

Spanish press at Vianen, and that Plantin followed them only reluctantly. Nevertheless the fact remains that he was a party to this enterprise and that he was disloyal of his own free will to the Spanish authorities. This time not even the most benevolently disposed official could interpret the edicts in his favour. Plantin's head was at stake.

Plantin could have secured his safety, like his partners, by going abroad - to Paris, where his recently fitted out *Compas d'Or* in Pierre Porret's house could have afforded him an excellent opportunity of starting again; to Frankfurt-am-Main, where the magistrates seemed disposed to show the great printer all kinds of favours, should he wish to settle in their town.¹ Plantin, however, was already too deeply rooted in Antwerp and he resolved to weather the storm there. In this risky game of chance he did not rely solely on his own boldness to carry the day.

Augustijn van Hasselt, the dangerous link between Antwerp and Vianen, sat safe and sound in Germany and therefore the Spanish authorities could not force confessions out of him by torture. The presses at Vianen had scarcely been installed and had been able to do little or no harm; consequently the authorities, who had more on their hands than they cared for in those troublous days, had no special reason to look into this particular matter.

For the rest, Plantin took a number of precautions. He had Van Hasselt write him a letter on 10th March 1567, shortly before his flight to Wesel, in which the journeyman apologized for having gone to Vianen against Plantin's orders.² In his letters to pro-government elements, the printer related how many of his journeymen had left his *officina*, lured 'to Vianen and I know not where' by the hope of higher wages.³

Plantin's gamble paid off. The secret was well guarded at the time. It was so well kept that it needed all the perspicuity of Dr. H. Bouchery to

1. At least this is what Plantin asserts in his letter to de Çayas, 19th December 1566 (*Corr.*, I, no. 20, p. 51). In this letter he also mentions that the Elector of the Palatinate had made offers to entice him to Heidelberg and the Constable of France had tried to induce him to return to his homeland.
2. *Corr.*, I, no. 26. For the interpretation of this letter, see Bouchery, 'Aanteekeningen', pp. 114 and 119-120.
3. In his letter to Pighius, for example, dated 16th January 1567 (*Corr.*, III, no. 339).

reconstruct this shadowy episode in Plantin's career from the few scattered shreds of material available. Yet Dr. Bouchery has shown that at least one highly-placed official had his suspicions, even if he did not actually see through what was going on.

Before the Iconoclasm, Plantin and Cornelis van Bomberghen had stood surety for a substantial amount on behalf of a 'Monsieur Claude de Withem, signeur de Risbourg'. Claude de Withem only partly met his obligations, so that Plantin had to make up the rest out of his own pocket. This involved the considerable sum of 2,630 fl. The printer repeatedly pressed for repayment, but did no more than try to move the recalcitrant debtor by lamenting his own pitiful financial condition. At no point did he adopt the peremptory tone he normally employed in such cases and which he even dared to use to Philip II.

The reason for this gentle manner was that in 1567 Claude de Withem was the 'lieutenant de haut et puissant Seigneur Monsieur le conte de Meghen', the same Count van Meghen who routed Brederode's army and took Vianen. As Van Meghen's lieutenant, De Withem could have heard of matters that Plantin little cared to have revealed. The printer must have received a warning letter, an 'advertissement' couched in unspecific terms, from De Withem as late as July 1568, to which he replied on the 1st August with a humble expression of thanks and a long explanation of how and when he had broken with Cornelis van Bomberghen.

Claude de Withem left it at the 'advertissement' and not paying his debts. Everybody else concerned in the clandestine press was similarly silent. The Vianen affair was shelved, though for many long months Plantin must have lived in fear and trembling. At least as early as December 1566 Plantin began literally to bombard his important Spanish and pro-Spanish connections with letters in which he emphasized his Catholic orthodoxy with great vehemence and even greater discursiveness. From December 1566 - that is to say when the Protestant cause appeared by no means lost, when Plantin had not yet separated from his Calvinist partners, and when he had just installed Augustijn van Hasselt at Vianen.

This might be regarded as a conscious and purposeful betting on two horses. The vehemence of Plantin's declarations of religious orthodoxy, however, makes it seem likely that, as has already been stressed, he did not

much approve of the Vianen press. He was probably also trying to secure for himself a safe way back to the Spanish lines by strengthening the ties that bound him to certain faithful servants of the government.

Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Archbishop of Malines, is generally represented as Plantin's great patron.¹ Granvelle certainly extended his protection to the printer for many years, but this patronage was of comparatively late date. Until 1564, when Granvelle, under pressure from the nobility, was ordered by Philip II to visit his sick mother in Franche Comté and left the Netherlands for good, the relationship was limited to the delivery of a few books and bookbindings and the printing of a polemical Catholic pamphlet - a commission for which the *griffier* (town recorder) of Antwerp, Joachim Polytes, was probably as much responsible as Granvelle.² Contacts only became more frequent from the beginning of 1567. Plantin sought and obtained closer contact with the prelate, who was in Rome at that time, through Stephanus Winandus Pighius, the famous humanist and archaeologist, then Granvelle's librarian in the Netherlands, and Maximilian Morillon, provost of Aire and vicar-general to Granvelle in the latter's capacity as Archbishop of Malines. Until the middle of 1567, however, the correspondence between Plantin and Granvelle dealt with little more than the publication of works by Pighius and friends of the cardinal in Rome.

It seems as if Plantin in these crucial months first sought to obtain the good offices of Pighius and Morillon who, although less powerful than the cardinal, were nearer home and could drop a discreet word in Plantin's favour in official ears at Brussels. As a result of this, and perhaps of promises and assurances given by Plantin, Pighius and Morillon also aroused Granvelle's interest in the printer.

It was not so much Granvelle as another influential person that Plantin canvassed in this period with all the energy of despair, holding out the bait that he had been keeping in reserve. This man did not appear in the limelight like Granvelle, but he was better able to exert his influence behind the scenes. He was Gabriel de Çayas, a man whose position was an exalted one:

1. M. van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot van Granvelle, beschermheer van Plantin*, 1948; and by the same author, 'Granvelle et Plantin' in *Estudios dedicados a Menendez Pidal*, Madrid, 7, 1957, pp. 225-272. Cf. also the studies mentioned on p. 377, n. 3.
2. L. Voet, 'Plantin en de kring van Granvelle' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 149-151.

he stood next to Philip himself. The secretary to the Spanish monarch had appeared before in Plantin's life-story, at the beginning of his printing career. It was the jewel-box he had ordered that got Plantin a stab in the shoulder in 1554 or 1555. Plantin remained in quite close contact with de Çayas until 1559, when the secretary left the Netherlands for good with his master. He supplied him with many more books and bindings than he delivered to Granvelle and did him many small services. It was to this man that the printer turned in 1566 when he felt his life to be in danger. It was above all de Çayas who received monotonously regular letters containing Plantin's affirmations of his Catholic faith, and it was de Çayas to whom the bait was proffered: a scientific edition of the texts of the Bible.

In Catholic circles too people were beginning to realize the importance of a scientifically based edition of the Bible. Plantin could hope that his proposition would be favourably received by Philip, thus indirectly securing him the mightiest patron he could wish for in the Spanish Netherlands. It should be pointed out that Plantin's original plan was fairly modest. His intention was only to publish a slightly revised edition of the famous Polyglot Bible in six volumes, printed at Alcalá in Spain by Arnao Guillen de Brocar in 1514-17 and sponsored by Cardinal Ximenes.¹ Plantin had been thinking about some such plan for a considerable time. He had expressed his views on the subject as early as 26th February 1565 in a letter to his friend, the learned Orientalist Andreas Masius,² and he had already displayed a specimen page of his planned edition of the Polyglot Bible at the Frankfurt Fair in Lent, 1566.³

By interesting the Spanish king in the matter he could hope to achieve two of his aims at one stroke: on the one hand he would gain a certificate of orthodoxy; on the other he would obtain the financial means he needed to realize his grandiose scheme. It speaks volumes for Plantin's practical spirit that, in his effort to save himself, he did not plunge head first into financial adventure, but in a cool and calculated manner specified the financial aid he expected from His Catholic Majesty.

Plantin's extant correspondence with de Çayas on the Polyglot Bible

1. See p. 60 for a bibliography on the Polyglot Bible.
2. *Corr.*, III, no. 333.
3. Plantin's letter of 19th December 1566 to de Çayas (*Corr.*, I, no. 20, p. 51).

starts on 19th December 1566,¹ but this letter is itself an answer to one from de Çayas. Thus the printer's attempts to win the support of the Spanish monarch for his enterprise date at least from November of that year, that is to say exactly at the time he was launching the anti-Spanish press at Vianen. Philip II, however, was wont to weigh his plans up carefully. Months went by and Plantin was left on tenterhooks. Every few weeks he sent de Çayas letters in which details of the *Polyglotta* were interwoven with ardent protestations of Catholic orthodoxy and loyalty to the Spanish crown. Sometimes Plantin himself felt that he had rather overstated matters and in making a fair copy would resolutely strike out the too prolix declarations of devotion in in his first draft.²

De Çayas had other things to do besides answering Plantin's letters. He stopped corresponding in the summer of 1567, at about the same time that Alva marched into Brussels with his Spanish *tercios*. Plantin's letters became even more frequent and truly pathetic in tone. He seems to have been on the verge of a nervous breakdown. But at last, at the end of September 1567, he obtained a reply. De Çayas was able to inform him that Philip was not unfavourably disposed to the project.

A great weight fell from Plantin's shoulders. His ambitious design was going to be realized, and the protecting hand of none less than His Catholic Majesty would be held above him. The reply of 1st October 1567 was written by an already much calmer Plantin. He had regained his equilibrium and the affirmations of orthodoxy and loyalty to Spain were henceforth omitted or much toned down and reduced.

In March 1568 his calm was momentarily disturbed once more, and his letters to de Çayas were again filled with lengthy affirmations of faith.³ Plantin's head was again in danger, as Stephanus Pighius bluntly informed their mutual friend, Andreas Masius, in a letter of 15th March 1568.⁴ It was

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 20.

2. For a discussion of Plantin's correspondence in these months, see especially Bouchery, 'Aanteekeningen', pp. 118-125.

3. Bouchery notes this fact in 'Aanteekeningen', pp. 125-128, but is unable to give a satisfactory explanation for it. Pighius's letter to Masius was not known to him.

4. M. Lossen, *Briefe von Andreas Masius und seinen Freunden, 1538 bis 1573*, 1886, no. 290. Cf. L. Voet, 'Plantin en de kring van Granvelle', p. 152.

not ghosts out of the past that came to disturb Plantin's peace of mind, however, but simply the embarrassing after-effects of a rather hasty commercial transaction.

At the end of 1566 René Benoist, a priest in Paris, brought out a French translation of the Vulgate. It was in fact the Calvinist Geneva translation, in which only the more suspect verses had been changed, and notes of a Catholic tinge provided.¹ Plantin saw this French translation as a commercial windfall and hastened to secure for himself the right to print it. His text was examined by the theologian Jan Henten, while a number of Louvain professors also endorsed it. In order not to lose any time, Plantin published the first part of the work to be completed, *Le nouveau Testament de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ*, as soon as it was ready. This must have been in July 1567, the same month in which the Sorbonne solemnly condemned the priest's brain-child.

In his foreword Benoist had, very genially and not without irony, explained his dangerous method: 'Quant est de ceux qui pourront trouver mauvais, qu'en cest ouvrage se trouvent plusieurs choses, soit en la version, ou es annotations, lesquelles sont pareillement leües es Bibles des heretiques... Si ie trouve le larron en ma possession, pourquoy ne le despouilleray-ie? Puisque la guerre spirituelle est ouverte entre nous et les heretiques, ne m'estil pas permis de les piller?' The Sorbonne, however, was not convinced. It was this *Novum Testamentum Gallicum corruptissimum*, that endangered Plantin's head, albeit indirectly.

Benoist did not acquiesce immediately in the decision of the University of Paris. Not at all disheartened, he had several further editions of his translation published in 1568. Plantin himself brought out a new edition in 1573, but without Benoist's annotations and without mention of his name. The work itself was therefore not sufficiently suspect and corrupt to warrant Pighius's writing of acute peril in his letter of March 1568.

It cannot be said with complete certainty what exactly happened. Granvelle's librarian, the only important relevant source, deals only briefly with

1. Concerning R. Benoist, his translation into French of the New Testament, and Plantin's publication thereof, see C. de Clercq, 'Les éditions bibliques, liturgiques et canoniques de Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, pp. 287-288; and by the same author, 'La Bible française de René Benoist' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1957, pp. 168-174.

the matter in a text that does not excel in clarity.¹ From the context it would seem that at the end of 1567 or the beginning of 1568 a *Novum Testamentum Gallicum* had appeared that was considerably more ‘corrupt’ than Benoist’s, and did not carry the name of a publisher or printer. The first person to come under suspicion was Plantin, because of his earlier publication of Benoist’s translation. Possibly the anonymous edition and that of Plantin were momentarily confused. Maximilian Morillon, vicar-general of the archbishopric of Malines, and Pighius came to the aid of their friend. They were able to show that Plantin’s edition was covered by privilege and ecclesiastical approval. The storm subsided - at least for Plantin - as quickly as it had arisen when the actual printer of the *Novum Testamentum Gallicum corruptissimum* was discovered. Willem Silvius, the royal printer, was the culprit. On Shrove Tuesday (2nd March) 1568, he was taken from his bed and imprisoned.² Plantin could breathe freely once more and permit himself to drop his ardent religious affirmations in letters to his various patrons.

1. ‘Plantinum non puto tibi offensum, sed propter occupationes rarius scribere. Moneo indies hominem ne nihil neglecte sed provide atque anxie sua producat his maxime difficillimis temporibus cogitetque quadruplatorum nunc omnia esse plena, atque imprimis ne ejus generis lucro inhiet unquam, unde periculum sibi creari posset; quod haud contemnendum ejus capiti his diebus imminere ob Novum Testamentum Gallicum corruptissimum, quod ex ejus officina prodierit credebatur. Istud cum forte fortuna mihi ultro detexisset Morillonus noster, sua auctoritate me instante apud theologos hoc discussit, cum exemplar suum Plantinus, quod nuper cum privilegio et bene visitatum ediderat, confestim, me scribente, ad nos misisset. Itaque re melius detecta non diu postea, ipso quippe bacchanalium, extrema nocte Silvius ejus aemulus e lecto cum aliis multis in carcerem est raptus.’ In a letter of 20th February 1568 (*Corr.*, III, n^o 353) Pighius had already warned Plantin: ‘Sed nescio, quidnam sinistri hic animo conceperint nonnulli de Nov. Testam. vel Bibliis tuis Gallicis novissime editis, et nunc aiunt a te suppressis. De ea re mihi locutus est hodie Dn. Praepositus Morillonus petiitque a me, ut ad te scriberem, se quia has meras esse calumnias putat, cupere ut mittas exemplar unum videndi causa, quo docere tuam innocentiam, atque apud quosdam tibi praestare officium amici possit, nam tuis rebus admodum favet. Quidquid igitur est, ad illum scribe, et expone illi causam tuam atque mitte exemplar, ut videat, qua ratione mature provideri rebus tuis possit: Nobis profecto molestissimum esset, si quod tibi periculum crearetur difficillimis hisce temporibus.’
2. Cf. H. de la Fontaine Verwey on the same subject: ‘Silvius en Plantijn’ in *Het Boek*, 26, 1940-42, p. 118. A French New Testament printed by Silvius is recorded in the appendix of the *Index librorum prohibitorum* of 1569. There are, however, no known copies of this work in existence (De la Fontaine Verwey, *op. et loc. cit.*). Silvius’s imprisonment did not last long. He was released on bail at the end of May 1568 and pardoned a month later.

The beginning of the expansion (1568-1572)

It would probably be an exaggeration to claim that Plantin owed the retention of his *officina* and his head to the Polyglot Bible, but conversely it could be said that Plantin's tribulations with the anti-Spanish press at Vianen led directly to this monumental creation. Without this crisis the printer, notwithstanding all his boldness, would probably never have dared to approach the Spanish king directly and with such insistence. Circumstances drove him to this game of chance - and he won.

With the financial support of the monarch, and urged on both by Arias Montanus, the representative sent by Philip II to the Netherlands, and by his own ambition, Plantin developed his initially modest concept of a slightly revised edition of the Alcala Polyglot Bible into a work that was as original as it was monumental.¹ The original idea suggested to de Çayas of an edition of the Bible texts in four languages (Hebrew, Chaldaic [=Aramaic], Greek, and Latin) and in six volumes became an *opus magnum* in five languages (Syriac texts were added) and arranged in eight bulky folio volumes. Five of these contained the actual texts, and the last three formed the so-called *apparatus*: it included a series of detailed and valuable treatises on the manners and customs, weights and measures of the ancient Hebrews; grammars and dictionaries for Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac and Greek; and revised versions of particular texts with emendations or interlinear glosses. The whole work, particularly the last three volumes, was lavishly illustrated.

Although this *Biblia Polyglotta* (or *Biblia Regia* as Arias Montanus and Plantin liked to call it, in honour of its royal patron Philip II) offered comparatively little that was new as regards the Hebrew text and the Latin

1. Books and articles on Plantin's Polyglot Bible include: M. Rooses, 'Plantijns Koninklijke Bijbel. Geschiedenis van een boek in de XVI^e eeuw' in *De Gids*, 3, 1880, pp. 238-273; T. Lamy, 'La Bible royale en cinq langues imprimée par Plantin' in *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 1892, pp. 628-668; Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 71-93; De Clercq, 'Les éditions bibliques, liturgiques et canoniques de Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, pp. 288-294; Clair, *Plantin* pp. 57-86; and B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano*, 1961, pp. 97 sqq. The controversy arising out of the Polyglot Bible is discussed by F. Asencio in his 'Juan de Mariana y la Poliglota de Amberes: censura oficial y sugerencias de M. Bataillon' in *Gregorianum*, 36, 1955, pp. 50-80. F. Secret's 'Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la publication de la Bible d'Anvers' in *Sefarad*, 18, 1958, pp. 121-128, gives some useful information (more particularly about Guillaume Postel's conduct).

Vulgate, it was important for its Greek texts and was an invaluable source of new data concerning the 'Chaldaic' and Syriac.

It has always been customary, both in the sixteenth century and subsequently, to refer to the Polyglot Bible when drawing attention to Plantin's importance in the history of the art of printing and of western culture. This work has remained through the centuries the symbol of his creative spirit. Yet it is equally symbolic that this masterpiece, the largest work ever undertaken by a single printer in the Netherlands, stands at the beginning of Plantin's great period of typographical development and expansion - and of his besetting financial troubles.

In March 1568, while Plantin was still struggling with the aftermath of Benoist's *Novum Testamentum Gallicum corruptissimum*, Philip II was at last able to make a decision. On the 25th of that month he put his signature to the series of letters and orders that would set the Polyglot Bible project in motion. One of the letters was intended for Plantin: the printer was given permission to begin work on the *Polyglotta* and payment of the promised royal grant (12,000 fl.) was guaranteed. He was also informed that Benedictus Arias Montanus, chaplain to the Spanish monarch, would travel to Antwerp to assume the task of directing the gigantic enterprise.

The joy of the printer on receiving the good news was by no means as great as might have been expected. On 3rd May 1568 a diffident Plantin wrote a carefully worded letter to de Çayas telling him that he had already made inroads into the stock of paper bought for the *Polyglotta* and did not have the money to replenish it: he would therefore have to wait for the royal subsidy before he could start work.¹

Arias Montanus was bringing the subsidy with him, or rather the necessary instructions to the Spanish royal agents, but his arrival in Antwerp was delayed. He had left Madrid on 31st March 1568 and sailed from a port in northern Spain. The ship ran aground on the west coast of Ireland in a gale, and the chaplain had to travel right across that country and England before being able to embark for the Continent. At last, on 17th May, he reached Antwerp - so unexpectedly that Plantin, who had grown tired of waiting and set off for Paris on business,² had to be hurriedly recalled.

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 124.

2. And in fact to buy paper for his new undertaking. See M. Morillon's letter to Granvelle, 16th May 1568 (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 65).

Benedictus (Benito) Arias, who called himself by the Latin name Montanus, i.e. 'from the mountains', after his birthplace Fregenal de la Sierra, was 41 years old when he started on the colossal *Biblia Polyglotta* enterprise which, with his remarkable erudition and capacity for work, he brought to a successful conclusion.¹ In 1560 he had become a member of the military order of St. James, and in 1566 chaplain to Philip II.² He had already gained a great reputation as a Bible scholar, notably at the Council of Trent.

Plantin had been in correspondence with the scholar, through de Çayas, from the end of 1567. The printer's letters contained no more than the purely formal expressions of reverence and respect due to so eminent a person as Philip II's chaplain. Plantin in fact seems to have awaited the coming of this potential Spanish 'spy' with some mistrust, if not with fear. Acquaintance, however, more than dispelled all his misgivings. Plantin was always dutifully polite in his correspondence when referring to the friends of his friends, but in his letter of 11th June 1568 to de Çayas it is not a question of empty phrases of formal courtesy. The whole letter glows with lyrical enthusiasm for the man His Catholic Majesty had been pleased to send to Antwerp: 'car je me sens attiré, contrainct et volontairement ravi et transporté à aimer et révéler ledict signeur Arias Montanus, et ce comme personnage que, sans envie ni affection, j'aperçoy à la verité estre autant bien doué et rempli de toutes grâces divines que j'en congnoisse.'³

This enthusiasm is encountered in other letters which he wrote at the time, one example being that to the abbot Jan Mofflin on 13th June 1568:⁴ 'I resolved to show proper deference to the said doctor Arias Montano, and straight away carried this out with all my power, not as I should, but in my simple manner. But since he has permitted me the liberty of conversing familiarly with him, I found myself so captivated and enraptured with love and reverence for his rare virtues, that having forgotten all your instructions, those of my lord and as a father de Çayas, of my lord Stella, and even of the

1. On the subject of this great Spanish theologian, see B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano*, which has an extensive bibliography. The author's objections to this particular work have been set out on p. 21, n. 1. Cf. also the studies listed on p. 368, n. 1.
2. A purely honorary title, implying no particular function at Philip's court - certainly not that of confessor to the king, an interpretation which has sometimes been put on it.
3. *Corr.*, I, no. 127.
4. *Corr.*, I, no. 131.

position that he holds under His Majesty, I admire him and, as one completely bewildered, I often do not know if I should be silent or answer him, even when he speaks to me.¹ The great scholar and man, Arias Montanus, and the great printer had met. Out of, and beyond their professional relationship grew a close and deep friendship, broken only by death.

Immediately after his arrival the Spanish theologian set to work and did not falter until the task was completed four years later. Admiration and respect for his new friend, however, could not prevent Plantin from grumbling when he saw how Arias Montanus in his enthusiasm at once enlarged the scheme and chose bigger type and pages, wrecking the budget that Plantin had so laboriously haggled over with Philip. Only the hope of new subsidies caused Plantin to give way.²

Arias Montanus had the general supervision of the project and took upon himself the lion's share of the work. For four years he spent eleven hours a day - including Sundays and holy days - writing, studying and proof-reading. He decided which spellings should be retained; he personally translated a series of Aramaic texts into Latin and wrote most of the treatises that made the *apparatus* so valuable. The Spanish scholar was ably assisted by a number of Plantin's own proof-readers. Three acted as his lieutenants since they, like Arias himself, understood all the languages of the *Biblia Polyglotta*: Frans Raphelengius, Plantin's learned son-in-law, who had married his eldest daughter Margareta in 1565,³ and the brothers Guido and Nicolas Fabricius, or Le Fèvre.⁴ The three others, Cornelis Kiliaan, Bernard Zelius van

1. Original French text: '... je me délibéray de tenir ledict Seigneur docteur Arias Montano en telle réputation que je devois, et m'y employay de tout mon pouvoir, incontinent, non comme je le devois, mais comme, selon ma mode rustique, il m'estoit possible. Mais depuis que ledict Seigneur Arias Montano m'a donné la hardiesse de converser familièrement avec luy, je me suis trouvé tellement esprins et comme transporté d'amour et révérence envers ses tant rares vertus, qu'ayant oublié toutes vos recommandations, celles de mon bon Seigneur et comme père Çayas, de Monsigneur Stella, et mesmes le lieu qu'il tient envers Sa Majesté, je l'admire et, comme tout esperdu, ne sçay bien souvent si je doibs me taire ou luy respondre, quant mesmes il parle à moy.'
2. These were actually granted. After various bureaucratic complications, the royal assistance was raised from 12,000 to 21,000 fl.
3. Concerning Frans Raphelengius, see pp. 147 sqq.
4. Cf. M. Sabbe, 'Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie et la Polyglotte anversoise' in *De Gulden Passer*, 6, 1928, pp. 250-253; F. Secret, 'Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, représentant de G. Postel à la Polyglotte d'Anvers' in *De Gulden Passer*, 44, 1966, pp. 245-257.

Nijmegen and Antoon Spitaels, who only read Greek and Latin, played a more modest, though nevertheless important role. This team was helped by all kinds of occasional workers who correlated texts and saw to the minor treatises, dictionaries and grammars for the *apparatus*.

By 14th August 1568, scarcely three months after the arrival of Arias Montanus, the pressman Klaas van Linschoten was able to print the first two quires of the first volume. The printing of this volume was completed on 12th March 1569. The other parts followed in quick succession: the second volume on 8th October 1569, the third on 8th July 1570, fourteen days after the fourth volume had come off the press. That completed the Old Testament. The fifth volume, containing the New Testament, was ready on 9th February 1571.

Other compositors and journeyman printers had meanwhile started work on the *apparatus*. Early in 1572 the end was in sight. It was time to start thinking about obtaining papal approval for the edition. To be exact, this matter had been pondered for a considerable time, but Pius V had shown himself rather reluctant. For this reason Arias Montanus decided to go to Rome to argue the case for the *Biblia Polyglotta* in person. He set off on 26th April 1572. On 9th June Plantin was able to dispatch after him the triumphant message: 'Nos, laus Deo, ea omnia absolvimus quae ad Biblia Regia pertinent.'¹ In reality everything was not as complete as Plantin let it appear, but this point must be discussed later.

The tribulations of the Polyglot Bible were not over, although these - with the exception of the matter alluded above, and leaving aside the question of selling the work - were more the concern of Arias Montanus than of Plantin. It was the learned Spaniard who managed to overcome the Vatican's resistance to the *Polyglotta* and succeeded in obtaining the approval of the new Pope, Gregory XIII, on 23rd August 1572. It was Arias Montanus who afterwards had to face the venomous attacks made on the Polyglot Bible by Willem Lindanus, Bishop of Roermond, and especially by Leon de Castro, a professor of the university at Salamanca. He also had many difficulties on this account with the Spanish Inquisition.

After the completion of the Polyglot Bible, Arias Montanus no longer played such a directly important role in Plantin's life. He maintained the

1. *Corr.*, III, no. 189, p. 116.



CHRISTOPHORVS PLANTINVS,
TVRONENSIS.

*Qui Plantine bonas hoc tempore iusserat artes
Crescere, te iussit praela parare Deus.
Omnia ^{per}acta, inquit, doctorum scripta manebunt,
Hæc pius excudat dummodò Christophorus.*

E 4

(14) *Opposite*: Earliest known portrait of Christophe Plantin. Engraving by Filips Galle in his album of famous people *Virorum doctorum de disciplinis effigies XLIII* (1572).



(15) *Overleaf*: Double-page spread from Volume V (New Testament) of Plantin's Polyglot Bible. On the left-hand page is the Syriac with Latin translation; on the right-hand page the Greek text with the Latin translation by St. Hieronymus. At the foot of both pages is the Aramaic paraphrase in Hebrew type. Proof sheet with the corrections of Arias Montanus.

A V P R V D E N T S E N A T,
 E T P E V P L E D ' A N V E R S,
 C H R I S T O P H L E P L A N T I N.

Est grand honneur, Messieurs, de voir tant d'estrangers
 Des quatre Parts du Monde (avec mille dangers)
 Apporter ce qu'ils ont d'esprit & de puissance,
 Pour rendre vostre ville vn Cornet-d'abundance,
 De sçavoir & de biens: Cestuy l'enrichissant
 D'or, d'argent, de ioyaux; cestuy-la choisissant
 Viures y apporter; l'autre quelque denrée,
 Qu'il aura veu souuent de plusieurs désirée.
 Vn autre, tout ravi du beau lustre & splendeur
 De tous ces Pais-bas, descrit l'heur & l'honneur
 D'où iouir les a veu sur toute autre Prouince,
 Qui oncques obeit à clement & bon Prince.
 De sorte qu'il seroit difficile, & douteux
 Quel signe de bon gre (pour ne rester honteux
 Envers tant d'estrangers) on pourroit iamais faire
 Qui absolument leur deult duire, & bien plaie.
 MAIS voicy, mes Seigneurs, vostre ABRAHAM ORTEL
 Vous fait ores present si precieux, & tel;
 Que, comme la fontaine en surgeons abondante
 Surpasse de bonté, & valeur excellente
 La cisterne, où il faut conduire, ou porter l'eau;
 Ainsi nostre Abraham, en ce THEATRE beau
 Et opulent, prodigue & foisonne à largesse
 A l'estrange, & aux siens du monde la richesse:
 Si bien qu'ores les Roix, les Princes, les Seigneurs,
 Les Nobles, les Marchands, Artisans, Laboueurs;
 Voire & les plus sçauans, & qui veulent comprendre
 Ce qu'à grans frais & peine il leur faudroit apprendre;
 Nauigeant, & allant pour voir tout l'VNIVERS,
 Viennent tous le puisser en la ville d'ANVERS:
 Où vn seul ABRAHAM au double recompense
 Tout bien fait & honneur qu'aucun estrange pense,
 En faisant son affaire, y auoir conferé.
 AINSI, nobles Seigneurs, chés vous est engendré
 Celuy que DIEU conduit pour declarer au monde
 Les Singularités de la TERRE, & de l'ONDE.

(16) Poem dedicated to the Magistrate and People of Antwerp, written by Plantin and printed in the introduction to the French editions of Ortelius's *Théâtre de l'Univers* (1581, 1587, 1598).

most cordial relations with the printer, however, in letters to which frequent reference is made in this biography. Some indication of the scholar's subsequent movements is therefore in order. On 26th April 1572 he had left Antwerp for Rome, as mentioned above, and arrived back in the city on the Scheldt on 18th December. He stayed another two years in the Netherlands, leaving the country for good in May 1575. He made his way to Rome once more to defend himself against Leon de Castro's allegations. From there he returned to his homeland in May 1576. In the palace of the Escorial near Madrid he set in order the treasures that he had collected for the royal library in the Netherlands with Plantin. His stay at the court was by no means to his liking but - with the exception of a few interruptions, including some confidential missions for Philip II - he was not able to leave his Escorial 'prison' for his beloved estate at Pena de Aracena until 1590. The last years of his life were divided between Pena and the monastery of his order at Seville. It was at Seville that he died on 6th July 1598.

Before the Polyglot Bible was finished, even before the great project was under way, Plantin had plunged into another typographical venture. The Council of Trent had recommended the revision of various liturgical books.¹ On 9th July 1568 Pope Pius V published a brief reforming the breviary. The monopoly of printing the new breviaries was entrusted to the celebrated Roman printer Paulus Manutius. On 14th July 1570 the missal was reformed by a second papal brief, this time with another Roman printer, Bartholomeus Faletti, as the monopolist.

All previous liturgical editions were immediately rendered obsolete. This meant that the presses would have to work at a furious pace in the following years to keep up with the demand for new breviaries and missals. Plantin, who already had various editions of this type to his credit, realized at once the opportunities that this offered. Before the question of the new breviaries and missals had been settled by the papal brief, and even before

1. On the subject of Plantin's publication of breviaries, missals and books of hours in this period, see Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 97-114; Clair, *Plantin*, pp. 87-104; De Clercq, 'Les éditions bibliques, liturgiques et canoniques de Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, pp. 296 sqq.; R.M. Kingdon, 'The Plantin breviaries: a case study in the sixteenth-century business operations of a publishing house' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 22, 1960, pp. 133-150. Concerning the relationship with P. Manutius see F. Barberi, 'Paolo Manuzzio e Cristoforo Plantin' in *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, 16, 1941-1942, pp. 83-94.

Philip had given permission for the *Polyglotta* to be printed, Plantin had already been seeking contact with the Vatican chancellery and the privileged printers. His chief support in this matter was Cardinal Granvelle, the Archbishop of Malines, who was still in Italy at this time.

By 19th November 1567¹ agreement in principle had been reached with Paulus Manutius concerning the breviaries. Plantin obtained sole rights for the Netherlands, but subject to the payment of a substantial sum of money.² On 11th August 1568 - only some weeks after the papal brief had been published - the deed was drawn up by notaries at Rome. At the end of October of that year Plantin was able to put his compositors to work. It was a false start: they had scarcely begun when Granvelle reported that the text Plantin had received was faulty and had to be revised. The work was stopped and the printer made use of the respite to have the official papal patent that he had received in the meantime (it was dated 22nd November 1568) endorsed by the Council of Brabant. He was greatly disconcerted to find that he had a competitor. A few hours before he had submitted his petition to the president of the Council, the latter had received an identical request, based on an almost identical papal privilege, from Plantin's Antwerp colleague Emmanuel Filips (or Emmanuel Filibert) Trognésius. The latter enjoyed the patronage of Jean-Roger de Tassis, Dean of the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp.³ A legal battle resulted, but it ended in a speedy victory for the master of the *Gulden Passer*. With his rival cleared from the field, Plantin could start again on 24th January 1569 with a new, and final text. On 21st April the first impression came off his presses; four other editions in different formats followed in the course of that year.

Things went more smoothly with the missal. On 28th July 1570 the papal privilege was conferred giving Plantin sole rights for the Netherlands, Hungary, and parts of the German Empire that were not specified in the brief. On 21st October 1570 Plantin was able to examine the first proofsheets and on 24th July 1571 he dispatched the first copies to his clients.

1. Nine months before the Papal brief of 9th July 1568 gave Manutius the sole rights.
2. Namely one tenth of the breviaries printed; i.e. for every hundred breviaries, Manutius received ten copies or their value in cash.
3. E.F. Trognésius was to abandon his career as a printer in 1569 or 1570 in order to become a priest. His father took over the business.

The Books of Hours of Our Lady, however, caused some more trouble. These *Horae* also had to be revised, and again Plantin tried to obtain a monopoly, enlisting Granvelle's aid once more. In a letter of 7th July 1571, the cardinal was requested to urge the Pope to grant Plantin his patent, subject if necessary to the payment of a consideration to the Roman printer who was going to acquire the sole rights. In spite of papal prohibition, a colleague and fellow-citizen of Plantin called Steelsius had already obtained a patent for the Netherlands from the central government at Brussels. In addition, other publishers were having *Horae* of this type printed in the autonomous prince-bishopric of Liège.

Once more Granvelle did what was asked of him and was successful. On 23rd March 1572 he was able to send his protégé a brief granting him permission to print *Horae* for all countries. Nevertheless, when the great printer placed this document before the authorities in Brussels, he met fierce opposition from the heirs of Steelsius. Pieter Bellerus, who acted as their spokesman, had a writ served on Plantin preventing him from printing the contested liturgical works. Plantin, however, did not concede the fight. On about 20th June 1572 he received formal confirmation from Rome of the papal favour. This made his opponent more accommodating. A compromise was reached whereby the two parties agreed to publish their *Horae* simultaneously. Plantin had not waited for this matter to be settled before putting his people to work. On 22nd August he had one edition in 12mo and one in 24mo ready (the latter had been printed for him by Hendrik Alsens). In addition to these, Plantin had published a monumental psalter in 1571, followed in 1572 by an antiphony on a similar scale. Liturgical works were literally pouring from his presses.

Plantin, however, was not wholly satisfied with the way that business was going. In autonomous Liège and in Cologne printers were turning out breviaries and missals in similarly large quantities, without bothering about the relevant papal patents and without paying a penny to the Roman monopolists. These breviaries and missals were also finding their way to the Netherlands, to the detriment of the scrupulous Plantin.

At that moment Philip II was negotiating with the Pope about special liturgical books for his Spanish dominions. Plantin immediately saw the importance of these transactions and the repercussions they could have on

his business. If he succeeded in securing for himself the monopoly of the Spanish breviaries and missals, he could relinquish production for the Low Countries (and the payments made to the Roman printers) and concentrate on the infinitely more promising Spanish market. This time Arias Montanus championed his cause. Not a single printer in Spain at that time was able to provide the Spanish territories with the quantities of breviaries and missals that Plantin could promise, quite apart from the poor quality of the Spanish products.

Philip did not need to deliberate for long on this occasion: on 1st February 1571 he granted Plantin a virtual monopoly of the sale of breviaries and missals in Spain and in the territories she had conquered overseas. The king reserved for himself the role of agent, with its attendant profits. On 17th April 1571 the Pope ratified the contract between monarch and printer.

Plantin set to work at once: on 19th October 1571 he was able to send the first consignment to Spain; a very small one, consisting only of a single box with 25 missals. The number of boxes and the amount of books they contained, however, increased by leaps and bounds with every new consignment.¹ In the course of 1571 and 1572 Plantin supplied Philip with liturgical works to a total value of 9,389 fl., which was no inconsiderable sum. At the beginning of 1572 practically all his presses, except those used for the Polyglot Bible, had been freed for the production of breviaries and missals for the Spanish king.

Although these and other liturgical books for Spain were carefully turned out, and were soon being profusely illustrated with woodcuts and copper-engravings from the foremost graphic artists of Antwerp, they are not among the most remarkable or striking of Plantin's products. Nevertheless they played a part in the history of his firm that is far more important than their intrinsic interest: that the Moretus family could continue as printers when economic and cultural conditions in Antwerp became unfavourable is due to the fact that Plantin obtained the Spanish monopoly for the printing of

1. According to Rooses, in *Musée*, pp. 107-108, there were two boxes with 50 missals on 10th November 1571; 14 boxes with 1,036 breviaries in 8vo, 1,036 Offices of St. James and 1,036 Offices of St. Jerome on 6th December 1571; 16 boxes with 1,028 breviaries in 8vo, 935 Offices of St. Jerome, 450 diurnals, 450 Offices of St. James and 450 *Festa* of St. Jerome on 7th February 1572; and on 6th November 1572, 46 boxes with 900 missals in folio, 2,000 breviaries in 8vo, and 1,200 breviaries in 16mo.

breviaries and missals in 1571, a monopoly which, after all kinds of vicissitudes which will be discussed in a later chapter, his descendants were able to take over. To these liturgical books the cultural gem that is the Plantin-Moretus Museum, owes - indirectly - its existence.

While busy with the Polyglot Bible and the many liturgical editions, Plantin still found the time, the opportunity and the capital to bring out numerous other books: Greek and Roman classical authors; theological and legal treatises; school books; volumes of illustrated parables and allegories; botanical works; Justus Lipsius's first study, *Variarum lectionum libri III* (1569); the famed *Origines Antwerpianae* (1569) by Plantin's former partner, Goropius Becanus; various lavishly illustrated editions of Arias Montanus's *Humanae salutis monumenta* (1571-1572), and so on. As the work for Philip II intensified so these other editions diminished. Plantin specialized more and more in printing liturgical editions intended for the Spanish market and distributed by the Spanish crown.

The craftsmen who cut and cast his letters had difficulty in keeping up with the pace set by the printer. Suppliers of paper and parchment did a roaring trade with the *Gulden Passer*; dozens of bookbinders depended almost entirely on Plantin; practically all the wood-cutters and copperplate-engravers in Antwerp and Malines were engaged in work for him. More new presses were set up in the Kammenstraat. The 5 presses in operation in January 1567 rose in the following years to 6 in 1568, 10 in 1569, (9 in 1570), 11 in 1571, and 13 in 1572. New journeymen, compositors, and proof-readers were continually being taken into service.¹ The *officina* of Plantin experienced an unprecedented, rocketing expansion. No other printer in the western world at the time could come anywhere near him.

Plantin's hegemony was, as it were, given official blessing when Philip II appointed him chief printer (*prototypographus*) to the Netherlands.² In their struggle against heresy Charles V and his son Philip had singled out the printers for special attention, and not without reason, but the edicts (the

1. Cf. De Roover, 'The business organisation, etc.', pp. 239-240.

2. The relevant documents were published by P. Rombouts as *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin et autres documents se rapportant à la charge de prototypographe*, 1881. Rooses published a number of supplementary documents under the title 'Plantin prototypographe' in *Bulletin van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, 2, 1882, pp. 101-110.

notorious *plakkaten*) and ordinances were not enough to bring the printers to heel, mainly through lack of thorough supervision. Philip II saw this quite clearly. On 19th May 1570 there was issued an ‘Ordonnance, statut et edict provisionnal du Roy nostre Sire, sur le faict et conduyte des imprimeurs, libraires et maistres d'escolle’. This instituted for the ‘lands from this side onwards’ a kind of preventive supervision, designed to canalize entrance to the printing trade and ruthlessly exclude the black sheep, both those who did not know the craft and those who were suspect on religious or moral grounds.

The cornerstone of the new system of control worked out by Philip II and his advisers was the *prototypographus*: ‘We have decreed and do hereby decree... that there shall be created and instituted a *prototypographus* or first printer who shall have oversight of the trade of printing; who shall have authority to examine and approve the masters and workmen of this craft in our lands from this side onwards and to grant to each and every one of them letters of competence according to their ability; for which letters further letters of confirmation and approval shall thereafter be requested from us or from our aforesaid Lieutenant and Governor-General in our dominions from this side onwards.’¹

Thus it was intended that the chief printer should not only examine the professional competence of those seeking to become master-printers, and similarly test the other craftsmen engaged in printing, but that he should also watch over their conduct and the works they produced. Philip II had already appointed a *typographus regius* or royal printer for the Netherlands in 1560. This was Plantin's Antwerp colleague Willem Silvius.² On

1. Original French text: ‘Avons ordonné et ordonnons... sera créé et institué ung prototypographe, ou premier typographe, pour avoir superintendance sur le fait d'icelle imprimerye. Qui aura auctorité dexaminer et approuver les maistres et ouvriers de l'Imprimerye de nosdictz pays de pardeça. Et leur donnera, et a chascun d'iceulx, lettres de leur ydoneite, suyvant leurs facultez, sur lesquelles lettres se debvront parapres requerir lettres de confirmation et approbation, de nous ou nostredict lieutenant et gouverneur general de pardeça.’
2. The appointment happened in rather odd circumstances. Silvius was said to have submitted a work (the publication of the statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which had actually been printed on Plantin's presses) to the Privy Council at the end of 1559 or the beginning of 1560 in order to obtain the appointment. According to Plantin's account in a letter of [March] 1568, Silvius had had this work printed in his colleague's *officina* during one of Plantin's fairly lengthy absences in Paris. See H. de la Fontaine Verwey, ‘Hoe werd Silvius koninklijk drukker?’ in *Het Boek*, 26, 1940-1942, p. 222. Cf. by the same author ‘Silvius en Plantijn’ in *Het Boek*, 26, 1940-42, pp. 111-125. Concerning Silvius and his relations with Plantin, see also Colin Clair, ‘Willem Silvius’ in *The Library*, 1959, pp. 192-205.

10th June 1570, however, over the head of his appointed printer, the king entrusted the new post of honour to ‘nostre bien amé Christoffle Plantin, imprimeur juré, résident en nostre ville d'Anvers.’ Willem Silvius could continue to call himself royal printer, but now there was another royal printer who was as it were hierarchical head of the printers of the Netherlands.

Plantin probably smiled at the irony of fate that made the heretic and former sponsor of an anti-Spanish press the executor of His Majesty's decrees. In his heart he may have felt honoured by the royal confidence, but the new dignity promised to bring the office-bearer much administrative work and little popularity with his fellow-printers. On the other hand the Spanish authorities would not hesitate to administer the *prototypographus* a sharp rap over the knuckles if he fell short in any way. Without hope of compensation or salve to soothe the wounds, the holder of this office could expect to be caught between the hammer and the anvil.

It is true that in Plantin's letters of appointment Philip had spoken of ‘telz gaiges et traitement que pour ce luy seront tauxéz et ordonnéz et au surplus, aux honneurs, droits, prééminences, franchises et libertéz y appartenans’, but forgot to specify these reimbursements further. He continued to be forgetful.¹

Plantin struggled against the appointment as hard as he dared in the circumstances. He pleaded that he was not proficient enough in Dutch to

1. There was talk of setting up a ‘royal printing press’ at Antwerp under Plantin's management. Plantin submitted this idea, through the good offices of Arias Montanus, to Philip II in the first half of 1571. The plan was approved by the king and by the Duke of Alva, who revised it so as to provide for the establishment of a royal library as well. Alva even signed an order on 21st November 1573 which provided, among other things, for the royal library to be built together with a residence for the printer ‘près de la Meere, au meisme lieu où, durant les troubles passez, les Walons avoyent érigé leur temple et tenu leurs prèsches resprouvées’ [near to the Meir, at the place where, during the past troubles, the Walloons built their temple and held their damned conventicles]. The site was to become Plantin's property ‘pour à ses propres frais et despens, y faire édifier une chambre propice pour la garde desdits livres, et maison commode pour exercer la typographie’ [to have built there at his own cost and expense a suitable room in which to keep the said books, and a house appropriate to practise printing]. The publication of this order was as far as the matter went, however, and the work was not even begun. Cf. *Corr. Suppl.*, nos. 282-287.

be able to conduct examinations. But there was no getting round the royal command. On 28th June 1570 Plantin took the prescribed oath before Charles de Tisnacq, President of the Privy Council at Brussels. By no means aglow with enthusiasm, the new chief printer drew up a scheme for the examination, set the questions and provided himself with a register in which to enter the results.

Plantin would have not been Plantin if he had not tried to make the best of things. He was not able to evade the honour conferred on him and the 'gaiges et traitement' would probably never materialize, but a king had other ways of rewarding those who faithfully rendered him service. Very politely he asked Philip if, as 'chef-imprimeur', he could be exempted from paying the taxes on wine and beer in Antwerp and the other towns under His Majesty's sway. He also asked to be freed from the obligation of billeting soldiers.¹ Plantin probably had to continue paying the 'axes et impositions' on beer and wine: it has not been possible to discover any evidence of a royal concession of this sort. He was, however, excused the soldiers, although this was not by any reason of his position as chief printer, but because of Arias Montanus's intercession.² The relief was only temporary, for during the turbulent years of the revolt, Plantin was obliged on a number of occasions to take in military men of both parties.

The office of chief printer brought Plantin not a single concrete advantage. Government orders for the printing of *Indices* of prohibited books (1569-70) and, from 1570, of royal ordinances (the monopoly of which he shared with the Brussels printer Michel van Hamont) must be regarded as not so much the result of his new status, as of his good relations with the Spanish authorities.

It should, however, be pointed out that the office of chief printer very soon became a sinecure. During 1570, in addition to a number of certificates for printers' journeymen, Plantin issued forty-four testimonials for master-printers, but this number diminished rapidly in the following years.³ On several occasions Plantin, at the request of fellow-printers, pressed the

1. Petition to Philip II (c. 19th July 1570): *Corr.*, II, no. 238.
2. But not until 1572: cf. *Corr.*, III, no. 386 (May-June 1572, letter to Albernoz, Alva's secretary) and no. 389 (9th June 1572, letter to Arias Montanus).
3. Three in 1571, 2 in 1572, none in 1573, 2 in 1574, 4 in 1575 and 7 in 1576.

appropriate authorities for clarification of obscure points in the decree of 1570 - and with this moderate amount of activity the *prototypographus* was very wisely content.

The general revolt of the Netherlands in 1576 left Plantin with the title and no authority. After the restoration of Spanish rule, Philip II neglected to make his decree effective again and so Plantin could continue to grace himself with the titles of *prototypographus*, *architypographus* and 'king's printer', without being called upon to make any great efforts on this account.¹

The year of crisis: 1572²

In this year the *Officina Plantiniana* was flourishing. A steady flow of books was issuing from an ever-increasing number of presses. Then on 1st April 1572 a Protestant naval force, the so-called *watergeuzen* or 'sea beggars', took the small Dutch port of The Brill (Den Briel) in a surprise attack. The event is commemorated in the Dutch jingle, 'Op één april verloor Alva zijn bril' [On the first of April Alva lost his glasses], in which a punning allusion is made to the name of the port. This was the spark that ignited the Netherlands powder-keg. Holland and Zeeland rose in revolt. William of Orange crossed the frontier from Germany with a small army and marched through the southern provinces to link up with a Huguenot force that was to have come north from France, but the massacre of the Protestants in Paris on St. Bartholomew's Eve (24th August 1572) brought this plan to naught. Left with only his own force, the Silent could do little against the troops that Alva rushed into the field. After a vain attempt on 11th and 12th September to break through to Mons, where his brother, Louis of Nassau, had been besieged since 24th May, he withdrew, not to neutral Germany this time but to belligerent Holland and Zeeland. After Mons had surrendered (21st September 1572), and Spanish troops had plundered Malines (2nd October 1572), a comparative calm returned to the southern parts of the Netherlands. It lasted until four years later, when the lawless behaviour of the Spanish

1. Jan I Moretus did not inherit the title. However, in about 1639 his son Balthasar was granted the title of 'architypographus regius' ('s konings drukker; imprimeur du roy). See p. 220.
2. This episode in Plantin's career has not so far been dealt with in any detail. The most important source is Plantin's correspondence (*Corr.*, III).

troops, culminating in the 'Spanish Fury' at Antwerp (4th November 1576), caused the South to take up arms as well.

The three great years of crisis in the history of the Netherlands were 1566/67, 1572, and 1576. These years were also critical in the life of Plantin. In 1566/67 the Iconoclasm and its aftermath momentarily threatened to bring his career to an untimely end, yet the happy outcome of the crisis was the phenomenal expansion of Plantin's business. In 1576 the Spanish Fury savagely and irrevocably put a stop to that expansion. Between the two events came the 1572 episode. The Sea Beggars not only deprived Alva of his glasses on All Fools' Day, they also dealt Plantin a blow which, albeit indirectly, almost finished his career as a printer in the Netherlands. Although more quickly overcome than the decline caused by the mutinous Spaniards in November 1576, this reverse was basically more dangerous because it was so completely unexpected. Plantin was like a boxer who suddenly has to absorb a treacherous blow below the belt.

Antwerp itself was not under fire in 1572, but the Scheldt was blockaded by Sea Beggars operating from Flushing, while marauding soldiers and free-booters made travelling by land a joyless occupation. Economic life was seriously affected. To express it in modern terms, in a period of full expansion Plantin had to contend with a sudden recession. It was no new problem for him: he had to face a similar difficulty in 1566/67 and had come through brilliantly. The contraction of a printing business brought fewer troubles in the sixteenth century than nowadays. Presses and other equipment represented a much smaller percentage of general running costs than the advanced technical installations of the machine age. It was possible then to take a number of presses out of operation while awaiting better times without suffering any very serious loss. Had Plantin been engaged on his usual type of work for sale in the ordinary way to his regular customers, he would have been able to weather the storm in comparative tranquillity of mind. The blow fell, however, while he was printing the Polyglot Bible, a work that was likely to bring him more fame than money, and for which he was largely dependent on subsidies from the Spanish king. To make matters worse he was also contracted to supply Philip II with large quantities of liturgical books that could only be disposed of in Spain and had to be paid for by a monarch who, surprised by the uprising, had other things to think

about than a punctual settling of accounts with his chief printer. Plantin obtained the amounts that Philip owed him, but after 1st April the payments were made only very irregularly, while the printer had to continue to pay his workpeople and suppliers on time. The only way out for him was to borrow money, which meant burdening his business with oppressive interest charges that swallowed up the profits and threatened to make the unfortunate borrower sink still deeper into the mire.

Plantin had to make the best he could of the circumstances. He stopped ordering paper and other material. It has already been seen that the triumphant message announcing the completion of the Polyglot Bible was not altogether correct. Although he managed to finish the work on the last three volumes in this difficult period, he printed only 600 copies of them - half of the number planned.

Plantin's motto, however, was *Labore et Constantia* and he fought desperately to keep his head above water. After 1st April 1572 his letters to his Spanish patrons all gave utterance to the same lament: he must have money; money must be sent to him to enable him to keep to the schedule the king had imposed for the breviaries and missals. If relief did not come it would mean the final ruin of the *Gulden Passer*.¹

In the same letters appear the first complaints about the state of his health.² Plantin's acute financial worries were beginning to affect his constitution. Although he recovered from the economic setbacks of 1572, he was never to regain his health. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that he never fully recovered from the financial pressure to which he was suddenly subjected in the spring of that year, and this steadily undermined his already uncertain health. In July 1575 his son-in-law, Jan Moretus, expressed it thus in a letter to Arias Montanus: 'I expect my father-in-law back today from his journey to Paris. We understand that he was still well at Ghent - as is always the case when he is away, whereas daily cares and tribulations prevent him from enjoying good health with us here at home.'³ On 22nd November 1572 Plantin wrote in his characteristically picturesque way to de Çayas, describing his vocation in these bitter words: 'Car l'imprimerie est ung vray

1. Cf. for example *Corr.*, III, nos. 388, 389, 394, 400 and 401.

2. Cf. for example nos. 395 (letter to Arias Montanus, late June 1572), 400 and 404.

3. *Corr.*, IV, no. 639.

abisme ou goufre auquel par ung labour assidu et une constance ferme et assuree il convient perpétuellement entendre luy jecter en la gueule et fournir tout ce qu'il est nécessaire ou autrement il dévore et engloutist son maistre mesmes et tous ceux qui s'en meslent avec luy.' [For printing is a veritable chasm or pit, into the gaping mouth whereof it is expedient, by diligent toil and steadfastness, constantly to throw all that it requires, otherwise it will engulf and devour its master and all those who are concerned with it.]¹

To add to his misfortunes, in June or July 1572, in the midst of his struggle for economic survival, Plantin received an order to prepare for a secret mission. Its leader was to be no less a person than de Vargas, a member of the notorious 'Council of Blood', though the mission itself was less sanguinary than might have been expected from this appointment. Plantin and de Vargas were entrusted with the task of removing from the dangerous Netherlands the precious manuscripts, collected there by Arias Montanus and the printer for the royal library in the Escorial, and conveying them, via Paris and Besançon, over the Alps to Milan, which was then a Spanish possession.²

Plantin showed little enthusiasm for the undertaking. In his letters to de Vargas the complaints about his health reached a sudden crescendo. But there was no disobeying this royal command. Late in September he at last received instructions to join de Vargas at Alva's headquarters and he set off leaden-footed for the monastery of Saint-Ghislain, from where the Spanish commander-in-chief was conducting the siege of Mons.

On 21st September the town was forced to surrender, but what happened after that cannot be precisely established. De Vargas and Alva may have considered that the South was once more peaceful enough for the king's valuable manuscripts and books to remain where they were; probably they did not want to risk evacuating them through a France that was itself in the throes of a savage civil war.³ At all events Plantin was allowed to go

1. *Corr.*, III, no. 438.

2. *Corr.*, III, nos. 400 and 413. Cf. also III, no. 424. Altogether 'onze coffres de livres escripts à la main, pacquez pour la Majesté Catholique' [eleven cases of hand-written books, packed for His Catholic Majesty]. The inventory, dated 21st May 1572, was published by R. Beer under the title 'Niederländische Büchererwerbungen des Benito Arias Montano für den Eskorial im Auftrage König Philipp II. von Spanien' in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 25, 1905, pp. v-xi.

3. The books were not dispatched to Spain - by sea, via Dunkirk - until September 1573: Beer, *op. cit.*, p. IV.

home; yet his homeward journey took him straight to Paris! At the beginning of November 1572, after his return to Antwerp, he wrote to de Vargas, de Çayas, and Arias Montanus, giving them a confused and not very convincing explanation of how and why he came to reach the Seine instead of the Scheldt.¹

In the monastery of Saint-Ghislain the stock of medicinal pills was exhausted. Plantin's headaches and kidney pains were becoming intolerable. When at last he was given leave to go he made a detour to Valenciennes in order to be bled and purged. In the Hospital there he was able to satisfy his craving for palliatives. By chance the courier from Paris called in, carrying letters for Plantin from Pierre Porret. The contents of these letters were rather startling. Plantin's daughter Magdalena had been staying in Paris for some time with her sister Catherina, who had married Jean Gassen in 1571.² Porret now sought Plantin's permission to marry Magdalena to Egidius Beys, who assisted him in the bookselling branch of the *Gulden Passer* there. Porret himself was on his death-bed. As he had no near kin he wanted to sponsor this marriage and name the young couple as his heirs. Certain formalities had to be gone through, so it was natural that Plantin, having received this news, should hurriedly ride south.

From Egidius Beys's letters to his brother-in-law Jan Moretus³ it appears that Plantin arrived in Paris on 27th September 1572, celebrated the betrothal of Magdalena to his assistant two days later, gave her in marriage to Beys on 7th October and was expected back in Paris from a journey to Rouen on 14th October, after which he was going to return to Antwerp. On 1st November he was home again, working through the correspondence that had accumulated in his absence. Among his letters were those he wrote to Arias Montanus and de Vargas explaining his unexpected, and in Spanish eyes very suspicious outing.

History records more remarkable coincidences than the urgent need for

1. See *Corr.*, III, nos. 421 (1st November 1572, to Arias Montanus), 422 (1st November, to de Vargas), and 424 (4th November, to de Çayas). See also no. 432 (14th November, to de Çayas).
2. Concerning Magdalena and Catharina Plantin and their husbands, see pp. 154 sqq.
3. Beys wrote two letters, the first on 30th September, the second on 14th October 1572. Only the second was included in *Corr.*, III, no. 418. That of 30th September (Arch. 77, folio 23) is reproduced in part in Stein, 'La succursale plantinienne de Paris', p. 36.

pills that led Plantin to Valenciennes and caused him to meet the courier there. But when it is observed that Egidius Beys, in the joyous letters he wrote on 30th September and 14th October to Jan Moretus in Antwerp telling him of his betrothal and marriage, not only forgot to mention that Pierre Porret was mortally sick and was intending to adopt his assistant as his heir, but noted in passing that Plantin, accompanied by 'Uncle' Porret, was on his way to Rouen, then it must be concluded that there are discrepancies somewhere. Plantin had other motives for his sudden journey to Paris that he dared not reveal even to Arias Montanus.

On 4th November 1572 Plantin wrote to de Çayas in answer to several of the secretary's letters that had arrived while he had been away. De Çayas expressed displeasure at the fact that the deliveries of breviaries and missals had ceased, and requested an explanation. Plantin replied at some length with the familiar complaint about the financial difficulties he had to contend with. He was also able to advance a second reason why deliveries had fallen behind: his workmen, seeing that he was so busy printing for the king, had seized the opportunity to demand higher wages and had gone on strike. Plantin, however, had retaliated sharply and adroitly. He had put it about that his business was going to close down, and the rascals had eaten humble pie and come asking him to take them back.¹

This episode has found its way into the textbooks of economic history, where it is often quoted as a sixteenth-century example of a strike and lock-out.² A strike, however, is a pointless weapon in times of economic recession. Why should Plantin's workmen have waited for the very worst possible moment to formulate their demands? It is also difficult to reconcile what appears in Plantin's wage-sheets for these months with what he told de Çayas. In the week beginning 23rd August 1572 Plantin had in fact dismissed many of his men, but he retained 13 out of a staff of 46. At the moment that he wrote to de Çayas, he still had only 16 men at work, a detail that he neglected to pass on to his Spanish patron. He did not begin to increase his staff again until 22nd November, when he engaged 10 more men,

1. *Corr.*, III, no. 424. Cf. also no. 432 (letter to de Çayas, 14th November 1572).
2. For example by H. Pirenne in 'L'importance économique et morale d'Anvers à l'époque de Plantin' in *Fêtes données en 1920... à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de la naissance de Chr. Plantin*, 1920, p. 23.

gradually raising the number in the following months so that early in 1573 he had almost as many employees as before 23rd August 1572.¹ There was also something wrong with the explanation Plantin gave to de Çayas in the letter of 4th November.

If these conflicting statements and explanations are looked at in the light of the political events of these months it is, however, possible to extract some sense from the confusion. The key to the puzzle is the fact that the 'strike' at Plantin's works occurred in the week of 23rd August 1572, that is to say when the news of the St. Bartholomew's Eve massacre reached Antwerp. Plantin must have been extremely anxious about the fate of his two daughters and of his 'brother' Porret, and about what might have happened to his Paris bookshop. This shop in Porret's house in the rue Saint-Jacques was his last reserve, his last hope of a regular flow of ready money during the troubles in the Netherlands; if it had suffered serious damage then his fate was sealed.

It is hardly surprising that Plantin thought the safest course lay in a drastic reduction of work at his Antwerp *officina* while he awaited more detailed information from Paris. On top of all this he had to leave his business in its precarious state to go roaming about Hainault to no purpose. It can be imagined how the unhappy printer, worn out with anxiety, must have swallowed all the pills he could lay hands on in the camp at Mons and later in Valenciennes in an effort to alleviate his pains and soothe his nerves. As soon as he could he dashed to Paris, to find to his immense relief that all was well with his family and his shop.

Perhaps Plantin knew of Egidius Beys's affection for his daughter a little before his departure,² but the news of this idyll is not likely to have occasioned or even hastened his journey to Paris. Magdalena Plantin was scarcely fifteen years old and could easily wait a while longer. Nevertheless the uncertainty as to how the situation might develop in France and the Netherlands probably induced her father to give his blessing to the match immediately after his arrival in the French capital. In this way Magdalena would be sure of a protector, a very necessary provision in such unsettled

1. L. Voet, 'The personality of Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, pp. 208-209.
2. At any rate Plantin found it necessary in a letter of (20th - 22nd?) May 1572 to warn his daughter of carnal dangers (*Corr.*, III, no. 388). See also p. 158.

times. The visit probably enabled Plantin to borrow money; the journey to Rouen would have provided some of the opportunities for this. He was able to set off for Antwerp in a happier frame of mind than he had come.

At the end of August 1572 Plantin, in the impossible situation of facing economic trouble on two fronts, was thinking seriously of putting his life's work at Antwerp into liquidation and had in fact already taken the first steps in this direction: this was what he did not dare to tell his Spanish patrons. The bookshop in Paris was, however, in a sounder condition than Plantin had expected. In the Netherlands the fires of war still raged in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, but elsewhere they had been damped down. Plantin was not going to give up the struggle; there was no need to close up the *Officina Plantiniana*. On 16th November 1572 he wrote a new letter to de Çayas apologizing for his defeatism and giving a firm assurance that the arrears with regard to the breviaries and missals would be made up.¹ On 22nd November he reinforced his much-depleted staff with 10 men.

The peak years (1573-1576)

In the following years Plantin continued to bewail his shortage of money with unrelieved regularity in letters to his Spanish patrons - probably as a matter of principle rather than out of dire need. Experience had taught him that only by complaining and threatening to close his *officina* could Philip's paymasters be induced to settle their master's debts with anything like reasonable dispatch. The complaints themselves were at all events much more calmly formulated and lacked the pathetic tone of the 1572 letters. The momentarily interrupted expansion seems in fact to have been resumed: in 1574 and 1575 Plantin reached the zenith of his printing career.

Paper merchants, engravers, bookbinders, punch-cutters, type-founders and other suppliers and craftsmen again received an abundance of orders. The three last volumes of the Polyglot Bible were reset and the remaining 600 copies printed. The liturgical books flowed to Spain in an endless stream, to a total value of at least 80,000 to 90,000 fl.² At the request of Philip II,

1. *Corr.*, III, no. 435.

2. According to Rooses in *Musée*, pp. 107-108, the total between 1571 and 1576 was 97,318 fl. 10½ st.: 9,389 fl. 8 st. for 1571 and 1572 (cf. p. 68); 21,287 fl. 17 st. for 1573; 40,293 fl. 8½ st. for 1574; 20,630 fl. 7 st. for 1575; and 5,717 fl. 10 st. for the first part of 1576. For this colossal sum Plantin supplied 18,370 breviaries (2,297 in folio, 2,194 in quarto, 11,764 in 8vo and 2,115 in 16mo); 16,755 missals (4,525 in folio, 10,930 in quarto, 1,300 in 8vo); 9,120 books of hours (3,920 in 12mo, 2,000 in 16mo, 1,100 in 24mo, 2,100 in 32mo); 3,200 hymn books (1,700 in 12mo, 1,500 in 24mo); 450 diurnals; 1,851 Offices of St. Jerome; 1,486 Offices of St. James; and 1,240 *Proprium Sanctorum Hispaniae*. Kingdon's figures in 'The Plantin breviaries', pp. 146-147, based on research into Arch. 19 and 22, differ somewhat: he puts the number of Plantin breviaries sent to Spain between 1571 and 1575 at 15,505 (2,400 in 16mo, 8,739 in 8vo, 2,200 in quarto, 2,166 in folio), and the total value of service books exported to the Peninsula at 110,136 fl. 14½ st.



(17) *Opposite*: Woodcut map of Antwerp published by Pauwels van Overbeke (1568), depicting the city before the Spanish Citadel was built (during 1567-68). See also overleaf.



(18) *Opposite*: Revised version of Van Overbeke's map (see overleaf) published in 1568. The completion of the citadel had caused considerable changes in the layout of the southern part of the city. The publisher overcame this difficulty by pasting a small sheet depicting the rebuilt area over the existing map.

Plantin even ventured to make preparations for two new, monumental editions - an enormous antiphonary designed especially for Spain and a similarly conceived gradual - that were to be the most beautiful, or at least the most colossal typographical works ever undertaken.

At the same time dozens of other works were coming off his presses. It would appear that Plantin was striving as far as possible to publish books for which there was an assured market, or books by authors who were willing to invest a considerable amount in order to have their work printed. Plantin must have remembered the lesson of 1572, when he almost foundered through over-specialization.

New presses were put into operation. In January 1574 Plantin had sixteen presses and 55 men (32 printers, 20 compositors, and 3 proof-readers) in service.¹ These figures pose yet another Plantinian problem.² In many letters written after the Spanish Fury, Plantin sorrowfully recalled the days before this catastrophe when he had 150 men working for him³ and owned 22 presses - in a few letters to de Çayas he even speaks of 23.⁴ As regards the size of his staff, a number of shop assistants, maids and servants should be

1. In January 1575 it was 15 presses and a staff of 53 (27 printers, 20 type-setters and 5 proof-readers); in January 1576, 15 presses and 54 staff (30 printers, 19 type-setters and 4 proof-readers). Cf. De Roover, 'The business organisation of the Plantin press', p. 239.
2. First postulated by De Roover, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241, who showed the discrepancy between Plantin's assertions and the data provided by the pay-rolls.
3. This figure is also quoted in a petition from Plantin to the Antwerp authorities on 14th January 1575 (*Corr.*, IV, no. 602).
4. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 135 (letter to Camerarius, 4th April 1577, in which 1 press is said to be working, 19 idle); *Corr.*, V, no. 759 (to Blaz de Robles, 8th-16th May 1577: 21 presses, 150 workpeople), no. 765 (to Buyssetius, 15th June 1577: 20 presses), no. 787 (to Hortemberche, 16th February 1578: 22 presses, 2 sold), no. 789 (to Viperanus, February 1578: 22 presses); VI, no. 805 (to de Çayas, 19th August 1578: 5 presses sold), no. 809 (to de Çayas, September 1578: 7 presses sold, 16 remaining in Plantin's possession, although elsewhere in the letter he speaks of 22 presses which he has had working), no. 810 (to Cardinal Madrutius, September [?] 1578: 22 presses), no. 817 (to de Çayas, 20th December 1578-4th January 1579: out of 23 presses he had retained the best 16); VII, no. 1056 (to de Çayas, 21st December 1585: 'de sorte qu'au lieu de 22 presses que j'avois desja dressée en icelle [i.e. the new premises in the Vrijdagmarkt] et 3 qui estoient entre les mains des ouvriers qui eussent esté 25, il ne resta place que pour les dix que je retins des milleures et les 3 commencees, vendi 9 et envoyai 3 à Leide en Hollande'). [so that instead of the 22 presses that I had already set up here and the 3 in the hands of the workmen (= the carpenters and smiths who had to make them), which would have been 25 altogether, I was left with room for only the ten best which I had kept and the three that were under construction, I sold nine and sent three to Leiden in Holland.] In the letter of April 1576, in which he tells Arias Montanus of the forthcoming move to the Vrijdagmarkt, Plantin talks of a hall in which he could set up 16 presses in a row, while 5 more presses could be housed elsewhere in the building (*Corr.*, V, no. 711). See p. 83.

added to the approximately 55 men who worked in the printing office itself, and in addition there was a small host of punch-cutters and type-founders, wood-cutters, copper-engravers, bookbinders and others who counted Plantin as one of their principal employers. The total arrived at in this way cannot have been much below 150.¹

The difference of six presses is, however, difficult to explain. During these boom years Plantin put out a certain amount of work to other printers, but the presses thus engaged do not appear to be taken into account in Plantin's statements: he says explicitly that he sold six presses (seven presses are mentioned in one letter to de Çayas) and retained sixteen. Such statements are authoritative - but so are Plantin's wage-sheets.² The most plausible explanation is that the master of the *Gulden Passer* had a number of presses made, in anticipation of a new expansion of the business, which had not been put into use at the time of the Spanish Fury, and which were sold

1. A list of names in Plantin's handwriting has been preserved which bears the heading 'Noms des compagnons lesquelz se sont retrouves besongnants en l'imprimerie de C. Plantin estans en nombre de l^eXLIX personnes' (Arch. 23, folios 26-27). [Names of the journeymen who have laboured in the printing office of C. Plantin, being in number 149 persons.] It was probably this list and this total which influenced Plantin's statements in his letters. The list does not give the number of men employed at any particular time, but it should be considered as representing the total number of journeymen who had worked in the printing press between c. 1572 and c. 1576. Many of them only worked for Plantin for a short period. Thus 53 men were at work in January 1575; this number did not fluctuate much during 1575, but 76 names are entered on the wage-sheets for that year (De Roover, 'The business organisation...', pp. 241-242).
2. The inventory of Plantin's stock of type compiled in May 1575 also mentions only 15 presses (Arch. 43, folio 82).

for cash immediately after the disaster.¹ But even with 16 presses Plantin remains the greatest printer of the period from the Renaissance until the end of the eighteenth century, when the Industrial Revolution demolished the old norms. He was a giant, towering above his colleagues.

The *Gulden Passer* became Plantin's property in 1565, but the building was too small for his expanding business. The printer rented seven other dwellings in the Kammenstraat and the adjoining Valkstraat. After losing the use of two of these, Plantin had to seek a better solution.² In April 1576 he mentioned to Arias Montanus that he had been able to rent a spacious building, not far from his house in the Kammenstraat, where he could easily install sixteen presses in a row and a further five in another part of the premises. The building included suitable living quarters and had a large garden. He reported that he hoped to move in on 24th June, St. John the Baptist's Day.³

After quite a series of moves Plantin had finally arrived at the same Vrijdagmarkt where his goods and chattels had been publicly sold fourteen years before, and where the Plantin house still proudly stands. The new building, with its entrance in the Hoogstraat and its garden bounded by the Vrijdagmarkt and the Heilig Geeststraat, became the permanent home of his printing-press. Naturally it was named the *Gulden Passer*.

Plantin gave up most of the storage places he had rented when he made this final move, but he kept the former 'Golden Compasses' in the Kammenstraat as a bookshop, occupied and managed for Plantin by his son-in-law Jan Moretus.⁴ On 1st February 1576 he installed Frans Raphelengius, the other son-in-law who lived in Antwerp, in a bookshop by the north door of the cathedral: this was presumably done for the sake of maintaining the family equilibrium. Raphelengius continued to work for Plantin as a proof-reader while his wife, Plantin's eldest daughter Margareta, looked after the shop.⁵ Trade prospered, but new storm-clouds were gathering over the Netherlands.

1. Compare the wording of the letter of 21st December 1585 to de Çayas (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1056), quoted in p. 81 n. 4.
2. See also p. 262 concerning Plantin's shortage of accommodation in this period.
3. *Corr.*, V, no. 711.
4. Concerning Jan Moretus, Martina Plantin's husband, see pp. 151 sqq.
5. Compare p. 150 below.

The years of turmoil (1576-1582)¹

In 1572 Holland and Zeeland had risen against Philip II. Alva and his successor Requesens had been able temporarily to confine the conflagration to these two provinces, but they had not been able to put it out. The king's money was frittered away by an endless series of skirmishes and sieges. The royal troops received their pay at ever longer intervals and discipline broke down. The increasing outbursts of ill temper on the part of the soldiers led to mounting tension in the areas that had remained loyal to Philip. Resentment and hatred grew among Catholics as well as Protestants.

With the death of Requesens on 5th March 1576 the dam burst. The Spanish regiments that had been left to their fate made off towards the south to claim their arrears of pay, by force of arms if necessary. Adroitly fanned by the agents of William of Orange, the long pent-up hatred of that Spanish rule which was embodied in the Spanish mercenaries flared up until the south, too, was aflame.

In the chaos the Provincial States took control as best they could and raised troops. The Walloon regiments went over *en masse*; the German mercenaries remained neutral. The Spanish troops found themselves alone in the midst of a hostile population which was feverishly taking up arms against them. Threatened with annihilation, their scattered units fell back on the citadel at Antwerp, where they concentrated and regrouped themselves. Units from the army of the States General arrived to besiege them.

Plantin's letters reflected the growing tension. On 27th September 1576 he complained to Buyssetius that the king's veterans were holding all the roads leading into Antwerp and bringing traffic to a standstill.² His letter of 11th October to Arias Montanus was much more anxious in tone:³ business was going very badly (this was the month in which Plantin dismissed a large number of workmen and proof-readers)⁴; in the preceding two months he had not earned enough to buy his bread; troops hostile to Spain were taking up their positions; many citizens had already fled. Plantin, however, was not going to give way to defeatism. He had not evacuated as much as a single sheet of paper and was advising everyone to stay put

1. Discussed in detail by Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 193-212. Cf. also Clair, *Plantin*, pp. 130 sqq.

2. *Corr.*, V, no. 741.

3. *Corr.*, V, no. 743.

4. Cf. De Roover, 'The business organisation, etc.', p. 243.



(19) *Opposite*: The Spanish Fury at Antwerp (4th November 1576). Etching by Frans Hogenberg (c. 1540-c. 1590) showing the fighting in front of the City Hall, which was burnt down together with the surrounding residential quarters.



(20) *Opposite*: The Spanish Fury at Antwerp. Another etching by Frans Hogenberg showing scenes of pillage and slaughter in the streets.

The printer's moderate optimism reflected the attitude of the majority of the population of Antwerp, who felt that all would end well. The Spanish seemed totally demoralized and would certainly leave the strongly defended city alone. Yet on the fateful Sunday of 4th November 1576, at about noon, these 'demoralized' Spaniards left the citadel in closed, well-disciplined ranks. In a moment they were through the barricades that were to have protected the town. The army of the States General gave way at the first onset. Only a few scattered groups of citizens put up a desperate but unavailing resistance for a time. For three days the great city knew the horrors of the Spanish Fury. Hundreds of citizens were killed; the town hall and the surrounding blocks of houses went up in flames; storehouses and dwellings were systematically plundered. Antwerp survived the storm, but *la bella, nobilissima et amplissima città* had been dealt a blow from which it was never able to recover. Its growth and prosperity had been violently checked.

The Spanish Fury also put an end to Plantin's own expansion. His son-in-law Jan Moretus laconically wrote on the fly-leaf of the *Journal de la librairie* of 1576:¹ 'Le 4^e de novembre 1576, fust par assault pillée, et bruslée la ville d'Anvers par les Espagnolz soldats lesquels y faijsiojnt aussi aultres oultrages grands, meurtres, etc. Dieu par sa divine grace doint que n'advienne plus semblable ni a ceste ni a aultre ville et que puissions nous amander toutz.' In a few letters that he wrote to friends and acquaintances shortly after the disastrous Sunday, Jan Moretus furnished additional details in just as sober a fashion. Later his father-in-law occasionally let drop a few particulars that shed only a little light on the hours of anguish that Plantin and his household endured in their burning and pillaged city. 'Car ayant avec nous tous (dont Dieu soit loué) eschappé la mort souventesfois quand les soldatz sont le 4^e de novembre passé, entrez en la ville d'Anvers en la furie à laquelle sont commis grands meurtres, bruslements des maijsons et saccagement general', is how Moretus expressed it in a letter to J. Mofflin, Philip II's chaplain, in November of that year.² Plantin and his family escaped death and ill-usage, but on three occasions they had to put out fires that were

1. Arch. 54.
2. *Corr.*, V, no. 746.

threatening the press, and on nine occasions they were obliged to ransom their lives and property from the mutineers.¹

Luis Perez, a Spanish merchant living in Antwerp, staked his life and his possessions during these dramatic days to save his Antwerp friends, and to some extent relieved the distress that his fellow-countrymen had caused. It was Luis Perez who advanced Plantin the money to ransom his business from destruction and pillage. The sum of 2,867 fl. was entered under this heading in Plantin's books and charged to the Spanish merchant's account.²

Plantin's financial losses, however, amounted to much more than this. The mutineers stole his ready cash, and for some weeks he was obliged to keep thirty soldiers and sixteen horses at his own expense in his houses in the Hoogstraat and the Kammenstraat - and a large part of his household effects disappeared with these soldiers.³ In a letter of 22nd November 1576, Abraham Ortelius estimated the damage suffered by his friend as a result of the Spanish Fury at more than 10,000 fl.⁴

1. There are details of the Spanish Fury in the following letters: Moretus to Arias Montanus, November 1576 (*Corr.*, V, no. 745); Plantin to Blaz de Robles, 8th-16th May 1577 (*Corr.*, V, no. 759, in which it is said that Plantin had to ransom his printing press nine times); Plantin to Viperanus, February 1578 (*Corr.*, V, no. 789: nine times ransomed, had to put out fires in the printing-shop on three occasions); Plantin to de Çayas, September 1578 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 809: had to ransom his own life and those of his sons-in-law three times, and the press and the stocks of books seven times); Plantin to Cardinal Madrutius, September [?] 1578 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 810: nine times ransomed); Plantin to de Çayas, 1st January 1582 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 972: 'our shop as well as the big house which I had... rented' ransomed nine times); and *Corr.*, VII, no. 1014 ('Relation d'aulcuns griefz', 31st December 1583: ransomed eight times). Cf. also n. 4.
2. Arch. 19, folio 103: 'Luiz Perez doit avoir ad ult. Novembris-[1576] 2867 fl. 8 st., cest pour aultant que par compte faict il a debourse pour Christophle Plantin pour payer sa ranzon aux soldatz entrez audit mois par assault en la ville d'Anvers.' Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 196.
3. Plantin to de Çayas, September 1578 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 809).
4. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 133: 'Plantinum tuo nomine salutare non potui; Parisios enim profectus est, sed post urbis cladem, quam illi ultra decem millia florenorum constitisse credo' [I have not been able to greet Plantin on your behalf; he has in fact set out to Paris since the destruction of our city, which has, I believe, cost him more than ten thousand guilders]. In his letter of 4th April 1577 to Camerarius (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 135) Plantin also quotes a figure: 'coacti decies nostram vitam, libros, liberos, officinam et aedes decem milibus aureorum redimere' [ten times we were compelled to ransom our lives, books, children, printing office and house for ten thousand gold pieces]. 'Gold pieces' presumably means guilders. Taken literally, this letter would indicate that Plantin had to buy his safety ten times, and that this cost him 10,000 fl. It is more likely that he meant to imply that this was his estimate of the total damage suffered.

It was a heavy blow. As on many previous occasions, the very existence of the *Officina Plantiniana* was threatened, but in the emergency Plantin recovered all his former energy. His ailments vanished as by magic. Although it was Jan Moretus who set the minds of friends and acquaintances at rest immediately after the event, this was only because his father-in-law had already left Antwerp to seek financial deliverance for his business. Only a few weeks after the Spanish Fury, when the soldiers were still quartered in his houses, Plantin had taken the road to Liège to borrow money from his friend Livinus Torrentius, then vicar-general of the diocese of Liège and later to become bishop of Antwerp.¹ From Liège he journeyed to Paris to negotiate with his ‘brother’ Porret and his other French business associates.²

The search for money led him from Paris, by way of Cologne, to Frankfurt,³ where he was fortunate enough to find his old partner Karel van Bomberghen, who lent him the generous sum of 9,600 fl. ‘pour subvenir à ses paiements en laditte foire après la pillerie d'Anvers’.⁴ Plantin did not reach Antwerp again until the end of April 1577, after an absence of nearly six months, but with sufficient money and credit to continue the business.

Later in the year he sacrificed the branch in Paris that had rendered him such great service for ten years. He sold it on 22nd August 1577 to the Paris printer and bookseller Michel Sonnius for the sum of 7,500 fl., although according to what Plantin later asserted, it was worth more than twice this amount.⁵ The bitterness of Plantin's son-in-law, Egidius Beys, who had been given the management of the branch, was great and to some extent understandable: in some very interesting letters the printer tried to make it clear to his angry son-in-law that there had been no other course left to him.⁶ The sale of a number of presses and other equipment provided Plantin with

1. Cf. Jan Moretus's letter to Arias Montanus, November 1576 (*Corr.*, V, no. 745).
2. Cf. Jan Moretus's letter to Pamelius, 22nd December 1576 (*Corr.*, V, no. 749).
3. Cf. Jan Moretus's letter to Arias Montanus, 13th February 1577 (*Corr.*, V, no. 754).
4. On 6th April 1577 (Arch. 19, folio 110: the name of Charles [Karel] van Bomberghen was scratched out and altered to Van den Berghen. See p. 49 for the reason for this action). Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 196, and see also Plantin's letter of 21st February 1581 to Karel van Bomberghen (*Corr.*, VI, no. 920).
5. Stein, ‘La succursale plantinienne de Paris’, p. 38; Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 171-172.
6. Cf. p. 159.

some further ready money.¹ Arias Montanus sent forty guilders from his slender income - a drop in the ocean, but an act of kindness for which Plantin, greatly moved, wrote to thank him on 3rd May 1577.²

Business could be resumed, albeit at a much more moderate rate. The great expansion was finally at an end; the years of plenty were over, the lean years had begun. Nevertheless, these lean years seem to have proceeded at first in a not altogether unsatisfactory manner, taking into account the conditions of the times. It is at all events very characteristic that Plantin should have embarked on a series of quite substantial personal expenditures in this period of recession. In June 1579, he bought the house that he had moved into only three years before.³ Between 1579 and 1580 he had a series of building schemes carried out on his new property, including the erection of a new wing in which to set up his presses - the same wing and the same hall where the presses still stand after three centuries of intensive activity - and paid for this more than 7,435 fl.⁴ On 26th February 1581, for the sum of 170 fl. he paid off all the annual payments of 14 fl. due on the country house he had bought at Berchem in 1569, thus finally becoming the complete owner of this retreat.⁵

During Plantin's absence his sons-in-law Jan Moretus and Frans Raphelengius finished off the orders in hand, first with one, then two, and subsequently with three presses.⁶ The master's return caused a rapid increase in activity. Early in 1578 there were six, and by the beginning of 1583 as many as ten presses back in operation.⁷ This, too, indicates comparative prosperity.

1. 'Ex praelis nostris vendidi jam septem e quibus accepi plus minus 500 fl.' [I have already sold seven of our presses, on account of which I have received about 500 fl.]: letter from Plantin to de Çayas, September 1578 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 809).
2. *Corr.*, V, no. 757.
3. More accurately half of the house. Between 1576 and 1579 Plantin had to relinquish the part facing the Hoogstraat and had to be content with the part of the structure, with the garden, facing the Vrijdagmarkt and the Heilig Geeststraat. See pp. 268-270.
4. See pp. 272-273 concerning these building schemes.
5. On 2nd March 1582 he also paid 377 fl. 13 st. for a garden of 24¼ roeden (approximately one acre) at Berchem. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 210; F. Donnet, *Le 'Papen Moer' à Berchem*, 1921, pp. 33 sqq.
6. Cf. Plantin's letter to Hortemberche, 16th February 1578 (*Corr.*, V, no. 787).
7. Six in January 1578; 5 in January 1579; 7 in January 1580; 8 in January 1581; 7 in January 1582; and 10 in January 1583. Cf. Appendix 5.

C omme les Estatz généraulz pour le d'icqz et respon
 de ces pays ont trouvé convenir d'avoit certain
 imprimier pour moetter et limiter ce que
 pourra pour l'advenir concréder les at-fonds
 de ces pays, pour ce est l'ye qu'ilz ont accépté
 et qualite que des sus d'icqz Christofle Plantin
 demourant et demeur a condition que quantes fois
 se moettera quelque chose de limiter, lesditz Plantin
 et d'icqz aura au Estatz tout c'est répland
 gratulité, et de surplus a luy eant chuz
 subiects compte celluy qui en sera qui commença
 pour d'icqz. Les d'icqz ont le quel
 pourra d'icqz en dis l'advenir au d'icqz
 d'icqz que d'icqz Estatz luy a luy consenti et
 accordé. Fait le 17^{me} de May l'an mil cinq cent
 quatre et cinquante. De May. 17^{me} de May.

Par ordonnance des Estatz
 J. Louffin.

Les d'icqz ont d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz
 d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz
 d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz
 d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz
 d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz d'icqz

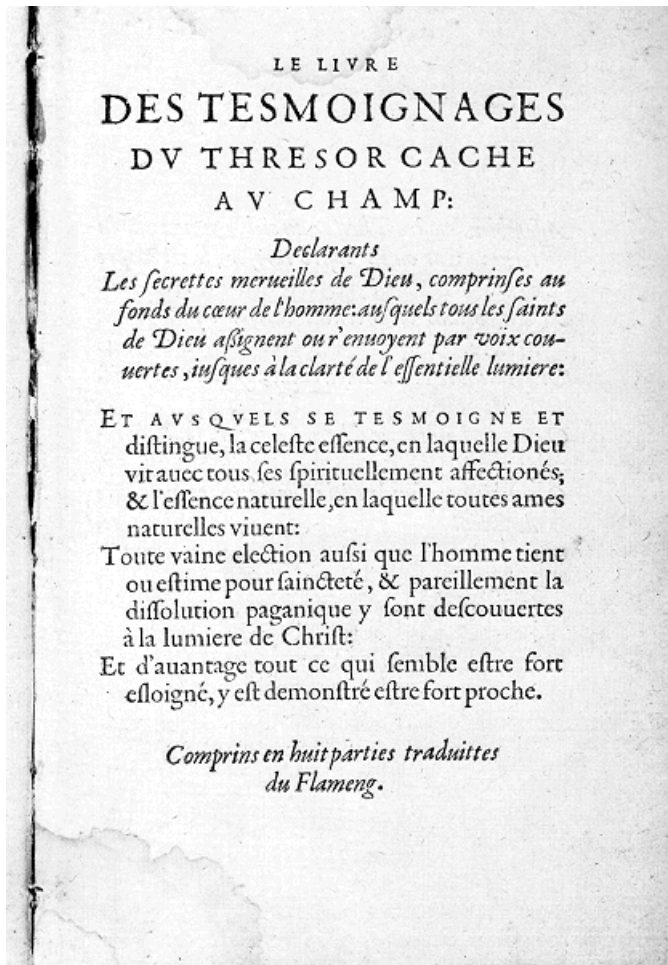
Jehan de rolnare
 J. de rolnare
 J. de rolnare

(21) Opposite: Plantin's deed of appointment as printer to the States General, dated Brussels 17th May 1578.



(22) *Overleaf*: Pages from Hendrik Janssen Barrefelt's *Imagines et figurae Bibliorum*. Though Plantin printed this work by his new religious mentor, he did not mention his own name (nor the author's, for that matter). The names Jacobus Villanus and Renatus Christianus are both fictitious. The lines in question were even printed separately and pasted on the pages. The dates 1580 and 1581 must also be regarded as fictitious: several plates are actually dated 1582. Probably Plantin tried to circumvent possible difficulties through antedating the publication.

<p>INTERPRETATIONS OV DECLARATIONS D'AVCVNS IMAGES, ET FIGVRES DES PE- CVLIERES HISTOIRES DE LA BIBLE.</p>	<p>INTERPRETATIONES SIVE EXPLICATIONES IMAGINVM ALI- QVOT HISTORIÆ BIBLICÆ.</p>	<p>Beduydinghe ost Uerclæringhe van sommighe figu- ren der Bybelscher Historien /</p>
<p>APPLIQUEES à reduictes d'icelles Histories particulièrement figuratives au témoignage de l'esi- sentielle Verité, que chacun fidele peut (par la grace de Dieu, moyennant la renouation de soy mesmes) & est tenu de congnouïre & sentir dedans son ame & cœur, à vne renouation de vie pour son glor, & paix avec Dieu, par l'eternel fils d'iceluy Iehus Christ nostre Seigneur & sauveur, en l'vniuersal du saint Esprit, vn seul Dieu en Trinité, qui a esté, est, & de- meurera à jamais.</p>	<p>QVÆ REDVCTA & accommodata ad Historiam propriè figuratiua ad summam veritatis essentia- lis: quam Christianus quilibet (adiuuante diuina gratia, & per euentus reuincationis sue) potest & debet in anima ac pectore per- cipere atque agnoscere: ad re- ta salutarem reuincationem, & pacem cum Deo, per filium eius eternum Dominum & Salua- torem nostrum Iesum Christum, in unitate sancti Spiritus, qui in Trinitate cum Deo fuit, est, & erit in secula.</p>	<p>Oetoghen ende ghebzechte tot der siner bybelscher eekelnsche eghen- scheyt toe de ghewysenheit der ver- teueliche wesenheit: Welcke enen ghelick Christen doot de gheueze Godes: voogharde hies sijn ver- sachlichtet en ende moet waerue- men / ende gheuoelen inder siele en- de ghemoot, tot veruuewinghe sijn- seuens: om salich te woerden / ende vrede te hebben met Gode doot sijn nen eenighen sone Iesum Christum onzen Oetere ende salichmaker: in re- uincatione des heylighen Esprits / nu mer Beduydinghe is ghescreuen ende liden sal een reuinc Gode in eruetichheit.</p>
<p>Primus homo de terra terrenus: secundus homo de caelo caelestis, &c. 1. Corinth. xv. 47.</p>		
<p>In lucem edita à Renato Christiano, Anno Domini M. D. LXXX.</p>		



thrésor caché au champ the French translation of his standard

How did Plantin succeed in maintaining a rate of work that was very brisk considering the events of those years and how did he adapt his activity to the changed circumstances? The Spanish Fury, and the general revolt of the Netherlands that followed it, brought the financial transactions between Plantin and Philip II to an abrupt end. The flow of breviaries, missals and other liturgical works intended for Spain diminished from day to day. The printer does not seem to have lamented this fact unduly; at all events there are not very many traces of regret in his correspondence. The relations with Philip II had brought grist to the mill for Plantin, but the endless wrangling with the Spanish officials to obtain punctual payment of the money owed him must have demanded much of his patience and his nerves. However painful and disastrous the peremptory ending of the transactions with Spain may have been, it is not impossible that Plantin himself may have greeted it with a deep sigh of relief.¹

In the following years the printer merely tried to obtain reimbursement for the expenses he had incurred in printing new breviaries and missals, and in monumental 'choir books' (antiphonaries and graduals) intended for Spain. These would have been the most beautiful works ever printed, but because of the Spanish Fury no more than a start was made on their production.

In this matter Plantin fought with great trenchancy and stubbornness, and sent detailed statements to de Çayas and his other Spanish patrons and, on 31st December 1583, he even compiled a lengthy and vehement memorandum: 'Relation simple et veritable d'aucuns griefz que moy Christophle Plantin ay souffert depuis quinze ans ou environ pour avoir obey au commandement et service de Sa Majesté sans que j'en aye receu payement ne recompense.'²

In this 'relation' he estimates the expenses incurred at about 10,000 fl. for the breviaries and missals, and at 76,000 fl. for the 'grands livres de chant pro choro'; a total, therefore, of 86,000 fl. In the ledger in which Plantin wound up his financial transactions with Philip II, the printer showed that

1. After the recapture of Antwerp by Philip's forces, Plantin rejected proposals made by the Spaniards that he should continue working for the king, and persistently refused to shoulder this particular burden again. Cf. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1235 (27th March 1587), no. 1279 (5th July 1587), and no. 1283 (21st July 1587).
2. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1014.

he had already become much more moderate and only 41,175 fl. was charged to the king's account.

Max Rooses, however, has convincingly shown that there are one or two things wrong even with this revised account; that in the account to Philip are included a number of bills for paper and other materials that were in fact ordered for the Spanish king, but were subsequently used by Plantin for other purposes, and for which he received payment. A total sum of 7,775 fl. remained for the preparation of materials (punches, matrices, woodcuts for initials, and so on) that Plantin was able to utilize later, but which nevertheless represented an unnecessary outlay.¹

The grievances that Plantin avowed himself to be nursing against Philip II were, therefore, not so important as he represented them. The author has the impression that Plantin inflated these 'griefz' not only, and perhaps not even primarily, to obtain compensation, but also in order to justify to some extent the anti-Spanish acts he performed in these years by harping on the injustice done to him and the large financial losses he had suffered in the service of the Spanish monarch. This in no way alters the fact that even this amount of 'only' 7,775 fl., added to the other losses occasioned by the Spanish Fury, placed a new and heavy burden on Plantin's shoulders.

The worst aspect of the situation, both then and subsequently, was the fact that the fruitful collaboration with Philip II had been brusquely ended. Fortunately for the *Gulden Passer*, Plantin, after the crisis of 1572, had not specialized exclusively in the preparation of liturgical books for Spain. He had continued to bring out other work, and kept up his contacts with French and German publishers and printers. The loss of the Spanish market put a stop to his great expansion, although the change-over to the 'ordinary market' was effected with comparative ease and speed.

It was in these turbulent years, in fact, that Plantin published many of the works which, by their contents or illustrations, were to establish his fame through the centuries: an impressive number of herbals by Dodoens, Clusius, and Lobelius; the splendid Italian and French editions of the 'Description of the Netherlands' by Ludovico Guicciardini; treatises by Justus Lipsius; editions of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Abraham Ortelius; the monumental music editions of Philip de Monte, Andries Pevernage,

1. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 208-209.

Jacob de Kerle, and Georges de la Hèle; the magnificent French Bible of 1578 and the Latin Bible of 1583; together with a few other liturgical works that were now intended for a more local market.

A perusal of Plantin's account books for these years, however, shows that a significant percentage of these publications were printed 'to order', and that their costs were wholly or partially defrayed by the authors, or that their production was financed by other publishers - principally Michel Sonnius of Paris and Arnold Mylius of Cologne.

Plantin was able to continue printing on a relatively large scale; his *officina* still presented the appearance of a nest of industrious ants, but the freedom of action and personal initiative of the master of the *Gulden Passer* were severely restricted. From this time onward he appears to have been much more an ordinary printer, working to order, than the bold publishing printer of former years.

Meanwhile in the Southern Netherlands, too, the charge had been lit. The whole of the Netherlands was now in revolt against Spanish rule. Plantin found himself pitched into a maelstrom of unleashed passions. He was offered the opportunity of building up a new life elsewhere. In the summer of 1577 he received an offer from the French king, Henry III, to establish himself in Paris with the title of 'royal printer for ten languages' (Hebrew, Chaldean [i.e. Aramaic], Syriac, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and 'Flemish' [Dutch]) and with an annuity of 200 *écus*. The printer recalled this offer, and acknowledged once more his indebtedness to the French king in the preface to the fourth part - the *Francica* - of the posthumous *Opera* of Goropius Becanus, published in 1580 and dedicated to Henry III. By September 1577, however, he had already turned down the proposition, politely but very firmly.¹

In 1581 he received an equally dazzling offer from the Duke of Savoy to set himself up in Turin.² In a letter of 13th January 1582, Plantin declared himself ready to accept the proposition, on condition that his installations

1. *Corr.*, V, no. 775 (letter from Plantin to Arias Montanus, 6th September 1577: offer refused), no. 778 (to Pontus de Tyard Bissi, presumably the person who had approached him on behalf of the King of France, 4th October 1577); *Corr.*, VI, no. 851 (to Buyssetius, 10th December 1579, p. 109: printer to the King of France in ten languages), no. 887 (dedication to Henry III in J. Goropius Becanus's *Opera*, August 1580). Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 212.
2. Cf. the letter of 19th December 1581 from Charles Paschal, agent for the 'company' of the Turin publishers, who, with the Duke of Savoy's backing, tried to persuade Plantin to move to the Duchy (*Corr.*, VII, no. 968).

were bought up so that he could pay off his creditors.¹ He was then asked to make an estimate and to send the figures to Turin.² According to what Plantin stated in his 'Relation d'aucuns griefz' of 31st December 1583, his conditions were accepted, and yet the printer again allowed the negotiations to fall through.³

Why did he do this? In his correspondence with the representatives of the French king and the Duke of Savoy, Plantin obviously worded his refusal very carefully; in the lengthy letters he exchanged with pro-Spanish elements he emphasized that he had remained in Antwerp at the request of Madrid and out of loyalty to Philip II. But in a number of letters to intimate friends (including his letter of 6th September 1577 to Arias Montanus) he brought forward only one reason: that he did not want to leave the Netherlands where he had spent the most pleasant years of his life.

In spite of all the difficulties, Plantin decided to remain faithful to Antwerp, his adopted city. This made great demands, however, on his diplomatic talents. In many letters Plantin poignantly outlined his attitude to the events of the times. He repeatedly compared himself to a mariner seeking to bring his frail craft to a safe harbour over a turbulent, reef-strewn sea: 'De manière que sommes contraints de vagabonder au gré des vents impétueux et comme les vagues nous jectent ores deça ores dela. L'esprit toutesfois demeurant ferme et tranquille en Dieu le quel je prie avoir pitié de nous et nous ramener finalement au vray port asseuré.'⁴

The Spanish Fury hastened the conclusion of the Pacification of Ghent. The Netherlands, led in theory by the States General, combined to drive out the mercenaries of Spain. Catholics and Protestants were united by their common dislike of the Spanish soldier. Philip's new governor of the

1. Letter from Plantin to Paschal, 13th January 1582 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 974).

2. Letter from Paschal to Plantin, 13th May 1582 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 985).

3. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1014, p. 130. These attempts to entice Plantin to Turin are discussed in Rooses, *Musée*, p. 212.

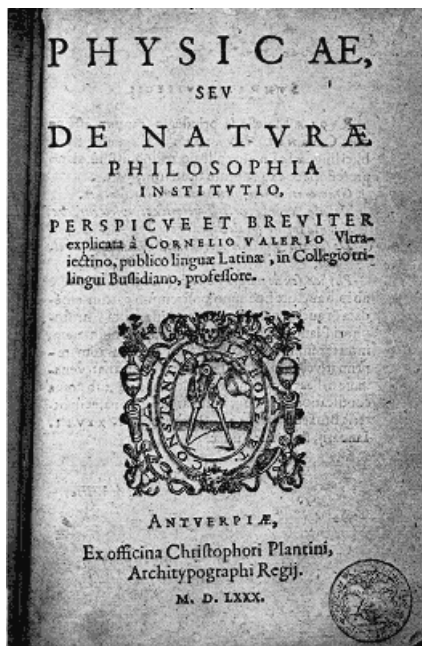
4. Letter to de Çayas, 3rd November 1581 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 959). Other examples are: *Corr.*, VI, no. 836 (to Turrianus, 22nd-28th August 1579), no. 840 (to de Çayas, 28th September-6th October 1579), no. 848 (to Turrianus, November 1579) and no. 851 (to Buyssetius, 10th December 1579).



Plantinum tibi, Spectator, proponimus, ut cum
Nimine perpetuo viuat et effigies.
Sic vbi posteritas miracula tanta librorum
Eius et innumerum fera videbit opus:
Tunc es Christophorus, tunc ille es? dicat, in vnum
Et sua coniiciens lumina fixa virum;
Musarum, o pater, exclamet dignissime, salue,
Reddita sunt studio secula docta tuo.

A. I. BOCHIO

(24) *Opposite*: Christophe Plantin. Engraving by Hendrik Goltzius (1558-1616) in a collection of poems dedicated to Plantin's memory: *Epigrammata funebria ad Christophori Plantini architypographi regii manes*, 1590.



(25) Though in 1578 appointed 'Printer to the States General', the body leading the revolt against King Philip II, Plantin continued using his title 'The King's Archprinter', at least up to 1581, when the king was solemnly abjured by the rebels.

Netherlands, Don Juan of Austria, had arrived in Luxembourg on the very eve of the Spanish Fury. Negotiations were opened which led to an agreement early in 1577. The Netherlands would remain loyal to Philip II on condition that the Spanish troops were withdrawn. By the end of April the *tercios* were on their way to Italy.

Many problems - in particular the thorny question of religion - were left in abeyance. Clashes between the new governor and the States General became more frequent and more violent. On 24th July 1577 Don Juan took possession of the fortress of Namur in a surprise attack and recalled the Spanish troops. The States General hurriedly raised an army of their own. The conflict was continued more violently than ever.

William of Orange was at last able to move out of Holland and Zeeland, and on 23rd September 1577 he entered Brussels in triumph. He tried to reconcile fire and water, to bring Calvinists and Catholics together in war to the bitter end against Spain. Although William dominated the political scene, the hostility and intrigues of the nobility and the need to acquire allies forced him to give at least some appearance of authority to ambitious foreign princes who attempted to win a kingdom for themselves in the Netherlands: to Archduke Matthias of Austria, son of Emperor Rudolph II; to the Count Palatine John Casimir; to Francis, Duke of Anjou and Alençon, brother of King Henry III of France.

Don Juan died on 1st October 1578. His lieutenant, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, succeeded him as governor of the small area of the Southern Netherlands that was still under the Spanish authority. William of Orange had found a worthy opponent in this military genius and astute diplomat. Time had by no means simplified William's problems. Religious dissension destroyed the original unity and cooled the enthusiasm of many. The excesses of the Calvinist Republic at Ghent produced violent reactions among the Walloons, who had remained predominantly Catholic. The 'malcontents' of Artois and Hainault joined together to form the Union of Arras (6th January 1579), and a few months later, on 17th May 1579, they concluded a peace treaty with Farnese. The new governor had obtained a good spring-board for his *reconquista* of the Netherlands. He took Maastricht on 29th June 1579: the reconquest had begun.

The rebels remained divided by political intrigue. They put an end to the

fiction that they were fighting in the name of Philip II against his evil generals: on 26th July 1581 the States General solemnly renounced their allegiance to the Spanish monarch. But in whose favour? The reins of government in fact remained in the hands of William of Orange, but he made as little attempt to have himself recognized as the official head of the rebels as he had before the abjuration. Count Palatine John Casimir did no more than take a look at the Low Countries and then disappear again. In 1581 a disillusioned Matthias of Austria took the road back to Vienna poorer than he had come.

The stage was therefore free for the Duke of Anjou who, after an armed intervention in August 1581, entered the Netherlands again via Antwerp early in 1582. The scheming duke was of the opinion that he had been given too little authority and tried by means of a military *coup* to take possession of some pawns with which to dictate his terms. On 17th January 1583 his troops attacked Antwerp, Dendermonde, and Dunkirk, but this *furie française* failed miserably. The duke's role in the Netherlands was played out and with him went all hope of French aid. On the other hand the members of the Union of Arras gave permission for Spanish mercenaries to be used, and the *tercios* appeared once more in the Netherlands.

The tide soon began to turn in Philip's favour. By the end of 1582 Farnese had already retaken the whole of Wallonia and considerable areas of Flanders and Brabant, while his troops threatened the rebel flank from Limburg and Friesland. In the spring of 1583 he was able to start on the systematic reconquest of the south. Slowly and surely, like a juggernaut, the Spanish army advanced, methodically besieging and reducing one town after another.

It was this world in arms that Plantin refused to leave. It was through this tempest of raging political and religious passion that he sought to chart a course to safety.

The subject of the Spanish Fury was dealt with in a very restrained manner in Plantin's letters (most of which were actually addressed to supporters of the Spanish): simply a sober statement of the facts without useless reproaches or jeremiads. It is reasonable to suppose, however, that the events of those tragic days in November 1576 did little to increase the printer's enthusiasm for the Spanish cause. The fact that the rebels were in command of a large

part of the Netherlands, and of Antwerp itself from the middle of 1577 on, naturally helped to determine his attitude.

He seems to have been struck most forcibly by the change of mood in the Netherlands. In a letter of July 1578 he begged Arias Montanus to inform Philip of his subjects' new frame of mind. In his racy style Plantin told how avaricious merchants, and artisans who had formerly been slaves to the pleasures of bottle and bed, now bore arms with sober purpose and deadly seriousness, even beginning to find enjoyment in martial pursuits; how they swore not to lay down those arms until final victory was theirs; how the craftsmen were materially better off: whereas previously they had worked only three days a week and spent the other four in carousing, they now devoted one day to military training and laboured strenuously through the other six. If the king wanted peace he would have to compromise.¹

Without actually renouncing Philip II, Plantin began to act in a manner that was rather surprising for a royal *prototypographus*. To begin with he became printer to the States General, the body that was officially leading the revolt against the Spanish monarch.² Plantin himself took the initiative. In an undated petition he asked their Excellencies of the States General, 'very humbly', for the sole right of printing their publications. His request was granted on 27th April 1578.³ Plantin's appointment was ratified on 17th May of that year. In exchange for the monopoly of printing ordinances issued by the States General, Plantin was to supply the first 300 copies of each publication free, and would be paid at a rate of one *stuiver* per sheet for anything in excess of that number.⁴

On 10th October 1578 Plantin presented the States General with a bill for 312 fl. 15 st., with a request for speedy payment so that he might give his

1. *Corr.*, V, no. 801.
2. M. Schneider gives interesting information about Plantin as printer to the States General in *De voorgeschiedenis van de 'Algemeene Landsdrukkerij'*, 1939, pp. 24-25. See also Rooses, *Musée*, p. 198; E. Valvekens, 'Prenten uit de XVI^e eeuw. Een privilegium der rebellen voor Christoffel Plantin, 8 februari 1580' in *De Standaard*, 10th February 1940 (Cf. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 247).
3. H.J. Slenk, 'Christopher Plantin and the States General: some new documents' in *De Gulden Passer*, 43, 1965, pp. 248-264. The discovery of these new documents by Mr. Slenk puts an end to the discussion of whether Plantin served the States General willingly or whether he was more or less compelled to do so (cf. Sabbe, *De meesters van den Gulden Passer*, p. 53; Schneider, *De voorgeschiedenis van de 'Algemeene Landsdrukkerij'*, p. 25).
4. *Corr.*, V, no. 793.

workmen their wages ‘et continuer de les tenir prest au commandement et service des Seigneuries et du bien publicq de la patrie’. The account was agreed to by the States General on 25th October 1578, but it was not until 30th September of the following year, after repeated requests, that Plantin received the money. The States General were even worse than Philip II at paying up.¹

Plantin also approached Anjou, who was attempting to oust Philip from the Netherlands, humbly beseeching the Duke on his arrival in Antwerp to grant him the honour of becoming the ducal printer. From 17th April 1582 he was permitted to style himself as ‘the duke's printer’,² a title and a function that he promptly and understandably dropped after the ‘French Fury’ of January 1583.

Plantin also became official printer to the city of Antwerp in this period. Originally his ambition had not extended as far as this. At the end of 1578 he asked the magistrate for financial support in his need: an annual grant with which to pay the rent of his printing-press - about 400 fl. - would help considerably towards keeping the business going, and in return for this he would supply one copy of everything that he printed and his services would always be available to the city authorities.³ The magistrate modified this proposition. On 17th January 1579 it was decided that Plantin should be given 300 fl. a year. In return the master of the *Gulden Passer* would print all municipal ordinances and give the magistrate one copy of each work that he produced and also one copy of any book that he might receive in exchange for his own editions.⁴ Thus Plantin became Antwerp's official printer, an office which he and his successors held until 1705.

In spite of this appointment and the fact that he had been printer to the States General since May 1578, Plantin continued for some time to call him-

1. Following Schneider, *Voorgeschiedenis*, p. 25, based on the archives of the States General. Cf. also Arch. 18, folio 292. This section of the Plantinian archives (the ledger for 1572-1589) contains other details about Plantin's relations with ‘Messieurs les Estatz Generaux’: in March and April 1578, before he had been appointed their official printer, he delivered work worth 173 fl. 19 st., paid for on 20th June 1578 (folio 268); the work delivered at the end of 1578, in 1579 and 1580, representing a total of 426 fl. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ st., was not paid for in cash but in what were termed ‘licentes’ (folio 383).
2. *Corr.*, VII, no. 983 (Plantin's petition, with a note added by the duke, 17th April 1582). Cf. also Rooses, *Musée*, p. 202.
3. *Corr.*, VI, no. 814.
4. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 199.

self the 'King's Printer' (*Architypographus Regius; 's Conincx Drucker; Imprimeur du Roy*) on the title-pages of his books. This should not be seen as excessive loyalty to his sovereign; Plantin was merely maintaining the fiction whereby the rebels fought against Philip II in the name of Philip II. After that monarch had been formally abjured in 1581, Plantin began openly to use his title of 'der Generale Staten drucker' [printer to the States General] and also, in 1582, that of printer to the Duke of Anjou. He carefully requested his friends not to address him as royal printer in the future.¹ Nevertheless it was in this capacity, theoretically at least, that Plantin published a series of works in 1579-81² dedicated to or commissioned by Matthias of Austria, who was trying to supplant Philip II,³ and William of Orange, Philip's mortal enemy.⁴ Similarly, in 1582, he brought out the beautifully illustrated *La joyeuse et magnifique entrée de Monseigneur François, fils de France et frère unique du Roy* [Francis of Anjou and Alençon]... *en sa très renommée ville d'Anvers*.⁵

When William of Orange visited Antwerp in 1579, the royal printer composed enthusiastic verses in his honour and when on 14th December of that year the prince and his wife, Charlotte of Bourbon, graced the workshop in the Vrijdagmarkt with a visit, Plantin hastened to rhyme and to print two new eulogistic poems. One of them bore the words: 'Faict et imprimé presents les tresillustres Prince et Princesse d'Orange, venus voir l'Imprimerie de Christophle Plantin.'⁶

1. *Corr.*, VI, no. 955 (letter to Metellus, 11th-20th October 1581).
2. Cf. also Rooses, *Musée*, p. 202.
3. Publication in honour of Mathias of Austria: J.B. Houwaert, *Sommare beschrijvinghe vande triumphelijcke Incomst vanden doorluchtighen ende hooghgeboren Aerts-hertoge Matthias, binnen die Princelijcke stadt van Brussele, int' jaer ons Heeren MDLXXVIII, den XVIII dach Januarij*.
4. Publications in honour of William of Orange: J.B. Houwaert, *Declaratie van die triumphante incompst vanden Doorluchtighen ende Hooghegeboren Prince van Oraingnien binnen die Princelijcke Stadt van Brussele geschiet int' iaer [1578] den [18] Septembris*; N. Meyerus, *Epinicium seu gratulatio ad... Guilielmum, comitem Nassou, principem Aulicum, 1582*. Also a Latin *epitaphium* in honour of Charlotte of Bourbon, the prince's wife (Library of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Folio Varia I, no. 2). Dedicated to William the Silent were e.g.: A. de Pasino's *Discours sur plusieurs poincts de l'architecture de guerre, 1579*; *Estreines ou Nouvel An de... Jehan Geerts, 1580* (Folio Varia I, no. 1); M. Lobelius's *Kruydtboeck, 1581*.
5. Concerning this work, see *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens, Catalogue de l'exposition ...Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 1954, no. 301*. There is a summary of the duke's entry into Antwerp, and also Damman's poem commemorating his entry into Ghent (*Francisco Alençoniae duce, Gandavum ad capiendum Flandriae comitatum accercito, 1582*).
6. Cf. also p. 398.

By these and other means Plantin was able to find favour with the leading figures of the rebellion and, as printer to the States General, the city of Antwerp and the Duke of Anjou, he derived material benefits that probably did much to keep his press in operation.

It seems to the author that Plantin had a great personal respect for William of Orange, the champion of many ideas that were near to the royal printer's heart, particularly the concept of religious toleration. It cannot be mere coincidence that one of Plantin's poems 'Faict et imprimé presents les tresillustres Prince et Princesse d'Orange' is entitled *Le seul divin est perdurable: toute autre chose est périssable* and is drenched in the mysticism of the members of the Family of Love (and of Barrefelt, discussed later in this chapter). It also seems to the author that with the arrival of the Duke of Anjou the printer's French sentiments came to the surface.

Although Plantin tried to get into the good graces of the rebels, and thereby earned a certain amount of money, at no time, however, did he seek to obtain special privileges for himself by obsequious flattery. He was anxious to stay out of politics as far as possible, only engaging in activities with political implications when he had reason to hope that his business would benefit financially from them. Nevertheless Plantin followed in the footsteps of the rebels, even though it may not have been with conviction and enthusiasm, or a full personal commitment. Although he tried hard to avoid taking up a position against his old benefactor Philip II, inevitably circumstances often proved stronger than his good intentions. As printer to the States General and the Duke of Anjou, and to a lesser degree in his municipal capacity, Plantin was obliged to print many ordinances and pamphlets in which the king and his supporters were violently attacked.

Plantin managed to avoid publishing the most virulent anti-Spanish propaganda under his own name. Some of this appeared under the imprint of his son-in-law Frans Raphelengius,¹ who had begun openly to incline towards Calvinism and was therefore hopelessly compromised in Spanish eyes. Amongst such writings were the work of Bartolomeus de las Casas, *Tyrannies et cruautéz des Espagnols, perpetrées és Indes Occidentales* (1579), with a foreword that roused the inhabitants of the Netherlands to enthusiasm for the revolt against Spain 'nation confite en tyrannie' and the *Afgheworpene*

1. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 146 and 202.

Brieven vanden Cardinael van Granvelle ende vanden president Fonck, the French edition of which was entitled *Diverses lettres interceptés du cardinal de Granvelle...* (1580). This was a fierce pamphlet aimed at Plantin's former patron. Other pamphlets bore the names of various employees, of his wife's cousin, Guillaume Rivière, who worked as a printer in the *Gulden Passer*, of Cornelis de Bruyn, and of Nicolaas and Andreas Spore.¹ Other works probably appeared anonymously.

In these years of strife and tension Plantin also published works by eminent Calvinists. Most of these, however, were innocuous publications in themselves - such as the commentaries and editions of classical authors prepared by the Dutch statesman and humanist Janus Dousa, lord of Noordwijk, Langevelde and Kattendijk. Less innocent was *De la vérité de la religion chrestienne*, by the French Huguenot Philippe de Mornay, seigneur of Duplessis. Plantin brought out the first edition in 1581 and a second in 1582. This *editio princeps* by Plantin of the work of one of the foremost French Calvinist authors of the time can be explained by special circumstances. De Mornay wrote his work in Antwerp and Ghent when he was in the Netherlands as the ambassador of Henry of Bourbon (later Henry IV), and probably had personal contact with the printer.² As far as is known Plantin printed no other explicitly Calvinist texts. Although he may have deviated politically from his allegiance to Spain he remained generally loyal - outwardly at least - to the Catholic church.

The qualification is necessary for, as has already been seen, Plantin had been a member of Hendrik Niclaes's Family of Love during his early years in Antwerp. From a number of letters written to Guillaume Postel it appears that Plantin still belonged to this heretical sect in May and June 1567.³ Over the following years there is a total black-out. It may be assumed that on the one hand Alva's reign of terror, and on the other Philip's patronage and the activities it entailed, alienated Plantin from his old friends of the Family of Love.

1. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 166 and 202.

2. J. Guignard, 'A propos des éditions françaises de Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, pp. 338-339.

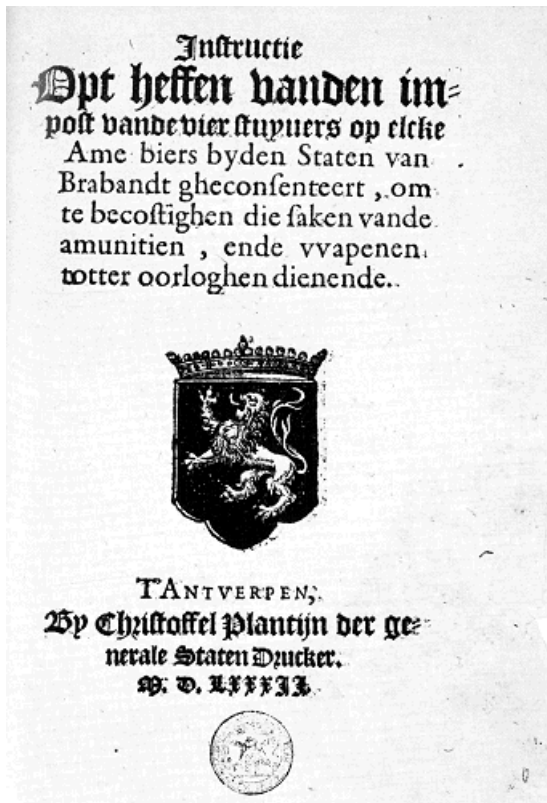
3. See pp. 21 sqq. concerning Plantin's religious opinions and his relations with Hendrik Niclaes and Barrefelt.

The setbacks suffered by the Spanish regime gave Plantin the chance of establishing contact again. This he did, not with Hendrik Niclaes, who died in Cologne about 1580, but with the group that had broken away from the Family of Love in 1573. It was led and inspired by Hendrik Janssen who, as has been mentioned earlier, signed his letters with the name Barrefelt (after his birthplace Barneveld) and his books with the pseudonym Hiël (the Life of God). Plantin must have met this religious leader¹ in Holland during one of his journeys in the years 1579-80.² They maintained a close and intimate friendship that was only ended by Plantin's death.

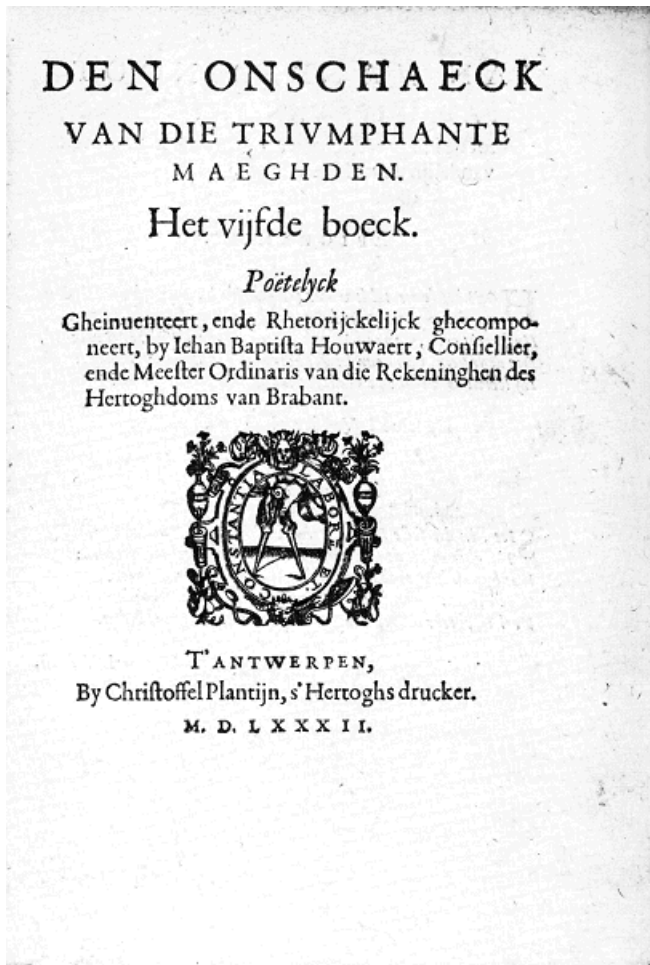
Barrefelt's teaching did not differ in its essentials from that of Niclaes and similarly aspired to transcend the established churches, both Catholic and Protestant. In contrast with Niclaes, however, Barrefelt did not try to build up a hierarchical denomination of his own. His Catholic followers remained rather closer to Rome than did Niclaes's disciples. Plantin did not hesitate to put Barrefelt in touch with a man whose orthodoxy could hardly be called in question: Arias Montanus.³ The Spanish theologian even adopted some of the Dutch preacher's theses and worked them into his own writings.⁴

Not all theologians had the great Spaniard's breadth of vision. Neither the Catholic clergy nor the Protestant theologians had much liking for these 'zealots' who dared to put themselves above churches and dogmas, and whereas Plantin ventured to publish both Catholic and Calvinist works under his own name, he deemed it prudent to bring out the products of his new friend and spiritual mentor anonymously. These included *Het boek der Ghetuygenissen vanden verborghen Acker-schat* (1581) [The book of the Witnesses of the Treasure hid in a Field], translated into French as *Le livre des*

1. Concerning Plantin's journeys in Holland before his move to Leiden, see M. Sabbe, 'J. Lipsius en Chr. Plantin te Utrecht in 1581' in *De Gulden Passer*, 5, 1927, pp. 10-12.
2. The first indication of their relationship is a letter from Barrefelt to Plantin, 17th November 1580 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 893).
3. In September 1581, Plantin began to write to his Spanish friend about his renewed 'devotion to Jesus Christ' and about the possible publication of a work on this subject (cf. *Corr.*, VI, nos. 947 and 950).
4. M. Sabbe, 'Hoe stond Benedictus Arias Montanus tegenover de leeringen van Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël)?' in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, 1928. Also in French and Spanish translations. Cf. p. 21, n. 1.



(26) After the abjuration of King Philip in 1581 Plantin dropped his Spanish title and used that of 'Printer to the States General' which had been bestowed on him in 1578.



(27) *Opposite*: In 1582 Plantin was also appointed Ducal Printer, the duke being François, duc d'Anjou et d'Alençon, brother to the French king Henry III. After Anjou's abortive attempt to seize Antwerp by force (the French Fury, January 1583) Plantin immediately renounced this title.

Tesmoignages du Thrésor caché au champ, the bible of the Barrefeltists and a worthy, and equally difficult-to-read counterpart of Hendrik Niclaes's *Spigel der Gherechticheit*; the *Sendt-brieven wt yverighe herten, ende wt afvoorderinghe, schriftelijk aan de Lief-hebbers der Waerheyt, deur den wtvloedt vanden Gheest des eenwesighen Levens wtghegheven*, also published in French as *Epistres ou lettres missives escrites par l'effluxion d'esprit de la vie uniforme*. Another of Barrefelt's works, *Imagines et figurae Bibliorum. Images et figures de la Bible. Beelden ende figuren wt den Bybel*, an album of sixty pictures and an explanatory text in Latin, French and Dutch giving an allegorical interpretation of the most important events of the Old Testament, appeared with the false names of Jacobus Villanus as the author and of Renatus Christianus as the publisher probably in 1582.¹

In this period, while seeking to chart a course to safety through the storm, Plantin committed many acts that could have been displeasing to both Catholics and Protestants, to the Spanish party as well as to the rebels. The printer took certain precautions. In 1555 he had already forbidden his workpeople, on pain of paying a fine, to take copies or proof-pages out of the printing-press or to tell outsiders what was going on there. In 1581 Plantin intensified these measures, raising the penalty for their infringement from the by no means inconsiderable sum of six *stuivers* to the enormous amount of one Flemish pound (= 6 fl., almost two weeks' wages) and made all his employees sign the relevant regulation that he had drafted specially.²

In 1581 Plantin was busy printing Barrefelt's works. Very probably he tried to ensure by these draconic means that they should be printed in complete secrecy. In this he was successful: not until three centuries after Plantin's death was his share in the publication of the Dutch zealot's works revealed by a study of his correspondence and accounts.³

1. See Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 52-54, on these works of Barrefelt printed by Plantin.

2. Arch. 116, folio 550.

3. That is to say Plantin was able to keep it a secret from the public at large, but a number of persons in Plantin's circle were naturally acquainted with the facts, and several of them wrote of these matters in their letters. For example Adrian Saravia, the Dutch preacher, stated in his letter of 20th October 1608 to the Archbishop of Canterbury: 'Istius patriarchae [i.e. Barrefelt] librum quendam, cui titulus est "Thesaurus in agro absconditus", domi suae impressum, teutonice et gallice, ab eo [i.e. Plantin] accepti: pretio an dono non memini' [I have received from Plantin a certain book by the patriarch Barrefelt, entitled 'The treasure hid in a field', printed at his house, in Dutch and French: I do not remember whether it was for money or as a gift] (H. van Crombruggen, 'Een brief van Adriaan Saravia over Lipsius en "Het Huis der Liefde"' in *De Gulden Passer*, 28, 1950, p. 115). Plantin's share in the propagation of Barrefelt's writings was not forgotten in heterodox circles: G. Arnold in his *Kirchen- und Ketser-Historie*, Frankfurt, 1700, and especially F. Okely in *A Faithful Narrative of God's gracious dealings with Hiël*, Northampton, 1781, appear to have been well informed (cf. C. Clair, *Plantin*, pp. 143-144); so was P. Poiret in his *Bibliotheca Mysticorum selecta*, Amsterdam, 1708, a work from which J.H. Reitz borrowed in his *Historie der Wiedergebohrne*, 1717 (cf. M. Sabbe, 'Hoe stond Benedictus Arias Montanus...', p. 44, note 2). However, these works were not widely distributed, and Plantin's secret was kept from the general public - and from the authorities in the Netherlands.

In the political sphere Plantin committed acts which were much more difficult to conceal, acts that were particularly likely to annoy the Spanish party. The outbreak of the rebellion in the Netherlands at the end of 1576 had naturally driven all thought of Plantin out of official minds in Madrid. After some degree of stability had been restored, however, Philip II remembered his *prototypographus* again. On 7th October 1577 de Çayas wrote to Diego Maldonado, secretary at the Spanish embassy in Paris, advising him that the king wanted to know what had happened to Plantin. Had events at Antwerp necessitated his departure?¹ The Spanish intelligence service could probably have provided the required particulars without much difficulty. In any case de Çayas could have immediately obtained the information he needed by asking Arias Montanus. Plantin had kept in touch with the theologian and other Spanish friends and had told them in detail of his adventures and of his desperate situation.

Plantin seems to have been just as diligent in avoiding contact with persons close to the king. In the end de Çayas took the initiative. In a letter of 13th June 1578 he complained in gently reproachful terms that he had had no news from Plantin; nevertheless he would be glad if he could be kept informed of the printer's affairs so that he, de Çayas, might help him as a brother if need arose. After a passing reference to the retirement of Arias Montanus to Pena de Aracena there followed a few equally innocent requests concerning the dispatching of books.²

The hint was plain enough. The same month Plantin wrote a lengthy reply from Paris, where he was then staying, giving no more than a brief

1. *Suppl. Corr.*, p. 167, note 2.
2. *Corr.*, V, no. 796.

description of his experiences during the Spanish Fury, but going into considerable detail about the requested books and the violent anti-Spanish feeling in Paris. A few declarations of loyalty to Philip were interspersed, but these were so lukewarm that they would have brought a frown to the face of any attentive reader.¹

Just at this time - on 23rd July 1578 - Juan de Vargas, the former member of the 'Council of Blood', sent in a report to Philip II from Paris which was likely to increase suspicion of Plantin. De Vargas reported that Plantin had arrived in Paris with a batch of anti-Spanish publications; he had been completely 'corrupted'; he was said to be printing many heretical works in his *officina*, bestowing just as much care on them as on the printing of Holy Scripture.² De Vargas's report does not seem to have been taken very seriously in Madrid or - what is perhaps more probable - it was thought best to conceal whatever suspicion Plantin's attitude had aroused so as not to drive him openly and irrevocably into the arms of the rebels. It may also have been hoped to make use of Plantin as an intelligence agent.

In the following months de Çayas and Plantin exchanged quite a few letters. The printer gratefully made use of this opportunity to emphasize time after time, in lengthy notes and memoranda, the debts he had incurred in the king's service and to press for just recompense. Little was said about politics in those letters. Plantin may not have come up to expectation as an agent, but at least he had been effectively neutralized.

It is more than likely that a less accommodating attitude on the part of Madrid would in fact have caused Plantin to go over openly to the States General party. As it was he continued to waver and compromise, and when as printer to the States General he was obliged to print more and more anti-Spanish pamphlets, he began to excuse his conduct in a series of discursive letters, written from the middle of 1579 onwards to de Çayas and other Catholic or pro-Spanish connections. His constant theme was that what he did for the rebels he had been compelled to do in order to avoid ruin for himself and his press. He had to obey those who had come to power in the Netherlands. It is in these letters that the image continually recurs of the helmsman trying to bring his ship to safety through turbulent seas.³

1. *Corr.*, V, no. 797.

2. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 139.

3. Cf. p. 92.

The more Plantin felt himself to be compromised, the more frequent and fervent became his avowals of Catholic orthodoxy and of loyalty to the King of Spain. Although Plantin did become more and more compromised in the eyes of the world at large,¹ the letters he received from Madrid remained friendly and moderate in tone and no particular blame was imputed to him. Madrid was perhaps not altogether satisfied with his vacillation, but his position was accepted and he continued to be regarded as a supporter of the king.

On 17th April 1582 Granvelle wrote a letter from Madrid to de Tassis, dean of Antwerp Cathedral, who seems to have been away from the city at the time, probably at Louvain. The cardinal's letter shows the attitude of Spanish court circles towards Plantin: 'Et au regard de ce que vous escripvez dudict Plantin, je me doubte que l'on vous aura mal informé et qu'il y aura de la calumpnie. Car en ce que je l'ay voulu employer contre les Calvinistes, je le tiens fort volontiers et secret, ny à mon advis luy doibt estre imputé qu'il imprimat quelquesfois livretz et escriptz contre le Roy et en faveur des rebelles, pour estre contrainct à ce faire.' Granvelle had in fact got hold of various letters that Plantin had sent to friends in which he affirmed his spiritual and temporal fealty to Catholicism and Spain. The prelate concluded with a sly and rather acid remark, probably intended for de Tassis himself:² 'et n'est pas bien de croire légièrement à tous ceulx que, pour se montrer bons Catholicques, n'en donnent aultre preuve que de charger aucungz bien souvent à tort' [and it is not good lightly to trust all those who, to show themselves good Catholics, offer no other evidence of this than to accuse others, very often wrongly].³

1. Pietro Bizari, an Italian who resided at Antwerp for some time, the author of a few books printed by Plantin and an agent in the service of England, had first-hand experience of this. In March 1583, when going by river from Antwerp to Cologne, his boat was intercepted by troops of the Duke of Parma. The Italian attempted to reason with the assailants - he was only a poor traveller, a scholar who had devoted his life to study and who was a proof-reader for Master Christophe Plantin. Whereupon one of the Walloon soldiers retorted angrily that Plantin had printed many books honouring the Prince of Orange and dispising His Majesty. The quick-thinking Italian changed his tactics and replied that in fact he was not really a proof-reader but had only corrected his own book, the *Historia Rerum Persicarum*, which he was now taking to Frankfurt and potential buyers. (C. Clair, 'Plantiniana in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum and at the Public Records Office' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, p. 120.)
2. Who was no friend of Plantin. Cf. p. 66 above concerning his support of Plantin's rival Trognesium.
3. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 171.

In these difficult years Plantin steered a skilful course amidst the perils of religious hatred and political passion. He can perhaps be reproached with having managed this rather too well, but it is easy - from a distance of four centuries - to accuse Plantin of having an ambiguous or, if it is preferred, too realistic attitude. In his religion the printer remained true all his life to his professed ideal: religious toleration, shrouded in a non-orthodox mysticism but within the Roman Catholic church. He stayed out of the political struggle as far as it was possible. Although he offered the rebels his services this was only to help keep his printing-press going. He did no more than fulfil the letter of his obligations. He cannot be accused of exaggerated zeal in the service of the rebels against Philip II, only perhaps of a marked personal sympathy for William of Orange which did not, however, find expression in political action.

As is so often the case in such instances, it is quite probable that Plantin did not at first believe that accepting the office of printer to the States General would force him into political partisanship and that he became more deeply involved than he had anticipated. But whatever Plantin may have thought or done, at no time did he act as a double agent or seek to further his own interests by slander or tale-bearing. In letters to friends and acquaintances in these years he always appears as a man of considerable moral stature.¹

The Leiden interlude (1583-1585)²

On 3rd November 1582 a deed was drawn up before the aldermen of Leiden in which the Jonkvrouw Diewer van der Laen, widow of Jonker Henricus van Assendelft, attested that she had sold to Christophe Plantin for the sum of 3,000 fl. a 'certain house and its grounds... in the Breestraat on the corner

1. Cf. also pp. 123 sqq.

2. L. Voet, 'Het Plantijnse huis te Leiden' in *Verslag van de Algemene Vergadering van de leden van het Historische Genootschap gehouden te Utrecht op 31 oktober 1960*. [Report of the General Meeting of the Historical Society held at Utrecht.] For Plantin's Leiden period see also P.A. Tiele, 'Les premiers imprimeurs de l'université de Leide' in *Le Bibliophile belge*, 1869; Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 233-238; P.C. Molhuysen, 'De Academie-drukkers' in *Pallas Leidensis*, 1925, pp. 309-313; H.J. Jesse, 'Christoffel Plantijn te Leiden' in *De Gulden Passer*, 12, 1934; A.J. Sormani, 'Het Huis Plantijn te Leiden' in *De Gulden Passer*, 22, 1944; and E. van Gulik & H.D.L. Vervliet, *Een gedenksteen voor Plantijn en Van Raphelingen te Leiden, waarin opgenomen de Catalogus Librorum residuorum Tabernae Raphelengianae*, Leiden, 1965.

of the Vrouwensteeg with two small houses and their grounds situated behind that place'.¹ A few days before, in his letter of 29th October to his friend, the famous botanist Clusius, the printer had stated that he had bought the Assendelft house in Leiden 'où ie suis appelé, mais ie ne scay encores quelles conditions on m'y présentera'.²

Plantin had been thinking of leaving Antwerp. He had contacted the academic authorities of the young university of Leiden (founded in 1575) who were looking for a suitable new official printer following the death in 1580 of Plantin's former Antwerp colleague Willem Silvius and the dismissal of his son Karel in 1582. It was concerning the conditions that the university were offering him that Plantin was still uncertain on 29th October 1582. The authorities seem to have taken a long time to come to a decision. The appointment 'tot ordinaris drucker van de voors. universiteyt' [as the printer of the aforesaid university] was not made until 14th May 1584, at a salary of 200 fl. a year.³ The appointment was, however, considered to have taken effect as from 1st May 1583. Plantin must in fact have been certain by the end of 1582 that the university was going to accept him as its printer and grant him the benefits appertaining to the office.

Thus it was that in January 1583 Plantin was in Leiden, busy preparing for his move, and this must have spared him the spectacle of the 'French Fury' of 17th January 1583 in Antwerp. The actual move was made at the end of April 1583: on 31st April Martina Plantin wrote in the margin of the wages-book which she kept for her father: 'le premier sameine apres le partement de mon pere vers Leiden'.⁴ That the printer must have been planning this in November of the previous year is shown by the fact that the deed of transfer drawn up then stipulated that he should take possession of the Assendelft house and the subsidiary properties in May 1583.

On 29th April 1583 Plantin's name was entered in the *Album Civium Academicorum* of Leiden University, and he was assumed to have taken office as academic printer on 1st May. He had not, however, severed all

1. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 252.

2. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 177.

3. P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, I, pp. 40 and 119. Reprinted in *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 254.

4. Arch. 788, folio 14.

connections with Antwerp. While Plantin was establishing himself in Leiden with three presses, his two sons-in-law kept the Antwerp *officina* going. Jan Moretus managed the bookshop, Frans Raphelengius the actual press, where ten presses were still in operation: the ‘Antwerpsche Druckerije’ remained the parent house, at least in the beginning. This naturally raises the question of why Plantin left his beloved Antwerp. Why, after refusing the offers of the King of France and the Duke of Savoy, had he suddenly moved house and set up a branch in Holland which might in course of time become the main, or even the only *Officina Plantiniana*?

Very few documents concerning Plantin's activities in Leiden have been preserved. It has been asserted that after his reconciliation with Philip II the printer destroyed his correspondence because it was too compromising. But his letters to Catholic personages and all his accounts for the period have also disappeared. The truth is probably quite simple: Plantin must have left the relevant records behind at Leiden where they were subsequently lost. As a result there are few details of Plantin's Leiden period available. The reasons which the printer cited in explanation of his move to Holland are mostly to be found in letters written to Catholics and loyalists after his return to Antwerp, and in these the emphasis is shifted according to the nature of the person addressed. Only one document from this period, the *Relation simple et véritable d'aucuns griefz* of 31st December 1583, offers any real statement of his objects and reasons - fortunately it is a very detailed one. Overwhelmed by financial cares and undermined by ill health, Plantin had decided to withdraw from business for a while in order to recuperate his strength and at the same time to observe from a distance how his sons-in-law acquitted themselves without his support. Therefore he had gone to Holland, staying with one of his ‘best and most intimate friends’ (‘chez ung de mes meilleurs et familiers amis’). This friend was in fact Justus Lipsius, the great humanist, who had been teaching at the university of Leiden since 1578. Plantin's intention had been to stay just a few months in Leiden incognito (‘d'y demeurer quelques mois comme incogneu’). The plan misfired, however: Plantin was immediately recognized and found himself urged from all quarters to remain in Leiden. The most tempting inducements were held out to him until at last he yielded.¹

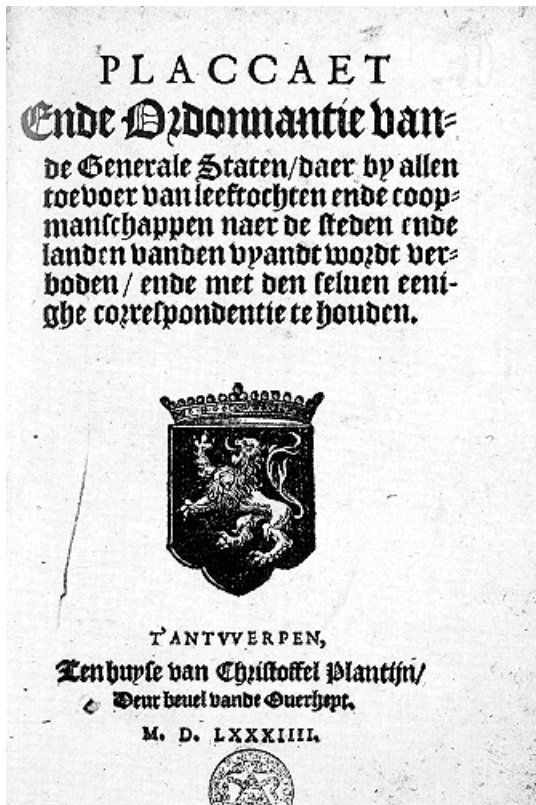
1. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1014, pp. 132-133.

These two main themes, the ‘friend’ who had invited him to Leiden (mention of his name was studiously avoided in most instances as Justus Lipsius was then *persona non grata* with the Spanish authorities)¹ and the change of air ordered by the doctors, are encountered with all kinds of variations in the letters Plantin wrote after his return. In these later letters, however, a further reason was given. Plantin emphasized repeatedly that the Leiden *officina* had saved him and his family from hunger and distress when the parent house had been all but closed down during the siege of Antwerp by Farnese.² This explanation was of course given after the event, although by the end of 1582 a siege of Antwerp was already a foreseeable contingency. The small town of Lier had fallen to the Spanish on 2nd August 1582: Farnese was within a few miles of Antwerp and it did not look as if Orange and the States General would be able to throw him back. Instead of strengthening the rebels, the arrival of the Duke of Anjou with a French army only increased the confusion. The Calvinists disliked this Catholic prince, while the Catholics suspected his ambition; not without reason, as the ‘French Fury’ of January 1583 was soon to show.

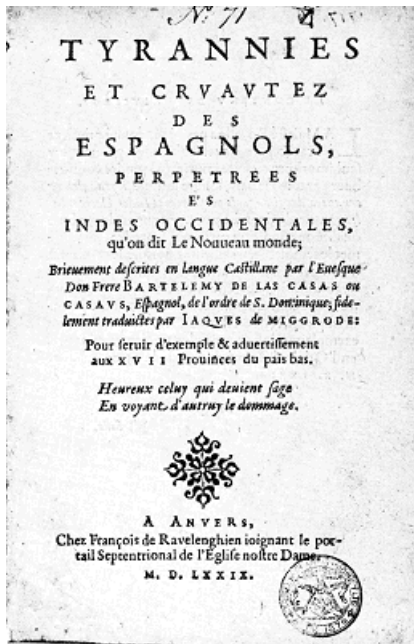
Events had brought Antwerp into the battle-zone, and Plantin's removal to Leiden must be seen in that light. Faced with the menacing Spanish advance and uncertain as to what lay ahead for Antwerp, the printer wanted to set up a reserve press elsewhere which could take over the function of the parent house either temporarily or permanently when the fighting spread to the Brabantine port. The presence of Justus Lipsius in Leiden and this scholar's insistence, and the opportunities which were offered Plantin there undoubtedly made the printer choose the Dutch university town. The desire to escape from the tense atmosphere of Antwerp to a more peaceful place must have driven him to establish and manage the new *officina* in Leiden in person.

While the battle was drawing closer to Antwerp, culminating in the siege that began in June 1584, and while work at the *Officina Plantiniana* was

1. Only in a letter to Sambucus (18th May 1583: *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 178) Plantin mentions explicitly the aid and council of Lipsius (‘...Leidam me contulerim... non sine consilio et opera opeque nostri Lipsii...’).
2. See for example the letters to Frans Lucas, 3rd December 1585 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1049) and to de Çayas, 21st December 1585 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1056).



(28) *Opposite*: When the tide turned and the Spanish armies of the Duke of Parma besieged Antwerp, Jan Moretus and Frans Raphelengius, who managed the Antwerp business during Plantin's absence in Leiden, took the precaution of specifying, on decrees and other matter they printed for the rebel authorities, that publication was by 'Government order'.



(29) Some of the books published by Plantin in the troubled years 1577-85 - those that must have been very compromising in Spanish eyes - do not bear his own name. Instead he issued them under the name of his son-in-law Frans Raphelengius, as is the case with Las Casas's book on the cruelties of the Spanish *conquistadores* in the New World, or even under those of his journeymen Guillaume Rivière, Cornelis de Bruyn, and Nicolaas and Andreas Spore.

gradually slowing down,¹ the printer was building up his Leiden press into quite a flourishing concern. The first book he printed there was the illustrated history of the Counts of Holland by Adriaan Barlandus.² Over thirty other works followed in the course of the two years that Plantin was active in Leiden, principally classical authors, the writings of Justus Lipsius, treatises by Simon Stevin and Petrus Ramus, and some nautical atlases.³

The press in the Assendelft house in the Breestraat was some distance from the university. Although only just settled in Leiden, Plantin managed to obtain permission on 25th May 1583 to 'have a shop built of stone or of wood at his own cost in the precinct of the University in the gateway at the left-hand side of the façade of the aforesaid University, in order to practise the trade of bookselling there'.⁴ He seems also to have augmented his income by giving board and lodging to students.⁵

Leiden and its university had a bad name among the Catholics. They were looked upon - and feared - as one of the chief breeding grounds of Calvinism. Plantin's departure for this 'hotbed of heresy' therefore caused a considerable stir among his Roman Catholic friends. Arias Montanus spared Plantin both reproaches and advice and simply promised that he would continue to comfort his old friend with his letters.⁶ On the other

1. Ten presses and thirty-five workmen in January 1583; six presses, twenty-six workmen in January 1584; six presses, eighteen workmen in January 1585; and one press, four workmen in June 1585.
2. The book was dedicated to the States of Holland, 13th September 1583 (the text is in *Corr.*, VII, no. 1009). In his dedication Plantin very cleverly stressed the great expense he had incurred in coming to Leiden and setting up his press. The authorities took the hint: the States of Holland gave him a grant of 100 fl., while the university senate added another 200 fl. In some copies of the book there must also have been a dedication to the States of the Province of Utrecht, which had contributed 60 fl. Cf. Tiele, 'Les premiers imprimeurs de l'université de Leide', p. 116.
3. On 11th January 1585 Plantin offered the Leiden magistrate a copy of each work which he had printed in the town up to that date. The list of titles of these works, thirty in all, has been preserved and is reproduced in Tiele, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.
4. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 253.
5. According to P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, I, p. 49, n. 1, Plantin's name occurs in the annual census of persons 'qui familiam alunt' [who feed a family] or 'huys-houders' [who keep a boarding-house]. Cf. also P.A.M. Geurts, 'Mr. Willem van Assendelft, kanunnik-schoolmeester te Leiden (1579-1591) en het "Privilegium fori" der universiteit' in *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 6, 1964, pp. 9-10.
6. Letter of 22nd September 1583 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1011).

hand Livinus Torrentius, the vicar-general of Liège referred to earlier, viewed the matter far less serenely and took Plantin severely to task in his letter of 10th October 1583. He went so far as to proffer an alluring bait - the publication of the Vatican Library treasures - in an attempt to direct his friend from iniquitous Leiden to the city of the Popes.¹ Yet in letters to friends and acquaintances the vicar-general was just as vehement in the printer's defence:² Plantin had emphatically assured him that he would remain Catholic and publish only neutral scientific works in heretical Leiden, and Torrentius believed his friend.

Plantin did not betray this confidence. In fact during the period 1583 to 1585 his attitude was much less ambiguous than in the preceding seven years. He may have published a few more of Barrefelt's writings, but for the rest he held to a course of strict neutrality in religion and politics. The Antwerp *officina* provided the only exceptions. Plantin allowed some more Catholic liturgical books to be published there at a time when the Calvinists were in power and his sons-in-law printed some municipal ordinances with an anti-Spanish tinge, taking care, however, to put on the title-pages the words 'Deur bevel vande overheijt' [By command of the authorities].

At Leiden itself Plantin observed the most stringent neutrality. In his later correspondence he repeatedly stressed that he had only established himself in Leiden on the express assurance that he would be allowed to stay out of political and religious controversy. He was equally emphatic that the Leiden authorities had at no time brought pressure to bear on him.

Nevertheless Plantin did stray from the path of neutrality on one occasion in Leiden, and in a manner that must have been greatly displeasing to Philip II. In 1585 the *Explanatio veri ac legitimi juris quo serenissimus Lusitaniae rex Antonius ejus nominis primus nititur ad bellum Philippi regi Castellae, pro regni recuperatione inferendum* was published by the Leiden *officina* together with its Dutch, French and English translations. This text was a defence of the claim of Dom Antonio, natural son of the late Infante Dom Luis, to the Portuguese throne. He had occupied that throne for a brief moment in 1580 but had been driven out by the troops of Philip II, who seized Portugal in his

1. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1012.

2. For example the letter to Gerardus Vossius, or Voss, 17th September 1583 (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 182).

wife's name. The Portuguese pretender was in Holland to seek aid in his struggle with the Spanish monarch. In Spanish eyes the publication of the *Explanatio* was an overt act of high treason.¹

It is hardly surprising that Plantin, after his return to Antwerp, felt himself constrained to justify his conduct in this matter repeatedly and at great length.² This he did with a vehemence and indignation that seem unfeigned this time. Approached by a representative of Dom Antonio to print the pretender's apology, Plantin had flatly refused. Behind his back the Portuguese had then turned to the highest authority in the province, the States of Holland, and in due course Plantin had been expressly commanded to put his printing-press at the disposal of Dom Antonio. The printer explained in detail the stratagem he had employed to proclaim his innocence: whereas all the works he had printed of his own free will bore the words 'ex officina', in this case he had used the phrase 'in officina' to show that such publications 'sont bien faicts en madicte imprimerie mais contre ma volonté'.

Plantin was so incensed by this abuse of their powers by the Dutch States that he immediately made preparations for leaving Leiden. At least this is what he asserted in letters to his Spanish friends after his return to Antwerp. There can be no doubt that the printer was forced against his will to publish Dom Antonio's *Explanatio*: the few guilders that this work brought in were not worth the risk of provoking the Spanish who at that moment had things in their favour in the south and were on the point of entering Antwerp. But to believe that Plantin turned his back on Leiden out of indignation at the conduct of the Dutch authorities is another matter altogether.³ There was another consideration that weighed more heavily: the surrender of Antwerp to the armies of Philip II was imminent.⁴

1. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 236-237; Clair, *Plantin*, pp. 156-157.
2. Cf. for example the letters to de Çayas, 21st December 1585 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1056), and to Charles de Tisnacq, Captain of the Guard of Philip II, 4th July 1587 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1278).
3. In the years 1582 and 1583 the typographer printed several other proclamations of Dom Antonio without formulating any protest - but these pamphlets were published anonymously. What Plantin bothered mostly in the case of the *Explanatio* was the fact that he had to put his name on it.
4. There were undoubtedly additional considerations which crystallized round this main motive. There was, for example, the arrival of the Earl of Leicester and his English troops - which promised to give the war a new virulence - and this must have strengthened Plantin's resolve and hastened his departure. There are hints of this in a few letters, including that written early in November 1585 to Arias Montanus (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1045: 'sub finem Julii videns ego tractari cum Anglis de muandis regionibus in continuatione belli longum et periculosum iter suscipere non sum veritus...') and in a letter to Charles de Tisnacq, 8th May 1586 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1100).

On 21st August 1585 Jan Moretus was ordered by the city magistrate to ‘print and publish abroad the treaty of reconciliation concluded between His Highness the Duke of Parma and this city, both in the French and the Brabant tongues’.¹ Antwerp was capitulating after a long and heroic resistance. On 27th August the victorious Parma entered the city in triumph.

The surrender had been in the offing for several months, and even before it had become a fact Plantin had begun to make ready for his return. The indifference with which he closed down the business he had so carefully built up in the university town and his precipitate departure show clearly that Plantin's heart had never been in Leiden. The *officina* there was only an expedient to keep himself solvent for as long as his establishment in Antwerp was threatened. As soon as that threat seemed to have passed, Plantin promptly forsook Leiden and hastened back to Antwerp.²

The return journey was not accomplished without difficulty. The road to Antwerp had been blocked by the armies of both sides and so Plantin was obliged to take a circuitous route. Early in August he made his way via Amsterdam to Enkhuizen, where he embarked in a ship bound for Hamburg. In the mouth of the Elbe, however, this vessel was driven back into the open sea by a roaring north-easterly gale. A second attempt the following day was no more successful: at the same place in the estuary the voyagers were once again struck by a storm. For four days they wallowed helplessly in the grip of the raging elements, while around them they saw several other ships go down. But at last Hamburg was reached safely.

The long journey over land to Frankfurt was slow but uneventful and the city was reached in time for the Book Fair. Plantin intended to stay until

1. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1037. The French edition was in fact published ‘De l'imprimerie de Christophe Plantin’. The Brabant (Flemish) version was printed without the name of the printer, but it came certainly from the Plantin press. Another Flemish version was supplied by an Antwerp colleague, Daniel Vervliet.
2. Leaving his wife behind. Jeanne Rivière, who had accompanied her husband to Leiden, was not able to return to Antwerp until May 1586. See the letter to Arias Montanus, 22nd May 1586 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1103).

the end of the fair so as to be able to complete all his business there, but his friend Luis Perez sent him word from Cologne that Antwerp had surrendered. The Spanish merchant asked Plantin to return with him to the liberated city. Joyfully Plantin left the Frankfurt Fair and hurried to Cologne, only to find on arrival that there were no waggons available and - what was even more important - no escorts. A military escort was essential for the journey through the Southern Netherlands, made unsafe by deserters and brigands. The impatient Plantin and Perez had to await the end of the fair and the arrival in Cologne of the crowd of merchants on their way home to the Netherlands. In a convoy of thirty waggons escorted by heavily armed soldiers, they travelled by way of Liège (where Livinus Torrentius welcomed the friends most cordially), Louvain, Brussels (where Plantin took time off to call on various ‘patroni’; these were probably highly placed officials), and so home to Antwerp.¹

In the second half of October 1585 Plantin was back in his *Gulden Passer* in the Vrijdagmarkt.²

The Leiden episode was over.

‘From our once flourishing press’ (1585-1589)³

Plantin was safely back in an Antwerp that was once more obedient to the Spanish king. He does not seem to have worried unduly about how he would be received. His Spanish and pro-Spanish friends and his patrons at the court of Madrid had long since forgiven him for his vacillating attitude in the years 1576 to 1583 and had accepted his reasons for his exodus to the hotbed of Calvinism in the north. Even de Çayas, the royal secretary, had continued writing to him in his Dutch abode, and from this centre of resistance to Philip II, Plantin kept up his tedious refrain of complaint about the heavy losses he had suffered working for his sovereign and continued to press for just remuneration. When, shortly after his return to Antwerp,

1. Plantin wrote long accounts of this memorable journey in letters to friends and patrons. Examples are the letter of early November 1585 to Arias Montanus (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1045) and that of 28th November 1585 to de Çayas (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1047).
2. Plantin's earliest (extant) letter from Antwerp, addressed to Torrentius, is dated 28th October 1585 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1041).
3. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 241 sqq.; Clair, *Plantin*, pp. 161-178.

Plantin was summoned to the presence of Philip's regent, Alexander Farnese, it was not to vindicate his conduct but to draft a detailed report of his financial dealings with the king and a statement of what the royal exchequer owed him.¹

Plantin was able to set to work again without much trouble. The man who had sung the praises of William of Orange found himself protected once more by Philip's high officers of state; the printer to the Duke of Anjou and the States General was invited to take lunch with the new governor of Antwerp, Frédéric Perrenot, lord of Champagny and younger brother of Cardinal Granvelle.² For a time malicious rumours were put about concerning Plantin's religious attitude at Leiden, rumours that could have done him serious harm. He was accused of having taken part in Calvinist ceremonies. Plantin was able to nip this dangerous whispering campaign in the bud, however, for an old friend, Walter van der Stegen, a canon of Antwerp Cathedral and at that time the representative of the Inquisitor in the Netherlands, had already written him a testimonial to his Catholic orthodoxy, couched in the warmest terms, on 19th October 1585.³

Plantin's rivals later circulated more of such rumours on a number of occasions, even spreading them at the court of Madrid, but the printer's friends always came vociferously to his defence: Walter van der Stegen, Livinus Torrentius (who became Bishop of Antwerp in 1586), Arias Montanus, de Çayas, Granvelle, and others smothered these campaigns before they could become virulent.⁴ Not for one moment after his return to Antwerp did Plantin have cause to feel uneasy on account of his past political or religious conduct. Calmly, and as if it were the obvious thing to do, he started using the title of royal printer again, styling himself 'Drucker der Conincklijcke Maiesteijt' and 'Imprimeur du Roy'. At the same time the new magistrate of Antwerp appointed by the Spanish authorities readily con-

1. Letters to de Çayas, 1st December 1585 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1048) and Michel Baius, 5th December 1585 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1051).
2. Letter to Stephanus Winandus Pighius, 27th July 1586 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1120).
3. Cf. Plantin's letter of 28th October 1585 to Torrentius (see p. 113, n. 2) and Van der Stegen's letter of 10th June 1587 to Arias Montanus (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1265).
4. Cf. for example the letter of 1st February 1586 from Arias Montanus (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1071), to Arias Montanus, 3rd-7th June 1587 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1263), and Van der Stegen's letter of 10th June 1587 to Arias Montanus (see previous note).

firmed Plantin in his position as city printer on 1st October 1586 with the same conditions as had been granted by the rebel corporation in 1579.¹

Although the past gave Plantin no cause for anxiety, the present and the future held an abundance of trouble. One problem which was solved quickly and satisfactorily was that of the Leiden press. This had been closed on Plantin's departure, but the equipment and the stocks of books and paper left behind there in the care of his wife represented a by no means inconsiderable capital asset, quite apart from the Assendelft property and the smaller premises that had been acquired later. There was a very real danger that the Dutch authorities would seize Plantin's Leiden property as a reprisal for his 'defection to the enemy'. Plantin's competitors certainly approached the government of Holland with this possibility in mind, presumably in the hope of taking over the press on very favourable terms.²

Plantin countered this move swiftly and adroitly. His scholarly son-in-law Frans Raphelengius, the specialist in Oriental languages who for many years had been his principal proof-reader and had managed the Antwerp press while his father-in-law was in Leiden, had been converted to Calvinism in the period 1579-85. He had also had some of the children baptized in the new faith.³ This must have led to friction and tension within the family, for his wife Margareta and two of their children remained loyal to the old religion. Nevertheless the family ties remained unbroken. After the surrender of Antwerp it would have been possible for Raphelengius to have sought reconciliation with the Spanish king and the Catholic church, but even if he had done this he would still have remained rather under a cloud. On the other hand his convictions would ensure him a welcome in the North.

For want of facts it cannot be said what exactly went on behind the scenes or how far Justus Lipsius was once more involved in Plantinian affairs, but early in 1586 Raphelengius and his family appeared in Leiden.⁴ On

1. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1146. In January 1586 Plantin had pressed the magistrate for payment of the two years' arrears which the city owed him (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1070).
2. Cf. the letters to Arias Montanus, 23rd December 1586 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1179, p. 103), to de Çayas, 31st January 1587 (*ibid.*, no. 1204, p. 142), and to Andreas Schottus, 26th August 1587 (*ibid.*, no. 1295, p. 283).
3. It is more likely that Frans Raphelengius was converted to the Calvinist faith in Antwerp than, as is usually assumed, in Leiden. Cf. L. Voet, 'Het Plantijnse huis te Leiden', p. 14, note 3.
4. On 17th January 1586 Frédéric Perrenot, Seigneur of Champagney and Governor of Antwerp, endorsed a passport to Holland for 'Frans Raphelengius, his wife, two children, and a servant'. Cf. C. Clair, 'Plantiniana in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum and at the Public Records Office' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, p. 114.

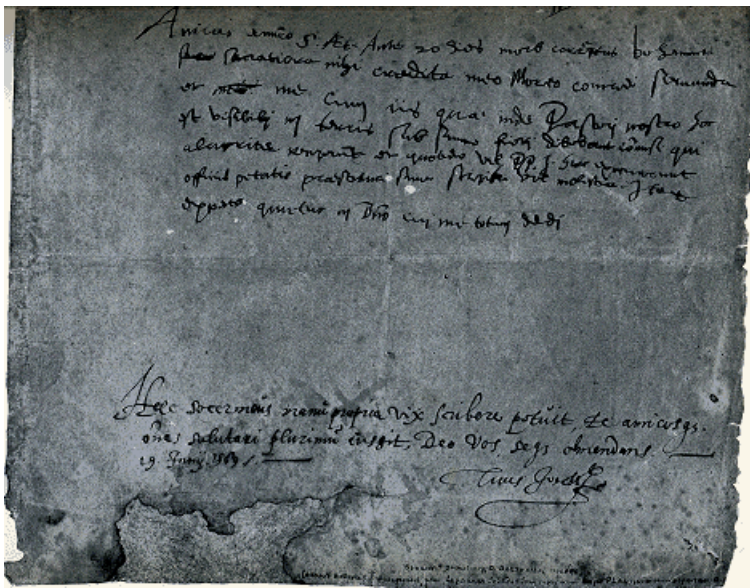
3rd March 1586 he succeeded his father-in-law as university printer with the same salary of 200 fl. a year. In the course of that same year he began to deputize for the professor of Hebrew, Johannes Drusius, who had been appointed to the Academy at Franeker, and in 1587 he himself was promoted to professor.¹

On 26th November 1585 Plantin sold the printing-press, houses and all his other possessions in Leiden to his son-in-law.² This was a sale in name only: when Plantin died in 1589 all this property was included in his estate. But by this fictitious sale the appearance of legality was preserved, the danger of confiscation was averted and the Leiden *officina* could operate again. According to what Plantin later declared - not without a certain pride - the Dutch authorities were anxious to keep the name of Plantin associated with the Leiden press. This being so Frans Raphelengius was able to fix his own terms, the same terms that Plantin had asked for and obtained, namely that he should only be required to print academic works, not books on controversial religious or political topics.

How far this statement was correct and to what extent it was Plantin who in fact dictated his son-in-law's demands and controlled the business from Antwerp cannot be ascertained. What is ascertainable is that from 1586 Plantin's former press at Leiden was known as the *Officina Plantiniana apud Franciscum Raphelengium* and that only academic works were printed there.

It was at Antwerp itself that difficulties were piling up. Plantin's joy at being home again was naturally mingled with the hope that the tide would soon turn in economic affairs too and business prosper once more. However, the good old days were not to return. Antwerp remained a front-line town. The Scheldt was still blockaded and deserters, marauders, bandits, and raiding parties from the army of the States General operated under the very walls of the towns, crippling trade. Paper was brought in slowly and with difficulty, doubling and trebling in price. On the other hand, books

1. Concerning Raphelengius, see pp. 150-151.
2. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 238.



(30) *Opposite*: After having been confined to his bed for twenty days Plantin, with unsteady hand, wrote recommending his son-in-law Jan Moretus to Justus Lipsius (first seven lines on document). Jan Moretus sent the document to Lipsius on 19th June 1589 after adding some words of explanation in Latin (three lines and signature on lower part of document). When Jan Woverius found the letter among Lipsius's papers he gave it to Balthasar I Moretus on 30th April 1621, after adding the note at the bottom.

could only be exported under the same adverse conditions. Consignments were an unconscionable time on the road and packages regularly went astray. In March 1586 Jan Dresseler, Plantin's agent, was kidnapped between Brussels and Namur on his way to the Frankfurt Fair and was not released until a ransom had been paid.¹ Matters were not improved when fighting broke out in France in 1587. The 'War of the three Henrys', and the struggle between Henry of Bourbon and the League that followed it, ruined one of Plantin's principal outlets and made communications with Spain worse than before.

The printer's joy and hope were snuffed out. The future was bleak and without prospect; the Plantinian press would never again flourish as the greatest of its kind in the world, but would be brought to stagnation by straitened circumstances. The blow came doubly hard after the surge of optimism that the capture of Antwerp by the King's troops had occasioned. It fell on a weary, aged, and exhausted man. From this time on many of Plantin's letters ended with the melancholy and bitter words 'From our once flourishing press'.²

Plantin had practically given up his publishing activities in 1576. By force of circumstance he was once again a printer working to order, as in his difficult early years. This must have been unspeakably galling to the ambitious

1. Cf. letters to de Çayas, 21st March 1586 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1081) and to Arias Montanus, 1st April 1586 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1086).
2. With all kinds of variations in French and Latin: 'D'Anvers, en nostre jadis florissante et ores flaitrissante Imprimerie' [from Antwerp, in our once flourishing and now fading press]; 'de nostre caducque Imprimerie' [from our decaying press]; 'de nostre imprimerie (jadis riches et ores fort pauvre)' [from our press - once rich and now very poor]; 'de nostre imprimerie riche de presses et de caracteres mais pauvres pour les employer autrement qu'au plus grand profit d'autrui que de moymesmes' [from our printing office, rich in presses and founts, but too poor to employ them except to the great profit of others]; and so on. Cf. for example *Corr.*, VII, nos. 1097, 1100, 1109, and 1111; *Corr.*, VIII-IX, nos. 1127, 1150, 1241, 1287, 1305, 1309, 1322, 1336, 1341, 1343, and 1396. Most of these letters were addressed to influential patrons who were in a position to help Plantin in his need (Arias Montanus and de Çayas were exceptions to this general rule: Plantin omitted such expressions in the numerous letters he exchanged with them) or were intended for authors or clients whose unreasonable demands or requests needed moderating. Nevertheless Plantin's letters to Ditlevius Silvius, 9th August 1586 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1127) and to Ferdinand Ximenes, 8th August 1587 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1287) really seem to have been cries from the heart. Cf. L. Voet, 'The personality of Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, p. 206, note 1.

typographer, but in the years 1576 to 1585, when he was still sustained by the hope of better times, this was only very occasionally reflected in his letters. Now hope failed him: Plantin, the greatest printer of his age, was to end his days as the ‘hireling’ of more fortunate competitors.

On 28th November 1585 he unburdened his soul in a letter to de Çayas:¹ ‘For to confess the truth, for a number of years the expenses I have borne and the payments of interest I have made have reduced me to such need and poverty that my labours, with only the reputation of my name have supported and fed me for the sole benefit of several booksellers in Paris, Lyons, Cologne, and elsewhere, which, for the help of my printing-press, my name, and my toil, grant me money and paper for the expenses of the books that I print, which they take back and sell to their own private profit: there remaining for me only the rewards of my work as a hireling, some small numbers of copies for display, and the fame which by the grace of God I have maintained and preserved with great difficulty to the present day to the honour of His Majesty and the Christian commonwealth.’² From that time on the theme of the ‘hireling’ and the ‘slave’ occurred with monotonous regularity in Plantin's letters.³

Nevertheless his printer's mark still bore the motto *Labore et Constantia* and Plantin struggled grimly on. The four men and one press that he found working in the *Gulden Passer* in October 1585 were gradually increased

1. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1047.
2. Original French text: ‘Car pour confesser la vérité il y a desja quelque nombre d'années que je suis par tant de fraiz faicts et intérests payés reduict à telle nécessité et pauvreté que mes travaux avec la seule réputation de mon nom m'entretiennent et nourrissent simplement au seul profict de quelques libraires de Paris, de Lyon, de Cologne et d'autres lieux, lesquels s'aidants de mon Imprimerie, de mon nom et de mes labeurs me baillent argent et papiers pour fournir aux despends des livres que j'imprime, lesquels ils retirent à soy et les vendent à leur seul et particulier profict: sans qu'il m'en demeure que le simple loyer du labeur comme mercenaire, quelque petit nombre d'exemplaires pour monstre et le renom que par la grace de Dieu fort difficilement j'ay entretenu jusques à présent et conservé à l'honneur de sa Majesté et de la république chrestienne.’
3. Cf. for example letters to the Bishop of Tournai, 2nd January 1586 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1063), to F. Bonhomius, 31st January 1586 (*ibid.*, no. 1069), Arias Montanus, 14th May 1586 (*ibid.*, no. 1101), de Çayas, 14th May 1586 (*ibid.*, no. 1102), F. Lucas, 13th June 1586 (*ibid.*, no. 1112), H. Gravius, 28th June 1586 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1115), N. Oudartius, 18th July 1586 (*ibid.*, no. 1119), de Çayas, 1st August 1586 (*ibid.*, no. 1125), F. Lucas, 20th-26th September 1586 (*ibid.*, no. 1141), and de Çayas, 31st January 1587 (*ibid.*, no. 1204).

again.¹ He succeeded in keeping up the impressive rate of production of forty volumes a year, helped by his French and German business contacts and the money advanced by his authors; in a few cases he was even able to shoulder the cost of production himself. In addition he published a number of works that could bear comparison with the best that he had produced: a Spanish edition, published at his own risk, of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Ortelius; a new Italian edition of L. Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*; a new edition of Kiliaan's dictionary; a number of liturgical books; Cardinal Baronius's *Martyrologium Romanum*, which appeared in 1589 and was the last monumental work that Plantin produced; and the first part of the prelate's *magnum opus*, the famous *Annales Ecclesiastici*.

Plantin is also said to have established a branch in Salamanca in this period.² It was on a modest scale and set up more by chance than by design, and not by Plantin but by his son-in-law Jan Moretus. Jan Poelman, son of Plantin's long-time friend Theodoor, who had served the printer for about fourteen years in his bookshop, wished himself to establish in Spain as a bookseller.³ On 1st August 1586 he signed an agreement with Jan Moretus concerning the sale of Plantinian editions in the Peninsula.⁴ The only financial contribution that Moretus made towards the venture was the transfer of the sum of 4,313 fl. that Poelman owed him for a previous transaction. Like Plantin himself, this enterprising young man from Antwerp had to contend with a chronic shortage of capital which severely restricted his activities, while at the same time the difficult communications between the Low Countries and Spain were hardly conducive to a flourishing trade.⁵

1. Three presses and 11 men in January 1586; 6 presses, 18 men in January 1587; 6 presses, 22 men in January 1588; but 4 presses, 7 men in January 1589.
2. Concerning this 'branch' see Rooses, *Musée*, p. 172. More details are also given in Vol. II.
3. Or rather establish himself again in Spain: in a letter of 17th December 1581 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 965) Plantin had recommended his former servant to Francisco Sanchez de las Brozas (Sanctius Brocensis), professor at the University of Salamanca, stating that Jan Poelman had gone into partnership with a Spanish merchant and wished to set up a bookshop in Spain. From the contract with Jan Moretus it is clear that before 1585 Poelman actually had had a bookshop in Salamanca.
4. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1123.
5. Cf. the correspondence conducted between Poelman and Plantin or Jan Moretus: *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1135 (13th September 1586), no. 1251 (3rd May 1587), no. 1285 (22nd July 1587), no. 1292 (22nd August 1587), no. 1299 (3rd-5th September 1587), no. 1353 (6th March 1588), and no. 1493 (19th August 1589). Deliveries to Poelman up to 2nd May 1587 were worth 4,458 fl. 15½ st. (Arch. 19, folio 162). Cf. also p. 200.

The Salamanca branch did not play a very important part in the affairs of the *Gulden Passer*.

Living up to his motto, Plantin fought desperately to maintain his position as a printer and pay off his debts. He borrowed the large sum of 6,000 fl. at Frankfurt, depositing the greater part of his punches and matrices as security.¹ He continued to worry Philip II for remuneration for the debts he had incurred in the royal service. At the beginning of 1589, after countless petitions and investigations by government commissioners and special committees, Plantin was able to enjoy the bitter-sweet consolation of a lump sum of 1,000 fl. - an ‘alms’ as he himself called it.²

The end, however, was approaching. For many years Plantin had been afflicted with calculus and colics. The pains grew worse with advancing age, and the economic depression must have undermined both his moral and physical powers of resistance. From 1586 he was a mere shadow of what he once had been. Jan Moretus had to take on an ever-increasing share of the management of the business. Precautions were taken: Moretus obtained the necessary royal patent on 27th February 1587 so that he could immediately assume responsibility for the *officina* if Plantin were to die suddenly.³

Until this time Plantin had put his year of birth at about 1520; in 1583 he was still giving his age as 63. Five years later, in 1588, he suddenly made himself 11 years older.⁴ If there is any truth in the saying that a man is as old as he feels then this was a significant symptom.

Death was drawing swiftly near. On 28th May 1589, after returning from mass, the printer had to go to bed. He was not to leave it again. The diagnosis of his doctors has been preserved, but it leaves much to be desired where clarity is concerned: ‘le mal estoit advenu par ung coacervation de

1. Letters to de Çayas, 18th February 1588 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1350) and 8th March 1588 (*ibid.*, no. 1354).
2. See for example *Corr.*, VII, nos. 1052, 1054, 1055, 1086, 1087, 1093, 1095, 1109, 1110; *Corr.*, VIII-IX, nos. 1204, 1205, 1226, 1235, 1254, 1279, 1283, 1350, 1354, 1360, 1364, 1373, 1376, 1380, 1397, 1424, 1439, 1445, and 1447. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 242-243.
3. Arch. 1183, no. 2. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 244. He had already been accepted as a master printer by the Guild of St. Luke on 6th August 1586 (P. Rombouts and T. van Lerijs, *De liggeren... der Antwerpsche Sint-Lucasgilde*, I, p. 295).
4. Cf. pp. 4-5.

flegmes au costé droict par dedans le corps lesquels ayant engendré la quelque apostume luy ont donné de trèsgrandes douleurs'.¹ Eight days later Plantin was contending with a high fever. On 19th June, in a barely legible hand, he wrote his last words, commending his loyal son-in-law Jan Moretus to Justus Lipsius and other good friends.² On 23rd June Livinus Torrentius informed a friend that this time there was no hope of recovery. The printer's exhausted body was losing the struggle.³ Plantin too knew that the end was near, but without complaint and with inexhaustible patience and strength of spirit he endured great pain, remaining fully conscious to the last.

He died in the early hours of 1st July. About midnight he gave his blessing and last words of good counsel to the members of his family gathered round the bed: 'mes enfants tenés tousjours Paix, Amour et Concorde par ensemble.' A little later, still quite conscious, he conversed with the Jesuit, Father Matthias, who was watching with the family. Then he said softly 'O Jesu' and sank back. For a moment those present thought that he had fainted away. But Plantin had gone. 'Et cecy advint le premier de Juillet [1589] du matin à trois heures. Triste matinée pour nous en laquelle avons perdu ung si bon pere, perte irrestaurable si ce n'est par labeur et constance, vertus par lesquelles il s'est vraiment acquis ung tel renom qui ne perira pas bien tost.'⁴

Four days later, on 4th July, the royal printer was buried in the ambulatory of Antwerp Cathedral. In 1591 the family placed a memorial plaque and a triptych on a pillar beside the tomb. The plaque bore a Latin inscription composed by Justus Lipsius. One of the side panels of the triptych showed Plantin with his son who had died in infancy, the other Jeanne Rivière and

1. Jan Moretus's letter of 6th July 1589 to Garnier, secretary to Philip II (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1480).
2. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1475. See plate 30.
3. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 218.
4. Letter to Garnier, 6th July 1589 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1480). Jan Moretus described the last days and death of his father-in-law in generally similar terms in letters to d'Assonleville, 5th July 1589 (*ibid.*, no. 1479), to Gonzales Ponce de Leon, 8th July 1589 (*ibid.*, no. 1481), and to Ferdinand Ximenes, 18th July 1589 (*ibid.*, no. 1486). The letters to Arias Montanus, de Çayas and other Spanish friends and patrons have been lost. The younger F. Raphelengius, who was staying in Antwerp at the time, also gave details of his grandfather's illness and death in a letter to J. Colius Ortelianus, 8th July 1589 (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 220).

the daughters. The plaque was destroyed in 1798, but the Moretus family replaced it with a new one in Neoclassical style in 1819. The triptych escaped destruction and is still in the cathedral.¹ Naturally the compasses and the device *Labore et Constantia* appeared both on the tombstone itself and the plaque. They also appeared in the *Epigrammata Funebria ad Christophori Plantini Architypographi Regii Manes*, published by the *officina* in 1590. This was a memorial album containing tributes by scholars to the man who had so often served them. There were poems by Joannes Bochius, the learned town clerk of Antwerp; Joannes Livinaeus; Nicolas Oudartius; the Austrian Michel Aitzinger; Joannes Posthius, physician to the Count Palatine; Lambertus Schenk; Cornelis Kiliaan, Plantin's aged collaborator; and by Plantin's grandson, the younger Frans Raphelengius.²

Much more moving than this rather formal and high-flown official tribute were the words of solace that Plantin's spiritual mentor Barrefelt addressed to the family³ and in particular the letters of his old friend Arias Montanus, who every time he wrote to Jan Moretus mourned the passing of 'the other half of my soul'.⁴

1. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 246.
2. Cf. L. Le Clercq, 'Une requête autographe de L.-Th. Schenckels' in *De Gulden Passer*, 16-17, 1938-1939, pp. 21-27. For other poems on Plantin's death see: Sabbe, 'De humanistische opleiding van Plantin's kleinkinderen' in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, 1928, pp. 24-26 (three poems in Latin by Christoffel Vladeraccus and his sons, Joannes and Petrus); L. Willems, 'Een gedicht van Jonker Jan vander Noot op den dood van Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 14, 1936, pp. 43-46; and *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 289 (an epitaph by A. Pevernage, choirmaster of Antwerp Cathedral).
3. For example on 16th July 1589 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1485).
4. Cf. the letter of 3rd January 1590 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1515). See also Jan Moretus's letter of 29th October 1589 to Arias Montanus (*ibid.*, no. 1506). Justus Lipsius too expressed his sorrow and grief at the passing of the man 'whom he had loved more than any other and who had loved him more faithfully than any other person'. In another letter he was to declare: 'If the race of Plantin were to fail, I should no longer be able to believe in a single mortal. I extend to all his kindred that faith and trust which the deceased inspired in me during his life' (Rooses, *Musée*, p. 228).

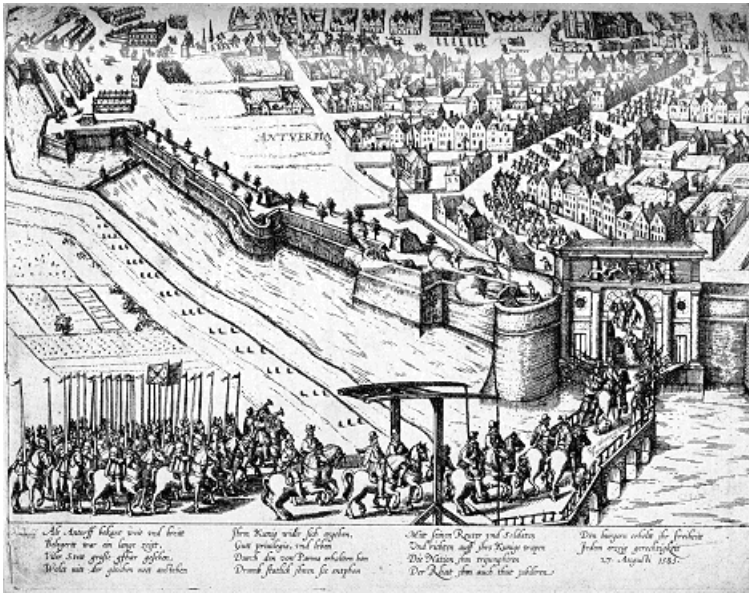
Plantin the man

Christophe Plantin's importance in cultural history will be discussed later in this work, but this chapter dedicated to the founder of the *Gulden Passer* cannot be concluded without a closer look at the man Plantin.¹ This man has been variously judged. The most devastating criticism is that made by the Dutchman, Dr. F. Schneider, in *De voorgeschiedenis van de 'Algemeene Landsdrukkerij'*, 1939: 'On that day [1st July 1589] a truly great man died. A capitalist of genius as Pirenne called him - a judgment in which we readily concur. It is necessary, however, immediately to qualify this by pointing out that his genius had a very marked opportunist streak, especially during the period (which we have already discussed) when he was printer to the States General. The impression cannot be avoided that his printing-press, which counted for more than anything else with Plantin, managed him rather than that he managed it. To adapt Plantin's *verba ipsissima* quoted above, the press was for him a very chasm or abyss, into the mouth of which, by dint of much stubborn and uninterrupted toil, he was obliged to throw everything, even his own convictions. Even if this monster (the press) did not devour its master, it did consume his constancy, in the sense that he preferred to keep himself afloat on the stormy political seas of his day by tacking and trimming, rather than by holding resolutely to a chosen course. His motto "Labore et Constantia" applies to the printer, to whom we are grateful for his contribution to cultural history, not to the man.' In a footnote Dr. Schneider completes his abrasive presentation of the case for the prosecution with an attack on one of Plantin's advocates: 'I am fully aware that I have depicted Plantin differently from what is customary. Sabbe begins his book *De meesters van den Gulden Passer*: "There is no museum in the world where a particular period of history lives on so completely and poignantly as in the Plantin-Moretus Museum in the peaceful, picturesque Antwerp Vrijdagmarkt." The word "poignant" betrays a too subjective view of Plantin. We must guard against being bewitched by the Plantinian atmosphere - Sabbe's "pious aura" - which can so easily blur reality.'²

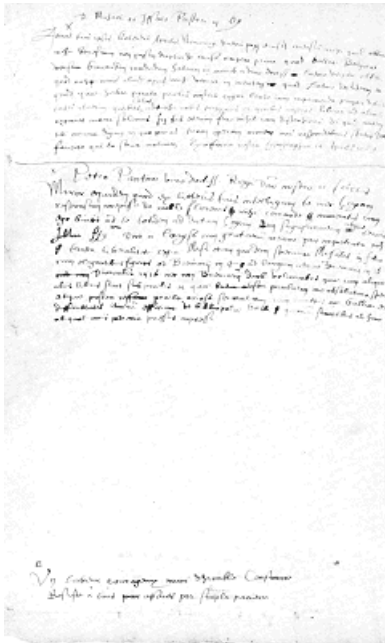
1. Concerning Plantin as a person, particularly his character and opinions, see Rooses, *Musée*; M. Sabbe, 'Christoffel Plantin. Een levensbeeld', and *De meesters van den Gulden Passer*; H. Bouchery, 'Aanteekeningen'; L. Voet, 'The personality of Plantin'; and C. Clair, *Plantin*.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

In the opinion of the author, Dr. Schneider's harsh judgment can only be described as unjust - even if to do so invites the accusation that yet another writer has fallen victim to the 'pious aura' surrounding the Plantin House. The Dutch scholar completed his work in 1939. If he were writing today, after the upheavals of the Second World War, he might possibly express a more subtly shaded opinion. It should never be forgotten that Plantin lived in troubled times, in a land torn by war. From 1566 to his death in 1589 that war was raging fiercely and continuously. Fortunes and governments changed: sometimes the King was in power, sometimes the rebels. A minority of the inhabitants of the Netherlands sided with the rebels from the outset; another small section just as resolutely remained loyal to Philip II. The majority, however, played a waiting game and then followed - with varying degrees of enthusiasm - the party that was faring best. Plantin belonged to that majority. He flirted with the Spanish King and he flirted with the leaders of the revolt, attempting in both cases to gain some benefit for himself. His actions in pursuance of this policy were opportunist and not always free of ambiguity, but in themselves they were fairly innocuous. All they amounted to was an attempt to stay solvent in a difficult period. Plantin was no wily 'collaborator' seeking to fish in troubled waters, nor was he a cunning financial genius trying to make a fortune from the miseries and confusions of war. He was simply a businessman with financial worries who, caught in the midst of a furious political and religious conflict, tried to make the best of a bad situation. Plantin certainly trimmed and tacked - but did he thereby violate his own principles as Dr. Schneider so categorically avers? In assessing Plantin's character this question is more important than what the printer actually did.

Plantin was a Frenchman by birth. He did not settle in the Netherlands until he was about 30 and he never severed his connections with his native land: his sojourns in France were numerous and lengthy. There are reasons for supposing that he liked Antwerp and soon felt completely at home there, but as far as it is possible to judge, his patriotism remained purely local and did not extend beyond the confines of his adopted city itself. He could view political affairs in the Netherlands much more dispassionately than those who had been born and brought up there - and could attempt to turn this detachment to his own advantage. Plantin had no particular reason to



(32) The entry of the Duke of Parma's troops into Antwerp. Etching by Frans Hogenberg. The defenders of the city capitulated on very honourable terms that were strictly adhered to by the victors. On 27th August 1585 Parma's soldiers entered the city, maintaining perfect discipline and order. Not a single incident was reported.



(33) 'Un labour courageux muni d'humble constance resiste a tous assauts par douce patience'
 Verse written by Plantin in 1589, a few months before his death, at the foot of a page in the book in which copies were made of letters dispatched from the *officina*.

be more patriotic than the majority of the inhabitants of the Netherlands and risk his life and his business by supporting the States General party through thick and thin. He could, without sacrificing his principles, calmly deliberate and decide whether working with the rebels was politically and financially justifiable.

On the other hand, was he not morally obliged to serve the Spanish cause to the last? Philip II provided Plantin with opportunity that enabled him to become the greatest typographer of the age, but the monarch did not do this just to oblige his printer. Philip II expected value for his money, and that is what Plantin gave him. The relations between king and printer were always realistic and business-like; details have already been given which show that for Plantin the relationship was not an unmixed blessing, and his indebtedness to his royal master was by no means unqualified. Too much blame should not be imputed to the man for the fact that the printer followed a policy of careful - and remunerative - neutrality in a chaotic period. His actions were not in conflict with his conscience.

The question now arises: what kind of a man was Plantin? In his study *Christoffel Plantin. Een Levensbeeld*, Maurice Sabbe analyses Rubens's portrait of the founder of the *Officina Plantiniana*: 'Plantin has the shrewd, thoughtful head of a Huguenot or of some kind of ascetic layman, but at the same time the striking features and lively eyes of an adroitly diplomatic, practical businessman. There is something of fanaticism in that face, evidence of an intense spiritual life, and yet also something coldly cerebral and calculating, telling of an acute, indomitable desire to win an honourable place for himself in society.'¹

It is perhaps presuming too much to deduce these two facets of character from the physiognomy of a portrait; Sabbe's analysis depends more on Plantin's correspondence than on Rubens's likeness. That correspondence does in fact reveal that there were two Plantins: one a canny businessman, the other a soaring mystic. But these two aspects of Plantin were not kept rigidly apart. The businessman always let himself be guided by the lofty principles of the mystic, although he often found himself obliged to come to terms with the hard realities of daily life. As a businessman Plantin had waited on the mighty of this earth. He rendered such patrons all kinds of

1. M. Sabbe, 'Christoffel Plantin. Een levensbeeld' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, p. 6.

small services and flattered their pride in pompous dedications in the books he published. He wrote letters full of adulation to numerous other prominent persons, but in this Plantin was only following the custom of his age. It should be pointed out that his letters never degenerated into servile and vulgar obsequiousness, and if the exalted gentlemen asked for things that were not convenient for Plantin, he did not hesitate to refuse - albeit diplomatically.

Sometimes he stretched the truth a little in these letters. This also occurred - with monotonous regularity - in the many letters in which Plantin complained of his impoverished condition and implored Philip and other patrons for compassion and help. It might be deduced from Plantin's correspondence that he was perpetually on the verge of bankruptcy and that it was only by miracle that he remained solvent. It cannot be denied that he had to contend with serious financial troubles, although his accounts show plainly enough that he painted a much gloomier picture than was justifiable. Plantin's letters should be taken and interpreted with a judicious pinch of salt where money problems are concerned. Yet what businessman ever admitted to his debtors or creditors that he was doing well? Plantin was acting in one of the oldest and most tested business traditions.¹

Plantin was very proud of the business that he had built up from nothing and of 'the fame of his name',² something that he can hardly be blamed for, but his expression of this pride was never arrogant. Only once, in a petition to the Antwerp magistrate dated 17th May 1577, did he adopt a conceited tone concerning his forerunners and contemporaries in the trade:³ 'He [Plantin] has always endeavoured (as is the duty of every good citizen) to undertake and to do those things which were honourable and profitable to this town; but also agreeable to each and every one. In which God has so blessed his toil; chiefly in the art of printing; so that Antwerp printings (which had formerly been taken as a byword among neighbouring nations for things that were of little worth) have since been admired, prized, and sought after for the name of Antwerp and Plantin: not only by the neighbouring regions and people of middle quality; but also by foreign nations,

1. Cf. L. Voet, 'The personality of Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, pp. 206-209.
2. 'Relation d'aucuns griefz', 31st December 1583 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1014).
3. *Corr.*, V, no. 761.

and by the greatest lords of Europe, both Spiritual and Temporal.’¹ In this case Plantin was trying to obtain a favour from the city government, and this explains his unusual tone.

Plantin's business methods were not those of an unscrupulous commercial adventurer. His success was essentially based on his zest and capacity for work, honesty, sound intelligence, and clear-sightedness. He allowed no one to take him in. He once gave Egidius Beys the following advice:² ‘... or it may be that people want to make you believe things other than the truth, which is the way of some people and especially of those who live in Paris, to boast a great deal and always magnify matters ten times. But do likewise yourself, and if they tell you something of this nature, act coolly and keep your peace, patiently awaiting the outcome, and more often than not you will discover their talk to be mere prattle.’³

Plantin was no weakling and could give a good account of himself when necessary, although he was always open to reconciliation and agreement: ‘Mais je prise beaucoup paix et accord et vaux mieux gagner moins en paix que plus en fâcherie.’⁴ He acted in this spirit when a fellow-printer, Peter Bellerus, raised difficulties over payment for a consignment of books:⁵ ‘My amazement is boundless at so much trickery in making up accounts and such impertinence in calling negotiations and agreements into question. But I no longer wish to argue about the past, but hope by God's good grace to guard against this in the future. As for the Concordances [i.e. the books in

1. Original French text: ‘il [Plantin] a tousjours tasché (selon le debvoir de bon citoyen) non seulement d'entreprendre et faire choses qui fussent honorables et profitables à ceste ville; mais aussi agreables à ung chascun. En quoy Dieu a tellement favorisé ses labeurs assiduz; principalement en l'art de l'Imprimerie; que l'Impression d'Anvers (dont les mots estoynnt au paravant usurpez par les nations voysines comme ung proverbe de chose de peu d'estime) a depuis esté admirée, prisée, et recherchée d'un chascun sur ledit nom d'Anvers et de Plantin: non seulement par les voysins et gens de moyenne qualité: mais aussi par les estranges nations, et par les plus grands Seigneurs de l'Europe, tant Ecclésiastiques que Séculiers.’
2. In a letter of 31st July 1567 (*Corr.*, I, no. 71).
3. Original French text: ‘... ou bien qu'on vous veille (faire) accroire autres choses que la vérité qui est la coustume de plusieurs, et principalement de ceux qui hantent à Paris, de se vanter beaucoup et dire toujours cent pour dix. Mais usés de réciproque, et s'ils vous disent quelque chose telle, tenés vous froid et coy, attendant l'issue avec patience, et vous trouverés leur babil estre vray babil le plus souvent.’
4. Letter to Egidius Beys, 1567 (*Corr.*, I, no. 98, p. 218).
5. Reply to Jan Moretus, June 1581? (*Corr.*, VI, no. 934).

question] I want it to be finished as soon as possible in order to have done with the past, and then after that I will do what I can: although I am in no way beholden to supply him any of it, yet I am most willing to supply this time in more than full measure.¹

As far as he could Plantin avoided lawsuits and wrangles with neighbours. Sometimes he made financial sacrifices in order to settle differences, becoming even the owner of a number of houses in pursuance of this policy. There is specific evidence of the fact that he bought a house called the *Maagd van Antwerpen* in 1580 in order to be rid of a neighbour, Cornelis Speelmans.² In Leiden he accepted two houses from Louis Elzevir (Lodewijk Elsevier) in payment of a debt, thereby incurring a loss of more than 400 fl. purely and simply to avoid litigation, as Jan Moretus rather acidly noted in the ledger where, on his father-in-law's instructions, he cancelled Elzevir's debt.³

Plantin used his connections - and sometimes perhaps misused them - to obtain particular favours, but never at the expense of third parties. He never stooped to persuading his influential patrons to make trouble for his competitors. In a letter to de Çayas, Arias Montanus emphasized Plantin's 'great humility and patience towards his fellow printers, who envy him and yet to whom he never ceases to render good instead of the harm which he could cause them.'⁴ As a businessman, Plantin was realistic and hard-headed, but honest and reliable, and his spectacular success was due ultimately to his personal character which, being devoid of all baseness, attracted enthusiastic friends who were ready to help him. Perhaps there were many who envied him too, but he did not have a single bitter enemy.

Plantin was a mystic. Although in his business correspondence he was as prosaic and pertinent as it is possible to be, he immediately became dis-

1. Original French text: 'Je ne me puis assés esmerveiller de tant de ruses a faire comptes et a dire et demander choses impertinentes contre les pourparlers et accords. Si est-ce que je ne veux plus disputer du passé: mais bien Dieu aidant me garder pour l'advenir. Quant aux Concordances [the books in question] je veux qu'acheviés tout premierement de conclure du passé et puis après je feray ce que je pourray: combien que je ne sois en rien tenu de luy en bailler: mais je veux bien bailler encores pour ceste fois mesure plus que pleine.'
2. Arch. 98, pp. 183-184.
3. Arch. 110, folio 101: 'Adi 5e de Juillet 1585, mon pere ma mandé que ie soulderois ce compte d'aultant que avec ce quil luy devoit a Leyden il a fini tous comptes avec ledit Elsevier et luy a rabatu pour nentrer en plaides plus de 400 fl. de perte.' Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 234-235.
4. *Corr.*, IV, no. 620, p. 270, note 2.

cursive and obscure when trying to express his personal religious feelings. These feelings have already been inferred:¹ they may be summarized as a total absorption in the 'love in Jesus Christ'. It has been seen that Plantin's religious experience first found expression in the Family of Love, Hendrik Niclaes's heterodox sect, and later in the kindred sect of the Barrefeltists. But the printer was undoubtedly drawn to these sects because they gave a concrete expression to his own confused sentiments - or at least a fairly concrete expression, for the writings of Hendrik Niclaes and Hendrik Janssen van Barrefelt are just as involved as those of Plantin himself.

As a 'disciple de Jésus Christ' Plantin felt himself to be a humble instrument in the hands of the Almighty, and as such he worked unceasingly to perfect himself. 'Humility of heart' lay at the foundation of Plantin's spiritual life,² and was a constant theme in his letters. Peace of mind was only possible through the possession of³: 'a good, sweet and patient humility of heart, the only mother of all goodness and of Godly gifts, the nurse of all divine virtues and the true seat of friendship, concord, peace, and union with that which is good, and the only refuge, strength, arms, victory and vengeance (if needs be) wherewith to confront the wicked and all those who, with a proud and overweening spirit, a malicious, foolish, sly or cunning nature should wish to subjugate or defile others'.⁴

Plantin was continually asking friends and acquaintances to spare him their praise and flattery,⁵ not to compare him to Aldus Manutius⁶ and to go on regarding him as an equal.⁷ To Pontus de Tyard, who had approached

1. Cf. pp. 26 sqq.

2. Cf. the letter to de Çayas, late January 1582? (*Corr.*, VII, no. 980).

3. Letter to his son-in-law Jean Gassen, November 1571 (*Corr.*, II, no. 293).

4. Original French text: '... une bonne, douce et patiente humilité de coeur, mère seule de tous biens et dons de Dieu, nourrice de toutes vertus divines et vray lieu d'amitié, concorde, paix et union avec les bons, et le seul refuge, force, armes, victoire et vengeance (si besoing est) à l'encontre des mauvais et de tous ceux qui, d'ung coeur hautain, braveté de courage, malicieuse, sotté, fine ou cauteleuse nature, vouldroyent dominer, suppéditer, ou abastardir les autres.'

5. In addition to the texts quoted below, see *Corr.*, IV, no. 585; V, no. 778; VII, nos. 982, 1089; VIII-IX, no. 1464.

6. Letter to Valerius Serenus, 19th May 1569 (*Corr.*, II, no. 175).

7. Postscript to a letter from Plantin, newly appointed 'prototypographus', to Servatius Sassenus and the other Louvain printers, 27th June 1570: 'Humanitatem quidem non detrecto; a titulis vero seu epithetis istis, quibus me fucare velle vestrarum litterarum inscriptione videmini, ut re absum, ita ut vos ad me scribendo absteineatis rogo. Prudentiam etenim nullam, minus vero eruditionem in me agnosco. Sincere itaque et simpliciter ut ad me peragatis scribere obsecro.' (*Corr.*, II, no. 232.)

him on behalf of Henry III of France, inviting him to leave Antwerp for Paris, Plantin wrote:¹ ‘There is another point that makes me more scrupulous than all the others. When I see the fine titles wherewith it has pleased you to honour me before His Majesty the King I am perplexed and embarrassed, fearing that I shall not be able to live up to the half of them.’² He wrote to Janus Dousa, lord of Noordwijk, in a similar vein:³ ‘Sir, Every time I receive letters from you I blush with shame at the many gracious phrases that you always address to me, for, confronted by these I feel overcome and confused, and almost completely reduced to a state of shame on seeing and reading your letter, feeling myself to be wholly unworthy of its preface.’⁴

A person who is humble does not presume to impose his opinions on others. Plantin was tolerant in an intolerant age:⁵ ‘Thus doing (so we say) we have enough to occupy ourselves without amusing ourselves by being prejudiced against others and upbraiding them for their transgressions, save in the office of brotherly correction and instruction of Charity to the rectification of our neighbour and the gathering of souls to our God and Father.’⁶ In March 1569, during Alva's reign of terror, this unfashionably tolerant man dared to write these dangerous words in a letter to Cardinal Granvelle:⁷

1. Letter of 4th October 1577 (*Corr.*, V, no. 778).
2. Original French text: ‘Encores y a il ung autre point qui me rend plus scrupuleux que tous les autres, c'est que voyant les beaux tiltres de quoy il vous a pleu m'honorer envers la Majesté du Roy nostre Sire je suis perplex et honteux en moymesmes craignant de ne pouvoir correspondre à la moictié d'iceux.’
3. Letter of 6th January 1582 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1007).
4. Original French text: ‘Monsieur. Chaicunne fois que je reçoÿ lectres de vous je rougis de honte pour tant de gracieuses manieres de parler desquelles vous usés tousjours envers moy, qui a ce coup me suis senti et trouve confus, et presque tout transmué en honte voyant et lisant vostre lectre et preface de quoy je me sens totalement indigne.’
5. Letter to Guillaume Postel, 31st July 1567 (*Corr.*, I, no. 72).
6. Original French text: ‘Ce quoy faisant tous (disons nous) avons assés à quoy nous employer sans s'amuser à partialiser et reprocher des malfaictures et fourvoyement des autres, si non en tant que l'office de fraternelle correction et instruction de la Charité le comporte à l'émendation du prochain et acquisition des âmes à nostre Dieu et Père.’
7. *Corr.*, II, no. 169.

‘At this time, which is very hard for us... God, by His grace, would incline the heart of the King and of his Magistrate to mercy and clemency towards His poor people, who wish to acknowledge their faults, and not destroy the good and repentant with the rebellious and stubborn.’¹

It is hardly surprising that Plantin should have had countless friends among the foremost intellectuals of his day of all persuasions, Catholic and Protestant, pro-Spanish and rebel, and that these learned men often expressed themselves in the warmest terms on the subject of ‘our’ Plantin: ‘I have never met anyone in whom so much skill and so much goodness of nature is combined, or who knows and practises virtue better than he. Every day I find something to commend in him, above all his great humility and patience towards his fellowprinters, who envy him and yet to whom he never ceases to render good instead of the harm which he could cause them... This is no man of flesh, he is all spirit. He gives no thought to eating, drinking or rest. He lives for his work.’² ‘Plantin is humble and averse to all backbiting.’³ ‘Plantin, that best and most trustworthy of men.’⁴

In 1567, in the prime of life, Plantin wrote: ‘Par labour et constance on passe toute chance’ [By toil and steadfastness adversity may be overcome].⁵ Towards the end of his life, old, ailing, and disillusioned, he wrote under the rough draft of a letter, in an already trembling hand: ‘Un labour courageux muni d’humble constance résiste à tous assauts par douce patience’ [Courageous toil fortified by a humble steadfastness withstands all assaults with

1. Original French text: ‘...en ce temps qui nous est fort rude... Dieu, par sa grâce, veuille incliner le coeur du Roy et de son Magistrat à miséricorde et clémence vers son pauvre peuple, qui veut reconnoistre ses fautes, et ne perdre pas les bons et repentants avec les rebelles et opiniastres.’
2. Letter from Arias Montanus to de Çayas (*Corr.*, IV, p. 270, note 2). Cf. L. Voet, ‘The personality of Plantin’ in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, pp. 212-213.
3. Letter from Clusius (Charles de l’Écluse) to Crato, 15th March 1578: ‘Quae de Plantinio ascribes, satis mirari non possem: ipsius ingenium novi, modestum et ab omni maledicentia alienum.’ [As to what you write about Plantin, I cannot sufficiently admire it: I know his ability, and that he is humble and averse to all backbiting.] (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 137.)
4. Letter from Livinus Torrentius to Arias Montanus, 13th June 1587: ‘Inter amicos vero quos dixi occurrit nunc scribenti Christophorus Plantinus noster, vir optimus et sincerissimus, ac de re literaria tam bene meritus ut quo quisquam melius erga illam affectus sit, eo plus studii atque operae huic homini debere videatur.’ (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 204.)
5. In the poem ‘To young children of good disposition’, included in the preliminary matter of *Les dialogues françois* (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 265). Cf. also p. 134, n. 1.

gentle patience].¹ In this emendated maxim Plantin's whole philosophy and personality are most poignantly crystallized.

Other aspects of the man Plantin must be considered if this portrait is to be complete. The printer was a man of considerable moral stature but, according to what he himself said in one of his letters 'uncouth and ignorant'.² He was not, however, as unlettered as he would have it believed. Perhaps Plantin did not have the erudition of an Aldus Manutius or a Robert Estienne, but he could do more than just keep his accounts in order. He had a thorough command of his native French, which was always his principal medium of expression, and employed it to excellent effect. He also used Latin, Dutch, Spanish and Italian in his correspondence. This does not necessarily mean that he had completely mastered all these languages: his learned son-in-law and assistant, the staunch Jan Moretus, may have perfected such letters.³ But that he did have a sound knowledge of the language of Cicero is shown by the fact that he made a French translation of Montanus's *Dictatum Christianum*.⁴ This work was not actually published, but one that did appear was in 1584 Plantin's own translation into French of the preliminary matter of the *De Constantia libri duo* by Justus Lipsius. Plantin was in such a hurry to put the French version on the market that rather than wait for the 'official' translator, Loys Hesteau, seigneur of Nuysement, to complete this part of the book, he had set to work himself.⁵ In another instance he related how he had compared a corrupt French translation with the original Latin text.⁶

1. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 277. Cf. also p. 134, n. 1. See plate 33.
2. Letter to Janus Dousa, 6th January 1582: 'Parquoy si d'autre part je ne craignois de vous desplaire je vous prierois bien affectueusement que voulussiés retrancher de vostre dicte preface quelques mots qui ne conviennent a ma simple rudesse et ignorance.' (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1007.)
3. In a Spanish letter of 15th November 1573 to the Italian bookseller Pietro Bocangelino, fixed in Toledo (*Corr.*, IV, no. 498), Plantin explained that he understood Italian but did not write it.
4. Letter from Arias Montanus to Jan Moretus, 7th July 1575 (*Corr.*, IV, no. 638) and Moretus's reply, mid-July 1575 (*ibid.*, no. 639). Cf. M. Sabbe, 'Jan Moretus I als Nederlandsch letterkundige' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, p. 70.
5. As Plantin himself explained in his publication *Deux livres de la Constance de Juste Lipse. Mis en François par Nuysement*, 1584. Cf. Sabbe, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
6. On 1st June 1579, in the foreword of L. Vives, *L'institution de la femme chrestienne*, 1579 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 829): 'Pourquoy m'estant deliberé d'employer, selon ma petite capacité, quelques heures pour y remedier, avant que de bailler la copie à nos ouvriers, je prins le Latin en main pour le conferer au François.' In the case of Olaus Magnus's *Histoire des pays septentrionaux*, printed by Plantin in 1561, only part of the impression appeared with Plantin's own imprint. The foreword to this edition would lead the reader to suppose that the printer himself was responsible for the translation from Latin, but in the other copies, printed for Martin Le Jeune in Paris, it is stated specifically that Plantin had *commissioned* the translation (cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 22).

Plantin also had a good knowledge of Dutch. In the introduction to the *Thesaurus Theutonicae Linguae* (1573) he even describes the method he adopted to learn the language:¹ ‘For the desire which I felt about that time to understand the language of this country where a few years previously I had chosen to live and where I had been received into the number of the citizens of that noble city of Antwerp, and the little leisure that I had at my disposal to place myself under the instruction of someone who would teach me the said language, incited me to begin (just as an apprentice mason might do with the different stones from a plentiful quarry) to pick up and place as in piles and in the order of the letters the words which I first met with or which presented themselves under my pen, in order that I might later investigate the meaning and characteristics of the same, to learn to recognize them and make use of them as I needed.’² It was precisely the fact that there was no dictionary available to help Plantin teach himself Dutch that prompted him to compile, with the aid of his proof-readers, the *Thesaurus Theutonicae Linguae* - the first dictionary of the Dutch language worthy of the name. The printer even understood Dutch well enough to be able to translate treatises by Hendrik Janssen van Barrefelt into French for the benefit of Arias Montanus.³

Plantin's letters and writings give the impression of an extremely well-educated man, but this does not accord with what is known about his difficult youth. As a ‘homo plebeius’, the son of a valet, he had only known

1. *Corr.*, III, no. 458.

2. Original French text: ‘Car le désir qui me print environ ce temps-là d'entendre la langue de ce pais où quelques années par avant j'avois esleu ma résidence et esté receu au nombre des citoyens de ceste noble ville d'Anvers et le peu de loisir que j'avois de m'addonner soubz quelqu'un qui m'eust enseigné ladicte langue m'incita de commencer (tout ainsi qu'un masson apprentif feroit des pierres différentes d'une abondante quarryère) à ramasser et mectre comme en certains monceaux et ordre des lectres les mots que premièrement je rencontrois ou qui se présentoyent soubz ma plume, pour après m'enquérir de la signification et propriété d'iceux, apprendre à les cognoistre et à m'en aider au besoing.’

3. Cf. M. Sabbe, ‘Hoe stond Benedictus Arias Montanus tegenover de leeringen van Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël)?’ in *De Moretussen en hun kring*.

the university from the outside. It must be assumed that he was self-educated, which was not the least of his merits.

Plantin left a number of French poems.¹ They are not inferior, either in form or content, to the products of many French sixteenth-century men of letters that receive honourable mention in the textbooks of literary history.² Plantin's sonnet 'Le Bonheur de ce Monde', which is still printed on the old presses with the old materials and sold in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, has always been well thought of.³ Plantin also prefaced a number of his editions with dedications - mostly in Latin - to eminent personages. Very polished in style, these offerings are usually less profound and less moving; there is too strong a whiff of incense about them.⁴

1. In 1890 Rooses published a number of *Rimes de Plantin*. Sabbe added four more poems in his 'Quelques rimes de Plantin' in *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de Chr. Plantin*, 1920, pp. 31-39. The Dutch text was published as 'Gedichten van en voor Chr. Plantin' in *Het Boek*, 9, 1920, pp. 129-136, in addition with 'Nog een rijmpje van Chr. Plantin' (*ibid.*, 9, 1920, p. 229). Sabbe combined these with the poems already published by Rooses, issuing them as *Les rimes de Christophe Plantin*, 1922. All these poems were reprinted in *Suppl. Corr.*, nos. 257-277. An ode to Philip II, written and printed by Plantin, dated 28 January 1556, was recently discovered. It was published and commented on by G. Colin in 'Une ode à Philippe II écrite, imprimée et reliée par Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 43, 1965, pp. 65-91.
2. There are, however, dissident voices: Colin in his study on the Ode to Philip II has not much good to say about Plantin's first poems. He recognizes that from 1560 onwards - with the use of the alexandrine - the quality improves, but he considers that Plantin was never more than an adroit poetaster. This judgment seems to be rather too harsh.
3. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 271. Concerning this sonnet and Plantin's authorship, see G. Mongrédien, 'Le sonnet de Plantin. Curieuses imitations' in *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de Chr. Plantin*, 1920, pp. 43-64; G.A. Masson and G. Mongrédien, 'Le sonnet de Plantin' in *La revue critique*, 29, 1920, pp. 607-614. There are also Sabbe's studies: 'Het sonnet "Le Bonheur de ce monde", toegeschreven aan Chr. Plantin' in *Het Boek*, 9, 1920, pp. 289-296; *Les rimes de Christophe Plantin*, 1922, no. X, pp. 52-61; 'Het sonnet "Le Bonheur de ce monde", toegeschreven aan Christoffel Plantin' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 33-40 (Dutch text of the French commentary in *Les rimes*); and *Het sonnet van Plantin*, 1928 (a publication in book form of the previous study).
4. Only a few of these dedications were included in the *Correspondance*. For example, VIII-IX, no. 1187, which Plantin addressed to Arias Montanus in Horace's *Opera omnia*, 1586. The letter to Granvelle, 17th October 1567, given in *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 40, in which Plantin praises the cardinal as a Maecenas, is in fact the foreword to the Orsini edition of *Virgilius collatione scriptorum Graecorum illustratus*, printed in 1568 by Plantin, although dated 11th November 1567. An interesting dedication is that of the 5th March 1575 to Frédéric Perrenot, lord of Champagny, in L. Charondas's edition of the *Codex Justiniani*, in which Plantin recommends that human affairs should be guided by reason, and advocates high moral principles in business and the book trade.

He may also have been the author of the chapter devoted to calligraphy and printing in the bilingual schoolbook which he published in 1567: *La première et la seconde partie des dialogues françois pour les ieunes enfans. Het eerste ende tweede deel van de Françoische t' samensprekinghen, overgheset in de nederduytsche spraecke*.¹ This 'dialogue' gives a rather slipshod impression. Presumably it was written in haste and intended merely to fill up space. It is a failure from the educational viewpoint too, being so technical that it is safe to assume that it was beyond the comprehension of most parents and teachers, let alone of the children. Nevertheless it represents the very first detailed technical exposition of the printer's trade and as such is invaluable for the history of the craft.

The most striking characteristics of Plantin's writing are its elegant style and ornate language. Many examples have already been given. The following passage is also typical and characterizes at the same time Plantin's personal views in the uneasy days preceding the Iconoclasm:² 'I pray God to give wisdom and understanding to our governors that they may know how to make use of the example of our neighbours and conduct themselves according to it, beginning this play with the solution that our neighbours have employed, lest it should finally become a tragedy in which not the death of a few people brings tranquillity but a wrathful fury causing the destruction of thousands of good people, as many on the one side as on the other. For to give my true opinion, I foresee that unless these floodwaters are channelled off, they will so devastate the arable lands that the inhabitants will not enjoy the fruits of anything that grows there. And if the farmers who are tilling the land think (as they seem to have decided) to throw back this flood by force, I fear that this will only be done with grave harm to and loss of the possessions, bodies and souls of many thousands of persons who might be spared to us and saved forever by God's good grace.'³

1. Published with a commentary and English translation by R. Nash in *Calligraphy and Printing in the sixteenth century*, 1964 (second, revised edition; a first edition appeared in 1940).
2. Letter to Andreas Masius, 8th August 1566 (*Corr.*, III, no. 336).
3. Original French text: 'Je prie a Dieu donner sagesse et entendement à nos gouverneurs de se sçavoir aider et conduire selon les exemples de nos voisins et de commencer ceste commédie par l'issue dont nosd. voisins ont usé, de peur que ce ne soit finalement non seulement une tragédie ou la mort de peu amène tranquillité mais une furie enragée, cause de l'occision de maints milliers de bonnes personnes, autant d'un parti que de l'autre. Car pour dire sincèrement mon advis, je prévoy que si on ne donne un cours à ceste eau desbordée, qu'elle gastera les terres labourables de telle sorte que les habitants ne jouiront d'aucun fruit y croissant. Que si les cultivateurs et qui ont la terre en maniemment cudent (comme ils semblent bien avoir délibéré) de rejeter ceste inundation par force, je crains que cela ne se fera sans un extresme détrimet et perdition de biens, corps et âmes de maints milliers de personnes, dont Dieu par sa grâce nous veuille conserver et garder à jamais.'

Plantin may not have been a scholar but he had a great admiration for science in its widest sense and for education:¹ ‘And as for me, I have always considered that the education of the youth of a country and all that appertains thereto, such as writing, printing and books, is of just as great importance, for the prince, as money or any other thing there be.’²

In one of his poems, included in the preliminaries of the *Dialogues françois* of 1567³ he declares that his dearest wish had been to become a scholar, but since fortune had not granted him this he had become a printer so as to contribute at least a little to the spreading of knowledge:

*Vray est que de nature
 J'ay aymé l'écriture
 Des mots sententieux:
 Mais l'Alciate pierre
 M'a retenu en terre,
 Pour ne voler aux cieux.
 Cela voyant, j'ay le mestier éleu,
 Qui m'a nourri en liant des volumes.
 L'estoc receu puis apres m'a émeu
 De les écrire à la presse sans plumes.
 Ainsi ne pouvant estre
 Poete, écrivain, ne maistre,
 J'ay voulu poursuivre
 Le trac, chemin on trace,
 Par où leur bonne grace
 Je pourrois acquerir.*

1. Letter to de Çayas, 15th December 1567 (*Corr.*, I, no. 96).
2. Original French text: ‘Et quant à moy, j'ay tousjours estimé que l'institution de la jeunesse d'un païs et tout ce qui en despend, comme sont l'écriture, l'imprimerie et les livres, est bien d'autant grande importance, pour le prince, que la monnoye mesme ou autre chose qui soit.’
3. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 264. See also p. 134, n. 1.

*35



(34) Justus Lipsius. Oil painting on panel by Rubens, commissioned by Balthasar I Moretus between 1613 and 1616, some years after the scholar's death.



(35) Christophe Plantin. Oil painting on panel by Rubens, commissioned by Balthasar I Moretus between 1613 and 1616. The portrait was copied after the contemporary copy in the Plantin-Moretus Museum of the anonymous portrait now in the University Library, Leiden (cf. plate 1).



(36) Jeanne Rivière, Christophe Plantin's wife. Oil painting on panel by Rubens, commissioned by Balthasar I Moretus between 1630 and 1636.



(37) Central panel, depicting the Judgment Day, from the triptych over Plantin's tomb. Anonymous oil painting, attributed to Crispijn van de Broeck (by Rooses) and to Jacob de Backer (by De Coo, who attributes the wings to Benjamin Sammelins).

[It is true that by nature I liked to write sententious words; but the Alciate stone has kept me down on earth and prevented me from soaring to the skies. Seeing this, I chose the craft of bookbinding that has fed me. The sword wound I received later constrained me to write them at the press without pens. Thus not being able to become a poet, writer or schoolmaster myself it has been my wish to follow the path by which I may obtain their good grace.]

In this he was successful. Plantin became the foremost printer of the humanism of the second half of the sixteenth century.¹ He was not, however, a merely passive instrument: morally and intellectually he could meet the greatest spirits of his age on equal terms.²

1. To quote Andreas Schottus in his foreword to the edition of Pomponius Mela's *De Situ Orbis libri tres*, 1582 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 929, p.264): '... te etiam, Plantine, ita studia libris, elegantiss, formulis, et emendatissime edendis provehere, pmoeriaque quam latissime proferre, ut barbaries sequioris saeculi minime metuenda sit, et publicum dumtaxat bonum respicere ipse, et privato commodo longe anteponeere videaris. Tot enim labores pro R[e] P[ublica] litteraria exanclasti, ut, quod ex M. Tullii oratione pro M. Aemilio Scauro laudat Asconius, flagrantibus studio laudis, in spem impuleris, posse virtutem sine praesidio Fortunae, quo contendisset Labore et Constantia pervenire. Macte igitur, et perge litterarum studiosis facem industria tua diligentiaque accendere: nec te a benemerendi officio, rebusque gerundis abduci quorundam improbitate aut calumnia patiaris.'
2. See also the chapter on the Plantin house as a humanist centre (pp. 362 sqq.).

Table of Plantin's direct descendants

CHRISTOPHE PLANTIN * <i>c.</i> 1520 † 1 July 1589	married <i>c.</i> 1546	JEANNE RIVIÈRE † 17 August 1596
MARGARETA * 1547 † April 1594	married 23 June 1565	FRANS RAPHELENGIUS * 27 February 1539 † 20 July 1597
MARTINA * 1550 † 17 Feb. 1616	married 4 June 1570	JAN MORETUS * 22 May 1543 † 22 Sept. 1610
CATHARINA * 1553 † 8 ...ber(?) 1622	married (1) 15 June (?) 1571 (2) 26 Nov. 1575	JEHAN GASSEN † before 28 Apr. 1574 HANS ARENTS called SPIERINCK † 13 Aug. 1611
MAGDALENA * 1557 † 27 Dec. 1599	married (1) 7 Oct. 1572 (2) Aug. 1596	EGIDIUS BEYS † 19 Apr. 1595 ADRIEN PERIER † before Feb. 1629
HENRICA * 1561/62 † 29 Nov. 1640	married 1 June 1578	PIETER MOERENTORF * 19 July 1544 † 16 March 1616
CHRISTOPHE * <i>c.</i> 21 March 1566 † before 4 Nov. 1570		

(DAUGHTER?)

Chapter 2

Plantin's Descendants

The 28- or 29-year-old bookbinder who settled in Antwerp in 1548 or 1549 was accompanied by his wife and his small daughter of one or two. When he died forty years later, his son-in-law Jan Moretus summarized the state of the family in his letter of 27th September 1589 to de Çayas: ‘Las hijas son cinco todas casadas, y estas tienen entre ellas treinta y dos ninnos maschios y feminos.’ [His five daughters are all married and together have thirty-two male and female children.]¹ This represents only the surviving children and grandchildren and of course it does not include the ten or so grandchildren born after Plantin's death. An impressive total, yet Plantin was denied the joy of raising a son: the name of Plantin died out with him.

*The Plantin family*²

Plantin was married two or three years before his arrival in Antwerp, probably at Caen. At all events it was there, in the house of his employer Robert II Macé, that the young bookbinder met Jeanne Rivière, the girl who became his loyal helpmate.³ Her somewhat care-worn appearance is

1. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, p. 565, note 4.
2. Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*. See also the notes in the sections devoted to Plantin's various daughters (and sons-in-law).
3. Who probably fulfilled the lowly function of housemaid there. That Jeanne Rivière came from a fairly well-to-do family and had six brothers, of whom three went into the Church and three became ‘capitaines de guerre’, as the Van der Aa document claims, is not very likely. Cardot Rivière, the only brother mentioned in the Plantinian archives, received in September 1565 a sum of money from Plantin to return home and a letter to draw another sum of money in Caen in order to enable him to buy an ‘orchard planted with fruit trees and the rest for sheep to graze’ (Arch. 36, folio 100; cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 7). A cousin of Jeanne, Guillaume Rivière, was a journeyman in the Plantin press for some considerable time before establishing himself as an independent printer in Arras. Guillaume Rivière too had been born in or near Caen: the certificate issued by Plantin on 27th June 1576 describes Guillaume as ‘aged 26, native of Caen in Normandy’ (Rombouts, *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Chr. Plantin*, p. 43). There is no doubt that the Rivière family was settled in this Norman town. The not very trustworthy Van der Aa document specifies that Jeanne Rivière was ‘natif d'un village près de Can nommé de St. Barbere’. Plantin, in a declaration of 11th July 1552 (*Suppl Corr.*, no. 227), only says that his wife originated from Normandy.

recorded in two paintings: the triptych over the family tomb in Antwerp Cathedral and Rubens's portrait in the Plantin-Moretus Museum which was possibly modelled after it. Justus Lipsius, who was a friend of the family, outlined her character thus: 'She was a virtuous wife, without vanity and not given to finely; she loved her husband and was fully conversant with all matters appertaining to the management of the family and gave all the necessary attention to the housekeeping.' He finished his sketch with the anti-feminist remark: 'That ought to be sufficient for a woman... The woman is not wise who is more learned than is fitting.'¹ Jeanne Rivière was certainly not learned. Max Rooses already doubted whether she could read and write. The author believes that he has found a piece of evidence that settles this question: the will which the Plantins made at Leiden on 19th November 1584 was 'signed' by Jeanne with a cross.² Plantin's wife must have been a good and obliging person for all that, as can be seen from the way in which she gave up her claims to the estate after her husband's death in order to keep the peace among her children.

Plantin's otherwise so copious correspondence does not permit any amplification of the few known facts or any deeper sounding of his spouse's heart and mind. Jeanne Rivière is only occasionally mentioned in letters addressed to Plantin, and then only in impersonal and uninformative phrases: a short salutation to 'mademoiselle votre compagne' or 'madamoselle, syn beminde huysvrou' [Madame, his dear wife]. Plantin on his side was just as silent about her in his letters. Even when corresponding with such close family friends as Arias Montanus he contented himself with short remarks to the effect that 'my wife is well and sends her greetings'. Only one letter is addressed personally to Jeanne Rivière. This was written

1. M. Sabbe, *De meesters van den Gulden Passer*, p. 9.
2. Copy in Arch. 106.

by Pierre Gassen on 13th May 1568 and repeats a request to her during one of her husband's absences. Gassen makes it clear, however, that he expects an answer from Jan Moretus.¹ Only once in the correspondence is a more intimate note struck, but little can be learnt of the personality of Jeanne Rivière from Martina's request to her husband, Jan Moretus, who was then in Frankfurt, to bring a chain and rings belonging to her mother with him when he returned. The jewellery was at Cologne, 'au coffret que saves' [in the box which you know], where it had probably been stored for safekeeping during hostilities in the Netherlands, 'si d'avanture elle en avoit afferre' [if by chance she needs them].²

It would appear that Jeanne Rivière was not able to keep pace with her husband's success. She lacked the ability to become a great lady, able to receive her guests with courtly grace and to engage them in brilliant conversation. She must have remained essentially plebeian, caught up in her husband's social ascent, but viewing it with mixed feelings and staying in the background as far as possible, a silent, reserved, self-effacing, and perhaps even rather pathetic presence.

The couple had seven children. A son, named Christophe after the proud father, was born in March 1566 and baptized on the 21st of that month in the cathedral. He did not live long, however, and is known to have died before 4th November 1570.³ The little boy is portrayed with his father in the triptych in the cathedral. On the opposite panel, showing Plantin's wife and daughters, one of the girls, aged about ten, also has a cross painted above her head to indicate that she had died. As Plantin makes no mention of her in the letter of 4th November 1570 - to which further reference will be made - it may be assumed that she had died before that date, possibly a considerable time before. The other five daughters, who are depicted praying beside or behind their mother, all survived their parents: Margareta, born in Caen or Paris in 1547; Martina, born in Antwerp in 1550; Catharina, born in 1553; Magdalena, born in 1557; Henrica,

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 126.

2. Letter of 29th August-2nd September 1575 (*Corr.*, IV, no. 646).

3. In his letter to de Çayas of 4th November 1570, of which more below, Plantin begins his survey of the state of his family thus: 'que Dieu ne m'a point laissé de fils vivant en ce monde, mais seulement cinq filles' [that God has not allowed me a son in this world, but only five daughters].

born in 1561 or 1562. Their personalities emerge much more clearly from the past than that of their mother. Even their childhood and training is well documented, thanks to the detailed letter that Plantin wrote on 4th November 1570 to an inquisitive de Çayas, who had been asking for information about his family.¹

Plantin's ideas of bringing up his offspring bore little resemblance to modern educational theories. His ideas were markedly utilitarian, designed to obtain competent help for hard-working parents and far removed from what could be regarded as suitable training for rich young ladies: '[the five daughters] ... I have, in as much as it has pleased God to grant grace and strength, as much to them as to myself, before all else taught to fear, honour and love God, our King, all our Magistrates and superiors and likewise to assist their mother, helping her about the house in domestic tasks as far as their age and strength allow. And since in early childhood one is too fragile and weak to do manual household work or to serve in the shop, I taught them to read and write well so that from the age of four or five until the age of twelve, each of the four eldest, according to age and seniority, has helped us to read the proofs in the printing-shop in whatever script or language they may have been submitted for printing. And, during their unoccupied hours, according to the leisure time at their disposal, I also took the trouble to have them instructed in sewing linen, both for making shirts, collars and handkerchiefs as well as for other such linen articles. Meanwhile I was always observing, little by little, what task each of them would be most fitted to perform in the future.'²

The eldest daughter, Margareta, who was twenty-three when this letter was written, had in her childhood 'outré l'habilité de bien lire, trouvée

1. *Corr.*, II, no. 251.

2. Original French text: 'Lesquelles j'ay, autant qu'il y a plen a Dieu m'en faire la grâce et donner de capacité, tant à elles qu'à moy, préalablement instituées à craindre, honorer et aimer Dieu, nostre Roy, tous nos Magistrats et supérieurs et pareillement à soulager leur mère et luy servir de chambrière es affaires domestiques selon leur pouvoir et aage. Et d'autant que la première enfance est trop fragile et débille de corps pour faire choses manuelles au mesnage ou trainde marchandise, je leur ay fait alors tellement apprendre à escrire et à bien lire que, depuis l'aage de quatre à cinq ans jusque à l'aage de douze ans, chaicunne des quatre premières, selon leur aage et reng, nous ont aidé à lire les espreuves de l'imprimerie en quelque escriture et langue qui se soit offerte pour imprimer. Et, aux heures vacantes et selon le loisir qu'elles ont eu, j'ay prins peine aussi de leur faire apprendre à besongner de l'esguille sur toille, tant pour chemises, collets ou mouchoirs que pour autres telles choses de lingerie, en observant tousjours, peu à peu, à quoy chaicunne s'inclineroit le plus ou seroit la mieux idoine d'exercer au temps advenir.'

dextre à escrire, se fust enfin monstrée l'une des milleurs plumes de tous les pais de par deça pour son sexe'. Her father had sent her to Paris to have lessons from a famous calligrapher - possibly the renowned Pierre Hamon himself - but her eyesight had grown weak: 'une débilité de veue telle qu'impossible luy eust esté de voir escrire deux ou trois lignes continuelles.' Plantin had been obliged to fetch his twelve-year-old daughter back from Paris: 'et depuis n'a esté propre à chose ou fust requis bonne veue.' Presumably this is why not a single letter or other piece of handwriting by this talented daughter has been preserved in the family archives.¹

The second daughter, Martina, then twenty years old, 's'estant outre les premiers exercices susdicts [montrée], dès sa jeunesse, propre à faire le train de lingerie, je l'ay entretenue audict train, depuis l'aage de treze ans jusqu'au mois de may dernier'. At which point Jan Moretus asked her hand in marriage and she founded a family of her own.

The third daughter, the seventeen-year-old Catharina, 's'estant, outre les susdictes occupations premières de l'enfance, trouvée idoine à manier affaires et comptes de marchandises' had become a useful business-woman, who from her thirteenth year had acted as intermediary between the Parisian linen and lace-merchant, Pierre Gassen, 'linen draper to their Highnesses the King's brothers', and the laceworkers of Antwerp, Malines, and Brussels, handling trade worth more than 12,000 ducats a year.

The fourth daughter, Magdalena, aged thirteen in 1570, 'still keeps to the rule that the others have kept to until the same age: that is to say helping her mother with the housework and principally with her own special task of carrying all the proofs of the great Royal Bibles to the house of Monsgr. Doctor B. Arias Montanus and reading from the originals in Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac. Greek and Latin, the contents of the said proofs, while Monsignor diligently observes whether our sheets are in a fit state to be printed. And the said Royal Bibles being completed by the grace of God, I intend (from such time as her age no longer permits me to leave her

1. In his letter of 4th November 1570 Plantin included a sample of Margareta's calligraphic art, a letter sent from Paris when the girl was twelve years old.

in the company of the proof-readers) to employ her in helping and assisting me in looking after the work that is being printed here and in paying the workmen their weekly wages on Saturdays, and in seeing that every member of the firm does the task expected of him.¹

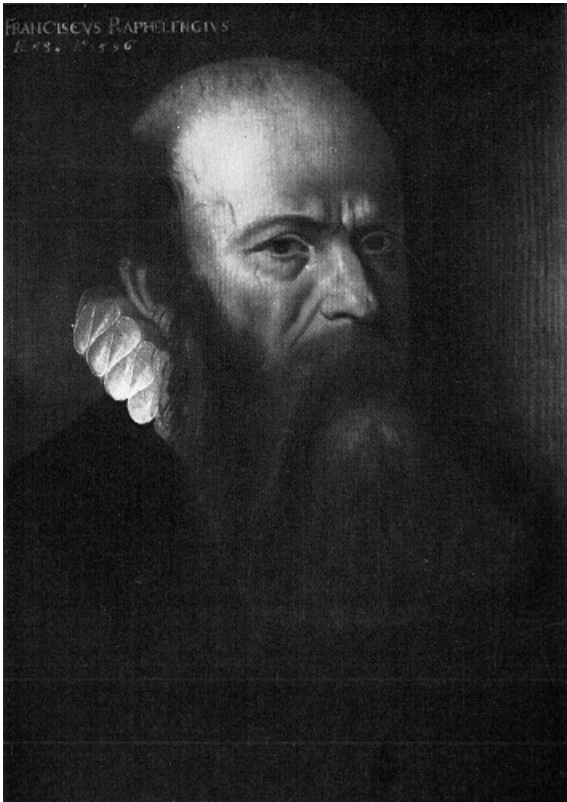
The fifth and the youngest daughter, called 'Henrie' (Henrica or Henriette), was then eight or nine years old and was rather backward: 'is still (because of the late development of her slow mind that is otherwise sweet and modest) busy reading, writing and sewing linen with the needle and helping her mother with small household duties, a task to which I deem her to be more fitted than to some other things.'

On the strength of this letter, Plantin's eldest four daughters have been made into scholarly prodigies, of whom Magdalena at least had a perfect command of a number of Oriental languages as well as Latin and Greek. Plantin should not, however, be attributed with a claim he did not make. All he said was that his daughters read proofs, not that they understood them. Theodoor Poelman, who was a friend of the family, stated quite explicitly that this was not the case. In 1576 Brother Joannes Elstius of Nijmegen asked the scholar in a letter: 'I remember that I heard you say at Nijmegen that Plantin's daughters could not only read and write Latin, but also Greek and Hebrew; write and tell me if this is true, if you have the time.'² Poelman's answer was short and to the point: 'It is true that Plantin's daughter [Magdalena] was able to read Hebrew, Greek and Latin quickly, but she understood none of it.'² The girls' reading and correcting of proofs thus consisted simply of comparing the characters, and implied no understanding of the texts.³

1. Original French text: '[elle] tient encores la rège qu'ont tenu les autres jusques à pareil aage: asçavoir d'aider à sa mere aux affaires du mesnage: et principalement a pécultière charge de porter toutes les espreuves des grandes Bibles Royales au logis de Monsgr. le docteur B. Arias Montanus et de lire, des originaux Hébraïques, Chaldéens, Syriacques, Grecs et Latins, le contenu desdictes espreuves, tandis que mondiet Sr. le docteur observe diligemment si nos feilles sont telles qu'il convient pour les imprimer. Et lesdictes Bibles Royales estant, avec la grâce de Dieu, achevées, je suis d'intention (d'autant que l'aage ne me semblera plus estre seur de la laisser fréquenter avec les correcteurs) de l'employer à m'aider et soulager à prendre esgard à la besongne qui s'imprime céans, et à payer les compagnons au samedi de leurs gages de la semaine et à observer que chaicun face son devoir parmy la maison'.
2. M. Sabbe, 'Uit de huinanistenkring rond Plantin' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 51-53.
3. H. Vervliet, in 'Une instruction plantinienne à l'intention des correcteurs' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1959, pp. 102-103, has shown that this task in fact consisted of *reading aloud* the texts (or characters).



(38) Wings of triptych over Plantin's tomb. The left-hand panel shows Plantin with his deceased son and St. Christopher, the right-hand panel Jeanne Rivière and her six daughters.



(39) Frans Raphelengius. Oil painting by an anonymous sixteenth-century master, in the University Library, Leiden. The Plantin-Moretus Museum owns a copy, made in 1938-39 by A. Thijs.

The education of Plantin's daughters must actually have been fairly rudimentary and restricted to learning to read and write French (and probably also Dutch).¹ Some of them did not become very proficient even at this elementary level. Magdalena wrote reasonable French, but some examples of Martina's phonetic and ungrammatical written attempts at this language have already been noted. She was no better at writing Latin.² Whether her sisters' efforts in this particular direction were of the same standard is not known.

Plantin was not exaggerating, however, when he wrote that his daughters were involved in business activities at a tender age.³ From the age of fifteen - and possibly even earlier - Martina played an important part in the trade in linen and lace with Pierre Gassen, negotiating with the producers and paying them, and collecting and dispatching the finished products. In 1565 Plantin rented a shop in the Exchange (where also certain commodities were sold) for the sale of lace and linen.

It cannot be ascertained who managed this shop in the beginning - it may have been Jeanne Rivière - but in 1567 the seventeen-year-old Martina took it over and on 1st September of that year she entered up her first sale, probably with a certain amount of emotion: 'vendu argent content fait le premier jour que je suis venu au pandt de la bource ½ aune et un saisième de brainat, 4½ patars' [sold for cash on the first day that I came to the building of the Exchange, half an ell and a sixth of binding, 4½ *patars*]. Her marriage in 1570 greatly reduced her activities in the lacetrade but did not stop them altogether. She was still at work in 1573.

In his letter to de Çayas, Plantin rather minimized Martina's efforts in

1. The Antwerp schoolmaster Antoine Tiron, specialized in teaching French, received on 21st June 1565 the sum of 8 fl. 'pour 4 mois d'avoir monstre a mes enfants', and on 2nd February 1566 another 2 fl. 'pour ung mois de monstre a mes filles'. (Arch. 31, folio 83V0.)
2. Cf. M. Sabbe, *op. cit.*, p. 52, note 4.
3. Concerning the activities of Martina and Catharina Plantin in the haberdashery trade, see M. Risselin-Steenebrugen, 'Martine et Catherine Plantin. Leur rôle dans la fabrication et le commerce de la lingerie et des dentelles au xvi^e siècle' in *Revue belge d'Archeologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, 26, 1957; and, for a more detailed discussion, 'Les débuts de l'industrie dentellière. Martine et Catherine Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 39, 1961, pp. 77-124.

order to extol her younger sister Catharina as a business genius. Catharina's accounts are less completely preserved than those of Martina, so that the word of the proud father has to be taken in this matter. Nevertheless there is ample evidence that Catharina was indeed a precocious business woman. She was scarcely twelve years old when Pierre Gassen named her as his chief agent ('gouvernante') in the Netherlands, and at fourteen she travelled alone to Malines to 'soliciter les ouvrières' [recruit workwomen] and to pay them.

It can be seen that Plantin's daughters did not grow up tied to their mother's apron-strings. At an early age they were set to work in the adult world of affairs - like so many of their sisters in the Netherlands, for the Plantin girls were not an isolated case: sixteenth-century Italian and Spanish travellers, accustomed to a world where women were barred from public life, repeatedly expressed amazement - and often indignation - in their accounts of the Netherlands at the extensive participation of women and girls in economic activities and their free and easy bearing in public. The Italian view of this matter is admirably, but carefully expressed in *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, where Ludovico Guicciardini gives a vivid picture of the active, self-assured women of the Netherlands, the type to which Plantin's daughters belonged: 'The women, apart from the fact that they are (as I have said above) of comely and excellent form, carry themselves well, and are graceful: for they begin from earliest childhood, after the custom of the country, to converse freely with any and everybody: for this reason they become quick and adept in their habits and speech and in all other things: and yet with such great liberty and freedom they nevertheless maintain an honesty and seemliness that are most commendable, often going about their business unaccompanied, not only within the town but also frequently across country from one town to another with very little company and yet without incurring blame. They are assuredly most serious and most active: dealing not only with domestic matters, with which very few men have to do, but concerning themselves with buying and selling goods, and property, and turning both hand and voice to all the other masculine concerns: they accomplish everything with such skill and diligence that in several places in the province, as in Holland and Zeeland, the men leave them to do almost everything: such a way of doing things added

to the natural feminine desire to dominate, undoubtedly makes them too imperious by far and sometimes too disagreeable and proud. But let us pass on.¹

Willing and not so willing sons-in-law

The daughters of Christophe Plantin were precociously wise in the way of the world. It is not surprising that all five of them married quite early: Margareta in 1565, at the age of 18; Martina in 1570 when she was 20; Catharina in 1571, aged 18; Magdalena in 1572, aged 15; and Henrica in 1578 when she was 16 or 17 years old. Catharina and Magdalena were later to marry again. Plantin therefore had altogether seven sons-in-law, one of whom - Magdalena's second husband - he never knew. Some of this number played an important part in the life of the firm; with others there was just the family connection. One of them caused Plantin a great deal of trouble.

MARGARETA PLANTIN AND FRANS RAPHELENGIUS² - On 23rd June 1565 the wedding of Plantin's eldest daughter Margareta was concluded with a banquet in the printer's house, where there were between thirty and fifty guests at table. The actual bill of fare has not been preserved, but it is known what was served and how much the bride's father paid for it: three sucking-pigs at 17 st. each, six capons at 22 st. each, twelve pigeons at 6 st.

1. Original French text from the Willem Silvius edition of 1567: 'Les femmes, outre ce qu'elles sont (comme iay diet ei dessus) de belle & excellente forme, sont de beau maintien, & gracieuses: car elles commencent dès leur enfance, selon la coustume du pai's, à converser librement avec un chacun: à cause dequoy en leurs pratiques, propos, & en toute aultre chose, devienent promptes & dextres: & neantmoins en une si grande liberté & licence, ont l'honesteté & decoration fort recommandées, allans bien souvent seules à leurs affaires, non seulement par la ville, mais aussi souventfois par le país d'une ville à aultre, avec bien petite compaignie, & sans aucun blasme. Elles sont certes fort sobres & moult actives: traictans non seulement des choses familiares, desquelles bien peu se meslent les hommes, mais se meslent aussi d'acheter, & vendre marchandises, & biens, & de mettre main & bouche à tout aultre affaire viril: le tout avec telle dexterité & diligence, qu'en plusieurs endroitz de la province, comme en Hollande, & Selande, les hommes leur laissent quasi tout faire: laquelle maniere de proceder adioustée à la naturelle avidité feminine, de dominer, sans doubtte les rend par trop imperieuses: & quelque fois trop fascheuses & fieres. Or passons outre.'
2. Concerning Frans Raphelengius, see M. Rooses in *Biographie Nationale [de Belgique]*, tome 18, and the works quoted on p. 169, n. 1.

each, twelve quails at 4 st. each, five legs of mutton at 1 fl. each, 16 fl. 7½ st. worth of wine, and so on.¹

The twenty-six-year-old bridegroom was born in Lannoy, near Lille, on 27th February 1539. Frans Ravelingen,² better known by the latinized form Raphelengius, was no stranger to Plantin's house. About two years before he had offered the printer his services as a proof-reader, and on 12th March 1564 he had entered into a contract binding him to the firm in that capacity for two years.³ He had received what would now be termed secondary education at Ghent, and had studied Greek and Hebrew at the University of Paris. According to Sweertius, writing in his *Athenae Belgicae* (1628), he afterwards taught Greek at Cambridge, but Raphelengius's youth at the time, and the fact that his name is nowhere listed among teachers of that university, make it difficult to accept this assertion.

Frans Raphelengius was very erudite. In his letter of 19th December 1566 to de Çayas, Plantin described him as 'un jeune homme fort docte ès langues Hébraïque, Chaldéenne, Grecque et Latine'.⁴ In a letter of 22nd November 1572, also to de Çayas, this catalogue of the proof-reader's linguistic abilities was extended: 'Quant à mes gendres le premier n'a oncques rien prins à cueur que la cognoissance des langues latine, grecque, hébraïque, chaldée, syrienne, arabe (èsquelles chaicun qui familièrement confère avec luy afferme qu'il n'y est pas mal versé) et des lectres humaines.'⁵ In the certificate that Plantin, as royal chief printer, granted his son-in-law in 1576, Raphelengius was styled as 'sçavant ès langues latine, grecque, hébraïque, chaldée, siricque, arabe, françoise, flamenghe et autres vulgaires'.⁶

If Plantin is to be believed, it was to retain the services of this scholarly reader that the printer gave him his daughter in marriage: 'auquel pour mieux l'entretenir et l'avoir à commodité, sous l'espoir que j'ay eu d'aider

1. Arch. 36, pp. 94-96. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 145; also the marriage contract of 22nd June 1565, Arch. 98, pp. 115-119.
2. There are an incredible number of variants of this Flemish name in contemporary documents, nearly every text having a different version - Van Ravelinghen, Raphelingen, and so on - but Ravelingen is the form used in the contract of 1564.
3. Arch. 31, folio 82. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 143-144.
4. *Corr.*, I, no. 20.
5. *Corr.*, III, no. 438.
6. Rombouts, *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin*, p. 42.

avec le temps au bien public, et en la faveur des lectres et de telles vertus rares qui sont en iceluy, j'ay baillé ma fille aisnée en mariage.¹ Raphelengius was not ambitious. He was a retiring scholar, completely absorbed in his studies: '[il n'a oncques rien prins à cueur que la cognoissance des langues...] et à bien, léalement, soigneusement et fidèlement corriger ce qui luy est enchargé sans mesmes se vouloir ostenter, monstrier ou venir en cognoissance de plusieurs car il est fort solitaire et assidu aux labeurs qui luy sont commis.² Thus he remained in his father-in-law's employ as a proof-reader. As such he had an important share in the realization of the Polyglot Bible. As well as correcting the proofs of this work he himself contributed *Variae lectiones et annotatiunculae in Chaldaicam paraphrasim*, and an adaptation of Sante Pagnino's Hebrew grammar and glossary. He was probably also responsible for the Greek glossary. In the preface to the Polyglot Bible, Arias Montanus did not stint his praise of his capable and scholarly collaborator: 'He is a man of great diligence, incredible zeal, unflinching precision, lucid mind and excellent judgment. None excels him in knowledge of the ancient languages: it is thanks to his knowledge and labour that this great work, this treasure of science and languages, has been able to appear with such admirable accuracy.'

For many years the couple lived with Margareta's parents. In 1575 the Raphelengius family's only accommodation still consisted of a small, low room, 12 feet wide and 15 or 16 feet long, in the house called *De Daelder* in the Valkstraat (next to the *Gulden Passer* in the Kammenstraat) which served as a storage place for books³ 'in which there are two beds taking up almost the whole of the small room in which my son-in-law named Frans Raphelengius and his wife sleep at night together with three of their children and their chamber-maid, for the rest of the time the said Raphelengius stays and works at the correction of proofs in the press while living at his own expense in my house'.⁴

1. Letter to de Çayas, 19th December 1566 (*Corr.*, I, no. 20).
2. Letter to de Çayas, 22nd November 1572 (*Corr.*, III, no. 438).
3. Arch. 8, folio 165ro (cf. the text in Rooses, *Musée*, p. 145). See also *Corr.*, IV, no. 602.
4. Original French text: '... en laquelle il y a deux lits occupants presque l'entière chambrette èsquels couchent de nuict mon gendre nommé François de Raphelengien avec sa femme, trois de leurs enfants et leur chambrière, car le reste du temps ledict Raphelengien demeure et s'employe à la correction de l'imprimerie et à ses despens à mon logis.'

In 1576, at Plantin's instigation, Raphelengius was certified as a printer and admitted in this capacity to the Guild of St. Luke, given possession on 1st February of a shop ('bouticle') that had been specially set up for him near the north door of the cathedral¹ and on 10th February was made a citizen of Antwerp. By this means Raphelengius was - in theory - installed as an independent bookseller and printer. In fact he remained Plantin's chief reader and principal manager in the *officina*;² it was Margareta who kept shop³ while her husband continued with his accustomed activities. The intention had simply been to provide the Raphelengius family with additional income so that it should not be at any financial disadvantage compared with the second son-in-law, Jan Moretus, who that same year had been entrusted with the management of Plantin's own bookshop.⁴

During Plantin's stay in Leiden and the siege of Antwerp by Farnese, Frans Raphelengius and Jan Moretus together kept the *Officina Plantiniana* going as best they could. What happened after the surrender of Antwerp and the return of Plantin has already been described in some detail:⁵ Raphelengius, having been converted to the reformed religion during the Calvinist regime, and having put - or lent - his name to a number of violently anti-Spanish publications, had become greatly compromised in Spanish eyes. Reconciliation with the new Spanish government of Antwerp might still have been possible for him, but he chose the other course open to him and went to Leiden. There the well-equipped northern branch was in some danger of being confiscated by the Dutch authorities and it was vital that a member of the family should be on the spot to assert their rights. At the same time the scholarly Raphelengius had a good chance of being offered a professorship at the newly founded University of Leiden. On 26th November 1585 Plantin 'sold' all his Leiden property to his son-in-law.⁶ At the beginning of 1586 Raphelengius arrived in Leiden with

1. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 145-146. Cf. Plantin's letter to Arias Montanus, 11th February 1576 (*Corr.*, V, no. 702, pp. 127-128).
2. '... principal correcteur et coadjuteur au faict de son Imprimerie', as Plantin put it in a petition to the Antwerp magistrate, 30th April 1582 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 984).
3. See Rooses, *Musée*, p. 146, on the supplying of books to Raphelengius's shop. Cf. also Vol. II of the present work, the chapter on the book-sale.
4. Cf. p. 154.
5. See pp. 115-116.
6. See p. 116 and pp. 162 sqq. concerning the fictitiousness of this sale.

his family; on 3rd March of that year he was appointed university printer with the same salary (200 fl. a year) as his father-in-law before him; on 20th June he started to lecture in Hebrew at the university at 300 fl. a year, and on 8th February 1587 he became professor.¹ He was working in this dual capacity at Leiden when Plantin died in 1589.

MARTINA PLANTIN AND JAN MORETUS² - In 1570 it was the turn of Plantin's second daughter, Martina, to embark on marriage. The bridegroom recorded the glad occasion in a brief entry in the diary he kept of important family events:³ 'L'an 1570 ad 30 Aprilis ie fus fiancé avec ma compagne Martine Plantin, fille de C. Plantin, imprimeur en Anvers et espouse le 4 Juin ensuivant en la grande Eglise de Nostre Dame et furent tenues nos nopces ledit iour en la Cammerstraete au Compas d'Or aupachuys derrière.'

Jan Mourentorf or Moerentorft⁴ too latinized his name, into Moretus, the form by which he is usually known. Like his brother-in-law he was no stranger to the Plantin family. In fact, he had worked for Plantin longer than Raphelengius had.

Jan Moretus was born in Antwerp on 22nd May 1543 'ung mardi entre dix et onze devant disner, *decrecente luna*.' He was the third of a family of eleven children. His father was the satin-weaver Jacob Mourentorf, son of Jacob, born in Lille. His mother was Adriana Gras, a daughter of the Milanese silk-weaver Pieter Gras, alias Marin, and of Elizabeth Borrewater. In about 1557, when he was scarcely fourteen years old, Jan Moretus came to work for Plantin. The interruption of the printer's activities in 1562-63 obliged Moretus to seek a living elsewhere, a quest diat took him to Venice.⁵ By the beginning of 1565, however, he was back in Antwerp,

1. P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche universiteit*, I, pp. 45, 46 and 50.
2. Concerning Jan Moretus, see particularly Rooses, *Musée*, passim; M. Sabbe, *De meesters van den Gulden Passer*, and *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*.
3. Arch. 201. Marriage contract, 30th April 1570: Arch. 98, pp. 153-157.
4. Both forms were used at this time, but both Moretus himself and the family appear to have preferred Mourentorf. From the end of the sixteenth century they favoured Moerentorf. There are many other variants - Mouretourff, Mouretourft, Moerretuerff, Moereteurf, and so on.
5. Arch. 31, folio 108: '[September 1567] Compté avec Jehan Moeretorf qui m'est venu servir de Venise au mois de juin 1566'...; '[27th February 1568] du reste de Scoti et compagnons pour avoir servi en Venise'. Moretus must have accompanied one of the Schotti to Venice, probably the one who was later a partner of Plantin (or else his father Rigo Schotti). Plantin, however, was incorrect in giving June 1566 as the date of Moretus's return from Venice. In Arch. 3, folio 36, there is an entry for 6th October 1565: 'despense de Jehan Moeretorf de 6 mois, 27 fl.', while P. Gassen's letter, mentioned elsewhere in the text, also points to an earlier date. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 148.

working in Plantin's shop once more. Pierre Gassen, in a letter of 1st April 1565, congratulated his business friend on the return of his young assistant: 'Je suis bien aysé de la venue de vostre Jehan pour vostre soulagement.'¹ In the letter to de Çayas of 4th November 1570 already quoted, Plantin's eulogy of his new son-in-law sounds much warmer and more enthusiastic than the passage devoted to Raphelengius:² 'A young man quite expert in and with a good understanding of Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, German, and Flemish who from the time that your Highness was in this country with His Majesty until now, has always served me in both good and bad times, without abandoning me because of any ill-fortune which overtook me or because of the promises or inducements that others were able to make him, even offering him the richest marriages and rewards such as were not within my power to grant him. For which reason I give her [i.e. Martina] to him, to the great pleasure of all my good Lords, relations and friends who have known this young man while he has been conducting the business of my shop.'³

In Frans Raphelengius the 'principal correcteur et coadjuteur au faict de mon imprimerie' and in Jan Moretus 'perpetuellement occupé aux affaires de la Boutique et aultres choses necessaires à l'entretien de ladite Imprimerie'⁴.

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 15, p. 33.

2. *Corr.*, II, no. 251, p. 174.

3. Original French text: '... ung jeune homme assés expert et bien entendant les langues Grecque, Latine, Espagnole, Italiene, Françoisse, Allemande et Flamande qui, dès le temps que V. Ille Sie estoit par deçà avec sa Majesté jusques à maintenant, m'a tousjours servi, en temps de faveurs et en temps contraire, sans m'abandonner pour fortune qui m'advint ni pour promesses ou attrait qu'autres luy ayent sceu faire, mesme en luy présentant trop plus riches mariages et gages qu'il n'estoit en mon pouvoir de luy donner. Parquoy je la [= Martina] luy donnay, au grand contentement de tous mes bons Signeurs, parents et amis qui ont cogneu ledict jeune homme en maniant les affaires de nostre boutique.'

4. Petition from Plantin to the magistrate of Antwerp, 30th April 1582 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 984). In a document issued by the magistrate on 18th October 1582, Jan Moretus is described as 'director and overseer of the distribution or sale of his [i.e. Plantin's] work and trade' (*Corr.*, VII, no. 991).

Plantin had two sons-in-law who rendered him sterling assistance in the business. It would be no exaggeration to say that, without this hardworking and reliable pair, the *Officina Plantiniana* would never have grown into one of the largest capitalist enterprises of the sixteenth century. Plantin himself effectively emphasized the part his sons-in-law played in the success of his press in his informative letter to de Çayas: ‘And thus I have (by the grace of God who has granted me this favour) two other persons similar to myself in the two chief positions in my business: the first in the press to correct what is printed, and the second in the shop for our accounts and sales. To which matters, for the present, it would not be possible for me to attend, seeing the burdens and tasks that are daily given to me.’¹ With an easy mind, Plantin could permit himself to be away for weeks and months at a time on his numerous business journeys in France and Germany while his two sons-in-law looked after the business, Raphelengius in the printing-press, Moretus in the shop.

The main function of the latter was not, of course, to sell books over the counter to the customers. After 1563 the retailing of books had become a less important side-line for Plantin and was probably left to young counter-hands.² Moretus's duties in the bookshop were more managerial. He dispatched orders to the many customers outside Antwerp, checked incoming deliveries, kept the accounts and conducted the correspondence. If Plantin was prevented from going abroad it was always Moretus, never Raphelengius, who undertook the journey in his stead.

Like the Raphelengius family, Moretus and his wife and children lived in Plantin's house until 1576. In that year the bookshop and the printing-press were separated, the latter being installed in the building between the Hoogstraat and the Vrijdagmarkt. Plantin went to live there while

1. Original French text: ‘Et ainsy ay je (grâces à mon Dieu qui me donne ceste faveur) deux autres moy-mesmes aux deux principaux points de mon estat: le premier pour l'imprimerie à la correction, et le second en la boutique pour nos comptes et marchandises. A quoy, pour le présent, il me seroit impossible de pouvoir entendre, veu les charges et occupations qui me sont données journellement.’
2. See Vol. II.

Raphelengius moved into the small bookshop that had been purchased for him near the north door of the cathedral. The original bookshop remained in the Kammenstraat and so did Moretus. Now fully responsible for this 'sales department', he was paid the considerable salary of 1,100 fl. a year. This was raised to 1,200 fl. in 1586.¹ Mention has already been made of the fact that Moretus and Raphelengius remained behind to look after the *Officina Plantiniana* while Plantin was in Leiden and Antwerp was being besieged by Spanish troops. After Plantin's return in 1585 and the subsequent departure of Raphelengius for the north, Moretus stayed in Antwerp, his aged and ailing father-in-law's sole support in the business. Plantin remained in control of the press right to the end, but Moretus, in addition to his own responsibilities in the shop, was increasingly obliged to come to his assistance.

Plantin had his son-in-law entered in the Guild of St. Luke as a master-printer on 6th August 1586 and obtained a royal patent for him. It was granted on 27th February 1587.² Jan Moretus was thus equipped to succeed Plantin as head of the Antwerp *officina* immediately on the latter's decease.

CATHARINA PLANTIN AND HER TWO HUSBANDS: JEHAN GASSEN AND HANS SPIERINCK - Catharina, Plantin's third daughter, went into trade at an early age and was still young when she married a business associate. As has already been stated, she was the 'gouvernante' in the Netherlands for the Parisian draper Pierre Gassen. She made the acquaintance of this merchant's nephew, Jehan Gassen, who was also in the linen and lace trade. The young couple were married in Paris in the middle of June 1571.³ They began their married life in Pierre Gassen's house; the honeymoon proved stormy. Pierre's daughters had charge of the housekeeping and they must have tried to make Catharina do the more menial chores, but this spirited young woman was not going to submit meekly to such treatment. Her husband sided with his cousins. There was plain speaking and mutual

1. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 148. Partly paid in kind: in 1584 Plantin sold the *Gulden Passer* in the Kammenstraat and the *Beitel* in the Valkstraat to Moretus for 2,886 fl. 8 st., which was to be deducted from the latter's salary (Arch. 19, folio 160).
2. Cf. p. 120. There was also a certificate of orthodoxy from the Dean and Chapter of Antwerp Cathedral, dated 6th February 1587 (Arch. 98, p. 437).
3. Marriage contract, 23rd June 1571: Arch. 98, pp. 187-202.

recrimination on both sides of the family. Echoes of these marital squabbles reached Plantin by way of Pierre Porret. On 23rd November 1571 the printer wrote his daughter and his son-in-law a long letter each in moving words which, he said, ‘procèdent de l'interieur de cueur, comme une flamme de feu qui y brusle’. Catharina was admonished not to be ‘rogue, despite, dédagneuse, paresseuse, et fière’; Jehan Gassen also received a number of wise exhortations suffused with Plantin's characteristic mysticism.¹

This paternal intervention may have helped matters: there is no record of any further domestic wrangles. The marriage, however, was soon to end in tragedy. In March or April 1574 Jehan Gassen died after being attacked by robbers during a journey in the Netherlands. Precise details are lacking, but the unfortunate victim was probably not dispatched at the scene of the crime: on 28th April 1574 Martina Moretus wrote in the memorandum book for transactions with Gassen: ‘Mon Père doit avoir encores pour aultant paie aus medesins, sirurgiens et apotiqueres et funerailles de feu nostre feu frere Gassen, 79 florins 5 patars.’²

Catharina carried on her husband's business for a few months, until July or August 1575, when Plantin and Jeanne Rivière went to Paris to fetch their daughter and her child home to Antwerp.³ Various young Parisian suitors had already asked for the young widow's hand,⁴ but Catharina did not intend returning to the French capital. On 26th November 1575 she was married in Antwerp Cathedral to a spice merchant, Hans Arents, called Spierinck (and nearly always referred to as Spierinck in the sources which the author has used).

Political events did not permit Catharina and her new husband to stay very long in Antwerp. In September 1576 Spierinck, together with Jan Moretus, went to the annual fair at Frankfurt, where the young spice merchant had a ‘taberna’ (shop). Catharina accompanied her husband

1. *Corr.*, II, nos. 293 and 294.

2. M. Risselin-Steenebrugen, ‘Les débuts de l'industrie dentellière. Martine et Catherine Plantin’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 39, 1961, p. 117.

3. Letter from Plantin to Arias Moritanus, 13th-14th August 1575 (*Corr.*, IV, no. 643).

4. One of these suitors, Marcelin le Poivre, was politely refused by Plantin on 28th August 1575. To soften the blow a little ‘two small pieces of lace to make the “fraise” of a shirt’ were sent with the letter (*Corr.*, IV, no. 644). Cf. also the letter to Arias Montanus, 15th October 1575 (*Corr.*, V, no. 662).

to assist him during this busy period.¹ Alarming rumours about the disturbances in the Southern Netherlands made Spierinck decide to leave his wife in Cologne on the homeward journey.² In this way Catharina escaped the terrors of the Spanish Fury (4th November 1576). It cannot be ascertained whether her husband was still in Antwerp when this took place, but it seems that he too was resident in Cologne at the beginning of 1577.³

From Cologne Spierinck took his family to Hamburg, where he acted as Plantin's agent.⁴ Business was anything but brisk there, however, and in a letter of 18th March 1585 the spice merchant had to ask Jan Moretus for more time in which to repay the money his brother-in-law had advanced him.⁵ This letter was written from Leiden. Presumably Plantin's presence in the Dutch university town prompted Spierinck and his wife to make their way there.⁶ With his father-in-law's help he would certainly be in a position to do good business: 'Father who does much for me wherefore I can never thank him enough bids me take fresh courage and that I should consider that I am starting anew and God be praised we are now doing quite a good trade here and it gets better every day so that I hope we shall earn a livelihood.'

The couple stayed on in Leiden when Plantin set off for the South in August 1585. Whether it was because trade fell off again after Plantin's departure, or whether homesickness got the better of them, it appears that Plantin approached the Spanish authorities in March 1588 with a view to making it possible for his daughter and son-in-law to return to Antwerp.⁷

1. Letter to Arias Montanus, 1st-4th September 1576 (*Corr.*, V, no. 738).
2. Letter to Arias Montanus, 11th October 1576 (*Corr.*, V, no. 743).
3. Letter from Spierinck to Jan Moretus, 7th February 1577 (*Corr.*, V, no. 753).
4. He made particular efforts to sell Polyglot Bibles. In the ledger for 1572-1579 (Arch. 18, folios 259 and 445) the first entry reads: 'Le voyage de Hamburch entre les mains de Hans Spierinck doibt du present de Augst [1577] 985 fl.' (960 fl. of this amount was for 16 Polyglot Bibles sent to Hans Spierinck). Other deliveries followed, bringing the total on 31st January 1582 to 1,954 fl. 9½ st. Only 363 fl. 9½ st. of this was paid by Spierinck. In the ledger for 1582-1589 (Arch. 20, folio 74) about another 1,000 fl. is entered for further deliveries in 1582. But on 23rd July 1583, 1,400 fl. was deducted from Spierinck's debt by an agreement 'made at Leiden with my father'. The remainder of the debt seems also to have been remitted later.
5. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1033.
6. From the 1582-1589 ledger (cf. n. 4 supra) it appears that Spierinck was in Leiden at least from 23rd July 1583, when Plantin himself had not been long in the town.
7. Cf. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, nos. 1356 (8th March 1588) and 1359 (18th March 1588).

Either in 1588, or not later than the beginning of 1589, and in any case before the death of Christophe Plantin, Catharina and her family were back in Antwerp.

MAGDALENA PLANTIN AND EGIDIUS BEYS¹ - Like Raphelengius and Moretus, Plantin's fourth son-in-law, Egidius or Gilles Beys, played an active part in the life of the *officina*, but he proved a much more difficult character and caused his father-in-law considerable trouble. Nevertheless it seems to the author that the reputation Beys has acquired in the literature is much worse than he really deserves.

Egidius Beys was born on the seigniory of Princenhage near Breda into a family of some means. His father, Cornelis Gielisz. was for many years an alderman and also responsible for the administration of poor relief.² Egidius entered Plantin's service as a shop-boy in July 1564. The printer must have been quite satisfied with his new assistant, for three years later, when he opened his bookshop in Pierre Porret's house in Paris, it was Beys who was placed in charge, although it was nominally under the management of Porret. Egidius Beys left for the French capital in the first days of January 1567.³

In 1572 Magdalena Plantin visited Paris, staying with her sister Catharina. She was scarcely fifteen years old, but Plantin found it necessary to warn her against the dangers of the flesh and of the perils of over-hasty marriage.⁴ Names were not mentioned in the relevant letter, but it seems probable that Beys had made overtures, to which Magdalena had not remained altogether insensitive, and that Plantin, having been informed by Porret, attempted to damp this too youthful ardour. Circumstances were to compel Plantin to give his consent much sooner than he had anticipated or wished.

1. Concerning Egidius Beys, see Rooses, *Musée*, passim; H. Stein, 'La succursale plantinienne de Paris'. See also the works quoted on p. 178, n. 2.
2. J.B.W.M. van Roosmalen, 'Gielis Beys, schoonzoon van Plantijn' in *Jaarboek 'De Oranjeboom'*, 2, 1949, pp. 86-88.
3. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 149. Cf. Arch. 3, folio 62. Concerning Beys's activity in the period 1567-1572 see: *Corr.* I, nos. 52, 56, 71, 98; *Corr.*, II, nos. 172, 193, 219, 222, 223, 252. It should be noted that not all of Beys's letters - or at least not all those addressed to Jan Moretus - were included in *Correspondance*. Some of these were reproduced wholly or in part in Stein, *op. cit.*
4. *Corr.*, III, no. 383 (letter of 20-22 May 1572).

The peregrinations attendant on Magdalena Plantin's wedding have already been described in detail and placed in their historical perspective.¹ For present purposes a brief summary of these events will suffice. The sudden explosion of political and religious passion in France (the St. Bartholomew's Eve massacre, 24th August 1572) made Plantin fear for the lives of his kinsfolk in Paris and for the safety of his *Gulden Passer* there. As soon as he possibly could, he hurried to Paris, finding to his relief that all was well with both family and shop. Plantin's precipitate journey appeared rather suspicious to his Spanish patrons. To justify himself the printer alleged that he had received news of his daughter's engagement and that this was why he had sped to Paris. This explanation did not quite fit the facts. It is more than likely that Beys only asked Plantin officially for his daughter's hand in marriage after the printer's arrival in Paris.

The political situation in France remained confused, but not more so than in the Netherlands. There was even the possibility that Plantin would be obliged to close down the press at Antwerp. All in all he must have thought it advisable at the time to leave his daughter in Paris and to marry her, in spite of her youth, to someone he knew and trusted. In the shortest possible time Magdalena Plantin and Egidius Beys were engaged and married: on Saturday, 27th September 1572, in the late evening, Plantin arrived in Paris; on Monday, 29th September the two young people were betrothed; on the Tuesday of the following week, 7th October, they were man and wife.

Egidius Beys was a fairly educated man. Besides his native Dutch he knew, and wrote, both French and Latin. His marriage spurred him on to improve himself by further study and he asked his brother-in-law Moretus if they might conduct their business correspondence in Italian or Latin, so that he could become more conversant with those languages;² Beys himself kept this practice up for some time.³

In those early years no discordant notes were heard. In fact on 21st July 1575 Beys was entrusted with the sole management of the Paris shop.⁴ By the following year, however, the Southern Netherlands, too,

1. See pp. 77 sqq.

2. Letter of 15th November 1572: Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

3. Cf. Beys's letter in Italian to Moretus, 24th July 1573 (*Corr.*, IV, no. 484).

4. Cf. Arch. 19, folio 88. Beys was given a stock of books to the value of 8,845 fl. 2 st. (on the sale of which he made 7½% profit), while he took a further 1,000 fl. worth of bound books and maps on his own account.

were aflame and on 22nd August 1577 Plantin was obliged to sell his shop in the French capital to the bookseller Michel Sonnius in order to keep himself solvent. Egidius Beys had to leave the concern. He set himself up as an independent bookseller and publisher.¹ From 1577 onwards his new address appears on a number of editions: ‘Lutetiae, apud Aegidium Beysium, via Jacobaea, sub insigno Lili albi’; and in French, ‘A Paris, Chez Gilles Beys, rue S. Jacques, au Lis Blanc’.

Leaving the business that he had managed for more than ten years was naturally a severe setback for Egidius Beys. On 7th February 1577, when it became clear that the negotiations in progress were going to lead to the sale of the shop, Hans Spierinck wrote a compassionate letter to Jan Moretus: ‘I understand further that our brother-in-law Gilles has to leave the shop, for which I am very sorry, though we must be resigned in this matter, as is our father, but it will be a great setback to our brother-in-law, he who is a son having to leave the shop, I think that if I had been in our brother Gilles's place I would have borne with Porret rather more, although if it is as Gilles says, then it was very hard to bear, and we must let father hear of this.’²

It is clear from this letter that Beys had had differences of opinion with Porret.³ This fact, coupled with Plantin's desire to save the parent house, may have made him pay too little heed to Beys's interests. In his letter of 20th February 1578 to Moretus, Beys accused his father-in-law of having brought about his ruin and wished him the same ‘delights’ that Plantin had caused him.⁴ However, this did not prevent Beys from greeting Plantin's arrival in Paris with pleasure a few months later: ‘Dont sommes tous joyeux et bevons et mangeons souvent ensemble.’⁵

Beys's business did not prosper. The situation remained as unsettled in France as in the Netherlands, and without sufficient capital behind him he

1. But not as a printer: at no time did Beys run a press of his own.
2. *Corr.*, V, no. 753.
3. It may even be that Plantin's decision to get rid of the branch was a result of this quarrel, or that it at least speeded the transaction with Sonnius.
4. *Corr.*, V, no. 788.
5. Letter to Jan Moretus, 7th July 1578 (*Corr.*, V, no. 802).

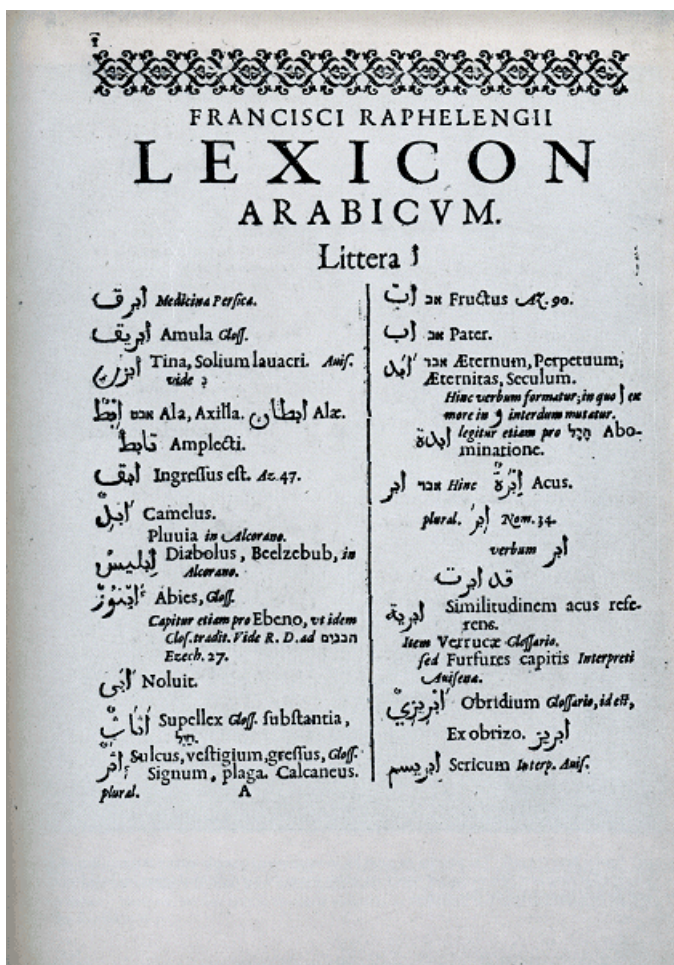
could do no more than struggle on accumulating debts. At the end of 1580 he approached his father-in-law concerning 'son enseigne et des livres de son impression avec leurs affiches'.¹ In other words he wanted to trade under the name of the Golden Compasses again and to obtain the monopoly for the sale of Plantinian editions on the French market. This conflicted with Plantin's contract with Michel Sonnius, and Beys's request was categorically refused.² Beys became angry; Plantin replied with equal acerbity. Moretus attempted to mediate and received a shattering broadside from the enraged Beys for his pains, which in turn provoked a brusque retort from the otherwise equable Moretus.³

It is the correspondence of these months which has given Beys his bad reputation in Plantin literature and branded him as an impossible son-in-law. Beys, however, had reason to feel bitter. As Plantin's son-in-law he had entertained considerable expectations. These expectations had come to nothing and Beys, the father of a numerous family, found himself obliged to scrape a living in the most adverse circumstances, while his two brothers-in-law were doing rather well in Plantin's protecting shadow. In the author's opinion Plantin did not do all he could have done for Beys, either in 1577 or in 1580-81, but this rather surprising attitude must be ascribed in the first place to Beys's own pig-headedness, which affronted even those who felt sorry for him and did not make it easy to settle the dispute.

Time, however, took the bitterness out of this family quarrel. A letter of 4th December 1583, addressed to Jan Moretus, strikes a more cordial note. It appears that by this time Beys was receiving a regular supply of Plantin editions from Antwerp, while his eldest son, Christophe, had arrived at Plantin's house a few weeks before: 'Je prie Dieu luy faire la grace de si bien faire que nostre Trescher pere et treshonorée mere y puissent prendre plaisir et contentement.'⁴

Relations between Plantin and Beys had returned more or less to normal, and presumably remained so in the following years. Then in 1589 another

1. What is meant here with 'affiche' is not very clear. In a different context the term is used in the meaning of a publicity broadside. (See Vol. II.)
2. Letter to Beys, 25th December 1580 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 897). Cf. also the letter of the same date to his daughter Magdalena (*Corr.*, VI, no. 896).
3. *Corr.*, VI, nos. 904, 909, 937. Cf. Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41.
4. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1013.

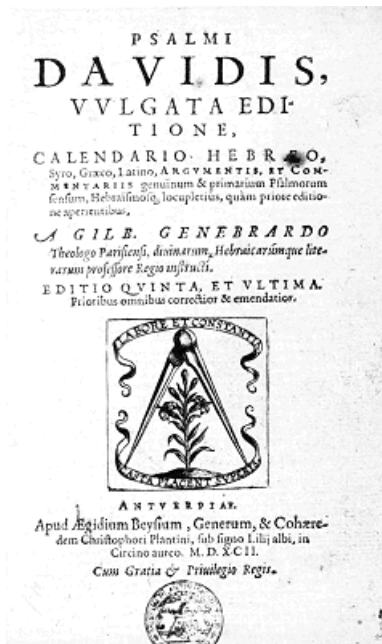
(40) Opposite: Page from Raphelengius's *Lexicon Arabicum*, published by his sons (Leiden, 1613).



(41) Egidius Beys († 1595). Oil painting on panel by an anonymous sixteenth-century master. Part of the panel was cut off at some later time so that the sitter's age which was in the top right-hand corner has been lost; at the left only the final figure [1] of the date remains.



(42) Magdalena Plantin (1557-99), Egidius Beys's wife. Oil painting on panel by an anonymous sixteenth-century master. As with her husband's portrait, parts of this panel were cut off at some later date. Of the date only the figures 71 remain. However, the date 1571 is obviously untenable, as Magdalena was then only fourteen years old and not yet married to Beys.



(43) Title-page of a publication of Egidius Beys, Antwerp, 1592. The imprint reads: 'Published by Aegidius Beys, son-in-law and fellow successor to Christophe Plantin, under the Sign of the White Lily in the Golden Compasses.' The printer's mark is a combination of Beys's original white lily with motto *Casta placent superis* and Plantin's compasses with the motto *Labore et Constantia*. Jan Moretus took legal action to prevent his brother-in-law from using Plantin's name and emblem.

entreaty arrived in Antwerp, not bitter or sarcastic this time, but a pathetic cry of distress which Magdalena had addressed to her father on 5th June of that year while her husband was away.¹ The ‘War of the three Henrys’ was raging in France. Paris was besieged and trade was paralysed: ‘My very dear and most honourable Father. By reason of the great necessity of the times, I am compelled to request bread of you, enough for myself and my eight children, soon to become nine for I am six months with child, and we shall most certainly die of hunger if we do not get help from you very soon. We have nothing here from which we can make money not a single farthing, for there is practically nothing in goods that can be traded, so little do we have that if it pleases you to help us, I beg you that it may be for our bread, every week we require four francs' worth, if it pleases you to have the money set aside for us somewhere I will go and collect it myself, should we fail to obtain this aid we shall remain without anything at all to sustain us.’²

Plantin was on his death-bed when this letter arrived, but he at once dictated a reply to Jan Moretus in which there was no trace of resentment, simply the will and the desire to help: ‘Ma fille... Vous scavés quel soing j'ay tousjours eu des miens, le mesme ay-je encores et auraij jusques à la fin, pleust a Dieu que j'eusse les moyens que plusieurs pensent que j'aij pour tant mieulx secourir chascun.’ He had already asked Sonnius to help his daughter; now he would repeat his request. When the Parisian bookseller eventually refused, he entreated the aid of Antoine Gassen, a relative of Jehan Gassen.³ Four days later Christophe Plantin was dead.

1. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1467.

2. Original French text: ‘Mon Treschier et treshonoré Père. Je suis par la tresgrande nécessité du temps contraincte de vous requérir mon Pain de moij et de mes huict Enfans et tantost neuf car je suis grosse de six mois, et fault necessairement que nous mourrions de ragie de fain si nous n'avons secours de vous et bien tost, nous n'avons rien ceans dequoij nous puiscions faire de l'argeant non pas un liart, car de la merchandise aultant comme de rien, tellement s'il vous plaist de nous secourir, je vous prie que ce soit pour le pain, il nous en fault toutes les sepmaines pour quatre francs, s'il vous plaisoit de nous les assigner quelque part je les iroyz querir moymesmes, a faulte dequoij mon Pere nous demeurons sans substance de rien.’

3. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1477.

HENRICA PLANTIN AND PIETER MOERENTORF¹ - Plantin's youngest daughter can be dealt with much more briefly. On 1st June 1578, in Antwerp Cathedral, Henrica Plantin was married to Pieter (Petrus) Moerentorf, brother of Jan Moretus. The bride was sixteen or seventeen years old, the bridegroom (born in Antwerp on 19th July 1544) was thirty-four. From 1570 to 1577 he had been a diamond merchant in Lisbon.² After his marriage he remained in Antwerp, continuing to practise the same trade.

*Christophe Plantin's estate*³

On his death-bed Plantin had implored the members of his family gathered round him: 'My children, let Peace, Love and Concord be kept always among you.'⁴ His death was nevertheless followed by a violent family quarrel, and it cannot be denied that Plantin himself was partly to blame for this.

Plantin and Jeanne Rivière had made a will at Leiden on 19th November 1584.⁵ About a year before the printer's death this was replaced by a new will, drawn up in the presence of the notary Van den Bossche at Antwerp on 14th May 1588. A codicil was added to this on 7th June 1589, when Plantin was already on his death-bed.⁶ In both wills Plantin and Jeanne Rivière named each other as heir to their respective estates; only after the decease of both could their possessions be divided up among their children or claimants. This was about all that the two wills had in common. In the Leiden will the various daughters and sons-in-law were treated more or less alike; in the Antwerp document one son-in-law was greatly favoured.

That son-in-law was Jan Moretus: 'Jehan Moereturf, leur gendre et marie

1. Some particulars are given in Rooses, *Musée*, p. 150, and Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*.
2. He wrote quite a number of letters to his brother Jan during this period (Arch. 89), Only a few of them were published in *Correspondance*. See for example *Corr.*, IV, no. 491. and *Corr.*, V, no. 720 (to Plantin, 25th May 1576).
3. Dealt with in detail by Rooses in *Musée*, pp. 246-248. The documents are in Arch. 98 and 99. See pp. 276-277 concerning the distribution of the houses.
4. Cf. p. 121.
5. Arch. 116. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 243.
6. *Suppl. Corr.*, nos. 255 and 256. The will was reproduced in Rooses, *Plantin*, 1882 (but not in the 2nd edition, 1896, nor in *Musée*, 1914).

avecq leur fille Martine Plantin' was to receive, as first legacy, the Antwerp press with all that appertained thereto¹ and the house in the Vrijdagmarkt in which the press was situated; further, all the printed works in Antwerp (both in the press and in Moretus's bookshop in the Kammenstraat) and in Frankfurt. The rest of the inheritance was to be divided equally among the five daughters. Annual rents were payable on the 'great house' in the Vrijdagmarkt and the codicil of 7th June 1589 was aimed at relieving Moretus of this charge on his share of the inheritance and distributing it among the other dwellings Plantin owned in the Heilig Geeststraat. This meant that after the death of Plantin and Jeanne Rivière, Moretus would collect more than half of the printer's estate, and then on top of this would receive an equal share with the other heirs of the remaining property, i.e. the Leiden holdings, Plantin's other houses in Antwerp, the stocks of unused paper, and the cash.

The reading of the will naturally provoked a storm among the other claimants. Plantin set out in detail his reasons for thus favouring Moretus: 'In respect and consideration of the fact that the same Jan Moretus has been and still is director of the business of the bookshop, which the said testators possess in this city of Antwerp, and thereby is the author of the profits and emoluments which are made there and proceed therefrom, and because of the great services that the said Jan Moretus has given the said testators for the past thirty years and is still so giving, and further because they hope that he will continue in the said trade and in other matters to their great satisfaction.'² Quite apart from the great affection he bore this son-in-law

1. 'avecq tous les materiaulx et choses servanttes à icelle imprimerie, comme matrices, moldes, poinsons, lectres fondues, presses et figures taillees, soit en cuyvre ou en bois, et tous aultres instruments, matieres et choses y appendantes et servanttes, sans aulcunne reservation de chose que ce soit' [with all the materials and articles in use in the said printing-office, including matrices, moulds, punches, cast type, presses and engraved designs, whether in copper or wood, and all other instruments, materials and objects appertaining thereto, without reservation of any article].
2. Original French text: '... au respect et consideration que icelluy Jehan Moereturf a este et encoires est directeur de la trafficque de librairy, que lesdicts testateurs ont en ceste cite d'Anvers, et par ainsi aussi auteur des prouffictz et emolumens qui en sont faitz et procedez, et pour cause des grandz services que passez trente ans ledict Jehan Moereturf a fait ausdicts testateurs, et ne cesse de faire, et encoires comme ilz esperent continuera de faire en ladicte trafficque et aultrement a leur grand contentement.'

and staunch helper, there was undoubtedly another consideration that influenced Plantin: the perpetuation of his life's work, the continuance of the *Officina Plantiniana*. If each of the inheritors received an equal share of the estate, Moretus would be left without sufficient equipment, capital, or credit to carry on the business.

Such considerations cut little ice with the other heirs. Even Frans Raphelengius, generally so imperturbable, wrote some sharp letters on the subject.¹ The reactions of the other sisters and brothers-in-law are not known, but it may be assumed that, for example, Egidius Beys must have expressed himself even more forcibly.² Discord prevailed among Plantin's descendants. Friends of the family came forward as mediators.³ Jeanne Rivière did what she could to restore 'Paix, Amour et Concorde' among her brood; more important still, Jan Moretus, who probably felt that his father-in-law had rather overdone things, showed himself willing to make considerable financial sacrifices to ensure the return of tranquillity to the house of Plantin.

After an abortive first attempt, Moretus succeeded in working out a compromise which was accepted by all parties on 16th February 1590, signed in the presence of the Antwerp magistrates on 16th March, and ratified by the city aldermen on 19th March 1590. Martina Plantin and Jan Moretus, Catharina Plantin and Hans Spierinck, Egidius Beys (acting for his wife, who had remained in Paris), and Henrietta Plantin and Pieter Moerentorf added their signatures, while Frans, the son of Frans Raphelengius and Margareta Plantin, signed a special declaration on behalf of his parents in which they agreed to this settlement.⁴

The agreement stipulated first of all that the estate should be divided up

1. Compare the tone of his letter of 28th July 1589 - when probably he had not yet heard of the provisions of the will - with his angry and indignant letters of 4th and 26th October 1589 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, nos. 1489, 1499 and 1504).
2. According to Jan Moretus it was in fact Beys who led the opposition: 'Estant mon beau frere Gilles Beys venu de Paris et ayant veu le testament a tant faict et pratique qu'il a faict rompre ledict testament et me faict oster ledict prelegat laissé à moy par feu mon diet beau pere.' (Arch. 11, folio 15; letter of 9th December 1591).
3. Including Barrefelt: see the letters of 14th September 1589 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1496) and 16th October 1589 (*ibid.*, no. 1502).
4. Arch. 99, pp. 197-212. Published by Rooses in *Plantin*, 1882 (not in the 2nd edition, 1896, or *Musée*, 1914).

immediately. Jeanne Rivière relinquished all her claims apart from an annuity of 1,000 fl.¹ The second stipulation was that the inheritance was to be shared out in such a way that Moretus would retain the Antwerp press and bookshop on conditions which would ensure their continuing viability. The third important point in the settlement was that the Antwerp and Leiden properties were to be kept separate; Raphelengius retained the latter, which corresponded roughly to his share in Plantin's estate, but he was not included in the apportioning of the Antwerp properties.

By dealing with the distribution of Plantin's estate in some detail it will be possible to obtain an idea of what the rise from poor journeyman bookbinder to the greatest typographer of the sixteenth century meant in material terms. The value of the printing-press was assessed by experts. The typographic materials were valued by the printers Daniel Vervliet and Andries Backx and the type-founder Herman Gruter, the stock of copperplates by the engravers Pieter van der Borch and Filips Galle and the cartographer Abraham Ortelius. They arrived at a total of 18,224 fl. 19 st.² It was agreed that for practical purposes a total of 18,000 fl. should be adopted, and that in this sum should be included 'toutes les casses, bacqs, mandes, tretëaux, formats, 9 platines... et toute telle menute d'imprimerie' together with the 'proof-readers' library'.

Jan Moretus received a two-fifths share of the estate (7,200 fl.) on account of the claims that he had renounced, while the three other 'Antwerp' heirs had to be content with one fifth each (3,600 fl.), to be paid out in cash instalments by Jan Moretus. The matrices, which were still at Frankfurt and had not been included in the valuation, were to be returned to Antwerp and divided up on the same basis. It was found that they were worth 1,384 fl. 10 st., which brought Moretus's share to 7,753 fl. 16 st., and that of the three other heirs to 3,876 fl. 18 st.

Moretus accepted responsibility for the liquidation of the *officina's*

1. On the basis of 300 fl. from each child, but 4/5 (800 fl.) was to be paid by Jan Moretus and 1/5 by Frans Raphelengius, these being the most favoured heirs.
2. Ten presses: 500 fl.; 647 punches @ 15 st.: 485 fl. 5 st.; 36 sets of adjusted matrices with moulds @ 36 fl. per set: 1,296 fl.; 28 sets unadjusted matrices @ 15 fl. per set: 420 fl.; 5,952 woodblocks @ 10 st. per block: 2,976 fl.; 1,930 copperplates 'old and new together': 3,747 fl. 14 st.; 44,159 *pond* (Flemish pounds) of cast lettertype, reduced to a round 44,000 *pond* and reckoned at 4 st. per *pond*: 8,800 fl.

liabilities, amounting to 25,445 fl., which he effected out of the assets of the estate.¹ The distribution of the houses Plantin owned in Antwerp formed a second important operation.² Concerning the third operation - the distribution of the stocks of books, paper and whatever other stores there may have been - no details are recorded.³ The total value of Plantin's estate could never have been calculated but for the fact that the missing details can be inferred from the arrangements that were made with the fifth party to the will, namely Raphelengius and Margareta Plantin. In principle this couple had Plantin's Leiden property as their share, representing a total value of 15,038 fl. 1½ st.⁴ Unpaid debts amounting to 3,942 fl. 14 st. had to be

1. This was arranged as follows: the claims of the house amounted to 16,350 fl.; it was assumed that they would bring net 10,000 fl.; 4,000 fl. was allowed on books in the warehouse at Frankfurt with a nominal value of 8,036 fl. 9 st.; and 824 fl. on a consignment of books, with a nominal value of 1,649 fl., sent to Frankfurt in Lent 1590. Books and paper from stocks in the Antwerp house had to be used to settle the remaining 10,621 fl.
2. The *Gulden Passer* in the Kammenstraat was not included in this as Plantin had sold it to Jan Moretus in 1584. The remaining properties were divided into four lots. Lot A - the Vrijdagmarkt *Gulden Passer* (the annual instalments which had to be paid on it were reckoned at 550 fl.) - went to Jan Moretus (cf. pp. 276 sqq.). Catharina Plantin and Hans Spierinck received Lot B - the *Houten Passer* (annual instalments 110 fl.) and the *Ijzeren Passer* (annual instalments 95 fl.) in the Heilig Geeststraat. Henrica Plantin and Pieter Moerentorf received Lot C - the *Zilveren Passer* in the Heilig Geeststraat (annual instalments 100 fl.) and the house next to the Vrijdagmarkt entrance of the *Gulden Passer* (annual instalments 80 fl.). Lot D went to Magdalena Plantin and Egidius Beys - the *Kleine Valk* at the corner of the Valkstraat and the Kammenstraat (annual instalments 195 fl.), the *Maagd van Antwerpen* in the Valkstraat (annual instalments 105 fl.), and a small house between the printing-office and the *Bonte Huid* in the Hoogstraat (annual instalments 25 fl.). Shortly after this distribution Catharina exchanged her *Ijzeren Passer* for Henrica's *Zilveren Passer*. The various houses differed considerably in value (the capital value being sixteen times the sum of the annual instalments). But all of Plantin's real estate carried interest charges: the houses were therefore divided up so that each lot was theoretically equal in value (142 fl. 2 st. in annual instalments making a capital value of 2,273 fl. 12 st.) and none of the four heirs was either favoured or discriminated against.
3. At least not of their value. There is an inventory, compiled on 3rd November 1589 (Arch. 98, pp. 511-527), which itemizes the stocks of books and paper: 5,075 reams of printed books in the *Kammenstraat* premises, and 5,686 reams of printed books and 5,329 reams of paper in the *Vrijdagmarkt* building. The remainder of the materials in the *officina* were also itemized: 5,952 woodblocks, 1,652 copperplates (1,930 in the transaction agreed upon by the heirs in 1590), 44,605 *pond* of cast type (44,159 *pond* in the transaction), matrices and punches.
4. Arch. 99, pp. 31-105. The *officina* was valued at 4,300 fl. and included: 3 printing presses (150 fl.); 1,578 woodblocks (750 fl.); 461 copperplates (637 fl.); 4,000 *pond* of cast type at 4 st. per *pond* (800 fl.); 30 sets of adjusted matrices at 30 fl. per set (900 fl.); 9 sets of unadjusted matrices at 15 fl. per set (135 fl.); 1,191 punches at 15 st. each (893 fl. 5 st.); and one old press and one Royal Bible (34 fl. 15 st.). Also listed were: the Assendelft property in which the firm was housed together with its ancillary buildings (4,000 fl.); the house called the *Drie Koningen* (1,400 fl.); the stock of paper (922 fl. 12 st.); the books in print up to 1st March 1590 (1,722 fl. 6 st.); debts owed to the firm (2,160 fl.); the cash in hand (225 fl. 13½ st.); and finally matrices and punches received from Antwerp (307 fl. 10 st.).

deducted from this sum: 'Reste que Raphelengien a eu en compte d'argent'; the total sum being 11,095 fl. 7½ st.

According to the relevant memorandum, however, the other heirs at Antwerp had received only 7,971 fl. 14 st. each 'in money'.¹ Raphelengius had thus received an extra 3,123 fl. 13½ st. On the other hand his share of the stocks of printed books amounted to only 23,617 fl. 11 st.,² while each of the other claimants had been given books to the value of 29,295 fl. 18½ st. Thus the extra 3,123 fl. 13½ st. in cash that Raphelengius collected was considered to be balanced by the 5,678 fl. 7½ st. less that he received in books.

It may be assumed that Moretus also received two shares of the books. Thus one sixth of Plantin's estate was considered to amount to 37,267 fl. 12½ st., comprising 7,971 fl. 14 st. in cash (or its equivalent) and 29,295 fl. 18½ st. in books. Moretus's share was worth 64,535 fl. 5 st. Plantin's estate therefore amounted to 47,830 fl. 4 st. in cash, or its equivalent, and 175,775 fl. 11 st. in books, giving a total of 223,605 fl. 15 st. However, the actual value of the books was as a rule considerably less than their nominal value: it can be seen from the figures quoted in the case of Jan Moretus and Frans Raphelengius that it was estimated at approximately one half of the nominal value. This would make Plantin's estate worth 136,000 fl. in round figures; more precisely, 47,830 fl. 4 st. in cash and 87,887 fl. 12½ st. in books, a total of 135,717 fl. 16½ st.

It would be presumptuous in the absence of reliable conversion-tables to attempt to express this sum in present-day values.³ One thing is certain,

1. That is to say the 3,876 fl. 18 st. from the share-out of the press and the printing material, plus the respective shares of the houses, cash in hand and stocks of paper, but excluding the stocks of printed books.
2. Subdivided as follows: other publishers' works (2,556 fl. 19½ st.); bound books (362 fl. 11½ st.); Plantin publications from Antwerp and Leiden (15,837 fl. 4¾ st.); books at Frankfurt (1,099 fl. 11½ st.); and books received from Antwerp (3,761 fl. 3¾ st.).
3. Max Rooses makes this amount of 136,000 fl. equal to 1,085.744 pre-1914 Belgian goldfrancs. Cf. also Appendix 5.

however: Plantin left behind a fortune that would make him a multi-millionaire by modern standards. The poor son of a gentleman's valet, the modest journeyman bookbinder, had not only won world fame, but at the same time had built up a fortune that was to ensure the future material prosperity of his family. *Labore et Constantia!*

To the estate that was shared out in 1590 should be added the personal belongings of Jeanne Rivière. They did not amount to a great deal. Plantin's widow continued to live in the *Gulden Passer* in the Vrijdagmarkt. Catharina Plantin and Hans Spierinck probably either went to live there with her, or at least settled in her immediate vicinity.¹ At all events it was this couple who, after Jeanne's death on 17th August 1596, saw to the funeral and the settlement of the estate. They found 228 fl. 14½ st. in cash. The sale of the furniture brought in 2,718 fl. 8¾ st., and Moretus had to make up three months' pension, i.e. 200 fl.

The total value of Jeanne Rivière's estate consequently was 3,147 fl. 3¼ tt. An amount of 774 fl. 11¼ st. had to be deducted from this for the funeral, the small legacies and other expenses, leaving 2,372 fl. 12 st. This sum was divided not in five but in four parts, as it was agreed that Raphelengius should find his portion in the excess he had received in the Leiden estate, while at the same time the furniture left behind there by the Plantins in 1585/86 was also at his disposal.

The Raphelengius family - the sarcastic Frans Raphelengius the Younger in particular - felt that they had been discriminated against and repeatedly chided their Antwerp relatives on this account in their letters, but they seem to have resigned themselves to the settlement all the same. Thus Plantin's four other daughters, with their husbands, each received a final bequest of 593 fl. 3 st. from the printer's estate.²

Those who disappeared from view

The *Officina Plantiniana* passed into the possession of Martina Plantin and Jan Moretus, and of their descendants, and it is with the story of this branch

1. Perhaps in the *Houten* or *Zilveren Passer* in the Heilig Geeststraat which the couple had respectively inherited and acquired by exchange.
2. Documents in Arch. 99, pp. 625 sqq. See also Arch. 92, folio 137, concerning Jeanne Rivière's property in Leiden.

of the family that the present work is mainly concerned. However, it would be doing less than justice to Christophe Plantin's other daughters and sons-in-law if they were dismissed from the narrative before a brief outline of their subsequent fortunes, and those of their families, had been given.

MARGARETA PLANTIN AND THE RAPHELENGIUS FAMILY¹ - Frans Raphelengius (27th February 1539 - 20th July 1597) married Margareta Plantin (1547 - before 27th April 1594) on 23rd June 1565. They had six children:

CHRISTOFFEL

(1566 - 17th December 1600) married Marijke Laurensse (died?). With issue.

FRANS

(1568-1643)

ELIZABETH

(baptized 13th March 1571; died 24th June 1648)

JOOST

(baptized 5th February 1573; died 26th May 1628)

MARIA

(baptized 22nd February or April 1574; died young)

SARA

(baptized 15th January 1576; died young)

The Raphelengius family remained established in Holland. Plantin's death ended the formal connection between the *officinae* in Antwerp and Leiden. Henceforth the *Officina Plantiniana apud Franciscum Raphelengium* went its own way, but this did not mean that all contact between the two houses ceased. Once the storm caused by Plantin's will had blown over, thanks to the accommodating spirit of Jan Moretus, the two families maintained the most cordial relations. They continually rendered each other all manner of services, great and small, although they never hesitated to call their respective kinsfolk over the coals or to quibble over a *stuiver*.

1. L. Voet, 'Het Plantijnse huis te Leiden'. See also the works cited on p. 147, n. 2 and Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste* for a genealogy. The correspondence between the Raphelengius and Moretus families after 1590 in the Plautin-Moretus Museum remains largely unpublished (letters from the Raphelengius family: Arch. 92 and 95); cf. L. Voet, *op. cit.*, p. 16, note 2.

Four of the children of Frans and Margareta survived: three sons, Christoffel, Frans, and Joost, and one daughter, Elizabeth. Religious differences created a singular atmosphere within the family. It has already been seen that Frans Raphelengius became a Calvinist in the years 1579 to 1585, his wife remaining Catholic. This parental split extended to the children. Christoffel and Elizabeth became convinced Protestants,¹ while Frans and Joost adhered to their mother's religion with equal tenacity. Concord seems to have prevailed within the family nonetheless, and the children collaborated - and to some extent even lived together - most harmoniously after their parents' death.

The Catholic members of the family do not seem to have felt very much at home in their Dutch Protestant *milieu* at first. In a letter of 27th September 1590 Frans junior wrote in the most unflattering terms of 'ces pais barbares', concluding with the words 'En la melancolique ville de Leiden.'² Later he must have grown reconciled to gloomy Leiden. At all events he never left the town and its environs again and when, many years later, Antwerp relatives were about to journey abroad for their pleasure, he was to write mockingly: 'I commend your brother that he is going to amuse himself a little. It is a comfort to my brother and me that we are not the only ones to be so foolish as to waste our money (if I am to own the truth) just to see that there are no countries which surpass the Netherlands.'³

Although the younger generation was soon completely integrated in the life of the North, Margareta Plantin was apparently never fully reconciled to her new surroundings. She was allergic to Holland, and this probably

1. See L. Voet, 'Het Plantijnse huis te Leiden', p. 22, on the attempts of the Moretuses if not to convert Calvinist Elizabeth then at least to influence her.
2. Arch. 92, folio 83. It should be pointed out that Frans did not accompany his parents to Leiden in 1586 but had remained in Antwerp until after his grandfather's death. He had only been in Leiden a few months on 27th September 1590.
3. Letter of 21st February 1602 (Arch. 92, folio 127). In politics, too, the younger Frans seems soon to have identified himself with the Northern cause - just as the Moretuses for their part had become fervent supporters of Spanish policy. When in 1595 an enthusiastic Balthasar I Moretus had sent his cousin a pamphlet in praise of Spanish military successes in France (which included the capture of Cambrai), Frans had written back ironically: 'Non vero triumphos vestros vobis invidio. Quinquennia totum victoriis et triumphis ad nauseam saturi sumus.' [In fact I do not grudge you your triumphs. For five years we have gorged to the point of nausea on victories and triumphs.] (Letter of 17th October 1595: Arch. 92, folio 103.)

had a psychological basis. Once when she returned from visiting her relatives in Antwerp her husband wrote to tell them of her safe arrival, concluding ‘Il n'y a seulement ce mal que ma femme s'est ressentie de l'air de Hollande approchant du pais, lequel n'est pas si propre à sa nature que cestuy de Brabant.’¹ A few months later, in April 1594, Margareta died. Judging from his correspondence this must have been a grievous blow for Raphelengius. His own health was not at all good and on 20th July 1597, not yet fifty-nine years old, he followed his wife to the grave.

All his life Frans Raphelengius did a great deal of work, yet published very little. It has already been seen that, as a specialist in Oriental languages, he was one of Arias Montanus's foremost collaborators in the realization of the Polyglot Bible. In the *Appendices* of this work there appeared his *Variae lectiones et annotatiunculae in Chaldaicam paraphrasim* and his revision of Sante Pagnino's Hebrew grammar and glossary, while he was probably also responsible for the Greek dictionary.

At his own press in Leiden he published: *Cl. Galenus de clysteribus et colica, interprete Francisco Raphelengio*, 1591; *Epitome thesauri linguae sanctae auctore Sancto Pagnino Lucensi. Fr. Raphelengius compluribus locis auxit et emendavit et appendicem dictionum Chaldaearum addidit*, 1596 - an abridged but revised edition of the treatise that he had written for the Polyglot Bible, in 1572.

From 1570 at least he had shown enthusiasm for another Semitic language, little practised in the West, namely Arabic. With grim determination he laboured at a great dictionary of that language. He had Arabic characters cut at Leiden, illustrating them in 1595 in the *Specimen characterum arabicorum Officinae Plantinianae Raphelengii*. But he never had the satisfaction of seeing his great work in print, *Francisci Raphelengii Lexicon Arabicum* being published by his sons in 1613. His *Tabulae in grammaticam arabicam, Lexicon persicum vocabulorum quae in Pentateucho* and *Observationes linguae hebraicae* remained in manuscript.²

Raphelengius is usually represented as having managed the printing-press at Leiden until his death in 1597. Nominally he was the head of the firm, which continued to publish in his name: ‘Ex Officina Plantiniana,

1. Letter of 27th July 1593 (Arch. 92, folio 75).
2. For a discussion of Raphelengius and the printing of Arabic in the West, see H.F. Wijnman, ‘The origin of Arabic typography in Leiden’ in *Books on the Orient*, Leiden, 1957.

apud Franciscum Raphelengium.’ But by 1589 at the latest he had left the conduct of affairs in the hands of his eldest two sons: Christoffel, then twenty-three, was responsible for sales (‘trafique’) and the twenty-one-year-old Frans for the press.

Frans junior has already been encountered in this narrative. A pupil of Justus Lipsius, he showed himself to be by no means without merit as a humanist in his youth. In 1589 he edited the *Decem tragoediae quae Lucio Annaeo Senecae tribuuntur* which was published by Plantin. His poem on the death of his grandfather was honoured by being included among the products of the most eminent humanists of the day in the Plantin memorial album of 1590.¹ After 1589 he gave up Latin letters for good in order to devote himself to business, but he continued to lard his correspondence with Latin tags and phrases. In these letters he also appears as an incorrigible jester, the family wit.

After their father's death in 1597 the two brothers carried on the business together, although to all outward appearances only Christoffel acted as what might be termed ‘responsible editor’. This position was, in part, forced upon them. When the ‘children and heirs of Raphelengius’ applied to be appointed to their father's old office of university printer, the Leiden senate retained only the Protestant Christoffel (9th November 1597).

The sudden death of Christoffel on 17th December 1600 made Frans the sole manager. In books about the Raphelengius family, the younger Frans is represented as having allowed the *officina* to decline until, after a protracted death-struggle, it came to an inglorious end in 1619. This is far from, correct. Christoffel's sudden death did throw Frans into some confusion. The Leiden senate passed him over when choosing a successor to Christoffel - probably because of his Catholicism, although it could also have been because of his personal conduct, which does not seem to have been exactly blameless;² they appointed the more ‘reliable’ Jan Paedts Jacobszoon as university printer. Frans himself thought seriously of closing down the press, expressing this intention in many of the letters that he wrote to his Antwerp kin in the years 1601 and 1602. As late as 16th November 1602 he wrote ‘Moreover I am half resolved to sever myself once and for all from

1. See p. 122.

2. See p. 178.

most of the troubles of the printing-press'.¹ What has so far been overlooked, however, is the fact that after 1602 Frans's letters to the Moretuses contained no more complaints about these troubles and that production, which had dwindled alarmingly in 1601 and 1602, rose again in 1603. Frans had pulled himself together.²

In those years, as in Plantin's time, publishers and booksellers still did an important amount of their trade at the Frankfurt Fairs. Frans, and more particularly Christoffel, visited the fairs regularly. When after his brother's death, Frans complained about the cares of the business, this was undoubtedly because he found himself having to bear a threefold burden - keeping the press at Leiden in operation, selling his books, and spending a number of months in Germany each year.

In 1603 he must have found a satisfactory solution to this problem. What this solution was is a matter for conjecture, but in 1602 Joost Raphelengius, his younger brother, a physician, botanist and a Dutch author of some merit,³ returned to Holland after a long period of study and travel in Italy and the Turkish empire. He settled permanently in Leiden near his brother and appears to have been of great assistance to Frans on many occasions. It may be assumed with a considerable degree of confidence

1. Arch. 92, folio 147. Original Dutch text: 'Voorts ben ik half van intentie eens finaliter vande meeste belabberinge vande druckerij te scheiden.' Cf. also the letter of 25th January 1601 to Jan Moretus (Arch. 92, folio 109): 'Outre le regret tres juste qui me touche le coeur pour la perte que j'ay faict de mon bon frere, je sens encore grandissime ennuy puis qu'il me faut rentrer en une charge à laquelle je me sens de jour en jour moins idoine.' [Besides the true sorrow that affects me at the loss of my dear brother, I feel very anxious as I must resume a task for which I feel myself less fitted every day.] Further the letters of 25th January 1601 (second letter of that date, Arch. 92, folio 111), 6th May 1602 (*ibid.*, folio 129), 12th May 1602 (*ibid.*, folio 141).
2. According to bibliographical data in the author's possession, which is by no means complete, the production of the Raphelengian house under the younger Frans may be summarized as follows: [15 works in 1599; 11 in 1600, the last years of Christoffel's management]; 3 in 1601; 2 in 1602; 7 in 1603; 4 in 1604; 7 in 1605; 1 in 1606; 4 in 1607; 6 in 1608; 8 in 1609; 12 in 1610; 15 in 1611; 13 in 1612; 15 in 1613; 6 in 1614; 4 in 1615; 3 in 1616; none in 1617; 1 in 1618; and 2 in 1619. These figures give only a partially true picture, as no distinction is made between pamphlets of a few pages and large folio volumes; as far as is known Dodoens's Herbal was the only book to appear in 1618, but it was of greater consequence than the total production of several apparently more prolific years.
3. I. Teirlinck, 'Joost van Ravelingen, botanist en dichter' in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1913, pp. 870-892.

that it was Joost's intermittent or continuing support which encouraged Frans to go on facing the vicissitudes of the trade.¹

Frans kept the *Officina Plantiniana* in Leiden going for another sixteen years. Then in 1619 he found that financially he was home and dry and so he and his brother liquidated the press.² The stocks of books were publicly auctioned on 14th October 1619.³ The Moretuses had already purchased some of the typographical material - punches, matrices, woodblocks, copperplates - from their relatives. The liquidation gave them the opportunity of obtaining much of the rest. In this way a large part of the typographical stores which Plantin had taken to Leiden in 1583 or that had passed to Frans Raphelengius in 1589-90 returned to the main house in Antwerp.⁴

Plantin's son-in-law was primarily a scholar and had entertained no great ambitions as a printer. On 18th July 1595 he wrote to his brother-in-law

1. L. Voet, 'Het Plantijnse huis te Leiden', p. 26.
2. This liquidation is mentioned in a series of letters from Frans to his Antwerp relatives: Arch. 92, folios 48 (22nd October 1618), 187 (20th November 1618), 189 (25th January 1619), 195 (27th June 1619), 203 (21st September 1619), and 243 (18th October 1619).
3. The Royal Library in Brussels has the only known copy of the auction catalogue, the *Catalogus librorum residuorum Tabernac Raphelengianae: quorum auctio habebitur Lugduni Batavorum in eadem Taberna die 4* [corrected by hand to 14] *Octobris M.DC.XIX*. Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden], Excudebat Henricus Ludovici ab Haestens, 1619. (Reproduced in facsimile in E. van Gulik & H.D.L. Vervliet, *Een gedenksteen...*, 1965). The copy in the Hamburg library (discussed briefly by J.L. Hoffman in 'Un catalogue de la librairie Raphelengienne, 1619' in *Le Bibliophile beige*, 4, 1869, pp. 57-59) was destroyed during the Second World War. Cf. L. Voet, *op. cit.*, p. 22, note 1. The catalogue simply lists the books in stock; the firm's own publications were not included in the sale and were disposed of by the Raphelengius brothers, Jan Maire 'et in aliis passim bibliopolis'.
4. The Raphelengian printing material and what became of it is discussed in the context of the Plantin press in: 'Plantin's types and their makers' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, and 'The types of Christopher Plantin' in *The Library*, 1956, both by H. Carter; also M. Parker, K. Melis, H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana. II. Early inventories of punches, matrices and moulds in the Plantin-Moretus archives' in *De Gulden Passer*, 38, 1960. It is discussed with more specific reference to die Raphelengius firm in: L. Willems, 'De herkomst van het typographisch materiaal van T. Erpenius' in *De Gulden Passer*, 9, 1931; D.W. Davies, 'The provenance of the oriental types of Thomas Erpenius' in *Het Boek*, 30, 1949-1951; and a series of studies by H.F. Wijnman, 'Thomas de Vechter, lettergieter te Leiden, 1584-1602' in *Het Boek*, 29, 1948; 'De studie van het Ethiopisch en de ontwikkeling van de Ethiopische typographic in West Europa in de 16de eeuw' in *Het Boek*, 32, 1955-1957 (particularly Section 6, 'De Ethiopische lettertypen van Franciscus Raphelengius te Leiden', and Section 7, 'Judocus Hondius de stempelsnijder en Thomas de Vechter de gieter van het Ethiopische lettermateriaal van Raphelengius'); and 'The origin of Arabic typography in Leiden' in *Books on the Orient*, Leiden, 1957. Cf. also in Vol. II of the present work the chapters on the typographic material and on book illustration.

Jan Moretus:¹ ‘And believe me it is not honour that constrains us to print this kind of book [an edition of Clusius], for we content ourselves with our lesser sorts without undertaking weightier tasks which are more useful to others more powerful than ourselves, for it is better to be content with mediocrity than to aspire too high and incur harm in so doing.’² These ‘lesser sorts’ were for the most part, as the younger Frans put it in a letter of 17th November 1590, ‘auteurs bonarum literarum’³ - that is, editions of classical authors and scholarly commentaries on such works.

While in Antwerp - which had become a stronghold of militant Catholicism - Moretus was specializing in liturgical books and Catholic editions, the Leiden *officina* remained much closer to the Plantinian tradition. Frans Raphelengius and his sons may not have embarked on venturesome projects, but their ‘petites sortes’ meant more for the scientific and intellectual life of their time than the purely theological and liturgical works of their more productive kinsman in Antwerp.

At the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Leiden *Officina Plantiniana* had an international influence in the world of humanism through its publication of handy ‘pocket’ editions of classical authors. An example of this influence can be seen in the ‘travelling libraries’ of Sir Julius Caesar, the eminent English intellectual of the time of James I. More than half of these books are Leiden editions. Of the forty-three volumes in the set now in the British Museum, no less than twenty-three bear the Raphelengian mark; only one has Moretus's compasses.⁴ Of the forty-three books in the set at Leeds, twenty-seven were published at Leiden.⁵

1. Arch. 95, p. 45.

2. Original French text: ‘Et croyez que l'honneur ne nous pousse à imprimer un tel livre, car nous nous contentons de nos petites sortes sans nous charger de sortes pesantes qui servent plustot aux autres plus puissants que nous, car il vault mieux se contenter de médiocrité que de monter trop hault avec dommage.’

3. Arch. 92, folio 85. Cf. L. Voet, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

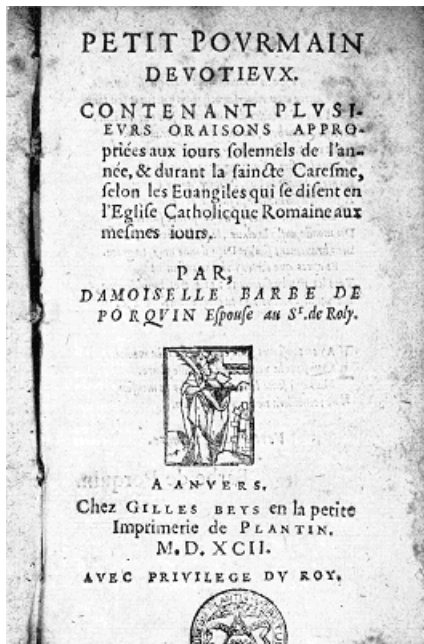
4. S. Williams, ‘Books printed by the Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp and Leyden in the Travelling Library of Sir Julius Caesar’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 112-119.

5. C. Clair, ‘Plantiniana in the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 120-121.

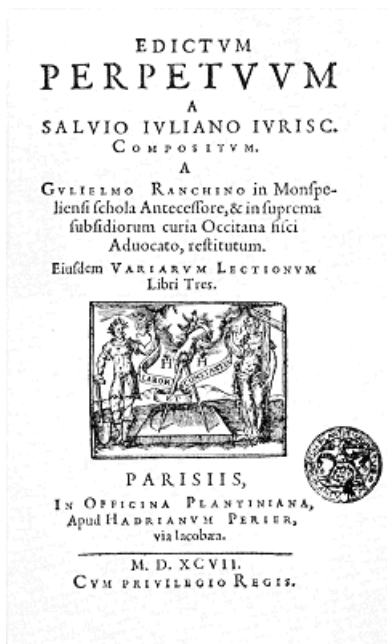
The Leiden *officina* influenced the intellectual life of the Northern Netherlands in another way. The fact that Frans Raphelengius was an eminent Orientalist, had Plantin's Hebrew types in his possession, and as a printer could easily have other more exotic characters cut, such as Arabic, Ethiopian, and Samaritan, enabled the University of Leiden to become the great European centre for the study of Oriental languages that it still is. It is true that most of the punches and matrices found their way to Antwerp, and that those for the Arabic characters were sold to an Englishman, but quite large quantities of type for the oriental languages mentioned remained in circulation in Holland. In 1621 the publisher Jan Maire printed the words *Typis Raphelengianis* on the title-pages of two Hebrew works so as to convince prospective buyers of the sound quality of the materials he had used, thereby underlining the significance of the Raphelengius family in this specialized branch of Dutch printing.¹

When he arrived in Leiden Frans Raphelengius - probably on his father-in-law's insistence - had stipulated that he should not be compelled to print works of political or religious import. He seems initially to have kept to this policy, but Christoffel, the ardent Calvinist, deviated from it. Between 1593 and 1600 he made use of his managerial position to publish a number of Protestant pamphlets and Orangist panegyrics.² This displeased Jan Moretus, who took a poor view of the fact that while the Antwerp *Officina Plantiniana* had become a symbol of Catholic militancy, that at Leiden was beginning to perform an exactly similar function in the Calvinist ranks. He repeatedly made his displeasure known, although, as Frans junior was to write after his brother's death: 'Mais c'estoit peine perdue d'en escrire à feu mon frère, car estant d'autre religion, il estimoit. faire honneur à Plantin, mettant son nom sur les livres de son opinione Dieu luy pardonne; errore peccavit, non malignitate.'³ Once Frans was

1. L. Voet, 'Het Plantijnse huis te Leiden', p. 34.
2. The Orangist publications included a number of poems by Hugo Grotius (Ode to Frederick Henry, 1595; *Scutum Auriacum*, 1597; the volume *Pontifex Romanus, Rex Galliarum, Rex Hispaniarum, Albertus Cardinalis, Regina Angliae, Ordines Federati*, 1598); a triumphal poem on the capture of Geertruidenberg, 1593; J. Fungerus's tribute to Prince Maurice, 1595 (cf. L. Voet, *op. cit.*, p. 24, note 5). Calvinist works included F. Gomarus's *Conciliatio doctrinae orthodoxae de providentia Dei*, 1597; and F. Junius's *Animadversiones ad controversiam primam christianae fidei*, 1600 (cf. L. Voet, *op. cit.*, p. 21, note 1).
3. Letter to Jan Moretus, 25th January 1601 (Arch. 92, folio 111).



(44) Title-page of another work published by Beys in 1592. The imprint now reads 'Published by Gilles Beys at Plantin's smaller printing office.'



(45) Title-page of a book published by Adrien Périer, Magdalena Plantins' second husband. Périer also calls the Paris shop the *Officina Plantiniana*, and like Beys he continued using the Plantinian emblem.

in charge he put an immediate stop to these publications, but without reversing the process and venturing to bring out works which favoured his own religion. Henceforth the Leiden press was strictly neutral once more, contenting itself with its ‘aucteurs bonarum literarum’.

The younger Frans Raphelengius also published a number of illustrated editions, utilizing wood-blocks and copperplates which had formed part of his family's share of the Plantin estate. They are among the most important products of the Leiden firm, and were certainly its most extensive. They included a new edition in 1603 of Sambucus's *Icones medicorum*, first printed by Plantin in 1574, and Dutch editions of Dodoens's Herbal in 1608 and 1618.¹

Joost Raphelengius died on 26th May 1628 of haemoptysis.² Frans probably died in 1643.³ Elizabeth departed this life on 24th June 1648. In her will she remembered her Antwerp relative Balthasar II (grandson of Jan I Moretus), leaving him a few trifles:⁴ ‘[a picture of] her late brother Frans on a scroll, her brother Christoffel on a small round panel, her brother Joost, also on a small round panel, both done in Italy, with her grandmother the wife of Plantin, and as many prints on paper of her father as shall be found.’⁵ Probably these small paintings and engravings were never sent, or were lost, for no trace of them has been found in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

Of the four surviving children of Frans Raphelengius and Margareta Plantin, only Christoffel married. The only child of this marriage, a daughter, Maeyke (1594 - 19th January 1664), was married in 1612 to Adriaan Joost van Musschenbroeck (died 1663). They had twelve children.

1. M. Sabbe, ‘Een en ander over Dodoens' Cruydboeck-uitgaven van 1608 en 1618 en de Van Ravelingen's’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 15, 1937, pp. 89-106.
2. The younger Frans's letter of 7th June 1628 to Balthasar Moretus gives details of Joost's last moments (Arch. 92, folio 223).
3. Concerning the date of his death, see L. Voet, ‘Het Plantijnse huis te Leiden’, p. 32, note 3.
4. Original Dutch text: ‘... des overledens broeder Franchoy's op een rolleken, haer broeder Christoffel in een cleijn ront bordeken, haer broeder Joost mede in een cleijn rondeken, alle beyde in Italien gedaen, met haer grootmoeder de huysvrouw van Plantijn ende soo veel afdruksels van haer vader in papier als geraden gevonden werden sal.’
5. Arch. 106 (copy of the original in Leiden). She also bequeathed to the Leiden University Library a portrait of her grandfather Christophe Plantin (it is still there), to Professor Golius she left portraits of her parents, and to Nicolaas Baviaen a portrait of her brother Joost.

Their eldest son, Joost van Musschenbroeck (1613-1691), was the father of thirteen children. One of the girls, Sara (1647-1710), was married in 1683 to the Leiden bookseller Jordaen Luchtmans (1652-1709), becoming the ancestress of another prominent publishing family. There are people alive today who trace their descent from her.

In her will of 1648 Elizabeth also left something ('the drawing of her brother Christoffel') to a certain Christoffel Ravelingh. This was very probably an illegitimate son of brother Christoffel. The behaviour of the eldest son of Frans Raphelengius and Margareta Plantin seems, indeed, to have left much to be desired. In the same letter which reveals this - it was written on 30th September 1602 to Jan Moretus by no less a person than Justus Lipsius¹ - his brother Frans also comes in for criticism: 'La messaigière me diet, qu'il semble que F. Raphelengius veult vendre sa maison, et qu'il est au train du frere defunct, tient au logis une garce etc. Bels actes!'

MAGDALENA PLANTIN AND THE BEYS AND PÉRIER FAMILIES² - It has been seen that Magdalena Plantin and Egidius Beys were in desperate straits in 1580.³ The bequest he received from Plantin's estate gave Beys a new chance. Immediately after his father-in-law's death he hurried to Antwerp, where he arrived looking like a beggar.⁴ Jan Moretus lent him money to buy clothes and shoes, and paid - out of the estate - a number of bills and demands for payment that had followed Egidius from Paris.⁵

1. Arch. 86, p. 577.

2. On the subject of Egidius Beys, see Rooses, *Musée (passim)*; and H. Stein, 'La succursale plantinienne de Paris'. Concerning the Beys family and their various relations after Egidius's death, see especially Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*; H. Stein, *op. cit.*; M. Sabbe, *De meesters van den Gulden Passer*, pp. 118-121 (Christophe Beys); A. de Decker, 'Eenige Antwerpsche drukkers in den vreemde' in *Bulletijn van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, 1, 1882; P. Renouard, 'Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie' in *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 32, 1922, pp. 49-50 (Beys); 42, 1932, pp. 270-272 (Pautonnier, Périer); 44-45, 1933-1934, pp. 423-424 (Varenes).

3. See p. 161.

4. See Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 257-258, and H. Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-44, on Egidius Beys in Antwerp and his quarrel with Jan Moretus; the documents relating to the lawsuit are in Arch 99, pp. 301 sqq.

5. Arch. 20, folio 359 (2nd September 1589, Egidius Beys 'being present in Antwerp', Jan Moretus lent his brother-in-law a total of 460 fl. 7¼ st. on that date, and 90 fl. 'to send to my sister Magdalena in Paris' on 16th January 1590).

Magdalena Plantin (born 1557; died 27 Dec. 1599) married twice: first, on 27 Oct. 1572, Egidius Beys, who died 19 April 1595; then, in August 1596, Adrien Périer († before February 1629).¹

Magdalena Plantin and Egidius Beys had eleven children:²

MADELEINE or MAGDALENA

(Paris 1 Aug. 1573 - after 1616) married 22 Jan. 1596 Jérémie Périer, bookseller († 1623?). With issue.

CHRISTOPHE or CHRISTOFFEL

(Paris 18 June 1575 - 7 Sept. 1647) married twice; first, about 1608, N.N. († 18 Feb. 1638). With issue. Remarried 6 May 1638 Isabella Robelet (died?).

MARIE or MARIA

(Paris 14 April 1577 - Feb. 1647) married 30 Jan. 1598 Olivier de Varennes, bookseller († 1623). With issue.

MARGUERITE or MARGARETA

(Paris 6 April 1578 - before 24 May 1616) married 7 Aug. 1601 Pierre Pautonnier, printer, bookseller, and bookbinder (died?). With issue.

JEAN or JOANNES

(Paris about 1584 - 8 Aug. 1606), printer.

CATHERINE or CATHARINA

(born Paris; died after 1616) married between 6 Aug. and 16 Oct. 1602 Pierre Danton, tinsmith.

CHARLES

(born Paris)

JACQUES

(born Paris)

CLAUDIA

(born Paris)

JOANNA

(baptized Antwerp 21 June 1592; died before 19 Oct. 1596)

GILLES

(baptized Antwerp 19 Jan. 1594; died after 1618)

1. Périer married his second wife, Marie Pinsen-Simon, on 16th September 1603.
2. Van der Straelen's *Geslagt-lyste*, and P. Renouard's 'Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires...' are incomplete but complement each other: the former has inadequate details of the Paris-born children while the latter is badly informed about what happened in Antwerp. This has been taken into account here.

Acting on his wife's behalf Beys took part with the other heirs in the negotiations which led eventually to the division of Plantin's property. Meanwhile his wife and children had arrived from Paris, and with the money he had received from the estate he installed himself, with his family, as a publisher and bookseller in Antwerp, next door but one to Moretus in the Kammenstraat; he expressed his intention of competing as hard as he could with his brother-in-law.

Proudly he announced his relationship with Plantin in the books he printed, named his house the *Gulden Passer* and adopted as his printer's mark the compasses and the motto *Labore et Constantia*, combined with his own white lily and the motto *Casta placent superis*. The *Psalmi Davidis*, by G. Genebrardus, which Beys published in 1592, carried the pompously styled address 'Antverpiae. Apud Aegidium Beysium, generum, et cohaeredem Christophori Plantini, sub signo Lili albi, in Circino aureo'. The *Petit pourmain devotieux par Damoiselle Barbe de Porquin*, published in the same year, had the terser but equally pregnant 'A Anvers. Chez Gilles Beys en la petite Imprimerie de Plantin.'

Moretus resented this taking of liberties with the name of Plantin. He maintained, justly, that according to the terms under which the estate had been divided up, only he had the right to call his firm the *Officina Plantiniana* and to use the compasses. Egidius refused to relinquish his claims in the matter, and the dispute was taken to court. Beys took the opportunity of filing a counter-claim: he demanded a share of the typographical privileges that Plantin had enjoyed and which had been transferred *en bloc* to his brother-in-law. The court found against him in both instances - in the matter of the printer's mark as well as the privileges. But Moretus had just won his case, when, acting in his usual tolerant way, he came to an agreement with the contentious Beys whereby the latter received the right to print a number of quite profitable editions, on the express condition that he no longer used the Plantinian printer's mark.

Beys made no use of these privileges. In 1594 he chose to return to Paris. There can be no doubt that Moretus was greatly relieved to see him go. He may even have influenced his turbulent relative in this direction. Anyway, he promised Beys the monopoly of sales of his publications in France. The two brothers-in-law parted on comparatively good terms. The letter

of 16th October 1594, in which Egidius Beys told Jan Moretus that he had arrived safely in Paris, and had succeeded in renting his former premises in the rue Saint-Jacques again for a period of four years, ended with the cordial words: ‘Vostre frere et mellieur ami.’¹

In Paris Egidius set to work at once. A number of books appeared with his name - and the Plantin compasses, for the agreement with Moretus only applied to Antwerp. Then, very suddenly, on 19th April 1595, he died.

At the time of her husband's death, Magdalena and her family were in Leiden visiting the Raphelengii. She was recovering from an illness and so it was decided not to break the sad news to her for the moment. Her eldest son Christophe, who was then twenty years old, travelled to Paris alone to settle his father's affairs. He reached the French capital five weeks after his father's death to find that the house had been placed under seal, and three parties were disputing the ‘alien's’ estate. Christophe Beys had to move heaven and earth before they would relinquish their prize. Not until he had given documentary proof of his father's naturalization and his own French birth were the seals removed.²

In September 1595 Magdalena arrived in Paris with the other children. In January of the following year her eldest daughter Madeleine married Jérémie Périer, a bookseller who also lived in the rue Saint-Jacques. In August 1596 she herself married Adrien Périer, brother of Jérémie and also a bookseller. Adrien moved into his wife's house, which continued to be called ‘Au Compas d'Or, à la Boutique de Plantin’. Some complicated family relationships ensued. Madeleine Beys became her mother's sister-in-law, Jérémie Périer the brother-in-law of his mother-in-law, while Adrien Périer became both stepfather and brother-in-law to Madeleine.

Two factors probably prompted Magdalena into this second marriage: her desire to provide those of her children, who were not yet of age, with a bread-winner, and her wish to carry on her first husband's business.

But Magdalena's second spell of married life did not last long. She died on 27th December 1599, scarcely forty-two years old, ‘du mal de poulmou’, which was probably either pneumonia or consumption.³ There were no

1. Arch. 77, folio 71.

2. Letter to Jan Moretus, 29th May 1595 (Arch. 77, folio 79). Cf. H. Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

3. Letter from Adrien Périer to Jan Moretus, 4th January 1600 (Arch. 90, folio 639).

children from her marriage with Adrien Périer, in contrast with her fruitful first marriage. In the pathetic letter which she wrote to her father on 5th June 1589, she had implored his help for her 'huict enfans et tantost neuf car je suis grosse de six mois'.¹ She gave birth to at least two children in Antwerp, where she had gone after Plantin's death. In the case of three of the children born in Paris only the names are known and it may be assumed that they died in infancy. Her daughter Jeanne, born in Antwerp in 1592, only lived to the age of four. Thus Magdalena left seven children, of whom two were married and three were still minors.

Normally the second husband, Adrien Périer, should have become the legal guardian of these three minors. This meant, however, that he would also have had control over their share of their parents' estate. This did not greatly please the eldest son and one of his brothers-in-law, who were also in the book trade.² The result was as squalid family quarrel, with all the inevitable recriminations, insinuations, and lawsuits. Matters were hardly improved when, three years after Magdalena's death, Adrien Périer married again, this time to a Dutchwoman by whom he had already two children.³

At first, members of the family in Antwerp were kept quite regularly informed of how the quarrel was proceeding in letters in which each correspondent strove to monopolize this contact with the original *Officina Plantiniana* for his own benefit, or tried to gain at least some advantage over his rivals.⁴ After a few years this correspondence decreased and then finally petered out, save for a few letters from Christophe and Gilles Beys which will be discussed below. However, the family ties were never wholly severed, at least not while Jan Moretus and Martina Plantin were alive. In her will of 1616 Martina Plantin left fairly substantial sums of money to her relatives in France - although in some instances these simply represented remissions of debt.⁵

The subsequent careers of the sons, daughters and sons-in-law of Magdalena Plantin and Egidius Beys must now be outlined. Of the four

1. See p. 161.
2. In his letter of 4th January 1600 (see p. 181, note 3), in which he told Moretus of Magdalena Plantin's death, Adrien Périer was already alleging that Christophe Beys and Olivier de Varennes intended to join in opposing him in the matter of the guardianship of the minors.
3. H. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
4. Collected in Arch. 77 (Beys) and 90 (Périer).
5. Arch. 212, folio 6.

surviving daughters, three married within the book trade. It has been seen that the eldest, Madeleine, married the bookseller Jérémie Périer in January 1596. He was active until 1623 in Paris, trading in the rue Saint-Jacques under the sign of Bellerophon. Their two sons, Christophe and Michel, were also registered as booksellers, in 1623 and 1624 respectively.

Marie Beys was married in 1598 to Olivier de Varennes, also a bookseller. When he died, in August 1623, Marie continued to run the shop herself. The de Varennes had eight children, one of whom, their son Olivier, was registered as a bookseller in 1625.

In August 1601 Marguerite Beys married Pierre Pautonnier, printer, bookseller and bookbinder - and possibly 'the king's printer for Greek' as well. He was active in Paris until 1608, but in 1606 a contagious disease had decimated his household and rendered his financial situation precarious. In 1614 he turned up in Antwerp, where he was entered on the citizens' roll on 17th January of that year as 'Petrus Pottonier, innkeeper'. This new calling seems to have brought him no more profit than the old one. In her will of 1616 Martina Plantin, as well as remitting a debt owed her by 'Pierre Pautonnier and the late Marguerite Beys' (the latter must have died between 1614 and 1616), left a small sum of money 'to the six children' together with the rather considerable sum of 600 fl. stipulating that 'les cinq enfans [presumably meaning the five who were still minors, and excluding the one who was already of age] doibvent estre assistez au moindre despens'.

In 1616 Pierre Pautonnier moved from Antwerp to Brussels where he launched out as a pastry-cook 'in the new fashion'. This did not last long either, and on 2nd July 1618 he sent a letter to Balthasar Moretus from Prague in which he expressed the hope that his son Pierre had conveyed his 'humbles recommendations'. At this point all trace of him is lost. A Balthasar and a Petrus Pautonnier are recorded in 1638 in the Cathedral register at Antwerp, in connection with the marriage of the former, but that is all that is known of these two Pautonniers.¹

Of the four Beys girls only Catherine married outside the book trade. It is recorded that she became the wife of Pierre Danton, a tinsmith, in the summer of 1602, but nothing else is known of her or her husband.

The three boys followed their father's profession. Jean Beys died in a

1. Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, pp. 264-265.

Paris hospital in 1606, scarcely twenty-two years old. Gilles, Egidius Beys's youngest offspring, learned the trade with his relatives in Antwerp and Leiden, and his stepfather Adrien Périer in Paris. In 1618 he was in Bordeaux but, as he wrote in a letter of 18th November to Balthasar Moretus: 'c'est une ville ou il ne se fait grand traficq, je ne desire point y demeurer.' Humbly he entreated Balthasar to take him into his service, ending with a pathetic, thrice repeated 'cito' (soon).¹ This is the last record of him; at all events he seems never to have reached Antwerp again.

The eldest son of Egidius Beys and Margareta Plantin has been left until last because he was longest in contact with the Moretuses, and led the most eventful life. Christophe Beys must have been the image of his father: proud, self-willed and contentious. His stepfather testified: 'Ce n'est pas qu'il ait faute d'esprit, mais il a trop d'ambition; il ne veust conseil de personne et se mocque de tout le monde.' His life's course was even more turbulent than that of his father, and ended in greater poverty.²

Christophe left home after his mother's second marriage and opened his own bookshop, but he made more debts than profit. What he inherited from his mother gave only a momentary respite. His shop was attached and sold by public auction and he himself was obliged to leave Paris. In 1608 he was established as a printer in Rennes, where he soon succeeded in making himself impossible. He brought a charge of witchcraft against a member of an important family, and thereby incurred the enmity of the influential relations of the person he had accused. Only by a hasty flight was Beys able to escape imprisonment and torture. After wandering for two years through Northern France, he finally settled in Lille, where he set up as a bookseller and printer in 1610. 'Prototypographus Insulensis' [first printer of Lille] was the grandiloquent title he adopted. For several years he prospered. He printed a relatively large number of works, and from time to time wrote topical or eulogistic poems that earned him a gratuity from the town authorities.

1. Arch. 77, folio 163. Cf. H. Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.
2. Concerning the tribulations of Christophe Beys, see especially A. de Decker, 'Eenige Antwerpsche drukkers in den vreemde' in *Bulletijn van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, 1, 1882, pp. 151 sqq.; H. Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-51; M. Sabbe, *De meesters van den Gulden Passer*, pp. 119-121.

On 20th August 1628, however, he gave his daughter Georgina, his only child, in marriage to Simon Le Francq, the son of a well-to-do Lille family, who had learnt the trade of printing from Christophe Beys. Simon Le Francq set up his own printing-press which was later continued by his son Balthasar. It is open to question whether, as Beys alleged, the young printer offered his father-in-law ruthless competition. From that date, however, Beys's business began to decline. He bombarded his Antwerp relatives with letters in which vituperation of his daughter and son-in-law, lamentations over his piteous circumstances, glorification of his own virtues and entreaties for money and old clothes were all intermingled.

His wife, whose name is not known, died on 18th February 1638. 'Now I am free and relieved of my wife and God grant that I may live out my days soberly, now that I am released from all that she has inflicted upon me during thirty years' was what he wrote to Antwerp by way of obituary. Three months later he informed the Moretuses that he was contemplating matrimony again. On 6th May 1638, at the age of sixty-three, he married the thirty-year-old Isabella Robelet. Naturally this alienated him still further from his family and led to many absurd incidents which he discoursed upon at great length in his letters to Antwerp.¹ In the end Christophe Beys lived almost exclusively on the small sums of money which the Moretuses regularly sent him. In 1647, at the age of seventy-two, he departed this life, mourned by no one.

In the history of the Beys family there is also an Adrien Beys who is often described as being a son of Egidius Beys and Magdalena Plantin. He was in fact a nephew of Egidius, his brother's son.² He worked in Leiden with the Raphelengius family,³ and in 1602 he set up as a bookseller in Paris. He died in 1611 or 1612. Following the approved custom, his widow remarried a man from the trade, her second husband being the book-

1. Details given in M. Sabbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-121.
2. This is clear from correspondence with the Moretuses (Arch. 77, folios 127 sqq.). In a letter of 13th January 1611, for example, he refers to 'sa cousine Marguerite Beys' (Arch. 77, folio 157). Cf. also P. Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires... ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600*, 1901, p. 15 (August 1605 - letters of naturalization granted to Adrien Beys, aged 29, born in Breda, resident for 9 years in France; apprenticed to his uncle Egidius Beys).
3. It was he who, on 22nd November 1600, in the absence of the younger Frans, informed Jan Moretus of Christoffel's death (Arch. 77, folio 127).

seller Abraham Pacart.¹ Adrien Beys had two sons: Denis became a bookseller (in 1640), while Adrien made something of a name for himself as a poet.

CATHARINA PLANTIN AND THE FAMILY OF ARENTS, CALLED SPIERINCK² - We may be brief concerning Plantin's other two daughters: in fact, as details are lacking, brevity is obligatory. Being settled in Antwerp, they wrote no letters to the Moretuses, so that the most important source of information about the family is not available in their case.

Hans Arents died in 1611, so that Catharina Plantin outlived her second husband by eleven years. They had at least seven children, but only their eldest daughter, Anna, is known to have married and produced children.

Catharina Plantin had a son, called Pierre, by her first marriage who must have been born in Paris in 1572. In 1601 'cousin Pierre Gazan' arrived in Paris from Antwerp, according to a letter from Olivier de Varennes to Jan Moretus, dated 17th June of that year.³ He was mentioned again among the beneficiaries in Martina Plantin's will of 1616, which states 'Pierre Gassan debte quitte 337 fl. 6 st.'⁴ From a note in the ledger in which this 'bequest' was entered it appears that 'Pierre Gassan, dict Plantin' was then a doctor at Saint-Gaudens.⁵

Catharina Plantin (born 1553; died ...ber 1622)⁶ married 26 Nov. 1575 Hans Arents called Spierinck (died 13 Aug. 1611). They had seven children:

ANNA

(dates unknown), married 18 Nov. 1607 Louis Cuypers (dates unknown). With issue.

JOANNES

(died 1 Dec. 1629), entered monastery of the Brothers of Mary at Antwerp.

JOANNA

(baptized 26 March 1590; died?)

GASPAR

(baptized 6 Sept. 1591; died?)

1. Arch. 101, folio 13.

2. Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, pp. 266-268.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

4. Arch. 212, folio 3.

5. Arch. 101, folio 44.

6. In the inscription on the tombstone of Catharina - now lost - the month of her death has been partially blotted out: only the letters '...ber' remained. (Van der Straelen, *op. cit.*, p. 267).

SUSANNA

(baptized 29 May 1593; died?)

MAGDALENA

(baptized 27 Jan. 1595; died after 1628), entered the Order of the Annonciades at Antwerp, 9 May 1616; professed 9 May 1617; went to Düren, 18 Oct. 1628, to help found a house of the Order there.

JUDOCUS

(baptized 9 Dec. 1596; died?)

HENRICA PLANTIN AND THE MOERENTORF FAMILY¹ - Pieter Moerentorf died in 1616. Henrica Plantin, who from 1620 at least had lived in the *IJzeren Passer* (Iron Compasses) in the Heilig Geeststraat,² followed her husband in 1640. She was, in the words of the letter of condolence addressed to her heirs by the journeymen in the *Officina Plantiniana*,³ the ‘last scion and fruit of the great and world-renowned stem of Christophe Plantin’.⁴ The letter ended with a request to commemorate the occasion in a fitting manner: ‘We humbly request that we may be permitted to enjoy the blessing of the *Requiem eternam* as did our forerunners from the first Planter and founder of this Press, hoping that in the last branch of this fruitful vine there will yet be some sap wherewith the Mourning journeymen may comfort their sad hearts.’⁵

Henrica Plantin (born 1561/62; died 29 November 1640) married 1 June 1578 Pieter Moerentorf (born 19 June 1544; died 16 March 1616). They had seven sons and two daughters; only one of the sons is recorded as having had children. Four of their offspring, two sons and two daughters, went into the church.

1. Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, pp. 272-274.

2. See pp. 278-279.

3. Arch. 120, p. 201. Cf. M. Sabbe, ‘De Plantijnsche werkstede’ in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1935, p. 610.

4. Original Dutch text: ‘... leste spruyte ende vruchte van dien grooten en wereltdt door vermaerden stam Christophorus Plantijn.’

5. Original Dutch text: ‘... versoecke ootmoedighlyck om te moghen genieten den segen vanden Requiem eternam ghelyck onse voorsaeten genoten hebben vanden eersten Planter ende instelder van dese Druckerije, verhopende dat inden lesten tack van desen sap-dragende wijngaertranck, noch eenighe vochtigheyt sal wesen daer de Rouwdragende vrygesellen hun bedroeft herte mede sullen connen laven.’

JACOBUS

(baptized 23 March 1579; died?)

LUDOVICUS

(baptized 4 March 1582; died?)

JOANNA

(baptized 17 Feb. 1584; died 7 April 1663), entered Order of the Annonciades at Louvain, 1604; went to Antwerp 1608; Mother Superior of the Annonciades at Antwerp, 1638.

CHRISTOPHORUS

(baptized 10 Sept. 1586; died before 30 Sept. 1631), married 12 Feb. 1631 Elisabeth de Prince. With issue.

LUDOVICUS

(baptized 23 March 1589; died 28 Sept. 1638), accepted as master printer in the Guild of St. Luke, 1617; worked in the *Officina Plantaninia* with his cousin Balthasar I Moretus; unmarried.

PETRUS

(baptized 16 Apr. 1591; died at Lisbon, 26 Dec. 1659), married 1616 at Lisbon Anna de la China. No issue.

MARTINA

(baptized 14 Jan. 1593), entered Order of the Annonciades at Antwerp, 31 Aug. 1614; professed 31 Aug. 1615.

HENRICUS

(baptized 25 Apr. 1595), Minorite, professed at Antwerp 4 Jan. 1616.

THEODORUS

(baptized 11 Feb. 1602; died at Breslau 6 Nov. 1667), Jesuit at Malines, 11 Sept. 1618; went later to Prague and Breslau.

The most remarkable figure in this branch of the Plantin family was undoubtedly Theodorus, who became a Jesuit in 1618 at Malines, later teaching philosophy, theology and mathematics at Prague and Breslau [Wrocław]. He published a number of treatises on these three subjects and also on physics, some of them being of considerable merit. Two of his religious discourses were printed in the *Officina Plantiniana* by his Antwerp relatives. They were the *Soliloquia ad obtestationes Davidicas et Psalmorum allegoria*, 1656 and *De principatu B. Virginis*, 1670. His achievements in mathematics were particularly laudable.¹

1. H. Bosmans, 'Théodore Moretus de la Compagnie de Jésus, mathématicien' in *De Gulden Passer*, 6, 1928, pp. 57-162; H. Hoffmann, 'Der Breslauer Mathematiker Theodor Moretus, S.J.' in *Jahrbuch der Schlesische Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur*, 1934.

His sister Joanna made a by no means unimportant contribution to ecclesiastical life in Antwerp.¹ She became a nun in the convent of the Annonciades at Louvain in 1604, at the age of twenty. In 1608 she accompanied the group of nuns who went to Antwerp to found a new house of the Order there. She spent the rest of her life in that convent, holding important positions. To quote the obituary written by the mother house at Louvain: ‘In the year 1663 on the 7th April our beloved Sister Joanna Moerentorf Jubilarie departed this life... and who has served most laudably in various offices, being for some years chronicler (?) and for ten years Novices Mistress, and after that Sub-Prioress for twelve years and for eighteen years Mother Superior. May her soul rest in peace. Amen.’ Van der Straelen, who gives this quotation, adds: ‘She was a zealous and intelligent Nun, who wrote various books concerning her convent, among others an in quarto “Briefly recording in what manner, for what reasons, when and by whom this Convent of the Annonciades here in Antwerp had its beginning and continuation.” She described the whole foundation of this new convent and church etc. most concisely and wondrously therein.’

Sister Joanna collected many gifts and alms for the new foundation, not least from her own relatives. It was through her that her cousin, Balthasar I Moretus, whose career as master of the *Gulden Passer* is described later in this book, became the great benefactor of the new convent.

When the first stone of the Antwerp Church of the Annonciades was laid on 10th April 1614, Balthasar allowed himself to be persuaded to become the nuns' patron. In the following years he fulfilled this function in a very concrete and generous manner. He lent the sisters considerable sums of money - forgoing repayment in some instances, donated numerous books, and in 1620 embellished the convent church with a large stained-glass window showing Mary with the Apostles receiving the Holy Ghost.

When a precious relic was entrusted to the Annonciades in 1628 - the head of the martyr St. Just, saved from the flames of the Franciscan friary at Zutphen that had been set on fire by the Protestants - it was Balthasar

1. Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, p. 273; A. de Wilt, ‘Enkele leden van de familie Plantin en de Annuntiaten’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 38, 1960, pp. 140-150.

who furnished a chapel to the saint on the north side of the choir in the convent church. He also donated a suitable altarpiece, showing the martyred St. Just with his severed head under his arm, painted by the great Rubens himself. The picture is now one of the treasures of the Bordeaux Musée des Beaux-Arts. The grateful sisters commissioned in 1639 J. Witdoeck to make an engraving of the painting, with a dedication to their benefactor 'Clarissimo V.D. Balthasari Moreto, Architypographo Regio'.¹

1. H. Bouchery & F. van den Wijngaert, *P.-P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, 1941, pp. 38-41.

Chapter 3

*Jan I Moretus (1589-1610)*¹

‘Au nom de Dieu l'an 1589, le premier de Juillet estant nostre Père trespasé à qui Dieu face mercy, j'ay compté la casse et trouvé en icelle les espèces suivantes...’

With these words Jan Moretus opened the cash-book for the year 1589/90.² On 23rd June 1589 he had paid out a sum of money from the petty cash for housekeeping expenses, entering it in the usual manner ‘to my father’. The next payment, on 8th July, was entered ‘to my mother’. Smoothly and without interruption the management of the Antwerp *Officina Plantiniana* had passed from Christophe Plantin to his son-in-law. Having stood by Plantin for thirty-two years (1557-89), that is to say for almost the whole of his career as a printer, the loyal assistant had become head of the firm. He was to direct it for another twenty-one years, until his death in 1610.

A number of legal difficulties had to be resolved, however, before Moretus could call the *officina* his own. Officially Jeanne Rivière had inherited the concern, and was therefore its head. A deed was drawn up and attested notariially on 16th September 1589 whereby she authorized her son-in-law to continue as manager of the *officina*,³ although for a time after July 1589 its publications carried the name of the widow: ‘Ex Officina Plantiniana apud Viduam.’

1. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 255-283, should be consulted on the subject of Jan Moretus. M. Sabbe's *De meesters van den Gulden Passer* and *Uit het Plantijnsche huis* are also informative. See p. 391 concerning his relations with Barrefelt after 1589.
2. Arch. 15.
3. Arch. 99, folio 247.

From 1590 until Jeanne's death in 1596 another style was adopted: 'Ex Officina Plantiniana apud Viduam et Joannem Moretum.' Even this was a mere legal fiction which bore no relation to the real state of affairs, except in so far as Jeanne Rivière continued to live on the premises in the Vrijdagmarkt until her death. Only then - in 1596 - did Moretus leave his bookshop in the Kammenstraat and set up house in the main *officina*.

The agreement reached on 16th March 1590 by Plantin's heirs had ensured Moretus's possession and immediate use of the press.¹ Jeanne Rivière had transferred all her rights in the matter to her son-in-law, who thereafter had to answer for all subsequent losses - and reap the profits. It was at that time that the stipulation was made (perhaps on the insistence of the other heirs) that the widow's name should continue to appear on works published by the *officina*. After 1596, however, Moretus retained only his name: 'Ex Officina Plantiniana apud Joannem Moretum.'

The personality of Jan Moretus has already been outlined.² It has been seen that he was a practical man who had grown up in the trade and knew all its tricks. He was also an educated person who spoke and wrote Dutch, French, German, Italian, and Spanish with ease, and also knew Greek and Latin. As he entered Plantin's service at the age of fourteen, it may be assumed that, like Plantin himself, much of his intellectual development was due to his own efforts. He was not a scholar like his brother-in-law Frans Raphelengius, but, again like Plantin, he could mingle on equal terms with the greatest humanists of his day.

He certainly showed himself capable of far more than just keeping the accounts and writing business letters. He prepared the first Dutch translation of the famous treatise by Justus Lipsius, *De Constantia libri duo: Twee boecken vande Stantvasticheyt. Eerst int Latijn gheschreven door J. Lipsius; Ende nu overgheset inde Nederlantsche taele door J. Mourentorf*, published by Plantin in 1584. The particular and exacting Justus Lipsius was wholly satisfied with this translation, which also earned the warm commendations of some of the foremost practitioners of the Dutch language of that time: Dirk Coornhert, Jan van Hout, and Janus Gruterus. Their praise has been fully endorsed by modern specialists. Another extensive translation which he undertook, this time from French, the 'first day' of the *Première Semaine*

1. Cf. p. 164

2. Cf. pp. 151 sqq.

de la Création du Monde by Guillaume Saluste, seigneur of Bartas, remained in manuscript.¹

Dutch was Moretus's mother-tongue and his use of this language in his translations was remarkably pure. However, as his French-speaking father-in-law's assistant he kept the books in French. This he continued to do even after Plantin's death; the habit of years was too deeply ingrained to be easily changed. Even his letters to the Leiden branch of the family continued after 1589 to be written in French. Jan Moretus and Frans Raphelengius corresponded exclusively in French, and while the younger Frans and his brother Joost wrote to Moretus's sons in Dutch (or Latin), they always used French to their uncle.²

In the Plantin literature Jan Moretus enjoys the reputation of being an industrious worker, a loyal son-in-law, and an obliging and worthy man, yet his performance as master of the *Gulden Passer* is usually judged rather unfavourably. To sum up the usual criticisms, he is described as having been an executor without much originality during Plantin's lifetime, remaining just this after he had taken over the management; as having been content to live on an established name and fortune; as having lacked the great vision of Plantin. This assessment has been prompted in part by the fact that after Plantin's death Moretus's life was passed in relative tranquillity, without the ups and downs, perils and alarms which have given his father-in-law's career its almost epic glamour. There is always a tendency to imagine that someone whose life is uneventful must be a person without much force or energy, forgetting that events are often determined by factors outside the volition of the individual concerned.

Antwerp was near the front-line, but it lay at a safe distance from the guns. Its fame and glory had been dimmed, but life there could proceed in comparative peace. The incidents which mark Moretus's career as a printer in his own right are not therefore particularly spectacular. In 1592 he had, as has already been mentioned, a dispute with his brother-in-law Egidius Beys, but this difference was soon settled.³

1. M. Sabbe, 'Jan Moretus als Nederlandsch Letterkundige' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 69-85.
2. L. Voet, 'Het Plantijnse huis te Leiden', pp. 18-19.
3. See, p. 180.

In 1598, at the time of the marriage of his eldest daughter Catharina to Theodoor Galle, the son of his old friend Philip Galle, he had to face a malicious whispering campaign. The Galle family had probably compromised itself with the Protestants during the Calvinist government of Antwerp. Their offence cannot have been very grave, for Philip was not disposed to the reformed religion, but belonged like Plantin and Moretus to the Barrefeltist sect. Whatever may have been the truth of the matter, this marriage of Theodoor Galle and Catharina Moretus started rumours circulating concerning the orthodoxy of Jan Moretus's religion. This gossip was made all the more unpleasant by the fact that his business was largely based on the publication of Catholic religious and liturgical works. It is quite possible that these rumours had been put about by envious competitors. Moretus reacted quickly to the danger: he laid the matter before the church authorities and the city magistrates, and received from the latter a mandate assuring him of the support of the law against the slanderers.¹ This counter-move must have been effective as no more was ever heard of this campaign.

In 1605 Jan Moretus was involved in another conflict which, though less dangerous than the heresy rumours, provided him with an abundance of worry and made considerable demands on his diplomacy. With the permission of the author, Cardinal Caesar Baronius, he reprinted the famous *Annales ecclesiastici* volume by volume as it was published in Rome. This monumental work was a great success and sold well, but in his discourse entitled 'De monarchia Siciliae', contained in the eleventh volume, the cardinal ventured to question certain rights of the Spanish crown to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and claimed those rights for the Holy See. The scholar was right: the Spanish claims were based on false or falsified documents. This, however, did not please Philip III of Spain, who had the offending text publicly burnt throughout his domains and, after the death of Clement VIII in 1605, vetoed the election of Baronius as Pope.

Cardinal Baronius was not unduly disturbed by this royal displeasure, but when the less happy and much more vulnerable Moretus diffidently sounded the prelate's feelings about the possible omission of the 'De monarchia Siciliae' from the Antwerp edition of the *Annales*, the latter flew into a rage and demanded that the piece should be included. Moretus, living in an area

1. Arch. 100, pp. 263 sqq.

which, though nominally independent was in fact in the Spanish sphere of influence, had no desire to incur Philip's wrath. Baronius, however, was adamant. The affair dragged on for years, until the cardinal's death on 30th June 1607 restored to Moretus his freedom of action. Volume XI appeared in 1608, without the offending passage.¹ The following year, however, the discourse in question was published separately under the title of *Tractatus de monarchia Siciliae* in Paris, beyond the reach of the Spanish king, being printed and distributed by Moretus's relative, Adrien Beys. Whether this was purely a coincidence or the result of action by Jan Moretus, who wished to salve his conscience in this manner, must remain a matter for conjecture.

Although these incidents gave the Antwerp printer his necessary dose of trouble, they are in no way comparable to the dramatic perils which Plantin had to face.

To a much greater extent the less favourable assessment of Plantin's son-in-law has been occasioned by the fact that during his management the firm's production decreased noticeably in quantity and declined palpably in quality. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it became culturally less significant, for at the purely technical and artistic levels Moretus's regime brought about no deterioration.

Plantin's fame as a printer rests in no small degree on the impressive number of scholarly works that came off his presses. In books which assess what the second half of the sixteenth century produced in terms of scholarship and culture, there is honourable mention of Plantin editions on practically every page. Not that there was any lack of liturgical and religious works among Plantin's books; it has already been emphasized that the mass production of breviaries, missals and *horae* in the years 1567 to 1576 was one of the principal factors in the spectacular growth of the *Officina Plantiniana* into what was the largest printing concern in the world before the nineteenth century. Trade figures for these religious works must have greatly exceeded those for learned subjects, but the quantity and importance of Plantin's editions of the latter remains impressive.

Under Jan Moretus there was a drastic change. Liturgical and devotional

1. H. Moretus, 'L'édition plantinienne des Annales de Baronius' in *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de Chr. Plantin*, 1920, pp. 17-27.

works came to form the greater part of the firm's book list, works of scholarship dropping to a very small percentage of the total production. Moretus never gave up publishing the latter altogether. He produced a number of excellent books which found their way to the libraries of scholars throughout Christendom: Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici*, and the *Annales Magistratum et Provinciarum* by Stephanus Winandus Pighius (started in 1609, and completed by Moretus's sons) are important works of scholarship, and from the technical point of view excellent specimens of the printer's art. Other examples which may be quoted and commended are: the various editions of botanical treatises by Dodoens, Clusius and Lobelius; the *Thesaurus geographicus* (1596) and new editions of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius; the revised third edition of Kiliaan's dictionary of the Dutch language, the famous *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae* (1599); the standard legal work edited by J. Hopperus, *Seduardus sive de vera jurisprudentia... libri XII* (1590); the *Flandria commentariorum lib. IIII descripta* (1596) by J. Marchantius; the *Antverpia* and the *Origines Antverpiensium* (1610) by C. Scribanus. After the return of Justus Lipsius to the Southern Netherlands in 1592, Moretus became his principal publisher. Not a year went by without his bringing out a first edition or republication of one or other of this great and productive scholar's works, or publishing pieces in his honour or defence. Nevertheless the fact remains that the mighty flood of former years had diminished to a trickle. Apart from the books of Lipsius and Pighius, humanist works and editions of classical authors had almost disappeared from the list of the 'Officina Plantiniana apud Joannem Moretum'.

It was the liturgical and devotional publications which sustained the *Gulden Passer* in the time of Jan Moretus. He made typographical masterpieces of them, illustrating many of them profusely, if not excessively. Engravers of the Antwerp school, which was flourishing as never before in this period of the Wiericx brothers and the Galle family, found in Jan Moretus one of their chief employers. The illustrated breviaries, missals, and devotional books of the *Officina Plantiniana* spread the fame of the Antwerp engravers throughout the entire Catholic world, even becoming a source of inspiration for painters and draughtsmen of religious subjects in Latin America and China. The two editions of the *Officium Beatae Mariae* of 1600 and 1609

may be regarded as the most beautiful works produced by the Antwerp *officina*, and the *Graduale Romanum* of 1599 can compete with Plantin's most massive publications. All three rank with the finest illustrated books of their time.

These liturgical and devotional books which Moretus produced were masterpieces from the typographical and artistic point of view, but their importance lay only in their form, not in their content. This implies that, in comparison with Plantin's day, the *Officina Plantiniana* was playing a less significant part in the intellectual life of the time.

It has already been pointed out that the Leiden *officina*, although its business was small compared to that of the mother house in Antwerp, in fact adhered more closely to the Plantinian tradition. The younger Frans Raphelengius aptly described this divergence between the two branches when he wrote to his uncle on 17th November 1590:¹ 'As for the sorts, I feel that as we are (almost) equal inheritors, thus we must share these things among us, for to plead that the privileges be of Antwerp or Leiden, Breviaries, Missals, Books of Hours, Diurnalia, Conciones, Bibles etc. are these not nice privileges for Antwerp? As for us we content ourselves with Authors of fine literature.'²

It is this deviation from the Plantinian line that has earned Jan Moretus most reproach from the historians, beginning with Max Rooses. But could Christophe Plantin's successor have acted differently? The different orientation of the Antwerp and Leiden *officina* corresponded to a cultural divergence between the Northern and Southern Netherlands.³ In the second half of the sixteenth century there was intense intellectual activity in the South. Plantin became humanism's great printer because of the large number of scholars in his vicinity whose works he was able to print. Those involved in this intellectual life were mainly laymen. The revolt against the rule of Philip II made the North a Protestant republic, where the laity continued to play a dominant role in cultural life, retaining its 'worldly'

1. Arch. 92, folio 85.

2. Original French text: 'Quant aux sortes, certes j'estime que comme sommes égaux (quasi) heritiers, ainsi nous doibvent icelles estre communes, car d'alléguer des privileges d'Anvers ou de Leiden, Breviaria, Missalia, Hora, Diurnalia, Conciones, Biblia, etc., sont ce point beaux privilèges d'Anvers? Quant à nous, nous nous contentons des Auteurs bonarum literarum.'

3. See also the chapter devoted to the Plantin House as a humanist centre.

interest in nature and man. In the seventeenth century the North became the principal heir to the Netherlands' traditions of scholarship.

The South, brought back under Spanish rule, was developed within a few years into a bastion of Catholicism by the forces of the Counter-Reformation. This meant that in the Southern Netherlands, thoroughly Catholic again, the best intellects were absorbed into the clergy. Among these priestly or monastic intellectuals there were many great minds. They did not renounce the natural and social sciences and they maintained their contact with classical antiquity, attempting to reconcile its philosophy and view of life with their own Christian vision. Some of them won great and deserved fame in these branches of human knowledge. But for the intellectuals in the Catholic South the first consideration was always man's relationship to God and to the Catholic church. Their interest and their activities were directed especially towards theological reflection. What they entrusted to the printers were chiefly theological discourses and devotional writings for the masses.

Plantin became a great humanist printer because the environment in which he lived and worked was suffused with the humanist spirit - in the sense of an intense interest in nature and in man. His successors in Leiden were able to continue in this tradition because their environment remained true to this spirit. Jan Moretus was obliged to turn aside from this tradition, because the society in which he lived and worked had taken a different cultural direction. Plantin's son-in-law became of necessity the printer of the Counter-Reformation, with its emphasis on religious speculation, which after 1585 enlisted the intelligentsia of the Southern Netherlands under its banners.

A printing-press is not a philanthropic undertaking, able to work for what it considers useful and proper, but a business which has to take serious account of its market. In the circumstances in which Moretus found himself, no other course was open to him than the one he took. Even Plantin would have had no choice. In fact, in the author's opinion, it was Plantin who showed his successor the way he should go. If the publications of the *Officina Plantiniana* are considered chronologically then it becomes obvious that they began to bear the stamp of the Counter-Reformation immediately after Plantin's return from Leiden in 1585, and were already showing the characteristics of the later Moretus productions. The change in the type of books produced by the Plantin press did not take place in 1589 when Moretus

took over, but in 1585 in the last years of Plantin's life. It must be ascribed to circumstances, not to any defect in the character of Plantin's son-in-law.

There is another important factor that is generally overlooked when passing judgment on Moretus as master of the *Gulden Passer*. He inherited a very large concern, but one which had dwindled to a mere semblance of what it had once been. At the time of Plantin's death there were only four presses in operation, and the staff which had numbered 56 in the prosperous years of 1574 to 1576 had been cut down to sixteen (seven printers, seven compositors, two proof-readers). 'D'Anvers en nostre jadis florissante et ores flaitrissante imprimerie' lamented Plantin in the letters he wrote during the closing years of his life.¹ Jan Moretus inherited a much reduced business and at the same time found himself obliged to pay out considerable sums of money to his fellow heirs, money which he had to borrow at crippling rates of interest from moneylenders. This was a handicap that greatly reduced his freedom of action for many years.

To all outward appearances the life of Jan Moretus may have gone on peacefully enough after Plantin's death, but his accounts show that he had to wage a hard and bitter struggle to ensure the viability of the press. He in his turn strove with 'Toil and Steadfastness', gratefully using the weapons which Plantin had forged. He managed to keep the influential contacts his father-in-law had made. He made good use of them to obtain his appointment as printer to the city of Antwerp on the same terms as Plantin, and most of all to have Plantin's numerous privileges for the printing of liturgical works in the Southern Netherlands transferred to his own name - a first prerequisite for becoming the great printer of the Counter-Reformation.²

His business activities remained, like Plantin's, wide-ranging and international. In this, the *Gulden Passer's* new master was helped by circumstances: the fighting had died down in the Netherlands and the civil war in France had ended, which made it possible to operate in the Dutch and French markets once more and to reach Germany via the Frankfurt Fairs. Contact with Spain, all but broken off during Plantin's last years because of difficulties in communications, was restored. The so-called Salamanca branch played

1. Cf. p. 117.

2. The contest over the Plantinian privileges merits detailed study.

no part in the modest resumption of trade. In 1602 Jan Poelman's account showed a deficit of 2,737 fl. 5 st., which Moretus had to write off as a loss:¹ the unfortunate Poelman had not been able to secure a livelihood for himself in the Spanish university town. Last but by no means least, in his two sons, Bathasar and Jan II, Moretus had two competent assistants who served him as loyally and ably as he and Frans Raphelengius had served Plantin.

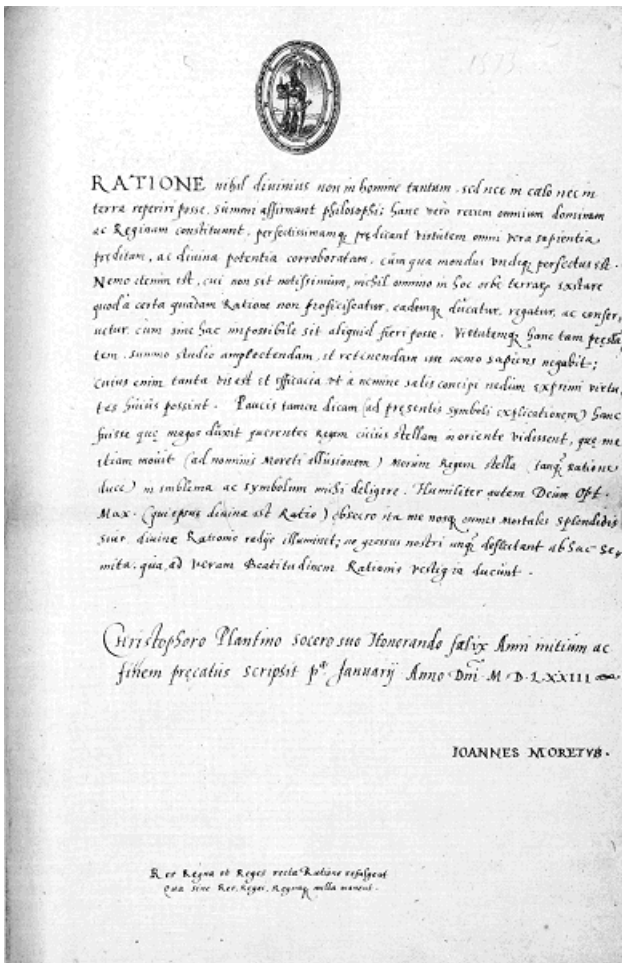
Under Jan Moretus the tempo of work in the *officina* was gradually increased again. Four presses were in operation in 1590, five in 1593, five-and-a-half in 1597, six in 1604, seven in 1607. The number fell to six in the later half of 1607, but in 1610, the year of Jan Moretus's death, it was raised again to seven.

The *Officina Plantiniana* was perhaps no longer the largest concern of its kind in Christendom, but it ranked among the giants once more, and had certainly regained its position as the largest printing business in the Southern Netherlands. Moretus proved himself worthy of his father-in-law. In brilliant fashion he came through the worst crisis that threatened the Antwerp *officina* in all its three centuries, the same crisis that had embittered Plantin's last years, and was able to ensure its continued existence. Jan Moretus was a self-effacing, quiet figure, yet as master of the *Gulden Passer* he showed himself fully equal to a difficult task in a difficult period.

Jan Moretus died on 22nd September 1610 and was buried in Antwerp Cathedral beside his parents-in-law. His family gave him a splendid memorial, a triptych - the Resurrection of Christ, with Joannes and Martina, patron saints of the deceased and his wife on the side panels - painted by Rubens. Sumptuously framed by Otmaer van Ommen, it cost a princely 2,000 fl. The frame was destroyed during the French occupation of the Napoleonic period, but the painting itself can still be admired in its accustomed place in the cathedral.²

Jan Moretus and Martina Plantin had eleven children, six sons and five daughters, but of these only three sons and two daughters survived their

1. Arch. 126, folio 28. The Poelman account ends with the note 'pretend entierement avoir payé, voire davantage quil ne devoit, et pourtant pour soulder icy doit avoir: 2,737 fl. 5 st.' The Salamanca 'branch' is discussed on p. 119.
2. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 273; H. Bouchery & F. van den Wijngaert, *P.-P. Rubens an het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 34-36.



(46) *Opposite*: New Year's wish from Jan I Moretus to Christophe Plantin (1573). In this panegyric to *Ratio* Jan Moretus explains to his father-in-law why he chose the Moorish King (rex morus = Moretus) guided by the Star of Reason as his personal symbol. The document is headed by a small copper engraving showing the 'Rex, Morus'.



(47) Jan I Moretus (1543-1610). Oil painting on panel by Rubens, commissioned by Balthasar I Moretus between 1613 and 1616.



(48) Martina Plantin, Jan I Moretus's wife (1550-1616). Oil painting on panel by Rubens, commissioned by Balthasar I Moretus between 1630 and 1636.



(49) Central panel of the triptych over Jan I Moretus's tomb. Oil painting by Rubens, who signed a receipt for his fee on 27th April 1612. The panel represents the Resurrection.

parents. Moretus, seeking some emblem which, after the fashion of his time, contained an allusion to his name, finally thought of the ‘rex Morus’,¹ the popular Latin title for Balthasar, one of the three Magi who went to Bethlehem to pay homage to the Christ Child. He extended this conceit to include the names of the other two kings, naming his three eldest sons Gaspar, Melchior and Balthasar. In the album in which the happy father recorded the births of his children,² he noted next to Balthasar's name: ‘... and that he may be able with his other two brothers to seek to do honour and glory to Him after the example of the Three Kings and that they may always be able to live in unity and humility, in the fear of the Lord God and of their earthly parents. Amen.’³ This devotion to the Three Kings continued and made their three names very popular in the family throughout the whole of the seventeenth century; however, by a strange coincidence, it was always a Balthasar who took charge of the Plantin press in that century.

The eldest son, Gaspar, born in 1571, died on 1st September 1583 at Leiden ‘allé pour voir s'il pourroit se refaire d'une maladie qu'il avoit eu de secheresse’. The second son, Melchior, studied at the universities of Douai and Louvain, was ordained as a priest in 1598, but in October of that year he became mentally deranged. For a time he was cared for in a monastery in Antwerp, afterwards staying with Deacon Wrechtens at Courtrai. In 1600 he returned to Antwerp and was looked after by another order. Later he also stayed at Sint Odenrode. Melchior Moretus died on 4th June 1634, ‘multo felicius et sanctius quam vixit’ (much happier and holier than he had lived) as his brother Balthasar wrote to Jan Woverius.⁴

It was Jan Moretus's third and fourth sons, Balthasar and Jan II, who worked loyally with their father in the firm, carrying it on together after his death.

1. In 1572 he even had a vignette specially made with the *Rex Morus* and the motto ‘ratione’, using it on his New Year greetings to Plantin, 1st January 1573 (Arch. 98, folio 225). See plate 46.
2. Arch. 201.
3. Original French text: ‘... et qu'il puisse avec ses aultres deux freres a l'imitation des trois Rois chercher deluy faire honneur et gloire et qu'ilz puissent tousiours demourer bien unis et humbles, en la crainte dudit Sr. Dieu et des parents terriens. Amen.’
4. Cf. M. Rooses's handwritten notes (with sources given) in the Museum copy of Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, pp. 18-19. On the subject of Melchior, see Rooses, *Musée*, p.255; M. Sabbe, ‘De humanistische opleiding van Plantin's kleinkinderen’ in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, 1928.

Chapter 4

*Balthasar I (1610-1641) and Jan II Moretus (1610-1618)*¹

On 3rd March 1610, a few months before his death, Jan Moretus and his wife visited the notary Van den Bossche to make their last will and testament. They bequeathed each other all their property; after the death of the longer-lived the estate was to be divided equally among their children, but with the proviso that the two sons already working in the firm - Balthasar and Jan - should inherit the Plantin press and all its equipment and materials and own and profit from it jointly. On the death of either brother it should pass to the survivor.²

In his will Plantin had favoured Jan Moretus to ensure the viability of the *Officina Plantiniana*, his life's work, sacrificing the interests of his other children without compunction. Because of the reaction of the latter a compromise was worked out which was agreeable to all the heirs and yet guaranteed the future of the *officina*. Jan Moretus, coming to the end of his life, was guided by the agreement reached in 1590 by Plantin's heirs. All his children would share equally in his estate, but there was to be only one *Officina Plantiniana* with one master (or in this special case, a joint master-

1. Concerning Balthasar I, see M. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 287-304, and M. Sabbe, *De meesters van den Gulden Passer*, pp. 122 sqq. M. Sabbe's studies published in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis* and *De Moretussen en hun kring* are also informative regarding this Moretus. Balthasar I and Rubens are dealt with by H. Bouchery and F. van den Wijngaert in *P.-P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*. Cf. also M. Rooses, 'Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus' in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, 1 and 2, 1882-1883 (published separately as *Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus. Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der kunst*, 1884); a French translation, 'Pierre-Paul Rubens et Balthasar Moretus', appeared in *L'Art*, 1885, pp. 225-233, and 1886, pp. 37-44, 57-60.
2. Arch. 102, folios 79 sqq.

ship, the situation returning to normal on the death of either brother). Whoever was fortunate enough to inherit the press would also acquire the means to buy out the other heirs without jeopardizing the firm.

This in essence is the significance of Jan Moretus's will. His successors had the wisdom and common sense to perpetuate this principle of inheritance, preserving the viability of the Plantinian press through three centuries. Other families of printers frittered away their equipment each time an estate was divided up, with all the disastrous consequences attendant on this policy. Most typographical dynasties broke up into various competing branches which usually stagnated after a short period of independence. But in Antwerp there was only one *Officina Plantiniana* with but one master, or at most two masters acting jointly.

The death of Jan Moretus on 22th September 1610 made Martina Plantin the nominal head of the firm, but she left the running of it completely in the hands of Balthasar and Jan II. It was these two who on 22nd October 1610 obtained a patent from the archduke to practise the trade of printing and on 27th October of that year took the prescribed oath at Brussels.¹ The works which the firm printed from the end of 1610 until Martina's death in 1616 bore the address 'Ex Officina Plantiniana apud viduam et filios Joannis Moreti.' However, Martina Plantin withdrew completely from affairs in 1614, after making an arrangement with her children which was to regulate the immediate future as well as the problems that would arise after her decease.²

In this settlement the estate of Jan Moretus was assessed at 120,000 fl.; 118,000 after a sum of 2,000 fl. had been divided among the five children, and excluding the villa at Berchem and certain furniture which Martina retained for her own use. This means that Plantin's son-in-law, after

1. Arch. 1179, privilege no. 390 (the original deed with a note on the back concerning the taking of the oath).
2. Deed of 12th September 1614 (Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, pp. 19-22). The conditions under which Balthasar I and Jan II took over the business are specified in a separate deed (Arch. 102, folios 395 sqq.). Cf. also Rooses, *Musée*, p. 269. In his personal ledger Jan II notes the transfer in the following words: 'On 1st July 1615 [written in error for 1614] of her own free will my mother for her better repose unburdened herself of the business and stratagems of printing and distribution, selling and transferring the business to my brother Balthasar and me' (Arch. 101, folio 51).

twenty years as master of the *Gulden Passer*, was able to leave his heirs almost double what he himself had inherited. Considering the difficult circumstances in which he had had to take over and maintain the firm, this was no mean achievement, even though the total was 16,000 fl. less than the amount divided among Plantin's heirs.

Martina Plantin kept 68,000 fl. of the 118,000 for herself, leaving it invested in the business. The two new masters had to pay her a yearly interest of 5 per cent on this sum. The remaining 50,000 fl. was shared equally among the five children. The three beneficiaries who were not active in the firm received their portions in half-yearly instalments of 800 fl. which the two directors had to pay out. After Martina Plantin's death the remaining 68,000 fl., or rather the three fifths of it, had to be paid off in equal half-yearly instalments of 800 fl. It should also be pointed out that each of the children had already received quite large endowments during their father's lifetime, and Balthasar and Jan II were given a salary for their work in the press. The two latter already had sizeable personal fortunes in 1614.

After 1st July 1614, Balthasar and Jan II were the owners of the *Gulden Passer*, but not until after their mother's death on 17th February 1616 did they drop her name from their address, which then became 'Ex Officina Plantiniana apud Balthasarem et Joannem Moretos fraters' (1616-1618).

These two grandsons of Plantin, called upon to carry on the great printer's tradition, must now be presented in more detail. Balthasar I Moretus, the third son of Jan Moretus and Martina Plantin and the second to survive, was born in Antwerp on 23rd July 1574. Physically handicapped from birth, he grew into an intelligent boy, of whom his father was very proud: 'The second of my surviving sons came into the world paralysed on his right side. He was born during the first [political] troubles and I feared then of losing both mother and child. But God preserved them, which was a great blessing for me. He is alert of mind and writes elegantly with his left hand. This year he was admitted to school in Rhetoric and we hope that he will be useful to us in the capacity of proof-reader as he must lead a sedentary life' wrote Jan Moretus on 18th October 1590 in Latin to the old family friend, Arias Montanus.¹

1. Arch. 10, folio 285.

Balthasar won a second prize in Rhetoric at the school run by the Austin Friars in Antwerp, receiving a book, the *Institutionum scholasticarum libri tres* by Simon Verepaeus, which is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. On the title-page, beneath the inscription ‘Balthasar Moretus, secundus ad Rhetoricam’, the teacher added a few lines of verse which allude to the contrast between the boy's physical infirmity and his brilliant intellect: ‘Corpore compensent vitium quod cernitur, amplae Eximii dotes Balthasar ingenii.’ [May the rich talents of your excellent mind, Balthasar, offset the defect which one sees in your body.]

These mental endowments certainly compensated for his serious physical handicap. Balthasar I Moretus was the most scholarly of all his family and occupies an honoured place in the long line of humanists who graced the Southern Netherlands in the revival of the first half of the seventeenth century. His Latin verses can bear comparison with the best that the age produced. He was a worthy pupil of that great master of Latin, Justus Lipsius, who taught Balthasar for a couple of years at Louvain (1592-94) after he had finished his studies with the Augustinians at Antwerp.¹

It is very doubtful, however, if in his own day Balthasar's fame extended much beyond his own immediate circle in Antwerp. Max Rooses and Maurice Sabbe have illustrated Balthasar's significance as a humanist and Neo-Latin poet from the many poems, panegyrics and epitaphs which he wrote and which have been preserved in the family records. But with a few exceptions² these writings never appeared in print. The learned master of the largest printing concern in the Southern Netherlands had no desire to commit his literary products to his own presses. In contrast to many humanist scholars, Balthasar I Moretus was a very modest person who stayed in the background as much as possible.

His physical handicap undoubtedly had much to do with this. It seems

1. For the poems written by the young Balthasar (preserved in Arch. 202), his studies at Antwerp and with Justus Lipsius, see Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 262 and 274; M. Sabbe, ‘De humanistische opleiding van Plantin's kleinkinderen’ in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, 1928. Arch. 1150a contains many later tributes and epitaphs composed by Balthasar I. See Rooses, *Musée*, p. 275, on the subject of the epitaph for Philip Rubens.
2. Including a tribute to Justus Lipsius in his *De Cruce libri tres*, 1593, and a poem in praise of his teacher in the volume dedicated to the great humanist's memory which was published in 1607.

to the author that Plantin's grandson suffered all his life from an inferiority complex on this account. To this defect must also be ascribed the fact that he remained an inveterate bachelor and stubbornly refused to have his portrait painted. All the known portraits of him are based on the canvas by Willeboirts Bosschaert showing Balthasar I on his death-bed, which was painted at the request of his nephew and heir Balthasar II.¹ The younger Frans Raphelengius put his finger on his cousin's dominant characteristic in a letter of 7th August 1618, when Balthasar was feeling confused and depressed after the death of his brother and was looking around for another partner: 'It seems to us that a great deal of your melancholy arises from the fact that you make yourself melancholy; to wit, that you have too little faith in yourself and are therefore too fainthearted.'²

For Balthasar Moretus it was enough to be respected in his own circle, to mix on equal terms with the intelligentsia of his native town, to be a courteous host to the distinguished foreigners who visited Antwerp, and to correspond with these and with the many scholars who wanted to have their works published by the *Officina Plantiniana*. Balthasar exchanged hundreds of letters with Philip Chifflet, chaplain to the Archduchess Isabella - the chaplain writing in French, and the printer in Latin - letters in which all the political events of the time pass in review.³ With Anna Roemers Visscher, the famous Dutch poetess who visited the *Gulden Passer* many times, there was more talk of art and poetry. To please her host she copied out four sonnets by P.C. Hooft and Constantijn Huygens, adding a fifth of her own, dedicated 'Aen den E. Heere Moretus'. Beautiful examples of calligraphy, they are preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.⁴

In spite of all his modesty Balthasar thus enjoyed a certain celebrity in the world of scholarship - and even outside it. The reason which De la Serre, Maria de' Medici's biographer, gives for the visit of the exiled Queen of France to the Plantin press in 1631 during her stay in Antwerp, is very flattering to its master:⁵ 'The Queen was desirous of seeing this fine Plan-

1. Cf. p. 318.

2. Arch. 92, folios 175-176. Original Dutch text: 'Ons dunke dat een groot deel van uwe swaericheit ook bestaet in dat ul. al te veel swaericheit maekt; te weten dat gij u selven te weinig vertrouwt ende diensvolgens te kleinmoedig zijt.'

3. Seep. 393.

4. Seep. 394. Cf. plate 101.

5. See pp. 399-400.

tinian Press, the reputation of which Monsieur Balthasar Moretus, grandson of Christophe Plantin, upholds and supports by his own merit alone, making it as prosperous as ever, both by his knowledge and by his vigilance.¹ When Rubens died in 1640, another eminent French scholar, Matthieu de Morgues, Maria de' Medici's chaplain, wrote a letter to Balthasar containing an equally flattering comparison: 'Vostre ville a perdu l'ornement de la peinture muette, vous estes celuy de la parlante.'²

It should be added that Balthasar, however shy and reserved he may have been, lived as a patrician, entertaining his guests in princely surroundings. He rebuilt Plantin's simple house in the Vrijdagmarkt, making of it an architectural treasure that is still admired today,³ and filled it with paintings, manuscripts and books.⁴ The undistinguished exterior of the *Gulden Passer* of the time of Plantin and Jan Moretus became under Balthasar one of the sights of Antwerp which attracted visits not only from Maria de' Medici but from many other royal persons.⁵ It was typical of Balthasar, however, that where his bosom-friend Rubens introduced the exuberant Baroque style to the Southern Netherlands in this period and made his own house an illustration of the new movement, Balthasar kept to the calmer, more restrained Renaissance style.

Few details are available concerning the life of Balthasar's younger brother, Jan II Moretus, and little is said about him in books on the family. Jan II never studied at a university and the papers he left behind consist mostly of bills and book-keeping entries. He was certainly never a figure of any intellectual importance, which does not mean that he was entirely lacking in education. In about 1613, while he was away from the firm, a business letter in Spanish arrived, to which Balthasar replied in Latin with the excuse 'for although I understand Spanish, I only write it with difficulty': Spanish correspondence was his brother's exclusive preserve.⁶ Jan II Moretus was

1. Original French text: '... la Reine eut envie de voir cette belle imprimerie Plantinienne dont Monsieur Balthasar Moretus, petit-fils de Christophe Plantin, soustient et appuye de son seul mérite la renommée, la rendant aussi florissante que jamais, et par son sçavoir et par ses veilles.'

2. See p. 394.

3. See pp. 278 sqq.

4. See pp. 302 sqq.

5. See pp. 400 sqq.

6. Arch. 520¹, folio 2.

well thought of in Antwerp business circles, as is shown by the fact that he was elected dean of the Guild of St. Luke in 1616-17. To judge from the memorandum which he started on his appointment, he carried out his duties very meticulously.¹

The two brothers began quite early to help their father in the business - Balthasar in 1594, after returning from Louvain, Jan II probably in 1592, when he was sixteen years old. By a remarkable parallelism, they fulfilled the same functions for their father as he and Frans Raphelengius had done for Plantin. Balthasar was chief 'correcteur' and overseer of the press, and Jan II was the 'director and supervisor of the distribution or sale of his work and trade'.

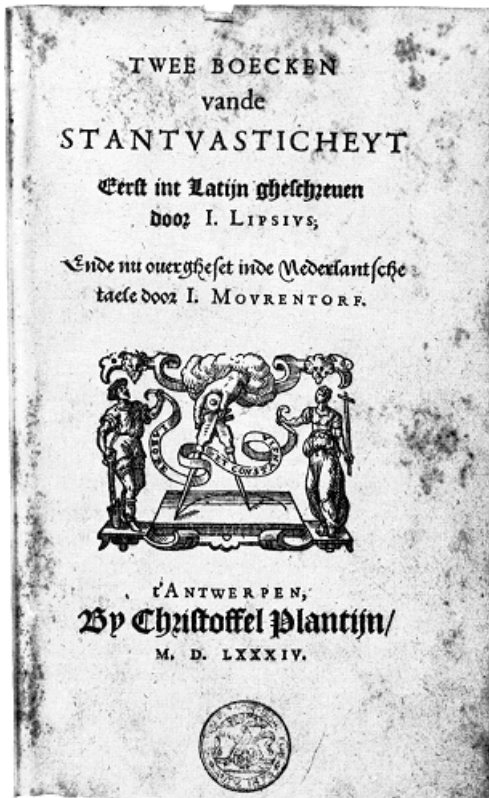
Both served their father loyally for many years without salary, until in 1604 they plucked up courage and in a written memorandum humbly but pointedly asked their parents for an 'endowment' appropriate to the importance of their work.² Jan Moretus granted his enterprising offspring their wish. Balthasar received a contractual yearly salary of 1,000 fl.,³ while his brother was regularly given books which he could dispose of himself.⁴ The following year Jan II married. It may be supposed that the younger brother took the initiative in asking for an income as he was planning to marry and did not wish to enter matrimony with empty pockets. His bride was Maria de Sweert, of a well-to-do Antwerp family. The ceremony took place in Antwerp Cathedral on 17th July 1605.⁵

In 1610, when the two brothers took over the firm after their father's death, the activities of the *Officina Plantiniana* were still carried on in two buildings tearing the name of *Gulden Passer*, i.e. the printing-office in the Vrijdagmarkt and the bookshop in the Kammenstraat (still often referred to by its old name of *Grote Valk*, presumably to avoid confusion). Naturally each of the two brothers began, or more probably continued to reside in the place where his work lay - Balthasar in the Vrijdagmarkt, Jan II in the Kammenstraat.

1. Published by M. Rooses and P. Rombouts: *Boek gehouden door Jan Moretus II, ah deken der St. Lucasgilde (1616-1617)*, Antwerp, 1878.
2. Arch, 100, folio 347.
3. Cf. Arch. 181 (beginning on 2nd January 1607).
4. Notes of these transactions (and of the growth of his fortune) are in Arch. 208, 209, and 210.
5. Cf. Arch. 207 which gives details of the engagement and marriage and lists the presents received and the expenses incurred.



(50) Balthasar I Moretus (1574-1641). Oil painting on canvas by Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert. Commissioned by Balthasar II Moretus immediately after his uncle's death.



(51) Title-page of Jan Moretus's Dutch translation of *De constantia libri duo* by Lipsius. The translator gives his name in its original Dutch form of Mourentorf. The Dutch version came out in 1584, the same year as the Latin *editio princeps*. The title-page gives Antwerp as the place of issue though the book was actually printed at Leiden, bearing the imprint: 'Tot Leyden by Christoffel Plantijn.' Some copies, however, show a modified title with an Antwerp imprint.

They increased the rate of production in the press considerably. Where their father had regularly had six presses working in the last years of his life, raising the number to seven in 1607 and in the year he died, his sons operated seven from the beginning and were even able to bring this up to nine in 1614. The *Officina Plantiniana* was once more one of the largest, if not the largest printing firm in all Christendom. But there was a new crisis to face in 1618. Jan II Moretus, the younger and physically the stronger of the two brothers ‘went into a decline’ and died a few months later on 11th March 1618.

It was a grievous blow. Balthasar not only lost a beloved brother but found himself confronted by a number of serious business problems. What he most dreaded was having to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of the firm by himself. There are intimations of this in his correspondence with his cousin, the younger Frans Raphelengius. Balthasar seems to have been thoroughly shaken and confused. The only salvation he could see lay in taking an outsider into partnership. His cousin, forgetting that he had reacted in an almost identical manner when his own brother died in 1600, tried to cheer him up and exhorted him to carry on alone.¹ ‘But my advice is only general, that I am thoroughly opposed to forming companies if there is no mutual interest and affection between the partners; such as there was between you and your late brother; and as there now is among my brother, sister and myself. Partners who are not kindred, if once they are intent on some advantage for themselves, seek gradually to supplant the principal: moreover you will not easily encounter anyone who as a partner has the generosity of character to do everything with honour and credit: but on the contrary it is to be feared that his only intention will be to do everything for profit; so that you will sometimes have to let it pass to your sorrow *res sordidas* etc....’²

Balthasar, however, pursued his intention and in April 1618, scarcely a month after his brother's death, he took the printer Jan van Meurs (Meursius) into partnership. The latter was no stranger to the house, being married

1. Letter of 20th April 1618 (Arch. 92, folio 167).
2. Original Dutch text: ‘Maer mijn advis is alleenlijk generael, dat mij alle compagnien doorgaens seer tegenstaen, alsser geen gemeen interesse met liefde tusschen de compagnons is; gelijk wel geweest is tusschen ul. en uwe broeder zl.; ende nu is tusschen mijnen broeder, suster ende mij. Vreemde compagnons, gelijk sij maer beginnen met voornemen van eenig eigen voordeel, soo soeken sij allengskens den principaelen den voet te lichten: daerenboven sal ul. niet lichtelik iemanden tot compagnon rencontreeren die deselfde generositeyt hebben sal om alles tot eer ende met lof te doen: maer ter contrarie is te vreesen dat sijn eenig voornemen wesen sal alles te doen tot profijt; soo dat ul. sal bijwijlen moeten laten passeeren tot u leetwesen *res sordidas* etc.’

to a sister of Maria de Sweert. From her side Maria proved willing to leave her husband's capital invested in the business. From April 1618 books printed in the Plantin press carried the address 'Ex Officina Plantiniana, apud Balthasarem Moretum et Viduam Joannis Moreti et Joannem Meursium.'

Maria de Sweert took no active part in the business. Jan van Meurs took charge of sales, while Balthasar continued to run the printing-office. The fears of Frans Raphelengius proved justified, if only in part. The quality of the books produced did not decline in any way and the quantity increased. The nine presses in operation rose to eleven in 1622 (the number dropped again to ten at die end of 1626). After about ten years, however, the partners began to disagree violently, and Van Meurs left in high dudgeon. As Balthasar II Moretus, Balthasar I's successor, expressed it in his journal: '1628. In April breach with Jan van Meurs. Which separation became final in the beginning of 1629, in March, with much quarrelling and argument.'¹

Maria de Sweert remained in partnership, but after 1629 her name disappeared from the title-pages of Plantinian works, which subsequently carried only Balthasar's name: 'Ex Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti.'

The parting of Balthasar Moretus and Jan van Meurs was painful. It also seems to have upset the firm's activities considerably. Balthasar, no longer young, cannot have found it easy to keep the *officina* going: the fluctuation in the number of presses working indicates that Van Meurs's departure was followed by disruption and a partial recession.² This tendency was halted in the latter years of Balthasar's life, however, and in 1640 there were again nine presses in operation.

To what extent it was the support of the 'heir apparent', Balthasar II, who had been assisting his uncle since 1632, which helped to allay the crisis cannot be said with any certainty. At all events the work of Christophe Plantin and Jan Moretus was not undone. When he died in 1641, Balthasar left

1. Arch. 213, under the year 1628. Original Dutch text: '1628. In april scheidinge van Jan van Meurs. Welke scheydingen door grote rusien ende craekeelen ten laeste gheschiet in het beginsel van 1629, in maart.'
2. See Appendix 5.

behind a sound business, with more presses working than when he had taken over. This business, moreover, was now concentrated in one building. In November 1639 he had transferred the shop in the Kammenstraat to the recently renovated *Gulden Passer* in the Vrijdagmarkt. In 1620 to 1622 he had already carried out extensive alterations to the latter building, intended to give him a suitably patrician residence. The alterations he embarked on in the years 1637 to 1639 were stated to be ‘to combine the bookshop with the printing-press’:¹ future masters of the *Officina Plantiniana* would be able to keep a closer eye on both its main activities, printing and selling, than had hitherto been possible. This concentration was a direct consequence of the quarrel with Van Meurs, which had left Balthasar in sole charge.

Balthasar himself was not able to enjoy this rationalization for long. He died on 8th July 1641 in ‘the house of the Press, in the morning about ten o'clock, the last sacrament having been given the day before; his illness had only lasted ten days’, noted Balthasar II in his journal.² Like Jan II, and like all the following generations of Moretuses until the second half of the eighteenth century, Balthasar was laid to rest in the family vault in Antwerp Cathedral. The famous physician and humanist Ludovicus Nonnius attended him in the last moments of his life, receiving 18 fl. ‘for visiting during the illness’. The ‘bill for the costs of the sickness, burial, and mourning clothes... and for the funeral meal’ came to the considerable sum of 2,118 fl. 10 St., including ‘12 fl. for the funeral ode’.³

Balthasar I and Jan II Moretus belonged to the post-1585 generation in Antwerp, that of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Their father, like Plantin and so many other Antwerp intellectuals of the pre-1585 generation, had been a member of the Family of Love and of the Barrefeltist sect. He went with the stream and became the great printer of the Counter-Reformation, but how far his personal views were in accord with the new militant Catholicism remains open to question. In the case of Balthasar I and the other children of Jan Moretus and Martina Plantin there is no doubt: all

1. Arch. 213, under the year 1637. See also p. 282.

2. Arch. 213, under the year 1641. Original Dutch text: ‘... in de huysinghe van de Druckereye, s'morgens omtrent ten tien uren, naer dat daeghs te voren berecht was gheweest, sijne sieckte had alleenlijk thien dagen geduert.’

3. Arch. 104, folios 73 sqq.

were completely the products of the new spiritual climate prevailing in Antwerp. There has already been mention of how Balthasar became the secular patron of the new Convent of the Annonciades in Antwerp.¹

Where Jan I Moretus had become the Counter-Reformation's printer because events carried him in that direction, Balthasar I and Jan II remained its foremost printers out of personal conviction.² They were able to maintain their high standing because, in the period between the fall of Antwerp in 1585 and the Treaty of Minister in 1648, intellectual activity in the Southern Netherlands remained intense and vigorous. Most of the scholars were clergy and there was an emphasis on religious subjects, yet this intellectual life was, after its kind, of international significance.

All the Antwerp typographers of these years adapted their production to meet demands created by the Counter-Reformation, but whereas most of them printed and distributed chiefly popular writings, the Plantin press stuck to the good Latin works of the masters; as in the time of Plantin, though at a rather different level, they remained pre-eminent: not only because of the content of what they published but also because of its form. Balthasar and Jan II were not innovators in this - they were following a path already taken by their father - but it was under them that the Antwerp Baroque book, with its rich ornamentation and superabundant illustration, achieved its highest perfection. Here the collaboration of Rubens, who designed numerous title-pages and illustrations for his boyhood friend Balthasar Moretus, was decisive. Because of the genius of Rubens and the international sphere in which the *officina* operated, the Antwerp Baroque book and the Plantinian style had a profoundly formative influence on typography in the seventeenth century.

Many of the folios printed by Balthasar I Moretus are nowadays only opened and studied for their illustrations. Most of the bulky volumes he published, however important they may have been in their time, now have only a certain limited, retrospective significance for the history of theology and religion. This does not mean that no important works of science or the humanities left the Plantin press under Balthasar I. The list of such works is relatively long and interesting: the edition of Seneca by Justus Lipsius in

1. See pp. 189-190.

2. See also the chapter devoted to the Plantin house as a humanist centre.

1613 and the publication of Lipsius's collected works in 1637; the lectures of Libertus Fromondus, professor of philosophy at Louvain; the *Opticorum libri VI*, the optical textbook by the Jesuit Aguilonius (1613); the *Annales ducum seu principum Brabantiae*, the history of the Duchy of Brabant by Haraeus (1623); the *Obsidio Bredana*, an account of the siege of Breda by H. Hugo (1st Latin edition, 1626; 2nd Latin edition 1629; Spanish translation, 1627; and French translation, 1631); the *Historia naturae* by the Spanish Jesuit Joannes Eusebius Nierembergius (1635). Others included a number of books of topical interest, concerning Maria de' Medici (J. Puget de la Serre, *Histoire curieuse de tout ce qui s'est passé à l'entrée de la Reyne, mère du roi très-chrétien, dans les villes des Pays-Bas*, 1632; and M. de Morgues, *Diverses pièces pour la Défense de la Reyne, Mère du Roy très-chrétien Louys XIII*, 1637) and concerning the claims of the Spanish king to the throne of Portugal (J. Caramuel Lobkowitz, *Philippus prudens...*, 1639). In this field, however, Balthasar's production was much below that of his father, and in no way comparable with that of Christophe Plantin.

In one area, however, both brothers returned to a Plantinian tradition, namely the printing of service books for the Spanish market. As has been repeatedly emphasized, this production was of tremendous importance in the development of Plantin's business, although it caused him much trouble. After Antwerp's capitulation in 1585 the great printer did not try to renew his relations with Philip II.¹ Nor did Jan I Moretus try to regain the Spanish market: it was the Spaniards themselves who finally approached him.

The question of the revival of the Spanish trade still awaits detailed study, but the main points are fairly clear. The Hieronymite monastery of San Lorenzo in the Escorial had obtained from the Spanish kings a virtual monopoly for the sale of liturgical works in Spain and the Spanish colonies.² Dissatisfied with the quantity and quality of books produced in Spain, the monks turned in the beginning of the seventeenth century to Philip II's old supplier, the Plantin press.

1. See p. 89.

2. But not an absolute monopoly: the Moretus brothers and their successors sold also rather large quantities of service books to Spanish priests and monks other than the Hieronymites and even to private Spanish booksellers.

The first piece of evidence that the author found was a letter dated 25th November 1606, written by the superior of the house to Jan I Moretus, requesting him to supply breviaries, referring to the royal privileges and papal bulls with which Plantin had been favoured, and even quoting Arias Montanus's words on Plantin's behalf.¹ A memorandum of 18th June 1607 notes the dispatch of 1,200 breviaries in quarto and octavo, some illustrated, others not.² That is all until the beginning of 1615, when there are details in the Plantinian records of a further consignment³ - and the copy of a letter dated 12th April 1615 from the Spanish king to Archduke Albert, in which he protested violently on behalf of the monastery of San Lorenzo at the high prices Plantin's heirs had dared to ask. The same bundle in the archives contains the *rescriptio*, the Moretus brothers' answer, in which they replied with equal acerbity to the accusations, maintaining that the Spanish priests were not complaining about the expensiveness of the Plantin books but about their scarcity. This was provoked by sabotage on the part of the Hieronymites, who were holding back the Moretus editions and bringing native products on the market which were inferior in design and content.⁴

From these particulars it may be deduced that the Hieronymites of San Lorenzo, the virtual monopoly holders in Spain, were allowed to call on native printers and in fact gave them preference for a long time, but that where foreign printers were concerned, they were more or less bound by Philip II's grant of sole rights for Spain and her colonies to the *Officina Plantiniana* - or at least they regarded themselves as so bound. Their attempt to force down prices foundered when the Moretuses were adamant, at which the Hieronymites turned to their sovereign for support. After hearing charge and counter-charge, however, neither Philip III nor Archduke

1. Arch. 523, folios 1-2.

2. Arch. 523, folio 3.

3. Arch. 125, folio 243: three deliveries invoiced 13th January, 10th April, and 27th August 1615, for a total amount of 7,461 fl. 1 st., dispatched to Juan Hafrey, a Madrid bookseller, 'pour compte des R[évérands] P[ères] de St. Geronimo, pour divers livres de resado quil a demande par ordre de P. Juan de Madrid' [for the account of the Reverend Fathers of St. Jerome, for different sundry service-books he commissioned at the order of Father Juan of Madrid].

4. Arch. 102, folios 583 sqq.

Albert seem to have involved themselves further in the matter and left the two parties to get on with it.

The two sides did not stick to their respective points of view. A compromise agreement was soon reached: the Moretus brothers could continue to ship huge quantities of service-books to Spain, with the Hieronymites as their most important customers. From 1615 to 1625 those shipments to the Escorial amounted to the impressive total of 163,607 fl. 8 st.¹

Sales of these *rezo romano* (the technical term in Spain for such service-books) were not yet comparable with the enormous figures of later years; export to Spain was still a subsidiary interest of the press, but the path had been taken which, under Balthasar's successors, was to lead to the firm's specialization in liturgical books for the Spanish market.

The great cultural role of the *Officina Plantiniana* had finished, but the firm was to remain viable. While in the second half of the seventeenth century the rapid cultural and artistic decline of the Southern Netherlands was to reduce Antwerp's once international book market to a relatively unimportant regional centre, and lay its other typographers low, the Plantin press (together with the Verdussens who were also Spanish-oriented) was to remain intensely busy and, within its narrow, specialized limits, continue to enjoy an international reputation and influence. Just at the right moment Balthasar I Moretus was able to change over and by so doing he ensured the viability of the Golden Compasses as a capitalist undertaking for more than another century - thanks to the Spanish privileges won by his grandfather, who had contemptuously laid them aside in 1576.

1. The trade in service-books with Spain in the seventeenth century is discussed in further detail in Vol. II.

Chapter 5

Balthasar II Moretus (1641-1674)¹

Jan II Moretus died on 11th March 1618. Maria de Sweert survived her husband by thirty-seven years. Until 1640 she continued to live in the *Grote Valk* otherwise the *Gulden Passer* in the Kammenstraat after which she moved to a house in the Kerkhofstraat (now the Schoenmarkt called St. Malcus ‘which house she completely renovated on the front and improved within’. She died in her son's house the *Gulden Passer* in the Vrijdagmarkt, on 7th May 1655.²

Jan II Moretus and Maria de Sweert had six children, four of whom survived; two daughters who married Antwerp citizens of substance and two sons. By some quirk of fate the eldest son Jan was mentally sick just as the eldest surviving son of Jan I Moretus had been. He spent most of his life away from the family and outside Antwerp, dying at Nieuwenrode in 1663 at the age of 53.³

Balthasar was born in 1615, ‘the sole hope of the Plantin press’ (*unica spes Typographiae Plantiniana*) as his uncle and godfather Balthasar I put it in a letter to the younger Frans Raphelengius on 22nd April 1634.⁴

1. Rooses *Musée*, pp. 307-312 M. Sabbe devotes much attention to Balthasar II in the studies he published in (*Uit het Plantijnsche huis* and *De Moretussen en hun kring*. See particularly ‘Vondel, Balthasar Moretus II, Leonardus Mirius en Hendrik Barentsen’ and ‘Op den drempel van den adelstand’, both in the latter volume. ‘Op den drempel...’ has been translated into French and German (cf. p. 228, note 1). One of the principal sources for Balthasar II's biography is his own diary (Arch. 253).
2. Arch. 213, under the years 1640 and 1655.
3. Van der Straelen *Geslagt-lyste*, p. 29.
4. ‘Nepos Balthasar jam in officina libraria se exercet, unica spes Typographiae Plantiniana, fratre ejus Joanne omnitio delirante’ (Arch. 146, p. 71).

167

Amicissime Dne,

Epitaphium fratris tui inscriptionem mihi vix credideras; et non
 ego mihi, qui libens non meo tantum iudicio sapio, sed etiam alieno.
 Itaque D. Wincey ante triduum iudicio et rationibus obsecutus,
 mutavi, ut in altero exemplo vides; in quo ipse Wincey manum,
 infra in hinc versibus agnosces, qui prudenter etiam morebat,
 scilicet eos a reliqua inscriptione in inferiori paragrafo ponendos,
 ut latius ipse inscriptioni spatium relinquere. Deinde suadebat,
 quod ego praeter consilium peabo, ut consiliorum quorundam de inscriptione
 haberetur, et plura iudicia confeceretur, Cuius fratris tui D. Beati
 D. Wincey, D. Hemelazy, et si tanti est, meum. qui alterum
 exemplum adungo, in quo nonnulli ab eo, ab eo quod cum D. Wincey
 conceperat. Vale, et salve a tui amantissimo

Balth. Moreto.

(52) *Opposite*: Letter from Balthasar I Moretus to Rubens 1611 Balthasar writes in Latin to the painter about the epitaph for his deceased brother Philip Rubens (Cf. plate 55).



(53) Jan II Moretus (1576-1618). Oil Painting on canvas by Erasmus Quellin, commissioned by Balthasar II Moretus in 1642.



(54) Maria de Sweert (1588-1655), Jan II Moretus's wife. Oil painting on panel by Jacob van Reesbroeck, commissioned by Balthasar II Moretus in 1659.

PHILIPPO RUBENIO I.C.
IOANNIS CIVIS ET SENATORIS ANTVERT. F.
MAGNI LIPSII DISCIPVLO ET ALYMNQ,
CVLYS DOCTRINAM BENE ASSECVTVS,
MODESTIAM FELICITER ADEQVAVIT;
BRVXELLE PRESIDI RICHARDO T O,
ROME ASCANTIO CARDINALI COLUMNE,
AB EPISTOLIS, ET STVDIIS;
S. P. O. ANTVERTIENSI A SECRETIS.
ASVIT, NON OBIT, VIRTUTE ET SCRIPTIS SIBI SVPERSTES,
V. KAL. SEPTEMB. ANNO CHRISTI MD. LXXI. ETAT. XXXIIX.
MARITO BENE MERENTI MARIA DE MOLI,
DVVM EX ILLO LIBERORVM CLARE ET PHILLIPPI MATER,
PROPTER ILLIVS BIVVS MATRIS MARIE ZWELINX SEPVLORVM
MOERORIS AMORIS
HOC AMORIS ET MOERORIS SVI MONVMENTVM P. C.
BONIS VIATOR BENE TRECARE MANIBVS:
ET COGITA; BREVIT ILLE, MOX SEQVAT.

(55) *Opposite*: Draft of epitaph for Philip Rubens, worded and written by Balthasar I Moretus in 1611.

The time was past when the children of the masters of the Golden Compasses had to assist their parents in the firm from a tender age. Uncle Balthasar saw to it that his heir received as careful an education as he himself had enjoyed. In 1622, as a boy of seven, the sole hope was sent to the Latin School run by the Augustinians, but as Balthasar II himself candidly stated in the diary in which he recorded the main events of his life: ‘since because of my youth (or perhaps inattention) I made little progress in learning there my mother and my Uncle Balthasar sent me in 1624 about Easter as a day-boarder to a curate of the Church of St. James.’¹ This proved successful. Balthasar began ‘to do rather better at his lessons’ and in 1625 was able to move on to the Latin School of the Jesuits. He stayed there until 1630, in which year he left for Tournai ‘to learn the French language there and continue my study of the humanities’. On 4th April 1632, at the age of seventeen, he was back in Antwerp ‘and began to practise in the shop so as to learn the book trade and continue therein’. To what extent this practise meant a welcome release for Balthasar I, and to what extent Balthasar II was his uncle's support when the latter had to keep the business going by himself, is hard to determine, but he certainly learnt the trade and all its tricks and secrets. When the management of the Plantin press passed to him on Balthasar I's death in 1641, he showed himself a worthy master.

In his remarkable studies in which he depicts the seventeenth-century Moretuses in their everyday comings and goings, Sabbe suggests that Balthasar II had an urge to play the *grand seigneur* and ape the nobility.² Something of this nature can be observed in the grandson of Jan I Moretus, but closer study shows it to have been no more pronounced than in his father and uncle. In the seventeenth century the Moretuses rose to rank among the leading citizens of Antwerp, and were related to its most distinguished families. Balthasar I already resembled a great lord in his luxurious residence. He is seen more as a humanist than a grand seigneur, however, simply because of his intellectual aspirations.

1. Original Dutch text: ‘... alsoo ick mits myne jouckheyt (oft misshien onachtsaemheyt) aldaer weynighen voortganck in het lerren dede, soo hebben mijne moeder ende mijn oom Balthasar anno 1624 mij bestedt omtrent Passchen in den halven kost tot eenen capellaen van St. Jacobskerck.’
2. Cf. ‘Op den drempel van den adelstand’.

His successor was well-endowed with brains, but humanist ideals seem to have been alien to him. In the first half of the seventeenth century, in the time of Balthasar I, the Antwerp humanists gave the city great intellectual and cultural ambience. In his nephew's period they faded completely away. To quote Jules Chifflet's words when he visited Antwerp in 1670: 'Eight hundred shops stood empty. The sadness is to be read on the face of this once so flourishing citizenry. The scholars who adorned Antwerp six and thirty years ago are now all dead. All that remains of them are their fine epitaphs in the churches and their portraits in the house of mine host Moretus.'¹

Even if the city had been able to sustain a more intense intellectual life, it is unlikely that Balthasar II would have played any part in it: he had no taste for Latin letters. For this reason it almost seems as if after the death of Balthasar I, a new, more light-hearted and superficial generation appeared in the *Officina Plantiniana*, out to enjoy the wealth accumulated by their hardworking and learned predecessors and intent on playing the fine gentleman. However, if the available facts are looked at more carefully then it must be seen that Balthasar II went no further in this direction than his uncle, and that he actually followed in the footsteps of his sober, businesslike father Jan I. Balthasar II Moretus can be categorized as an industrious businessman who certainly admired the nobility, but who kept his feet firmly on the ground and thought first of his firm's prosperity.

It is true that in his 'règle journalière, laquelle d'icy en avant se debvra observer par Balthasar Moretus le Jeune', drawn up for his son and successor Balthasar III,² courtesy and good manners were much emphasized, but the rules were not set above a middle class level, and the master of the *officina* saw to it that his heir became acquainted with its working at first hand: '...after the departure of the Master of music... to go to the printing-office, to take note of what the men do and to instruct the workmen when something is to be rephrased or corrected. Then to come to the office or the Lipsius room: and in case father should not have provided anything else to do to occupy half an hour by translating some letter or other from among

1. See p. 395.

2. Arch. 1150a. Published by Rooses in *Musée*, p. 307; commented on by M. Sabbe in 'Op den drempel van den adelstand', pp. 120-121.

those which are copied in the book of copies in Latin, and to endeavour to make it as correct and as elegant as possible, and to write it in good handwriting, so as to observe a good manner of calligraphy, and also to pay attention to the punctuation, capital letters and spelling. After having done this until half past nine o'clock to go and breakfast... After breakfast to return once again to the printing-office as before; and then to return to the Lipsius room and to do what father shall have given you to do; or if he has not asked for anything to be done or if he should not be present, to practise in arithmetic, and to do the sums which are in the little arithmetic book, following and copying out the questions without interruption according to the order which is to be found in the same little book...' After the midday meal the lad could 'take the air for a while, either in the courtyard or at the gateway, for about a quarter of an hour or a little more. Then to return to the printing-office as before dinner. And then to write for half an hour or more, writing something neatly to practise good calligraphy.'¹

It is true that in the account of his journey to Paris in 1660, Balthasar II waxes enthusiastic over the beauty and splendour of the villas and pleasant gardens of the nobility and gentry he was able to visit, but at the same time he seems to have missed not a single important library or collection of books in the French capital, and his comments on these are even more enthusiastic.²

1. Original French text: '... après le départ du maistre [de musique]... passer par l'imprimerie, prendre garde à ce qu'ils font, et montrer aux compaguons, quand il se trouvera quelque chose à redire ou à corriger. Puis venir au comptoir, ou à la chambre de Lipse: et en cas que le père ne donne aultre chose à faire, occuper une demie heure à translater quelque lettre de celles qui sont copiées dans le livre des copies en la langue latine, et tascher de le faire le plus correct et élégant que faire se pourra, et de l'escrire de bonne main, afin d'observer la bonne façon d'escrire, et aussy à prendre garde aux interponctions, majuscules et orthographe. Ayant fait cecy jusques à neuf heures et demy, aller déjeuner... Après le déjeuner passer encores une fois par l'imprimerie, comme auparavant: et puis retourner à la chambre de Lipse, et faire ce que le père aura donné à faire; ou s'il n'a rien donné à faire, ou qu'il n'y soit pas présent, s'exercer en l'arithmétique, et faire les sommes qui sont dans le petit livre d'arithmétique, poursuivant transcrire sans interruption les questions selon l'ordre qui est au mesme livret...' After the midday meal the lad could 'se mettre un peu à l'air, soit à la place, soit à la porte, par l'espace d'environ un quart d'heure ou un peu d'avantage. Depuis repasser par l'imprimerie, comme devant le disner. Et après escrire par l'espace d'une demie heure ou d'avantage quelque chose au net, afin de s'exercer à la bonne esriture.'
2. Ms. 228. M. Sabbe, 'Itinerarium Parisiense' van Balthasar Moretus II' in *Jaarboek van Antwerpen's Oudheidkundige Kring*, 5, 1922, pp. 43-52. Cf. also M. Sabbe, 'Op den drempel...' pp. 121-123.

More significant still is the fact that Balthasar did not strive after any of the many expensive and time-consuming honorary offices which formed the most certain way of acquiring a title. In 1647 he became dean of the Guild of St. Luke, like his father before him, but for the rest he tried as far as possible to obtain exemption for himself and his son from honorary posts and functions. What he did try successfully to secure was Plantin's old title of chief printer to the king, which had fallen into disuse, but this was only in an attempt to avoid being given another highly esteemed but very expensive post - that of grand almoner of Antwerp.

In the last years of his life Balthasar I had been fairly regularly addressed as 'the king's printer',¹ after the *rezo romano* had brought him in closer contact with Spain and her court. It was probably the Hieronymites of San Lorenzo who obtained for him this fine-sounding but not very meaningful title. As 'imprimeur du roi' his nephew and successor approached King Philip IV in about 1644 in order to obtain something more: the dignity of 'prototypographe' which his great-grandfather had possessed 'tant seulement pour luy et ses successeurs avec exemption de toute charge civile et militaire audit Anvers'. Philip passed this request on to the government in Brussels for further investigation on 27th September 1644.² In his letter he declared himself willing to promote his printer a little and grant him the 'title of prototypographus or first printer' - but 'sans plus'. It was to remain a purely honorary appointment without any practical significance. In his request, however, Balthasar II had placed the emphasis on exemption from all civil and military duties, in particular from the almoner's office with which the city wanted to burden him, as is clear from his later letters ('not wishing to be elected almoner', to quote one dated 16th November 1646).³ The Brussels government took its time to investigate the matter and express an opinion on it, so long in fact that the printer summoned up his courage again and addressed another petition directly to the Spanish king. Philip considered that the business had dragged on for long enough and without

1. The engraving by Jan Witdoeck after Rubens's *Martyrdom of St. Just*, 1639 (see p. 190) has the words 'Architypographus regius' in the inscription.
2. Arch. 104, folios 201-203.
3. Arch. 104, folio 247.

waiting for Brussels granted the desired title on 6th May 1647 - but ‘sans plus’.¹ Balthasar had achieved the title, but was no nearer to being exempted from the dreaded almonership.

That he did not even bother to mention the royal favour in the journal in which he so carefully recorded the events of his life is probably evidence of his disappointment. But when the danger of appointment to the position began to loom large, he contrived to find a way out at the last moment: ‘On the fourteenth day of March [1652] I took an oath at Brussels before the Most Reverend Joannes Boonen, Archbishop of Malines in the presence of Mijnheer Charles Couberger, Superintendant General of Charity, as councillor of charity within Antwerp, by which I am exempted from being chosen for any office, even that of almoner. Laus Deo’² runs the triumphant entry in his diary.

This is not the conduct of a parvenu trying to imitate the aristocracy and intent on a prominent role in social life, but of a realistic businessman who had already risen high in society through his wealth and relations, yet wanted to reduce to a minimum the more irksome consequences of his social position, even though they would have brought him added status and authority.

Balthasar II was one of the richest people in Antwerp and probably the wealthiest typographer of his day, yet he remained first and foremost a master printer. He made notes on every conceivable subject, a trait he had probably inherited from his father, who left many memoranda for posterity. With Balthasar II this passion became a mania. He produced an incredible number of wills; Max Rooses counted no less than thirty-two of them. He compared and measured anything capable of measurement, even the number of steps he needed to take to reach particular places.³

1. Arch. 104, folio 283.

2. Original Dutch text: ‘Adi 14 Meert [1652] heb ik tot Brussel mijnen eed gedaen in handen van den hoogweerdigsten Heer Joannes Boonen aertsbisschop van Mechelen in tegenwoordigheyt van Mijnheer Charles Couberger surintendant general van de bergen van bermerhertigheyt ende dat in qualiteyt van raedheer vanden berg van bermerhertigheyt binnen Antwerpen waermedt ik beyrijd ben van ghecosen te worden tot eenighe officien ook selver tot aelmoessenierschap. Laus Deo.’

3. ‘Memorandum. This *speelhof* [or villa; Balthasar II's property at Berchem] is situated 2,200 paces from the outer bailey of the St. Jorispoort [St. George's Gate], and 1,500 paces from my house in the Vrijdagmarkt, as measured by Balthasar Moretus on 28th February 1659. And from the Kronenburg Gate behind the Citadel to the villa is 4,600 paces. And from my house in the Vrijdagmarkt to the outer bailey of the Roodepoort [Red Gate] is 2,580 paces, and from there to the *Hand* [a boundary-stone marking the limits of the city of Antwerp, and adorned with a hand, being the “sign” of the town] on the Dam is 1,350 paces, as measured by me on 13th May 1661.’ (Arch. 108, p. 114; Dutch text.)

In the endless inventories and memoranda of all kinds which he left behind he also recorded with satisfaction his fortune and its growth.¹ Balthasar I in his will had named his nephew as his principal beneficiary.² Balthasar II received 75,443 fl. net in houses, other properties, and bonds.³ This fortune had increased to 194,467 fl. on 31st December 1651, to 297,000 fl. on 31st December 1658, and to 341,000 fl. on 31st December 1662 - several millions of dollars in present-day values.

In the inventories of 1658 and 1662 Balthasar itemized his fortune down to the smallest particular.⁴ It is very significant that income from rented

1. See especially: Arch. 104, folios 161 sqq. (record of the goods and properties left by Balthasar I, and of Balthasar II's inheritance); Arch. 354 (partnership of Maria de Sweert and Balthasar II, June 1642-1651, and Maria de Sweert's inheritance); Arch. 104, folios 399-401 (record of Balthasar II's possessions, 31st December 1651); and Arch. 108 (Balthasar II's possessions on 31st December 1658 and 31st December 1662).
2. Will of 22nd September 1637: Arch. 103, pp. 253 sq.
3. The balance amounted to 213,609 fl., divided as follows (the stuivers are not given): the premises of the printing press (48,000 fl.), the *Bonte Huid* in the Hoogstraat (16,000 fl.), the *IJzeren Passer*, the *Houten Passer* and the *Vosken* in the Heilig Geeststraat (6,000 fl.), 'the furniture, cash and his private library' (15,000 fl.), making 85,000 fl. altogether; and half of the 'compagnie des boeckhandels' (the odier half belonged to Maria de Sweert, Jan II Moretus's heiress), representing a sum of 128,609 fl. From this 138,165 fl. has to be deducted, comprising: half the company's debts (49,030 fl.); money from the general funds of the company used by Balthasar I (23,612 fl.); unpaid personal bills and debts (20,615 fl.); sickness and funeral expenses (2,118 fl.); small legacies (2,788 fl.); payments to the coheirs (40,000 fl. - 12,000 fl. each to Balthasar II's brother and two sisters, and 2,000 fl. each to two other relatives).
4. The chief items (values are given to the nearest guilder, the 1658 figures first, the 1662 figures in brackets) were as follows: the stock of 'red and black' service-books, 85,000 (89,000); the 'black' books, 96,000 (90,000); paper stocks, 21,000 (33,000); stocks of parchment for friskets and tympanes, 1,980 (*idem*); debts outstanding in Portugal and Spain, 100,000 (105,000); debts outstanding in countries other than Portugal and Spain, 24,000 (32,000); money in the cash-box of the shop, 5,650 (3,020); printing materials, 24,000 (*idem*); books at Frankfurt, 3,000 (*idem*); small necessities for the press, 1,000 (*idem*); houses in Antwerp - the *Gulden Passer*, 40,000 (45,000); *St. Marcus*, 17,000 (*idem*); the *Bonte Huid*, 14,000 (*idem*); the *Vosken*, 2,500 (*idem*); the *Houten Passer*, 2,000 (*idem*); the *IJzeren Passer*, 2,000 (*idem*); the villa at Berchem, 3,000 (*idem*); private library, 10,000 (*idem*); ready cash not included above, 4,000 (4,200); jewelry, 6,039 (8,039); silverware and gold chains, 6,519 (6,869); furniture, paintings, porcelain and linen, 17,861 (18,401); rents from lands, 602 (729); life annuities for the children, 2,400 (3,600); share in the estate of his wife's grandfather, 10,046 (*idem*); share in real estate at Hamme, also inherited from his wife's grandfather, 1,853 (*idem*). The 1658 total came to 501,453 fl., from which 204,453 fl. has to be deducted - (i) 85,500 for buying out his sisters, (ii) 87,907 for repaying interest loans and (iii) 31,044 to other creditors. The corresponding figures for 1662 are: 531,240 less 190,240 fl. - (i) 48,450, (ii) 107,628, (iii) 34,161 fl.

houses and land represents only a small percentage of the total and that there are hardly any shares or securities. This bears out what has already been said about this master of the Golden Compasses. Balthasar II was a very rich man, but his fortune remained invested in the business like that of his predecessors. Plantin's great-grandson was no *rentier* living on capital earned by his forefathers.¹

These inventories are also valuable for the information they give about how Balthasar II obtained his fortune. On his marriage to Anna Goos in 1645 it amounted to 135,000 fl.² He inherited 68,259 fl. from his mother's estate in 1655.³ From this total sum of 203,295 fl. he deducted 6,039 fl. for the jewels he had bought his wife, adding it to the 42,704 fl. which Anna had brought to the marriage.⁴

Of the 297,000 fl. which Balthasar and Anna possessed in 1658, no less than 186,442 fl. had consequently been inherited.⁵ To this sum can be added about 25,000 fl. - the endowment Balthasar received on his marriage. The remaining 85,558 fl. must represent the profits of the Plantin press from 1641

1. It is significant that in the record of the assets of the 'compagnie des boeckhandels', Balthasar II repeatedly emphasized that he made much bigger profits from the book-trade than he would have obtained by investing his capital at 5% per annum, and that he was also able to ensure considerable capital-gains for his mother. The latter point might indicate that Maria de Sweert was inclined to invest her money in something safer and less worrying. This problem is discussed in further detail in Vol. II.
2. 75,443 fl. of this was inherited from Balthasar I; an endowment which possibly amounted to 25,000 fl., although the exact sum cannot be ascertained; the rest was presumably earned in the business between 1641 and 1645.
3. His inherited share of the 'compagnie' amounted to 41,502 fl. 10 st.; the remainder came from Maria de Sweert's other assets, including the *St. Marcus* house (17,000 fl.), the villa at Berchem (1,500 fl.), and movables (including a horse and carriage, and paintings, to the value of 478 fl.).
4. Namely 25,148 fl. 'in cash as a dowry', a trousseau representing 1,530 fl., and 16,024 fl. derived from inheritances.
5. From Balthasar I: 75,443 fl.; from Maria de Sweert: 68,295 fl.; from Anna Goos's family; 42,704 fl.

to 1658. (Or rather, half of the profits from 1641 to 1655, the other half going to Balthasar's mother.) In 1662 the pair were richer by 44,000 fl.: Balthasar had inherited 3,670 fl. from his uncle Ludovicus Moretus; the rest must be the firm's profits during these four years.

Balthasar II commented on his inheritance, responsibilities, and aspirations in his diary: 'In his will [Uncle Balthasar] made me his heir: therefore I came to live in the printing house at that time and took up the task of directing the press and conducting the sale of books. Wherein I hope to continue by the Grace of God to the honour and advantage of the said press. Praying God shall give me the Grace to direct it until some one of my children shall be sufficiently practised therein to maintain and continue it.'¹

Balthasar I had only been able to bequeath his own share of the business, half of which was in the hands of Maria de Sweert, Balthasar II's mother. Like his predecessor Balthasar II had to go into partnership with his mother: 'On the twelfth day of December [1641] I wound up our old company with Mother and entered into a new one for six years dating from 1st July of the year 1641.' This period was probably extended. Not until after his mother's death did Balthasar II obtain all of his inheritance, less the payment of Maria de Sweert's bequests to his sisters.²

Between 1641 and 1662 Balthasar II watched his fortune increase by 125,000 fl., which must be the profits from the *Officina Plantiniana*; but it has to be taken into consideration that until 1655 he had to share these profits with his mother:³ the old press was more of a paying concern than ever before.⁴ As in his uncle's day the number of presses working was subject

1. Original Dutch text: 'Door syn testament heeft [oom Balthasar] mij sijnen erfgenaem gestelt: waerdoor ick op den selven tijd in de druckerye ben komen wonen ende den last van deselve te regeren ende den boekhandel te drijven begonst aen te nemen. Waerinne ick hope met de Gratie Gods te continueren tot eere en te voordeel van deselve druckerye. Biddende God my de Gratie te gheven om deselve soo lang te regeren totdat er iemand van mijne naercomelinghen inde selve geoeffend mach wesen om the te onderhouwen en blijven continueren.'
2. Each of whom received the considerable sum of 41,502 fl. 10 st., to be paid off in yearly instalments of 5,000 fl.
3. While after 1655 he still had to pay out 83,000 fl. to his sisters.
4. Balthasar II set out his final balance sheet showing his 'calculation of profits made by the Grace of God from 1st July 1642 to 31st December 1651' in the following terms: '... so it appears that in 9½ years, notwithstanding all bankruptcies, mishaps, bad debts, and such like, a profit of 208,001 fl. 10 st. has been made by the Grace of God and our own industry.' This represents an annual profit of 21,980 fl., accounted for by Balthasar II as follows: General state on 31st December 1651 was 259,947 fl. 10 st.; money taken from the funds by Maria de Sweert in the period 1642-1651: 41,865 fl.; by Balthasar II in the same period: 65,347 fl. A total of 367,159 fl. 10 st. Capital on 30th June 1642: 159,158 fl. Therefore the profit made between 1st July 1642 and 31st December 1651 equals 208,001 fl. 10 st. See also the discussion of this matter in Vol. II.

to sudden and sometimes violent fluctuations in trade, but a total of eleven was reached more often than previously. The average figure was appreciably higher than under Balthasar I and almost twice what was achieved by Jan I Moretus. Once again the Plantinian house was the largest typographical undertaking in Europe.

The *rezo romano*, the export of service-books to Spain, grew to enormous proportions. Under Balthasar II this trade became the firm's *raison d'être*. The new master of the Golden Compasses, however, maintained contact with other customers for service books. As before, great quantities of his breviaries, missals, and books of hours were retailed in the Southern Netherlands, while an equally impressive number of consignments found their way to the Dutch republic, France, Germany, and Italy.

In 1644 Balthasar even made the journey once more to the Frankfurt Fair in person, although his memories of this episode were far from pleasant. The journey was perilous. The travellers had to pay ransom to marauding cavalry from the army of the States General right under the walls of Antwerp. In Germany matters became even worse. A military escort had to be hired for the journey along the banks of the Rhine, which did not prevent the convoy from being waylaid by Lorraine mercenaries. They were only allowed to proceed after opening their purses.¹ Balthasar II did not repeat this experiment very often but in 1656, in Lent, when something like order and peace had returned both to the Netherlands and Germany, he ventured to visit Frankfurt again to make personal contact with his German and eastern French customers.²

Mindful of the wise policy of his predecessors, Balthasar II Moretus also tried to produce as wide and varied a range of books as possible and to avoid

1. M. Sabbe, 'Balthasar Moretus II naar de Vasten-Messe te Francfort in 1644' in *Jaarboek van Antwerpen's Oudheidkundige Kring*, 8, 1932, pp. 31-53. Cf. M. Sabbe, *De meesters van den Gulden Passer*, pp. 95-98.
2. Quoted in his diary, but without any details being given.

too narrow a specialization. He was the last of his family to print a series of non-liturgical books. These consisted mostly of theological treatises and religious discourses, but there were also works of topical interest with a bias towards Spanish politics (including Caramuel Lobkowitz, *Respuesta al manifiesto del reyno de Portugal*, 1642; *Dialogue sur les droits de la Reyne très chrestienne*, 1667). Some works in Spanish which he printed were of a theological nature, but those in other categories included J. Basta, *Compendio militar*, 1644; Rebolledo, *Ocios*, 1650; and Roan, *Discursos militares*, 1652. Among the considerable number of scientific, humanist and literary works were a reprint of Dodoens's Herbal (the *Cruydtboeck*), 1644; the *Dansk Urtebog*, 1647, a reprint for Denmark made from the botanical woodblocks in the possession of the house; H. Goltzius, *Opera omnia*, 1645; M.C. Sarbievius, *Lyricorum libri IV*, 1646; G. Wendelinus, *Leges salicae*, 1649; J. Eyckius, *Urbium Belgicarum centuria*, 1651; M. Martinius, *De bello tartarico historia*, 1654; Philomathus, *Musae juveniles*, 1654; A. Rubens, *De re vestiara*, 1655; S. Hosschius, *Elegiarum libri sex*, 1656; J. Wallius, *Poematum libri novem*, 1656; G. Becanus, *Idyllia et elegiae*, 1657; and F. de Marselaer, *Legatus*, 1666 - the last great work of scholarship printed by the *officina*. In addition to these there was the whole range of historical and archaeological studies by the prolific members of the Chifflet family.

Compared with Balthasar I's production, however, quality and quantity had fallen again. This was not the fault of Balthasar II but of circumstances, of the decline in intellectual life in the Southern Netherlands.¹ Jules Chifflet's doleful words on the decay of humanism and scholarship in Antwerp have already been quoted. But the decline was just as palpable in theological and devotional writing. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Roman Catholic church in the Southern Netherlands had enlisted the greatest intellects into its service. The struggle to defend and propagate the Catholic faith had produced an extensive literature of apologia and studies. This too weakened and degenerated in the second half of the seventeenth century into vernacular devotional works of no significance. It is typical of the Moretuses and of their opinion of the dignity and standing of their firm that although Balthasar II, in contrast to his predecessors, pub-

1. Cf. pp. 394-395.

lished a number of such works in Dutch, he selected only the best of these and left those aimed at a lower strata of the population to the more 'ordinary' Antwerp printers.

Balthasar had married Anna Goos, daughter of a good family, on 23rd July 1645. She bore him twelve children - seven sons and five daughters. Three daughters and two sons died young. The two surviving girls entered convents. Of the five surviving sons, four went into the church: Joannes Jacobus became a Jesuit; Christophorus Maria a Minorite; Franciscus a secular priest; Melchior a Premonstratensian. Once again there was one male offspring left as the sole hope of the Plantin press: the eldest son Balthasar III.

Chapter 6

*Balthasar III Moretus (1674-1696)*¹

‘Anno 1646. On the 24th day of July, a Tuesday, being the Eve of St. James and about full moon, between the fourth and fifth hours of the afternoon my first child and son called Balthasar was born in the building of the printing-office in the big room.’² With these words the proud father recorded in his diary³ the birth of the boy who in the history of the Plantinian house came to be known as Balthasar III Moretus.

It is not certain what instruction the young Balthasar III received but the ‘*règle journalière*’ which father Balthasar II compiled, and which has been quoted above, shows how the daily routine was arranged.⁴ It was in all probability more an ideal timetable which was not strictly adhered to in practice. Anyway it seems from this ‘*règle journalière*’ that Balthasar III was given a training which was designed on the one hand to make

1. The later Moretuses, beginning with Balthasar III, are very summarily treated by Rooses in *Musée*, pp. 315 sqq. For Balthasar III see especially: M. Sabbe, ‘Op den drempel van den adelstand’ in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 117-135; French text: ‘Un imprimeur au seuil de la noblesse. Balthasar Moretus III’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 6, 1929, pp. 172-203; German text: ‘Balthasar Moretus III auf der Schwelle des Adels’ in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1930, pp. 246-268. M. Sabbe also gives facts about Balthasar III in his ‘Ysbrand Vincent en zijn Antwerpsche vrienden’ in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, 1928, pp. 178-232. German translation under the title ‘Der Amsterdamer Papierhändler Vincent und die Antwerpener Drucker Moretus-Plantin’ in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1938, pp. 17-24.
2. Original Dutch text: ‘Anno 1646. Adi 24 July op eenen dynsdag wesende de Vigilien van S. Jacobsdag omtrent volle maen tusschen de vier ende vijf uren naernoon is gheboren mijn eerste kind ende soon gheuaemt Balthasar in de huysinge van de druckerey inde groote earner.’
3. Arch. 213, under 1646.
4. Cf. pp. 218-219.

a gentleman of him, on the other to familiarize him with the printing business.

In August 1660 the fourteen-year-old boy was taken to Paris by his father and ‘put to lodge with Monsieur Le Gay, seigneur of Morfontaine’.¹ Learning to be a man of the world began to take precedence over learning to become a master printer. In April 1663 he was back in Antwerp. The following year he went with other members of the family on a journey to Italy which kept him away from home for six months and took him through Germany and France.

The young man left an account of his travels.² In it he carefully noted interesting and important facts about the libraries and universities visited, but wrote much more about the palaces, châteaux, theatres, parks, perspectives, fountains, rides, malls, and carriages, and on how the nobility behaved, while not a single church, relic, or wonder-working statue was omitted. The trait which had been only slightly in evidence in the father was much more marked in the son. Sabbe emphasized the former's social ambitions too strongly, but he was right about the latter.

While his son was away, Balthasar II obtained exemption for him from the deanship of the Guild of St. Luke and from the ‘civil watch and vigilant guild and corporation of the Chapel of Our Lady’,³ in pursuance of his usual policy of accepting as few as possible of those offices which were socially flattering but financially burdensome. A few years later, however, in 1670, Balthasar III was elected ‘master of the Chapel of Our Lady’, without there being any attempt to buy exemption this time.⁴ In 1685 he accepted, apparently without complaint, the post which his father had so greatly dreaded - chief almoner of the city of Antwerp.

It is very clear from their accounts that the Moretuses were never

1. Arch. 213, under 1660.

2. Ms. 369. Concerning this journey see M. Sabbe, ‘Op den drempel van den adelstand’, pp. 123-128. In 1668 Balthasar III made a journey through the Netherlands and also wrote an account of it: M. Sabbe, ‘De Moretussen op reis in 1668 door de Brabandsche Kempen, de Meierij van 's-Hertogenbosch, Zeeland en Vlaanderen’ in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 136-147. Cf. also M. Sabbe, ‘Uit het reisdagboek van Balthasar Moretus III (1668)’ in *Oudheid en Kunst*, 15, pp. 25-39.

3. Arch. 213, under 1665.

4. Arch. 213, under 1670.

niggardly when it came to eating and drinking, but with the election of Balthasar III as master of the chapel in 1670 began a long series of banquets such as the house of Plantin had never known before,¹ and involved his father in much expense. An inspection of the bills (which give a glimpse of Breugelesque trencherismanship and inspire respect for the stomachs of the people of the seventeenth century) shows that they always run into thousands of guilders and it is easy therefore to understand why Balthasar II had hitherto preferred to spend a few hundreds on buying exemptions. With Balthasar III, however, a new generation had arisen in the house of Plantin, more concerned with outward display and willing and able to pay for it.

All these festivities were far surpassed by the banquet given by Balthasar II on the 9th, 10th, and 11th July 1673. This was the 'return' feast in response to the banquet given by the bride's family on the occasion of the marriage of the young Balthasar to Anna Maria de Neuf, daughter of Simon, lord of Hooghelande - a rich heiress from a titled family.

When his father died the following year, Balthasar III took over the management of the Plantin press, although under the supervision of and in partnership with his mother. Anna Goos was an energetic and capable woman, and gave her son more than just moral support. For his part Balthasar III, however ambitious and fond of display he may have been, still possessed the adroitness, prudence, and business flair of his ancestors - and the same deep-rooted pride in the dignity and status of the Plantin press. This was fortunate, for immediately after Balthasar II's death the firm was confronted by the most serious crisis to threaten it in the seventeenth century.

Under Balthasar II the Plantin press had geared itself more and more to the production of breviaries, missals, *horae*, *officia*, and other liturgical books. Under his son other types of books were printed only by exception: a few devotional and religious writings; three editions of the *Martyrologium Romanum*; and a very few publications of topical concern. In Balthasar III's day the long evolution that had begun in the last years of Plantin's life culminated in complete specialization in one particular category. Great quantities of this category of books were still sold and brought in large

1. Described in detail by M. Sabbe in 'Op den drempel van den adelstand'.

profits, but within their narrow field the Moretuses had taken specialization even further in the sense that the greater part of their production was intended for a single 'firm', namely the Hieronymite Fathers of San Lorenzo in the Escorial near Madrid. About 1675 the Hieronymites began to contend with serious financial difficulties.

The deplorable condition of Spain's finances and her adverse balance of trade had forced the government into a series of monetary measures which brought little relief and only aggravated the difficulties, especially the shortage of money. The Hieronymites were no longer able to meet their financial obligations. Negotiations conducted through agents dragged on endlessly and inconclusively. Finally a Moretus family council, presided over by Anna Goos, decided that Balthasar III should be sent to Madrid to press the recalcitrant monks for payment.¹

The young Moretus left Antwerp on 21st March 1680 and arrived in the Spanish capital on 26th April. He was very graciously received by the monks and it was soon clear to him that their reluctance to pay was the result of very real problems. To pull the country out of the financial doldrums and relieve the money shortage, the Spanish government had suddenly raised the value of the copper currency considerably in relation to the silver coins: 'by which change', wrote Balthasar in the report he sent home, 'a pistol is now worth only 48 reales de vellon instead of 110'. The results were disastrous: 'The drastic change which the King has made to the copper currency is the cause of the greatest poverty and lamentation, both among the great and the small, and of extreme loss, and the unheard of dearness of all things is most noticeable.' The consequence was that 'all coffers are closed' - including that of the Hieronymites.

The monks of San Lorenzo remained solvent, however, because they possessed extensive estates and many flocks of sheep. Father d'Alcozer, who negotiated with Balthasar on behalf of his order, suggested that the debt should be paid off by making over a fine house in Madrid on which the

1. This episode is treated in detail by M. Sabbe in his 'Balthasar Moretus III te Madrid in 1680' in *De Moretussen en him kring*, 1928, pp. 133-177; French text: 'Démêlés des Moretus avec les R.P. Jérômites de l'Escorial au XVII^e siècle' in *De Gulden Passer*, 7,1929, pp. 119-145; Spanish text: *Balthasar Moretus en Madrid (notas de viaje de un librero flamenco por España, 1680-1681)*, 1934.

builders were still busy. The sight of this residence stirred the heart of the young Moretus. There was an endless series of rooms, halls, and pavilions, a stable for more than forty horses, a mews for eight or ten coaches, quarters for servants, coachmen, and pages, roomy cellars, a large rain-water tank, and a fountain fed by spring-water. 'It is truly a great and beautiful house, much larger than our whole Plantin Press and the entire area of the Vrijdagmarkt, Heilig Geeststraat, etc., put together, massively and splendidly built with as much space in it as the aforementioned area', wrote Balthasar, estimating its value at approximately 100,000 fl.

The young man was won round to the proposed deal. D'Alcozer, a sound psychologist, managed to present the offer in the most favourable light and at the same time to give utterance to a few barely disguised threats. The building was eminently suitable for the installation of a press, and the Hieronymites were influential enough to see to it that such a press would obtain the monopoly for Spain and her dependencies. If the monks' conditions were not accepted then the Moretuses would not sell another book in the Iberian peninsula or in Italy.

Balthasar III discovered something else that worried him far more than any threat from an as yet hypothetical printing press. The *Officina Plantiniana* was not a philanthropical concern, and so when the Hieronymites had shown no signs of wanting to settle their accounts the Moretuses had reduced their shipments of books to Madrid. The Hieronymites had then turned to the firm of Anisson in Lyons, which had quickly stepped in and supplied the required liturgical works at prices the Plantin press could not compete with - and bearing the Moretus name! Balthasar was able to obtain a copy of one of these pirate editions and send it to Antwerp as evidence: a *Missale Romanum* with the address 'Antverpiae, ex Officina Plantiniana apud Viduam et heredes Balthasaris Moreti' and the year 1677. He added the information that a member of the Anisson family had been sent to set himself up in Madrid and establish closer contact with the Hieronymites.

Balthasar adjured his mother to accept the Hieronymites' conditions, and especially their house, otherwise the Moretuses would be left with nothing but irrecoverable debts and the prospect of losing the entire *rezo* trade with Spain. In Antwerp, Anna Goos held a council of war with members of the family and then dispatched a prompt answer. In it she did what she

could to hearten her son, brushing aside the monks' threat to set up their own press or to buy books elsewhere with the ironic remark that 'no doubt they were going to use their cash for this'. At the same time she proposed a number of practical measures. Balthasar was formally forbidden to buy the house: 'I give you only one order, to wit that you will not buy the said premises in Madrid at my expense.' If necessary the Antwerp firm would be content with a bond and repayment spread over a number of years. In this Balthasar could act as he thought best - just as long as he did not accept the house.

Balthasar was disenchanted, for he had already pictured himself as the proud owner of a castle in Spain, and was afraid of d'Alcozer's anger. To his surprise, however, the Hieronymites proved amenable and ready to negotiate on the basis of repayment by instalment. Their accommodating spirit was perhaps partly due to the fact that Balthasar had counter-attacked and expressed himself vehemently on the subject of their underhand dealings with the Lyonese printers: 'Rest assured that I have protested violently about the printing of our name on the books from Lyons', he wrote to his mother on 26th June 1680.

After many further 'debates, difficulties, and disputes' Balthasar was able to report triumphantly on 1st July 1680 that agreement had been reached. Mutually satisfactory arrangements had been made whereby the Hieronymites were to settle their debts, and receive, and pay for, new deliveries of books; the Moretuses for their part retained their monopoly of the *rezo romano*.

It is obvious from letters and documents about the Madrid negotiations that until 1680 the Moretuses' Spanish trade had been based exclusively, or almost exclusively on agreements which had not been fully binding on both parties for the future, rather than on privileges and formal contracts. As Balthasar wrote home, relations had hitherto been regulated 'merely by letters without either commitment or contract'. When Balthasar protested to the monks it was not so much because they had ordered books from Lyons, but rather because the Anissons had unlawfully printed the Moretus name on their own products. The Antwerp printer's great fear was that the Hieronymites, either from annoyance or calculation, would seize the opportunity of excluding the Moretuses from the Peninsula and bring in

competitors. The Hieronymites, through their influence at court, could easily have neutralized or annulled the few documents which the Antwerp firm could bring forward in defence of its position.

Now that agreement had been reached the monks proved most willing to sign a contract that would guarantee the rights of the Moretuses in the future and formally recognize their monopoly of the *rezo romano* in Spain. The ceremony took place in the monastery of San Lorenzo on 12th July 1680. In the early hours of the morning, the party having travelled at night to avoid the heat of the day, Balthasar III, accompanied by d'Alcozer and a number of other representatives of the monastery, arrived at the Escorial in 'one of the King's coaches with six fine mules and various friends on horseback'. His reception was uncommonly cordial. Bells were rung to summon the whole community together to deliberate on the contract. The document was read out three times and then 'solemnly approved and commended with unanimity' and signed.

Balthasar had achieved his mission. On 24th July he set off home. The presses of the *Officina Plantiniana* could once again work at full pitch to supply the Spanish market; its viability as a large-scale capitalist enterprise was assured for almost another hundred years.

After his return to Antwerp Balthasar III assumed complete control of the press.¹ Affairs proceeded smoothly, without incident - or at least none sufficiently notable to find its way into the records of the house.

At the end of his life Balthasar III had the satisfaction of being admitted to the nobility, the estate he had always so greatly admired. In the second half of the seventeenth century the Spanish government began to ennoble large numbers of middle class families, and the Antwerp printer decided to try his luck.² On 7th October 1692 he received a request from the secretary to the Council of Brabant, Loyens - who had been persuaded to support Balthasar's case and was taking the necessary measures - to submit a picture of 'the arms used from of old in your family... with its colours etc. so that it

1. Arch. 325², pp. 425-426: transfer of the printing-office to Balthasar III by Anna Goos, 17th November 1681. The press (the residence and the actual office) was recorded as being worth 43,000 fl.; the stocks of books, paper, parchment, etc., were put at 110,400 fl. 12½ st.
2. Dealt with fully by M. Sabbe in 'Op den drempel van den adelstand'. The official documents were published in [de Granges de Surgères], *Lettres d'anoblissement accordées à Balthazar Moretus et à ses descendants*, 1884.

may be constituted as a coat of arms'. This was in fact the crest of the Gras, or Grassis family, to which Adriana Gras, the mother of Jan I Moretus, had belonged. As commoners the Moretuses had no right to it, but through the years they had privately continued to regard this blazon as 'belonging' to their family. In 1597 Melchior Moretus, Jan I's son, had had the coat of arms engraved on his university thesis, printed at Louvain by Jan Maes (Masius). It was also drawn next to the name of Balthasar I in the register of benefactors of the Jesuit college at Halle, after he had generously donated books to the library there in 1631 - a recognition which brought Balthasar II a fine of 150 fl. in 1667. The Brabant herald of arms had come across this breach of aristocratic privilege and demanded the imposition of a suitable penalty as well as the erasing of the offending emblem from the register. Balthasar II pointed out that neither he nor his uncle were responsible and that it had been the Jesuits' idea to add the crest, but it was all in vain - he still had to pay.¹

Balthasar III Moretus was granted the title of *Jonker* (Esquire) by letters patent of 1st September 1692. 'The arms used from of old' was officially recognized as the family crest, just one detail being added: the eagle displayed sable on a field chequy azure and argent was charged with an escutcheon in which a mullet or, being the golden star of the Magi that Balthasar I had chosen as his emblem and which figured in such profusion in his decoration of the Plantin house.

One very important point remained to be settled. The nobility was not permitted to degrade itself by engaging in such vulgar pursuits as commerce or industry. Balthasar III, however, wanted to continue with his business. On 11th October 1692 he petitioned King Charles II of Spain for permission to practise the trade of printer without forfeiting his newly-acquired title. Once again Loyens came to his aid. In one of his depositions he represented Balthasar as a *grand seigneur* 'entretenant sa propre personne, sa famille et son menage point en bourgeois ou artisan, mais fort honestement avec caros,

1. Balthasar II had already made the acquaintance of this herald of arms in 1655. The latter had lodged a complaint with the Chancellor of Brabant because 'the heirs of the late Widow Moretus have presumed to drape their carriages in black in contempt of the nobility and in direct contravention of His Majesty's edicts' and had demanded that the offending materials should be removed from the carriages.

chevaux, et valet a la maniere ordinaire et accoustumee de gentilhommes ou rentiers de cet pays'. The heraldic authorities were brought in to prove that printing 'n'at deroge en aucune maniere a la Noblesse de ceux qui en ont ete les auteurs et augmentateurs', that the printers ranked first 'entre ceux qui travaillent a des ouvrages relevez', that the king and his predecessors had repeatedly conferred titles on 'peintres, sculpteurs, forgeurs de fer, faiseurs de poudres et semblables... pour les encourager plustost a s'evertuer d'avantage en l'exercice de leur art ou fabrique que de les detourner d'icelles'. If the manufacturers of cannon and gunpowder could be granted titles there was no reason for omitting printers! Balthasar won his case, but it was not until 3rd December 1696 that the necessary royal patent was granted - a few months after the printer had exchanged the temporal for the eternal.

The dream of nobility of Melchior, Balthasar I,¹ and Balthasar II had finally been realized by the third of that name. This did not mean that the new aristocrats had no further conflicts with touchy heralds of arms. On 31st May 1703, eighteen days after his wedding, Jonker Balthasar IV Moretus was accused by the Brabant king of arms of having suffered his wife to be 'addressed and honoured with the genteel title of *Mevrouw* [Mylady] by everyone and in particular by his servants'. The wife of a Jonker had no right to this and had to be content with the ordinary *Mademoiselle* or *Jouffrouwe*. Balthasar defended himself vigorously, maintaining that if such an offence had occurred then it was not at his behest and was the responsibility of persons he had no authority over. He even made the acid observation that, to provoke a flood of fines, it was only necessary to 'get someone to use the title of *Jonker* or *Mevrouw* to various persons in public or elsewhere'.

In 1706 Balthasar IV was again faced with a similar charge, and again he countered adroitly. The charge must have been worded rather ambiguously, for he was able to make it appear ridiculous. How could he be accused of 'allowing himself to be addressed with the title of *Mevrouw*'? This was hardly likely 'seeing this title cannot be attributed to male persons'. Continuing in the same derisive vein he pointed out that if anyone called

1. Who in 1606, when writing to the Bishop and Chapter of Antwerp to recommend his brother Melchior for a place in the Chapter, represented Christophe Plantin as the descendant of a prominent French noble family (a 'race illustre'). Cf. p. 3.

his wife *Mevrouw* 'by inadvertence or from ignorance', she was not obliged to reply at once 'I am no *Mevrouw*'. This charge was presumably dropped, as that of 1702 had been, and Balthasar IV, more fortunate than his grandfather, escaped the 100 fl. fine that had been demanded.

Chapter 7

The later Moretuses

Jan I Moretus was a capable merchant and a respected figure in his circle, but that circle did not extend much beyond the upper strata of the comfortably situated Antwerp middle class. At the end of the seventeenth century his descendants had entered the nobility and ranked among the foremost patrician families of their city. With Balthasar III a new phase in the family history began. In contrast with many dynasties, however, time and altered circumstances did not reduce its energies.

The family's rise had continued through four generations, and having reached its zenith, a further five generations were to continue the firm and resolutely face repeated crises; a rare phenomenon in social history.

It should be pointed out that the later Moretuses did not have the same financial difficulties as their forebears. They had sufficient capital resources to be able to close down the press partially or even completely when business was bad. They were dependent only to a small extent on the press for their livelihood. From the end of the eighteenth century onwards they give the impression of keeping the Plantin press going simply out of family pride, without making much profit from it - in so far as they made any at all. But whether this is in fact what impelled them, or whether they wanted to increase their already large fortune, they maintained the *Officina Plantiniana* with dogged resolution and great flair for business in conditions which grew steadily less favourable.

The later Moretuses did not manage the printing press in person, as had been the custom in the time of Jan I and his sons. They did not supervise the workmen, keep the books, or write business letters. The greater part

of this routine work was delegated to subordinates. However, when circumstances demanded it, these later masters of the *Gulden Passer* still came forward to lead the struggle against the forces that beset their house,¹ or to assure the quality of its products.²

The later prosperity

ANNA MARIA DE NEUF (1696-1714), BALTHASAR IV (1707-30), JOANNES JACOBUS (1716-57)³ - In books about the Moretus family it is usually made to appear as if it was the seventeen-year-old Balthasar IV, Balthasar III's eldest son, who took over the management of the *officina* on the death of his father in 1696, and that when Balthasar IV died in 1730 he was succeeded by his younger brother Joannes Jacobus. This, however, is something of an over-simplification. At the death of Balthasar III the business was carried on by his widow Anna Maria de Neuf, who ruled it with a firm hand right up to her death in 1714. Until 1707 books printed by the Plantin press carried the address 'Ex Typographia Plantiniana apud Viduam Balthasaris Moreti'. In 1707 this was simplified to the terse 'Ex Typographia Plantiniana'. Balthasar III's widow was still nominally in charge (and probably it was she who made the most important decisions: she gives the impression of having been a very resolute kind of woman), but she had taken her eldest son Balthasar IV into partnership. On 13th May 1707 he was given a half share in the press and the bookshop, although on rather drastic conditions (an initial payment of 40,000 fl.

1. Such as the attempts of Joannes Franciscus Moretus to obtain more favourable terms for the importing of paper from abroad. Cf. M. Sabbe, 'In - en uitvoerrechten op boeken en papier gedurende de 17e en 18e eeuw in Zuid-Nederland' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 109-115.
2. Cf. the difficulties the later Moretuses had in recruiting capable engravers, related in a detailed but crisply written study by F. van den Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen en de boekillustratie' in *De Gulden Passer*, 25, 1947, pp. 186-240; and 26, 1948, pp. 150-205.
3. Biographical details in Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, pp. 39 sqq., and R. Moretus-Plantin de Bouchout, *Demeures familiales*, pp. 39-43. The business aspects (the partnerships between Anna Maria de Neuf and Balthasar IV and between Balthasar IV and Joannes Moretus; Anna Maria de Neuf's estate; financial activities, 1716-1730; and Joannes Jacobus Moretus's estate) are dealt with by L. Michielsen in his 'Nota's over den rijkdom en den boekhandel der Moretussen in de XVIII^e eeuw' in *De Gulden Passer*, 14, 1936, pp. 53-60. M. Sabbe's 'Ysbrand Vincent en zijn Antwerpsche vrienden' in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, is informative on the life of the family and their business activities.

in cash, and the acceptance of bonds to the value of 106,148 fl. 18½ st., on which 3 per cent interest had to be paid). This left Balthasar practically without ready money and repeatedly obliged him to approach his mother for loans in the following years. These conditions should not be taken as evidence of family friction. Some of the children were still under age, and it was for the sake of being fair to these and safeguarding the rights of Balthasar's other brothers and sisters that this financial curb was applied.

Anna Maria's death in 1714 on the other hand did not make Balthasar the sole owner and sole recipient of the profits of the *Gulden Passer*. He retained his half share in the firm and became its director, but the other half share had to 'continue to the general profit of her estate until her youngest son, jonker Joannes Jacobus, shall have achieved his majority, when he shall be able to enter into possession of half of the said Plantin Press'.

Joannes Jacobus was then already twenty-four years old, and a lawyer of the Brabantine court, but according to the customary laws of Antwerp, an unmarried child did not come of age until twenty-five. Joannes Jacobus attained that age in June 1715, and on 1st January 1716 the two brothers began to profit jointly from the *Officina Plantiniana*.

Of the eight children Isabella Jacoba de Mont (or de Brialmont) bore her husband Balthasar IV, five died in infancy. Only two sons, Balthasar V and Simon Franciscus, survived. In the provisions of his will of 1725, Balthasar IV left his share in the Plantin press to his son Balthasar. In the event of the latter declining to accept the inheritance or dying prematurely, Simon Franciscus would become the beneficiary.¹ However, neither brother felt inclined to shoulder the burden of the family business, preferring to live quietly on the interest from their capital. Some months after their father's death Balthasar V, acting on his own and his brother's behalf, made over their inherited share in the press by a deed of 30th August 1730 to their uncle Joannes Jacobus, who thus became sole owner of the *Officina Plantiniana*.²

Balthasar IV Moretus was the last master of the *Gulden Passer* to have been trained as a printer and bookseller. After receiving an elementary education at Lier, he was sent in 1695 as a youth of sixteen to Lille where he was

1. Text in Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, p. 48.
2. Text in Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, pp. 49-50.



(56) Coat-of-arms of the Moretus family. Oil painting on panel by an anonymous master. The painting was made for the funeral of Joannes Jacobus Moretus (5th September 1757). The coat-of-arms shows an eagle on a chequered field, derived from the arms of the Gras (or Grassis) family to which Jan I's mother belonged. On the eagle's breast is a small shield with a gold star, Balthasar I's personal symbol. (Cf. also p. 235.) The flames around this star are the painter's own embellishment: normally the Moretus blazon lacks them.



(57) Balthasar II Moretus (1615-74). Oil painting on panel by Jacob van Reesbroeck, commissioned by the sitter himself in 1659.



(58) Anna Goos (1627-91), Balthasar II Moretus's wife. Oil painting on panel by Jacob van Reesbroeck. Commissioned by Balthasar II as a companion piece to his own portrait in 1659.



(59) Anna Maria de Neuf (1654-1714), Balthasar III Moretus's wife. Oil painting on canvas by an anonymous master.



(60) Balthasar III Moretus (1646-96). Oil painting on canvas by an anonymous master.

*62



(61) Balthasar IV Moretus (1679-1730). Oil painting on canvas by an anonymous master.



(62) Isabella Jacoba de Mont (or de Brialmont) (1682-1723), Balthasar IV Moretus's wife. Oil painting on canvas by an anonymous master.



(63) Theresia Mathilda Schilder (1696-1729), Joannes Jacobus Moretus's wife. Oil painting on canvas by Jan van Helmont, commissioned by Joannes Jacobus in 1717 as a companion piece to his own portrait.



(64) Joannes Jacobus Moretus (1690-1757). Oil painting on canvas by Jan van Helmont, commissioned by the sitter in 1717.



(65) Franciscus Joannes Moretus (1717-68). Oil painting on canvas by Filips Jozef Tassaert, commissioned by the sitter in 1762.



(66) Maria Theresia Josephina Borrekens (1728-97), Franciscus Joannes Moretus's wife. Oil painting on canvas by Filips Jozef Tassaert, commissioned in 1762 by Franciscus Joannes as a companion piece to his own portrait.



(67) Edward Jozef Hyacinth Moretus (1804-80). Oil painting on canvas by Jozef Delin, dated 1852. Presented to the Plantin-Moretus Museum by A. de Granges de Surgères in 1953.

‘to learn the pure French language and to be taught other useful and worthy accomplishments’ at the house of the printer and bookseller François Fievet.¹

His younger brother Joannes Jacobus was the first master of the *Gulden Passer* to go to university. He studied at Douai and Louvain and on 19th June 1711 obtained from the latter university his licence to practise both civil and criminal law. On 1st March 1713 he was sworn in as an advocate of the Brabantine court.²

Like their father before them, both brothers were considerably involved in the life of their city. Balthasar IV was chief almoner from 1708 to 1711 and in this capacity had an active share in the establishment of the new theatre in the *Tapissierspand*.³ The theatres in Antwerp, as in many other cities, put on performances in aid of the poor, so that their organization was one of the official duties of the almoners. As well as being an almoner in 1717, Joannes Jacobus held the office of alderman of Antwerp from 1727 to 1729.

The two brothers were not only numbered among Antwerp's leading burghers, but were also considered the wealthiest citizens of both town and province. Balthasar III had managed greatly to increase the fortune he had inherited from his father, and Anna Maria de Neuf, quite apart from belonging to a very well-to-do family herself, had proved to be possessed of as shrewd a head for business as her husband. Her estate in 1714 totalled 760,000 fl., an immense fortune for that time.⁴

1. M. Sabbe, *De meesters van den Gulden Passer*, p. 168.

2. R. Moretus-Plantin de Bouchout, *Demeures familiales*, p. 42.

3. M. Sabbe, ‘Ysbrand Vincent en zijn Antwerpsche vrienden’, pp. 222-226.

4. The inventory of the estate (Arch. 1141; cf. also Arch. 720) gave the sum of 597,891 fl. 10 st., but this did not include the ‘yield of the two houses in Brussels, of the shares on the “Banco royal” of England’ and some other claims later totalled at 168,600 fl. The total amount therefore was 766,491 fl. Certain expenses and legacies totalling 25,000 fl. had to be deducted from this, in addition to a number of liabilities with which Anna Maria de Neuf had burdened her estate: ‘the furnishings of the three downstairs rooms’ which Balthasar IV had received from his mother during her lifetime and on which account he now had to pay out 1,500 fl. to each of his four coheirs (6,000 fl. altogether); 20,000 fl. as part of the dowry of the priest Petrus, who had received only 30,000 fl. from his mother during her lifetime (compared with the 50,000 received by Balthasar IV and his sisters Anna Maria and Catharina); and 50,000 fl. as a wedding-present to Joannes Jacobus who was still a minor. Altogether 101,700 fl., leaving a net amount of 664,797 fl. - which meant that each of the heirs received the considerable sum of 132,958 fl.

A large part of this was made up of real estate, rents, bills of exchange, and bonds. Whereas half a century before virtually the whole of Balthasar II's fortune had been put into the business, his son and daughter-in-law had become investors, able to live comfortably as rentiers and less dependent on the vicissitudes of the printing and publishing business.

This tendency to invest their money in 'gilt-edged' stocks has for centuries been a normal phenomenon among entrepreneurs who have made their fortunes. It was especially characteristic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and led to the rise of wealthy rentier families who, whether or not they entered the nobility, either disported themselves in idleness or, being free from the struggle to earn a living, sought a social or political function as great landowners or magistrates. This mentality spread to the Moretuses; the action of Balthasar IV's sons is evidence of this. But the amazing thing about the Moretus family is that even after its continuing prosperity was assured, in each generation there were still characters who wanted to carry on the printing tradition and were willing to face all the toil and worry that this entailed. These stalwarts sometimes even ventured into entirely new fields of activity, as will be seen from the career of Joannes Jacobus.

What Balthasar IV left his children cannot be ascertained for lack of data. We know more about his brother Joannes Jacobus. The division of the estate in 1714 gave him a fortune of over 180,000 fl. (132,958 fl. as his inheritance and an endowment of 50,000 fl.). His wife, Theresia Mechtildis Schilder, whom he married in April 1716, brought a dowry of 50,000 fl. By 1739 Joannes Jacobus had almost trebled this amount (609,170 fl.). At his death in 1755 he left his beneficiaries nearly two million guilders (1,990,338 fl.), a phenomenal amount for those days. Expressed in modern terms, Jonker Joannes Jacobus Moretus, advocate and publishing printer, was a multi-millionaire, one of the richest men in the Southern Netherlands, if not the wealthiest of them all.

This immense fortune was only partly derived from the printing and publishing business. It had even less to do with jurisprudence. Jonker Joannes Jacobus was first and foremost a shrewd financier, who had shares and interests in numerous enterprises at home and abroad, and he did a flourishing trade in other luxury goods besides books. Among other things he dealt in great quantities of 'Spanish lace' (i.e. Flemish lace intended

for the Spanish market).¹ With other Antwerp capitalists he had a very active share in the formation of the famous ‘Ostend Company’ and was later one of the promoters of the ‘Trieste and Fiume Company’. Launched with difficulty, and none too remunerative at first, the latter was mainly concerned with sugar refineries.²

However, this does not mean that in the life and fortune of the Moretus family and of Joannes Jacobus the Plantin press was completely finished with. Production was at that time fully concentrated on liturgical publications; not a single other work left their presses after 1705 (when the Moretuses gave up the old privilege obtained by Plantin of printing the ordinances of the town of Antwerp). But these liturgical publications were still being produced on an industrial scale in the first half of the eighteenth century. The number of presses kept in operation over the course of the years often fluctuated, although within narrow limits: a minimum of eight, a maximum of eleven presses, of which the maximum was achieved more often than the minimum.

The great European conflicts caused serious disturbances sometimes. The War of the Spanish Succession (1700-15) seems at first sight to have upset the activity of the Plantin press very little. The number of operative presses remained on the high side, but these presses worked for fewer hours. Anna Maria de Neuf, rather than dismissing a number of employees, elected to keep all the presses going at a diminished tempo - and for the employees naturally at decreased wages.³ During the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) Joannes Jacobus apparently did not follow this policy of choosing the lesser evil: the nine presses operative in 1740-1743 suddenly dropped to four in 1744 and right down to two in 1747. But once peace returned these crises were quickly overcome and the normal tempo was resumed.

As in the preceding century it was the production of liturgical books for the Hieronymite Fathers of San Lorenzo that kept most of the presses in

1. M. Risselin-Steenebrugen, ‘Dentelles anversoises et commerce espagnol au début du XVII^e siècle’ in *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 30, 1958, pp. 59-70.
2. L. Michielsen, ‘De Kompagnie van Triëste en Fiume (1750-1800)’ in *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, 27, 1936, pp. 70-91, 181-233.
3. Cf. Anna Maria de Neuf's remarkable order of 1st March 1703 (Arch. 334, pp. 77-78) decreeing a reduction of working hours so that more of the workmen could keep their jobs.

action. For the years 1716 to 1730 alone, the period of the partnership of Balthasar IV and Joannes Jacobus, the Madrid and Seville *administraciones* of the fathers had to pay the Moretus firm 4,269,000 and 772,539 silver *reales* respectively, a total of 5,041,539 silver *reales*, equal to 1,097,040 fl. These were colossal transactions for that time, and more so for the Southern Netherlands where economic life was still stagnating: the missals and breviaries of the Moretuses were among the principal ‘finished’ export articles that left the Austrian Netherlands in this period.

This export did not remain limited to Spain. Large consignments of bales and crates of liturgical works were sent also to Portugal, Germany, Austria, France, England, and the United Provinces, while in all the towns of the Austrian Netherlands Moretus's products were retailed by the local booksellers.

In the first half of the eighteenth century the *Officina Plantiniana* experienced a boom, and it remained, as far as the quantity of works brought on to the market was concerned, one of the world's most important printing firms, perhaps even the most important.

However, even towards the end of the life of Joannes Jacobus a certain malaise began to be apparent, which under his successor was to develop into a catastrophic decline. What the lengthy European wars had not been able to bring about was in the end caused by a quite simple alteration in the structure of the firm's trade.

The collapse

FRANCISCUS JOANNES MORETUS (1757-68) AND MARIA THERESIA BORREKENS (1768-97)¹ - When the estate of Joannes Jacobus was divided up, the *Gulden Passer* was assigned to his eldest son, Franciscus Joannes (by a deed of 11th October 1758). Like his father, the young Franciscus Joannes had studied philosophy at Douai and obtained his license to practise law from Louvain University in 1742. Like his father and so many others of his family he was for a time chief almoner of Antwerp

1. Biographical details in Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, pp. 55 sqq., and R. Moretus-Plantin de Bouchout, *Demeures familiales*, pp. 44-46. Much interesting information is given in F. van den Wijngaert's ‘De late Moretussen en de boekillustratie’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 25, 1947, pp. 213-240, and 26, 1948, pp. 150 sqq.

(1751). He also followed his father into the realms of high finance: he belonged among other things to the five deputies who had to look after the interests of the South Netherlands group of shareholders in the Trieste and Fiume Company. And, like his father, he took his duties as master of the Plantin press very much to heart.

In order to ensure the high standard of his book illustration, which he considered necessary for the reputation of the *officina*, Joannes Jacobus had already been on the lookout abroad for able artists, and among others made contact with the famous French wood-engraver Papillon. Franciscus Joannes again followed his father in this and attempted to find in the French capital the accomplished wood- and copper-engravers who were no longer obtainable in Antwerp and the Southern Netherlands. This quest brought him little joy. The temperamental and demanding French artists often infuriated him. But it is precisely the obstinacy with which he sustained the unequal struggle and pressed his friends and business contacts in Paris to get the French artists to work, that shows clearly enough how seriously he took the Plantin press.¹

This Moretus too put heart and soul into the family firm, and yet it was under him that the thread suddenly snapped and the thriving *Officina Plantiniana* declined into a vegetating, third-class concern.

The start of the decline can be dated quite precisely to July 1765, but the symptoms were already noticeable in the last years of Joannes Jacobus. The War of the Austrian Succession had brought about a crisis which was only warded off in 1750. But whereas formerly, after similar troubles, the number of presses in operation had quickly been restored to eleven, from 1751 to 1758 Joannes Jacobus was only able to keep eight presses going. Under his son two presses fell permanently out of use in the latter half of 1758. From 1759 to 1765 the number continued to oscillate around six, until in July 1765 it fell abruptly to three and the staff was reduced from twenty-seven to seventeen men.² This time there was no subsequent revival. The Plantin press was permanently on the decline.

What had happened? It was in these years that the cornerstone of

1. Discussed in detail by F. van den Wijngaert, *op. cit.*

2. Arch. 794 (pay-rolls, 1751-1833). Cf. L. Voet, 'Boeken en drukkers' in *Antwerpen in de XVIII^e eeuw*, 1952, p. 324.

Plantinian trade was removed, namely the printing of Catholic service-books for Spain. The new Bourbon dynasty which was established in the eighteenth century in Spain tried to shake the country awake, and was partly successful in this. Spanish home industries were encouraged and the monopolies and privileges of foreigners were curtailed or abolished.¹ In 1731, by royal decree, the printing of liturgical works in Spain, by Spaniards, was encouraged. This decree was the outcome of a campaign by the printer Antonio Bordazar, who in the following year published a detailed and reasoned manifesto, setting out, as the royal decree requested, ways and means of establishing Spanish presses for printing liturgical works. This *Plantificacion de la Imprenta de el Rezo Sagrado, que su Magestad (Dios le guarde) se ha servido mandar que se establezca en España* was a direct attack on the Moretus monopoly.

The manifesto aroused a certain amount of commotion but had no immediate consequences. After the death of Bordazar, one of his fellow printers, José de Orga, took up the cause. In 1748 he asked Ferdinand IV for permission to set up a 'liturgical press' for the service and greater glory of the Spanish nation. The Moretuses were the particular subject of attack. What they and printers in Venice and Holland had produced and were still producing could be turned out just as well, and more cheaply, in Spain itself, and without valuable currency being drained from the country.

These were just preliminary skirmishes. Spain still had no type-foundries or presses that were sufficiently well-equipped to set up and print the *rezo romano*, or the *rezo sagrado*, as Bordazar and Orga preferred to call it. Printing in the Iberian peninsula, however, blossomed rapidly, producing such figures as Joaquin Ibarra, one of the internationally renowned typographers of his day. Even without a specialized press, the new generation of printers could cope with the *rezo sagrado*. Consequently, in a decree dated Aranjuez, 3rd June 1764, Charles III cancelled with one stroke of his pen all privileges of foreign typographers in Spain, and confirmed at the same time the agreement signed shortly before, on 15th April 1764, by the Hieronymites and a new 'Compania de Impresores y Libreros de Madrid' for the printing of liturgical works.² The Moretuses themselves, in a memorandum dating

1. D.B. Updike, *Printing types*, II, 1937, pp. 49 sqq.

2. M. Sabbe, *Viaje a España del librero Baltasar Moreto (1680)*, 1944, Appendix II (edited by A. Rodriguez-Monino).

from the opening years of the nineteenth century, attributed the loss of their Spanish privileges to the establishment of an 'imprimerie royale' in Madrid '25 to 30 years ago'. As a result of this the Spanish king had not only put an end to their privileges but even forbade them to dispose of their remaining stocks of books in the Peninsula.¹

There was no royal press as such in eighteenth-century Spain, but around the middle of the century several 'printers to the King', such as Ibarra, began to be very active. Very probably, however, the establishment of the 'Compania de Impresores y Libreros de Madrid' is meant by the memorandum. This document also reveals that the masters of the *Gulden Passer* tried, through the prefect d'Herbouville (1799-1805), to prevail upon the Spanish consul in Amsterdam to put their case to Madrid with a view to obtaining permission for them to export their remaining stock of liturgical books to Spain. The answer was a curt no - the prices quoted were reasonable, but the consul did not dare to bring the matter to the attention of his sovereign.

Specializing as it did in a narrow branch of typography, and in the sale of this specialized product, the loss of the Spanish privileges was a disastrous setback for the Plantin press. However, the Moretus breviaries, missals, and books of hours had always found purchasers outside the Spanish peninsula, both in the Southern Netherlands and neighbouring countries. This market was more difficult to operate because competition there was hard and keen. But Franciscus Joannes Moretus decided not to give up: the Plantin press would go on producing its service books, even though for a reduced market and at a very much reduced rate.

Franciscus Joannes Moretus died in 1768, at the age of fifty-one, leaving a young widow with six children under age and expecting a seventh.

Those who thought that dealing with the Plantin press would henceforth be a softer option were soon disappointed: Maria Theresia Borrekens was of tough fibre.² One of those who discovered this was the Parisian engraver Hendelot who, hearing of the death of Franciscus Joannes, suddenly raised his prices and sent in falsified bills. From the bed where she had given

1. Arch. 1188, no. 12.

2. F. van den Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen en de boekillustratie' in *De Gulden Passer*, 26, 1948, pp. 194-196.

birth to a daughter, the widow riposted so sharply and effectively that the artist backed down immediately. Scarcely ten days after her husband's death, Maria Theresia took the business into her own hands, and did not relinquish it until she died twenty-nine years later.

She devoted herself with energy to the task which she had set herself: 'the Plantin press... to bequeath it with added lustre to my children' (letter dated 10th August 1768).¹ But energy and devotion were not enough. Circumstances showed themselves to be stronger. It grew steadily quieter in the Plantin press. In 1775 there were only ten men employed. In 1783 the staff was reduced to four men. In the years 1788 to 1791, two employees were considered sufficient to keep the *officina* going. In the following years the number went up to five, but this slight revival did not signify a great deal.²

In the first half of the eighteenth century publications were still leaving the Plantin press at a brisk rate of five to ten a year, but now the tempo grew more sluggish. From 1775 onwards a year or more would elapse before a new edition was put on the market. The attempts to remedy the lack of indigenous engravers by calling on foreign artists were stopped. The firm's own stocks of copperplates dating back to earlier days of splendour were brought out and reprinted time and time again.

The Plantin press slumbered on. The shock of the French Revolution and the upheavals of the Napoleonic period were not to rouse it from this lethargy, nor yet to inflict the final blow.

The French interlude (1794-1814)³

On 26th June 1794 the Austrian troops suffered defeat at Fleurus. Panic spread through the Austrian Netherlands. The clergy, aristocracy and upper middle classes fled to Holland and Germany. On the 11th July 1794 the *sans-culottes* were in Brussels. The abandonment of the Rupel-Nete line by Austria's British allies left Antwerp exposed. On the 21st July the exodus began. Five days later the French vanguard marched in.

1. Arch. 289, folio 4410.

2. L. Voet, 'Boeken en drukkers', p. 324.

3. H.L.V. de Groote's *Vijftig jaar boekdrukkunst te Antwerpen 1764-1814*, 1961, gives much information. Cf. also F. van den Wijngaert, *op. cit.*

In his *Geslagt-lyste*,¹ Van der Straelen indicates that the Moretus family too left the town and went abroad. Rooses, Sabbe, and others have accepted this view. As the *officina* was apparently never completely shut down, it has been suggested that an agent looked after the concern and the family interests.² This supposition is only partly correct.³

Maria Theresia Borrekens was sixty-six years old at the time of the French invasion. Of her thirteen children, five sons had survived. Of these two were married while the other three remained confirmed bachelors to the end of their lives. The two married sons fled with their families: from the birthplaces of their children⁴ several stages in the exile of Jozef Hyacint can be traced (September 1795, Dresden; April 1797, Munster; January 1799 and November 1800, Breda) and in that of Hendrik Paul (November 1795, Brunswick; March 1797, Munster). Their unmarried brother, Lodewijk Frans, must also have taken the road to Germany, although not necessarily in the company of his relations. When the worst fear of the *sans-culottes* had passed, they began the return journey to Antwerp, although Lodewijk Frans and Hendrik Paul had to wait for more than eighteen months (September 1797 to spring 1799) at Breda, on the Dutch side of the border, until their family finally succeeded in having their names deleted from the list of *émigrés* in Paris.⁵ Jozef Hyacint must have reached his home town later, at the end of 1800 or in 1801, via the Breda 'quarantine station'.

Three of Maria Theresia's sons fled abroad, but the old lady's correspondence shows that she was in Antwerp during that eventful summer and autumn of 1794. Two of her unmarried sons, Jacob Paul and Frans Jozef, stayed behind with her.

The business carried on in spite of the uncertain times. An average of

1. Under Jozef Hyacint Moretus, Van der Straelen (*op. cit.*, p. 58) states explicitly that 'not only *Mynheer* Josephus Hyacinthus Moretus but the whole family' had fled from Antwerp in 1794.
2. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 318-319.
3. As was first shown by F. van den Wijngaert, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
4. Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, pp. 58 sqq.
5. Arch. 1131 (notes of their expenses in various places, 1794-1798; in Breda from 25th September 1797 to 9th May 1798); Arch 701, pp. 405-409 (letters exchanged between 18th August 1798 and 29th April 1799 with the object of having the names of the Moretus brothers removed from the list of *émigrés* and securing permission for them to return to Antwerp).

four or five workmen remained in employment in the press. In each of the years 1794, 1796, 1797 one book was published, in 1795 two editions. After a break from 19th June to 13th September 1794, sales were again noted in the 'journal de la librairie' at first at widely spaced intervals, but from August 1795 onwards with as great a frequency as before the arrival of the French revolutionary armies.¹ The Plantin press might not be a very dynamic concern but it was by no means dead.

Maria Theresia died on 5th May 1797. Her eldest son Jacob Paul announced the news to the firm's business contacts, but added in a letter dated 8th June 1797² that trade would be carried on under the name of the 'widow of Moretus'. This was very understandable: Maria Theresia Borrekens appears to have died intestate or at least to have made no settlement with regard to the future of the *Gulden Passer*. Her five sons had equal claims, but three of them were then abroad.

Not until 1805 was a presumably amicable settlement reached by the beneficiaries. The earliest evidence of this settlement dates from May 1805. The two married brothers relinquished their claims in favour of their three unmarried brothers, who each received a third share of the estate (in the account books this was valued at 20,000 fl.).³

Whatever the precise truth of the matter may have been, it was the eldest unmarried brother Jacob Paul Moretus who was head of the firm from the death of his mother until his own, and it was in his name that the printer's patents were placed.⁴ In December 1809 his share was equally divided between his two co-directors,⁵ but to the outside world it was Frans Jozef who took over the leadership of the firm this time, although he was the younger of the two surviving brothers.⁶ He died on 15th October 1814. On 31st December 1816 his share was transferred to Lodewijk Frans who thus became sole owner and director.⁷

From 1794 to the end of the French regime (or at least till 1810), the firm's

1. Arch. 680.

2. Arch. 290, folio 199vo.

3. Arch. 685 (the printing-office diary, 1805-1847), folio 1. Cf. De Groote, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

4. Cf. Arch. 701, pp. 401, 411 sqq.

5. Arch. 685, folio 13.

6. Cf. De Groote, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 and 86.

7. Arch. 684 (the printing-office ledger, 1st May 1805-1847), folios 4 and 5.

book sales continued practically uninterrupted, although it was mainly old stock that was sold. The press itself was repeatedly out of action and its output was quite insignificant.

From 1797 to 1799 there were still four or five compositors and printers and one or two plate printers in employment. With this number it was possible to publish an *Officium Beatae Mariae* and a *Breviarium Romanum* in 1797 and 1800 respectively. But in July 1800 this small staff was further reduced to one book printer and one plate printer. From August 1800 onwards only the book printer was employed. In April 1801 this last remaining man was also dismissed. For the first time since 1562-63 the presses of the Plantin house were completely idle. Jacob Paul Moretus and his brothers made a new effort in September 1806. Three book printers and one plate printer were enlisted; in October 1806 one more book printer joined them. But the attempt was short-lived. In September 1808 there were once more just one book printer and one plate printer on the pay-roll. In October 1808 the plate printer went, and in November 1808 the book printer was also sent home. The presses were idle again and only one new impression, a *Horae diurnae* (1807) had been completed in the meantime.¹

On 5th February 1810 Napoleon decreed that printing and bookselling should be strictly controlled and its practitioners limited in number.² In reply to this Frans Jozef wrote on 3rd April 1810 to the prefect of the *département des Deux Néthes* (in which the city of Antwerp was situated), that he was giving up printing and moreover had not printed anything for two years, but that he wished to retain his materials for better times.³ The Moretuses were thereupon struck off the list of recognized printers and booksellers, but the presses and other equipment were allowed to stay.⁴

1. Arch. 794 (workpeople, 1755-1820). Cf. De Groote, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

2. De Groote, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 sqq., may be consulted on this decree and its aftermath in Antwerp.

3. Arch. 701, p. 423.

4. On 1st February 1811 Frans Jozef Moretus submitted a statement of his typographical material and equipment which listed, among other things, 5 printing-presses, 8 type-cases with accessories, 2 copperplate presses, and 7,000 pounds of cast letters (De Groote, *op. cit.*, p. 64, after a document in the Provincial Archives at Antwerp). The inventory in the Plantinian records dated 18th November 1810 (Arch. 156, folio 171) lists, besides the 5 presses and 8 type-cases, 19,121 *pond* of cast letters - and even this figure must have been below the actual quantity. Cf. the discussion of this problem in Vol. II.

The prefect was merely instructed to keep an eye on both press and shop so that nothing could be printed or sold without the full knowledge of the authorities.¹ Both press and shop were now shut down.

The death throes

LODEWIJK FRANS (1814-20), ALBERT (1820-65) AND EDWARD MORETUS (1865-76)² - When Frans Jozef Moretus died on 15th October 1814 and his brother Lodewijk Frans became sole master of the *Gulden Passer*, the French armies had already evacuated the Southern Netherlands. The draconic restrictions which had crippled the book trade in the late Napoleonic period were lifted. Lodewijk Frans attempted to put his press into action again, even though in a very modest manner. Only two printers were mentioned on the pay-rolls from November 1816 to February 1820. They succeeded nevertheless in preparing a *Missale Romanum* (1817) and a *Processionale* (1819). In the beginning of 1820, a few months before the death of Lodewijk Frans, this attempt to revitalize the firm petered out too. The bookshop continued in business, however, with the sale of the new editions and the liquidation of old stocks.

In his will of 25th May 1819 Lodewijk Frans made over the house of Plantin to his nephew, Albert Moretus, the eldest son of Jozef Hyacint.³

Under Albert Moretus the Plantin presses remained unused for a number of years longer. Yet in the meantime a few editions appeared on the market with the address of the 'Architypographia Plantiniana': in 1823 a *Breviarium Romanum*, a *Missale Romanum* and a *Missae Defunctorum*, in 1825 a *Horae diurnae* and an *Officium hebdomadae sanctae*, and in 1826 a *Rituale Romanum*. These works were printed to Albert Moretus's order and with Plantin materials, but by another Antwerp typographer, H.P. van der Hey. In

1. See also Arch. 701, pp. 424-441, on Frans Jozef's difficulties with the authorities in this period.
2. For biographical details see R. Moretus-Plantin de Bouchout, *Demeures familiales*, pp. 46-49. For information on the *Officina Plantiniana* in this period see Arch. 684 (the printing-office ledger, 1805-1847), 685 (the office diary, 1805-1847), 686 (the office invoice books, up to 31st December 1840), 701 (patents), 794 (workpeople, 1755-1833), 819 (inventories of the printing-office and particulars of type material, 1808 onwards), and 820 (sales of books, 1824-1840).
3. Cf. the note in Arch. 685, folio 55.

March 1828 the Plantinian founts in the Van der Hey press were returned to the Vrijdagmarkt.¹ Albert Moretus had decided to reopen the *officina*. In May 1828 he engaged six printers and compositors.

The first work of the ‘master [foreman] and journeymen of this Printing press’ seems to have been a tribute dedicated ‘to Jonkheer Albertus-Franciscus-Hyacinthus-Frederikus, restorer of the old and world-renowned Plantinian Press in Antwerp, in the year 1828’.² A ‘eulogistic poem’ in banal verse and with the necessary exaggerations, but serving nevertheless to describe the sad decline of the Plantin press, and the pride of the Moretus family in their inheritance. Here is the English translation of the last part of this eulogy:

‘The son-in-law, now called Moretus, Plantin's successor, has exalted his art through diligence, good taste, and understanding together with hard work; Joannes, like Plantin, is quoted with respect. Thenceforth, the Moretus name, printed on a thousand books, its fame and splendour increased and strengthened, by worthy Balthasar and others of the family, whom Fame's winged steed took on his wings... But the inconstancy of human affairs made its influence felt on the old Press too. Work was stopped, the presses lay still: Perseverance, however, preserved the old determination. The book trade continued steadily. Thus neither priest nor church had to suffer from this disaster. From time to time was printed what was missing, but even this poor state could not be maintained. The house of Plantin crashed; the craft of printing mourned. Red and black [printing] faded away; both colours were gone! Be calm, lovers of this art, although it may seem dead today. There is a worthy man who can help in its hour of need. A well-born gentleman, chosen by God's Providence, restores that which was lost. In devotion to this art he is no less a man than his forebears; Religion inspires him. No over-generous praise can offend his generosity. What could it say in truth about this gentleman? But we citizens know what he has done and his goodness will be forever in our memory. Thou, Albertus, will make the name Moretus count. It will be spoken of with praise and joy in all the Catholic world, and the red and the black [printing] will, through your perseverance, retain its splendour in the glory of Church Latin.

1. Arch. 819, p. 20.

2. Folio Varia II, no. 117. Reproduction: see plate 105.

Worthy Gentleman, may God grant you his blessing. May your enterprise be rewarded and prosperity attend your path. And may your spirit be transported, when your work with red and black printing is over, to a place where there is no toil but the certainty of bliss.'

Albert Moretus had even less financial need of the *Officina Plantiniana* than his predecessors, but he wanted to continue the tradition out of family pride. The attempt was doomed to failure: the Industrial Revolution had affected the printing trade too. Type-founding and composing methods were not to be revolutionized until later, but new iron presses, which allowed faster and better printing, had already made their appearance. In order to compete and recover his honoured position in the trade, Albert Moretus would have had to modernize, and his old materials, which had remained basically unaltered since Plantin's time, would have had to be discarded. This, however, was not his intention. He carried on according to the old methods and with the old materials (though with a proportion of new type faces) in the spirit of the old, tried family tradition.

What is more, the business did not go at all badly in the beginning. In May 1830, the six employees increased to eleven, but this boom was short-lived. By January 1832 there were again only six men employed. In May 1833 the same number were at work. At this point information suddenly comes to an end. Fewer details are available concerning the last years of the Plantin press than about Plantin's early period! The register of employees ends in May 1833; the bookshop 'journal' on 26th June 1847. Edward Moretus probably retained the recent accounts as being still of some practical use when the Plantin House and archives were handed over to the City of Antwerp in 1876. By so doing, he deprived posterity of the chance of analysing further the protracted and painful death struggle of the historic and venerable house.

In the printer's patent of 1837 there was still mention of five employees. In the next patent in the relevant batch of documents dated 1850 there was only reference to one worker. Then there is another break (or probably a hiatus in documentation) until 1861 and 1864 when in both cases there is again mention of a solitary printer.

In 1828, Albert Moretus had put the press into action again. In 1831, as far as can be made out, the first entirely new editions to be set and printed

in the Plantin press for a long time began to appear: a *Breviarium Romanum* and *Horae diurnae S. Ordinis de Monte Carmelo*. Other editions of similar works followed in 1834, 1835, 1837, 1839, and 1841. Then, until the death of Albert Moretus, in 1865, nothing more. From these few isolated scraps of information it may be concluded that the press was for all practical purposes closed down again in about 1840.

Albert Moretus died, unmarried, on 1st April 1865. His heir was his younger brother, Edward Moretus, already sixty-one. Another poem of tribute appeared with the dedication ‘Honour to the noble family of Moretus on the occasion of the reopening of the famous Plantin press, 26th June 1865’.¹ It was, however, much more modest in its intention than the poem of 1828 and was in fact no more than a specimen of the founts that were available in the press. The following year, in 1866, another *Horae diurnae S. Francisci* appeared, the last dated publication of the *Officina Plantiniana*.

Does this edition and the allusion to the ‘reopening’ mean that the new owner made a last effort to swim against the tide and opened the Plantin press for a final time? The printer's patents in the name of Edward Moretus show that from 1866 to 1871 he had just one workman in his employment, one man who can at the very most have done only a little printing. However, according, to Max Rooses, there was a certain amount of activity from July 1865 to August 1867. Apparently Edward made a fresh start in July 1865, taking on three or four workmen, but finally gave up the struggle in 1867.²

In a handwritten note on the fly-leaf of the Museum copy of Van der Straelen's *Geslagt-lyste der nakomelingen van den vermaerden Christoffel Plantin*, Rooses recorded what else he knew concerning the last days of the firm. However, the first curator of the Plantin-Moretus Museum was not able to provide many further details: ‘The most recent pieces printed in the Plantin press that carry their year of publication date from 1866. Edward

1. BM 60.023 (3), no. 12.

2. M. Rooses, *Le Musée Plantin-Moretus*, 1878, p. 11: ‘De 1840 à 1865 il n'y eût plus qu'un seul ouvrier d'employé. En Avril 1865, Edouard Moretus devint, par la mort de son frère Albert, propriétaire de la maison. Au mois de Juillet de la même année, il recommença une dernière fois à travailler, et continua jusqu'au mois d'Août 1867, avec trois ou quatre ouvriers. A cette dernière date l'imprimerie Plantinienne cessa définitivement ses travaux, après une existence de 312 ans.’

Moretus, the last owner, parcelled the most recent impressions together, marking them “Dernières impressions de l'officine plantinienne 1865-1874”. Among these are undated pieces. The last patent dates from the year 1871. Printing was continued until August 1867. Accounts were kept until 1845 but sales were continued right up to the last years. Right at the end a bookseller, Mr. Sermoy, was put in charge of the retailing of service books in his shop. This must have happened around 1870.’

It would seem that Max Rooses, dutiful as ever, noted what came to his ears by chance, without attaching much importance to it and without attempting to obtain more detailed information concerning the final struggle of the firm whose treasures had been entrusted to his care. The *Architypographia Plantiniana* had outlived itself and in the second half of the nineteenth century had become not much more than a curiosity which its owners kept alive out of family tradition and family pride.

Around 1870, the last flutter of activity ceased. Yet the Plantin press was not to disappear. Six years later Edward Moretus sold his inheritance to the City of Antwerp so that it could be made into a museum.

The *Officina Plantiniana* was to remain in existence in the Vrijdagmarkt in a new form and under a new name as a living reminder of one of the greatest printing families of all time, which in its own way had made history there for three centuries.

Part II

‘The big house called the Plantin Press’

Chapter 8

*The Plantin Houses*¹

The first part of this book dealt with the lives and work of Plantin and his descendants. This second part looks at the Plantin House where they lived and worked during these centuries, a little world that has been preserved almost intact and is now the Plantin-Moretus Museum in the Vrijdagmarkt in Antwerp.

The Plantin House was one of the most important printing-presses of the Renaissance and the Baroque period. It was a paying concern which made its owners one of the richest patrician families of Antwerp. They used some of their profits to decorate its interior and to fill the house with art treasures. It is this that constitutes the great originality of the Plantin-Moretus Museum. In the past the house was both the residence of a wealthy family and a factory. A salon led directly into the workshop, which in turn gave access to another drawing-room, a bedroom, or a kitchen.

There are many more distinguished stately homes which have been preserved with their interiors and art treasures; there are a few old factories which have survived the passage of time and give an idea of how artisans once practised their trades, but the combination of a wealthy family dwelling and a well-equipped technical workshop is unique.

1. Details of Plantin's various removals and the houses which he occupied are given in Rooses, *Musée, passim*. There is a concise exposition of the architectural history of the Plantin House and much information on the art collections of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in the catalogues of the Museum (in Dutch, French, English and German editions) by M. Rooses (revised and brought up to date after 1919 by M. Sabbe). These publications are referred to as Rooses, *Catalogus*. The French catalogue text was also included in Rooses, *Musée*. See also the short guide by L. Voet, *Het Museum Plantin-Moretus* (also in French, English and German editions).

Also unique is the fact that Plantin and the Moretuses kept their records with an almost obsessive meticulousness. Because of this it has been possible in the first part of this book to trace the family history closely, and in a subsequent volume it will be possible to give a detailed picture of the printing trade in the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Thus the small world in which the members of this family moved can also be brought to life; they can be observed building and rebuilding their home and collecting their treasures; and in this way some contribution will have been made to the history of the Plantin House in the Vrijdagmarkt and the collections of the Museum.

Christophe Plantin settled in Antwerp in 1548 or 1549. Little is known about the first years of his residence there. A letter from this period, from an otherwise unknown Jean Leclerc who signed himself ‘vostre serviteur et amy à jamais’, is addressed to ‘Christoffle Plantain, relieur de livres, demourant en la rue Lombartde veste près la Cammestrate à Anvers’.¹ Plantin's first Antwerp house must therefore have been situated in the Lombaardvest which, together with the Kammenstraat, formed the printers' and bookbinders' quarter in those days.

Some time later, at least by 1552, Plantin had removed to the ‘street running from the new Exchange to the Meir, on the west side’,² that is to say the present Twaalfmaandenstraat, the narrow street that leads from the Meir to the Exchange (in Plantin's time still called the New Exchange, because only a few years earlier the merchants had left the older ‘bourse’ in the Hofstraat for the new building near the Meir). It was a few yards from there, on the Meirbrug, that he was stabbed in the shoulder. It was in the Twaalfmaandenstraat that he installed his first printing-press.

His workshop there soon became too small, and by 1557 Plantin had already returned to the Kammenstraat and the centre of the Antwerp printing trade, moving into the *Gulden Eenhoorn* (Golden Unicorn) which he renamed the *Gulden Passer* (Golden Compasses) in 1561.³ It was there that

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 1.

2. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 227. - Original Dutch text: ‘... state lopende vander nyeuwer borssen nade Meere gaende, opte zyde westwaerts.’

3. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 26.

three of his journeymen printed the *Briefve instruction pour prier* which put their master's head in danger and forced him to hide in Paris for eighteen months (1562-63). It was from the Golden Compasses in the Kammenstraat that Plantin's presses, stocks of type, paper and books, and his modest household effects were taken to the Vrijdagmarkt on 28th April 1562 to be publicly auctioned. Plantin re-established his firm in this house after his return from Paris and signing a contract with Cornelis van Bomberghen and his relatives.

The four presses in use up to 1562 became five at the end of 1564, six in 1565, and seven at the beginning of 1566. The Plantin press was outgrowing the former *Gulden Eenhoorn* too. On 5th June 1565 the merchant Fernando de Bernuy, a relation of the Van Bomberghens - and a few months later one of Plantin's partners¹ - leased the printer two houses a little further along the Kammenstraat, the *Grote Valk* (Great Falcon) and the *Kleine Valk* (Little Falcon), together with the *Beitel* (Chisel) in the Valkstraat.²

The *Kleine Valk* stood at the corner of the Kammenstraat and Valkstraat, now called Gierstraat, the small street which leads into the Vrijdagmarkt. The *Grote Valk* was sandwiched between the *Kleine Valk* to the south and the *Konijnenberg*, the corner house of the Kammenstraat and Bergstraat, to the north. The *Beitel* stood in the Valkstraat but the rear of the house must have abutted on the *Grote Valk*.³

The latter premises became the new core of the Plantin press. In 1614 the little house in the Valkstraat formerly called the *Beitel* appears to have been joined up with the *Grote Valk*:⁴ this had probably been done at the time of Plantin's establishment there. The *Kleine Valk* on the other hand remained separate. At the division of Plantin's estate in 1590 it is listed as a rented dwelling, in use as a bakery.⁵

Plantin became the leaseholder of the *Grote Valk* on 5th June 1565, but he had already taken up residence as a tenant the year before. From the 11th to 15th July 1564 his eighteen workmen, helped by porters and waggoners, had moved his goods and chattels from the erstwhile *Gulden Eenhoorn* to the new

1. Cf. p. 45.

2. Antwerp City Archives, PK 2261 (F. Ketgen Ward Records).

3. Cf. below.

4. Martina Plantin's will, 12th September 1614: Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, p. 20.

5. Deed dividing up Christophe Plantin's real estate, 9th March 1590 (Arch. 1183, no. 3; also Arch. 99, pp. 168 sqq.).

house.¹ On 16th August Plantin, it will be recalled, paid the painter Pieter Huys 5 fl. 5 st. for ‘l'enseigne du compas pour pendre à la maison nouvelle’.² In its turn the *Grote Valk* was rechristened the ‘Golden Compasses’.

This removal was only a temporary solution. The new expansion which started in 1567 obliged the printer to look for additional space in which to set up his presses and house his stocks of materials. In his *Relation simple et véritable d'aucuns griefz* of 31st December 1583, Plantin states that in the years before 1576 he used no less than seven houses for his firm.³ From another source it appears that a large quantity of books was also stored in the loft of the Antwerp Carmelite monastery.⁴

This dispersal was not conducive to the efficient working of the firm. In 1576, when Plantin had to leave two of the largest rented houses where his presses had been installed, and was at the same time still dreaming of further expansion, a more radical solution had to be found. In the middle of April 1576 he wrote to Arias Montanus that he had rented a house which was so roomy that he could easily set up sixteen presses in a row and five more in another part of the building. There was also suitable living accommodation and a large garden. He would move there, God willing, on St. John's Day (24th June).⁵ In his letter, Plantin told Arias that this house was not far

1. Arch. 3, folio 15: ‘[Le 15 juillet 1564] Desmesnagement debiteur par casse. Payé aux compagnons qui se sont employes a demenager pour leurs iournees à chaicun 6 patt. pour iour et ont esté 4 iournees eatieres et estoient 18 compagnons qui font: 31 fl. 12 st.; aux chartiers et porteurs pour divers voyaiges: 2 fl. 9 st.; casse crediteur par desmesnagement: 24 fl. 1 st.’
2. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 65.
3. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1014, p. 125: ‘et prins expres a louage la grande maison de feu Martin Lopes pource que sept aultres maisons que j'occupois paravant de laditte Imprimerie ne suffisoient pour si grande quantité [de livres] qu'on requeroit de moy’. One of these seven houses was the *Bourgondische Daalder* (‘une maison nommée la Dalder située sur le derriere du logis nommé den ghulden Vlies en la rue nommée Valke straeteken d'ou par une grande porte et alee on entre en ladicte maison’) where in January 1575 the books intended for Philip II were stored (*Corr.*, IV, no. 602), and where too Frans Raphelengius had one single bedroom for himself and his family, including the maid. It was a low room, 12 feet wide and 15 or 16 feet long (Arch. 8, folio 165ro; Rooses, *Musée*, p. 145; cf. also p. 149).
4. Letter from Plantin to Morillon, end of August 1574 (*Corr.*, IV, no. 554): ‘tous les livres que j'ay en ung grand grenier au couvent des Carmes de ceste ville d'Anvers qui se montent a plus de quinze mille florins’.
5. *Corr.*, V, no. 711: ‘A me cum auferantur duae domus maiores ex iis quas occupo ad proela, contiguas nostrae non longe a nobis aedes conduxì tam amplas ut iuxta desiderium possum facile 16 praela uno ordine constituere, in ipso loco inferiori sinque (quinque?). Praeterea habiturus habitationem commodam cum horto satis amplo, sumque Deo favente ad festum S. Joh. Baptistae migraturus eo, Johanne Moreto manente in taberna nostra libraria et domo a nobis olim empta.’

from where he lived. In fact he only needed to turn the corner of the Valkstraat to see it, at least the part of it that faced onto the Vrijdagmarkt.

Here Plantin concentrated his presses. For exactly three centuries this was the ‘Plantijnse drukkerij’ which in 1876 became the Plantin-Moretus Museum and a typographical shrine. As such the history of this building will be traced in more detail in a later section. The transfer of the presses to the Vrijdagmarkt did not mean, however, that the *Gulden Passer* in the Kammenstraat was abandoned. As Plantin wrote to Arias Montanus, ‘Jan Moretus remains in our bookshop and dwelling which we bought formerly’. For nearly three quarters of a century, from 1576 to 1639, the work of the *officina* was carried on in the two buildings, i.e. the house in the Vrijdagmarkt which was, of course, renamed the ‘Golden Compasses’, and that in the Kammenstraat which was often referred to by its old name of the *Grote Valk*. The Vrijdagmarkt premises housed the press, the Kammenstraat building contained the bookshop, where sales were conducted and orders dispatched. On 23rd April 1584 Plantin transferred the house with the bookshop to Jan Moretus.¹ For this reason the *Grote Valk* with its appendance, the *Beitel*, does not appear on the list of dwelling houses which Plantin's heirs divided among each other in 1590.

The agreement reached concerning Plantin's estate laid down that Jeanne Rivière should remain in the printing-press building. It was only on the death of his mother-in-law, in 1596, that Moretus left the *Grote Valk* to take up residence in the house in the Vrijdagmarkt.

Jan I Moretus was succeeded by his two sons, Balthasar I and Jan II. The former managed the press and established himself in the Vrijdagmarkt. The latter took over sales and the *Grote Valk* became his headquarters.

The death of his brother in 1618 made Balthasar I the sole owner of the *Officina Plantiniana*. Initially this did not bring about any structural changes

1. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 148 and 210-211; cf. Arch. 19, folio 160. See also p. 154.

in the *officina*. The Golden Compasses in the Vrijdagmarkt continued as the printing press and Balthasar's personal residence. The *Grote Valk* continued in use as the bookshop and Jan II's family went on living there. However, it was difficult for Balthasar I to direct and control a business which was carried on in two buildings. In 1637, at the end of his life, he began a series of reconstructions in the Vrijdagmarkt premises 'in order to combine the shop with the press'.¹

The work was finished in 1639: 'In the month of November, the bookshop was moved from the Kammenstraat to the press building where it has been united with the printing-office'.² The *Grote Valk* no longer functioned in the life of the *Officina Plantiniana*, the firm's activities being thereafter concentrated in the Golden Compasses in the Vrijdagmarkt. In May 1640 Maria de Sweert, the widow of Jan II Moretus, left 'the house in the Kammenstraat where the shop was' to take up residence in St. Malcus House in the Kerkhofstraat (now the Schoenmarkt).³

When her estate was divided in 1655 the 'big house with shop, kitchen, courtyard, well, water-butt, outhouse or warehouse, cellar, grounds, and all pertaining thereto, called the Golden Compasses and now the Great Falcon' was included-in her bequest to her daughter Maria Moretus, and the latter's husband Jean de la Flie.⁴ The *Grote Valk* had no further connection with the Moretus family.

1. Balthasar II Moretus's diary (Arch. 213), under the year 1637.
2. *Idem*, under 1639.
3. *Idem*, under 1640.
4. Deed of 20th December 1655: Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, pp. 30-31.

Chapter 9

*The House in the Vrijdagmarkt*¹

When Plantin first arrived in Antwerp the Vrijdagmarkt was one of the city's newer features. It was only in 1547 that the brilliant entrepreneur and speculator Gillebert van Schoonbeke had bought the *Hof van Spangen* (Court of Spain) with its gardens and courts stretching from the Hoogstraat and Reyndersstraat to Kammenstraat and Sint-Jansrui. Between 1547 and 1549 Van Schoonbeke marked out the Vrijdagmarkt, made several streets (Valkstraat, Bergstraat, Leeuwenstraat, Gulden Brug - now Drukkerijstraat) and built a number of houses there.²

In 1574 the heirs of the Spanish merchant Martin Lopez apparently owned a group of nine variously-sized houses in this new district, mainly in the area bounded by the Hoogstraat, the Heilig Geeststraat, the Vrijdagmarkt, and the rui (canal). These houses may have been put up wholly or partially through Lopez's provision.³

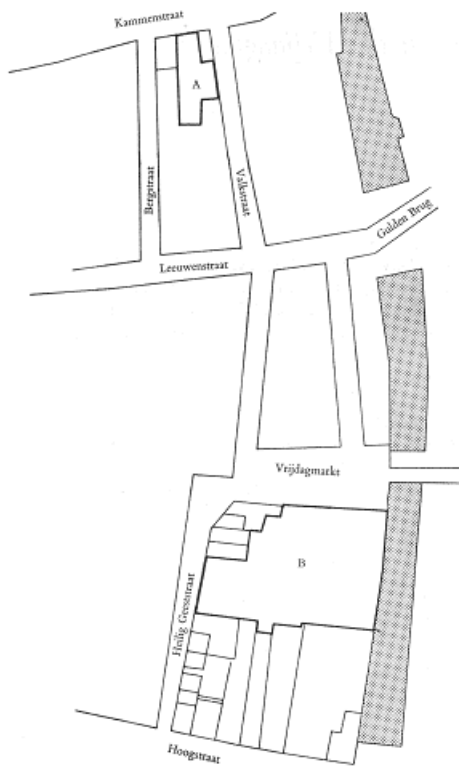
The largest house of this group was described in a deed of 18th February 1574 (N.S.)⁴ as 'a bare and large house with gate, gallery, yard, tower, parlour, kitchen with another large yard, well, water-cistern, bleaching yard, vegetable garden, with one large downstairs room, divers upper rooms, offices, stables, wash-house, the same building also gives out on the Vrijdagmarkt through a large gate with one room above and another beside it, with many other divers upper rooms, lofts and cellars, grounds and all apper-

1. Cf. p. 259, note 1.

2. A. Thys, *Historiek der straten en openbare plaatsen van Antwerpen*, 1893, pp. 552-554.

3. A Pedro Lopez had already bought the house called the *Gulden Helm* in the Hoogstraat in 1522: Moretus-Plantin de Bouchout, *Demeures familiales*, p. 19.

4. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 240.



Situation around the Vrijdagmarkt in the beginning of the nineteenth century, virtually unchanged since Plantin's day. The situation, however, in Plantin's time may have been slightly different.
(Compiled from the 1820 survey; cf. plate 69.)

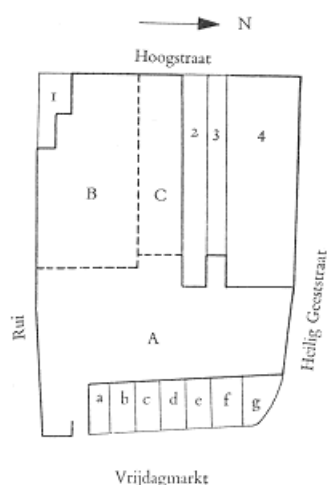
A: The first *Gulden Passer* consisting of two houses, later rechristened into *Grote Valk* and *Beitel*.
On the corner of Kammenstraat and Valkstraat (the present Gierstraat) the *Kleine Valk* stood, on the corner of Kammenstraat and Bergstraat *De Konijnenberg*,
B: The new *Gulden Passer* in the Vrijdagmarkt.

taining thereto, situated in the Hoogstraat between the house called the *Groene Oorkussen* (Green Pillow) and the town canal on one side to the south and the house and its site called the *Bonte Huid* (Many-coloured Hide) to the north, the wall of the stables and the garden of this house being common to both and shall remain so... with its stables and garden also adjoining the street called the Heilig Geeststraat also to the north.¹ Martin Lopez's real estate in this quarter included seven small houses in the Vrijdagmarkt leaning against the big house, and the *Groene Oorkussen* in the Hoogstraat.

The 'big house' therefore stretched from the Hoogstraat on the west to the Vrijdagmarkt on the east, with the main entrance in the former street and a back entrance with a door on the Vrijdagmarkt. The Hoogstraat side of the house was situated between the *Groene Oorkussen* on the south side and the *Bonte Huid* on the north. In fact it comprised two houses there, or the space that was formerly taken up by those houses. The records of the district-show that between the *Groene Oorkussen* and the *Bonte Huid* were situated the *Oorkussen* (Pillow) and the *Gulden Kruiwagen* (or *Cordewagen*: Golden Wheelbarrow).² This is probably the reason why the documents of 1574 and 1579 conflict with tradition in not giving a name for the 'big house'. On the Vrijdagmarkt side, it extended from the canal to the south to the Heilig Geeststraat to the north. Martin Lopez's row of seven small houses, which took up almost the whole of the west side of the Vrijdagmarkt, separated the site from the market square. The only access to the big house from the Vrijdagmarkt was through the large gateway next to the first of the seven small houses.

It was to this spacious house with an entrance in the Hoogstraat and a back-

1. Original Dutch text: '... enen naecte en groote huysinge met poorte, gaelderye, plaetse, toren, salette, ceuckene, met noch een groote plaetse, borneputte, regenbacke en bleykhove ende enen cruythove, met een groote neercamere, diverssche oppercameren, comptoiren, stallinge, waschuyse, comende de selve huysingen achter uuyte met eender grooter poorte opte Vrydaechs Merct met een poortcamere daer boven ende een nedercamere daer neffens, met veele andere diverssche oppercameren, solders ende kelders, gronde ende allen den toebehoorten, gestaen ende gelegen inde Hoochstraete alhier tusschen de huysinge genaempt Tgroen Oircussen ende deser stadt ruye aen deen zyde suytwaert, ende de huysinge ende erve genaempt De Bonte Huyt daer aff den muer vanden stallingen aenden hoff van deser huysinge gemeyn is ende blyven zal... aen dander ende noortwaert, comende oyck achter metter stallinge ende hove aende de straete genaempt de Heiligeesstraete oyck noortwaert.'
2. Antwerp City Archives, PK 2263 (F. Ketgen Ward Records).



De Gulden Passer: situation between Vrijdagmarkt and Hoogstraat in 1576, when Plantin moved into the 'big house'. (All dimensions are conjectural.)

A: part of the 'big house' kept by Plantin after 1576

B: part of the 'big house' later called *Het Oorkussen*; its front facing the Hoogstraat

C: part of the 'big house' later called *De Gulden Kruiwagen*, also on the Hoogstraat

a-g: row of seven small houses next to the Vrijdagmarkt exit, called

a: 'the small house next to the gate'

b: *Gulden Lelie*

c: *Zwaantje*

d: *Gulden Tralie*

e: *Gulden Kalf*

f: *Gulden Zon*

g: *Woud* or *Jagerswoud*

1: *Het Groene Oorkussen* on the corner of the Hoogstraat and the *rui* (canal)

2: *De Bonte Huid*

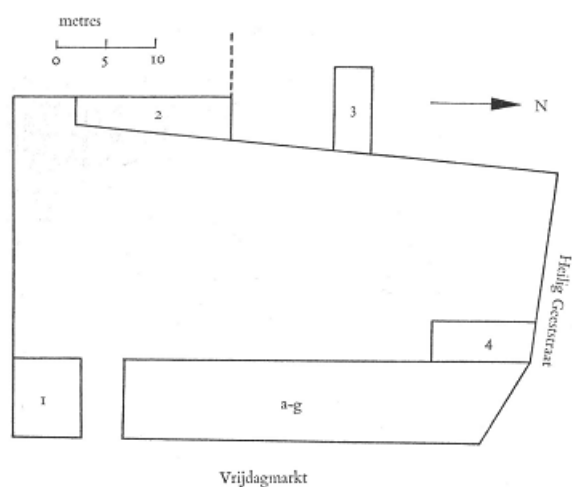
3: *Het Brandijzer*

4: Other houses in the Heilig Geeststraat

gate in the Vrijdagmarkt that Plantin moved his premises in 1576. A few months later, the Spanish Fury brought distress and misery to Antwerp. The Plantin press escaped arson and plunder, but its expansion was stopped. Work was resumed in 1577 but at a much reduced tempo.

What exactly happened in and around the big house in these years cannot be ascertained. The thread can be picked up again in the deed dated 22nd June 1579¹ by which Plantin took possession of a house for which he was to pay 520 fl. per annum (representing a capital sum of 8,320 fl.): 'a house with gateway, parlour, courtyard, stables, opening at the back onto Heilig Geeststraat with also all deeds, titles, and liberties..., grounds, and all the appurtenances and situated in the Vrijdagmarkt between the town canal to the southern side, the aforesaid Heilig Geeststraat to the north, the aforesaid lessor's other houses and sites in the Vrijdagmarkt situated to the east..., coming out on the west side at the house and site here divided and sold by the

1. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 244.



De Gulden Passer: situation after the division in 1576. Actual dimensions and exact situations conjectural.

- 1: Room next to the gate
- 2: adjacent buildings in Hoogstraat
- 3: wash-house
- 4: stable
- a-g: the seven small houses in the Vrijdagmarkt

aforesaid lessor to Catlyne (Catharina) van Santvliet, where a wall now shared by the two sites was erected by the aforesaid lessor.¹

This seems to mean that in 1579 the site of the big house was divided by a wall: the front side facing the Hoogstraat had been sold to Catharina van Santvliet;² the rear part facing the Vrijdagmarkt was obtained by Plantin.

1. Original Dutch text: ‘... een huysinge met poorte, salette, hove, stallinge, comende achter uuyte inde naegelegen Heylich Geeststraete, met oick alien den actien, gerechticheden ende vryheden..., gronde ende allen den toebehoorten gestaen ende gelegen opde Vrydaechs Merct alhier tusschen deser stadt ruye aen deen zyde zuytwaerts, de voorsegden Heylich Geestraete noortwaerts, des voers. erfgevers andere huysen ende erven opde Vrydaechs Merct als voere gestaen oostwaerts..., comende achtere westwaerts aende huysinge ende erve hier af gespleten zynde ende by den voers.erfgevere vercocht Catlyne van Santvliet, alwaer tusschen beyden den selven erven byden voers.erfgevere getrocken is eenen muer staende op gemeyne erve.’
2. By the deed of 14th April 1579 (F. Ketgen Ward Records, Antwerp City Archives, PK 2263), Catharina van Santvliet bought not only the part of the large premises which faced the Hoogstraat (embracing the *Oorkussen* and the *Gulden Kruiwagen*) but also the *Groene Oorkussen* (Green Pillow). On 15th December 1581 she in her turn sold the *Groene Oorkussen* and the *Oorkussen* - which suggests that at that particular time the Hoogstraat side of the site had once more been split up into its constituent parts, namely the *Oorkussen* and the *Gulden Kruiwagen*. Catharina van Santvliet disposed of the latter property on 13th May 1598.

This greatly reduced new Golden Compasses was bounded to the west by the houses and yards of the Hoogstraat (the *Groene Oorkussen*, the half of the big house sold to Catlyne van Santvliet, and the *Bonte Huid*), to the south by the canal, to the north by the Heilig Geeststraat (Plantin's property was probably separated from the actual street by a wall). To the east was the house opposite the Vrijdagmarkt, but it was separated from this by the seven small houses which occupied the west side of the market square. The new *Gulden Passer* formed an island surrounded by houses, walls and water which could only be reached through the large gateway at the end of the row of small houses in the Vrijdagmarkt.

The main living quarters of the former 'big house' were concentrated on the Hoogstraat side. Plantin had in his part a very spacious garden which reached from the canal to the Heilig Geeststraat, but only a very small amount of living space. The deeds of 1574 and 1579 and the later sequence of alterations to the house would suggest that it was the rear part of the premises which Plantin bought - the part described in the 1574 deed as having 'a large downstairs room, divers upper rooms, offices, stables, wash-house'. The 'large downstairs room' and the 'offices' are to be found in the present west wing (Rooms 10, 11, 12). The wash-house undoubtedly occupied the site of the present kitchen (Room 8). The stable was adjacent to the Heilig Geeststraat.¹

The second group of buildings of the new *Gulden Passer* lay across the courtyard and was formed by the 'large gate with one room above and another beside it'. The latter room can probably be identified with the present office immediately left of the entrance.

When Plantin wrote enthusiastically in April 1576 to Arias Montanus that he had found a house where he could set up sixteen presses in a row and five in another place, he undoubtedly had in mind rooms and halls in the front part of the house facing the Hoogstraat. The part he bought in 1579 had room for only a small number of presses.

What actually occurred is a problem which Max Rooses passes over quickly, merely hinting that the dividing up of the big house might be

1. Cf. the situation sketches on pp. 268, 269, 272, 279, 385, 294, 298, 299.

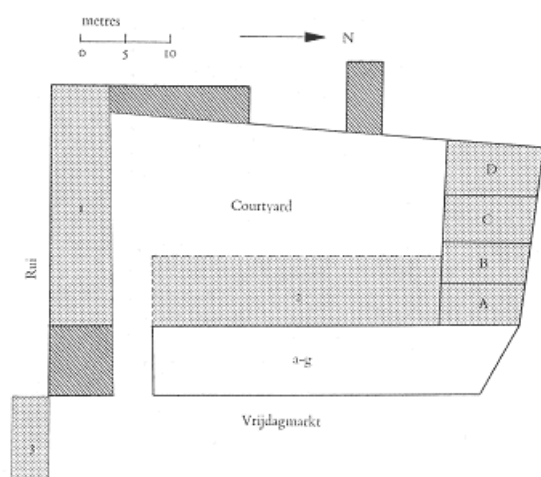
connected with the Spanish Fury of 4th November 1576.¹ It is more likely, however, that the division of the property can be attributed to problems connected with Martin Lopez's estate.² The deeds of 1574 and 1579 indicate complications that are almost impossible to unravel. In the deed of 18th February 1574 (N.S.) the owner was given as Peter Lopez, son of the late Martin, but after involved legal proceedings the house was made over to three of Martin's five daughters. On 8th July 1578 these three - Maria, Elisabeth and Anna Lopez - transferred the house to their brother Martin. On 15th December 1578 and 27th March 1579, the other beneficiaries also relinquished their claims to the house in favour of Martin.³ It was Martin Lopez who was given as the 'lessor' in the deed of 22nd June 1579, but he received only 170 fl. par annum of the 520 fl. instalments Plantin had to pay. The remainder had to be paid to Martin's sisters: 150 fl. to Anna, and 100 fl. each to Elisabeth and Maria.

It may therefore be assumed that the Lopez family divided and sold the big house between 1576 and 1579 for domestic reasons, not because of the political situation. For these reasons Plantin, having first rented the whole premises, found himself obliged to buy a part in order to be able to stay there: a part which offered little accommodation but included a large garden, making future extension of the building feasible.

Plantin's reconstruction of the 'Gulden Passer' (1579-80)

Shortage of accommodation posed no great problem at first. The Spanish Fury had disrupted Plantin's business and in the following months he only had a few presses working. However, at the end of 1577 there were signs of something of a revival. In 1578 and 1579 the printer again had five to six presses in action. In 1580 there were seven, and in 1581 eight.

1. The scholar was probably led into thinking this by the remark made by Plantin in a letter to de Çayas, 21st December 1585 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1056, p. 241): '... depuis qu'apres ledict sac d'Anvers plus que la moictié de ladicte maison me fust ostée par le propriétaire d'icelle...' [... since after the sack of Antwerp more than half of the said house was taken back from me by the owner]. But in this letter Plantin is simply making a chronological and not a causal connection between the Spanish Fury and his landlord's action.
2. Anyway, in a declaration of 17th May 1577 (*Corr.*, V, no. 761) Plantin's printing-office was still to be found in the Hoogstraat.
3. The transactions are detailed in the deed of 22nd June 1579.



De Gulden Passer: Plantin's building activities (1579-81). Existing buildings shaded, connected with the main building:

- 1: printing shop
- 2: east wing (exact dimensions and situation conjectural)
- 3: small house over the *rui* (canal)

Not joined to main building:

- A: *De Zilveren Passer*
- B: *De IJzeren Passer*
- C: *De Koperen Passer*
- D: *De Houten Passer*
- a-g: the seven small houses in the Vrijdagmarkt

The problem of how to install an efficient press in only half of the big house became quickly and painfully apparent. Plantin could have abandoned his new premises and fallen back on the Golden Compasses in the Kammenstraat where in 1585 and 1589 there were still two rooms called the 'small' and the 'big press'.¹ Probably he did in fact print there in the years 1577-80. However, when Plantin bought the house in the Vrijdagmarkt in June 1579, he already had a solution in mind. Even before he could legally call the house his own, he had set bricklayers and joiners to work on a series of alterations. He had a wing built in the part of the garden adjacent to the canal, with the intention of housing the press there: the same printing shop where the *officina*'s presses still stand after nearly four centuries. This wing had no complete upper floor as such, but it did have roomy attics and boasted a gallery, of which the existing entrance with its half arch in one corner of this wing is the last remaining vestige.

1. Inventories of books and paper, 1585 (Arch. 116, pp. 617 sqq.) and 1589 (Arch. 98, pp. 511-512).



(68) Detail from the immense woodcut map (126 cm × 260 cm) of Antwerp by Virgilius Boloniensis, with text by Cornelius Grapheus and printed by Egidius Coppens van Diest (1585). The Plantin-Moretus Museum owns the only extant copy. The Vrijdagmarkt can be seen 2 inches below B of VRBS. Several items are clearly shown: the entrance of the 'big house', part of the house to the left of the entrance and the small houses to the right, only three of which are given in detail. At the time the Vrijdagmarkt was considerably smaller than it is now (cf. plates 69 and 70.)



(69) Detail from a survey of Antwerp, c. 1820, showing the Vrijdagmarkt and its immediate surroundings, with the houses in the centre that were removed in 1836.

At the same time Plantin had the stable adjacent to the Heilig Geeststraat converted into a dwelling house, and built next to it three other small houses. He named the four houses, in true Plantin style, *Zilveren Passer*, *Koperen Passer*, *IJzeren Passer*, and *Houten Passer* (Silver Compasses, Brass Compasses, Iron Compasses, and Wooden Compasses). Probably work was also carried out next near the gate, where an east wing was built, abutting the small houses in the Vrijdagmarkt.¹

On the 27th April 1580, Amaat Verbraken submitted a bill for 23 fl. 10 st. for painting fifteen pairs of casements, thirteen pairs of sashes, ten doors, ‘pour le jardin, eschelle, etc.’, ‘pour blanchir cuisine, chambre, gallerie, etc’ and ‘pour le compas’ - for painting Plantin's sign, the Golden Compasses. Another bill for 19 fl. 7 St. concerned the four houses in the Heilig Geeststraat (‘aux quatre maisons’) and was for painting twenty-five pairs of windows, sixteen doors, the ‘auvents’ [weather-boarding] and the four signs of the four new Compasses. Thus the first metamorphosis of the big house in the Vrijdagmarkt was effected.

Plantin's purpose in this work was twofold: the building of the south wing constituted a business investment; that of the four Compasses in the Heilig Geeststraat a capital investment. The four houses were rented out immediately after completion and later, on 23rd April 1584, the *Koperen Passer* was sold to Clementia de Schotti.²

To accomplish this double purpose Plantin had to spend considerable sums of money. According to the bills and receipts he paid 2,294 fl. for brickwork, 2,492 fl. for carpentry, 1,050 fl. for deliveries of wood, 332 fl. 6½ st. for stone, 78 fl. 9½ st. for nails, 492 fl. 2 st. for plumbing, 452 fl. 8½ st. for laying tiles, 202 fl. 18½ st. for the delivery and fitting of glass, 42 fl. 17 st. for painting; totalling the impressive sum of 7,437 fl. 2 st., that did not, however, represent the whole of what Plantin spent on the building.³ The way in which labour and deliveries were specified by the various craftsmen makes it impossible to calculate the separate costs

1. There is no positive information concerning the building of an east wing, but the 1595 account (see below) only makes sense if the existence of such a wing is assumed.
2. For a sum of 2,700 fl. (Arch. 19, folio 109). Cf. also the Antwerp City Archives, PK 2263 (F. Ketgen Ward Records).
3. Bills and receipts: Arch. 125, pp. 31-129. Sums paid out to the bricklayer and the carpenter were also entered in the ledger for 1572-89 (Arch. 19, folios 140 and 141). The slater's and the glassmaker's accounts are definitely incomplete; there may also be gaps in those of the other tradesmen.

for the printing shop, east wing and the four Compasses in the Heilig Geeststraat.

Plantin had to dig deep into his pockets for the rebuilding of his new residence, but the execution of the work could have been better. At the end of 1588, the beams supporting the attic over the printing shop collapsed. There were no casualties and the material damage appears to have been quite limited. Nevertheless the 1,000 fl. that Plantin had extracted from Philip II as compensation - as ‘charity’, said the printer - for all he had lost in the service of the Spanish king, had to be spent on the repairs.¹

The complex shaped by Plantin in 1579-80 remained practically unaltered. The printer, however, bought or erected another few buildings adjacent to and around the *Gulden Passer*. On 28th May 1580 he obtained permission from the Antwerp authorities to roof over the canal next to the entrance in the Vrijdagmarkt and build a small house there,² which in later deeds and documents was described as ‘the little house overhanging the canal’.

A few months later, on 13th March 1581, Plantin acquired the leasehold of the first of the small houses immediately next to his main entrance from a certain Jan Calandrin.³ He obtained from Hans Franck two of the rear buildings of the *Bonte Huid*, converted into a single house, on 29th January 1586, and a piece of ground there on 11th October 1586.⁴

The small house built over the canal was integrated into the Golden Compasses. The other acquisitions remained separate; they did not even

1. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1424 (letter written between 7th December 1588 and 7th January 1589).
2. *Corr.*, VI, no. 878. - In his application Plantin explained his request as follows: ‘... hoe dat ter zyden int gesichte van incomen van zynen huys opte Vrijdaechs mert alhier, is eenen cleynten hoeck die leelyck ende vuyl is. Int aenzien van alle de goede heeren ende meer ander luyden the tzyden huysen comen, zoe omme zyne druckerye te besichtigen als anders(sins) ende om zyn huys van de voorseyde stinckende vuylicheyt te bevryen, zoe en isser anders geen middel dan dat de voors. hoeck werdde geappropriert tot eenge cleyne wooninge’ [how that there is on the side of the house facing you as you enter from the *Vrijdagmarkt* a small corner which is unsightly and dirty. In the view of all the good gentlemen and other people who come to his house, whether to see his printing-press or for any other reason, there is no other means of ridding his house of the aforesaid noisome filth than by appropriating the corner and making a small dwelling of it].
3. Antwerp City Archives, PK 2277 (F. Ketgen Ward Records).
4. *Ibidem* (under the heading *Gulden Passer*).

pass to the new owner of the 'big house', Jan I Moretus, after Plantin's death and went to other beneficiaries. But Plantin made use of the opportunity to provide an exit from his *Gulden Passer* to the Hoogstraat across the piece of ground belonging to the *Bonte Huid*. When he built the Compasses in the Heilig Geeststraat he had taken a similar measure. Both exits were carefully specified in the description of the Golden Compasses in the document of 9th March 1590 which divided up Plantin's estate:¹ 'coming out through a passage-way beneath the edifice of the aforesaid house the *IJzeren Passer* in the aforesaid Heilig Geeststraat which passage-way belongs exclusively to this house [i.e. the *Gulden Passer*] without that same house the *IJzeren Passer* or its proprietors having any right or claim thereto, egressing also through a passage-way across the site of the premises of the *Bonte Huid* in the Hoogstraat'.² Thus two smaller entrances were provided in the Heilig Geeststraat and the Hoogstraat in addition to the big gate in the Vrijdagmarkt.

The 'Gulden Passer' in Plantin's last years

In the *Gulden Passer* Plantin obviously designated the various rooms and halls already in existence or those which he had built on or altered, for business or domestic use as he thought fit. In the inventories of the stocks of books drawn up in 1585 and in November 1589,³ some of these rooms were mentioned, but it is impossible from these lists to make out where the 'friends' room', the warehouse, or correctors' room were actually situated. The stocks of books were moreover largely stored in the attics and lofts.

The inventory of the estate of Plantin's widow after her death in 1596⁴ is more interesting because it gives a summary of the living and workrooms, and because the clerk compiling the inventory worked through systematically room by room. On the basis of this inventory of 1596, and taking the present structure of the *Gulden Passer* into account it is possible to reconstruct

1. Cf. p. 261, note 5.

2. Original Dutch text: '... commende uyte met eenen gange onder dedeficie vanden voorschreven huysse den Yseren Passer inde voorschreven Heiligengestrate welcken ganck deser huysingen [de Gulden Passer] alleene blyft toebehoorende sonder dat tselve huys den Yseren Passer oft proprietarissen van dyen daer toe eenich recht oft actie selen hebben, comende oock met eenen deurgange over d'erve vande huysinge de Bonte Huyt inde Hoochstrate...'

3. Cf. p. 272, note 1.

4. Arch. 99, pp. 759 sqq.

Plantin's house as it was in the years 1580 to 1595. The 'downstairs room' of the deceased Jeanne Rivière is identical to the downstairs room next to the large gate mentioned in the deeds of 1574 and 1579; that is to say the present office on the left in the entrance. The kitchen, warehouse and 'garderobbe' (cloakroom), with an 'office' above this cloakroom, mentioned immediately afterwards, are to be found in the east wing which was radically altered by Balthasar I Moretus. 'The office across the yard' was in the west wing, where an office still exists today (Room 10). 'The downstairs room across the yard' - probably identical with the 'friends' room' of 1589 - is the room adjacent to the office, which at least from 1616 onwards would have been called the Justus Lipsius room (Room 11). Between this room and the press there was a flour store and bakery (nowadays Room 12). The 'boys' room' (the apprentices' sleeping quarters) can be found in one of the attics above the press. Finally the 'correctors' room' was very probably fitted up in the 'little house over the canal'.

In the big house in the Vrijdagmarkt in Plantin's time business came before comfort. For himself and his family the master contented himself with a few humble cubic yards of living space. The *Gulden Passer* was primarily a place for work and only secondarily a place to live in.

Jan I Moretus and the 'Gulden Passer'

In addition to the houses already mentioned, Plantin had also acquired several other properties. After his death all his real estate was divided up among his beneficiaries. Martina Plantin and Jan I Moretus, who had already been given the *Gulden Passer* in the Kammenstraat (i.e. the *Grote Valk* with the adjoining *Beitel*) also acquired the *Gulden Passer* in the Vrijdagmarkt, with an estimated capital value of 8,000 fl. and a 'rent' of 500 fl. per annum. Catharina Plantin and Hans Spierinck became the owners of the *Houten Passer* (rent 110 fl. per annum; capital value 1,760 fl.) and the *Zilveren Passer* (rent 100 fl.; value 1,600 fl.). Henrietta Plantin and Pieter Moerentorf received as their portion the *IJzeren Passer* in the Heilig Geeststraat (rent 95 fl.; value 1,520 fl.) and the house next to the entrance of the *Gulden Passer* (rent 80 fl.; value 1,280 fl.). Finally, Magdalena Plantin and Egidius Beys were given the *Kleine Valk* on the corner of the Kammenstraat and Valkstraat (rent 195 fl.; value 3,120 fl.), the *Maagd van Antwerpen* in the Valkstraat

(rent 105 fl.; value 1,680 fl.), situated between the *Beitel* and the *Grote Valk* and bought by Plantin on 10th March 1580, and the ‘two small houses now made into one... split off from the premises called the *Bonte Huid* in the Hoogstraat’ (rent 25 fl.; value 400 fl.).¹

The *Gulden Passer* in the Vrijdagmarkt had now lost its outlying subsidiaries. Some of them were soon recovered, however, and continued to play a part in the history of the ‘big house’. On 17th July 1604, Henrietta Plantin and Pieter Moerentorf sold the house next to the big gate in the Vrijdagmarkt to Jan I Moretus.² On 30th October 1597 Catharina Plantin and Hans Spierinck leased the *Houten Passer* to a certain Jan Coppens; the house changed hands a couple of times, and on 30th March 1605 was bought back by Hans Spierinck, who sold it later to his brother-in-law Jan Moretus on 31st March 1608.³ The *IJzeren Passer* was finally transferred by Henrietta Plantin on 10th September 1620 to her nephew Balthasar I Moretus.⁴

The two other Compasses disappeared from the annals of the Plantin house for a longer period. The *Koperen Passer*, sold by Plantin on 23rd April 1584 to Clementia de Schotti,⁵ was not regained by the Moretus family until 1798; the *Zilveren Passer*, which had been sold on 4th October 1597 by Catharina Plantin and her husband, did not return to the family until 1819.⁶

Plantin's son-in-law and successor in the *Officina Plantiniana* regarded the *Houten Passer* as a separate property, but joined the small house next to the Vrijdagmarkt entrance to the main premises.⁷ Perhaps it was then already furnished as the ‘saeltjen’ (parlour) that it appears to have been in the late seventeenth century.

1. Concerning the distribution of Plantin's real estate among his heirs, see also p. 166. The deed of 9th March 1590 in fact gave Catharina Plantin and Hans Spierinck the *Houten Passer* and the *IJzeren Passer*; and Henrietta Plantin and Pieter Moerentorf the *Zilveren Passer* and the house next to the gateway. The Ward records and later deeds show Catharina in possession of the *Zilveren Passer* and Henrietta in possession of the *IJzeren Passer*. The two sisters had undoubtedly already exchanged their houses in 1590.
2. Antwerp City Archives, PK 2277 (F. Ketgen Ward Records).
3. Antwerp City Archives, PK 2263 (F. Ketgen Ward Records).
4. See further, pp. 278-279.
5. Cf. p. 273.
6. Rooses, *Catalogus*.
7. Martina Plantin's will, 1614 (Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, p. 20).

The renovations of Balthasar I Moretus (1620-1622)

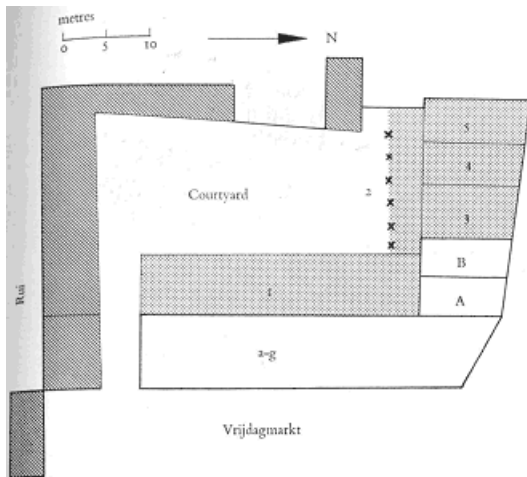
Architecturally speaking, Jan I Moretus left it at that. It remained for his son Balthasar I to bring the second main phase in the development of the Plantin house to successful completion and to make its courtyard the gem of Flemish Renaissance architecture which still forms one of the great attractions for visitors to the Museum. Balthasar's rebuilding was realized in two stages. 'Laus Deo † Nova structura coepta dirui domus prima Junii 1620' are the words with which Balthasar I Moretus begins his entries of expenditure on the first phase of his rebuilding project. The last bill was paid on 19th January 1623.¹ Plantin's grandson seems to have been aware that he was about to build something of great architectural merit worthy of his family's greatness and a delight for future generations. Before the work began, a little ceremony took place in which the five-year-old Balthasar II, son of Jan II, godchild of Balthasar and probable heir to the business, laid the first stone.²

The work consisted of the erection of a two-storey gallery on the north side of the garden, and the building of the present east wing, which probably involved the demolition of the structures put up there by Plantin.

The gallery was to go up against the rear walls of three houses in the Heilig Geeststraat. The middle house, the *Houten Passer*, was already Balthasar's property. The two others, the *IJzeren Passer* and *Vosken* (Little Fox), had to be bought in order to make the projected gallery possible.

It has been seen that Balthasar acquired the *IJzeren Passer* on 10th September 1620. He did so, as he noted in his account, with the specific intent 'to complete the gallery'. Henrietta Plantin, Pieter Moerentorf's widow, transferred it to her nephew who had to pay her at a rate of 180 fl. per annum - representing a capital value of 2,880 fl. Aunt Henrietta had not only forced up the price (the house was at most worth 150 fl. a year, her

1. Arch. 125, pp. 135-364 (expenses entered up in chronological order, pp. 135-150, followed by the bills); Arch. 191 (the expenditure entered up in Arch. 125 systematically arranged by tradesman or by heading).
2. Balthasar II's diary (Arch. 213): 'Anno 1620. In meert is begonst te timmeren het nieuw huys in de druckerye, waervan ick den eersten steen ghelegghen hebbe.' [Anno 1620. In March was begun the building of the new house in the (grounds of the) printing-press, of which I laid the first stone.]



De Gulden Passer: extensions by Balthasar I Moretus, first stage (1620-22).

Existing buildings shaded.

1: rebuilt east wing

2: arcade

3: *De IJzeren Passer**

4: *De Houten Passer**

5: *Het Vosken**

A: *De Zilveren Passer*

B: *De Koperen Passer*

a-g: the seven small houses in the Vrijdagmarkt

*Houses incorporated into main building

rather incensed nephew noted in his accounts), but also stipulated that she should be allowed to occupy the remaining part of the house until her death.¹

On 22nd December 1620 it was the turn of the *Vosken* to become Balthasar's property. It was bought from the diamond cutter Jan de Mayer for an annual rent of 212 fl., representing a capital value of 3,392 fl. For this price 'the back premises of the *Vosken*... [could] be joined to the printing house'.²

The gallery and the adjacent east wing also abutted on the boundary wall of the *Zilveren* and the *Koperen Passer*, rented out by Jacob van den Bogaerde. In order to obtain his neighbour's consent, Balthasar paid him by contract on 30th May 1620 the sum of 525 fl.³

Plantin's grandson kept all his bills with great care so that this time

1. Arch. 191, p. 40; Arch. 102, folio 755.

2. Arch. 191, p. 40.

3. Arch. 191, p. 36.

information as to what the rebuilding of Plantin's house cost is complete. Altogether Balthasar paid the impressive total of 30,513 fl.

The bricklayer Pauwel van den Sande received 2,034 fl. 9³/₄ st. for deliveries of white and blue stone. To another firm 2,759 fl. 2 St. was paid, and 2,341 fl. 8 st. was paid to a specialized stone and mortar dealer. The carpenter Willem van den Bogaerde presented bills for a total of 6,741 fl. 10¹/₈ st. Of this 4,438 fl. 19³/₈ st. was for deliveries of wood. Balthasar himself spent a further 693 fl. 19 st. on wood. In addition to the carpenter three joiners were employed who together received 2,129 fl. 7 st. The 'wainscot' bought partly by Joos de Buyster, partly by Balthasar himself, cost 1,299 fl. 16¹/₄ st. For metal work Balthasar had to pay 2,758 fl. 11¹/₄ st. of which 1,437 fl. 18 st. were to the locksmith, 738 fl. 13¹/₄ st. to the blacksmith and 582 fl. to the nail merchant.

The plumber received 1,470 fl. 7 st., the 'cauldron maker' 163 fl. 16 st., the tiler 1,061 fl., the paviour 81 fl. 17 st., the plasterer 166 fl. 11¹/₂ st., the glazier 824 fl. 15 st. Hans de hovenier [gardener] received 'for digging etc' 99 fl. 19 st., the house painter 285 fl., Abraham Graphaeus for 'gilding twenty mouldings and the moulding with the compasses' 88 fl.

The carting of the necessary building materials listed under the heading 'cart freight and waggon freight' cost Balthasar 719 fl. 15¹/₂ st. The quenching of the thirst of the employees working for various contractors was also to be paid for by the master of the house. Their thirst was difficult to assuage: from 19th July 1620 to 14th October 1622 he laid in no less than 209 barrels of beer, for which he paid the considerable sum of 868 fl. 15¹/₂ st.

Hans van Mildert 'wood and stone carver' and Pauwel (or Paulus) Diricx 'wood carver' took care of the exterior and interior decoration. The former received 510 fl., yet only one item is fully specified: the 90 fl. 'for the carving of the chimney in the big room'. Diricx was credited for 297 fl. 10 st. He was contracted mainly for carving the wooden beams in the gallery and various halls. Both artists presented other bills which for some reason or other were not mentioned in the general balance sheet of the new building.

Hans van Mildert received another 494 fl. for the carving of stone figures and statuettes, including 192 fl. for three stone busts of Christophe Plantin, Jan I Moretus and Justus Lipsius which still adorn the courtyard of the

Plantin house.¹ Pauwel Diricx for his part supplied wooden ‘faces’ and carved frames for 178 fl. 10 st. Among these was ‘carved under the gallery on the stairs a lion with three lion's faces with three Ionic capitals and two vases with garlands’² reckoned at 15 fl. 8 st. This elegant lion on his decorated pillar still stands guard over the stairs at the corner of the gallery.

Under the heading ‘Miscellaneous and extras’ Balthasar assembled a number of bills totalling 3,401 fl. 10 st. They included the expenditure in connection with the purchase of the *IJzeren Passer* and the *Vosken*, and obtaining permission to build the boundary wall of the *Koperen* and *Zilveren Passer*. There was 280 fl. for 7 decorated chimneys (‘termschouwen’) and a further long series of small items: 1 fl. 14 st. for two privies, 14 fl. 7 st. for privy pipes and seats, 11 fl. 2 st. ‘for 74 copper letters for the doorway of the drawing-room’ (probably forming some inscription), 1 fl. 17 st. ‘for gilding the same letters’, 62 fl. to the bricklayers, carpenters, and paviours for the ‘topping out’ ceremony, 14 fl. 16 st. to the builders and carpenters who had put up the customary decorations of may boughs and 4 fl. 8 st. to the musicians hired by the bricklayers and carpenters to ‘trumpet in the may’.

Antwerp now had one more show-place to offer. On 1st October 1620, before the work had really begun, Jan Woverius, the scholarly friend of Balthasar Moretus and Rubens, wrote these prophetic words to the master of the *Gulden Passer*: ‘Our town of Antwerp is fortunate to possess two such great citizens as Rubens and Moretus. Foreigners will gaze at both their dwellings, travellers will admire them.’³

1. ‘Item ghemack 3 figuren anhet portal, het stuck 50 fl.: 150 fl. Nog ghemack kartusen onder de figuren het stuck 8 fl.: 24 fl. Nog 3 schelpen boven de figuren, het stuck 6 fl.: 18 fl.’ [Item. To making 3 figures in the portico at 50 fl. each: 150 fl. Also to making the cartouches under the figures at 8 fl. each: 24 fl. Also to 3 decorative arches over the figures at 6 fl. each: 18 fl.]
2. Original Dutch text: ‘... noch gesneden onder de galdry aen den trap eenen leeu met drij leeustronies met drij capteltjes Ionica met twee vasen met cneuren met den boge.’
3. Arch. 94, p. 493: ‘Sed o felicem sane quoque nostram Antverpiam duobus praecipue civibus, Rubenio Moretoque! Utriusque aedes spectabunt exteri, admirabuntur advenae.’

Balthasar I's second series of rebuilding works (1637- 1639)

With his 'new building' Balthasar had primarily intended to give the masters of the Golden Compasses fitting accommodation. The emphasis was on the expansion of the big house into an impressive residence. Fifteen years after the completion of the first scheme, Plantin's grandson was to call in the bricklayers and carpenters once more. Aesthetic considerations were still very much in his mind. Balthasar watched over the new project carefully to see that it blended with the existing structure to form a harmonious architectural entity, although his aim was now more utilitarian. As Balthasar II Moretus wrote in his diary: 'Anno 1637. In the month of March the new building in the Press in the *Bonte Huid* was begun, which Uncle Balthasar had done to combine the shop with the press. The work took about two years before it was finished.'¹ The particular aim was therefore to transfer the shop from the Kammenstraat to the main premises in the Vrijdagmarkt, bringing printing and sales under one roof.

Balthasar had bought the *Bonte Huid* on 4th January 1635 from Jaspar van den Bogaerde for the sum of 8,600 fl.² Its side adjoined the courtyard of the *Gulden Passer*. As far as can be made out from the available details, the *Bonte Huid* extended so as to come almost level with parts of the west wing of the *Gulden Passer* - the office being on one side of it, the wash-house on the other. This enclave was to be done away with by integrating it in the *Gulden Passer*.³ In the contracts concluded in February 1637 with the builder and joiner it was stated that the rear of the site (or premises?) of the *Bonte Huid* should be converted into two adjoining rooms, each 30 ft. long and 21 ft. wide, and each with an upper floor and attics. One room and upper floor looked onto the courtyard of the Plantin house; it is now the 'proof-readers' room' (Room 9). The others faced the Hoogstraat though it is unlikely that it abutted on to the other parts of the *Bonte Huid*: in the contract it was stipulated that the rooms on this side should have six cross-bar windows.

1. Arch. 213, under 1637. - Original Dutch text: 'Anno 1637. Inde maand Meert is begonst den nieuwen bouw in de Druckerey in de Bontehuyt welcken bouw oom Balthasar ghemaect heeft om den winckel t'samen met de druckerey te voeghen. Den selven bouw heeft geduert ontrent de twee jaeren eer dat voleynt is gheworden.'
2. Arch. 353², p. 6.
3. The bills, receipts and contracts are in Arch. 125, pp. 367-523. In contrast with the 'nova structura' of 1620-22, Balthasar made no systematic summary of the various expenditures for his building activities of 1637-39.

For what purpose were these rooms made in 1637? The proof-readers were not installed here until later. In 1658, the room overlooking the courtyard of the *Gulden Passer* was designated as the ‘shop or office’; later it appears as the *groot comptoir* (big office). The purpose of the second room is not clearly defined in any text, but there is another fact which can shed light on the matter: the *Bonte Huid* was rented out after the alterations.¹ Nevertheless Balthasar put up in the Hoogstraat a representation of the Plantinian compasses, with the device *Labore et Constantia*, and flanked by a Hercules with club (symbolizing toil or labour) and a woman (symbolizing steadfastness), for which he had paid 150 fl. to the sculptor Artus Quellin on 12th August 1639 (and 10 fl. to Abraham Graphaeus for painting and gilding the compasses).² On 22nd November 1644 Balthasar II paid the maker 18 fl. for the removal and repair of the ‘Compasses of the *Bonte Huid* in the Market place’.³

The stone compasses still adorn the entrance of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in the Vrijdagmarkt, but from 1639 to 1644 the symbol glittered on the façade of the *Bonte Huid* in the Hoogstraat.

This can only be interpreted in one way: the room facing the *Bonte Huid* was intended by Balthasar I as a shop while the adjoining room overlooking the courtyard of the *Gulden Passer* was to be used as an office for the shop. As the *Bonte Huid* was let from at least 1641 onwards, the shop must only have comprised the rear part of the house. It stood probably beside a long, narrow passage connecting with the Hoogstraat (perhaps the old exit of the *Gulden Passer* in that direction) and it was undoubtedly above the door to that passage that Quellin's compasses were put up.

1. From 29th October 1641 (Arch. 353², pp. 6 sqq.). Balthasar III Moretus took up residence in 1675, while his mother Anna Goos went on living in the ‘big house’ (cf. Arch. 353², pp. 326, 425). Shortly after the death of Anna Goos in 1696, Balthasar III left the *Bonte Huid* for the *Gulden Passer*. When Balthasar IV's estate was divided up on 14th July 1735 the *Bonte Huid* passed to his daughter Maria Isabella Jacoba. The latter left it in her will of 2nd May 1766 to the three daughters of Joannes Jacobus Moretus, Theresia Machtildis, Anna Carolina and Catharina Maria. The three sisters sold the *Bonte Huid* on 30th August 1768 (Antwerp City Archives, Scabinale protocollen 1768, sub Van Paesschen).
2. Arch. 125, p. 370.
3. Rooses, *Catalogus*.

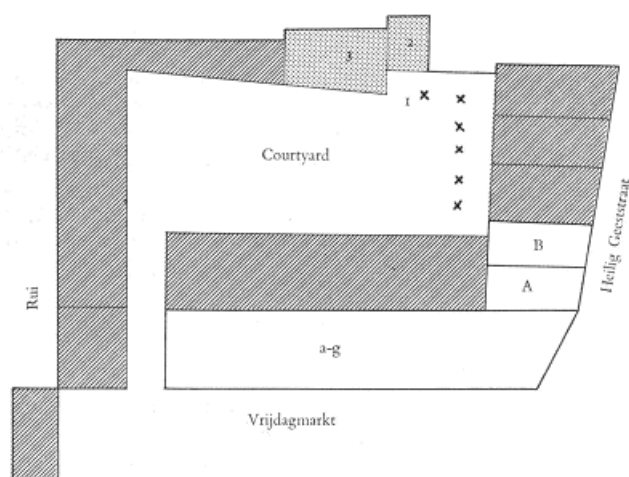
Was the removal of the compasses from the Hoogstraat to the Vrijdagmarkt in 1644 a whim of Balthasar II, or had it a deeper significance? He himself described the room overlooking the courtyard as ‘shop or office’.¹ In 1675 the room facing the Hoogstraat appears to have been living accommodation reserved for the occupier of the *Bonte Huid*.² This seems to indicate that under Balthasar II the latter room became part of the *Bonte Huid* property, while the room facing the courtyard subsequently functioned as both shop and office. The removal of the heavy and cumbersome sign of the compasses in 1644 may indicate that this revision of Balthasar I's original scheme had already taken place in that year. Architecturally, this made no difference to the appearance of the courtyard.

Balthasar I also took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the reconstruction of the shop to have the front wall of the wash-house next to the new office taken back, using the resulting extra space to build a new gallery with three arches, a first floor and an attic, ‘like that gallery which is already there’, and into which it opened out: an architectural tour de force which contributes much to the atmosphere of the present courtyard ensemble.

While these operations were going on Balthasar, in August 1637, concluded new contracts with the same builder and joiner, ‘to raise the height of the printing office level with the floor above Lipsius’:³ the south wing where the press was housed, hitherto restricted to a ground floor with attic, was now to have an upper floor (with attic) in the style of and adjacent to the upper floor of the west wing (the floor above the Lipsius room).

Balthasar II, who seventeen years before as a five-year-old boy had laid the first stone of the ‘new building’, was given the honour of repeating this duty with the second new scheme: ‘Item 2 March 1637 to my nephew Balthasar Moretus for laying the first stone: 4 fl. 16 st.’ With this item Balthasar began the entries of expenditure on ‘the new building of the *Bonte Huid* with the gallery taken from the wash-house; item raising of the

1. Arch. 108, p. 40; cf. also p. 357.
2. Inventory of Balthasar III's belongings in the *Bonte Huid*, 26th December 1675 (Arch. 723, folios 182-184): the list includes gilt leather ‘in groote camer achter tegen groot comptoir’ [in the big room at the back against the great office].
3. Original Dutch text: ‘Omme te maecken de verhooginge vande druckerije op de manniere van Lupcius [Lipsius] bovene.’



De Gulden Passer: extensions by Balthasar I Moretus, second stage (1637-39). Existing buildings shaded.

- 1: arcade of north wing extended southwards
 - 2: front wall of wash-house knocked down and moved westwards
 - 3: new room (now “the proof-readers' room”) built in back part of *De Bonte Huid*.
- (At the same time another floor was built on top of the east and south wings)
- A: *De Zilveren Passer*
 B: *De Koperen Passer*
 a-g: the seven small houses in the Vrijdagmarkt

printing office’.¹ The work was practically completed by November 1639; the last bill was paid on 30th October 1640. In total, Balthasar had spent 28,369 fl. 11 st. on this new series of alterations.²

The busts in the courtyard³

The court of the ‘big house’ had acquired the appearance that it has retained to the present day. The alterations made in subsequent years were only trimmings. The following generations of Moretuses continued the tradition started by Balthasar I, supplementing the busts of Christophe Plantin, Jan I Moretus, and Justus Lipsius with stone images of later masters of the Golden Compasses. In 1642 Balthasar II placed on the east façade a bust of his

1. Original Dutch text: ‘...nieuwen bouw van de Bonte Huyt met de galderye afgenomen van het waschhuys; item verhooginghe van de druckerye.’
2. As Balthasar made no systematic analysis of this expenditure it is harder in this instance to specify what the main items were.
3. Concerning the busts in the courtyard see Rooses, *Catalogus*.

uncle by Artus Quellin, who was paid 59 fl. 10 st. for his work on 13th May of that year. Two years later he ordered from the same artist a 'portrait of my late father' (Jan II Moretus), which was placed over the door of the present proof-readers' room. For this Quellin received on 22nd November 1644 the sum of 60 fl.

A bust of Balthasar II († 1674) was made in 1683 by Peter Verbruggen (for the sum of 300 fl.) and put above the gallery of the north wing. This bust was flanked on either side by the busts of Balthasar IV (in 1730) and Joannes Jacobus (in 1757), by artists who have remained anonymous. In the meantime Joannes de Cock in 1700 had sculpted Balthasar III's likeness on a richly ornamented escutcheon, which was allotted a place in the passage leading to the Vrijdagmarkt.¹

The 'Gulden Passer' between 1640 and 1761

Until 1761-63, when Franciscus Joannes Moretus had the front building along the Vrijdagmarkt erected, the home of the Moretus family was concentrated around the courtyard as Balthasar I had vested it. In the century which passed between 1639 and 1761 the masters of the Golden Compasses made a few minor structural alterations and renovations: the *IJzeren* and the *Houten Passer* and the *Vosken*, initially rented out,² were in the course of the second half of the seventeenth century integrated into the main premises. The house called the *Lelie* in the Vrijdagmarkt next to the unnamed small house bought by Plantin, was on 29th July 1660 acquired by Balthasar II and converted into a kitchen. Meticulous as ever, he noted that he spent 4,600 fl. on the purchase and 2,400 fl. on the conversion.³ However, the various conversions meant only the putting up, transferring or removal of a few doors and walls.

What did involve major alterations was the furnishing of the interior of the *Gulden Passer*. From 1640 till 1761 five generations followed each other in the big house and each generation had its own ideas of interior arrangement and comfort and each had its own family needs: after the bachelor Balthasar I came a number of large families, each requiring a suitable number of nurseries and bedrooms.

1. The name of the artist and the date are chiseled on the sculpture; no other details are known.
2. Arch. 353².
3. Arch. 108, p. 112.

A few rooms have kept their original purpose through the centuries and even in part their fittings and furnishings. In the part of the house that Plantin himself knew, this is the case with the press (Room 14), the *comptoir* or office (Room 10, renamed the 'small office' after the back part of the *Bonte Huid* had been made into an office) and the Justus Lipsius room (Room 11). The latter may be identified with the *vriendenkamer* (friends' room) where in 1589 books were stored.¹ In later inventories it seems to have been a kind of sitting room. The name *Lipsiuskamer* appears for the first time in the inventory of Martina Plantin's estate, 1616.² It may be regarded as a tribute to the great humanist who, after his return from Holland in 1592, frequently visited the hospitable home of his publisher and friend Jan I Moretus, and must have stayed and worked in this *vriendenkamer*.

In Balthasar I's 'new building', carried out in 1620 to 1622, the type-foundry was immediately installed in the place where it is still located, i.e. the second floor above the gallery. During the alterations of 1637-39 it was extended by a few feet.³ The three large ground-floor rooms of the east wing (Rooms 1, 2, 3) served as drawing-rooms or dining-rooms, or both, right from the start - that is to say from 1622.⁴

A number of other rooms and halls acquired their definitive function somewhat later. The history of the library, set up in its present form in about 1675, will be discussed in more detail in another connection.⁵

The varying fortunes of the shop and office at the time of Balthasar I and Balthasar II have been described above. The author feels that it may be assumed that Balthasar I housed the shop, which he had transferred from the Kammenstraat, in the rear part of the *Bonte Huid*, with the actual shop in the room facing the Hoogstraat, and the office in the room overlooking the courtyard of the Plantin House. The author also believes that the Hoogstraat room was reunited with the *Bonte Huid* probably in 1644, both shop and office being then concentrated in the room overlooking the courtyard (Room 9, the present proof-readers' room).

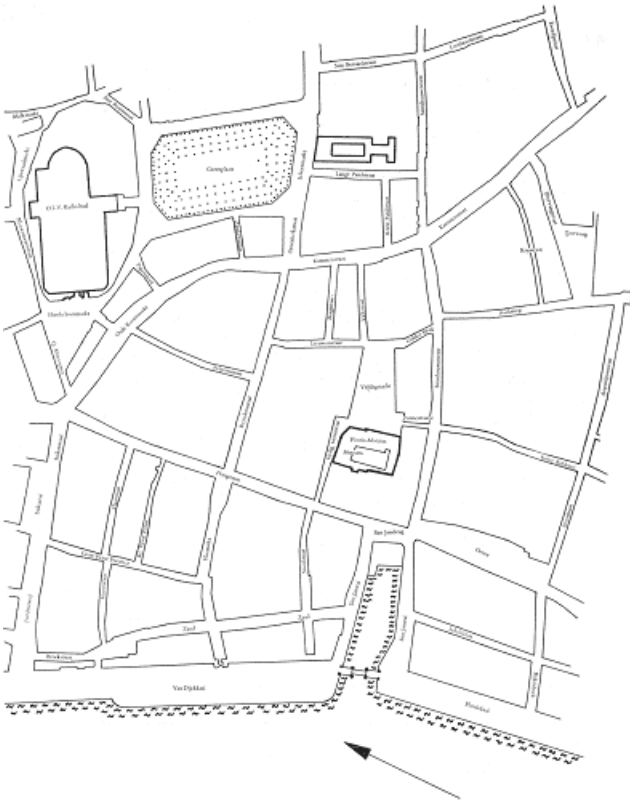
1. See p. 275.

2. Arch. 102, pp. 597-599.

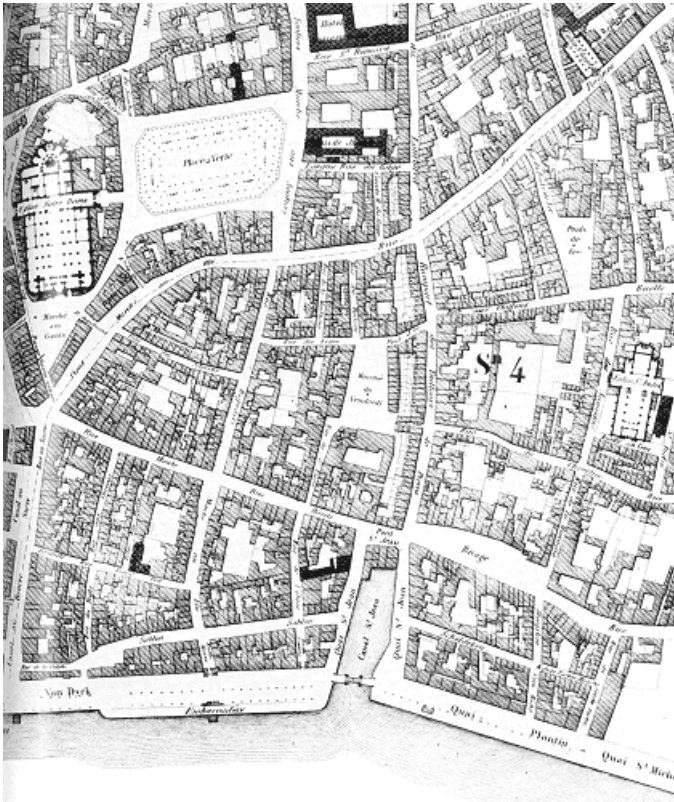
3. Arch. 125, p. 367 (17th July 1637): 'voor het leemplacken vander letterghieterskamer die vermeerderd is' [for plastering the type-founder's room which has been enlarged].

4. Cf. pp. 280-281.

5. Cf. pp. 357-361.



Simplified sketch of plate 70. Flemish names of streets reinstated.



(70) Detail from F.A. Losson's survey of Antwerp (1846) showing the Vrijdagmarkt and surrounding quarter. Street-names have been translated into (rather poor) French: see also opposite page. Apart from the removal of the houses in the centre of the Vrijdagmarkt and the razing of the fortifications along the river, the general layout of the quarter had remained virtually unchanged since Plantin's time. The top of the map is turned to the east.



Courtyard of the Plantin House, looking south. The ground floor was built in 1579 and 1580 as his printing shop; the first floor by Balthasar I Moretus 1637-39 when he had the west wing rebuilt. Over the window in the background the stone bust of Plantin, over the gateway further to the right that of Jan I Moretus. Both busts were carved in 1621 by Hans van Mildert to Balthasar I's order.

This did not end the story of the shop. The masters of the Golden Compasses, for reasons that were not specified,¹ moved it several times more. In the inventory of property (1714) left by Anna Maria de Neuf, widow of Balthasar III, the *IJzeren Passer* was indicated as the place ‘where at present the books are sold’ (Rooms 4 and 5, the present shop and its back room).²

This *IJzeren Passer* had been let by the Moretus family until 1691 at least,³ so that the installation there of the shop must have been after this date. However, the *IJzeren Passer* was not used as such for long. It abutted immediately on the *Houten Passer*, of which the ground floor, at least from 1658, was used as a stable (while the floor above served as a storage place for books).⁴ Anna Maria de Neuf's successor, Balthasar IV Moretus, found it more rational to convert the *IJzeren Passer* into a coach house adjoining the stable. The shop was on this occasion transferred to the *Vosken*, next door to the *Houten Passer*.⁵

In the inventory of 1714, the former rear building of the *Bonte Huid* (the former shop and shop with office) was described as the ‘old office’. The Moretus family seemed in 1714 to have found no separate use for this room. In any case the proof-readers were not yet housed there: the *correctorye* was at that time located in a room on the first floor, which probably corresponds with the present-day geography room (Room 23).⁶ But shortly afterwards

1. Presumably as time went by they took an increasing dislike to having the courtyard thronged with customers on their way to and from the shop, and it was no doubt chiefly for this reason that they moved the shop to a room directly accessible from the street - as was the case with the houses in the Heilig Geeststraat.
2. Arch. 720, folio 56.
3. Arch. 353², *passim*.
4. Inventory of Balthasar II, 1658 (Arch. 108, p. 37): ‘Een huys ghenaeamt den Houten Passer... teghenwoordigh beneden ghebruyckt wordende tot de stallinghe van Balthasar Moretus; ende boven tot boecken ende defecten te stellen’ [a house called the *Houten Passer*... the ground floor being presently used by Balthasar Moretus as a stable, and the upstairs for storing books in sheets and incomplete books].
5. Balthasar IV's will, 5th January 1725: ‘... daer inne oock begrepen het huys genaemt den Yseren Passer... daer alsnu de remise gemaectt is... Item het huys met den stalle daer neffens mitsgaders alnoch de huysinge daer neffens daer nu den winckel is ende daer toe door den Heere Testateur geappropriert’ [in which (i.e. the *Gulden Passer*) is included the house called the *IJzeren Passer*... where the coach-house has now been made... Item the house with the stable next to it, together with the house next to it where the shop now is and which was appropriated by the Testator for this purpose (i.e. the *Vosken*)] (Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, p. 48).
6. Cf. p. 292.

the ‘old office’ was set up in the spacious and quiet proof-reader's room of today, with its impressive work table, probably brought over from the old *correctorie*. These are the most important rooms which have kept their working or domestic character through the years and have been largely preserved in their original state: the most peaceful and beautiful, and historically and culturally the most interesting in the Museum.

The kitchen (Room 8) can be included with these rooms. It was used as a wash-house most of the time. It existed in Plantin's time, but it will be recalled that Balthasar I had reduced its size by moving the front wall back to make room for his new gallery.

The Moretus family also had a private chapel. In 1655 Balthasar II asked the church authorities for permission to install a *sacellum domesticum* in his house and to allow mass to be celebrated there every day for his family, servants, and workpeople.¹ Such a favour was not granted lightly and Balthasar stated the reasons for his request in detail: the possibility of detecting and correcting religious half-heartedness and indifference among his numerous staff more effectively; the good example such a chapel would give, not only to the citizens of Antwerp but also to the many eminent foreign visitors to the Scheldt port and the Plantin house (and with justifiable pride he listed the royal personages who had already crossed the threshold of the *Gulden Passer*). The church authorities must have been convinced by this argument, for the inventory of the estate of Anna Goos in 1691 shows a richly appointed chapel which must have been located somewhere on the first floor.² In the inventory of the estate of Anna Maria de Neuf (1714), there is no mention of this chapel. It was later re-established in the ‘big library’ where the altar still stood in 1876.³ This altar was removed with the setting up of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, but the altar painting can still be seen in its old place.

The function of most of the other rooms in the Plantin house cannot always be determined with any certainty, and their uses must often have

1. Arch. 104, pp. 493-495.

2. Arch. 719, folio 12.

3. This probably took place in or around 1757: *Christ on the Cross* by P. Thijs (1624/6-1677/9) was bought in this year, and in 1876 it appeared that this canvas had been serving as an altarpiece.

been altered from generation to generation. In the various inventories of the estates of the masters of the *Gulden Passer* and their widows, a wealth of greater and smaller rooms comes to light only to disappear in name at least from later lists, making way for others, which in their turn are overlooked or rechristened in subsequent inventories. Nurseries come and go, man-servants' and maids' rooms move up or down a floor, and bedrooms fluctuate with the size of the family. The location of most of them cannot even be guessed at. Only the 1714 inventory¹ is something of an exception in that nearly all the rooms for domestic use are noted, and the clerk who listed the items worked through them systematically, one by one. This enables a reconstruction to be made of the residence of a rich family at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Like the present-day visitor the clerk entered first of all the drawing-rooms on the ground floor of the east wing. But whereas the visitor nowadays arrives at these rooms via the staircase, in the eighteenth-century front extension, the clerk could step directly into the first room from the courtyard, through the big door, dominated by the bust of Anna Maria's husband, Balthasar III. This door was later bricked in, probably in 1761-63.

The clerk dutifully noted all that was 'first downstairs in the little marble room' (Room I), and then in the 'first big room next to the above' (Room.2) and in the 'second big room next to that' (Room 3) - three luxurious salons.

He then left the east wing to enter via the gallery the office (Room 9, the present proof-readers' room) and to go on his way on the ground floor of the west wing through the 'little office' (Room 10, the office), the 'Lipsius room' (Room 11) and the 'little room next to the Lipsius room' (Room 12); the last two were furnished as sitting-rooms.

Leaving the press on his left, he retraced his steps across the courtyard to enter the wash-house (the present-day kitchen: Room 8).

The route that he took after that is occasionally somewhat more difficult to follow. He came 'under the gateway' (the present entrance) and looked first into the 'manservants' room on the street' (probably the present office to the left in the entrance, i.e. the old 'downstairs room' of Plantin's day) and after that in the 'little parlour' that must have been situated in the small

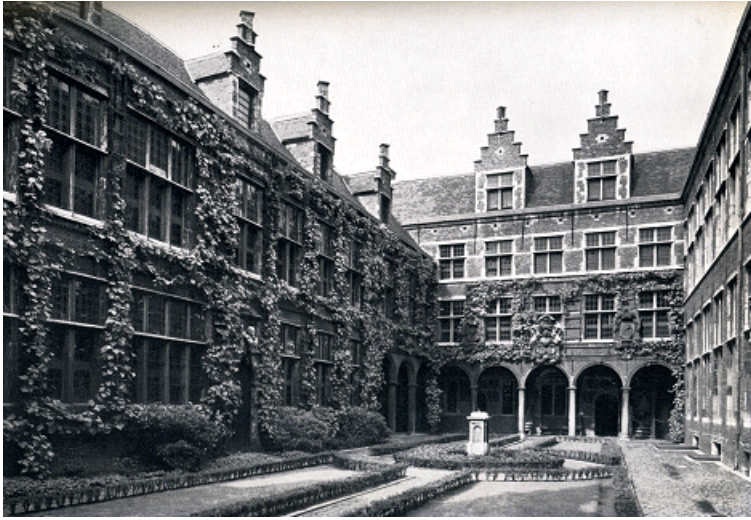
1. Arch. 720.

house next to the main gateway (converted in 1761-63 into a staircase and hall).

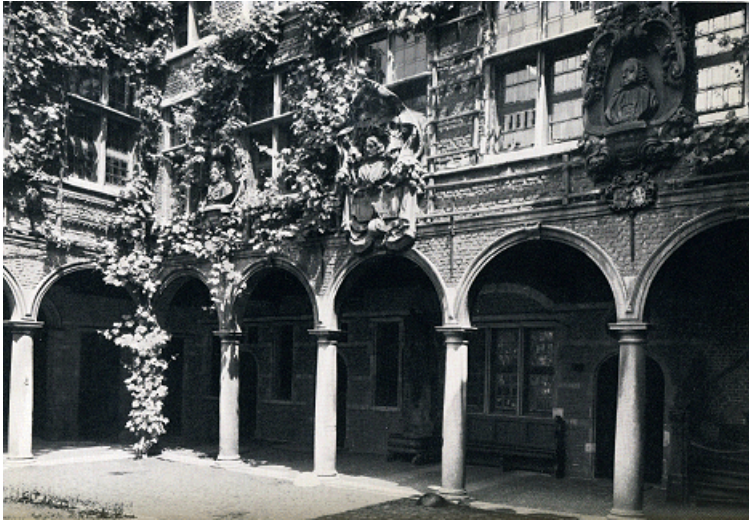
After that he ascended the stairs which led from the gateway to the first floor, walked through the 'little glass office on the street' (i.e. the first floor of the small house next to the gate, now integrated into the staircase and hall of 1761-63), the 'little room in front of the aforesaid office', where there was a butler's pantry (the present curator's office?) and the maids' room (on the first floor of the *Lelie*, i.e. of the small house next door but one to the main gate, the ground floor of which served as a kitchen and may also have been completely rebuilt in 1761-63). There the clerk finished his task for that day. When he continued the inventory the following morning, he omitted in error the '(bed) room above the gate' (Room 15, the first Plantin room) - he made good his fit of absent-mindedness the next day - and began with the 'corner room', the 'green room', and the 'red room'. These were bedrooms, which probably between them occupied the space taken up by the present Rooms 16 and 17 (the second Plantin room and the small library). The following 'sorting room' (Room 18, the Moretus room) could be quickly crossed: it was in fact a working space, an adjunct of the press room (with which it was connected by the existing staircase), where there were only a few personal possessions of the deceased lady. The 'alcove room', yet another bedroom, can be identified with the present-day Rubens room (Room 19). From there the tour continued through a new bedroom (the purple room), a kind of sitting-room ('the little room next to the purple room') and a corridor: three rooms which now form the long narrow Room 20 (the Antwerp printers' room).

After this followed the 'bedroom of Father Moretus' (Room 21, a drawing room), the 'stone room' (Room 22, also a bedroom, and now the records room) and the *correctorye*, which must have been in what is now the geography room (Room 23).

Through this proof-reading room the clerk entered the 'first room of the library' (the big library, Room 31), from there into the 'second room of the library' (the second library, Room 32) and the 'third room of the library', which was also intended for less intellectual pleasures, since the clerk noted down here a billiard table with all appurtenances (Room 33, the Max Horn room).



(72) *Opposite:* Courtyard of the Plantin House, looking north. In the centre is the north wing with arcade, on the right the east wing, on the left the west wing. East and north wings were built in 1620-22 by Balthasar I; the part of the west wing adjacent to the north wing (up to the door with the bust) was built in 1637-39. At the same time the 'remaining part of the west wing' (extreme left on photograph), dating back to Plantin's days, was raised by one floor. On the east wall (barely visible on photograph) is a bust of Balthasar I, on the west wall one of Jan II. Both are the work of Artus Quellin (1642 and 1644), commissioned by Balthasar II.



(73) *Opposite*: Courtyard of the Plantin House: north-west corner with arcade. In the centre is the stone bust of Balthasar II (by Peter Verbruggen, 1683); the one on the left represents Balthasar IV (1730), and that on the right Joannes Jacobus (1757).

With this the tour of the first floor came to an end. The clerk descended to the ground floor where he went to compile the inventory of the kitchen (on the ground floor of the *Lelie*, facing the Vrijdagmarkt). After that he went upstairs again to the tangle of attics, finally completing his task in the equally complex jumble of cellars.

In that year 1714 the working space in the Plantin house consisted thus of a press with a sorting room, a typefoundry, a proof-readers' room, a bookshop, three offices and a 'little glass office' that was perhaps a private workroom, while the rooms and halls on the first floor along the Heilig Geeststraat were probably for the most part used as storage places for paper and books. From other sources it is known that the little house over the canal, then served as a type room, i.e. as a depository for the stocks of lead type and for woodblocks and copperplates. The remainder was intended as living accommodation for the Moretus family or for their personal servants: four drawing-rooms, three sitting-rooms, eight bedrooms, three libraries, one maidservants' room, one manservants' room, one kitchen, one wash-house, one butler's pantry, and one stable.

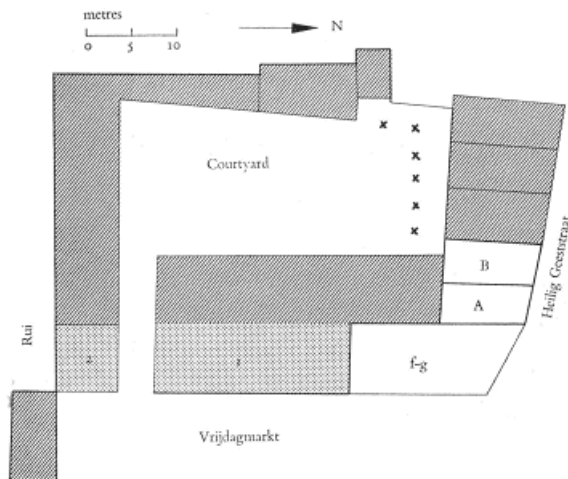
The building of the new front (1761-63)

This living accommodation was filled with a superabundance of pictures, furniture, and luxurious *objets d'art*, which will be described in a later section. The last great phase of building in the history of the *Gulden Passer* must now be considered.

This last important metamorphosis took place in 1761-63¹ and was the work of Franciscus Joannes Moretus. The motives which inspired him to this reconstruction were not recorded for posterity but nevertheless can easily be guessed. The *Gulden Passer*, grouped around the Renaissance courtyard formed a splendid and harmonious ensemble, but tastes had changed since the time of Plantin and Moretus. The rooms and halls around the courtyard were peaceful but also dark and sombre by the new standards of the eighteenth-century patricians. Franciscus Joannes did not pull down the house of his forebears, but he desired gayer, lighter, and visually more exciting quarters.

A desire to make the family wealth externally apparent was probably a

1. Bills and receipts are in Arch. 125, pp. 527 sqq.



De Gulden Passer: extensions by Franciscus Joannes Moretus (1761-63) Existing buildings shaded.

A: *De Zilveren Passer*

B: *De Koperen Passer*

f: *De Gulden Zon*

g: *Het Jagerswoud*

1: Front building raised on the site of die small houses a-e (cf. p. 268)

2: New façade to form one whole with the new-built front building

determining factor in the drawing up of his plans. The big house still formed an inward-looking island built around the central courtyard and only connected to the *Vrijdagmarkt* by the main gate. Only Quellin's carving of the compasses informed the outside world that behind that gate one of the most opulent residences in Antwerp was hidden. But a closer look at this show-place entailed passing through the gate and that was a favour which was granted only to a chosen few. Franciscus Joannes wanted the family house to be a sight worth seeing from the street as well.

Between the Golden Compasses and the *Vrijdagmarkt* were the seven houses which had been the property of Martin Lopez. Two of these - the house next to the gate and the adjacent *Lelie* - were in the course of the years acquired by the Moretus family and added to the big house. Franciscus Joannes also bought the three houses next to them: the *Zwaantje*

(Little Swan), the *Gulden Tralie* (Golden Lattice), and the *Gulden Kalf* (Golden Calf).¹ He had these five houses, the gate, and the part of his main premises to the left of the gate pulled down, and built a majestic front on the foundations, in the fashionable Louis XV style. This front was only one room deep and abutted directly onto the Renaissance buildings around the courtyard. In this new structure with its large, wide windows letting in light and sun, the living accommodation of the family was to be concentrated.

This was the Franciscus Joannes plan, the execution of which he entrusted to the Antwerp architect Engelbert Baets, nephew and collaborator of J.P. van Bourscheit, one of the most important architects of the Southern Netherlands in the eighteenth century. On 1st April 1760 the architect began to draw up plans for the new building. He spent twenty-three days on this and presented a bill of 120 fl. 15 st., a rate of 5 fl. 5 st. a day.

Some of the numerous projects which Engelbert Baets made for submission to his patron are still preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum² with one exception: the plan finally chosen by Franciscus Joannes became so well-thumbed and dog-eared during the work that it was finally discarded.

Baets also designed the decoration for the dining-room and the big staircase. He began this on 19th March 1762 and 14½ working days were included in the bill for a total sum of 76 fl. 2½ st. In August 1763 he received another 5 fl. 12 st. for having advised on the mantel, the staircase, and the alcove room.

Between 1st April 1760 and August 1763 the new structure rose in all its splendour. The necessary blue stone had been brought from Wallonia via Brussels, the 'white stone' (actually a beautiful yellow) of which the front façade was built came from the quarries of the Grimbergen Abbey at Heembeek (now called Neder-over-Heembeek).

In 1764 Franciscus Joannes was able to add a finishing touch to his fine new façade. The shack, probably of wood, which accommodated the *amman*, the official who supervised trade on the market square, spoilt the view of the building. On 14th February 1764 Franciscus Joannes obtained

1. The *Zwaantje* and the *Gulden Tralie* on 20th March 1760, the *Gulden Kalf* on 23rd May 1761: Antwerp City Archives, PK 2292 (F. Ketgen Ward Records).
2. Arch. 1441.

permission from the town magistrates to pull down this unsightly obstacle. In exchange a part of the *Gulden Kalf* was set aside for the *amman*.¹

It has not been possible to discover who it was who carved the panelling to Baets's designs in the dining-room, and the elegant lower end of the monumental staircase, but it was the sculptor Ansian who between 10th May and 27th October 1762 built the beautiful brown marble fireplace in the dining-room and sent in a bill for 448 fl.

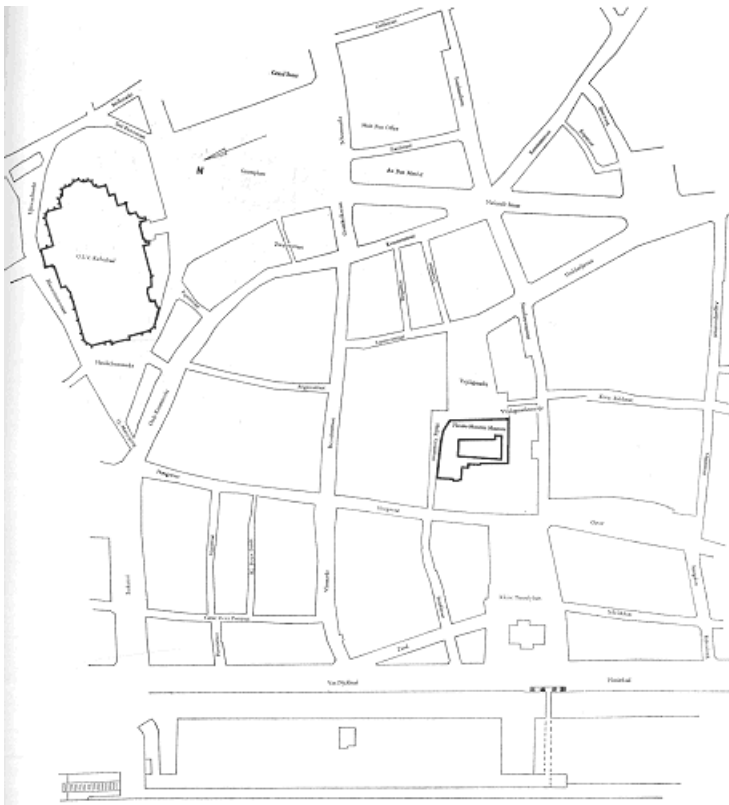
Theodoor de Bruyn, a painter of Dutch origin living in Antwerp, was responsible for the further decoration of the dining-room: for the five big scenes on canvas which completely covered the walls he received 1,000 fl., with a supplementary 67 fl. 2 st. for the ultramarine used in the paint (23rd December 1763). With the painting of a coat-of-arms and a bas-relief in grisaille over the door and another coat-of-arms over the staircase his bill amounted to a total of 1,325 fl. 2 st. (2nd March and 24th March 1764).

Theodoor de Bruyn was not a gifted artist. His *Country Pleasures* did not represent a pinnacle in the Antwerp art of that time. But the total effect of his murals in their carved woodwork surroundings, set off by the brown marble mantel, made the dining-room which Franciscus Joannes began to use in the beginning of 1764 a very harmonious interior, typical of late eighteenth-century concepts of decoration.

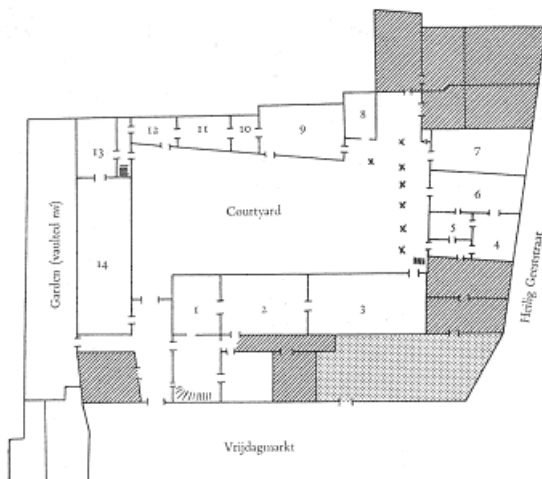
Apart from the dining-room, Franciscus Joannes also had an up-to-date kitchen (next to the dining-room) and a drawing and sitting-room next to the entrance gate (Plantin's old downstairs room, the present office to the left in the entrance) as well as four spacious rooms on the upper floor. The drawing-rooms on the ground floor in the east wing around the courtyard (Rooms 1, 2, 3), directly abutting onto the new front, were joined on to this and the small Flemish Renaissance windows in these rooms were replaced with big eighteenth-century ones.

The Moretus family withdrew into this living accommodation - in the new front of the building, rising above the Vrijdagmarkt and in the renovated east wing next to the courtyard. The completion of die new front almost coincided with the end of the *Officina Plantiniana* as a large-scale firm.

1. Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, p. 55. Cf. also Antwerp City Archives, PK 2292 (F. Ketgen Ward Records, under *Gulden Kalf*).



Present-day situation. Whereas the rectangle within Kammenstraat, Reyndersstraat, Hoogstraat, and Steenhouwersvest remained virtually unaltered since the 1850s, and, for that matter, since Plantin's day, the neighbourhood underwent several radical changes. The Nationale straat was constructed as a thoroughfare from the Groenplaats southwards, splitting the Kammenstraat into two unequal parts. The Gulden Brug was rebuilt and renamed Drukkerijstraat; the quays along the Scheldt were straightened; and the Sint Jansrui was rilled up, thus forming a small square, now called St. Jansvliet (formerly Kleine Tunnelplaats).



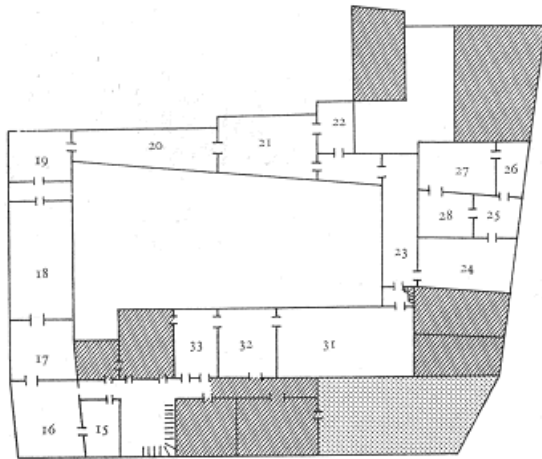
Plan of the Plantin-Moretus Museum: ground floor. Numbers refer to present-day room numbers. Grey: Municipal Gallery of Prints; shaded: not open to the public.

Around the courtyard it became peaceful and calm; the former living-rooms were converted into store-places for all manner of things. There was just a little activity in the workrooms; but press, type-foundry, proof-readers' room and office were practically abandoned from the first years of the nineteenth century onwards. Nevertheless they were maintained with devoted care and preserved for future generations.

The Plantin house becomes a museum¹

In 1876 the Plantin house was handed over to the City of Antwerp to be made into a museum. In August 1877 it was thrown open to the public. The transformation from private residence and factory into public museum

1. Cf. the information given by Rooses in the various editions of his *Catalogus*.



Plan of the Plantin-Moretus Museum: first floor. Numbers refer to present-day room numbers. On the second floor two more rooms are to be found: 29 over 28 and 30 over 23.

did not entail any extensive architectural alterations for the Golden Compasses: the windows in the east façade on the inner courtyard, modernized by Franciscus Joannes Moretus, were replaced by Renaissance windows; here and there a passage was made to allow visitors to circulate more easily, and that was about all.

The *Houten* and *IJzeren Passer* had long been integrated with the Golden Compasses and were automatically included in the Museum. So was the ‘little house over the canal’, which had become ‘the little house on the left of the gate’ in the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the Moretus family, with the consent of the town council, had roofed over the canal running beside their house. The old ‘type-room’ was turned into a home for the museum porter.

After a period of use as a salesroom, the *Vosken* had resumed its independent existence. The house next door, in the Heilig Geeststraat, had also

passed into the possession of die Moretus family. After centuries of separation, the *Koperen* and *Zilveren Passer* were bought back by the family in 1798 and 1819 respectively. In 1803 J.P.J. Moretus bought the last two of the seven houses - the *Zon* (Sun) and the *Jagerswoud* (Hunter's Forest) - in the Vrijdagmarkt, and in 1812 he had them pulled down and combined into one big house on the corner of the Vrijdagmarkt and the Heilig Geeststraat.¹

All these houses, with the Golden Compasses, were handed over to the City of Antwerp in 1876. Only the *Vosken* was to be assimilated into the Museum proper, and was set up in 1903 as an exhibition room (Room 7). In the adjacent house in the Heilig Geeststraat, the rooms along the street were reserved for the use of the Museum administration; in 1903 a building was put up in the back courtyard, where two new museum rooms were arranged, but these have now also been taken over as museum offices and are closed to the public.

From 1907 to 1935 the *Zilveren* and *Koperen Passer* housed the Folklore Museum of the City of Antwerp, until they too were taken over as administrative accommodation for the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

Finally, in 1936, the corner house in the Vrijdagmarkt was demolished and a new building erected and equipped as a print gallery. This museum dedicated to graphic art has in fact developed organically from the Plantin-Moretus Museum collections and is an extension of them.

1. Rooses, *Catalogus*.

*75



(74) *Opposite*: Front of the Plantin House. It was built in 1761-63 to the designs of the Antwerp architect Eugelbert Baets. Originally the façade was plastered.



(75) *Opposite*: Entrance to the Plantin-Moretus Museum. Over the door are the printer's mark with compasses and motto *Labore et Constantia*. The bearers are Hercules (Labor) and a woman (Constantia). The sculpture is the work of Artus Quellin (1640).

Chapter 10

*The Patrician Residence*¹

The ‘great house’ has been seen expanding from a rather modest home concentrated round simple workrooms into one of the architectural wonders of Antwerp. From the inventories of the family possessions and particularly from those taken on their deaths, the masters of the Golden Compasses can be seen turning their premises into a luxurious residence and filling it with art treasures, stage by stage, as they expanded the building itself.

Each generation contributed something, but on the other hand, on the death of every master or master's widow the interior furnishings and collections were divided and dispersed again among the heirs: a rhythmic alternation of gathering and scattering so that of the treasures which filled the Plantin House in days gone by only a fraction remains. Yet considering the many generations of the Moretus family and the impressive number of heirs in every generation, the most surprising thing is that so much has been preserved in the house in the Vrijdagmarkt.

Comfort and external luxury seem to have meant little to Plantin. By the time of the master printer's death his house may possibly have contained a few more furnishings and *objets d'art* than were listed in the modest inventory of the auction of 1562,² but even in later years the printer had little money to spare for embellishing the domestic life of himself and his family.

1. There is as yet no general study of the art treasures gathered by the Moretuses or of the Plantin-Moretus Museum collections. Rooses's catalogues - and the Sabbe revisions of these - contain interesting and useful information (cf. p. 259, note 1).
2. See p. 43.

Only one simple work of art in the Plantin-Moretus Museum was probably acquired by the founder of the house. This is his portrait, by an anonymous sixteenth-century master, but even this painting may have been commissioned and paid for by one of his sons-in-law. In any case, the piece is not included in the inventory taken on the death of Jeanne Rivière, in 1596.¹ This inventory simply lists some everyday household effects and useful articles, together with some silver and gold ornaments, including a massive gold medal portraying the Prince of Orange and a little medal bearing the head of a King Henry of France - but none with a portrait of Philip II! The total value amounted to a mere 2,718 fl. 8¾ st.²

Nor do Jan I Moretus and Martina Plantin seem to have indulged in many personal expenses. The total value of the movable property left by the widow of Jan I Moretus in 1616 was assessed at 7,165 fl. 19½ st. The lion's share of this property, amounting to 3,213 fl. 14 st., was acquired by Balthasar I (partly as his rightful share and partly by purchase from the other heirs). Only a list of these possessions remains.³ They included a gilded head of Justus Lipsius (worth 93 fl. 9 st.), a gold chain and medal with the head of Archduke Albert (245 fl.), and a few pictures, none of great value.⁴

With Balthasar I a new, more artistically aware generation began. The crippled son of Jan I Moretus turned the humble Plantin home into an architectural jewel. He was also the first of the family to acquire other than soberly utilitarian furniture and to adorn the walls of his house with other than second or third-rate paintings. It is not possible to trace these activities of the humanist, art-loving Balthasar in detail. A thorough combing of his correspondence and accounts might still conceivably bring interesting particulars to light, but for the present all that is available is some information about his purchases of paintings (especially from his childhood friend Rubens) and his orders to Hans van Mildert and Pauwel Diricx for the decoration of his 'new building'. These orders have already been mentioned above;⁵ the relationship with Rubens will be discussed in more detail below.⁶

1. Arch. 99, pp. 703-754.

2. See p. 168, concerning Jeanne Rivière's estate.

3. Arch. 102, pp. 597-599.

4. See p. 325 for these paintings.

5. That is to say for the period 1620-1622 (see pp. 280-281). For the wood carvings executed by Pauwel Diricx in the years 1637-1639, see p. 314.

6. See pp. 317-318, 323-324.

Balthasar II was his unmarried uncle's heir. It was one of the delights of this Moretus to draw up inventories (and wills). Among the inventories he left is one of all he possessed on 31st December 1658 (and a second, with a few amendments, of 31st December 1662),¹ in which with the meticulousness of a notary he listed everything, down to the merest trifle, with the estimated value beside it. Setting out as it does the possessions of a distinguished mid-seventeenth-century gentleman, this is a unique document, and one which deserves to be published and studied.

In 1658 Balthasar II valued the 'great house' at 40,000 fl., the printing-press (that is, the equipment of the printing house, including the stocks of lead type, woodblocks and copperplates) at 24,000 fl., his personal library at 10,000 fl., his jewels at 6,039 fl. 11 st., his gold and silver at 6,519 fl. 18 st. and the total of his remaining movables at 17,861 fl.

This remainder includes an impressive quantity of linen (totalling 5,324 fl. 2 st. in value), pewter (624 fl. 8 st.), copper (289 fl.), ironmongery (102 fl.), a reasonable number of beds and pillows (594 fl.; including a pair of 'beds for ten [persons] with their bolsters' and also a pair 'with bolsters for nine [persons]'),² an item headed 'woodwork', which covers bedsteads, tables, benches, dressers, sideboards, screens, etc. (800 fl.), supplemented by a separate item for chairs (480 fl.) and for chests (50 fl., including a 'bride's coffer' for 12 fl.); also blankets (149 fl.), cushions (70 fl.), tablecloths (338 fl.), and 'all the clothes, both for the body of my wife and for mine own body, I estimate in all the value of 1,200 fl.'

These were articles which, apart from their number and fine quality, were among the customary furnishings of the middle class dwelling of those days. A further series of items is more luxurious: fine porcelain (542 fl. 10 st.), more than no paintings (4,080 fl.), a long list of gilt leather and tapestries (1,130 fl.) and hangings (723 fl.). There was not a room that does not seem to have been hung with costly embossed leather and tapestries or scarcely less expensive materials - even the servants' rooms.³

1. Both included in the same register: Arch. 108.

2. Original Dutch text: '... bedde van thienen met den hooft-peulinck... bedde met hooft-peulinck van neghen'.

3. Arch. 108, p. 46 (1658 inventory): 'Reghister vande goude leyren ende tapyten. Het goude leyr hanghende inde groote camer, de groote blom blaeuw, 400 fl.; het goude leyr boven op de groote camer swart en goudt, 200 fl.; de tapyten op de nieuwe camer ghestimeert op 200 fl.; het goude leyr inde eetkamer, de groote blom blaeuw Spaensch, 120 fl.; het goude leyr op arise slaepkamer boven, blauw, 60 fl.; het goude leyr op het maeghdecamerken, goudt op goudt, 50 fl.; het goude leyr in Lipsius earner goudt en groen, 50 fl.; het goude leyr liggende op den solder, 50 fl.' [Register of the gilt leather and tapestries. The gilt leather hanging in the big room, the large blue flower, 400 fl.; the gilt leather in the big room upstairs, black and gold, 200 fl.; the tapestries in the new room estimated at 200 fl.; the gilt leather in the dining-room, the large Spanish blue flower, 120 fl.; the gilt leather in our bedroom upstairs, blue, 60 fl.; the gilt leather in the maid's room, gold on gold, 50 fl.; the gilt leather in the Lipsius room, gold and green, 50 fl.; the gilt leather lying in the attic, 50 fl.] - a total of 1,130 fl. - Arch. 108, p. 53 (1658 inventory): 'Behanghsels 1 root cramoisyne damaste behanghsel met een damaste sargie ende wieghdcleet ende vier damaste bollen, 500 fl.; 1 root lakene behanghsel met eene lakene sargie, 200 fl.; 1 groen kemelshaere behanghsel op de tapyte earner, 40 fl.; 1 groen heerensaeyen behanghsel op onse slaepkamer, 30 fl.; 1 gheel Akensche saeye behanghsel op het maeghdecamerken, 20 fl.; 2 pavilloenen op de knechtscamer, 15 fl.; 2 pavilloenen op de bovenkindercamer; 1 ghestrept behanghsel op de knechtscamer, 6 fl.' [Hangings 1 crimson-red damask hanging with a damask bedcover and cradle-cover and four damask tassels, 500 fl.; 1 red woollen hanging with a woollen bedcover, 200 fl.; 1 green

Balthasar concludes his register of furnishings with a summary of articles for which he could think of no general heading, and which can be called 'sundries' (1,365 fl. 4 st.). The latter include, besides four plaster heads in the library (4 fl.), the 'figure of Laocoon with its table' (12 fl.), a few not too expensive mirrors, 'a guncase with three firelocks, a musket, 2 pistols, 4 rapiers and a pocket pistol' (40 fl.), etc., a number of valuable *objets d'art* and scientific instruments: a tortoise-shell escritoire with stand (300 fl.), a large mirror with tortoise-shell frame (120 fl.), a bronze crucifix (100 fl.), a clavicymbal with legs (but without the lid, which is noted separately among the paintings: 36 fl.), a 'horologe' in the Lipsius room (60 fl.), 'two globi celestis et terrestris... with their stands' (60 fl.), 'a copper sphere, two medium globes, various mathematical instruments' (in all: 100 fl.).

The splendour and pomp of the interior of the great house in those years must have been worthy of its new architectural frame. Christophe Plantin's grandson and great-grandson turned their home into a little treasure-house where they need not be ashamed to receive kings and princes. Despite the successive divisions of the estate the interior of the Plantin house continued to be splendid and impressive; anything lost to the house was

camel-hair hanging in the tapestry room, 40 fl.; 1 green rough serge hanging in our bedroom, 30 fl.; 1 yellow Aachen worsted hanging in the maid's room, 20 fl.; 2 canopies in the servants' room, 15 fl.; 2 canopies in the upstairs children's room; 1 striped hanging in the servants' room, 6 fl.]- a total of 723 fl.



(76) *Opposite*: The office or *comptoir* (now Room 10), upholstered with Malines gilt leather.



(77) *Opposite:* The big drawing-room on the ground floor (now Room 2). Against one of the walls, each at one side of the fireplace, are two artistic cabinets (cf. plates 81 and 82). The portraits are by Rubens.

immediately replaced by the new owners with equally or even more beautiful pieces. It will not be attempted here to follow their comings and goings. Several inventories and allocations of property have in any case been lost. Others are not always very detailed or exact.¹ An exception deserves to be made of the house inventory on the decease of Anna Maria de Neuf, widow of Balthasar III Moretus, in 1714.²

Balthasar II left a systematic, priced inventory of all that his house contained. The inventory of 1714 gives no values and is not systematic, but in it room after room is conjured up and a picture is presented of the whole as it then was.

This, for instance, is how the three big reception rooms on the ground floor in the east wing looked in 1714 (Rooms 1, 2 and 3):³ ‘*First downstairs in the little marble room (Room 1): first twelve black Spanish leather double chairs; item the gilt leathers with black ground; a mirror with gilt frame;*

1. Apart from the inventories of Balthasar II quoted above and the one given in note 2 the most important of these are: the inventory of the estate of Anna Goos, Balthasar III's widow, 1691 (Arch. 719; it should be supplemented by reference to particulars of the distribution of the estate in Arch. 724, nos. 143 sqq.) and that of Joannes Jacobus Moretus, 1757 (Arch. 486).
2. Arch. 720.
3. Original Dutch text: ‘*Eerst beneden inde cleyne marmere caemer: eerst twelf swarte Spaensche leire dobbel stoelen; item de goude leiren swarten grondt; eenen spiegel met vergulden leyste; eene ingeleyde taefel; twee witte venstergordijnen; item een schilderye schouwstuk wesende Kersnacht van Gerardus Segers; item eenen schouwdoeck. Inde eerste groote caemer neffens de voergaende: eerst de goude leiren witten grondt; een schribaen met silver beslaeghen; twee porceleyne teylen; eenen cop van peirle-moeye in silver verguldt; acht groen fluweele dobbele stoelen ende twelf ghelycke fluweele enkele stoelen; vijf witte gordijnen voor de vensters; eene groene syde gordyne voor de deure; een schouwcleet; eene ysere plaete met copere ringen inde schouw met tange ende schup; eenen schouwdoeck; eene schilderye schouwstuk wesende de Offerhande vande Dry Coninghen van Rubbens geschildert; een Teurckx tapyt; eene ingeleyde taeffel van schiltpadde; eenen spieghel met schiltpadden leyste. In de tweede groote caemer neffens de voergaende: eerst sess en dertigh pourtraitten waer aff eenige syn vande familie ende de andere vande fameuste auteurs hangende boven de tapyten; item de tapyten verbeeldende landschappen met figueren, bestaende in thien stucken soo groote als cleyne; item een schribaen met silvere plaeten; item twelf roode fluweele stoelen ende twelf roode fluweele dobbele stoelen van spaens houdt; twee groote spiegels met schiltpadde leysten; twee ingeleyde schiltpadde taefels; item geschilderde blaffeturen; item seyde gordynen voor de vensters; item eene schilderye schouwstuk van Boeyermans geschildert; eenen schouwdoeck; item thien silvere armen; item eene silvere gedreven fruytschotel; eene straede van roode stoffe vande lenghde van de caemer; een gebronseerde buste onder de schouw.’*

an inlaid table; two white window curtains; item an overmantel painting depicting Christmas Night by Gerard Zegers; item an overmantel canvas. *In the first big room next to the above* (Room 2): first the gilt leathers with white ground; an escritoire with silver fittings; two porcelain plates; a mother-of-pearl bowl in silver gilt; eight green velvet double chairs and twelve single chairs of the same [green] velvet; five white curtains at the windows; a green silk curtain at the door; a hearthrug; an iron grate with copper rings in the hearth with tongs and shovel; an overmantel canvas; an overmantel painting depicting the Gifts of the Three Kings, painted by Rubens; a Turkish carpet; an inlaid table of tortoise-shell; a mirror with tortoise-shell frame. *In the second big room next to that* (Room 3): first thirty-six portraits, of which some are of the family and others of famous authors, hanging over the tapestries; item the tapestries depicting landscapes with figures, consisting of ten pieces both large and small; item an escritoire with silver plates; item twelve red velvet chairs and twelve red velvet double chairs of Spanish wood; two large mirrors with tortoise-shell frames; two inlaid tortoise-shell tables; item painted shutters; item silk curtains at the windows; item an overmantel painting by Boeyermans; an overmantel canvas; item ten silver brackets; item a silver chased fruit dish; a piece of red cloth the length of the chamber; a bronze bust under the chimneypiece.’

This was how the Justus Lipsius room looked in 1714, or rather, this was what it contained:¹ ‘A small painting showing the Church of St. Peter of Aardenburg and filled in by Biset; an overmantel painting depicting the sacrifice of Paul and Barnabas; the portrait of Father Moretus the Minorite; item black gilded leathers with gilt ground; a wood inlaid table; a writing desk; an inlaid nutwood table; a tick-tack board; twelve black leather men's chairs; a mirror with black frame; two porcelain bowls; six white porcelain

1. Original Dutch text: ‘Eene deyne schilderye wesende de kerck van Ste Petrus van Eerdenburgh geschildert ende van Biset gestoffeert; eene schilderye schouwstuck wesende het sacrificie van Paulus ehde Bernabass; het pourtrait van pater Moretus minderbroeder; item swarte goude leiren met gouden gronde; eene houte ingheleyde taefel; een schryflaeyken; eene ingheleyde noteleyre taefel; een tictac bardt; twelf swarte leire mansstoelen; eenen spighel met swarten leyste; twee porceleyne commen; sesse witte porceleyne ciocolat commen met vergulde voeten; sesse porceleyne thé taskens met schoteltiens ende vergulde voeten; dry witte lynwaerte gordynen; seshien serpentine soo pottokens als tassen; item brandyser, schup, tange ende blaesbalck; eenen tennen come ende thée pot.’

chocolate bowls with gilt stands; six porcelain tea cups with saucers and gilt stands; three white linen curtains; sixteen little serpentine pots and cups; item fire-irons, shovel, tongs and bellows; a pewter coffee and teapot.’

This was how one of the bedrooms was equipped - the one called the ‘corner room’:¹ ‘First gilt leathers with black ground; a bedstead with grey cloth hangings with fringes, a bedspread, a flowered cotton calico, a tablecloth, a straw mattress in two parts, a bed with pillows and bedclothes, and bed valance; a hardwood table; a carved wooden dressing-table, consisting of a mirror, a square casket, two round boxes, a pair of smaller boxes, a clothes-brush, and a pair of carved candelabra; a small case covered with green velvet; an overmantel painting symbolizing the seven sins; item the portrait of the deceased lady of the house with gilt frame; a small painting portraying Christ; two small portrait miniatures of Christ and Mary in tortoise-shell frames; a tortoise-shell crucifix with palmwood Christ; a black painted softwood prie-dieu; a washstand; an iron grate with copper balls and rings; a hearth-cloth of brown silk stuff; five men's and two women's red plush chairs; item seventeen porcelain chocolate cups with seven gilt stands; item thirteen Indian potlets and coconuts; a tortoise-shell escritoire with stand; item five white curtains with the iron runners’.

What is left of all this pomp and splendour? Relatively little, if comparison is made with the inventories, but quite a lot if a tour is made of the rooms of the Plantin-Moretus Museum. Not all the works of art in the present museum were included in the transfer of 1876. Over the years the

1. Original Dutch text: ‘Eerst goude leyren swarten gronde; een ledicant met grauwlaken behanghsel met frennien, een spreye, eenen geblomden cattoenen culcke, en tafelleedt, eene stroye matras van twee stucken, een bedde met peul en beddeleedt, ende toer de licht; eene harthaute taeffel; eene gesnede houtetoilette, bestaende in eenen spieghel, eene viercantede casken, twee ronde doosen, twee gelycke cleynder dooskens, eenen cleerborstel, ende twee gelycke gesnede candelarkens; een cleyne kistien becleedt met groen fluweel; eene schildereye schoustuck verbeeldende de seven sondaeren; item het pourtrait vande jonckvrouwe aflyvige met vergulden leyste; eene cleyne schildereye verbeldende Christus; twee cleyne pourtraitten miniature verbeldende Christus ende Maria in schiltpadde leysten; een cruys van schiltpadde met eenen palmenhouten Christus; eene swart geschilderde weeckhoute knielbancke; eenen lampetvoet; eene ysere plaete met copere bollen ende ringhen; een bruyn syde stoffen schouwcleedt; vyf mans ende twee vrouwe roode trype stoelen; item seventhien porcelyne ciocolat tassen met seven vergulde voeten; item derthien Indiaense pottkens ende cocusnoten; een schiltpadden scribaen met voedt; item vyf witte gordynen met de ysere geerden.’

Museum administration has bought a number of pieces or borrowed them from other Antwerp institutions to fill the rooms: chairs, tables, chests,¹ gilt leathers,² clocks,³ lustres,⁴ ceramic tiles (set in the fireplaces),⁵ grates,⁶ paintings,⁷ etc. Admirers of the Museum have often shown their appreciation by gifts and legacies.⁸

But the most beautiful and also the most interesting pieces as far as the history of art and culture is concerned were handed over in 1876 with the great house, having formerly graced the drawing-rooms, dining-rooms and bedrooms of the Moretus family. In practically every room of the Museum a number of these silent but eloquent witnesses to the prosperity of the Antwerp printing family can be admired.

Furniture

The Plantin-Moretus Museum boasts a number of very interesting seventeenth and eighteenth-century chests and tables, but it is practically impossible to specify now which of them formerly belonged to the Moretus family and which were acquired subsequently by the Museum authorities.⁹

Only the two art cabinets (displayed in Room 2) and the tortoise-shell table (Room 1) are known for certain to have been Moretus possessions. The two art cabinets are all that remain of the countless escritaires of every shape and size which were once distributed among the rooms of the great house. They are really magnificent specimens of their type. One is covered with tortoise-shell, framed in rosewood and ebony and decorated with twenty-three Biblical themes painted on white marble; the cupboard is supported by four negroes. This is very typical Baroque work of the first half of the seventeenth century and may possibly be identified with the tortoise-shell escritoire with stand (value 300 fl.) in the 1658 inventory. The

1. See pp. 308-309

2. See pp. 311-312

3. See p. 309.

4. As far as is known all the lustres in the Museum have been acquired since 1876.

5. It has been impossible to find out whether any items in this part of the Museum collections were included in the transfer of 1876. In any case the majority were acquired and added after 1876.

6. Cf. the preceding note.

7. See pp. 316 sqq.

8. Especially paintings (cf. p. 320); also some furniture (cf. below), clocks (cf. p. 309), and sculptures (cf. p. 316).

9. The beautiful Boule cabinet in Louis-Quinze style, exhibited in Room 16, is part of the L.J.J. Somers bequest, 1895.



(78) *Opposite*: The Lipsius room (now Room 11). The room has been known by this name since the early seventeenth century as it was used by the great scholar on his visits to the Plantin house. It is upholstered with very rare Spanish gilt leather. The painting over the fireplace is called *The Four Philosophers*: it shows Lipsius, Jan Woverius and Philip Rubens, with the painter Rubens in the background. It is a contemporary copy of a painting by Rubens, the original of which is now in the Palazzo Pitto at Florence



(79) *Opposite*: The drawing-room on the first floor (now Room 21). Originally used by Balthasar I as a library. The fireplace contains wood-carving by Pauwel Diericx (c. 1640). The fine gilt leather upholstery is later (c. 1700). Against the left wall is a showcase with china and earthenware that once belonged to the Moretus family.

other art cabinet - in rosewood and inlaid with niello-work in pewter - is of somewhat later date. It was specially made for the Moretus family - witness Plantin's printer's mark on the little door inside.¹ This must be one of the two 'silver-fitted escritaires' listed in the inventory of 1714.²

The table inlaid with tortoise-shell is another fine specimen of Antwerp luxury furniture of the seventeenth century; it may be one of the three 'inlaid tortoise-shell tables' which in 1714 adorned the reception-rooms on the lower floor.

Clocks

The silver-gilt clock in the form of a clocktower which now stands on one of the cabinets was, according to Moretus family tradition, a gift from Archduke Albert and his wife Isabella; it can be identified with the 'horologe' (value 60 fl.) which in 1658 stood in the Justus Lipsius room.³

Musical Instruments

Over the years the Moretus family bought various valuable harpsichords. A 'clavicymbal with its stand' is listed at 36 fl. in the inventory of 1658; the lid, painted by Van Balen, was listed separately among the paintings and assessed at 80 fl. A 'great clavicymbal tailpiece by the old Cochet' had the place of honour in the first library in 1714. Petrus Joannes Couchet had delivered this piece in 1673 for the sum of 336 fl., and the legs separately ('of limewood, painted in tortoise manner') for 29 fl.⁴

These two harpsichords have vanished without trace, but another very unusual musical instrument took their place and has been preserved. It combines into one instrument a harpsichord and a spinet, and as such is extremely remarkable and rare (only two or three similar harpsichord-spinet

1. The intertwined initials on a panel of the outer door might be read L V O; their meaning remains obscure.
2. The two cabinets are discussed in the study of C. van Herck, 'Antwerpsche scribanen' in *Jaarboek van Antwerpen's Oudheidkundige Kring*, 9, 1933, pp. 53-83.
3. The rest of the clocks in the Museum have been acquired since 1876 or are on loan from the Antwerp Archaeological Museum (the *Vleeshuis*). The clock in Room 16 which is a companion piece to the Boule cabinet and executed in the same style is also part of the L.J.J. Somers bequest; another Louis-Quinze clock in Room 21 was bequeathed by F.H.-M. van Hal, 1897.
4. Arch. 710, Furniture, no. 3.

combinations seem to be known). An inscription gives the maker, place (Roermond), and date: 'Ioannes Iosephus Coenen, presbyter et organista cathedralis me fecit. Ruramundae A^o 1734.'¹

Globes

In 1658 Balthasar II owned 'two globi celestis et terrestris... with their stands' (valued at 60 fl.) and 'a copper sphere, two medium globes, various mathematical instruments' (100 fl. in all). These instruments were listed in the inventory of 1691, but on the death of Anna Maria de Neuf, the two smaller globes had already disappeared; after 1714 all trace is lost of the other pieces.

Later masters of the *Gulden Passer* were to make good the loss in part by the purchase of a new pair of globes, which, luckier than their predecessors, are displayed to this day in the library with their original elegantly carved stands. These celestial and terrestrial globes were made in Paris by Robert de Vaugondy fils, and bear the date 1751.

These are both interesting and rare pieces, but still more interesting for the history of cartography and voyages of discovery are the terrestrial and heavenly globes which were acquired by the Museum at the end of the previous century and now occupy a place of honour in the geography room: two rare pieces from the workshop of the Van Langeren dynasty, the most eminent spherographers and cartographers of the Southern Netherlands in the first half of the seventeenth century.²

1. There is a detailed description of the instrument in the later editions of the Rooses and Sabbe *Catalogus*.
2. The globes - which were originally kept in the City Archives - have inscriptions which indicate that Arnold-Floris van Langeren (died between 1628 and 1635?) was the maker. It has been suggested that they date from 1609 or 1620 (P. Génard, 'Les globes du géographe Arnould Florent van Langren' in *Bulletin de la Société royale de Géographie d'Anvers*, 8, 1883, p. 153), but legends on the terrestrial globe give later dates - 1622, 1627 and 1644 (cf. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*, II, p. 91, note 1). The part on which these inscriptions appear, however, seems to be of later date than the rest of the work. The celestial globe has also been retouched.

Porcelain and ceramics

Among the family possessions handed over to the City of Antwerp in 1876 there was also a small collection of porcelain and faience, now distributed among the various rooms of the Museum.¹ The collection does not offer anything very remarkable to the connoisseur, comprising only a few faience dishes and bowls, bearing the Plantin compasses or the coat-of-arms of the Moretus family.²

This porcelain and earthenware represents only a fraction of what the Moretus family owned and used at that time. The greater part was divided and distributed among the heirs, but we can assume that in the course of the years much of it was broken and carelessly thrown away. Excavations in the Museum cellars between January and April 1944 brought broken family possessions of this kind to light: sixteenth and seventeenth-century pots and bowls, pipe-bowls etc., of which the least damaged are now reverently displayed on a table in the kitchen (Room 8).

The excavation of the cellars also disclosed a quantity of tiles which were found to be fragments of the tile pictures so beloved and so characteristic of the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There were enough tiles left of two or three of these for the pictures to be reconstructed and the date and place of manufacture to be fixed. They proved to be rare Antwerp work of the late sixteenth century.³

Embossed leather

When Balthasar II's inventory of 1658 first revealed something of the home life of the masters of the Golden Compasses, the most elegant showrooms of the house were found to be hung with 'gilt leathers'.⁴ Later the Moretus family repeatedly decorated additional rooms⁵ with these costly hangings,

1. There is a manuscript catalogue in Dutch and French by C. van Herck.
2. Considered by Van Herck to be seventeenth-century Hamburg or North Netherlands' work.
3. C. van Herck, 'Een vondst van Antwerpsche tegeltableaux uit het einde der XVI^e eeuw' in *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Oudheidkundige Kring van Antwerpen*, 20-21, 1944-1950, pp. 121-127.
4. See p. 303, note 3.
5. As did Balthasar III when decorating the *Bonte Huid*. On 26th December 1675 he noted: 'In voorcamer beneden aen de straet: 189 $\frac{2}{3}$ ellen goude leir maken 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ camers ende 13 $\frac{2}{3}$ ellen leire den gront met swarte side gestroeyt: 246 fl. 15 st.... In de groote camer achter tegen het groot comptoir: 220 $\frac{1}{2}$ ellen goude leir maken 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ camers en 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ ellen leir, den gront peirel couleur en gout, eenige blommen geschildert met groen en root: 283 fl. 14 st.' [In the front downstairs room facing the street: 189 $\frac{2}{3}$ yards of gilt leather making 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ rooms and 13 $\frac{2}{3}$ yards of leather, its background strewn with black silk: 246 fl. 15 st. In the large room behind the big office: 220 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards of gilt leather making 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ rooms and 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards of leather, the background pearl-coloured and gold, with some flowers painted green and red: 283 fl. 14 st.] (Arch. 723, p. 183). In 1682 there was delivered to him 'een cammerleer van de patroen Afrique silver ende goudt, de blommen en beesten geschildert naer het leven, de grondt van swarte syde wesende' [a leather room hanging with an Africa pattern in silver and gold, the flowers and animals drawn from life, the background being of black silk]. (Arch. 710, folio 12.)

which were regarded as ‘movable’ goods and as such were regularly divided among the heirs. Of the impressive number of gilt leathers which decked the walls of the house in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, only a fraction has survived.¹ These few, however, with the leather hangings bought by the Museum authorities after 1876,² are enough to make the Plantin house one of the few museums where this wall decoration, so typical of the houses of the property-owning middle class in the Western Europe of the sixteenth, seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, is really well represented.

The leather hangings in the Lipsius room - the ‘gilt leather black and gold’ (valued at 200 fl.) which decorated the ‘great chamber above’ in 1658, but by 1691 was already hanging in the Lipsius room - constitute one of the few known examples in the world of a complete room of genuine Cordovan leather, the original ‘guadamacil’.³ The rest of the leather hangings in the Plantin house are more likely to have come from Southern Netherlands workshops (Malines, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).⁴

1. In Rooms 10 (the office), 11 (the Lipsius room), 19 (the Rubens room) and 21 (the Drawing-room).
2. In Rooms 22 (the Archives room), 23 (the Geography room), 25 (the Small Drawing-room) and 26 (the Bedroom).
3. See plate 84. Cf. H. Clouzot, *Cuir décorés*. II ‘*Cuir de Cordoue*’, [1920], plate 6.
4. On the trade in Spanish and Malines gilt leather in Antwerp in the seventeenth century, see J. Denucé, ‘Spaansch en Mechelsch gouldleder te Antwerpen in de XVII^e eeuw’ in *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 2nd series, 9, 1934, pp. 161-185.

Tapestries

Two sets of tapestries were handed over to the City of Antwerp with the great house in 1876. One is the work of a Flemish-Brabant (possibly Brussels) workshop of the sixteenth century (now in Room 1). It now consists of seven tapestries, but these were probably cut up in the past by one of the Moretus family to fit the room for which they were intended: the seven pieces can be reduced to three large and one small tapestry (probably a fragment of a larger piece which has disappeared). On the border of the dress of one of the figures is the name 'Thomyris', so it may be assumed that the tapestries were meant to depict events from the life of the legendary queen of the Massagetes, who defeated and had beheaded Cyrus, King of Persia - or from the life of Cyrus himself.

These tapestries once belonged to the Losson-van Hove family, whose coat-of-arms appears here and there on the borders of the tapestries. But to judge from the Plantin compasses, which are woven into the borders in several places, they must have been taken over during manufacture by one of the owners of the Golden Compasses. The fact that the tapestry work dates from the sixteenth century led Max Rooses to assume that this owner must have been Christophe Plantin himself.¹ The borders are, however, of a later date than the tapestries themselves. From the style, they were made in the seventeenth century, perhaps with the specific purpose of framing the central panels. So it may also have been a Moretus, probably Balthasar I or Balthasar II, who bought this set of tapestries.

The second series comprises five tapestries: landscapes with shepherds, huntsmen, sellers of game, a dancing bear, loving couples, a quack. It is Oudenarde work from the end of the seventeenth century (now in Room 6).

The archives of the Plantin house furnish little information about these acquisitions. In his inventory of 1658, Balthasar II confines himself to the summary note, 'tapestries in the new chamber: 200 fl.' The inventory on the death of Anna Maria Goos, 1691, is not much more informative. The 'tapestry chamber' (probably the same as the 'second big room' of 1714, now Room 3) is listed as being hung with tapestries depicting landscapes. The inventory of Anna Maria de Neuf, 1714, gives a few more details: the

1. Rooses, *Catalogus*.

‘second big room’ contained ‘tapestries depicting landscapes with figures, consisting of ten pieces, both large and small’.¹ This, however, poses a new problem: does this refer to the two series, the pieces of which were all hung up together? Or does it simply refer to the first set, which would mean that a number of its tapestries have disappeared without trace?

Sculpture

Mention has already been made of how Balthasar I decorated the inner courtyard he had created for the Golden Compasses (and the entrance to his new bookshop) with carvings, and how his successors continued this tradition.² It has also been noted that Plantin's grandson commissioned Pauwel Diricx to carve many ornaments for the new building in 1620-22, including a number of decorations on the beams and the elegant little lion, which still watches faithfully over the stairs below the gallery.³ For the ‘new building’ of 1637-39, Balthasar I called on this Antwerp craftsman again. The frames round the entrance door to the present proof-readers' room (Room 9) and the door leading to the Antwerp printers' room (Room 20) and the fireplace ornamentation in the corner room (Room 19) and in the salon on the first floor (Room 21)⁴ were executed by Pauwel Diricx in those years.

The front part erected in 1761-63 was also suitably adorned. In 1781 the widow of Franciscus Joannes Moretus ordered from the Antwerp sculptor Daniel Herreyns a number of wood reliefs with allegorical subjects - Architecture, Geography, Painting, Mathematics, Sculpture, Astronomy - to be set above the doors in the hall and a few rooms on the first floor.⁵

A riddle is posed by the low relief carving round the exit door of Room 6: two columns on both sides of the door together with their capitals and adjacent panels, carved with remarkable decorative motifs in the Early Flemish Renaissance style (c. 1550). According to the information provided by Max Rooses,⁶ it may be assumed that these wood carvings were already

1. Cf. the description of this drawing-room, p. 306.

2. See pp. 285-286.

3. See pp. 280-281.

4. The first of these rooms was designated by Balthasar as an office or shop; the last two were library rooms.

5. Rooses, *Catalogus*. Cf. Arch. 734, Art, no. 73.

6. Rooses, *Catalogus* (first French edition, 1881, p. 47). Cf. L. Degeorge, *La maison Plantin à Anvers*, 1886, p. 72.

framing this door in 1876-77, i.e. when the room in question was still the stable of the old Plantin house and had not yet been converted into a drawing-room. This stable was the ground floor of the *Houten Passer* (Wooden Compasses), which, before being demoted to a stable, and apart from the brief period when it served as a bookshop, had been a rented house. The carving, which may date from before the erection of the *Houten Passer* in 1579-80, may have been put there by one of the tenants and left behind or taken over by the Moretus family. In any case, it deserves careful examination by experts.

The Moretus family were very fond of bas-relief as a decorative feature, but they seem to have had less taste for sculpture as an independent form of artistic expression. The inventories of the house in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries mention a statue or statuette only occasionally. The two little ivories, seventeenth-century Flemish work, depicting St. Martin and St. George, listed on the death of J.J. Moretus, 1757, and valued by the assessors at 30 fl., are now displayed in Room 21. The few other pieces have been lost, with the exception of the busts put up in the libraries by the Moretus family in the seventeenth century¹ and still on show there; but these are plaster representations of Greek and Roman philosophers and emperors, and are of little intrinsic value or importance.

Nevertheless, the Plantin-Moretus Museum does possess a few really remarkable pieces dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and belonging to the Moretus family collections, which must have been overlooked in the inventories: the graceful terracotta Virgin of Loreto (seventeenth century), resplendent above the presses in the printing-office (Room 14); the three wood carvings representing *Virtue*, *Doctrine* and *Honour* (eighteenth century, now standing in the type room: Room 13); a series of busts in terracotta portraying masters of the Golden Compasses (models for the busts in the courtyard)² and a few less important pieces.³

More important to the history of art are the twelve Apostles and the five images of Popes, prelates, and monks, executed in limewood; with their

1. Cf. p. 361.

2. Busts of Balthasar II, Balthasar III (two different works), Balthasar IV and Joannes Jacobus: they are all exhibited in Room 18.

3. Including a terracotta bust of Brabo (Room 22).

dynamic force and powerful expression, they are splendid examples of Flemish wood sculpture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They are the lopped heads of life-size statues, still bearing on the back the staples with which they were once fastened to a pillar in some unknown church, before they were acquired by the Moretus family. But when and how this happened is still a mystery.¹ It is not impossible that this purchase or acquisition was of comparatively recent date, possibly in the Napoleonic period, after the sale of church property. This would explain why these seventeen fine statues of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not included in the older inventories - and also why they left the church (or churches) of which they must have been among the loveliest ornaments.

The nineteenth century is also represented by a few works of art from the original collection of the Moretus family: the almost life-size Apollo carved in stone in 1809 by the Brussels sculptor Guillaume Godecharle (1750-1835), placed in the great hall, and a small bas-relief in beaten leather, *Christ before Caiaphas*, signed Justin (possibly Justin Mathieu, 1796-1864).²

Paintings³

Paintings aroused the collector's passion in the Moretus family far more than sculpture. They evinced a great preference for portraits, a few of which go back to the time of Plantin and Jan I Moretus. They are all the work of anonymous masters: the portraits of Christophe Plantin;⁴ of Magdalena

1. Cf. J. Denucé, 'De twaalfapostelen van het Muzeum Plantin- Moretus' in *De Stroom*, 1, 1918, pp. 54-58.
2. Sculptures acquired by the Museum authorities since 1876 have been confined to: two wooden statuettes of the Virgin (Rooms 4 and 17); two marble busts of Leopold de Wael, Burgomaster of Antwerp (by Eugeen van der Linden) and Edward Moretus (by Robert Fabri), officially presented to the Museum by a committee on 12th August 1881 (in the Museum, entrance); the Red Lion, a seventeenth-century terracotta sign belonging to the Verdussens, the famous Antwerp printing family, presented to the Museum in 1943 by Mrs. de Puydt, one of the last descendants of the family (cf. H. Bouchery, 'De "Rode Leeuw" der Verdussens' in *De Gulden Passer*, 20, 1942, p. 297); and the bronze bust of Maurice Sabbe by Willy Kreitz, presented by a committee in 1952.
3. There is a manuscript catalogue by H. Bouchery. The important documentary information is given in Rooses's and Sabbe's *Catalogus*. On the subject of the works painted by Rubens see H. Bouchery and F. van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, 1941 (more particularly Part I, 'Petrus Paulus Rubens en Balthasar I Moretus' by H. Bouchery).
4. Probably a copy after the painting of an also anonymous master in the University Library at Leiden. The date of 1554 on the painting should be read 1584. The Leiden portrait has the right year.



(80) *Opposite*: The drawing-room in the front building. This room (now the Emile Verhaeren Salon) was fitted out in 1763. The wall paintings are the work of Theodoor de Bruyn.



(81) Baroque cabinet from the first half of the seventeenth century. It is covered with tortoise shell, framed in rosewood and ebony, and decorated with Biblical scenes painted on white marble. It is supported by four negro figures. Cf. plate 77.

Plantin and Egidius Beys; of Jacob Moerentorf and Adriana Gras, Jan I Moretus's parents; of Nicholas de Sweert and Elisabeth Janssens de Bisthoven, the parents of Jan II Moretus's wife, Maria de Sweert (refurbished by Jacob van Reesbroeck in 1659). The first five of these may be the '5 portraits of grandfathers and mothers, Margerite Moeyken', listed at 30 fl. in the inventory on the death of Martina Plantin, 1616.

In October 1620 Jan Woverius gave his friend Balthasar I Moretus a portrait of their beloved teacher, Justus Lipsius, showing the scholar at the age of 38.¹ Plantin's grandson was also to spend considerable sums on building up a gallery of portraits of members of the family, friends, and famous personalities. For most of these he commissioned no less an artist than Rubens himself. The first series, between 1613 and 1616, comprised the portraits of the founder of the house, Christophe Plantin; Balthasar's father, Jan I Moretus; his teacher, Justus Lipsius; a few great Renaissance scholars and patrons of the arts: Pope Leo X, Lorenzo de' Medici, King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, Pico della Mirandola, and King Alphonso X of Aragon.² Possibly the portraits of Pope Nicholas V and Cosimo de' Medici also belong to this series but they are not listed in Rubens's invoices.

In 1633 Balthasar I arranged through Jan Woverius to have the portraits of Cardinals Baronius and Bellarminus painted in Brussels by a painter whose name is not known. With these, as he wrote to his friend on 7th January 1623, he had enough portraits 'to decorate my little hall' (*aululae meae exornandae*).³ But a few years later, between 1630 and 1636, the printer and humanist ordered from Rubens another series of portraits: it was now the turn of the wives of Christophe Plantin and Jan I Moretus - Jeanne Rivière and Martina Plantin - who could at last be hung beside their husbands; the parents of Jan I Moretus, Jacob Moerentorf and Adriana Gras, were copied from the anonymous sixteenth-century paintings mentioned above; three other great scholars and friends of the house - Arias Montanus, Abraham Ortelius and Pierre Pantin - were also included in the gallery.

For the first series Balthasar paid Rubens 14 fl. 8 st. per painting. For the

1. Rooses, *Catalogus*.

2. Together with the portraits of Plato and Seneca, of which more later.

3. Arch. 138, folio 94. Cf. H. Bouchery and F. van den Wijngaert, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

second the painter charged 24 fl. per work. Balthasar tried to haggle for the old price but the master was not to be cajoled even by his bosom friend and Balthasar had to pay the new price demanded. For Rubens these sums are very much on the low side. His fees were usually a great deal more than the 24 fl. which Balthasar thought too high. Some Rubens experts believe that although the painter received the money, the work was in fact done by pupils.¹ This was undoubtedly the case with the portraits of the art patrons. Pope Leo X, Lorenzo de' Medici, Pico della Mirandola, King Alphonso, King Matthias Corvinus, as well as Pope Nicholas V and Cosimo de' Medici were actually painted by none too skilled pupils. But the portraits of members of Balthasar's family (Christophe Plantin, Jeanne Rivière, Jacob Moerentorf, Adriana Gras, Jan I Moretus, Martina Plantin) and of intimate family friends (Justus Lipsius, Abraham Ortelius, Arias Montanus, Pierre Pantin) reveal the hand of the master. For those paintings Rubens must have done more than simply oversee his pupils' work: even if he did not paint the whole picture, the heads were certainly the product of his genius.

With this portrait gallery Balthasar seems to have been content, but his nephew and successor carried on the tradition. Balthasar I, with the inferiority complex derived from his physical infirmity, stubbornly refused to have his portrait painted in his lifetime, even by his good friend Rubens. The first portrait made of him was commissioned by Balthasar II; it shows Plantin's grandson on his death-bed. From this painting the artist Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert made another portrait, less sinister and more in the genre idiom. For these 'twee contrefaictsels van oom saligher, een doot, een naer het leven' [two likenesses of my late Uncle, one dead, one as in life] Willeboirts received the sum of 96 fl. (11th October 1641).

Balthasar II gave the same painter other commissions. For the portrait of Father Balthasar Corderius he paid Willeboirts the sum of 50 fl. in February 1647. It was the same artist who perhaps painted portraits of Gaspar Gevartius, Erycius Puteanus, Godefridus Wendelinus.²

Willeboirts Bosschaert was not the only painter patronized by Balthasar II.

1. This view is held by H. Bouchery among others: *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.
2. This is the opinion of Max Rooses. It is, however, not impossible that these portraits were, in fact, executed by another artist, e.g. Erasmus Quellin, who also painted some other humanists' portraits for Balthasar II: see p. 319.

He had portraits made of Joannes Malderus, Bishop of Antwerp, of Jan Woverius, his uncle's bosom friend (the sum of 21 fl. was paid for both portraits together on 31st July 1650), and of Jean Jacques Chifflet and Jules Chifflet, his own close personal friends (23 fl. was paid for both portraits on 17th March 1650), by his cousin Balthasar van Meurs.

Erasmus Quellin was also approached. Apart from a grisaille of Balthasar I, after the portrait by Bosschaert, and intended as a model for an engraving, this artist supplied portraits of Balthasar's father, Jan II Moretus, and of Aubertus Miraeus (together 16 fl., paid on 10th September 1642), and - a little later - that of the Antwerp humanist-physician Ludovicus Nonnius (together with a sketch for a frontispiece, 15 fl., paid on 18th April 1647).¹

It was Jacob van Reesbroeck, however, who painted the portraits of Balthasar and his nearest family. In 1659 and 1660 Moretus paid this artist the sum of 100 fl. 10 st. for the portraits of himself, his wife Anna Goos and his mother Maria de Sweert, and 44 fl. 'for the portrait of our son Balthasar, when he went to live in Paris'.²

It was also probably thanks to Balthasar I and Balthasar II that the portrait gallery was enriched with the portraits of the Italian humanists Angelo Poliziano and Marsilio Ficino, the French polemicist Mathias de Morgues, and two Jesuit scholars from the Netherlands, Leonardus Lessius and Carolus Scribanus. The archives of the Plantin house give no information about these acquisitions, so that even the painters' names are unknown. This is also true of the author of the portrait of Balthasar II aged 23, whose indistinct monogram has been variously interpreted as that of Antoine Palamedes and that of Melchior Mierevelt.

After Balthasar II the Moretus family in general was content to have portraits made of their immediate entourage. There are a few exceptions. On 8th July 1717, 75 fl. 12 st. was paid to Jan van Helmont for the portraits of J.J. Moretus, his wife Theresia Mathilda Schilders, and Pope Clement XI. For the rest there are only family portraits. A few artists can still be identified and the prices they asked discovered in the Plantin archives: F. Tassaert asked 5 guineas per painting for the portraits of F.J. Moretus and his wife Maria Theresia Borrekens, and 2½ guineas for that of their son Ludovicus,

1. He made perhaps some other humanists' portraits for Balthasar II: cf. p. 318.

2. In 1660 Balthasar III, then aged 14, was sent to the Seigneur de Morfontaines (until 1663).

and is credited in the accounts with the sum of 142 fl. 3 st. under this heading on 29th July 1762 (the portrait of Ludovicus has not been preserved).

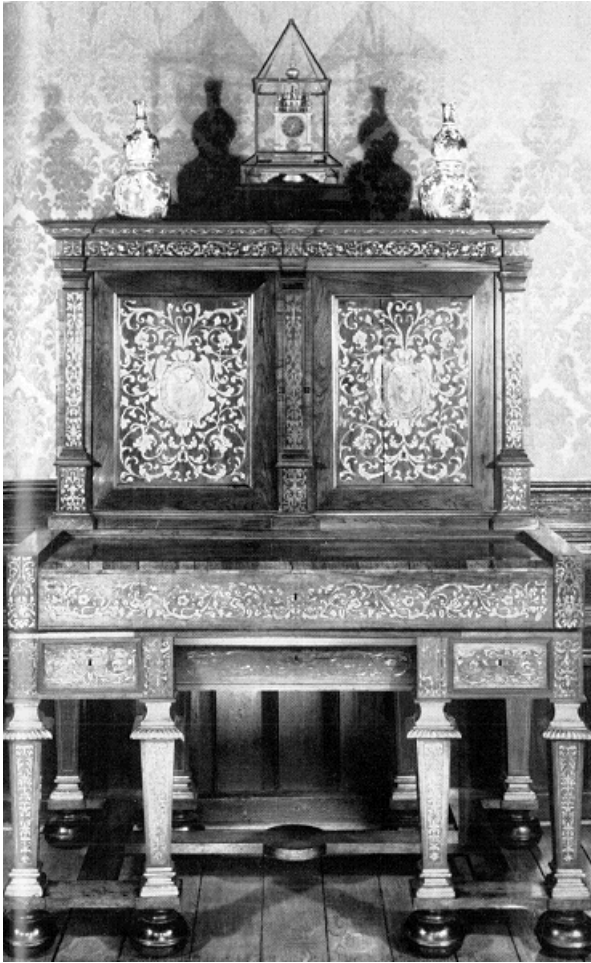
The other Moretus portraits which have survived from the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century have to be classed as the work of anonymous artists: the portrait of Balthasar III Moretus, and the two portraits of his wife Anna Maria de Neuf; the two portraits of Balthasar IV and his wife Isabella Jacoba de Mont; another portrait of J.J. Moretus and his wife Theresia Mathilda Schilders.

The later Moretus descendants also had a number of portraits of their ancestors copied, probably to adorn other rooms of their houses. Balthasar Beschey, for instance, received the sum of 21 fl. in 1757 for a copy of the portrait of Balthasar I. The odier copies - of Christophe Plantin, Jeanne Rivière, Jacob Moerentorf, Jan I Moretus and Martina Plantin - were done by unknown painters at unspecified dates after the originals by Rubens.

This makes an impressive total of 71 portraits, 41 of the family and 30 of eminent native and foreign humanists and art patrons.¹ The Museum authorities were able to supplement this part of the collection to some extent with purchases and gifts.²

Compared to this portrait gallery, the genre paintings from the original

1. Humanists and scholars from the Netherlands, or who worked there, were: Benedictus Arias Montanus (1527-1598), Jean Jacques Chifflet (1588-1660), Jules Chifflet (1610-1676), Balthasar Corderius (1592-1650), Gaspar Gevartius (1593-1660), Leonardus Lessius (1554-1623), Justus Lipsius (1547-1606; two portraits), Joannes Malderus (1563-1633), Aubertus Miraeus (1573-1640), Mathieu de Morgues (1582-1670), Ludovicus Nonnius (born c. 1553), Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598), Petrus Pantinus (1556-1611), Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646), Carolus Scribanus (1561-1629), Godefridus Wendelinus (1580-1667), and Jan Woverius (1576-1635). Foreign humanists and art patrons were: the Popes Nicholas V (died 1455), Leo X (1475-1521), Clement XI (1649-1721); Cardinals Caesar Baronius (1538-1607) and Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621); King Alphonso of Aragon and Naples (1384-1418), King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (1443-1490), Cosimo de' Medici (1389-1464) and Lorenzo de' Medici (1448-1492), Marsilius Ficinus (1433-1499), Angelus Politianus (1454-1494) and Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494).
2. Portraits of the Plantin-Moretus family: Christophe Plantin (a miniature by an anonymous master - purchased in 1880); Frans Raphelengius (a modern copy by A. Thijs after an anonymous work at Leiden - 1938-39); Melchior Moretus (by S. de Bray - acquired between 1893 and 1897); Edward Moretus (by J. Delin - commissioned by the City of Antwerp, 1879); Edward Moretus and Albertina du Bois, his wife (both works by J. Delin - donated in 1953); Constant J.H. Moretus, 1797-1866, and Maria de Stephanis, his wife who died in 1853 (miniatures by Mansion - both purchased in 1901); Augustin T.S. Moretus, 1791-1871 (by B. Pagani - donated in 1950) and Pauline della Faille, 1796-1864, his wife (anonymous - donated in 1950). Portraits of scholars: Alexander Grapheus, c. 1519-1585 (by an anonymous master - gift of J. Dillen); Cornelius Musius, 1500-1572 (anonymous - purchased in 1899). Portraits of an unknown man and woman by an anonymous artist of the seventeenth or eighteenth century (F.H. van Hal bequest, 1897).



(82) *Opposite*: Late seventeenth-century cabinet. Rosewood, inlaid with niellowork in pewter. Cf. plate 77.



(83) *Opposite*: A musical instrument which combined harpsichord and spinet. An inscription states that it was made by Joannes Josephus Coenen, priest and organist at Roermond Cathedral, 1734.

Moretus collections are rather few in number. Some of them bear a signature or can be ascribed on the basis of the Plantin archives. Two works by Rubens must be discussed in another context.¹ Among the remaining paintings are found: Gaspar Broers (1682-1716), *Battle at Ekeren* (30th June 1703), purchased in 1716 at an auction for 52 fl.; Jacob Leysens (1661-1710), *St. Joseph with the Holy Child* (listed in the inventory on the death of J.J. Moretus, 1757, and assessed at 12 fl.); Joannes Lingelbach (1622-74), *Still Life with hare* (referred to in the 1757 inventory as ‘Hare by Lingelbach: 20 fl.’);² Jan Filips van Thielen (1618-1667), *Flower piece*; P. Thijs, (1624/6-1677/79), *Christ on the Cross* (bought in 1757 for 63 fl. and used as an altarpiece in the chapel installed in the large library); Lucas van Uden (1595-1672), *Winter Landscape* (described as ‘winter piece by Lucas van Uden: 25 fl.’ in the 1757 inventory); Peter Verdussen (1662-after 1710), *Landscape with Bridge* (referred to in the 1757 inventory as ‘Landscape by Verdussen, the figures by Broers: 16 fl.’); Jan Baptist Wolfert (1625-after 1656), *Huntsmen's Rest*; Frans Ykens (1601-93), *Madonna and Child in a Wreath of Flowers and Fruit*; Gerard Zegers (1591-1651), *Adoration of the Shepherds* (a large ‘overmantel canvas’, bought in 1649 for 400 fl. and assessed at 450 fl. in the 1658 inventory); and the *Country Pleasures* and a few grisailles executed by Theodoor de Bruyn in 1761-63 for the dining-room in the front extension.

Two are anonymous copies of work by Rubens. ‘The Lion hunt, overmantel painting, a good copy after Rubens’ is in fact a very good painting which was on the wall of one of the salons as early as 1658 and even then assessed at 40 fl., that is, considerably more than the original portraits of members of the family and scholars by Rubens which ‘taken all together’ were put at 10 fl. each. There is no documentary data about *Doubting*

1. The Van Meurs printer's mark and the design in grisaille for a title-page - in the chapter devoted to the illustration of the Plantinian book (Vol. II).
2. Included in the anonymous works in Bouchery's catalogue. The author has made his attribution on the grounds of the 1757 inventory.

Thomas (after the painting now in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp); this copy is in any case of inferior quality.

Data and attributions are also lacking for the artists responsible for *St. Paul at the house of St. Aquila and St. Priscilla*, a fine work by a seventeenth-century master; *The Flight into Egypt* (seventeenth century) and a number of canvases of the school of Rubens.

The subject and authorship of one painting are in dispute: the seated man peering through spectacles at the papers on the desk in front of him is generally referred to as ‘The proof-reader’, and very often the still more detailed description is given: ‘Cornelis Kiliaan [proof-reader under Christophe Plantin] at work.’ In 1874, when an inventory was drawn up of the paintings owned by Edward Moretus, this beautiful sixteenth or seventeenth-century painting was ascribed to Adriaan van de Venne (1589-1665). Having at first accepted this attribution, after 1893 Max Rooses apparently supported the authorship of Pieter van der Borcht (1545-1608). The Moretus inventories, however, give the name of Van de Venne, if only in the 1757 inventory, where the painting is mentioned as ‘The Philosopher of Vanden Venne: 4 fl.’ The painting is mentioned for the first time in the 1696 inventories, in which it is described once as ‘studerende filosofken’ [studying philosopher] and elsewhere as ‘een advocaet studerende’ [a lawyer studying]. In 1714 mention is also made of a ‘studying lawyer’. The traditional view, which sees this man, diligently intent on his papers, as a proof-reader, and more particularly as Cornelis Kiliaan, is thus not confirmed in the Moretus archives. The painting itself seems, in any case, to have come into the possession of the family only in the second half of the seventeenth century. This series of genre paintings was supplemented by a few canvases after 1876, some of them quite noteworthy.¹

1. Old masters: Abel Grimmer, *Landscape with Biblical scene* (bequeathed in 1937 by Mrs. E. Vanderlinden); and an early copy after Rubens, *The Four Philosophers* (purchased in 1922). Modern masters: Jozef Bellemans, *In Christophe Plantin's workshop* (gift of Miss Leclef, 1953); Edouard de Jans, *Abraham Ortelius in his study* (presented in 1939 by E. Beuckeleers-Donche); and Cornelis Seghers, *The Invention of Printing* (presented by D. Vervoort). Other paintings have been included in the collection since 1876, but the date and manner of their acquisition cannot be ascertained: E. Quellin, *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*; M. Schoevaerts, *The Antwerp Roadstead*; H. Sporckmans, *The Carmelite Order confirmed by the Pope*; and the anonymous, seventeenth-century *Disciples at Emmaus*.

In the collection of the Plantin-Moretus Museum the portraits therefore predominate. This, however, is not because the family concentrated over the centuries on collecting this sort of painting. It is simply because the portraits were more or less always included among the 'fixed effects' of the house and were left as a priority to the successive masters of the *Gulden Passer*. It was the genre paintings which principally fell victim to division by inheritance.

The history of these disappearances is in its way as fascinating as the history of the Moretus collection. It is also more difficult to follow. The problem has as yet been studied in detail only in relation to the paintings of Rubens.¹

Apart from the portraits referred to above and the few grisaille sketches which must be dealt with in another connection,² Balthasar I Moretus also bought other works from his childhood friend. The first series of portraits, done between 1613 and 1616, also includes paintings of Seneca and Plato, while at a time which cannot be accurately fixed (after 1624 anyway) Rubens's account was credited with 150 fl. 'pour cinq figures peintes sur paneel, a scavoir N. Dame avec l'Enfant Jésus, St. Joseph, St. Jaspar, St. Melchior et St. Balthasar... à 30 fl. la piece'; 'pour deux visages peints sur paneel de Christus et Maria'. The last two panels are not mentioned again in the 1658 inventory: they had probably already disappeared from the house by then. Balthasar II, however, could still note: 'Joseph, Mary, and Three Kings in five pieces, originals by Rubens: 100 fl.' - and: 'Seneca and Plato in two pieces, original by Rubens: 30 fl.' And he was able to add a new and valuable work: 'Drij Coninghen, schoustuck van Rubens: 600 fl.' [Three Kings, overmantel painting by Rubens: 600 fl.].

In 1691, after the death of Anna Goos, the Seneca and Plato fell to the lot of Balthasar III. They are probably included in the anonymous body of 36 'portraits hanging over the tapestries' [in the 'second big room'] noted in the inventory of Anna Maria de Neuf, widow of Balthasar III, 1714. At all events, when they are mentioned by name again it is in the auction

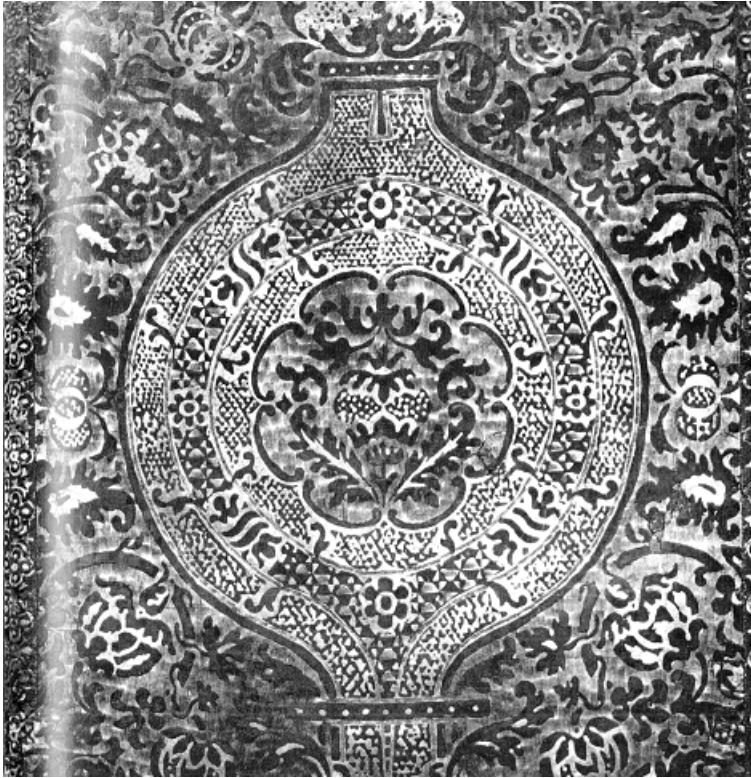
1. H. Bouchery and F. van den Wijngaert, *op. cit.*
2. Cf. p. 321, note 1. - Balthasar I also bought paintings from Rubens for use outside the Golden Compasses: *The Resurrection of Christ* (1610-1612, for his father's tomb in Antwerp Cathedral, where it can still be seen); and *The Martyrdom of St. Just* (1628-1629, intended for the Church of the Annonciades, Antwerp, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux).

catalogue of the property of the widow Verdussen (Antwerp, 1777). The Seneca then disappeared again, and was bought back in 1923 by the Plantin-Moretus Museum from an antique shop, whose only information was that the work came from the Baltic area, where it had hung for many years in a castle (near Riga?). It is a magnificent painting, which can be regarded as the finest work in the Museum collection. The Plato, after being mentioned for the last time in the auction of Albert Fonson's goods (Oudenarde, 1820), has been lost. The Three Kings - Gaspar, Melchior and Balthasar - were certain to be found in the collection of a family which had chosen the Star of Bethlehem as its symbol and named its sons after these kings. Nevertheless, the Three Kings also departed from the *Gulden Passer* after 1714 (and before 1781), together with Mary and Joseph. Mary and Joseph have not reappeared, but it has been possible to follow up the Three Kings. Until 1881 they stayed together, then their ways parted - Melchior and Gaspar went to the United States;¹ the Moorish King Balthasar, having belonged to Hermann Goering during the Second World War, is now in the possession of a Brussels collector, who has lent the work to the Rubens house in Antwerp.²

The most impressive - and most valuable - of the Rubens paintings bought by the Moretus family to embellish the great house was, however, the 'Three Kings, overmantel painting'. It was listed again in the estate of Anna Maria de Neuf (1714), but between that date and 1748 it was bought from a Moretus by 'M. Godefroy le peintre', who travelled the Low Countries to acquire paintings on behalf of the Parisian banker Charles Godefroy. The big canvas - 7' 1" × 8' 7½" - after a short stay in Paris, then journeyed to Potsdam, where it enriched the collections of the King of Prussia.

Apart from these originals, Balthasar I and Balthasar II also bought a few copies of Rubens's paintings. The *Lion Hunt*, listed in 1658, stayed in the Plantin house. The rest have been lost since 1714: Christ, Mary and the Thirteen Apostles, a total of fifteen paintings, bought on 14th January 1615 by Balthasar I from his brother-in-law, the engraver Theodoor Galle, for

1. The 'Greek' king Gaspar has returned to Europe in recent years - albeit perhaps temporarily. It was auctioned in London in 1962 (Sotheby & Co. catalogue, 27th June 1962).
2. Cf. *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens. Catalogue de l'exposition... Bibliothèque nationale*, 1954, p. 245.



(84) Sample of Spanish gilt leather from the wall of the Lipsius Room.



(85) *Opposite*: Sixteenth-century Brussels wall tapestry from the 'Tapestry Room' if (now Room 1). The borders are seventeenth-century and show alternately Plantin's compasses and the coat-of-arms of the Losson-Van Hove family (see top of photograph, slightly left of centre). Possibly one of the Moretuses (either Balthasar I or Balthasar II) purchased the tapestries from a member of the Losson-Van Hove family before the borders had been completed.

110 fl. (and quoted by Balthasar II in 1658 at 60 fl.), and ‘Joseph ende Maria, boffetstuck nae Rubens: 15 fl.’ [Joseph and Mary, sideboard piece after Rubens: 15 fl.], which first appear in the inventory of 1658.

The tribulations of the works of another master have been followed up already: the *Labor et Constantia* by Erasmus Quellin, a large ‘overmantel painting’ (4' 7" × 7' 11") for which Balthasar I Moretus paid 250 fl. to the artist on 20th September 1640, was rediscovered in the 1930's by Maurice Sabbe, the curator of the Museum, in the castle of Baron de Weichs of Roesberg near Brühl (between Cologne and Bonn). The works of art which decorate the castle were assembled by Baron Karel de Keeverberg (1768-1841), who was Governor of the Province of Antwerp from 1815 to 1817 and after 1817 of the Province of East Flanders. It was probably in those years that Erasmus Quellin's painting passed from the possession of some member of the Moretus family (or a related family) into that of the Dutch nobleman.¹

The many other works which have come and gone again in the house are still waiting for an art historian to track them down. Many of the paintings were only listed in summary form in the inventories. For instance it is quite impractical to try to identify the works which Balthasar I inherited from his mother in 1616: eight small round paintings (‘rondekens’) of the prodigal son (20 fl.), 1 overmantel canvas (2 fl. 10 st.), 1 painting of Resurrection (8 fl.), 1 landscape by Momper (8 fl.), 1 woman with puppy in Evangelio (7 fl. 5 st.), 1 parrot painted (1 fl.), 1 Arias Montanus (6 fl.), 1 Matthew de Denario (30 fl.), 1 Martha and Magdalene cooking (18 fl.), 1 Blessed Virgin with copper brackets (8 fl. 10 st.), 1 painting of Paul and Barnabas (10 fl.), 1 Ecce Homo (22 fl.), ...1 Saviour by Master Michiels (20 fl.), 1 Martha and Magdalene cooking (12 fl.), 1 Mary Magdalene with [long] hair (8 fl.), 1 Emmaus (12 fl.).²

But in the list of over 110 paintings which Balthasar II could note as his property in 1658, he names the artists of a number of the vanished works, which may simplify further detective work and ultimate identification. The

1. M. Sabbe, ‘Labore et Coustantia. Een schilderij van Erasmus Quellin’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 12, 1934, pp. 107-109; M. Sabbe, ‘Nog over het schilderij “Lahore et Constantia” van Erasmus Quellin’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 13, 1935, pp. 37-38.
2. For the ‘5 contrefeytsels’ [likenesses] see p. 317.

list is long and impressive enough to tempt the experts to hunt further:¹ ‘Whitsuntide, overmantel painting by Van Balen (300 fl.); Christ among the doctors, sideboard piece by Abraham Janssens (400 fl.);² Paul and Barnabas, overmantel piece by Langhen Pierre (500 fl.); Ptolemeus Philadelphus, overmantel piece by Seghers (200 fl.); Mary, Joachim, and Joseph, overmantel piece by Jordaens (80 fl.); the Risen Christ, sideboard piece by Michiel Coxie (60 fl.); Stag-hunting, overmantel piece, copy after Snyders (40 fl.); Winter Scene by Momper, with figures by Breugel the Elder (25 fl.); a landscape by Tobias Verhaecht (15 fl.); Christ sitting on a rock, a small piece by Mostart (15 fl.); clavicymbal lid, original by Van Balen (80 fl.).’³

In what collections (and with what attributions?) are now to be found the ‘fine overmantel piece’ painted by Nicolaas Boyermans, and depicting the ‘History of Scipio Africanus’, bought by Balthasar III Moretus for 200 fl.;⁴ the ‘Lipsius in Parnassus’ (5 fl.) listed in 1691; and the smaller paintings in the estate of Joannes Jacobus Moretus, 1757?⁵

1. Only those works for which Balthasar II noted the artist's name are mentioned here.
2. Bought by Balthasar I on 17th October 1624 for 480 fl. (Arch. 734, Art, no. 73 *bis.*).
3. Original Dutch text: ‘Sinxen schoustuck van Van Balen (300 fl.); Christus onder de doctoren, boffetstuck van Abraham Janssens (400 fl.); Paulus eude Barnabas, schoustuck van Langhen Pierre (500 fl.); Ptolemeus Philadelphus, schoustuck van Seghers (200 fl.); Maria, Joachim ende Joseph, schoustuck van Jordaens (80 fl.); Christus verrysende, boffetstuck van Michiel Coxie (60 fl.); Hertenjacht, schoustuck, cotype nae Snyders (40 fl.); Winterken van Momper, ghestoffeert van den Ouden Breugel (25 fl.); Een lantschap van Tobias Verhaegt (15 fl.); Christus op densteen sittende, een cleyen stuxken van Mostart (15 fl.); Claversinghel schele, origineel van Van Balen (80 fl.).’
4. Arch. 723, folio 183.
5. Arch. 486, pp. 21-23: ‘Vier copere plaetjens copyen naer Breugel (36 fl.); Twee zee gesichtjens van Casteels (6 fl.); Twee stuckxkens van Van Hal verbeldende Susanne met de ouderlingen en Joseph vlughtende vande vrouw van Putiphar (6 fl.); Een ditto verbeldende clyne kinderken van Van Hal (3 fl.); Een landschapken van Sibrechts (4 fl.); Dry landschapken en eene historiestuckxken van Baeck (6 fl.); Een landschap van Meulenaer (8 fl.); Een Venetiaens gesicht onbekent (6 fl.); Een zeegezicht van Casteels (6 fl.); Een ditto van ditto (3 fl.); Een landschap van Momper met de figuren van den Fluweelen Breugel (25 fl.); Een schouwdoeck van den jongen Boel (24 fl.); Een Hl. Dryvuldigheyt (3 fl.); Sint Peeterskerck van Roomen geschildert door Van Herrenbergh, gestoffeert van Bijt (80 fl.); Een tygerjaght van Feyt (12 fl.); Een zeevaertjen van Van Eyck (7 fl.); Eene Flora het figuer van Eyckens, de blommen en vrughten van Verbruggen (30 fl.); Een Drij Koningen onbekent (5 fl.); De Pont Neuf van Parijs (7 fl.); Een rond zeegezicht van Momper (10 fl.); Een teekening van Picart verbeldende de afdoeninge van Christus van het cruys (14 fl.).’ [Four copperplates engraved after Breugel (36 fl.); two seascapes by Casteels (6 fl.); two pieces by Van Hal representing Susanna and the Elders and Joseph fleeing from Potiphar's Wife (6 fl.); one ditto depicting little children by Van Hal (3 fl.); a small landscape by Sibrechts (4 fl.); three small landscapes and one history painting by Baeck (6 fl.); one landscape by Meulenaer (8 fl.); one Venetian veduta, anonymous (6 fl.); one seascape by Casteels (6 fl.); one ditto by ditto (3 fl.); one landscape by Momper with figures by Velvet Breugel (25 fl.); one overmantel piece by the younger Boel (24 fl.); one Holy Trinity (3 fl.); St. Peter's, Rome, painted by Van Herrenbergh, staffage by Bijt (80 fl.); one tiger hunt by Feyt (12 fl.); one marine painting by Van Eyck (7 fl.); one Flore, the figure by Eyckens, the flowers and fruit by Verbruggen (30 fl.); one anonymous Three Magi (5 fl.); the Pont Neuf in Paris (7 fl.); one round seascape by Momper (10 fl.); one drawing by Picart depicting the Deposition (14 fl.).]

Paintings in the Plantin-Moretus Museum¹**Bellemans, Jozef (19th century)***In Christophe Plantins workshop*

canvas 60" × 67". Gift of Miss Leclef, 1953

Beschey, Balthasar (1708-1776)**Portrait of Balthasar I Moretus (1574-1641)*. Copy after portrait by Bosschaert, 1757canvas 26" × 20¹/₈"**Bosschaert, Thomas Willeboirts (1614-1654)****Portrait of Balthasar I Moretus*, 1641canvas 26" × 19³/₄"**Balthasar I on his death-bed*, 1641canvas 26¹/₂" × 30¹/₂"**Portrait of Balthasar Corderius (1592-1650)*, 1647canvas 25³/₄" × 20¹/₄"**Portrait of Gaspar Gevartius (1593-1666)²*

canvas 24" × 20"

Portrait of Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646)²*canvas 25³/₄" × 19³/₄"Portrait of Godefridus Wendelinus (1580-1667)²*canvas 26" × 20¹/₈"

1. Paintings made over to the City of Antwerp in 1876 are marked with an asterisk.
2. Attributed by Max Rooses to Bosschaert. Perhaps executed by another artist (Erasmus Quellin?).
2. Attributed by Max Rooses to Bosschaert. Perhaps executed by another artist (Erasmus Quellin?).
2. Attributed by Max Rooses to Bosschaert. Perhaps executed by another artist (Erasmus Quellin?).

Bray, Salomon de (1597-1664)

Portrait of Melchior Moretus (1573-1634), 1625
panel 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 16"; acquired between 1893 and 1897

Broers, Gaspar (1682-1716)

**Battle at Ekeren (30th June 1703)*
canvas 67 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 80"
See also Verdussen, Peter

Bruyn, Theodoor de (1726-1804)

**Country Pleasures*, 1763 (mural decorations in the 18th-century drawing-room)
canvas (1) 121 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 70". (2) 121 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 70 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". (3) 121 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 199 $\frac{3}{4}$ " (4) 121 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 56". (5) 121 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 56"
**Garden divinity with putti*, 1764 (grisaille in the 18th-century drawing-room)
canvas 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 52"
**Eagle*, 1764 (mural over the 18th-century staircase)
153 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 74 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

Delin, Jozef (1821-1880)

Portrait of Edward Moretus (1804-1880), 1879
panel 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 20". Commissioned by the City of Antwerp
Portrait of Edward Moretus, 1852
canvas 41" \times 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Gift of A. de Granges de Surgères, 1953
Portrait of Albertina du Bois (1803-1891), wife of Edward Moretus, 1852
canvas 40 $\frac{1}{8}$ " \times 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Gift of A. de Granges de Surgères, 1953

Grimmer, Abel (c. 1577-1619)

Landscape with Biblical scene
Circular; panel 10"
Gift of Mrs. E. Vanderlinden, 1937

Helmont, Jan van (born 1650)

**Portrait of Joannes Jacobus Moretus (1690-1757)*, 1717
canvas 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
**Portrait of Theresia Mathilda Schilders (1696-1729)*, wife of J.J. Moretus,
1717
canvas 32 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 26"

Helmont, Jan van (*continued*)

**Portrait of Pope Clement XI (1649-1721), 1717*
 canvas 25³/₄" × 17³/₄"

Jans, Edouard de (1855-1919)

Abraham Ortelius in his study, 1887
 canvas 40¹/₈" × 41¹/₄"
 Gift of E. Beuckeleers-Donche, 1939

Leysens, Jacob (1661-1710)

**St. Joseph with the Holy Child*
 canvas 42³/₄" × 31³/₄"

Lingelbach, Joannes (1622-1674)

**Still life with hare*
 canvas 38¹/₄" × 30¹/₄"

Luyten, Henri (born 1859)

Portrait of Max Rooses (1839-1914), 1914
 canvas 51¹/₈" × 35³/₄"

Mansion

Portrait of Constantin J.H. Moretus (1797-1866), 1821?
 miniature on ivory 3¹/₂" × 2³/₄"
Portrait of Maria S.J.A. de Stephanis (died 1853), wife of C.J.H. Moretus, 1821
 miniature on ivory 3¹/₂" × 2³/₄"
 Both purchased in 1901

Meurs, Balthasar van

**Portrait of Bishop Joannes Malderus (1563-1633), 1650*
 canvas 26" × 20¹/₄"
**Portrait of Jan Woverius (1576-1635), 1650*
 canvas 26" × 20¹/₂"
**Portrait of Jean Jacques Chifflet (1588-1660), 1650*
 canvas 26³/₄" × 20¹/₂"
**Portrait of Jules Chifflet (1610-1676), 1650*
 canvas 26³/₄" × 20¹/₂"

Pagani, B

Portrait of Augustin T.J. Moretus (1791-1871), 12th July 1870

oval canvas 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

Gift of Count Charles Moretus-Plantin, 1950

Quellin, Erasmus (1607-1678)

**Portrait of Balthasar I Moretus (1574-1641)*

grisaille on panel 9" x 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ "

**Portrait of Jan II Moretus (1576-1618)*, 1642

canvas 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ "

**Portrait of Aubertus Miraeus (1573-1640)*, 1642

canvas 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ "

**Portrait of Ludovicus Nonnius (born c. 1553)*, 1647

canvas 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

Christ and the Woman of Samaria

canvas 67" x 72"

See also Bosschaert.

Reesbroeck, Jacob van (1620-1704)

**Portrait of Balthasar II Moretus (1615-1674)*, 1659

panel 26" x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

**Portrait of Anna Goos (1627-1691), wife of Balthasar II Moretus*, 1659

panel 26" x 20 $\frac{1}{8}$ "

**Portrait of Maria de Sweert (1588-1655), wife of Jan II Moretus*, 1659

panel 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

**Portrait of Balthasar III Moretus (1646-1696), aged fourteen*, 1660

canvas 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

Rubens, Sir Peter Paul (1577-1640)

**Portrait of Christophe Plantin*, 1613-16

panel 26" x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

**Portrait of Jeanne Rivière (died 1596), wife of Christophe Plantin*, 1630-36

panel 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

**Portrait of Jacob Moerentorf (died 1558), father of Jan I Moretus*, 1630-36

panel 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

**Portrait of Adriana Gras (1514-1592), wife of Jacob Moerentorf*, 1630-36

panel 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

Rubens, Sir Peter Paul (*continued*)

**Portrait of Jan I Moretus (1543-1610)*, 1613-16

panel 26" x 20¹/₈"

**Portrait of Martina Plantin (1550-1616)*, wife of Jan I Moretus, 1630-36

panel 25³/₄" x 19³/₄"

**Portrait of Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)*, 1613-16

panel 26" x 20"

**Portrait of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598)*, 1630-36

panel 25¹/₂" x 19¹/₄"

**Portrait of Petrus Pantin (1556-1611)*, 1633

panel 25" x 19¹/₂"

**Portrait of Benedictus Arias Montanus (1527-1598)*, 1630-36

panel 25¹/₂" x 19¹/₂"

The dying Seneca, 1613-16

panel 25³/₄" x 19³/₄"

Repurchased by the Museum in 1923

**Title-page design for M.C. Sarbievius, Lyricorum libri IV*, 1632

grisaille on panel 7¹/₄" x 5¹/₂"

**Printer's mark of Jan van Meurs, partner of Balthasar I Moretus, 1618 to 1629*

grisaille on panel 8" x 8¹/₄"

**Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici (1448-1492)*, 1613-16

panel 26" x 20¹/₄"

**Portrait of Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494)*, 1613-16

panel 25³/₄" x 20¹/₈"

**Portrait of Pope Leo X (1475-1521)*, 1613-16

panel 26" x 20¹/₄"

**Portrait of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary (1443-1490)*, 1613-16

panel 26" x 20"

**Portrait of Alphonso, King of Aragon and Naples (1384-1458)*, 1613-16

panel 26" x 20¹/₈"

**Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici (1389-1464)*, 1613-16?

panel 25³/₄" x 19³/₄"

**Portrait of Pope Nicolas V (died 1455)*, 1613-16?

panel 24³/₄" x 19¹/₄"

Anonymous Copies After Rubens**Portrait of Christophe Plantin*

panel 32" × 21½"

**Portrait of Jeanne Rivière, wife of Christophe Plantin*

panel 31¾" × 21½"

**Portrait of Jeanne Rivière*

canvas 26" × 20⅛"

**Portrait of Jacob Moerentorf*

canvas 25¾" × 19¾"

**Portrait of Jan I Moretus*

canvas 26" × 20⅛"

**Portrait of Martina Plantin, wife of Jan I Moretus*

canvas 26" × 20⅛"

**The Lion Hunt*

(after the original, now in the Pinakothek, Munich), before 1658

canvas 52¾" × 84¼"

**Doubting Thomas*

(after the original, now in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp)

canvas 54" × 47"

The Four Philosophers (Justus Lipsius, Jan Woverius, Philip Rubens, Peter Paul Rubens) (after the original, now in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence)

canvas 64⅛" × 53⅛"

Purchased in 1922

Schoevaerts, Matthijs (born c. 1665)*The Antwerp Roadstead*

canvas 29" × 68¼"

Seghers, Cornelis (1814-1869)*The Invention of Printing: Gutenberg at Work*

panel 32½" × 41¾"

Gift by D. Vervoort

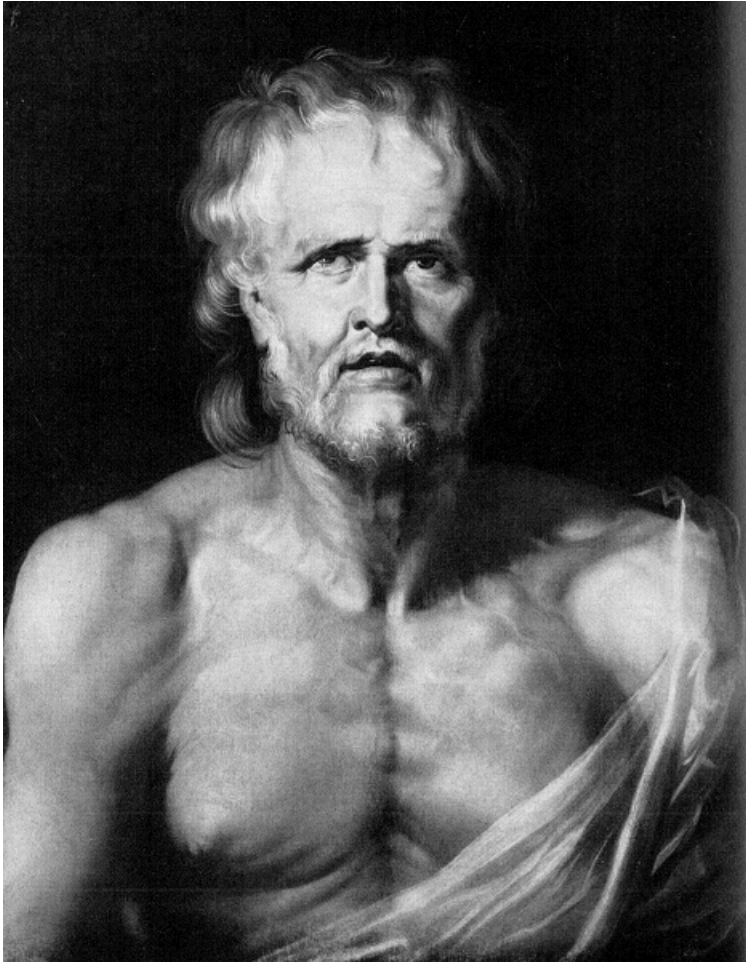
Sporckmans, Huibrecht (1619-1690)*The Carmelite Order confirmed by the Pope*

canvas 66" × 101¾"

Acquired between 1876 and 1893



(86) *Opposite*: Wooden lion on ornamented pedestal, carved in 1621 by Pauwel Diericx for the foot of the stairs under the arcade of the north wing. It bears the coat-of-arms of Balthasar III Moretus and Anna-Maria de Neuf. As Balthasar III was not raised to the nobility until 1692, it may be assumed that the lion originally bore a different device: probably Plantin's compasses and Balthasar's I Moretus's star.



(87) Peter Paul Rubens, *Seneca Dying*. Oil painting on panel, made between 1613 and 1616, commissioned by Balthasar I Moretus. The painting left the house at some unknown date, but fortunately the Trustees were able to repurchase it in 1923.

Tassaert, Filips Jozef (1736-1803)

**Portrait of Franciscus Joannes Moretus (1717-1768)*, 1762

canvas 25¼" × 19¾"

**Portrait of Maria-Theresia Borrekens (1728-1797), wife of Franciscus Joannes Moretus*, 1762

canvas 24¾" × 19½"

Thielen, Jan Filips van (1618-1667)

**Flower piece*

canvas 53½" × 47¼"

Thijs, Peter (1624/6-1677/9)

**Christ on the Cross*

canvas 101¾" × 73¾"

Uden, Lucas van (1595-1672)

**Winter Landscape*

panel 6¼" × 8¾"

Verdussen, Peter (1662-after 1710)

**Landscape with Bridge*. Figures by Gaspar Broers

canvas 52¾" × 81½"

Wolfert, Jan Baptist (1625-after 1656)

**Huntsmen's Rest*

canvas 31¼" × 35½"

Ykens, Frans (1601-1693)

**Madonna and Child in a Wreath of Flowers and Fruit*

canvas 39¾" × 28½"

Zegers, Gerard (1591-1651)

**Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1649

canvas 82¾" × 90½"

Christ returning from Limbo

canvas 61" × 93"

On loan from the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. (Painted for the Chapel of the Virgin in the old Jesuit Church of St. Charles Borromeo, Antwerp.)

Anonymous 16th-Century Masters

**Portrait of Justus Lipsins, aged 38, 1585*

panel 25" × 20¼"

**Portrait of Christophe Plantin, 1584¹*

panel 25" × 19¾"

Portrait of Christophe Plantin

miniature on copper 4½" × 3½"

Purchased in 1880

**Portrait of Egidius Beys (died 1595)²*

panel 21¾" × 19"

**Portrait of Magdalena Plantin (1557-1599), wife of Egidius Beys²*

panel 21¾" × 18½"

**Portrait of Jacob Moerentorf (died 1558)*

panel 17¾" × 13¾"

**Portrait of Adriana Gras (1514-1592), wife of Jacob Moerentorf, 1591*

panel 24¾" × 20¼"

**Portrait of Nicolaas de Sweert (1551-1598)*

panel 25¼" × 19¼"

**Portrait of Elisabeth Janssens de Bisthoven (1513-1594), wife of Nicolaas de Sweert*

panel 25¾" × 19¾"

Both refurbished by Jacob van Reesbroeck, 1659

Portrait of Alexander Grapheus (c. 1519-1585)

panel 16¼" × 12"

Gift of J. Dillen

Portrait of Cornelius Musius (1500-1572)

panel 23¼" × 17¾"

Purchased in 1899

Portrait of Frans Raphelengius

(Copy by A. Thijs, 1938-39, after the original in the University Library, Leiden)

canvas 19¾" × 15½"

1. In fact dated 1554, which is an error for 1584: cf. p. 316, note 4.
2. On the two paintings are inscriptions which have been read by Bouchery '[157] 1 AET' (Egidius Beys) and '[15]71' (Magdalena Plantin). These dates cannot be accepted as Beys and Magdalena were then not yet married; moreover, Magdalena was then only fourteen years old.
2. On the two paintings are inscriptions which have been read by Bouchery '[157] 1 AET' (Egidius Beys) and '[15]71' (Magdalena Plantin). These dates cannot be accepted as Beys and Magdalena were then not yet married; moreover, Magdalena was then only fourteen years old.

**Symbolic representation of the Plantinian printer's mark*
 canvas 48" × 79¼"

Anonymous 17th-Century Masters

**The Proof-reader*. Attributed to Adriaan van de Venne (1589-1665) and to Pieter van der Borcht (1545-1608)

panel 25¼" × 19¼"

**Portrait of Balthasar II Moretus, aged 23*, 1638. Attributed to Melchior Mierevelt and to Antonie Palamedes (1601-1673)

canvas 32" × 25"

**Portrait of a member of the Moretus family*

canvas 29¼" × 23"

**Portrait, of Angelus Politianus (1454-1494)*

canvas 24" × 19"

**Portrait of Marsilius Ficinus (1433-1499)*

canvas 24" × 19"

**Portrait of Cardinal Bellarminus (1542-1621)*, 1622-23

canvas 25¼" × 19¼"

**Portrait of Cardinal Baronius (1538-1607)*, 1622-23

panel 25¼" × 19¼"

**Portrait of Leonardus Lessius (1554-1623)*

panel 25¼" × 19¼"

**Portrait of Carolus Scribanus (1561-1629)*

panel 25¼" × 19¼"

**Portrait of Mathieu de Morgues (1582-1670)*

canvas 26" × 21¾"

Portrait of a Man with Dishevelled Hair

canvas 26¾" × 22¾"

**Three angels' heads in clouds*. School of Rubens

Left-hand panel 20¼" × 23"

**Three angels' heads in clouds*. School of Rubens

Right-hand panel 20¼" × 23¼"

Anonymous 17th-Century Masters (continued)

**Woman with Brass Dish*. School of Rubens

panel 23¼" × 20"

**Male torso*. School of Rubens

panel 25½ × 19¼

The Disciples at Emmaus

canvas 42¾" × 57¾"

**The Flight into Egypt*

canvas 26¾" × 34"

**St. Paul at the house of St. Aquila and St. Priscilla*

panel 23¼" × 35"

Anonymous Masters, 17th-18th Century

**Portrait of Balthasar III Moretus (1646-1698)*

canvas 25½" × 21"

**Portrait of Anna Maria de Neuf (1654-1714), wife of Balthasar III Moretus*

canvas 26" × 20¼"

**Portrait of Anna Maria de Neuf*

oval canvas 35½" × 30"

Portrait of an unknown man

oval canvas 34¼" × 26½"

F.H. van Hal Bequest, 1897

Portrait of an unknown woman

oval canvas 34¼" × 26"

F.H. van Hal Bequest, 1897

Anonymous 18th-Century Masters

**Portrait of Balthasar IV Moretus (1679-1730)*

oval canvas 32¼" × 26"

**Portrait of Isabella Jacoba de Mont, otherwise de Brialmont (1682-1723), wife of Balthasar IV Moretus*

oval canvas 32¼" × 26"

**Portrait of Balthasar IV Moretus*

canvas 25¼ × 19¼



(88) *Opposite:* The great library (now Room 31) which at one time also served as the family's private chapel. The altar has disappeared but the reredos, *Christ on the Cross* by Peter Thijs (1616-77), is still there.



(89) *Opposite*: Another view into the great library. On the bookcases are some fine heads of saints and popes carved in limewood (eighteenth century). The plaster heads, put there by the Moretuses, represent Greek and Roman scholars and emperors. On the small tables are eighteenth-century globes.

Anonymous 18th-Century Masters, (continued)

**Portrait of Isabella Jacoba de Mont*

canvas 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

**Portrait of Joannes Jacobus Moretus (1690-1757)*

canvas 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ " \times 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ "

**Portrait of Theresia Mathilda Schilders (1696-1729), wife of Joannes Jacobus Moretus*

canvas 26" \times 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

Anonymous 19th-Century Master

Portrait of Pauline della Faille (1796-1864), wife of Augustin T.J. Moretus, 1853

oval canvas 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 20"

Gift of Count Charles Moretus-Plantin, 1950

Chapter 11

*The Library*¹

The masters of the *Gulden Passer* did not only build themselves a sumptuous residence, filling it with paintings, sculptures, and costly furniture, but they also spent much money in collecting books and manuscripts. There have been families and collectors in the Netherlands who assembled a greater number of volumes, but their libraries were dispersed sooner or later or lost their individual character by being taken over wholly or partly by public institutions. The miraculous preservation of the Plantinian estate included the family's collection of books. It constitutes one of the few private libraries in the Low Countries to have survived almost exactly in its original form after three centuries of private ownership.

Christophe Plantin was the founder of the library as well as of the house. If a date has to be given for the start of this library, then it is at the end of 1563 when the printer, after signing his deed of partnership with the Van Bomberghen family, purchased a number of books, most of which are still to be found on the shelves in the Plantin House.

1. F. Vanderhaeghen, Ghent University librarian, was appointed by the City of Antwerp in 1874 to assess the Plantinian library. He presented his findings in a most stimulating report: *Musée Plantin à Anvers. Notice sur la bibliothèque plantinienne*, 1875. For the 'old' library (printed works) there is only a handwritten card catalogue (arranged alphabetically and by printers). The manuscripts were described by J. Denucé, *Musaeum Plantin-Moretus. Catalogue des manuscrits. Catalogus der handschriften*, 1927. It replaced completely Seymour de Ricci's 'Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits du Musée Plantin-Moretus à Anvers' in *Revue des bibliothèques*, 20, 1910, pp. 217-232. Two old catalogues of the manuscripts were published by H. Stein, 'Les manuscrits du Musée Plantin-Moretus (catalogues de 1592 et de 1650)' in *Messenger des Sciences historiques de Belgique*, 60, 1886, pp. 211-231.

Plantin respected and admired scholars and scholarship; it has already been pointed out that he could meet the greatest humanists of his day on equal terms. But he was always primarily a hard-working, rather overambitious businessman, beset by financial troubles, who had little time or opportunity for poring over books in the tranquillity of a study. The books he bought at the end of 1563 were for utilitarian purposes, being intended ‘pour le service cotidian ou futur de l'imprimerie’. These earliest acquisitions consisted of dictionaries and scriptural texts, for the Plantinian book collection began as a proof-readers' library.¹

On 6th April 1564 Plantin noted another series of purchases of ‘books for the service of the printing press’.² For the books included in the settlement of accounts on 22nd April 1564 he merely stated the total cost of 5 *pond* 6 *schellingen* Flemish (31 fl. 16 st.).³ But in 1565, under the heading ‘meubles de l'imprimerie’, he itemized a fresh series of acquisitions: ‘J'ay achapté à la vendue des livres de feu mr. Eustache medecin à Francfort: Alex. Medici opera, 24 st.; De rebus furtarum etc., 15 st.; Herb. Tragi Imag. Philost. etc., 40 st.; Amatus Lusit[anus] Nigolius et Suidas avec plusieurs autres, 7 fl. 10 st. Casse credit par livres pour meuble des correcteurs: 11 fl. 9 st.’⁴

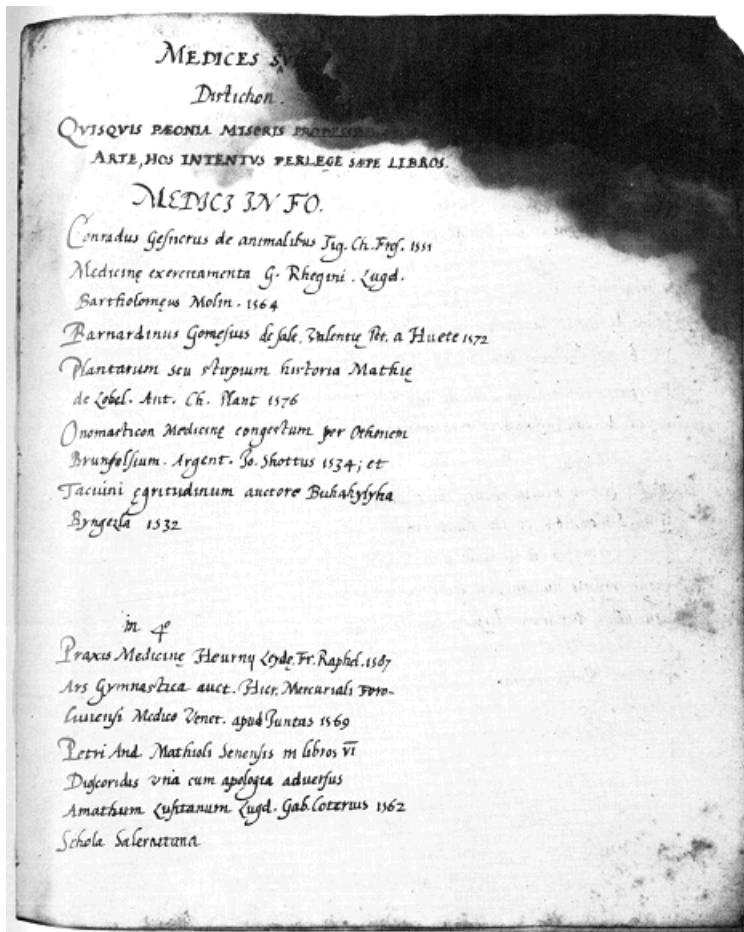
1. The complete list of the books which formed the first nucleus of the library of the Plantin-Moretus Museum runs as follows (Arch. 36, p. 22): ‘Thesaurus linguae latini Frobenii en 2 vols (8 fl.), Thesaurus linguae graece Crispini, r[elié] (8 fl. 5 st.), Thesaurus linguae hebraice Pagnini Griphii (10 fl. 10 St.), Thesaurus linguae hebraice Panigni Rob. Steph[ani] [rel. in 4^o] (2 fl. 10 st.), Dictionarium latinogallicum Rob. Steph[ani] r[elié] [in folio] (3 fl. 5 st.), Calepinus cum graeca, italica et hispanica interpr[etationibus] Lion(?) r[elié] (4 fl. 5 st.), Dictionarium latinogermani-cum Frosch[overi] in folio r[elié] (2 fl. 15 st.), Dictionariolum in 4^o Rob. Steph[ani] (8 st.), 2 Dictionariolum in 8^o Plantini (15 St.), Tetraglotton in 4^o Plantini (12 st.), Dictionariolum latinogermanicum in 8^o [Froschoveri] (10 st.), Dictionarium latinogermanicum Dasipodii (10 st.), Concordantiae Bibliorum Rob. Steph[ani] r[elié] (3 fl. 15 st.), Concordantiae Bibliorum Benedicti r[elié] (3 fl. 15 st.), Biblia latina Basilee excusa r[elié] (2 fl. 10 st.), Biblia latina Lugduni impressa Sanctes Paingnini (2 fl.), Novum Testamentum Graecum in folio Rob. Steph[ani] r[elié] (2 fl. 10 st.).’ Cf. also Arch. 4, folio 14^{vo} which adds to the above ‘Froissart en blanc lavé pour corriger’ (6 fl.). See also p. 340, n. 3 concerning this Froissart.
2. Arch. 3, folio 9: ‘Corpus iuris Duareni (6 fl. 10 st.), Adagia Erasmi Henrici Stephani (2 fl. 8 st.), Mathioli herbarium latine (4 fl. 10 st.), Dictionarium poeticum in 8^o (7 st.), Dictionarium et poeticum Caroli Stephani (1 fl. 6 st.), Officina Textoris in 4^o (17 st.), Pline en françois (6 fl. 10 st.), Dictionarium Noriensis (1 fl.).’
3. Arch. 4, folio 14^{vo}.
4. Arch. 3, folio 26^{vo}.

Through the years Plantin received a number of manuscripts and books as presents; some of these are among the most interesting in the collection.¹ From time to time he probably also bought books for the sake of helping friends and acquaintances,² but for the rest he seems to have been guided mainly by utilitarian considerations in building up his library, collecting works which could be of service to the proof-readers or useful in some other way to the firm; the products of rivals, for example, which might be considered for possible republication and books or manuscripts needed for the preparation of his own editions.³ It was presumably during the preparatory work on the Polyglot Bible⁴ that he was able to acquire the showpiece of the library - the three volumes, in their original fifteenth-century bindings, of the 36-line Gutenberg Bible.⁵

Plantin seldom bothered to keep a copy of each work he printed. It is not surprising that the library contains hardly any Plantinian impressions dating from before 1562 and the auction of his goods and chattels, but there are also many and sometimes inexplicable gaps after that year.

When Plantin died in 1589 the library books and manuscripts he had collected for his proof-readers' use were classified with the presses and other equipment and material as an appurtenance of the printing office. But

1. See pp. 350 sqq.
2. See pp. 352-353.
3. For example, the copy of Froissart's Chronicles (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1560), which was in 1564 included among the 'livres pour le service de la correction' with the note 'Froissart in sheets, supplied for correcting: 6 fl.' (Arch. 4, folio 14^{v0}). Plantin had this copy (Library R 33.5) collated by his proof-reader Andreas Madoets and his casual collaborator Antoine Tiron with a manuscript of Froissart with the idea of publishing a new edition (which for one reason or another he did not follow up). Cf. M.G. Raynaud, 'Une édition de Froissart projetée par Christophe Plantin (1563-1565)' in *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 1895, pp. 515-519.
4. For this enterprise - and probably having been asked to do so by Arias Montanus - Plantin must have bought an impressive number of Bibles. As the great Spanish scholar declares in the *Praefatio ad lectorem* to the first volume of the Polyglot Bible: 'Christophorus Plantinus habuit penes se Complutensia Bibliorum exemplaria excusa. Praeterea Veneta, Hebraica, Chaldaica, et Graeca, et Germanica Hebraea, et alia suis typis et alias impressa: deinde Graeca omnia, quae quidem in Galliis et Germania extant celeberrima.'
5. The third volume is annotated: 'Hunc librum donavit conventus Nurnbergensis ord. fr. heremitarum intuiti Dei novo conventui antverpiensi ejusdem ordinis et voti 1514.' This copy of the 36-line Gutenberg Bible was therefore presented by the Augustinian monastery at Nuremberg to the subsidiary house of the Order at Antwerp in 1514, and was probably then bought by Plantin in that city.



(90) *Opposite*: Page from the first catalogue of the Plantinian library, compiled by Balthasar I Moretus in 1592. The first page of the medical section is shown. The top right-hand corners of the first few pages were charred.

LIBRI VARI MAIORIS FORMÆ

Qui extra ordinem positi, quia Maioris Formæ
sunt, quam ut in *Seculamento Caslium*
Poni commode poterunt. in *Solis*

- Atlas Maior* sive *Geographia Blaviana*, qua Orbis universis mappis
Geographicis describitur undecim voluminibus. Amstelredam apud
Francum Blaeuw 1662.
- Abrahami Ortelij* *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* Latini, prima Editionis, cui
iuncta est *Geographia* eiusdem aetatis cum *Nomenclatore* *Dithmaro*
1575.
- Eiusdem *Theatrum Orbis* Gallicæ *Diemate*, cui subiungitur eiusdem *Perizoniæ*
Oram Gallicæ *Diemate* N° 1611.
- Eiusdem *Theatrum Orbis* Hispanice *Diemate* N° 1612.
- Eiusdem *Theatrum Orbis* Siliæ *Diemate* 1598.
- Eiusdem *Theatrum Orbis* Belgicæ *Diemate* N° 1612.
- Eiusdem *Perizonia* auctam cura et studio *Balthasaris Moreti* 1614.
- Otthomæi Alexanderij* *Geographia antiqua*, Oris *Senæ Petri Bertij*
Amstelredam apud *Judicum Hondium* 1619.
- Gerardi Mercatoris Atlas* sive *Geographia* Amstelredam apud *Jud. Hondium*
1619.
- Gerardi Mercatoris Atlas*, et *Judici Hondij* tribus tomis distinctis Amstel.
apud *Hondium* et *Johannem Janssonium* 1636.
- Ortelij et Blaeuw* appendix Amstelredam apud *Blaeuw* 1636.
- Idem apud eundem 1631.
- Petri Kerij* *Germania inferior* sive *Descriptio XVII* *Provinciarum Belgij* illius
Amstelredam apud *Petrum Laxium* 1617.
- Speculum Orbis Terrarum* Antwerp apud *Arnoldum Kinck* 1593.
- Le globe terrestre*.
- Speculum Nauticum* sive *Oris Maritima* tertius Orbis *Lepi Bat* apud *Hon.*
Raphelinguum 1586.
- Theatrum Orbium Terrarum* octo tomis Amstelredam apud *Jean-Jacq.*
Blaeuw
- *Orbes* Europe Septentrionalis 1 tom.
 - *Germania Superioris* 2 tom.
 - *Germania Inferioris* sive *Belgij* 2 tom.
 - *Italia* 1 tom.
 - *Hispania et Indiarum* 1 tom.
 - *Gallicæ* et *Græcæ* 1 tom.

(91) *Opposite*: Page from the second catalogue of the Platian library, compiled about 1675. The first page of the section listing ‘very large - sized books’ is shown.

whereas the presses, matrices, punches, founts, copperplates, and woodblocks were carefully itemized and their value estimated, the library was lumped together with the trays, baskets, and other unimportant trifles, and transferred *en bloc* to the new owner of the *Officina Plantiniana*.¹

Jan I Moretus had his own small collection of manuscripts,² and presumably of books as well, but he seems to have had the same ideas about the library he inherited as his father-in-law. We may assume, however, that his son Balthasar soon made this library his particular concern. In 1592, on the eve of his departure for Louvain, where he was going to study under Justus Lipsius, the eighteen-year-old Balthasar arranged and catalogued the collection.³

A new phase in the development of the library began with the accession of Plantin's scholarly grandson. Balthasar extended the library, giving it a less strictly utilitarian, more humanist character. He also separated it from the printing office and made it the 'particuliere bibliotheque' [private library] of the masters of the *Gulden Passer*.⁴ This did not mean that there was no longer a proof-readers' library: there is specific mention of one in 1692, in addition to the private library.⁵ The original 'bibliotheque van de correcteurs' may have continued its independent existence in the printing

1. 'Par dessus tout cecy et parmy l'achapt de 18.000 fl. sont comprinses toutes les casses, bacqs, mandes, treteaux, formats, neuf platines à part, comme aussi quelques chassis ou rames de fer outre les deux servantes à chacune presse, et toute telle menuté d'imprimerie; item une quantite de cuivre poly à tailler figures point mis en ceuvre, et quelques ferrailles de relieur de livres; item encores la bibliotheque des correcteurs, etc.' (Arch. 99, p. 19).
2. Denucé, *Manuscrits*, nos. 105 (Cicero, *Compendium Officiorum*, 1557), 162 (*Loci communes de multis rebus tractantes*, sixteenth century; on the title-page is written 'Joannes Mouretuerff me possidet. Anno 1558, quinto idus Martii'), 359 (a German treatise on trade, copied from L. Meder's *Handel Buch*, Nuremberg, 1558), 433 (*Phrases poeticae* from Homer, in Jan Moretus's handwriting).
3. Cf. p. 342.
4. As far as is known the expression was first used by Balthasar II Moretus: in the list of possessions which Balthasar I (died 8th July 1641) left him he included his uncle's 'particuliere bibliotheque' (Arch. 104, folio 162). In the summarized inventory of his property dated 31st December 1651 he mentions the 'bibliotheque die hy particulier is hebbende' [the library he owns privately] (Arch. 104, folio 399); in the inventory of 1658 he speaks again of the 'particuliere bibliotheque' [private library] (cf. the text on p. 357).
5. In the deed of 7th February 1692 by which the estate of Anna Goos was divided (Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*, pp. 36-38) Balthasar III was left, among other things: '... item de schooner bibliotheque van boecken bestaende in alle soorten van faculteyten van gebonde boecken behelsende alle soorten van studien ende taelen, mitsgaeders van vele en verscheyde auteurs metten index gebonden in calfsleer met eene geschreve letter aanwysende de selve boecken, oock metten houte cassen daer inne de selve boecken berusten... ende Plantynsche Druckerye... oock met alle de gereedschappen en instrumenten van selve druckerye mette bibliotheque van de correctorye gelyck hy die nu ettelyke jaeren heeft gehad ende gebruyckt.' [The beautiful library of books consisting of all manner of bound books, embracing all kinds of studies and languages as well as many and divers authors together with a manuscript index bound in calf's leather listing these same books (concerning the inventory see below), also the wooden bookcases in which the said books are kept... and the Plantinian Press... also with all the tools and instruments of the said printing-press and the correctors' library which he has now had in use for several years.]

office. But it is also quite possible that in the course of time the masters of the house thought it desirable to build up a new reference library for their proof-readers.¹ In all probability it never amounted to more than a few dictionaries, liturgical and scriptural exemplars, and other useful works. After 1592 all the books of any value were to be found in the private library.

The development of the library can be traced through three catalogues. The first gives the position in 1592, a few years after Plantin's death, when Balthasar began to take a personal interest in the collection and compiled a catalogue.² He carefully divided the books into a number of categories³ and arranged them according to size within these categories. The author and the abbreviated title of each work were recorded, together with the place of issue, publisher, and year of publication. The manuscripts were listed towards the end, between the 'libri ecclesiastici' and the 'musici'.⁴ Unfortunately the first pages, up to and including the medical works, were charred at the top so that the entries for a number of books are missing, illegible, or mutilated. All that can be made out of the opening words and the first book listed - which must be the Gutenberg Bible - is: 'T[heologici]. Biblia ex pr... sine nomine loci...'

The second catalogue is usually referred to as the catalogue of 1650 or, more correctly, of c. 1650.⁵ This date is given in the *Catalogus manuscriptorum Balthasaris Moreti in Officina Plantiniana Antverpie 1630 11 Julii*, written

1. The fact that the 1805 catalogue lists fewer 'libri rituales' than that of c. 1675 could be an indication of this: a number of the missing service-books may have been transferred to the new proof-readers' library formed after c. 1675.
2. Ms. 121.
3. Cf. p. 344, note 2 below.
4. Published by H. Stein (cf. p. 338, note 1).
5. Ms. 29.

in the characteristic hand of Balthasar II, then the master of the *officina*. But this summary catalogue of the manuscripts¹ is simply left loose in the large leather-bound volume inscribed *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae Balthasaris Moreti* in gold letters. The handwriting in this catalogue has been identified as that of Balthasar III. Many of the books have dates much later than 1650. The compiler was often out by a century, writing 1690 when he meant 1590 and so on. The dates which can be accepted nevertheless extend to 1673, suggesting that this catalogue of the Plantinian library was compiled in about 1675, twenty-five years after the catalogue of the manuscripts.²

In contrast to Balthasar I's catalogue, the books are here grouped according to size,³ and each size is subdivided according to content, although the books in the various vernacular languages are kept separate, as in 1592. It seems rather as if as the work progressed - or dragged on - the compiler began to grow bored and tried to speed the work up by reducing the number of headings. Whereas there is a very long list of careful subdivisions in the folio books,⁴ the number is reduced appreciably in the quarto volumes and dwindles still further when the octavos are reached. For the smaller sizes (12mo and less) the classification is the simplest possible.⁵ This catalogue too gives author, title of work, publisher, and place and date of publication.

The last catalogue is an even bulkier volume entitled *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Moretiana digestus anno 1805*.⁶ The same method was followed

1. Published by H. Stein (cf. p. 338, note 1).
2. The catalogue is specifically mentioned in the deed of 7th February 1692 dividing Anna Goos's estate (cf. p. 341, note 5) and in the inventory of 1691 (cf. p. 358).
3. With a separate list of extra large books after the folio volumes: 'Libri varii maioris formae qui extra ordinem positi quia maioris formae sunt, quam ut in loculamentis classium poni commodi potuissent.'
4. Libri theologici (subdivided into: Biblia; Bibliorum concordantiae; Bibliorum interpretes; Patres antiqui; Patres antiqui latini et doctores ecclesiae latini; Libri rituales vulgo rubronigri; Historici sacri et ecclesiastici, latini, greci et graeco-latini; Historici sacri latini); Historici profani (Graeci et Graeco-latini; Historici et chronologici profani latini); libri antiquarii; Philosophi et oratores (Graeci et Latini; Critici latini); Poetae Graecae et Latini; Polyanthaeae, glossaria et grammaticalia; Mathematici; Iuridici; Medici, naturalistae, herbaria; Gallici; Teutonici; Hispanici; Italici; Germanici; Anglici.
5. Libri rituales; Theologici, spirituales; Poetae; Philosophi, historici, miscellanea, medici; Gallici; Hispanici; Teutonici.
6. Arch. 1243.

as in the previous catalogue, namely classification according to format and, within each format, subdivision according to content; this subdivision is taken to considerable lengths, but is not the same for each format. This time books in modern languages are classified with the rest according to size and subject matter.

The actual catalogue ends with an enumeration of the *incunabula* and manuscripts. After this come two indexes, one of the contents, the other of the authors.¹ These are followed by a list of acquisitions of books made during or shortly after 1805 (newly acquired manuscripts were written up straight away in the *libri manuscripti* section). This catalogue was compiled by a bibliophile who inserted many comments on the value, significance or rarity of the works listed and indicated appropriate reference books.

These three catalogues listing the books of the Plantin House before its acquisition by the City of Antwerp in 1876 are the chief sources for studying the growth of the library. The 1592 catalogue lists 728 works (including 15 *incunabula*) and 83 manuscripts.² By 1650 the number of manuscripts had risen to 154, and by 1675 the number of printed works had reached 2,895.³ The 1805 catalogue gives 121 manuscripts and 4,380 printed works, 55 of them being *incunabula*.⁴ In the 1592 and 1650/1675 catalogues each title was specified, even when bound with other works, but in 1805 manuscripts and printed books were numbered according to their bindings.

1. With in addition the detailed inventory of two 'collections de diverses pieces fugitives' relating to the history of the Southern Netherlands (Belgium) in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century.
2. The printed works were subdivided as follows: Theologici, 126; Jus canonicum, 8; Jus civile, 15; Medici, 20; Grammatici, 69; Oratores, 56; Poetae, 82; Historiae ecclesiasticae, 5; Historiae civiles, 46; Cosmographiae, 9; Philosophi, 11; Mathematici, 6; Miscellanea quae omnia fere critica, 16; Graece scriptores (subdivided into Theologi, 23; Jus civile, 2; Medici, 1; Grammatici, 24; Oratores, 21; Poetae, 32; Historiographi, 11; Cosmographi, 3; Philosophi, 9; total 126); Libri Hebraici, 7; Libri Italici, 10; Libri Hispanici, 7; Libri Gallici, 31; Libri Germanici, 11 (5 Dutch, 6 German); Libri Anglici, 1; Libri Ecclesiastici (Missals, Breviaries, Books of Hours), 57; Musici, 9.
3. The printed works are grouped as follows: religious works (in Latin, Greek or Hebrew), 736; 'other works' (idem), 1,614; French publications, 247; Dutch, 93; Spanish, 90; Italian, 70; German, 3; English, 2; Section of extra large books, 40.
4. Divided as follows: Theologici, 923; Juridici, 228; Historici, 1,263; Bibliographici, 55; Scientiae et artes, 465; Humaniores, 909; Grammatici, 312; Section of extra large books, 70; *Incunabula*, 42; 'Supplenda' (including 13 *incunabula*), 113.

The total number of titles in 1805 must therefore have been between five and six thousand and must have comprised eight or nine thousand volumes. When the Plantin House was handed over in 1876 no inventory of the books was made, but there was mention of an estimated eight to nine thousand volumes - which corresponded closely enough with the 1805 figure.

Closer examination of the catalogues enables a more detailed picture to be built up. In 1592 the collection was, for a private library, worthy of note without being extraordinarily large. Eighty years later it had quadrupled. The great majority of printed books acquired between 1592 and *c.* 1675 have dates that fall within the period 1592 to 1641. It is safe to assume that it was Balthasar I who extended the modest collection of books for the proof-readers into a quite impressive private library.

Balthasar I's books included some that were not listed in the catalogue of *c.* 1675. Besides his 'official' library he had a rather less official one, kept under careful lock and key in an 'lankwerpige weecke houte casse staende in Lipsius camer' [oblong softwood chest standing in the Lipsius room]. The existence of this collection was brought to light when on 16th March 1643 a notary drew up an inventory of the contents of this piece of furniture.¹ The reasons for the notary's activity were not given, but it probably had nothing to do with the suspect character of the books: the small paintings, porcelain, and bric-à-brac which also filled the chest were too carefully detailed for this to have been the case and the inventory was presumably connected with one or other of the settlements of the estate.

Unfortunately the notary was no bibliophile. He hurried through the work, giving much abbreviated or even garbled titles and making no note of publisher or date. Many of the works are therefore difficult to identify. But however incomplete the entries are, this list of about sixty books comprising Balthasar I's secret library is very revealing. It is easy to see why the Printer to His Catholic Majesty did not display these volumes on his shelves. There were a few books of an erotic nature,² a number of works presenting a Dutch Protestant view of events in the Netherlands,³ a larger

1. Arch. 104, pp. 187-190.

2. Including two *Laus Veneris*, and a *Metamorphosis Ovidii*, in octavo.

3. Including *Een nieuwe geus liekenboeckxen; Het bootmanspraetken; Historie van de religie ten tijde van Keiser Karel*, quarto. Also 'Strade de bello belgico', which can be identified as Famiano Strada's *De Bello Belgico* (first edition, Rome, 1632; second edition, Antwerp, 1635). Why Balthasar should consign the Roman Jesuit's work, which was repeatedly published in Antwerp from 1635 onwards, to his secret library remains a mystery. Perhaps the copy in his possession was an edition published in Holland.

number dealing with the troubles in Henry IV's France and probably also Calvinist in flavour,¹ and many books which discussed religious questions from an anti-Catholic viewpoint.² In addition to these there were some works on magic and soothsaying.³

Balthasar I had probably inherited some of these books from Plantin,⁴ but he must have acquired most of them himself in one way or another. History does not record what Balthasar II thought of this find. Some of the works - the more innocuous ones - found their way to the library proper.⁵ Others were carefully hidden away again, but not destroyed: this seems to have been the case with the *Psaumes de David* and the *Instruction chrétienne* of Ravillian, which do not appear in the 1675 catalogue, although copies with notes by or for Plantin have been preserved in the Museum.⁶ The rest have vanished without trace - this was probably Balthasar II's doing, shortly after the notary had compiled his inventory.

The manuscripts and books listed in the catalogues of 1650 and c. 1675

1. Including *Lectres patantes du roy du france au Jesuwiste*, quarto; *Histoire de france sons Henri quatre*; *Histoire de France*; *Histoire du reine de Henri catre*.
2. Including the *Bijbel Duytsch*, 12mo, Amsterdam; *Helmichinus tegen Costerus*; *Histoire de la religions*; *Fonteyne des levens*; *Der minnenbroeder alcoraeyn*; *Defensio professurum de non occidendo hereticos*; *Eenen brieff van Theodorus Groen aen eenen Jesuwiet gheschreven*; *Les soins de Pierre Messie*; *Epitome progressus de occidendis hereticis*, octavo; *Den onderganck des roomschen Arens*; *De potestate pape Guilielmi Barclai*; *Valschen roem des Pausdoms van Trigulandis*; *Spiegel der Jesuwieten*; *Christelycke gebeden van Habberman*.
3. Including *Cabaliste...* (?), in franc., in quarto; *Geromansia*.
4. Including (1) *Instruction cretaine pere Ravillian*, identifiable as Pierre Ravillian's *Instruction chrétienne*. Plantin printed two (different) editions in 1558 and 1562. The 1562 edition landed him in trouble with the authorities. The Plantin-Moretus Museum has a copy in which Plantin himself wrote that he was not responsible for this edition. This is probably the copy which was hidden in the secret library. (2) *Psaumes de Clement Marot*, identifiable as *Psaumes de David*, translated into French and set to music by Clement Marot and Théodore de Bèze, published by Plantin in 1564. This edition had to be burnt on the order of the authorities (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 9), although the Museum possesses a copy with the handwritten approbation of the censor; this is probably the one that was kept in the secret library.
5. Including *Hohepot on Salmigondi des Folz*, 1596 (Library A 2286), already listed in the c. 1675 catalogue.
6. Cf. note 4.

represent Plantin's original library augmented by Balthasar I's acquisitions. However, Balthasar II also left evidence of his interest. To judge from the number of books published between 1641 and 1673 which are entered in the 1675 catalogue,¹ he added considerably to the collection he had inherited.

The 1805 catalogue reveals a treasury of books twice as large as that of 1675. The number of printed books published between 1675 and 1700 is quite considerable, but a sharp decrease can be observed in the following century. There are only about 265 works in the library which were printed in the eighteenth century, and of these some seventy date from before 1715. Acquisitions during the rest of the century include a few important and extensive publications (the *Acta Sanctorum*, 53 vols., 1643-1794, *Encyclopédic ou dictionnaire raisonné*, 35 vols., 1751 sqq., and *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale et royale des Sciences et Belles Lettres de Bruxelles*, 6 vols., 1777-1784), but most are of no great importance: some dictionaries and schoolbooks, works on recent political events, pamphlets on trade and commercial companies, catalogues of famous private libraries, and so on.

The conclusion cannot be avoided that a succession of bibliophile Moretuses-Balthasar I, who developed Plantin's utilitarian collection into an important private library, Balthasar II (1641-1674) and Balthasar III (1674-1696), who increased this family inheritance, and, probably, Balthasar III's widow who died in 1714 - was followed in the eighteenth century by Moretuses who had less interest in books. Their chief merit lay in having preserved their forebears' inheritance intact.

In the latter years of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, another book-lover in the family must have concerned himself with the library. This is apparent from the care taken over the 1805 catalogue and the notes on the rare books it contains. This bibliophile - who can probably be identified as Lodewijk Frans Moretus, who died in 1820² - was less interested in contemporary works than in

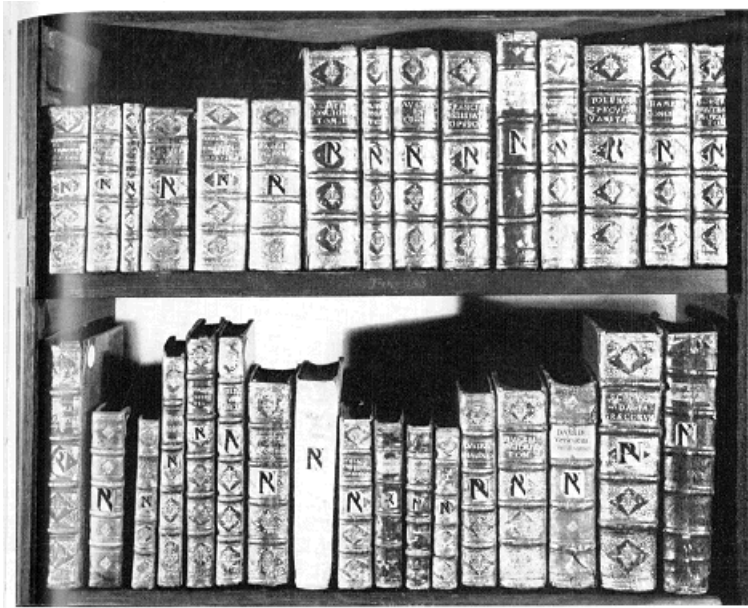
1. It is significant that where Balthasar II valued his library at 7,500 fl. in 1651 (cf. p. 341, note 4), in 1658 he put it at 10,000 fl. (cf. p. 357).
2. The Moretus concerned must have been one of the unmarried sons of Franciscus Joannes Moretus who, after their mother's death, carried on the business jointly. The relatively large number of manuscripts in German, or originating from Germany, which were added to the Moretus library in this period suggests that this bibliophile must have spent some time east of the Rhine. This was the case with Lodewijk Frans Moretus, who fled from the French revolutionary armies in 1794 and only returned in 1799. His two other unmarried brothers stayed behind in Antwerp.

earlier books and manuscripts. He enriched the library with a number of *incunabula*; he acquired hitherto missing Plantin editions,¹ purchased fifteenth-century Flemish illuminated books of hours, and probably brought manuscripts with him when he returned from exile in Germany. Among these was one of the treasures of the Museum's manuscript collection: the two parts of the so-called King Wenceslas Bible. This beautiful early fifteenth-century work is one of the greatest achievements of late medieval miniature painting in Bohemia.²

The collection also includes a number of manuscripts which were bought by nineteenth-century Moretuses - twenty-two from Canon J.F. van de Velde's library, auctioned in 1831 and seven from the collection of Count Clemens-Wenceslas de Renesse-Breidbach, which was sold in 1835.³ At least one Moretus of the last century must have been interested in books, but it is difficult to discover to what extent he increased the collection of printed books. In any case the later Moretuses too showed no interest in contemporary works, except for the *Journal des débats* which they kept up from 1800 to 1871. This is the only important nineteenth-century publication on the Moretus shelves. Everything considered it would seem that the library was not added to greatly between 1805 and 1876, when the collection was handed over to the City of Antwerp.

By what means did these various manuscripts and books pass into the possession of the masters of the Golden Compasses? For one group the explanation is simple: they were works printed by the Plantin press or manuscripts sent in for printing. It has already been pointed out, however, that not all such editions found their way to the library, Plantin being rather casual about keeping copies of his books. The 1592 catalogue lists

1. Of the 113 acquisitions listed separately in the 1805 catalogue, there were no less than thirteen *incunabula* and seventeen Plantin editions.
2. Entered in the supplement to the 1805 catalogue as: 'Vetus Testamentum. Codex membranaceus nitidissime exaratus anno 1402 in 2 vol. compactus, cujus litterae initiales bellissime coloribus auroque obducta sunt.' See M.-L. Vermeiren's 'La Bible de Wenceslas du Musée Plantin-Moretus à Anvers' in *De Gulden Passer*, 31, 1953, pp. 191-229.
3. Cf. p. 352, note 4.



(92) Books from the Plantinian library. The spines show Plantin's monogram, presumably applied by Balthasar II or III Moretus.



(93) *Opposite*: Illuminated ninth-century manuscript, containing Sedulius's *Carmen Paschale* and Prosperus's *Epigrammata*. In the twelfth century it belonged to the Monastery of Saint James at Liège. In the sixteenth century it came into the possession of Theodoor Poelman, who bequeathed it to Plantin.

728 titles, but only 114 of these were Plantin editions, a very small fraction of what the great printer produced.

Plantin's immediate successors, less purely utilitarian in inclination, were a little more careful to put aside copies of their own editions for the library. In the catalogue of *c.* 1675 the number of these had risen to 612 (out of a total of 2,895 works). One of the heirs, either Balthasar II or Balthasar III, even pasted a label with Plantin's monogram on the back of each of the *officina's* editions, enabling bibliophiles wandering along the shelves to see at a glance what the house had produced.¹ However, even these 498 acquisitions represent only a small percentage of what the Plantin press turned out between 1592 and 1675. The later Moretuses were equally remiss. The 1805 catalogue lists only 705 numbers, representing about one thousand publications of their house.

Particularly noticeable is the small number of service books that were kept.² The Moretuses, although they had gone over almost entirely to the production of breviaries, missals and other liturgical books in the course of the seventeenth century and turned out vast numbers of them, only very occasionally put a copy of such works in their library. Many examples of later Moretus impressions in the present Museum library were taken by the curators from stocks left behind in the house in 1876. In fact among the *Officina Plantiniana* editions now in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, this class still presents the greatest gaps.

As far as the other books and manuscripts in the private library are concerned, it may be assumed that Plantin and the Moretuses either bought them or were presented with them; but where, when, and by whom can only occasionally be determined.

A bibliographer who was prepared to make it his life's work to sift

1. The author suspects that these marks were added when the catalogue of *c.* 1675 was being written (the Plantinian works noted in this catalogue were marked in an identical manner by means of a monogram). It is, however, not impossible that an earlier Moretus had already started applying these labels.
2. Twenty-two in 1592 (out of 114 Plantin editions); 45 in *c.* 1675 (out of 612 Plantin editions). In 1805 only 'rituales' were noted among the works in quarto (19, of which eight were from the *officina*), in octavo and in 12mo (6, with not a single Plantin edition). It is as if most of the works in this section were not listed in the catalogue; perhaps at this time they were included in the proof-readers' library (see pp. 341-342).

through the accounts and correspondence, and examine each book-plate and handwritten dedication, would undoubtedly bring to light interesting and remarkable information. In this general survey, however, a few typical examples must suffice.

From time to time learned friends of the family seem to have shown their affection by presenting suitably inscribed copies of their works. A 1574 Latin edition of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius has a dedication in the great cartographer's fine humanist hand to 'Do[min]o Christophoro Plantino Regi □ Ma[ies]t[ati]s prototypographo auctori (?) suo, auctor DD.'¹ A Latin edition of 1595² has a similar dedication to Jan Moretus: 'Optimo, sibique amicissimo D[omin]o Io. Moreto, compatri suo carissimo, auctor benevolentii ergo DD.'³

Sometimes these dedicated volumes had been printed in the *officina* itself, as for example the *Paraeneticon* by Joannes Hemelarius, in which the author wrote enthusiastic words in praise of Balthasar I who had published the work in 1621.⁴

Only a few books passed into the library in this way, however; more important were the ordinary gifts, often in the form of bequests. After Theodoor Poelman died in 1581 part, or possibly all of the library of this excellent scholar (who had also been a fuller and a customs official) passed into Plantin's possession. The bequest included books with annotations made by Poelman in anticipation of further editions, books from his reference library, letters and notes,⁵ and a fine collection of old manuscripts of Latin authors. These greatly enhanced the value and importance of that section of Plantin's library.⁶ Two of these manuscripts had previously been given

1. Library A 4131.

2. Library R 39.10.

3. 'Do[mi]no Ioanni Moreto, amicitia □ mnemosynon, Abrah. Ortelius' is how Ortelius dedicated a copy of his *Deorum dearumque capita*, 1573 (Library R 12.2). Cf. the representation of the title-page and the commission: L. Voet, 'Abraham Ortelius "afsetter van carten"' in *Antwerpen*, 5, 1959, p. 49.

4. 'Egregio atque eruditissimo viro D. Balthasari Moreto accuratissimo □ artis Typographicae Plantiniana dignissimo successori, amico singulari, auctor, su □ voluntatis breve mnemosynon D.D.' (Library R 4.6).

5. M. Rooses, 'Poelman' in *Biographie nationale*, 17, col. 882-883. The letters and notes: Denucé, *Manuscripts*, no. 81.

6. Denucé, *Manuscripts*, nos. 51, 62, 70, 71, 72, 76, 81, 84, 98, 100, 108, 111, 115, 120, 125, 126, 130(?), 135, 141, 176, 190, 193, 204, 338.

by Plantin to his friend and collaborator;¹ another one seems to have been given to Poelman by Victor Giselinus, who was associated with the Plantin press for a time as a proof-reader;² while yet another was a present from the Antwerp printer Jan Bellerus.³

When Ortelius died in 1598, the Moretus collection was enriched by a number of works from his library: various books in the Museum still have his signature, ‘Abrah[ami] Ortelii’, on their title-pages,⁴ and there are also some notable reminders of the Flemish mapmaker among the manuscripts.⁵

Nicolaas Oudartius (Oudaert), Canon of St. Rombout's, Malines, and a humanist of some distinction, died on 1st July 1608. His will is dated 30th June and shows that, in the face of death, he did not forget his friend and publisher in Antwerp: ‘Item Joanni Moreto bibliopolae Antwerpien, laet hy alle de boecken gescreven byder hand staende by een boven aende schouwe, vuegende daer by Augustinum de Civitate Dei manu scripta die daer oyck omtrent staet, ende tot dyen Opera Ovidii van seer ouwen druck’ [Item. To Jan Moretus, bookseller at Antwerp, he leaves all the books written by hand standing together above the fireplace, with the addition of the manuscript of De civitate Dei by Augustine which is also somewhere there, and Ovid's Opera printed very long ago].⁶ The *De civitate Dei* is a beautiful manuscript dating from 1497.⁷ Of the other manuscripts bequeathed by Oudartius to Moretus, a *Decretum Gratiani*, also of the fifteenth century, has been identified.⁸

1. *Ibid.*, nos. 126 and 135.

2. *Ibid.*, no. 120.

3. *Ibid.*, no. 108.

4. Cf. Wauwermans, ‘Ortelius’ in *Biographie nationale*, 16, col. 330. E.g. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliothecae Historicae libri quindecim de quadraginta*, Paris, H. Stephanus, 1559; in an ornamental binding (Library O.B. 6.2). Not all the works in the Museum library with the signature ‘Abrah. Ortelii’ passed into the collection immediately after Ortelius's death: C. Valerius Flaccus, *Argonauticon libri VIII*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1576, which was probably given to Ortelius by Plantin since the binding bears the latter's printer's mark (Library O.B. 1.9), also has Van Havre's *ex-libris* and was bought by the Museum authorities when his library was auctioned. Cf. also plate 99.

5. Denucé, *Manuscripts*, no. 336. The manuscript of the *Thesaurus Geographicus*, 1581 (*Ibid.*, no. 24) was bought in 1875.

6. M. Sabbe, ‘Het legaat van Kan. Nic. Oudaert aan Jan Moretus’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 9, 1931, pp. 45-47.

7. Denucé. *Manuscripts*, no. 186.

8. *Ibid.*, no. 9.

It is not clear whether the Polydorus Virgil of 1540,¹ with Plantin's 'Sum Christ. Plantini' as well as the owner's inscription of Cornelis van Bomberghen, should be regarded as a voluntary or involuntary gift. It may be that the book was left behind by Van Bomberghen when he fled the country in 1567 and then got included in the library.

Most of the works in the library of the Plantin House were undoubtedly acquired by purchase: it has been seen that the proof-readers' library began in this way. It may be assumed that Plantin and the Moretuses ordered any newly published works they wanted directly from their colleagues in the trade. They also visited auctions: Plantin's purchase of books from the estate of a Frankfurt doctor in 1565 is an instance of this.² In his letter of 3rd September 1608 to Canon P. de Clerck, one of the executors of the Oudartius estate, Jan Moretus mentioned in passing: 'Den catalogus vande bibliotheq die te vercoopen soude mogen vallen is in handen van mynen soone' [My son now has the catalogue of the library which may come up for sale]³ which suggests that Balthasar I was already studying the document carefully, and it is easy to guess for what purpose. Later Moretuses bought many manuscripts at the auction of Canon J.F. van de Velde's library in 1831 and that of Count Clemens-Wenceslas de Renesse-Breidbach at Antwerp in 1835.⁴

Plantin and the Moretuses also bought works from private persons. The *incunabulum* entitled *Epistolae diversorum philosophorum* (Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1499) has on its title-page the words '1565, 27 Oct. D. Clemens vendidit C. Plantino'. This D. Clemens who sold Plantin the Manutius edition was in fact the famous English doctor and philologist John Clement, the former tutor of Thomas More's children.⁵ A Catholic by conviction, he had fled to the Netherlands after the accession of Elizabeth I and died at

1. Polydorus Vergilius, *De rerum inventoribus libri octo*, Basle, M. Isingrinus, 1540 (Library O.B. 3.2).
2. Cf. p. 339.
3. M. Sabbe, 'Het legaat van Kan. Nic. Oudaert' (see p. 351, note 6).
4. At the J.F. van de Velde auction: Denucé, *Manuscripts*, nos. 148, 150, 151, 166, 168, 226, 228, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 246, 254-261, 280, 419, 497. At the Renesse auction: Denucé, *Manuscripts*, nos. 32, 94, 174, 175, 182, 378, 382.
5. See M. Sabbe, 'Uit den humanistenkring rondom Plantin' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 53-55, on the subject of Clement and his relations with Plantin.



(94) *Opposite*: Page from the so-called *King Wenceslas Bible*, a profusely illuminated manuscript made at Prague in the early fifteenth century for Conrad de Vechta, master of the mint to King Wenceslas of Bohemia. The first page of Genesis is shown. Conrad de Vechta's coat-of-arms are at the foot of the page.



(95) One of the numerous miniatures in the *King Wenceslas Bible*.

Malines in 1572. He must have been able to take at least some of his library with him, and sold books from it from time to time. Besides the Manutius he sold Plantin a Xenophon for 3 fl. 10 st. in 1564-65 and a number of unspecified books (probably including the *Epistolae*) for the sum of 27 fl. 10 st., intended as payment for Bibles and classical authors with which Plantin had supplied him.

Among the works which Clement had managed to take with him were a number of valuable manuscripts. Plantin mentioned them in his letter of 29th January 1568 to Cardinal Granvelle, while in the preface to the Polyglot Bible Arias Montanus expressed his gratitude for the use of the Greek Pentateuch, originally from Thomas More's library, which Clement had lent him. Many manuscripts which were listed in the 1592 catalogue of the Plantinian library have inscriptions showing that they came originally from the libraries of Oxford colleges:¹ in the light of the transactions mentioned above it may be assumed that Plantin acquired these manuscripts, either from Clement himself, or from other scholars who had fled from England in similar circumstances. Together with the Poelman bequest, they comprise some of the oldest and most valuable manuscripts of the collection.

There is no important library which has not suffered regrettable losses in the course of the years, and the Plantinian collection is no exception. The full extent of these losses since 1592 could only be determined by careful comparison of the various catalogues, but a cursory examination has already shown that a number of works have unfortunately disappeared. To quote just one example, the catalogue of c. 1675 lists the 1566 Plantin edition of Reynard the Fox, of which there are now only two known copies in the world—neither of them in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

How much was lost before 1592 can only be guessed at, but there certainly were losses, witness the two Estienne editions (the *Chronicon* by Eusebius and the *Chronicon* by Sigebert of Gembloux, Paris, Henricus Stephanus, 1512 and 1513), bound as one volume (the binding dates from Plantin's time), with 'Ad usum Christoph. Plantini Regii prototypographi' in the printer's vigorous handwriting on the fly-leaf and the simpler 'Plantini' on the title-page of the Eusebius. The book must have disappeared from

1. Denucé, *Manuscripts*, nos. 12, 26, 27, 28, 30, 41, 46(?), 47(?), 48(?), 57, 59(?), 67(?), 77, 78, 80(?), 106, 107, 109, 110, 131, 142, 144, 146(?).

the library before 1592 as it is not mentioned in the catalogue of that year. In 1964, after an absence of nearly four centuries, it was returned to the Museum through the intermediary of a New York antiquarian.¹

How this and other works went astray is a matter for conjecture. Plantin is known to have given manuscripts to his friends.² The compiler of the c. 1675 catalogue seems to have thought it quite natural that books should disappear from his library,³ while a note in the same catalogue gives an actual instance of friends of the family receiving books as presents.⁴

In other cases books were borrowed and never returned. When the younger Frans Raphelengius was planning to republish Joannes Sambucus's illustrated book *Icones Medicorum*, the copperplates for which were in his possession, he wrote to his uncle Jan Moretus (14th April 1602) asking him to send the 1574 Plantin edition of this work to Leiden so as to avoid mistakes in the captions.⁵ Moretus's reply is not known, but the Plantin-

1. Another example is Add. MSS 11,942 in the British Museum collection, a beautiful eleventh-century manuscript, *Macrobii in Ciceronis Somnium Scipionis Commentariorum*, which is signed at the bottom of the first page 'Christophori Plantini, adi 29 Augusti 1579' (C. Clair, 'Plantiniana in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum and at the Public Records Office' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, p. 113).
2. For instance to T. Poelman (cf. pp. 350-351). In 1573 Thomas Redinger was so pleased with the gift of an old manuscript that he presented Plantin with a silver cup ornated with the head of Minerva (Plantin to Redinger, 9th November 1573: *Corr.*, IV, no. 494).
3. Ms. 29, folio 14^{vo} (Libri antiquarii in folio): 'Indi Orientalis descriptio partibus XII comprehensa, quae tomis duobus sunt compactae; sed septem posteriores amissae sive ex bibliotheca ablatae sunt.'
4. *Ibid.*, folio 10ro (Historici profani, Graeci et Graeco-Latini, in folio): 1) *Historiae Byzantinae scriptores tres, Nicephorus Gregoras, Laonicus Chaliocondijla, et Gregorius Logotheta, graece et latine*, Editi Coloniae Allobragiae apud Petrum de la Reviere, 1615; 2) *Corpus Bizantinae historiae excerptae de legationibus et variis auctoribus e cod. mss. Davidis Hoesschetij graece et latine*, Parisiis, Typographia Regia, 1648. In the margin is noted: 'Dese 2 boecken overgelaeten aan den H. Canoninck Snellaert 16 Xbre 1713. Pro memorie.' [These two books left to Canon Snellaert 16 December 1713. Pro memorie.]
5. As the ever-jesting Frans put it: 'Item ick wilde hebben (al waer 't maer te leen) *Icones medicorum*, want in onse blaederen kan ik niet bij alle vinden daer figuren bij gedrukt zijn. Soo dat sonder exempelen, wij licht Uylenspiegels tronie setten souden, daer Claes Narrens staen mochte, et contra.' [Item: I would like to have the *Icones medicorum* (even if only on loan) as in our sheets (with printed text) not all the figures have been printed so I cannot find them and without examples we may well print Owlglasses where the Fool ought to be, and vice versa.]

Moretus Museum has a copy of the 1602 Leiden edition while the Plantin edition has disappeared.¹

In 1876 this wealth of manuscripts and books which Plantin and his successors accumulated was made over to the City of Antwerp as part of the new Plantin-Moretus Museum. The manuscripts were listed in J. Denucé's catalogue published in 1927. Since 1876 they have been somewhat augmented by purchases and gifts. Some of these have been documents with no connection with the Plantinian house,² and some years after the publication of Denucé's catalogue they were passed on to the Stedelijk Prentenkabinet [Municipal Gallery of Prints] and the 'Archief en Museum voor het Vlaamse Cultuurleven' [Archives and Museum of Flemish Cultural Life], both in Antwerp.³

This reduced the 506 titles in Denucé's catalogue by twenty-nine. Of the remaining 477 titles, twenty-one are manuscripts acquired between 1876 and 1927 which remained in the library,⁴ ten are fly-leaves taken from bound books when the library was catalogued⁵ and twenty-eight are manuscripts which had been bound in with printed volumes.⁶ There have been about twenty-five acquisitions since 1927, but only a very few of them are of any great importance.⁷

The majority of the manuscripts in the Museum have come down from the collection of Plantin and the Moretuses. It should be pointed out, however, that when the contents of the house were inventoried after 1876, documents relating to the family or the *officina* (such as authors' manuscripts prepared for press, scholars' notes, travel journals and school exercise books belonging

1. L. Voet, 'Het Plantijnse huis te Leiden' in *Verslag van de Algemene Vergadering van de leden van het Historisch Genootschap gehouden te Utrecht op 31 oktober 1960*, p. 28.
2. Particularly documents about painters of the Antwerp School and Flemish literary figures.
3. Denucé, *Manuscripts*, nos. 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 233, 335, 363, 366, 367, 370, 371, 382, 393, 403, 404, 405, 406, 423, 428, 460, 461, 462, 492, 494, 498, 501, 502.
4. *Ibid.*, nos. 24, 170, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 373, 383, 385, 387, 398, 418, 424, 432, 464, 499, 503, 504, 506.
5. *Ibid.*, nos. 202, 339-346.
6. *Ibid.*, nos. 4, 58, 198, 207, 331, 372, 381, 384, 386, 390, 394-397, 399-402, 407-410, 412, 413, 415, 417, 500, 505.
7. One of these is a fifteenth-century English heraldic manuscript which was actually bought on account of the rare thirteenth-century panelstamped binding of Wouter van Duffel (Library O.B. 5.6). For this bookbinding see the bibliography on p. 357, note 3.

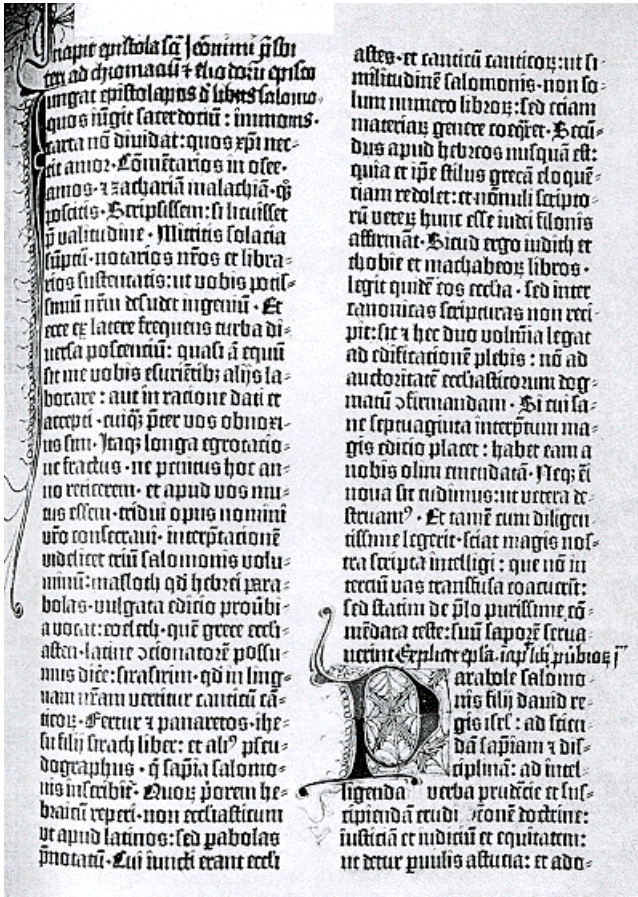
to the Moretuses) were taken from the archives and added to the *libri manuscripti* of the 1592, 1650 and 1805 catalogues.

The manuscript library of the Plantin-Moretus Museum has therefore a dual character. There is what might be termed the ‘humanist’ section, with reminders of Plantin and the Moretuses and their scholarly friends, and with many manuscripts as they were prepared for printing; this section is of great interest for the history of humanism in the Low Countries.¹ On the other hand there are the manuscripts, forming the bulk of what was collected by the masters of the Golden Compasses, which have no direct connection with the printing office as such. These old manuscripts cannot compare numerically with what has been assembled in the great libraries of the world, but nevertheless they include an impressive number of works which are remarkable for their age and contents, and sometimes for their illumination.²

Of all the collections which were handed over with the Plantin House in 1876, only that of printed books has since been added to systematically. The first curator, Max Rooses, mapped out a policy of acquisition which his successors have faithfully continued. The first aim of this policy was to complete the collection of old (i.e. pre-1800) Antwerp editions, priority naturally being given to the still missing *Officina Plantiniana* editions. Edward Moretus handed over about 9,000 volumes in 1876 and there are now approximately 20,000: the present Museum library can be considered the most complete in the world with regard to Plantin-Moretus editions, and one of the richest in old Antwerp editions. But thanks to Plantin and the book-lovers among the Moretuses, there is also a wealth of books printed in other places, including many rare and remarkable editions.³

Through its generous support the ‘Bestendig Dotatiefonds voor Stadsbibliotheek en Museum Plantin-Moretus’ [Permanent Donation Fund for the Antwerp Municipal Library and the Plantin-Moretus Museum], set up

1. Altogether 117 manuscripts, of which 56 were prepared for printing.
2. Altogether 322 manuscripts, 119 of them dating from before the sixteenth century (ninth cent., 2; tenth cent., 1; eleventh cent., 3; eleventh-twelfth cent., 1; eleventh-fourteenth cent., 1; twelfth cent., 8; twelfth-fourteenth cent., 1; twelfth-fifteenth cent., 1; thirteenth cent., 14; thirteenth-fourteenth cent., 2; fourteenth cent., 26; fourteenth-sixteenth cent., 1; fifteenth cent., 52; fifteenth-sixteenth cent., 6).
3. Cf. F. Vanderhaeghen, *Notice sur la bibliothèque plantinienne*, 1875.



(96) Page from the 36-line Gutenberg Bible. This fine copy in three volumes came originally from the Augustinian Monastery at Nuremberg, which presented it in 1514 to the Order's new house in Antwerp. Presumably Plantin bought it from the latter.



(97) *Opposite*: Renaissance bookbinding with the figure of the Emperor Charles V. Made in 1543 by the Antwerp bookbinder Claus van Dormale.

in 1905, has played a most important part through the years in this extension of the old Plantinian library.¹ A notable acquisition was the library which Mr. Max Horn bequeathed to the Museum in 1953 and which now stands in the Max Horn room (Room 33): a unique collection of about a thousand original and rare editions of French literary works from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, in equally rare and precious bindings.²

Any unbound books and manuscripts acquired by Plantin and the Moretuses were bound before being placed on their library shelves. Purchases and gifts since 1876 have considerably increased the number of original bookbindings. This very beautiful collection has not yet been adequately surveyed and studied.³ The specialist who wanted to make a systematic investigation would be sure of being richly rewarded for his trouble.

Mention should also be made of the fact that since 1876 a modern reference library for typography and bibliography has been started alongside the old collection. It already contains about 20,000 volumes.⁴

Before leaving the library of the Plantin House it is worth giving some attention to the rooms in which the books were housed through the centuries. There is no documentary evidence until 1640; in that year Balthasar I Moretus paid the carpenter Willem van de Velde 196 fl. 4 st. 'for wood work for my library in the new room'.⁵ The carpenter actually put up shelves in three rooms on the first floor of the 'new building' in the west wing. They were specified in Balthasar II's inventory of 1658: 'The private library of Balthasar Moretus, consisting of the books standing in three rooms, namely above the office or shop, above the little office, and above the Lipsius room, together with the antiqui libri manuscripti standing

1. G. Schmook, 'XL jaar Antwerps maecenaat' in *De Gulden Passer*, 28, 1950, pp. 57-70. Cf. p. 410.
2. There is a card catalogue by R. de Belser.
3. With the notable exception of P. Verheyden's studies: 'Banden met blinddruk bewaard in het Museum Plantin-Moretus' in *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 4, 1906, pp. 28-37, 51-63, 117-128, 163-169; 'Plantijnsche bandmerken', *ibid.*, 8, 1910, pp. 263-265; and 'De paneelstempel van Wouter van Duffel, priester, boekbinder te Anwerpen (1249-1285)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 15, 1937, pp. 1-36. Cf. also B. van Regemorter, 'La reliure' in *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens. Catalogue de l'exposition... Bibliothèque nationale*, 1954, pp. 121-130; and L. Voet, 'Plantin relieur', *ibid.*, pp. 158-160.
4. Alphabetical and systematic card catalogue.
5. Arch. 125, folio 373.

behind the first door of the first room of the same library' (now Rooms 20 and 21).¹

In 1691 the books appear to have been moved to the two rooms on the first floor of the east wing which they still occupy (Rooms 31 and 32), and a third room on the same floor (Room 33). Exactly when this happened cannot be said with any certainty, but the compilation of the catalogue of *c.* 1675 may be connected with this move.

The inventories of 1691 and 1714 give a vivid impression of these rooms and their furnishings. The 1691 inventory² lists the following items:³

'*In the Canon's library* (Room 33). One hardwood cabinet with drawers or sliding panels; one hardwood sideboard; two globes; a brass *spheramundi*; one brass surveying instrument with two compasses belonging thereto;

1. Arch. 108, p. 40. - Original Dutch text: 'De particuliere bibliotheque van Balthasar Moretus, bestaende inde boeken staende in drij camers, te weten boven het comptoir oft winkel, boven het cleyn comptoirken, ende boven Lipsius camer, alsmede ook de antiqui libri manuscripti staende achter de eerste deure van de eerste camer vande selve bibliotheque.'
2. Arch. 719, folios 67-69.
3. Original Dutch text: '*Op den Heere Canoninx biblioteque*: Een herthouten schappraeye met laeyen oft schuyven; een herthouten buffet; twee globen; eenen copere spheramundi; een coperen instrument dienende tot lantmeterije met twee passers daertoe behoorende; eenen ronden houten sonnewijser; een brantgelas; eenen metaelen spiegel; twee schilderijen half lijven Seneca ende Plato; een schilderije Kersnacht; een schilderijken studerende filosofken; twee contrefijsels deen van Plantijn ende dander van Lipsius; vijff cleyn schilderijkens; een schilderije Ecce Homo; vijff schilderijen half lijven Onse Lieve Vrouwe, St. Joseph ende de drij coningen; een herthoute vuyjttreckende taeffel met blauwe taeffelcleet; een houte schrubaentken met vierentwintich laeykens met eenige brieven raeckende het huys ende druckerije; een partije ongebonden boecken liggende op in en neffens de casse van de bibliotheque oft boecken vanden heer canonninck; twee spaensche leire stoelen; een vuyjttreckende sierbuys. *Op de groote bibliotecque bcstaende in twee camers. Eerst opde cleyn camer*: Een herthoute vuyjttreckende taeffel met rootleiren taeffelcleet; eenen spaenschen leinstoel ende eenen anderen hoogen van swert leir; eenen dobbelen lessenaer op staender; een schilderije eenen Christus; een schilderijken een vrouken; noch een schilderij pourtraict; twee steenen hoofden; een partije quaet segerin; de selve camer rontsomme beseth met houte cassen vol van alle sorten van differente boecken van diversche taelen ende formaten, alsmede vele parequemente manuscripta van diversche auteurs. *Op de groote camer vandeselve bibliotecque*: Eene groote herthoute vuyjttreckende taeffel met roodtleiren taeffelcleet; twee groote globussen op pedestalen; twee swerte spaenschleiren leenstoelen ende vier leege; een schilderije vande vuyjtleggers der schrifture raeckende den hebreeschen Bijbel; ses steene hoofden; deselve camer rontsomme beseth met houte cassen deselve vol gevult met alle sorten van facultijten van gebonden boecken van alle sorten van studie ende taelen mitsgaders van vele ende versheyde auteurs vanden inhout van welcke boecken mitsgaders vande gene berustende op de voorschreve cleyn camer hier neffens, alhier bevonden wort opde taeffel eenen grooten Index gebonden in calfsleir met een geschreven letter waeraen om cortheyt wille wort gerefereert. Liggende op de voorschreve cassen alnoch eene groote quantiteit so gebonden als ongebonden boecken, waeraen insgelijcx wort gerefereert.'

one round wooden sundial; one magnifying glass; one metal mirror; two half-length portraits of Seneca and Plato; one painting of the Nativity; one painting of a philosopher studying; two likenesses, the one of Plantin and the other of Lipsius; five small paintings; one painting of Ecce Homo; five half-length portraits of Our Lady, St. Joseph, and the Three Magi; one hardwood extending table with a blue table-cover; one wooden escritoire with twenty-four drawers with letters concerning the family and the press; a number of unbound books lying on, in, and beside the shelves of the library, or books belonging to the Canon; two Spanish leather chairs; one jewel-box with drawers.

In the big library consisting of two rooms. First the small room (Room 32): One hardwood extending table with red leather table-cover; one Spanish armchair and a tall chair of black leather; one double reading-desk on a stand; one painting of Christ; one painting of a woman; another portrait; two stone busts; one consignment of inferior shagreen; the same room is lined with wooden bookcases full of all kinds of different books in various languages and sizes, together with many parchment manuscripts by divers authors.

In the big room of the same library (Room 31): one large hardwood extending table with a red leather table-cover; two large globes on pedestals; two black Spanish leather armchairs and four low chairs; one painting of the interpreters of the Hebrew scriptures; six stone busts; the same room is lined with wooden bookcases filled with all types of bound books on all kinds of subjects and in all languages by many and various authors. The contents of these books and of those in the small room below are listed in a large handwritten index bound in calf's leather, lying on the table here, to which we refer for the sake of conciseness [so as not to be obliged to itemize all the books].¹ Lying on the bookcases is a great quantity of bound and unbound books which are similarly referred to.²

The 1714 inventory² reveals a few small alterations and adds a more

1. The catalogue of c. 1675. Cf. p. 343.

2. Arch. 720, folios 41-43.

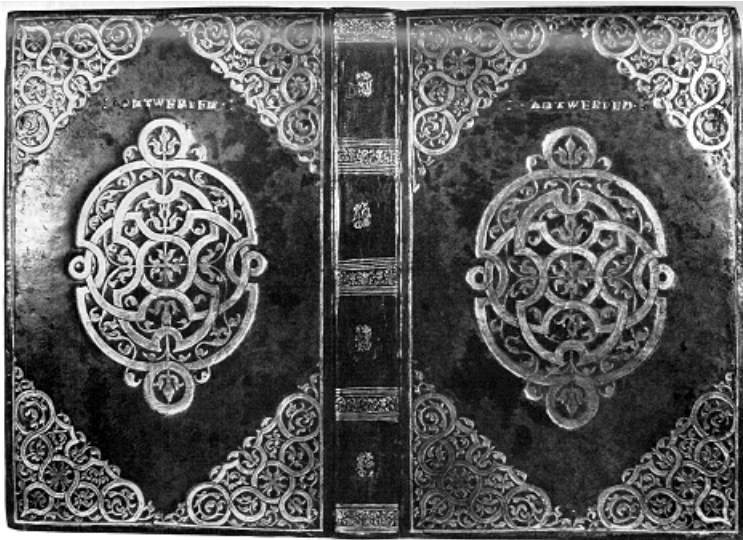
frivolous touch to the formerly austere library of the Canon, now described as the third library room.¹

‘In the first room of the library (Room 31): fifteen paintings depicting Christ, the Virgin Mary and thirteen apostles; five other paintings depicting Mary, Joseph and die Three Magi; six other paintings showing various views of Rome; one piece showing a view of Venice; two small pictures of ships; one flower piece; one landscape painting; four small landscapes on copperplates; one large print showing the park at Enghien; four prints showing the four parts of the globe; one print of the city of Paris; one barometer and one thermometer; one painting of a statue; one painting of Venice; one painting depicting an advocate studying; one large clavecymbal tailpiece by the old Cochet; some instruments for surveying; one magnifying glass; one small chest with eleven drawers containing various antique medallions, both of lead and of copper; one hardwood cabinet with four doors; seven single and two double black Spanish leather chairs; one library of various books; one brass globe.’

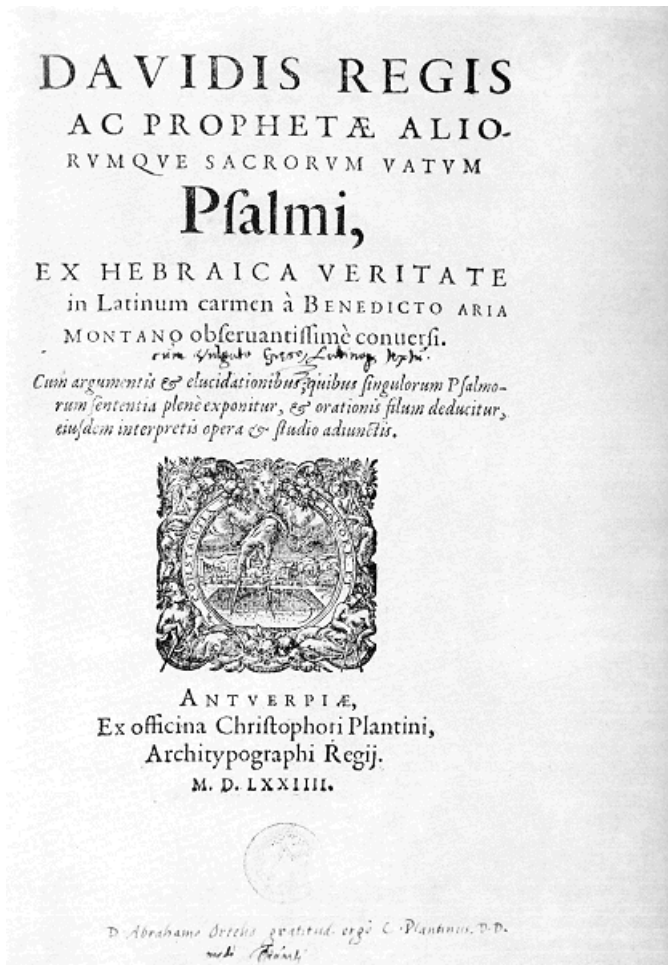
‘In the second room of the library (Room 32): one picture of a landscape on copper; one hardwood extending table with a yellow woollen table-cover; one swivelling reading-desk for four; two black leather chairs; a library

1. Original Dutch text: *‘In de eerste caemer vande bibliotecque: Vijftien schilderijen uytbeldende Christus, Maria ende dertien apostelen; vijf andere schilderijen verbeeldende Maria, Joseph ende de drij coninghen; sesse andere schilderijen uytbeldende verscheyde gesichten van Roomen; een stuck uytbeeldende het gesicht van Venetien; twee cleyne scheepvaertiens; eene schilderije blomstuck; eea schilderije landschap; vier cleyne landschappen op copere plaeten; eene groote printe uytbeldende het Parck van Enghien; vier printen, de vier deelen van de weireldt; eene printe van de stadt van Parijs; eenen barometer ende eenen termometer; eene schildereye steenwerck; eene schildereye Venezien; eene schildereye uytbeldende den studeren den advocaet; eene groote claversingel steertstuck vanden ouden Cochet; eenige instrumenten dienende tot de landtmeterye; eenen brandtspieghel; een cleyne cofferken met elf laeykens met diffirente anticque medalien, soo van loodt als van koper; eene hardthoute schapraeye met vier deuren; seven enckele ende twee dobbele swarte spaensche leire stoelen; eene bibliotecque van verscheyde boecken; eene copere sfera. In de tweede bibliotecq caemer: Een schilderyken landschap op koper; eene hardthoute uyttreckende taefel met geel carpetten taefelcleedt; eenen draeyende lessenaer van vieren; twee swarte leire stoelen; eene bibliotecque met verscheyde boecken soo gedruckte als manuscripta; vijftien anticque plasterye hoofden. Inde derde bibliotecq caemer: Een billiard-spiel met syne toebehoorten; eene lange hardthoute uyttreckende taefel; eene Parijsche bancke; twee swarte leire dobbele stoelen; eenen globus terrestre ende eenen celeste; eene bibliotecke van verscheyde boecken; vierentwintich plasterye hoofden; een groen carpetten tafelcleedt.’*

*99



(98) Gilt leather bookbinding, made at Antwerp about 1565.



(99) *Opposite*: Plantin book given by the printer to his friend Abraham Ortelius. After having been in the possession of the humanist Gaspar Gevartius the book finally returned to the Plantinian library.

with various books, both printed and manuscript; fifteen Antique plaster busts.’

‘*In the third room of the library* (Room 33): one billiard table with its appurtenances; one long hardwood extending table; one Parisian bench; two black leather double chairs; one terrestrial and one celestial globe; a library of various books; twenty-four plaster busts; one green woollen table-cover.’

The contents of the ‘third room’ were later moved by the Moretuses to another room on the first floor of the south wing, the present ‘small library’ (Room 17). The other two library rooms have remained with their shelves, decorations and various books, although some of the furniture inventoried in 1691 and 1714 has disappeared or has been moved to other rooms.

Shortly afterwards the Moretuses set up their private chapel in the ‘first big room of the library’.¹ The altar was removed in 1876, but the altarpiece bought in 1757 - a Christ on the Cross by Peter Thijs (1624/6-1677/9) - is still in its old place.

During the Second World War concrete was used to convert one of the Museum cellars into a bomb-proof, air-conditioned storage place for the Plantinian treasures. This cellar now contains the old archives, the manuscripts and the rarest of the printed works.

1. Cf. p. 290.

Chapter 12

*The Plantin House as a Humanist Centre*¹

The wealthy patrician residence in the Vrijdagmarkt in Antwerp which was also the most important printing house in Western Europe played yet another role in the cultural life of the Renaissance and the Baroque: for more than a century it was one of the important centres of humanism in the Netherlands.² This had less to do with the wealth and luxury of the great

1. The most important sources for Plantin's time are the *Corr.* and *Suppl. Corr.* There are some general studies which have, however, far from exhausted the subject: P.S. Allen, 'Le cercle de Plantin' in *Fêtes données en 1920 à Anvers et à Tours à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de la naissance de Chr. Plantin*, 1920, pp. 35-44 (to be ignored); M.A. Nauwelaerts, 'Humanisten rondom Plantin' in *Noordgouw*, 4, 1964, pp. 9-26 (details of the principal figures). There is interesting information about humanists and men of letters in relation to Plantin and the Moretuses in M. Sabbe's various studies collected in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, and *De Moretussen en hun kring*, 1928.
2. Biographies of the humanists of the Netherlands are to be found in *Biographie nationale [de Belgique]* and *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch woordenboek*. Older reference books which can still be consulted are: F. Sweertius, *Athenae Belgicae*, Antwerp, 1628; V. Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 2nd edition, Louvain, 1643; J.F. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, Brussels, 1739, 2 vols.; J.N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines*, Louvain, 1763-1770, 3 vols. in folio or 18 vols. in octavo. See also A. Gerlo's 'Les humanistes et poètes néo-latins belges à l'époque de la Renaissance' in *Mélanges Georges Smets*, 1952, pp. 255-285 (list of South Netherlands humanists, sixteenth-seventeenth centuries) and 'L'apport de l'humanisme belge au développement de la pensée scientifique' in *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 1956. There is as yet no standard work on humanism in the Low Countries. M. Delcourt's 'L'humanisme aux Pays-Bas au temps de Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, pp. 70-80, is no more than a sketch, with the emphasis on the figure of Livinus Torrentius. Very interesting as a first orientation (and with a detailed bibliography) are J. Andriessen's 'Het culturele leven in het Zuiden' and J. Presser's 'Het culturele leven in het Noorden' in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 5, 1952, pp. 365-422 (the period 1567-1609), and 6, 1953, pp. 336-383 (1609-1648). There are many stimulating specialized studies in existence, especially biographies. Those which are directly relevant to the subject of this chapter or to figures who had contact with Plantin and the Moretuses are quoted in the following pages. Particulars of humanists who were professors at Louvain are to be found in the various works devoted to this university. See for example F. Nève, *Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le Collège des Trois-Langues à l'Université de Louvain*, 1856. Interesting facts about humanist activities are given in *Bibliotheca Belgica* and B.A. Vermaseren, *De Katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving in de XVI^e en XVII^e eeuw over den opstand*, 1941. Of capital importance is the recent bibliographical survey by A. Gerlo, *Bibliographie de l'humanisme belge, précédée d'une bibliographie générale concernant l'humanisme européen. Avec la collaboration d'E. Lauf*, 1965.

house than with its function as a printing press. To be able to follow and understand this aspect of the history of the Plantin House it is necessary to see it against its background: the evolution of cultural life in Antwerp.¹

Economic expansion usually acts as a strong stimulus to the cultural development of a nation, if only because the economically more advanced areas offer the intellectual greater opportunities. In an economically developed region the native intelligentsia is given the chance to make its influence felt and the best elements are attracted from surrounding countries.

In the fifteenth century the Netherlands were one of the principal areas of economic expansion in Europe. It was therefore no coincidence that the new spirit emanating from Italy should have found such fertile soil there.

Bruges was still lit by the radiance of its setting sun, but it was already clear that the future belonged to Antwerp. In the fifteenth century Bruges and Antwerp were the financial and commercial foci of the Low Countries, yet at first nascent humanism scorned these rich temples of Mercury and let itself be nurtured in more modest centres.

The heroic, Erasmian beginnings of Netherlands Humanism were a pioneering period in which the old medieval traditions were cleared away so that the new seeds could take root. At first humanism in the Netherlands found its principal testing ground in the existing schools, in the university of Louvain, and in the establishments of what would now be termed secondary education in the form of the so-called 'Latin Schools'. These flourished particularly in the North, which had already been leavened by the pietistic

1. On intellectual life in Antwerp see F. Prims, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, more particularly VII, 3 and VIII, 4. For the seventeenth century see M. Sabbe, *Rubens en zijne eeuw. Het geestesleven te Antwerpen in Rubens' tijd*, 1927. Cf. also F. Prims, 'Letterkundigen, geleerden en kunstenaars in de rekeringen der stad Antwerpen, 1576-1650' in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal - en Letterkunde*, 1931, pp. 171-211.

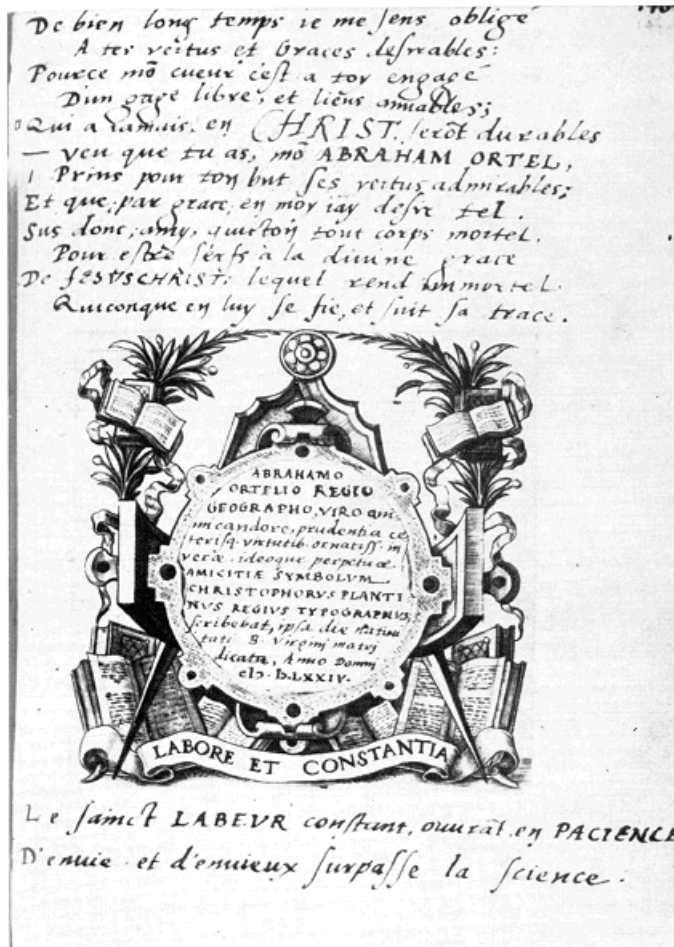
movements of the *Devotio Moderna* and the Brothers of the Common Life; the Latin School at Zwolle and the Chapter School at Deventer were the principal centres of influence.

In this pioneer period of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Antwerp lagged a long way behind Louvain and Deventer. The town had a Latin School dependent on the chapter of the Church of Our Lady, where in 1480 attempts were already being made to inculcate the new spirit of humanism, but with little result. Not until the early years of the sixteenth century did head-masters of any stature make their appearance: Joannes Custos Brechtanus took over the school in 1510 and wrote his highly esteemed school textbooks in Antwerp. He stayed only five years, however, and in 1515 the 'vir doctissimus' Nicolaus Buscoducensis (i.e. of 's-Hertogenbosch [Bois-le-Duc]) took his place. This most learned man did not stay long either.

The citizens of Antwerp were not satisfied with this state of affairs, and in response to their pressure three new Latin Schools were set up in 1521 in the parishes of St. Walpurgis, St. George, and St. James 'to the glory of God, for the increase of religion in the parish churches of the town, and so that the choirs of these churches may sing better than hitherto; and also because the burghers and inhabitants of this town, at great cost and trouble to themselves, had to send their children to school outside the town, as there was only one school here where Latin was taught.' However, these new Latin Schools did not have much impact either.

Unlike Louvain, Deventer, and Zwolle, Antwerp's cultural importance in the early years of humanism did not derive from the presence of great educational centres, but rather from the fact that this wealthy mercantile city could attract within its walls outstanding intellects who were able to earn a livelihood in commerce or administration and devote their leisure time to humanist pursuits. The best examples of this were the two foremost Antwerp humanists of the early sixteenth century, the friends and hosts of Erasmus and Thomas More: Pieter Gillis, otherwise Petrus Aegidius, who became town recorder [*griffier*] in 1509 and died in 1533; and Cornelius de Schrijver of Alost, alias Scribonius or Grapheus, who was appointed town clerk in 1520 and died in 1558.

No school grew up around Aegidius and Grapheus. After them, or more



(100) Poem and dedication by Christophe Plantin, dated 8th September 1574, in the Album Amicorum of Abraham Ortelius. The book is now in Pembroke College, Cambridge.

100 96

SONNET
Aen den E. Heere Morctus

Jch dorst, jch stamp, jch brandt noes Olij uijt de sonckel
 Soer outgijft dor is droog, op dat doct weder rap
 Mijn botte dot je geest, die gaven weder sefsap
 Sou om te dichten son; hoe wel jch ley versonckel
 In de vergeetes beech, is lang niet heb gedronckel
 Der Muses soetiv dranch, het Heynste bornel saps
 So lust my nu noestant v Waerde vryersgaps
 Het groetes, die jch sie vol van belecte donckel
 C'papier dat seant sig van myn plomp is lenig
 jch ben opp naect, is pil, veel better afgerig
 te boev om lovis v constant is braver zedens
 O wijreyn vinctel van het Iganse Nederland
 Die na ecleerheit haect, moet dansen in v tra
 C' seet op maching van de albestijde ledel

Anna Roemers

van Anna Roemers

(101) Sonnet by Anna Roemers Visscher, written in her own hand and dedicated to Balthasar I Morctus, c. 1640.

accurately in the latter half of their careers, the development of the new humanist scholarship in Antwerp suffered a temporary check. This was due partly to the fact that the town had no more than a fortuitous humanist nucleus which, lacking institutional forms, dissolved when its pivotal figures left or fell silent. But even more it was due to the first rumblings of the Reformation storm. Grapheus, who had followed Erasmus in castigating abuses and disorders in the Church, was severely censured in 1522 and was obliged to utter a humble *mea culpa*. The departure of Nicolaus Buscoducensis in the same year must also be attributed to a charge of 'Luthery'.

The older humanists were largely scared into silence by this violent reaction on the part of the authorities, whilst the more pugnacious spirits became caught up in religious controversy. In the years 1525 to 1550 humanism in the Netherlands underwent a serious crisis of development. Yet it was in this period that Antwerp rose to become one of the chief centres from which the influence of Renaissance scholarship was radiated through the Low Countries. It was, however, a centre without humanists, exercising its influence through printing and the book trade.¹

During the early days of printing, Deventer and Louvain were the chief centres both of the new learning and of publishing in the Netherlands. In the number of works produced, Antwerp, with 392 known incunabula, came after Deventer with its 596 and before Louvain with its 269, but scarcely thirty of the Antwerp publications can be regarded as humanist. Whereas the Louvain and Deventer printers worked mainly for a scholarly

1. On printing in Antwerp see M. Sabbe's 'La typographie à Anvers avant et après Plantin' in *Fêtes données en 1920 à Anvers et à Tours*, pp. 3-14 (the Dutch text is entitled 'De drukkunst te Antwerpen vóór en naast Christoffel Plantin' and also appeared in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924), and his contributions in *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie en Belgique des origines à nos jours*, 1923-1926 (the relevant chapters are 'La typographie anversoise au XVI^e siècle', 'Christophe Plantin et ses contemporains', and 'La typographie anversoise au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle'); these chapters were also published separately as *La vie des livres à Anvers*, 1926. Dutch texts: 'Antwerpen's boekenmarkt ten tijde van keizer Karel' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, and *Antwerpsche drukkerij*, 1927. Antwerp typographers were listed by F. Olthoff in *De boekdrukkers, boekverkoopers en uitgevers in Antwerpen*, 1891. Cf. also A. Rouzet, 'Adresses d'imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs in belges des XV^e et XVI^e siècles' in *De Gulden Passer*, 40, 1962, pp. 151-207, Bibliographies: A. Dermul en H.F. Bouchery, *Bibliographie betreffende de Antwerpsche drukkers*, 1938; A. Dermul, 'Aanvullingen en verbeteringen op de "Bibliographie betreffende de Antwerpsche drukkers"' in *De Gulden Passer*, 21, 1943, pp. 119-149.

public of professors - by whom they were often commissioned - and students, their Antwerp counterparts supplied an affluent, Dutch-speaking (and to some extent also French-speaking) middle class market which was little affected as yet by the new learning, meeting its demand for moral dissertations, religious tracts, dictionaries, lavishly illustrated books, popular romances, and so on.

The printing business, then as now, required a comparatively high level of investment, an active money market and, of course, ample outlets. When Antwerp became the 'great and triumphant merchant city' of Western Europe in the early sixteenth century, the Netherlands book trade began to be concentrated within its walls.

Nijhoff-Kronenberg's *Bibliographie* enables reasonably accurate figures to be given for the period 1500 to 1540. Of the approximately 4,000 works printed in the Netherlands in this period, about 2,250 were produced in Antwerp, compared with 400 in the rest of the Southern Netherlands and some 1,350 in the Northern centres. Of the 133 printers, publishers, and booksellers reckoned to be active in the Netherlands at that time, sixty-six worked in Antwerp, sixteen in the other towns of the South, and fifty-one in the whole of the Northern Netherlands.

This concentration was a gradual process. The early sixteenth-century Antwerp editions were still remarkably like the Antwerp *incunabula* which had preceded them both in content and production. However, when the concentration of printers in the Brabantine port caused a typographical vacuum in the rest of the Netherlands, the Antwerp printers began to take over the specialities of their incoming colleagues. From the 1520s onward an increasing number of editions of classical authors and academic and philosophical works by humanist innovators (including the whole gamut of Erasmus's writings) were published, as well as dictionaries and geographical, medical, and botanical treatises. In 1528 Grapheus printed the *De sculptura*, a study of classical sculpture by the Neapolitan scholar Pomponius Ganricus. In 1539 Pieter Coecke van Aalst brought out Iris richly illustrated *Inventie der Colommen*, derived from Vitruvius and intended for painters, woodcarvers, sculptors, and all others 'who take delight in the edifices of the Ancients'.

This was the situation when the French bookbinder, Christophe Plantin,

settled in 1548 or 1549 in Antwerp, where he went over to printing in 1555 and in spite of the difficulties of the period worked his way up in a few years to become the greatest typographer of his day and one of the greatest of all times.

Plantin was a realist and published anything that was likely to be profitable, but his personal preference went to whatever was of service and benefit to the 'Christian commonwealth'. He was for the second half of the sixteenth century what Aldus Manutius had been for the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century: the great humanist printer. And with Plantin's advent Antwerp became once more a humanist centre with humanists.

Plantin did not have the erudition of an Aldus Manutius or a Robert Estienne, but his writing was by no means without merit and he had a keen and inquiring mind. In and around the Plantin house, around Plantin and his two learned sons-in-law, Jan Moretus and Frans Raphelengius, the great specialist in Oriental languages, there formed Antwerp's second important nucleus of humanists and scholars.

Some were associated with the house as proof-readers. The best known of these was Cornelis van Kiel, or Kiliaan (1528-1607), who earned a lasting fame in the history of Dutch linguistics with his dictionaries.¹

Other scholars were temporarily enlisted for special tasks and lodged in the *Gulden Passer*. Joannes Isaac Levita, a German-Jewish professor at Cologne who had been converted to Christianity, lived in Plantin's house from 10th November 1563 to 21st October 1564, and received, in addition to his board and lodging, the quite considerable sum of 11 *pond* 15 *schellingen* and 6 *stuivers* (about 70 fl.) for a new edition of his Hebrew grammar and the revision of Sante Pagnini's *Thesaurus linguae sanctae*.² In 1568 Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, the famous French linguist (1541-1598), and his brother Nicholas came to help with the preparation of the Polyglot Bible.³

1. Concerning Kiliaan and the other Plantinian proof-readers see Volume II.
2. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 64, 72, 73, 123, 154. Arch. 3, folios 8 and 13; 4, folio 66; 31, folio 51; 36, folio 70.
3. F. Nève, 'Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, orientaliste et poète, l'un des collaborateurs de la Polyglotte d'Anvers' in *Revue belge et étrangère*, 1862, pp. 1-51; M. Sabbe, 'Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie et la Polyglotte anversoise' in *De Gulden Passer*, 6, 1928, pp. 250-253. Cf. also F. Secret, 'Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, représentant de G. Postel à la Polyglotte d'Anvers' in *De Gulden Passer*, 44, 1966, pp. 245-257.

The great Spanish theologian and philologist Benedictus Arias Montanus (1527-98) was put in charge of this gigantic enterprise; when the work had been completed he stayed on for a few years in Antwerp and made the Plantin press his headquarters for the whole of this period.¹

Other eminent Antwerp figures became associated with this Plantinian nucleus: Abraham Ortelius (1527-98),² the great cartographer, who was also widely known for his 'museum' and whose circle of friends was just as international as that of Plantin (and in fact largely coincided with it); Theodoor Poelman (1512-81),³ the retiring but worthy humanist who earned a living first as a fuller, then as a customs official, devoting his free time to annotating and publishing classical writers; the engraver Philip Galle (1537-1612),⁴ of the *Witte Lelie* [White Lily], the foremost publisher of prints of his time; Joannes Goropius Becanus (1518-72/3),⁵ Plantin's

1. B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527-1598. Studie over een groep spiritualistische humanisten in Spanje en de Nederlanden, op grond van hun briefwisseling*, 1961; J. Lopez de Toro, 'Arias Montano escribi a Justo Lipsio y a Juan Moreto' in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 60, 1954, pp. 533-543. The printed works of the scholar are listed by L. Morales Oliver, 'Avance para la bibliografía de obras impresas del Dr. Benito Arias Montano' in *Revista del Centro de Estudios Extremenos* (Badajoz), 2, 1928, pp. 171-236; his portraits by C. Doetsch, *Iconografía de Benito Arias Montano*, Madrid, 1927. Cf. also p. 384, note 6 and p. 62 above.
2. J.-H. Hcssels, *Abrahami Ortelii epistulae*, 1887; M. Rooses, 'Ortelius et Plantin' in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Anvers*, 5, 1880, pp. 350-356; J. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*, II, 1913, pp. 1-252; R. Boumans, 'Was Ortelius katholiek of protestant?' in *Handelingen der Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 6, 1952, pp. 110-127. (English text: 'The religious views of Abraham Ortelius' in *The Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 17, 1954, pp. 374-377); I. Vertessen, 'Het Album Amicorum van Abraham Ortelius' in *Antwerpen*, 3, 1957, pp. 98-101, and 'Een onuitgegeven gedicht van Christoffel Plantin in het Album Amicorum van Abraham Ortelius' in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 88-90; L. Voet, 'Abraham Ortelius, "afsetter van carten"' in *Antwerpen*, 5, 1959, pp. 46-52.
3. M. Rooses in *Biographie nationale*, 17. Cf. p. 350 on Poelman's bequest to Plantin.
4. J.J.P. van den Bemden, *De familie Galle, plaetsnyders van het laetst der XVI^e en de eerste helft der XVII^e eeuw*, 1863; J. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers*, I, pp. 221 sqq.; M. Bataillon, 'Philippe Galle et Arias Montano. Matériaux pour l'iconographie des savants de la renaissance' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 2, 1942, pp. 132-160; B.A. Vermaseren, 'De Antwerpse graveur Filips Galle en zijn kroniekje over de opstand (1579)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 35, 1957, pp. 139-147.
5. A.F.C. van Schevensteen, 'Notes biographiques sur Joannes Goropius Becanus, médecinphilologue (1518-1573)' in *Comptes rendus du 2^e Congrès national des Sciences*, Brussels, 1935, pp. 113-127, and 'Levensschets van Goropius Becanus, geneesheer-philoloog' in *Vlaamsch Geneeskundig Tijdschrift*, 14, 1936, pp. 3-12; P.C. de Brouwer, 'Joannes Goropius Becanus. Een der Brabantse humanisten uit de zestiende eeuw' in *Brabantia*, 2, 1953, pp. 270-281.

partner from 1563 to 1567, a physician and amateur philologist who tried to prove in his *Origines Antwerpianae* that Adam and Eve conversed in Antwerp dialect in the Garden of Eden, but nevertheless signalled the start of modern comparative philology with this and other similarly doughty assertions; Pieter Heyns (1537-97),¹ the learned schoolmaster at the *Lauwerboom* [Laurel Tree] girls' school and member of a *rederijkerskamer* or chamber of rhetoric; Alexander Grapheus (c. 1519-after 1585), the son of Cornelius and his successor as town clerk of Antwerp. Grapheus was himself a humanist of some distinction who apparently helped the young Plantin financially, but in about 1572 he fled to Germany, suspected of heresy.

This group did not include all the scholars, important or not so important, then living within the walls of Antwerp,² but it represented a tightly-knit nucleus with an international influence. Plantin and Ortelius, and Montanus while he was in Antwerp, were its principal supports.

Writing to a friend, Plantin said that the letters he received came in like flocks of starlings.³ He answered his letters promptly: nine octavo volumes, representing more than 1,500 letters, were needed when Plantin's extant correspondence was published.

This correspondence shows Plantin in contact with the greatest minds of

1. M. Sabbe, *Peeter Heyns en de Nimfen uit den Lauwerboom. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het schoolwezen in de 16^e eeuw*, Antwerp, undated; C.P. Burger Jr., 'Nieuwe bijzonderheden over Peeter Heyns en zijn school "Den Lauwerboom"', in *Het Boek*, 18, 1929, pp. 91-96.
2. Not, for example, Michel Coignet (1549-1623), city wine gauger, schoolmaster and mathematician, who wrote some important works on cartography and commercial arithmetic (see F. Prims, 'Michiel Coignet' in *Antwerpiensia*, 19, 1948, pp. 103-114). He is mentioned several times in Plantin's correspondence as a maker of mathematical instruments (cf. p. 384 below) but never seems to have entered the immediate circle of Plantin and Ortelius. Scholars and humanists from among the foreign business community in Antwerp seem to have kept themselves apart and to have had little or no contact with the 'natives'. The most important representative of this group was Ludovico Guicciardini: see P.A.M. Boele van Hensbroek, 'Ludovico Guicciardini' in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, 1877; J. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers*, I, pp. 140-162; M. Sabbe, 'Ludovico Guicciardini' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 42-49; E.S. Roobaert, 'Nieuwe gegevens over Calvete de Estrella en L. Guicciardini uit de rekeningen van de Antwerpse Magistraat' in *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis, inzonderheid van het oude hertogdom Brabant*, 41, 1958, pp. 68-94.
3. Letter to Clusius, 1574: *Corr.*, IV, no. 569.

his time. There is hardly a single scholar of any distinction from the Netherlands who does not figure in these letters in some degree of relationship with the Plantin house. Some appear occasionally or casually, others with greater frequency: Louvain professors, bishops and abbots, theologians and humanists in clerical garb, doctors in medicine and law; scholars who had remained in the Low Countries, scholars who wandered through Europe or had found their spheres of activity at the Imperial courts of Vienna or Prague, in Spain or Italy.

Many of these scholars - and not the least of them - appear as intimate friends of the Plantin family: Stephanus Winandus Pighius (1520-1604), who as Granvelle's librarian in Brussels had introduced the young Plantin into the cardinal's circle;¹ Andreas Masius (1514-73), an Orientalist and a counsellor of the Duke of Cleves;² the great and world famous Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), who was to become, and remain, the family friend *par excellence*;³ Rembert Dodoens or Dodonaeus (1517-85),⁴ Carolus Clusius (1526-

1. J.H. Jongkees, 'Stephanus Winandus Pighius Campensis' in *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 3rd series, 8, 1954, pp. 120-185, and 'De brieven van Stephanus Pighius' in *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 16, 1961, pp. 228-243; H. de Vocht, *Stephani Vinandi Pighii epistolarum*, 1959. On Pighius's role as a link between Plantin and Granvelle's circle, see L. Voet, 'Plantin en de kring van Granvelle. Enkele nog onuitgegeven brieven en documenten' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 142-169.
2. M. Lossen, 'Briefe von Andreas Masius und seinen Freunden, 1538 bis 1573' in *Publicationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde*, 2, 1886; H. de Vocht, 'Andreas Masius (1514-1573)' in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, 4, 1946, pp. 425-441; J. Jongkees, 'Masius in moeilijkheden' in *De Gulden Passer*, 41, 1963, pp. 161-168.
3. The bibliography on the subject of the life and works of Justus Lipsius is impressive in extent. The bibliographic *status questionis* (up to 1948/9): L. van der Essen and H.F. Bouchery, 'Waarom Justus Lipsius gevierd?' in *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren*, 11, no. 8, 1949. For the period 1948/9-1958, see L. Voet, 'Plantiniana 1943-1958' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 51-53. Of primary importance for the relationship between the humanist and Plantin is A. Gerlo, I. Vertessen, and H.D.L. Vervliet, 'La correspondance inédite de Juste Lipse conservée au Musée Plantin-Moretus' in *De Gulden Passer*, 42, 1964, pp. 1-232. Republished with notes and comment: *La correspondance de Juste Lipse conservée au Musée Plantin-Moretus. Introduction, correspondance, commentaire, documents, bibliographie*, Antwerp, 1967. Another interesting recent publication is A. Ramirez, *Epistolario de Justo Lipsio y los Españoles (1577-1606)*, 1966.
4. G. van Doorslaer, 'Glanses nouvelles sur Rembert Dodoens' in *Bulletin du Cercle archéologique, littéraire et artistique de Malines*, 31, 1926, pp. 17-40; A.J.J. van de Velde in *Lichtzuilen uit het verleden*, 1945, pp. 75-112; A. Louis, 'La vie et l'oeuvre botanique de R. Dodoens' in *Bulletin de la Société royale de Botanique de Belgique*, 82, 1950, pp. 271-293; *Nicolaas Beets- en Rembert Dodoenshulde op 16 en 17 oktober 1953*, Brussels, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academiën; A. Louis, 'Rembert Dodoens. Een groot Vlaams humanist en wetenschapsmens, 1517-1585' in *Onze Alma Mater*, 8, 1954, no. 2, pp. 1-16. On Plantin and Dodoens see A. Louis, 'Beschouwingen bij een ongekende brief van Rembertus Dodoens (1517-1585)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 30, 1952, pp. 111-120.

1609),¹ and Mathias Lobelius (1538-1616),² the three greatest botanists of the second half of the sixteenth century; Livinus Torrentius (1525-95), Archdeacon of Liège and later Bishop of Antwerp, a humanist and theologian of stature, who constantly watched over the printer's interests;³ Jan Mofflin († 1589), chaplain to Philip II in Spain, who was to end his days in his homeland as Abbot of Bergues; Andreas Schottus (1552-1629), who became a Jesuit in Spain in 1586;⁴ and Nicolas Oudartius († 1608), a canon at Malines who appears in Plantin's immediate circle in the latter years of the printer's life.⁵

As an 'intimate foe' of Plantin might be described Willem Lindanus (1525-88), Bishop of Roermond, who dabbled in Oriental languages, launched an offensive against the Polyglot Bible and Arias Montanus, and thus indirectly against Plantin and Raphelengius, exchanged many acrimonious letters and engaged in many angry conversations with Plantin, and yet regularly sought to have his works published by the *Officina Plantiniana*.⁶

1. E. Morren, 'Charles de l'Escluse. Sa vie, ses oeuvres, 1526-1609' in *Bulletin de la Fédération des Sodétés d'Horticulture de Belgique*, 1874; E. Roze, 'Huit lettres de Charles de l'Escluse (18 juin 1592-15 juillet 1593)' in *Journal de Botanique*, 1895; M. Sabbe, 'Uit de briefwisseling van Clusius met Chr. Plantin en J. Moretus' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 57-67; F.W.T. Hunger, 'Vier onuitgegeven brieven van Abraham Ortelius aan Carolus Clusius' in *De Gulden Passer*, 3, 1925, pp. 207-219; J. Theunisz, *Carolus Clusius*, 1939; F.W.T. Hunger, *Charles de l'Escluse (Carolus Clusius)*, *Nederlandsch kruidkundige*, 1927-43, 2 vols.
2. L. Legré, 'La botanique en Provence au XVI^e siècle; Mathias de Lobel et Pierre Pena' in *Bulletin de la Société botanique de France*, 44, 1897, pp. XI-XLVII; A. Louis, 'Considérations historiques sur une flore pseudo-lobelienne' in *Bulletin du Jardin Botanique de l'État* (Brussels), 27, 1957, pp. 317-336.
3. M. Delcourt & J. Hoyoux, *Laevinus Torrentius. Correspondance*, Liège, 1950-1954, 3 vols.
4. L. Maes, 'Lettres inédites d'André Schott' in *Le Muséon*, 7, 1906; 9, 1908; 11, 1910; J. Fabri, 'Un ami de Juste Lipse: l'humaniste André Schott (1552-1629)' in *Les Études classiques*, 21, 1953, pp. 188-208.
5. M. Sabbe, 'Het legaat van kanunnik Nic. Oudaert aan Jan Moretus' in *De Gulden Passer*, 9, 1931, pp. 45-47. Cf. also p. 351.
6. And even invited Plantin to his table: *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1420 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, December 1588-January 1589). Concerning relations with Lindanus, cf. the literature on Arias Montanus (p. 368) and the Polyglot Bible (p. 60). For Lindanus's life, see J. Meerbergen's 'Bisschop Willem Damaasz. Lindanus' in *Pastor bonus*, 30, 1953, and 31, 1954.

Lindanus was, however, the exception which proves the rule: affection and cordiality - notwithstanding occasional arguments, differences of opinion, and reproaches - suffuse Plantin's correspondence with numerous humanists of the Low Countries. There was Petrus Bacherius (1517-1601), a Dominican monk and a professor at Louvain; Michel Baius (1513-89), Dean of St. Peter's, Louvain; Hugo Blotius of Delft, Imperial librarian at Vienna; Petrus Brughelius or Bruhesius († 1570/71), Eleanor of Austria's physician who had retired to Bruges; Adrianus Burchius († 1606) of Utrecht; Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522-91), the erudite Imperial ambassador who returned from his stay in Constantinople with a rich harvest of valuable scientific information, besides discoveries as the tulips, lilacs, and daffodils which he introduced into the West;¹ Henricus Buschey († 1600), the Minorite from Bastogne who died in Antwerp - Plantin published a mystery play by him; Joannes Buyssetius who corresponded with Plantin from Rome; Petrus Canisius (1521-97) from Nijmegen, the prolific Jesuit author, canonized in 1925; Jean Capet († 1599), Canon of St. Peter's, Lille; and Ludovicus Cario or Carrio (1547?-95), professor of law at Louvain.

The list can be continued with Henri Cock (bom c. 1554), the adventurous scholar who joined the Spanish royal life-guard;² Dirk Volckertszoon Coornhert (1522-90), the sympathetic Dutch notary and literary figure from Haarlem who paid a heavy price for his ideal of religious toleration;³ Franciscus Costerus (1532-1619), the ardent Jesuit polemist and one of the

1. A.H. Heussen, *Het leven van Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1554-1562). Beschrijving, vertaling en aantekeningen*, 1949; *Augerius Ghislenus Busbequius, 1522-1591. Vlaams humanist en keizerlijk gezant. Hulde bij het vierde eeuwfeest van het begin van zijn gezantschap in het Oosten, 1554-1954*, Brussels, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen... van België, 1955.
2. J.P. Devos, 'Hendrik Cock van Gorcum, humanist, boogschutter in de koninklijke lijfwacht te Madrid' in *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 3rd series, 6, 1950, pp. 1-9, and 'Deux compatriotes des Pays-Bas: Jehan Lhermite d'Anvers (1560-1622) et Henri Cock de Gorcum (1554?-...) en Espagne' in *Estudios dedicados a Menendez Pidal*, 2, 1951, pp. 551-565.
3. B. Becker, 'Thierry Coornhert et Christophe Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 1, 1923, pp. 97-123; H. Bongers, *De motivering van de godsdienstvrijheid bij Dirk Coornhert Volckertszoon*, 1954.

chief protagonists of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands;¹ Jacobus Cruquius of Messines, a teacher at Bruges; Henricus Cuyckius (1546-1609), Vicar-General of the Archbishopric of Malines before becoming Bishop of Roermond in 1596;² Janus Dousa, lord of Noordwijk and Kattendijk (1549-1604), the Protestant humanist and politician who played an important part in the setting up of the University of Leiden;³ Andreas Fabricius of Liège (c. 1520-81), a counsellor of the Duke of Bavaria; Gerardus Falkenburgius (1538-78) of Nijmegen, who was in the service of the Count of Nieuwenaar and who died after falling off his horse when drunk; Matheus Galen (c. 1528-73), professor at Ingolstadt, later provost at Douai and chancellor of its university; Hannard Gamerius [van Gameren], who also lectured at Ingolstadt, later teaching at Tongres and Harderwijk; Cornelius Gemma (1535-79), son of Reinier Gemma Frisius, physician, mathematician, and a somewhat confused philosopher;⁴ Jan van Gheesdael, the poet and composer born at Berchem near Antwerp; Thomas Gozaeus († 1571), professor of theology at Louvain; Henricus Gravius (1536-91), son of the Louvain printer Bartholomaeus Gravius, a doctor of theology who was appointed head of the Vatican library by Pope Sixtus V; Franciscus Haraeus (c. 1550-1632), theologian and historian, one of the first travellers from the Southern Netherlands to visit Moscow; and Pierre Hassard of Armentières, the physician and astrologer, renowned for his almanacs and predictions.

Other scholars with whom Plantin corresponded include the Jesuit theologian Joannes Hayus (1540-1614), professor at Louvain and Douai; Georges de la Hèle (1547-87), the famous composer and choirmaster;⁵ Jan Hentenius (1499-1566), theologian and professor at Louvain; Pontus Heuterus (1535-1602), the Delft clergyman who distinguished himself as an

1. Cf. the bibliographical references in Voet, 'Plantiniana', *Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 34-35.
2. P.B. Corbett and F. Masai, 'L'édition Plantin de Cassien, de la règle des pères et des capitulaires d'Aix pour les moines' in *Scriptorium*, 5, 1951, pp. 60-74.
3. B.A. Vermaseren, 'De werkzaamheid van Janus Dousa Sr. († 1604) als geschiedschrijver van Holland' in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, 69, 1954, pp. 49-107.
4. F. van Ortrooy, *Bio-bibliographie de Gemma Frisius, fondateur de l'école belge de géographie, de son fils Corneille, et de ses neveux les Arsenius*, 1920.
5. G. van Doorslaer, 'George de la Hèle, maître de chapelle, compositeur (1547-1587)' in *Bulletin de l'Académie royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, 1924, pp. 108-140.

historian;¹ Gregorius Hopper († 1610), son of Joachim Hopper, and like his father an eminent jurist; Augustinus Hunnaeus (1521-78), one of the foremost Louvain theologians; Michael van Isselt († 1597), the historian from Amersfoort who retired to Germany;² Hadrianus Junius (1512-1572), the physician, historian, philologist and poet who spent most of his life in Haarlem;³ Jacobus Latomus (1510/15-96), a canon at Louvain; Joannes Lenseus (1541-93), Louvain professor and theologian; Janus Lernutius (1545-1619), Latin poet;⁴ Joannes Livinaeus (1546/7-99), a nephew of Livinus Torrentius, who worked in the Vatican library and then became a canon of Antwerp Cathedral; Franciscus Lucas (1548/9-1619), the Bruges theologian and orientalist who resided at St. Omer during the troubles in the Netherlands;⁵ Gerard Mercator (1512-94), the greatest cartographer of the sixteenth century and one of the greatest of all times, who left Louvain in 1554 to settle in Duisburg;⁶ Jan Molanus (1533-85), theologian and Louvain professor;⁷ Philippe de Monte (1521-1603) from Hainault, composer and *Kapellmeister* to the emperors Maximilian II and Rudolph II;⁸ the theologian Jacobus Pamelius (1536-87) from Bruges; Peter Pantin (1556-1611), the

1. C. Vanderstraeten, 'Pontus Heuterus' in *Het oude Land van Loon*, 1951 pp. 1-5; M. Lefèvre, 'Chronologie des oeuvres de Pontus Heuterus' in *De Gulden Passer*, 41, 1963, pp. 128-160.
2. B.A. Vermaseren, 'De "Mercurius" en de "Historia" van Michael ab Isselt' in *Publications de la Société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg*, 85, 1949, and 'De kleine historische werken van M. ab Isselt' in *Donum lustrale catholicae Universitati Noviomagensi oblatum*, 1949, pp. 335-356.
3. B.A. Vermaseren, 'Het ontstaan van Hadrianus Junius' Batavia (1588)' in *Huldeboek P. Dr. Bonaventura Kruitwagen*, 1949, pp. 407-426; G. de Smet, 'Invloed van Junius' Batavia op Kiliaans woordenboek' in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, 74, 1956, pp. 44-59.
4. H. van Crombruggen, *Janus Lemutius (1545-1619). Een biografische studie*, 1955.
5. A.C. de Schrevel, 'Documents pour servir à la biographie de François Lucas' in *Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges*, 39, 1889, pp. 191-400; A. Poncelet, 'Dix lettres inédites relatives à François Lucas de Bruges', *ibid.*, 53, 1903, pp. 225-259.
6. L. Voet, 'Les relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et la maison plantinienne à Anvers' in *Duisburger Forschungen*, 6, 1962, pp. 171-232.
7. H. Silvestre, 'Notices et extraits des manuscrits 5413-22, 10.098-105 et 10.127-44 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles' in *Sacris Erudiri*, 5, 1953, pp. 174-192.
8. P. Bergmans, 'Quatorze lettres inédites du compositeur Philippe de Monte' in *Mémoires in-8^o de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts*, 1921; G. van Doorslaer, 'La vie et les oeuvres de Philippe de Monte', *ibid.*, 1921; J.A. Stellfeld, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*, 1949, pp. 41-45, 94-106.

theologian who accompanied Andreas Schottus to Spain, not returning to his own country until 1591;¹ Andreas Papius (1542-81), another nephew of Torrentius, a musician and Latin poet who was drowned in the Meuse when not yet forty years old; Georgius Rattaler (c. 1518-81), a magistrate and humanist from Leeuwarden; Cornelius Reineri of Gouda, professor at Louvain; Jacobus Revardus (c. 1536-68) from Lissewege, doctor of law at Bruges and for some years a professor at Douai; Martin Antonio del Rio or Delrio (1551-1608), a jurist, magistrate, and humanist born in Antwerp of Spanish parents; Jan Stadius (1527-79), the mathematician and astrologer from Loenhout who died in Paris as mathematician to Henry III of France;² Godeschalk Steewech or Stewechius (1557-c. 88), who specialized in Roman antiquity; Petrus Suffridus (1527-97), the historian of Friesland; Gregorius Tegnagel of Louvain, jurist and magistrate at the Imperial chancery at Spiers; Cornelius Valerius or Wouters (1512-78) from Utrecht, an 'orator et poeta' and professor at Louvain;³ Simon Verepaeus or Verrijpen (c. 1522-98), a priest and teacher best known for his schoolbooks;⁴ Christophorus Vladeraccus (1524-1601), teacher at 's-Hertogenbosch;⁵ Jan Vlimmerius or Van Vlimmeren († 1597), a priest from Louvain; and Bonaventura Vulcanius or Smet (1538-1615), the philologist and militant Calvinist from Bruges who was a professor at Leiden in his later years.⁶

The letters Plantin exchanged with foreign scholars were no less numerous and cordial. The French are well-represented,⁷ although a number of

1. A. Roersch, *L'humanisme belge à l'époque de la Renaissance. Études et portraits*, 1910, pp. 101-109; J. Fabri, 'La correspondance de Pierre Pantin avec Balthasar Moretus (1607-1611)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 43, 1965, pp. 167-247.
2. J. Ernalsteen, *Joannes Stadius, 1527-1579*, 1927.
3. G. Kuiper, *Orbis Artium en Renaissance, I, Cornelius Valerius en Sebastianus Foxius Morzillus als bronnen van Coornhert*, 1941.
4. M.A. Nauwelaerts, 'Bijdrage tot de bibliographie van Simon Verepaeus' in *De Gulden Passer*, 25, 1947, pp. 52-90; *Simon Verepaeus, 1522-1598, paedagoog der contra-reformatie*, 1950, and 'De correspondentie van Simon Verepaeus met de Officina Plantiniana te Antwerpen' in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 43-57.
5. M.A. Nauwelaerts, 'Het letterkundig werk van de Nederlandse humanist Christophorus Vladeraccus (1524-1601). Een bibliographische bijdrage' in *Folium*, 1, 1951, pp. 6-11.
6. H. de Vries de Heekelingen, *Correspondance de Bonaventura Vulcanius pendant son séjour à Cologne, Genève et Bâle (1573-1577)*, 1923; J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, 'Bonaventura Vulcanius en Leiden' in *Varia historica aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. A.W. Byvanck*, 1954, pp. 151-164.
7. J. Guignard, 'A propos des éditions françaises de Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, 1956, pp. 319-363. For French humanists of the sixteenth century see *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le seizième siècle*, 1951.

important names are missing from the list. Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie and his brother Nicolas have already been mentioned as collaborators on the Polyglot Bible;¹ they remained in contact with Plantin after this. Guillaume Postel (1510-81), the talented linguist and visionary, advised Plantin on Syriac script² and discussed religious problems with him.³ Other Frenchmen were Christophe de Cheffontaines (c. 1532-95), General of the Minorites from 1571 onwards and Archbishop of Caesarea; Louis Le Caron or Charondas (1536-1617), the famous jurist; Pierre Daniel (1530-1603), also a jurist and the scholarly editor of Plautus; the Jesuit Guillaume Fournier or Fornerius, professor at Orleans; Gilbert Genebrard (c. 1537-97), professor of Hebrew at the Sorbonne and Bishop of Aix in 1592; François Hotman (1524-90), the wandering jurist who taught at Basle, Lausanne, Strasbourg, Valence, and Bourges; Jean Matal or Matalius Metellus (c. 1520-97), the great philologist; Claude Mignaut (1536-1606), professor of canon law at the Sorbonne; Marc Antoine Muret (1526-85), the philologist and humanist who lived for many years in Italy, dying in Rome; Pierre Pithou (1539-96), the eminent jurist;⁴ and Joseph-Juste Scaliger (1540-1609), the great classical philologist and orientalist who entered Dutch humanist circles after becoming a professor at Leiden in 1593.

Scholars from the Iberian peninsula wrote many of the letters that arrived at the Plantin House like flocks of starlings.⁵ Even before Arias Montanus came to Antwerp, Plantin had exchanged occasional letters with such Spanish humanists as Ferdinand Mena, Philip II's physician and a professor at Alcalá, and there were Spaniards and Portuguese who approached the printer

1. See pp. 63 and 367.
2. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 90 (letter from Postel, 28th July 1569).
3. *Corr.*, I, nos. 30, 31, 33, 72. For Postel see W.J. Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi: the career and thought of Guillaume Postel (1510-1581)*, 1957. See also the bibliographical references in L. Voet, 'Plantiniana' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, p. 26, note 4. Cf. also F. Secret, 'Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, représentant de G. Postel à la Polyglotte d'Anvers' in *De Gulden Passer*, 44, 1966, pp. 245-257.
4. L. de Rosano, *Pierre Pithou*, 1925; H. Stein, 'Une lettre de Plantin à Pierre Pithou' in *De Gulden Passer*, 4, 1926, pp. 44-45.
5. Details on the relationships of Plantin with Portuguese scholars in J. Peixoto, *Relações de Plantin com Portugal*, 1962.

on their own initiative after the arrival of Arias Montanus; Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa (1525-93), the Spanish historian¹ and Antonio de Sienne (or de la Conception), the Portuguese theologian, are examples. But it was Montanus who established the most important contacts between Plantin and the Peninsula.² His departure from Antwerp did not end his friendship with the printer. Back in Spain Montanus not only became the most faithful and intimate of all Plantin's correspondents, but also the chief propagandist for the Plantinian house. Through Montanus, Plantin came in contact with Christoval Calvete de Estrella, chaplain to Charles V; Pedro Juan Lastanosa, secretary to Philip II; Garcia Loaisa, Philip III's tutor; Valerius Serenus, librarian to the Bishop of Cuenca; Petrus Serranus, professor of philosophy at Alcalá and Abbot of Coria in 1577; Carolus Bartelus Valentinus, a disciple of Montanus; Francisco Valles, physician to Philip II; Alonso de Vera Cruz (or Gutierrez), a scholarly Augustinian; Laurens a Villavicentio, doctor of theology and Philip II's 'concionator'; and Francisco Sanchez de la Broza, professor at Salamanca.

A number of Spanish and Portuguese scholars wrote from Italy: the theologians Martin d'Azpilcueta or Navarrus (1493-1586), Pedro Chacon or Ciacconius (1525-81), Thomas Correa (1536-95), Ludovicus a San Francisco, and Franciscus Turrianus (1504-84); and a number from the German empire, such as Bartholomeus Valverdius, chaplain at Prague to the emperor. These Iberians should really be grouped with the Italian or Central European humanists who corresponded with Plantin.

In Italy the great advocate of Plantin and his house was Cardinal Granvelle (1517-86).³ This bibliophile and patron of the arts put other like-minded cardinals - Caraffa, Sirlet, Madrutius - in touch with Plantin. Through

1. Cf. p. 381 below.

2. Cf. the bibliography on p. 368.

3. M. van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot, bisschop van Atrecht, kardinaal van Granvelle, minister van Karel V en van Filips II (1517-1586)*, 1953; *El cardenal Granvela (1517-1586). Imperio y revolucion bajo Carlos V y Felipe II*, 1957 (Spanish translation of the preceding work); *Antoon Perrenot van Granvelle, beschermheer van Christoffel Plantijn*, 1948; 'Granvelle et Plantin' in *Estudios dedicados a Menendez Pidal*, 7, 1957, pp. 225-272; and 'Plantin, Grauvelle et quelques documents inédits ou non publiés dans la "Correspondance"' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, 1956, pp. 214-229. Cf. also L. Voet, 'Plantin en de kring van Granvelle. Enkele nog onuitgegeven brieven en documenten' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 142-169.

these prelates eminent Roman humanists came to correspond with Plantin: Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600),¹ Ercole Ciofano, and Giovanni Antonio Viperana (c. 1540-1610). At the end of his life Plantin himself took the initiative in the matter of a publication which brought him into contact with Cardinal Cesare Baronius (1538-1607).

Contacts with the British Isles and their scholars were less numerous and less fruitful. With the exception of the Scot, George Buchanan (1506-82) and his friend Daniel Rogers (c. 1538-91),² Plantin seems only to have had dealings with English, Scottish, and Irish scholars who as Catholics had fled from their countries to seek refuge in the Netherlands; for example Alan Cope († 1582),³ John Sanderson and Richard Stanyhurst (1547-1618).⁴

Plantin's relations with scholars in Germany and Central Europe were much more important. These can be divided up into various groups. In the Rhineland there were Herman Cruser (1510-73), counsellor to the Duke of Cleves; Franciscus Fabricius (1524-73), a rector at Dusseldorf; Obertus Gifanius (1534-1604); Petrus Merssaeus, a Franciscan active at Cologne; Henricus Menchenius, a Bonn physician; Henricus Olearius, chancellor to the Duke of Cleves; Joannes Rethius, a Jesuit active in Cologne; and Cornelis Schulting, a Cologne canon (c. 1540-1604). South Germany provided Jeremias Martius at Augsburg and the famous physician and botanist Joachim II Camerarius at Nuremberg. In Bavaria were Simon Eccius, the Duke of Bavaria's chancellor; Joannes Leodius, doctor of theology and ducal councillor; Erasmus Vendius, councillor and secretary to the Duke of Bavaria. North Germany had Henricus Ranzovius (1526-98) who governed Holstein for the Danish king;⁵ and Ditlevius Silvius, who was in Ranzovius's

1. M. van Durme, 'Le cardinal de Granvelle et Fulvio Orsini' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 12, 1950, pp. 324-331.
2. *Corr.*, VI, no. 953; *Suppl. Corr.*, nos. 118, 119, 128. For these British scholars see D. Macmillan, *George Buchanan, a biography*, 1906; J.A. van Dorsten, *Poets, patrons, and professors. Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers and the Leiden humanists*, 1962.
3. Who later went to Italy: from the end of 1573 he wrote to Plantin from Rome.
4. A.C. Southern, *Elizabethan recusant prose 1559-1582 A historical and critical account of the books of the Catholic refugees*, 1950.
5. L. Elaut, 'Een Plantin-uitgave van H. Ranzovius hygiënisch traktaat' in *De Gulden Passer*, 35, 1957, pp. 129-138.

service. In Brandenburg were Severinus Gobelius, physician, and Michael Scrinus, librarian of the Elector of Brandenburg.

Plantin's correspondents in Austria and Bohemia included Johann Craton von Kraftheim (1519-85), Maximilian II's physician; Paul Melissus (Schedius), the poet laureate at Vienna; John Sambucus (1531-84), the learned Hungarian who was a councillor and historian of Maximilian II and Rudolph II;¹ and Andreas Duititius, the Catholic bishop in Hungary who became a Lutheran and fled to Poland - he wrote to Plantin only from Vienna. Polish and Silesian correspondents included Cardinal Stanislas Hosius (1504-79), Bishop of Külm and Papal Legate to Poland; Thomas Treterus, Hosius's secretary; and Jacobus Monaw and Thomas Redinger at Breslau (the present Wroclaw).

These were the scholars who exchanged ideas in writing with Plantin. His circle of friends and acquaintances was in fact much more extensive. Chance references in his own letters, or in those of the scholars in question when writing to third parties, show that Plantin conversed in person with such divergent figures as the Italian historian and English secret agent Pietro Bizari (who has a history of Persia and one of Genoa published by Plantin) during his stay in Antwerp;² with the ardent Dutch Calvinist leader Adrian Saravia at Leiden;³ and with the German specialist in Oriental languages Emanuel Trcmelius, when this Heidelberg professor was passing through Antwerp.⁴ It also appears that he was friendly with Dominicus Lampsonius (1532-99),⁵ the Bruges philologist, poet and painter who, as secretary to the

1. P. Gulyas, *Bibliotheca Sambuci. Sámbooky János könyvtára*, 1941; F. Tempesti, 'La bibliotheca di un umanista ungherese della seconda metà del Cinquecento' in *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, 24, 1956, pp. 25-32; M. Boas, 'Gillis en Sambucus' in *Het Boek*, 10, 1921, pp. 129-138. Plantin and Sambucus must have met for the first time about 1563, when the Hungarian scholar stayed in Antwerp for a while.
2. *Corr.*, VI, no. 951 (Metellus to Plantin, 6th October 1581). Bizari worked as an intelligence agent for members of Queen Elizabeth I's government: C. Clair, 'Plantiniana in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum and the Public Records Office' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 119-120. Cf. p. 104.
3. H. van Crombruggen, 'Een brief van Adriaan Saravia over Lipsius en "Het Huis der Liefde"' in *De Gulden Passer*, 28, 1950, pp. 110-117.
4. *Corr.*, III, no. 333 (Plantin to Andreas Masius, 26th February 1565).
5. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 207 (cf. also p. 383). For Lampson, see J. Puraye, *Dominique Lampson, humaniste, 1532-1599*, 1950.

Prince-Bishops of Liège, played such an important part in the spiritual life of the Ardent City, and with Pierre Antesignanus, the French grammarian.¹

This by no means exhausts the list. A few lines in the *Album Amicorum* of Jan van Hout (1542-1609) represent all that is known about the relations between the printer and the learned town clerk of Leiden, but they show these relations to have been very friendly.² That a poem by Michel Aitzinger, the Austrian historian of the revolt of the Netherlands, should have been included in the book of verse dedicated to Plantin's memory suggests that they knew each other very well. Similarly it may be assumed that many native and foreign humanists who do not actually appear in Plantin's correspondence dealt in person with the master of the *Gulden Passer* when he printed their works,³ commissioned their editions and translations,⁴ or when they sold him books and manuscripts from their libraries.⁵

On his many business journeys in the Netherlands, France, and Germany, the printer would sometimes make big detours in order to call on all these learned friends and acquaintances, to settle up with them or discuss new projects. Naturally there are few traces of these conversations in letters or account books but now and again they afford glimpses of Plantin in animated

1. *Corr.*, II, no. 171 (Plantin to Duidirius, 3rd April 1569).
2. B. Becker, 'Thierry Coomhert et Christophe Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 1, 1923, p. 103. For Jan van Hout, see J.C.H. de Pater, *Jan van Hout (1542-1600)*, 1946.
3. Examples are: Joannes Baptista Houwaert (1533-1599), the Brussels poet and politician (W.A. van Eeghem, 'Iohan Baptista Houwaert, de prachtlievende' in *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academic voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1957, pp. 285-291, and E. de Bock, *Johan Baptist Houwaert*, 1960); Jean de la Jessée, the French poet and secretary to the Duke of Anjou who accompanied his master in the Netherlands; Philippe de Mornay, lord of Duplessis, the eminent Protestant humanist who also spent some time in the Netherlands in Anjou's *entourage*; George Bullock, the Cambridge Catholic theologian who left England about 1560 and died at Antwerp in 1572 (cf. *Corr.*, III, no. 446).
4. For example, Jacques Grévin, the French physician and humanist. See L. Pinvert, *Jacques Grévin (1538-1570). Étude biographique et littéraire*, 1899; B. Récatas, 'L'humanisme de Jacques Grévin, médecin et poète de la Pléiade' in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves de l'Université libre de Bruxelles*, 12, 1952, pp. 381-400; L. Elaut, 'Het kommentaar van Jacques Grévin op Vesalius' tekst in de Plantin-uitgaven van het "Epitome"' in *De Gulden Passer*, 40, 1962, pp. 96-104.
5. Such as John Clement (died 1572), the physician and former tutor of Thomas More's children who had fled from England. Cf. M. Sabbe, 'Uit den humanistenkring rondom Plantin' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 53-55. Cf. also pp. 352-353.

conversation in Louvain, Cologne, Frankfurt, or Paris; on the return journey from the Frankfurt Fair, for example, turning off to visit Gerard Mercator, who was living the life of a recluse in Duisburg, and settling accounts with him;¹ or at the house of Livinus Torrentius in Liège, conveying greetings from Antwerp friends or lamenting his financial state;² or being entertained at Louvain by Professor Gozaeus, who tried to interest him in an edition of St. Augustine's works.³

Just as often, or even more frequently, these scholars visited Antwerp to talk with the printer. Justus Lipsius was such a regular guest in the Plantinian house that the Moretuses came to call their guest room or *vrienden-kamer* the Lipsius room.⁴ In his *Plantarum stirpium historia* (1576), Mathias Lobelius described the botanical excursions he made around Antwerp, for which it may be supposed he used Plantin's villa as his headquarters.⁵ Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa came to Antwerp specially to watch with jealous care over the printing of the *Historia de España*, the monumental result of his scholarly endeavours.⁶ Hadrianus Junius stayed with Plantin in 1567, eating three meals and receiving 27 ells of velvet, as the printer carefully noted in his accounts.⁷

This entry was made in order to justify the expenditure of 27 ells of velvet to Plantin's partners (it was given as an author's fee) rather than for the sake of keeping a record of the board and lodging. Plantin was not so niggling as that: the fact that he invited Professor Tremelius of Heidelberg to dinner on his return journey from England to Germany;⁸ that he received Clusius

1. L. Voet, 'Les relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et la maison plantinienne à Anvers' in *Duisburger Forschungen*, 6, 1962, p. 179.
2. Cf. for example *Corr.*, V, no. 745 (J. Moretus to Arias Montanus, November 1576).
3. *Corr.*, II, no. 226 (Plantin to Maximilian Morillon, 3rd May 1570).
4. Cf. p. 287, and also Plantin's letter of 27th October 1586 to Justus Lipsius (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1167).
5. He stayed there at least while writing this work: 'Sur quoyje vous veux bien advertir que Monsieur del'Obel travaille icy jour et nuit quasi continuellement a la poursuite de son livre.' (*Corr.*, IV, no. 569: Plantin to Clusius, 14th October 1574.)
6. Not without making a fuss and complaining: *Corr.*, II, no. 362 (Plantin to Garibay, 13th February 1571). Cf. E. Gossart, 'Le chroniqueur Garibay chez Plantin' in *Le Bibliophile beige*, 11, 1876, pp. 281-287.
7. Arch. 4, folio 69.
8. *Corr.*, III, no. 333 (Plantin to Andreas Masius, 26th February 1565).

with open arms when the great botanist was also returning from England to the Continent;¹ that Jan Mofflin chose to lodge at the Golden Compasses, rather than find greater comfort and a more lavish table with Antwerp patricians who would have liked nothing better than to entertain the influential Abbot of Bergues² - all this is revealed not by Plantin's account books but by casual references in letters. It is the very casualness of these allusions which suggests that such events were by no means rare and that the Golden Compasses in the Kammenstraat and the Vrijdagmarkt offered hospitality through the years to an unending succession of scholars.

It is always difficult to make positive assessments of cultural influence and exchange. The main sources are usually letters; certainly any measurement of the significance of the Plantinian house as a cultural centre must be based on extant correspondence. But letters are only written when the correspondent is out of reach. Hardly any letters were exchanged between Plantin and Ortelius, Poelman, Galle, Heyns, or other Antwerp friends, as they could meet and talk with each other at any time. Even when letters are exchanged, the correspondents may leave matters of mutual knowledge unwritten, or may be reluctant to commit everything to paper for fear of prying eyes.

Plantin's copious correspondence shows him in contact with European humanism of those years, but the nature of the source material makes it hard to define the exact significance of the Plantinian house in the cultural life of the time. Plantin's letters deal mainly with the practical problems which have beset printers and publishers down the centuries: costing; answering the clamour of difficult authors who thought their works were being neglected; complaints and protests to recalcitrant authors who sent in badly corrected or incomplete texts; polite refusals of proffered manuscripts, and so on.

Now and again reference is made to some friendly service. Plantin watched over the interests of Stephanus Winandus Pighius, who was in danger of losing a large amount of money through the bankruptcy of an Antwerp financier (he lost it in spite of the printer's intervention). He sent

1. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 163 (Plantin to Camerarius, 13th August 1581). Cf. *ibid.*, no. 177 (Plantin to Clusius, 29th October 1582, concerning a room for his use at Leiden).
2. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1103 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, 22nd May 1586); VIII-IX, no. 1232 (Plantin to Ranst, 23rd March 1587).

some of Dodoens's household effects from Leiden to Hamburg at the request of the botanist's widow, invoking the aid of the German scholar Camerarius.¹ Hubert Languet, the French Protestant publicist who died in Antwerp on 30th September 1581, called Plantin to his death-bed and asked the printer to open any confidential letters which arrived for him without the knowledge of the executors who had been appointed by the city authorities, to read them, and to take whatever action seemed most suitable.²

The Golden Compasses also functioned as a kind of post office. Plantin took with him on his numerous business trips hundreds of letters and documents abroad for friends and acquaintances, or distributed incoming mail in the Low Countries.³ Not all those helped in this way were as ungrateful as the always touchy Pamelius, who angrily accused Plantin of opening letters entrusted to him.⁴ In a letter of 2nd November 1587 to Ortelius, Dominicus Lampsonius refers to a manuscript of Petrus Simenius which Lampsonius was sending Ortelius with the request that it should be passed on to Plantin, who was to dispatch it to Philippe de Mornay, seigneur of Duplessis, who was to hand it over to Antonius Sadelius.⁵ In this manner letters and documents - and conversations and ideas - were passed on.

In most of Plantin's letters it is the businessman who speaks. In many letters, however, the cultural life of the time also takes shape, with the printer playing a very active role which was not simply that of a hard-headed businessman, covetous of gain. Plantin himself took the initiative in publishing certain works, badgering authors, urging them on, and this to an extent which is only partially expressed in his letters. He asked Postel's advice about the structure of Syriac characters⁶ and thus was able to use in the Polyglot Bible one of the most elegant Syriac types ever designed. He hunted down manuscripts for his own use or on behalf of others. He asked Duititius at Vienna for two Greek manuscripts the existence of which he had

1. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 192 (Plantin to Camerarius, 22nd April 1585).
2. *Corr.*, VI, no. 955, p. 321 (letter from Plantin to Matallus, 11th-20th October 1581).
3. Just as he in turn called on friends to deliver letters and documents. Concerning this postal function, see for example *Corr.*, III, no. 354; IV, nos. 493, 497, 556, 599, 625; V, nos. 671, 680, 695; VI, 869, 951; VIII-IX, nos. 1120, 1331.
4. *Corr.*, III, no. 461 (Plantin to Alan Cope, 31st January 1573).
5. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 207.
6. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 90, Cf. p. 376.

heard of through Pierre Antesignanus.¹ He had Arabic manuscripts sent from Spain for his son-in-law Raphelengius.² He went to the Abbey of Tongerlo to borrow Hebrew Talmudic manuscripts for Arias Montanus,³ and it was probably at the latter's request that he negotiated with Thomas Redinger for the loan of an old manuscript.⁴ With Arias Montanus he travelled through the Netherlands buying books and manuscripts for the library which Philip II was setting up in the Escorial.⁵ After the theologian had returned to Spain, Plantin continued to send books, manuscripts, scientific instruments, seeds and plants.⁶ Mofflin wrote from Spain asking him to look at a manuscript collection in Brussels and, possibly, to buy it on his account. Philip II's chaplain also requested him to act on his behalf in the purchase of Flemish tapestries intended for the Peninsula and to have a damaged clock repaired by Michel Coignet, the well-known Antwerp instrument maker and geographer.⁷ Plantin helped Gerard Mercator on his map of France.⁸ He consulted theologians about how to illustrate particular religious subjects.⁹ He advised the Duke of Bavaria's counsellors

1. *Corr.*, II, no. 171 (Plantin to Duititius, 3rd April 1569); III, no. 360 (*idem*, [1569]).
2. *Corr.*, V, no. 649 (Plantin to de Lastanosa, 9th September [?] 1575), no. 678 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, 3rd December 1575).
3. *Corr.*, IV, no. 500 (Plantin to the provost of Tongerlo, 10th December 1573); V, no. 790 (2nd March 1578).
4. *Corr.*, IV, no. 494 (Plantin to Redinger, 9th November 1573).
5. R. Beer, 'Niederländische Büchererwerbungen des Benito Arias Montano für den Eskorial im Auftrage König Philipp II. von Spanien nach unveröffentlichten, aus dem Musée Plantin-Moretus zu Antwerpen von Max Rooses zur Verfügung gestellten Urkunden' in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 25, Heft 6, 1905. Cf. also p. 76. In 1571 Plantin requested Cornelius Reineri at Louvain to buy - on Arias Montanus's account but in the strictest secrecy - certain English books which had come out about two years previously, particularly a publication dealing with Mary Queen of Scots (praecipue vero unius qui nescio quid pro Regina Scotiae tractat, quem audimus in Anglia olim disseminatum esse): *Corr.*, II, no. 277 (14th May 1571). Cf. also Plantin's letter to the Duke of Alva, 13th May 1571 (*Corr.*, II, no. 275).
6. Cf. for example *Corr.*, VII, no. 1011; VIII-IX, nos. 1303, 1320, 1328. Concerning the maps and instruments dispatched by Plantin to Arias Montanus (and the latter's Spanish friends), 1568-1589, see J. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers*, I, pp. 1-16.
7. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1170 (Mofflin to Plantin, 4th November 1586).
8. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 83 (Plantin to Mercator, 15th February 1569: 'Quod a me petis de locis in carta gallica addendis conabor quantum in me erit. Litteras tuas Lutetiam itaque per primum mittam amicosque hortabor ut qua in re poterint te iuvent.')
9. *Corr.*, IV, no. 510 (Plantin to Petrus Canisius, 23rd January 1574).

on the appointment of professors at Ingolstadt.¹ Lipsius invited him to Louvain when he presented his doctor's thesis.² Years later Ludovicus Carrio invited Plantin for the same purpose, but the printer had to excuse himself because of sickness.³

Plantin discussed religious questions with the tolerant Coornhert⁴ and the Calvinist Saravia.⁵ He put the mystic prophet Barrefelt in touch with Arias Montanus.⁶ In 1574 the printer attended the second synod of the Netherlands ecclesiastical province as Requesens's mandatary, taking part in a session and conveying the governor-general's instructions to the assembled bishops and abbots in a Latin address; he also negotiated with them over the publication of choirbooks.⁷

Although it is difficult to prove cultural influence in terms of figures and charts, there can be no doubt that the Plantinian house in the time of its founder showed itself to be a cultural centre of international importance. Its role was not merely passive; it was forceful and dynamic, helping to determine and direct the intellectual life of the period.

This description of Plantin's relations with the scholars of his time would not be complete without some consideration of how far these were affected by political and religious events.

For most of his life Plantin belonged to heterodox sects - first Hendrik Niclaes's Family of Love and later Hendrik Janssen Barrefelt's kindred group - which were not opposed to either Catholicism or Protestantism, but rather placed themselves above established churches, dogma, or ritual, preaching toleration and an intensely spiritual faith in Jesus Christ.⁸

These sects, however, operated in the greatest secrecy. Their member-

1. *Corr.*, no. 274 (Plantin to Erasmus Vendius, [May 1571]).
2. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 125 (Plantin to Pithou, 10th February 1576).
3. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1139 (Plantin to Carrio, 15th September 1586).
4. B. Becker, 'Thierry Coornhert et Christophe Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 1, 1923.
5. H. van Crombruggen, 'Een brief van Adriaan Saravia over Lipsius en "Het Huis der Liefde"' in *De Gulden Passer*, 28, 1950, pp. 110-117.
6. M. Sabbe, 'Hoe stond Benedictus Arias Montanus tegenover de leeringen van Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël)?' in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, 1928, pp. 27-51; French translation: 'Les rapports entre B. Arias Montanus et H. Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 4, 1926, pp. 19-43.
7. C. de Clercq, 'Deux épisodes plantiniens' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1958, pp. 158-161.
8. Cf. pp. 21 sqq.

ship was small, confined to a limited flock of the chosen. Only a very few of Plantin's circle were adherents, although it should be pointed out that these were his most intimate friends. The Antwerp humanists nearest to Plantin and Ortelius were steeped in the mysticism of these heterodox sects. But Plantin also had many friends and acquaintances who were not numbered in this small esoteric company. The printer was primarily concerned with the man and not with the label he wore: Catholic or Protestant seem to have been all the same to him, as long as they amounted to something as people. Yet he also had to take account of the environment in which he lived, and that environment was initially Catholic - if not always in spirit, then at least in externals. Plantin's circle was therefore predominantly Catholic. Until 1576 the Protestants among his acquaintances could be counted on the fingers of one hand, and naturally they were almost exclusively foreigners¹ or fellow-countrymen abroad.²

In 1576 the Southern Netherlands too rose in revolt against Spanish rule and it became possible for its citizens to proclaim their religious convictions with less risk to life and property. In these years Plantin seems to have been on friendly terms with many eminent Protestant scholars: with the Scot George Buchanan, and the Englishman Daniel Rogers; with such Frenchmen as Philippe de Mornay and Hubert Languet; and of course with native Protestants, particularly with those in the Northern Netherlands he had come to know from 1579 onwards during his first reconnaissances in Holland. These included Janus Dousa, Jan van Hout, and Saravia.

Nevertheless it was the Catholic element in Plantin's circle which continued to set the tone, and he himself remained rather averse to humanism with a Calvinist tinge. This is clearly expressed in the attitude he adopted at Antwerp in the period 1579 and 1585 (or at least to 1582).³

In 1577 Antwerp went over to the rebels; in 1579 to 1580 the Calvinists seized power. At once a new group of humanists appeared, militant Calvinists who regarded the study of classical Antiquity and its culture as a weapon to be used in the service of their religion. There was a Flemish, or

1. Such as Joachim Camerarius and George Buchanan.
2. Such as Carolus Clusius and Bonaventura Vulcanius.
3. Plantin moved to Leiden early in 1583 and so did not personally experience the last phase of the Calvinist administration in Antwerp.

more precisely, a Brabantine group with Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde and Hendrik Ackermans van Brecht (Brechtanus) as its central figures; and a French-speaking group with Pierre Villiers l'Oiseleur, the 'Calvinist pope' of Antwerp, and Jan Taffin, Granvelle's former librarian and a sort of Calvinist *librorum censor* for the city, as its principal representatives.

In 1580 these Calvinists founded a *schola publica*, a grammar school where Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were taught. The first headmaster was Bonaventura Vulcanius who was to continue his turbulent career at Leiden; the first pupil registered was Marnix's son Jacob.

Jan Taffin was already known to Plantin. The printer had made his acquaintance at Antwerp in 1558, before he had gone over openly to Calvinism and become a preacher in Lorraine. It was Taffin who had introduced Plantin to his colleague Pighius, thereby giving him access to Granvelle's circle.¹ But between 1579 and 1582 Plantin appears to have studiously avoided any contact with this old acquaintance. Vulcanius was also in contact with Plantin for a considerable time - at least from 1573 - but the printer made no particular effort to strengthen the ties between them during his stay in Antwerp. Towards the Calvinist newcomers Plantin and Moretus and their associates maintained a fairly cool neutrality.² There is one exception who may have come under the influence of these Calvinists: the conversion of Plantin's son-in-law Raphelengius to the reformed religion should be placed in this period and is perhaps to be ascribed to his dealings with Vulcanius and other scholars of his persuasion.

The recapture of Antwerp by Spanish forces in 1585 put an end to the brief existence of the *schola publica* and sent the Calvinist scholars fleeing to the North. The reconquest also meant the beginning of a new phase in the history of humanism in Antwerp and the Southern Netherlands - and in the role and importance of the Plantin house as a cultural centre.

Antwerp's heyday was past, but the decline only made itself felt gradually. The arts experienced another splendid revival and humanism and the sciences were to blaze up once more in glory in the slow economic decay of

1. L. Voet, 'Plantin en de kring van Granvelle. Enkele nog onuitgegeven brieven en documenten' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 142-169.
2. However, in 1581 Plantin did in fact appear as the confidant of the French Protestant publicist Hubert Languet, then living in Antwerp (*Corr.*, VI, no. 955, p. 321; cf. p. 383).

the Brabantine port. This late Antwerp humanism was wholly different in character from that which 'la preclara et famosa citta di Anversa' had experienced in the palmy days of Plantin and his circle. After 1585 Antwerp was made into a bastion of Catholicism. If Plantin was the great typographer of the new learning, then Jan and Balthasar I Moretus were the great printers of the Counter-Reformation. Antwerp printing became an adjunct of the militant Catholicism which set its seal on the whole later flowering of humanism in Antwerp.

The initiators were the Jesuits who after the surrender took over the educational legacy of the Calvinists and opened a college in 1585; it was primarily the presence of the great humanist Andreas Schottus (1552-1629) which attracted students there. In 1605 the Dominicans opened a second college for the humanities where the 'sacred' languages were taught. A third was founded by the Augustinians in 1608. Its first rector, Nicasius Bax (1581-1640), was also a most distinguished humanist scholar.¹

At the end of the sixteenth century Antwerp became what it had never been before - an important centre for what might be termed advanced secondary education whose influence eclipsed even that of the university of Louvain. It was this combination of educational and printing facilities which shifted the centre of gravity of the Counter-Reformation from the university towns of Louvain and Douai to Antwerp.

For the Antwerp Jesuits, Augustinians, and Dominicans it was the faith which was of prime importance, but like the Antwerp Calvinists before them, and their Protestant contemporaries in the North, they sought to reconcile Christianity with the cultural values of Antiquity. They laid great emphasis on the classics in their schools, which became a source of Christianized, or more accurately Catholicized humanism. It was largely through the stimulating influence of these schools that this new humanism permeated a larger section of the upper classes in Antwerp than ever before.

Once more, as in the time of Erasmus, officials and magistrates who were humanists of national or even international importance appeared in Antwerp, including Jan Boch or Bochijs (1555-1609), town clerk from 1585 until his

1. F. Prims, 'Baxius (1581-1640)' in *Antwerpiensia*, 19, 1948, pp. 78-80.

death,¹ and Gaspar Gevartius (1593-1666),² *griffier* or recorder from 1622 to 1666, who commemorated state visits and other public occasions in elegant *carmina*, *gratulationes*, and *epithalamia*; Jan Brandt (1559-1639), Rubens's father-in-law who became *griffier* in 1591; Philip Rubens, the painter's brother, successor to Bochius as town clerk, who died in 1611 at the age of 38 before his full potential as a scholar had been realized; Jan Woverius (1576-1635), an alderman of the city, councillor of Brabant and a diplomat in the service of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella; Nicolaas Rockox (1560-1640), burgomaster, art patron, and collector; Jacob Edelheer (1597-1657), who became *stadspensionaris* (pensionary of the city, the most important city official) in 1622 and was the possessor of an internationally renowned collection of globes and scientific instruments. Besides these, other active laity were Frans Sweerts (1567-1629), who wrote the *Athenae Belgicae* and published many biographies; Petrus Scholirius (1582-1635), a Latin poet of merit who wrote one of the first cookery books in Dutch under a pen-name; Franciscus Schottus (1579-1622), brother of Andreas, an archaeologist and jurist, and the writer of a guide-book for Italy; Lazarus Marcquis (1574-1647), one of the founders of the Antwerp medical school (1624) and author of an important treatise on the plague; Ludovicus Nonnius (c. 1553-1645/6), a physician of Spanish origin and an eminent numismatist.³

The Catholic clergy of Antwerp now began to emerge as humanists for the first time. There were the bishops, Livinus Torrentius (1525-95), Plantin's friend; Jean Miraeus or Lemire (1560-1611), who became Bishop of Antwerp in 1603; and Jan Malderus (1563-1633) who succeeded him in 1611. The canons of Antwerp Cathedral are represented by Aubert Miraeus (1573-1640), who published large collections of medieval documents; Jan Hemelaers or Hemelarius (c. 1580-1655), a converted Calvinist;⁴

1. M. Hoc in *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 225th issue.

2. M. Hoc, *Le délin de l'humanisme belge. Étude sur Jean-Gaspard Gevaertt, 1593-1666*, 1922; F. Prims, 'Brieven aan Gaspar Gevartius' in *De Gulden Passer*, 6, 1928, pp. 204-210.

3. P. Boeynaems, 'Les Nuñez, famille d'éminents médecins d'origine espagnole à Anvers aux XVI et XVII siècles' in *XV Congreso internacional de Historia de la Medicina*, 1956, pp. 229-233.

4. H.F. Bouchery, 'Laboris et Constantiae elogia. Een onuitgegeven gedicht door Johannes Hemelarius aan Balthasar I Moretus opgedragen' in *De Gulden Passer*, 19, 1941, pp. 217-227; J. Schoups, 'J. Hemelarius: Laboris et Constantiae elogia' in *De Gulden Passer*, 19, 1941, pp. 229-265.

and Franciscus Zypaeus or Van den Zype (1578/9-1650), one of the best South Netherlands jurists of his day. Then there was the Augustinian preacher and historian Jan Mantels or Mantelius (1599-1676);¹ the priest Laureis Beyerlinck (1578-1627), author of the great Catholic encyclopaedia *Magnum Theatrum Vitae Humanae*; and Frans van Sterbeeck (1630-93), the chaplain to a beguinage whose *Theatrum fungorum oft het tooneel der campernoelien* (1675) was highly thought of at the time.² But it was the Jesuits who had the most impact with such figures as Andreas Schottus, who has already been mentioned; Carolus Scribani (1561-1629), rector of the Antwerp college, who was regarded in the Society as a ‘talentum ad regendum, scribendum et conversandum’;³ François d’Aguilon (1566-1617), Jean Charles della Faille (1597-1652) and Grégoire de Saint-Vincent (1584-1667), who were among the best mathematicians and astronomers of their time;⁴ Heribert Rosweyde (1569-1629) and Jan Bollandus (1596-1665), who conceived and set in motion the enormous project of the *Acta Sanctorum*.⁵

Thus Antwerp in the late sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century was the principal cultural centre of the Southern Netherlands. Its achievements often equalled the best of what was being done in other European countries, but it was a centre where all scholarship served the Counter-Reformation.

Plantin experienced the beginning of this new era, which had fully

1. Who amongst other things wrote a poem in Dutch in 1641 ‘Op den gouden Passer van den werelt door vermaerden boeckdrucker Christoffel Plantyn tot syne neef d’Heer Balthazar Moretus, in ’t beginsel van ’t nieuiaer 1641’. Cf. M. Sabbe, ‘De Antwerpsche vriendenkring van Anna Roemers Visscher’ in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, 1938, p. 61.
2. L.G.M. Philippen, ‘Franciscus van Sterbeeck, Antwerpsch mycoloog, bouwkundige en historicus, 1630-1693’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 8, 1930, pp. 27-66.
3. L. Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani S.J., 1561-1629. Een groot man van de contra-reformatie in de Nederlanden*, 1961.
4. H. Bosmans, ‘Deux lettres inédites de Grégoire de Saint-Vincent publiées avec des notes bibliographiques sur les oeuvres de Grégoire de Saint-Vincent’ in *Annales de la Société scientifique de Bruxelles*, 26, 1902; ‘Le traité “De centro gravitates” de Jean-Charles della Faille’, *idem*, 38, 1912; and ‘Le mathématicien Jean-Charles della Faille de la Compagnie de Jésus’ in *Mathesis*, 41, 1927, pp. 5-11; C. Parkhurst, ‘Aguilonius’ Optics and Ruben’s color’ in *Het. Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1961, pp. 35-49. Cf. L. Godeaux, *Esquisse d’une histoire des sciences mathématiques en Belgique*, 1943.
5. H. Delehay, *A travers trois siècles. L’oeuvre des Bollandistes, 1615-1915*, 1920; P. Peeters, *L’oeuvre des Bollandistes*, 1942.

arrived by the time that Jan I Moretus succeeded him. Plantin's son-in-law, however, was himself a transitional figure, too much a part of the past to relish the new age entirely.¹ But around him the old familiar figures were disappearing, making way for the new men. When Jan Moretus died in 1610, the old guard of pre-1585 Netherlands humanism had been replaced by the new generation of the Counter-Reformation. With Balthasar I Moretus the Plantin house too saw the accession of a new generation which was intensely aware of the new humanism of its contemporaries.

Jan I Moretus earned a modest place in Dutch literature.² Balthasar I Moretus, a student of the revered Justus Lipsius, was a Latin poet of distinction - even if he left most of his works to lie unread in the archives of the house without ever wanting to commit them to his own presses.³ Father and son could, like Plantin, mingle with the most brilliant intellects of their times as equals, but they were no longer leading figures in their own city as the founder of the *officina* and his intimates had been. In the wider context of the new Antwerp humanism they can be seen to have retreated from the first rank. This was partly of their own volition; they could have shone more, but Jan Moretus does not seem to have been able to accept the new age completely, while his gifted but physically handicapped son, who was indeed imbued with the new spirit, had too much of an inferiority complex to secure a leading role for himself.

A change can be seen to have set in on another level. Under Plantin's immediate successors the horizons of the firm were significantly reduced.⁴

1. Drawn into Barrefelt's circle by his father-in-law, Jan Moretus remained on the most cordial terms with this heresiarch after Plantin's death (Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 45-46). He published no more of his writings, but it was undoubtedly to please his old mentor that in 1590 he prepared a Dutch translation of *Theologia Germanica*, a fifteenth-century mystical tract which, although orthodox (but still sufficiently suspect to be placed on the Roman Catholic Index in 1621), was valued highly by those of Barrefelt's outlook as containing the fundamentals of their teaching. Concerning this tract, see H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, I. Ter inleiding: de studie van het zestiende-eeuwse letterbeeld en het geval van "La Theologie Germanique" (Plantin, 1558)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 170-178. For the significance of the *Theologia Germanica* for the Barrefeltists, see Saravia's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 20th October 1608 (H. van Crombruggen, 'Een brief van Adriaan Saravia over Lipsius en "Het huis der Liefde"' in *De Gulden Passer*, 28, 1950, p. 117).
2. Cf. pp. 192-193.
3. Cf. p. 205.
4. The study of the significance of the Plantinian house as a cultural centre after 1589 is greatly hampered by the fact that only a few fragments of the correspondence of Plantin's successors have as yet been published. Publication of the correspondence of Jan I, Balthasar I and Balthasar II Moretus could augment the picture given in the following pages. However, the author does not believe that any change in essentials would be required.

Letters were still exchanged with Spanish and Portuguese scholars, with the composer Duarte Lobo or Lupus at Lisbon¹ and the naturalist Juan Eusebio Nieremberg at Madrid. Letters still arrived from Italy and Germany, from the cardinals Cesare Baronius (1538-1607), Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621), and Federico Borromeo (1563-1631), from Rodrigo Arriaga (1592-1667), the Spanish Jesuit who became chancellor of Prague University, from Jacobus Bosius, from Balthasar Corderius (1592-1650), the Antwerp Jesuit who was professor of theology at Vienna,² from Augustin Tornielli (1543-1622), and from Theodoor Moretus (1602-67), the learned kinsman who had become professor of theology and mathematics at Breslau (Wroclaw).³ This does not exhaust the list, although the most important names have been given. Except for Jean Boyvin (c. 1580-1650), a lawyer and councillor at Dôle, France provided no further correspondents of any significance.

The international role of the Plantin house was over. It became a centre for scholars from the Southern Netherlands and for foreigners who had settled there temporarily or permanently - such as the refugee Irish Catholic Richard Stanyhurst and the English Catholic Thomas Stapleton (1535-98); others were the Spanish scholar Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606-82), Mathieu de Morgues, and the Chifflets, of whom more later. It had assumed a more regional character, but at this level its brilliance continued. The humanist elite of Antwerp regularly met in the Golden Compasses in the Vrijdagmarkt, and all the major and minor figures of the cultural life of the Southern Netherlands crossed its threshold at one time or another to talk over the publication of their works or discuss humanist questions. The manuscripts and letters of many of them have been preserved in the archives of the house.⁴

1. J.A. Stellfeld, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*, 1949, pp. 139 sqq.
2. J. Andriessen, 'Mystiek bij enkele Nederlandse Jezuiteten der XVII^e eeuw' in *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 29, pp. 271-301.
3. H. Bosmans, 'Theodore Moretus de la Compagnie de Jésus, mathématicien (1602-1667), d'après sa correspondance et ses manuscrits' in *De Gulden Passer*, 6, 1928, pp. 57-162; H. Hoffmann, 'Der Breslauer Mathematiker Theodor Moretus S.J. (1601-1667)' in *Jahrbuch der Schlesische Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur*, 107, 1934, pp. 118-155.
4. Including letters from persons already quoted, such as L. Beyerlinck, J. Bochius, J. Malderus, J. Mantelius, A. Miraeus, L. Nonnius, P. Pantin (cf. p. 375, n. 1), N. Rockox, H. Rosweydyus, F. Rubens and J. Woverius, as well as from Bernardus Bauhusius (1575-1619), Lambert Burchius (1542-1617), Balduinus Cabillau (1568-1652), Joannes David (1545-1613), Libertus Fromondus (1587-1653), Hermannus Hugo (1586/8-1629), Leonardus Lessius (1554-1623), Fredericus de Marselaer (1584-1670), Franiscus Paludanus (died 1631), Theodorus Saillius (1553-1623), Egidius Schoondonck (1556-1617), Godefridus Wendelinus (1580-1667), and Otto Zylus (1588-1656). There are manuscripts of Jacob de Bie (Denucé, *Manuscrits*, no. 21), J. Hemelarius (no. 119), Joannes David (no. 138), Franciscus Haraeus (no. 332) and Eryceus Puteanus (no. 482).

Mathieu de Morgues, Abbot of Saint-Germain, who had followed the Queen Mother of France, Maria de' Medici, into exile, was a fierce polemist and bitter opponent of Richelieu. He corresponded regularly with Balthasar I from Brussels and had him print his writings in defence of the queen and vilification of his mortal enemy - which was not always an unalloyed pleasure for the Antwerp typographer.¹

Several members of the Chifflet family, which originated from Franche Comté, fulfilled important functions in the central government at Brussels. Jacques Chifflet, Isabella's physician, and the Jesuits Pierre François and Laurent Chifflet, were good friends of the Moretuses, but it was with Philippe Chifflet, chaplain to Isabella and the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand, that the relations were the most intimate and cordial. Philippe Chifflet and Balthasar I exchanged hundreds of letters bearing information, questions and requests (these were sometimes quite delicate, as when Philippe asked his friend to find a good - and rich - wife for one of his nephews, a task in which Balthasar was not successful). There were also reports on contemporary events which throw much light on the political life of the Netherlands in those troubled years.²

The South had been brought back under Spanish rule; the North had won its independence. In both North and South, however, the first generations

1. C. Perroud, *Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres de Mathieu de Morgues, abbé de Saint-Germain (1582-1670)*, 1865; P. Henrard, 'Mathieu de Morgues et la Maison Plantin' in *Bulletins de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 2nd series, 49, 1880.
2. P. Henrard, 'La correspondance de Philippe Chifflet et de Balthazar Moretus I' in *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie*, 41, 1885, pp. 319-366; A. de Truchis de Varennes, 'Les Chifflet à l'imprimerie plantinienne. Trente-cinq lettres de leur correspondance avec les Moretus et le catalogue de leurs ouvrages édités à cette célèbre imprimerie' in *Bulletin trimestriel de l'Académie de Besançon*, 1908, pp. 352-424; B. de Meester de Ravestein, *Lettres de Philippe et de Jean-Jacques Chifflet sur les affaires des Pays-Bas (1627-1639)*, 1943.

after the separation remained conscious of the former unity. The Antwerp humanists stayed in touch with kindred spirits in the North, although they naturally felt themselves drawn in the first place to their Catholic co-religionists. Anna Roemers Visscher, the Dutch poetess who had been converted to Catholicism and was called by admiring contemporaries the ‘Northern Sappho’ and ‘Theano of the North’, visited Antwerp regularly, where she was welcomed with open arms. This ‘wijze Visscherin’ (i.e. wise fisherwoman, a pun on her name) was often a guest in the house in the Vrijdagmarkt, where at her host’s request she wrote out a number of sonnets by such great Dutch poets as P.C. Hooft and Constantijn Huygens in her elegant handwriting, and even composed a sonnet on her ‘worthy courtship’ with Balthasar I Moretus.¹

Foreign scholars also called on their way through Antwerp: through the good offices of Rubens the Earl of Arundel’s librarian Francis Junius, was able to consult an Old English manuscript gloss in Balthasar’s library.²

On the death of Rubens in 1640, Mathieu de Morgues wrote to Balthasar: ‘Vostre ville a perdu l’ornement de la peinture muette, vous estes celuy de la parlante.’³ With the passing of Rubens the great age of Antwerp painting came to an end. When Balthasar I Moretus followed the painter a year later the cultural life of Antwerp was also ebbing swiftly away.⁴ The standards of the schools and colleges fell alarmingly; the city was degenerating into a provincial centre of little importance.

The Plantinian house shared in this decline. Balthasar II continued to correspond with Philippe Chifflet for a time. In 1642 and 1643 he afforded Anna Roemers Visscher the same generous welcome as his uncle had done.⁵

1. M. Sabbe, ‘De Antwerpsche vriendenkring van Anna Roemers Visscher’ in *De Moretussen en him kring*, 1928, pp. 52-77. Cf. plate 101.
2. M. Foerster, ‘Die altenglische Glossenhandschrift Plantinus 32 (Antwerpen) und Additional 32246 (London)’ in *Anglia*, Neue Folge, 29, 1917, pp. 94-96 and 156-157. Cf. H. Bouchery and F. van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, 1941, p. 19.
3. Arch. 147, folio 314. Cf. C. Ruelens and M. Rooses, *Correspondence de Rubens*, VI, p. 308 (between 19th and 23rd June 1640). Cf. also p. 207.
4. In 1644 the Dutch humanist Nicolas Heinsius noted that there were few scholars in Antwerp and quoted only three names: Ludovicus Nonnius, Hemelarius, and Gevartius (Gevaerts): cf. M.-A. Kugener, ‘Séjour de l’humaniste Nicolas Heinsius en Belgique: mai-octobre 1644’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 6, 1928, p. 235.
5. Cf. the article quoted in note 1.

Nicolas Heinsius, son of the famous Leiden professor Daniel Heinsius, and himself a considerable classical scholar, consulted a number of manuscripts in Balthasar II's library in 1644.¹ Joost van den Vondel, the great Dutch poet and dramatist who came to know Balthasar II through mutual Catholic friends, although the two probably never met in person, dedicated his well-known ode to 'De Druckkunst' (The Art of Printing) to this nephew and successor of Balthasar I.² In 1656 Vondel's destitute son came to coax a loan out of his father's friend.³ But after that all was quiet. The *Officina Plantiniana* remained a great printing house; its masters went on earning millions of guilders from the publication of service books. They were elevated to the nobility and associated with the greatest families in the land, but culturally speaking there was no longer anything of importance taking place in the Golden Compasses.⁴

When in 1670 Jules Chifflet, a nephew of Philippe, visited Antwerp, where Balthasar II acted as his host and guide, he wrote compassionately and at some length in his diary on the cheerless aspect of the once proud commercial city, concluding in a similar vein about its cultural decay. All the scholars who had been its glory thirty-six years before were now dead. All that remained were the fine epitaphs in the churches and their portraits in the house of his host Moretus.⁵

The Plantin House, with its memories of a great but irrevocable period, had already become a museum - 'un des beaux restes de notre ancienne opulence' as it was expressed in a petition of 1757.⁶

1. M.A. Kugener, 'Séjour de l'humaniste Nicolas Heinsius en Belgique: mai-octobre 1644' in *De Gulden Passer*, 6, 1928, p. 235.
2. M. Sabbe, 'Vondel, Balthasar II Moretus, Leonardus Marius en Hendrik Barentsen' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 86-98.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.
4. Although no doubt there is still information to be gleaned from the archives: for example Balthasar IV Moretus seems to have acted as a liaison between Lord Baltimore and Antwerp painters in the years 1720-1725 (Arch. 734).
5. Truchis de Varennes, *op. cit.*, p. 395. Cf. also p. 218.
6. M. Sabbe, 'In- en uitvoerrechten op boeken en papier gedurende de 17 en 18 eeuw in Zuid-Nederland' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, p. III.

Chapter 13

*The Plantin House as a Tourist Attraction*¹

It was not only grave and dignified scholars who in past centuries entered the ‘big house’ in the Vrijdagmarkt to negotiate the publication of a book or to engage in profound (or not so profound) conversation over a rummer of wine; or artists and engravers who came to discuss a commission; or fellow-printers - who until 1618, and possibly later, were sent round to the *Gulden Passer* in the Kammenstraat, where the casks of wine provided for this category of guest were stored:² long before the Plantin House became a museum it was already attracting tourists, crowned heads as well as ordinary people.

The Golden Compasses in the Vrijdagmarkt and the Kammenstraat both had the distinction of being mentioned and described in the first guide-book for the Netherlands, Ludovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* - but not in the first edition of 1567, published by Plantin's great rival Willem Silvius, who would have been little pleased by such publicity for his competitor. When Plantin published a new edition in 1581, the author inserted in the chapter devoted to Antwerp the following enthusiastic passage: ‘No less excellent, pleasant and remarkable than all that has been mentioned above (apart from other less significant ones in this town) is this splendid printing office, set up separately from the shop in a private dwelling that is perfectly suited to it, by Christophe Plantin, printer to the king: whose

1. Cf. L. Voet, ‘Het Plantijnse huis als toeristisch centrum’ in *Antwerpen*, 1, 1955, pp. 12-18.
2. An agreement of 1614 between Balthasar I and Jan II, who was in charge of book sales, stipulated that the former would each year pay his brother as his share of the general expenses the price of one *aam* of Rhenish wine (50 fl., plus the duty etc. - a total of 63 fl. 4 st.), ‘par respect des traictements des libraires lesquels se font d'ordinaire en la boutique’ (Arch. 101, folio 55).

enterprise is worthy of praise and remembrance; and all the more laudable for until now no one has known of or seen a printing office in the whole of Europe where there are more presses, more type and a greater diversity of characters, more cases and other tools fit for such an excellent craft: or in which so many well-versed and exceptional men are to be found employed for large wages and salaries. These men work at revising and correcting books in all the languages (I make no exception), either classical or vernacular, which are used throughout Christendom; in such a way that when everything has been taken into account in this house of the Muses, including the labour employed in printing and attendant activities, expenditure amounts daily to more than three hundred florins of the country, which comes to a hundred and fifty *écus*; a truly glorious and magnificent fact, adding not so much to the profit and honour of the worthy author of all this but rather to the whole town, in as much as books are sent out from there which are both well printed and correct. These are dispatched in great quantities throughout the world.¹

It remains open to question whether it was Plantin with his great business acumen who had this advertisement inserted, or whether Guicciardini did it on his own initiative as a favour to his publisher. In either case the enthusiasm was wholly justifiable, and was echoed by the many strangers who visited Antwerp and regularly made their way to the Vrijdagmarkt.

The list of famous and illustrious visitors began in 1579 with no less a person than William the Silent, Prince of Orange, and his wife. Plantin

1. Original French text: 'Moins excellence, agreable et merueilleuse que tout ce que dessus (oultre d'autres moindres estans en ceste ville) n'est celle magnifique Imprimerie faite à part de la Boutique, en un corps de logis particulier, et tout propre à cecy, par Christophle Plantin Imprimeur du Roy: l'entreprise duquel est digne de loz et memoire; d'autant qu'on ne sçait point iusqu'à present, on en voye de pareille en toute l'Europe, et où il y ayt plus de presses, plus de lettres, et diversité de caracteres, plus de casses, et autres instrumentz propres à un art si excellent: et où tant d'hommes rares, et bien versez là entretenuz, à grandz gaiges et salaires, soyent trouvez, lesquelz travaillent à revoir et corriger les livres en toutes langues (ie n'en excepte aucune) soit literales ou vulgaires desquelles on use par toute la Chrestienté: de sorte que le tout calculé en ceste maison des Muses, et pour le labeur de l'impression, et de ce qui en depend, on emploie tous les iours plus de trois cens florins du pays, qui viennent à la concurrence de cent cinquante escuz: chose (sans mentir) illustre et royale, qui redonde non tant au profit et homieur de l'auteur louable d'icelle, ains encore de toute la ville: entant que des livres sortants et bien correctz et bien imprimez de ceste maison, on en faict courir grande quantité par tout le monde.'

wrote a poem for the occasion, 'Le seul divin est perdurable; toute autre chose est perissable', which was printed in the presence of the exalted guests: 'Faict et imprimé presents les tresillustres Prince et Princesse d'Orange, venus voir l'Imprimerie de Christophle Plantin, XIII. jour de Décembre M.D.LXXIX.'¹ The only known copy of this poem, together with the *Souhait* which was associated with it and printed at about the same time, can still be admired in the second Plantinian room of the Museum.²

The fortunes of war drove William of Orange back to the North and restored Spanish rule to Antwerp. Henceforth the monarchs and princes who visited the *officina* were related to, or associated in one way or another with the Spanish royal house. The first of these were the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. In December 1599 the pair made their joyous entry into Antwerp, spending several days there. On the sixth day - 16th December 1599 - it was the turn of the *Tapissierspand* [the building where tapestries were sold] and the Plantin house to be graced with a visit.³ 'And so that they should not leave out anything that was rare and worth seeing, they went after dinner to the house where is situated the shop which sells all kinds of tapestries in such great quantities that there is usually enough in stock to furnish a whole kingdom. The rest of the day was spent profitably in the printing office of the learned and famous Christophe Plantin, carefully administered by the conscientious and meticulous Jan Moretus, his son-in-law, who in recognition of the honour that he felt was beine afforded him, had run off on one of his presses in the presence of his sovereign lord and lady a sheet printed in capitals which he presented to them on the spot.'⁴ Like his father-in-law, Jan Moretus had honoured his distinguished visitors with

1. See plate 102. Cf. also p. 97.
2. M. Rooses and M. Sabbe, *Les rimes de Christophe Plantin*, 1922, nos. XI and XII; also published in *Suppl. Corr.*, nos. 270 and 272. The *Souhait* is reproduced in L. Voet, 'Het Plantijnse huis als toeristisch centrum', p. 13.
3. D. Roggen, 'Bezoek van Albert en Isabella aau de Plantijnsche drukkerij ter gelegenheid van hun blijde intrede in Antwerpen (December 1599)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 5, 1927, pp. 22-25. The text also appears in M. de Villerniont, *L'infante Isabella, gouvernante des Pays-Bas*, I, 1912, pp. 449 sqq.
4. Original French text: 'Et pour ne rien obmettre de tout ce qui estoit de rare a voir, apres le disne ils furent en la maison ou se trouve le magasin de toute sorte de tapisseries en si grande quantite qu'il y en a dordinaire pour assortir un royaume entier. Le reste de la jouniee fut utilement passe dans l'imprimerie du docte et renomme Christoffle Plantin, curieusement administrée pour lors par le soigneux et exact Jean Moretus son gendre, lequel en reconnaissance de l'honneur dont il se sentoit oblige fit sortir de l'une de ses presses en la presence de ses Princes un escrit en lettres capitales qu'il leur presenta sur le champ.'

a specially, dedicated address. This tradition was continued faithfully, for in every documented instance of royal visits there is mention of an address.

In 1631 Maria de' Medici, Louis XIII's scheming mother, fled from France and was cordially received by the Archduchess Isabella. Accompanied by Isabella she visited the principal towns of the Southern Netherlands. Antwerp and the Plantin house were not overlooked.¹ Following the family custom, Balthasar I presented both the royal tourists with a loyal greeting composed in French and Latin. The French text for Maria de' Medici is interesting, if only as a curiosity:

A la Reyne Tres-Chrestienne
 Marie
 Mère de Troys Roys les plus grands du monde,
 qu'un nuage de dissension eslevé dans le royaume de son fils,
 Dieu l'ayant permis pour une meilleure fin,
 a mené dans les provinces de son gendre,
 pour resiouir et illustrer
 avec sa face sereine et Florentine
 celle de la Flandre descolorée par les guerres,
L'imprimerie Plantinienne,
 brillante des rayons d'une si grande maiesté,
 applaudit en tout respect;
 et
 luy augure enbref, et la félicité dès à présent
 du beau laurier de Paix,
 dont elle se verra couronnée au Royaume de son fils
 après la pacification des troubles
 de France et Flandre
 Le x. septembre de l'an M.DC.XXXI

1. H. de Backer, 'Marie de Médicis dans les Pays-Bas et sa visite à l'imprimerie Plantin-Moretus' in *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire... Christophe Plantin*, 1920, pp. 75-84. Cf. also pp. 206-207.

Balthasar was so proud of his literary labours that he had the four loyal addresses included in the beautifully illustrated work he printed the following year, the *Histoire curieuse de tout ce qui c'est passé à l'entrée de la Reyne Mère du Roy Tres-Chrestien dans les villes des Pays-Bas* by Jean Puget de la Serre, a courtier of Maria de' Medici. A presentation copy, printed on parchment and magnificently bound, was offered to the queen. Thanks to the efforts of the Permanent Donation Fund for the Antwerp Municipal Library and the Plantin-Moretus Museum, it has been returned at last to its place of origin and is now displayed in the Moretus room.¹

Three years later, on 21st August 1634, it was an Italian prince, Thomas of Savoy, who arrived in the Vrijdagmarkt. This time there was very nearly a hitch: the letters announcing the visit went astray and Balthasar was only informed at the last minute. The traditional address was in jeopardy, but the printer, humanist, and poet proved equal to the situation. As he himself explained in a letter to Philippe Chifflet, one hour in the silence of the night was time enough for him to produce a text of this sort. Thomas of Savoy received an appropriate Latin address, composed according to all the rules of the art; it had even been submitted to the 'preventive' censorship of Jean Jacques Chifflet, Philippe's brother, who had examined it to make sure there was nothing in this adulation of an Italian prince which might offend any of the Spanish authorities in Brussels.²

Eight months later, on 9th April 1635, die Cardinal Infante, Don Ferdinand, Isabella's successor as governor-general of the Spanish Netherlands, took the opportunity afforded by his stay in Antwerp to pay a visit to the Plantinian press. This time posterity is better informed about the visitor's reactions because of an entry in the diary of Philippe Chifflet, who was a courtier as well as a close friend of Balthasar: 'His Highness, who wished to emulate the praiseworthy curiosity of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, of the Queen Mother, of the King of Poland, a prince at that time, and

1. Cf. the description of this binding in *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens. Catalogue de l'exposition...Bibliothèque nationale*, 1954, no. 338. Reproduced in De Backer, *op. cit.* Concerning de la Serre's publication, cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 293, and the catalogue quoted above, nos. 339-343.
2. M. Sabbe, 'De Chifflet's met den prins-cardinaal en prins Thomas in de Plantijnsche Drukkerij 1635' in *De Gulden Passer*, 2, 1924, pp. 34-44; also included in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 176-182.

of several other great Princes, visited the Plantinian printing office of Master Balthasar Moretus with whom I was lodging; and he saw brought forth in his presence a beautiful inscription printed on a large sheet which Master Moretus presented to him as it came from the press. His Highness took particular pleasure in seeing the compositors assemble the type, insert the punctuation and the spacing and arrange everything on the form; asking questions about the several pleasing and curious points concerned in the full process of this Art. Master Moretus took him through the Printing Office to all parts of his premises, showing him all aspects of his business, which is like a small republic in itself; in one quarter were the correctors, in another the compositors, in the next the founders and repairers of types, and finally the wood engravers who most appropriately had just finished making a full-length likeness of His Highness in armour - and so well done that it was admired by all the courtiers... At this point one may describe Master Moretus's establishment which consists usually of 40 workmen paid punctually every Saturday; these workmen are compositors, [press]pullers or printers, proof-readers, collators, engravers both in wood and copper, then the founders and sometimes others who are employed to make matrices with the ancient punches.¹

The prince was delighted with what he saw, but no more so than Balthasar. The printer alluded to this visit repeatedly in his letters, with a rather

1. Original French text: 'Son Altesse désireux d'imiter la louable curiosité des Archiducs Albert et Isabelle, de la Reyne-Mère, du Roy de Pologne, prince pour lors, et de plusieurs autres grands Princes, fut visiter l'Imprimerie Plantinienne du Sieur Balthasar Moretus, chez qui j'estois logé; et vit-il présenter en sa présence une belle inscription en grande feuille estendue, que le Sieur Balthasar Moretus luy presenta et à tous ceux de sa cour, en mesme temps qu'on les levoit de la presse. S.A. prit un plesir singulier à veoir les compositeurs assamblar les caractères, entrelarder les distinctions et les espaces et arranger le tout sur la forme, s'enquérant de plusieurs belles curiositez qui concernent le collecte de cet Art. Le Sieur Moretus le pourmena de l'Imprimerie par tous les quartiers de son logis, et luy fit veoir toute son oeconomie qui ressemble à une petite république; en un quartier estoient les correcteurs, en un autre les assembleurs, deça les fondeurs et répareurs, et enfin les tailleurs en bois qui fort à propos, venoient de parachever l'image de Son Altesse de son long, armé en guerrier, et si bien faite qu'elle fut admirée par tous ceux de la Cour... icy se pourra descrire l'oeconomie du Sieur Moretus, qui est ordinairement de 40 ouvriers, payez punctuellement tous les samedis, qui sont les compositeurs, tireurs ou imprimeurs, correcteurs, assembleurs, graveurs tant en bois qu'en taille douce, puis les fondeurs et quelquefois d'autres pour faire des matrices avec les poinçons anciens.' (Published by Sabbe in the article, quoted in preceding note.)

childlike pride, and sent copies of his address to various friends and relations.¹

This does not exhaust the list of exalted callers, but less is known about other such visits. Let it suffice to say that hardly a single governor-general of the Spanish Netherlands omitted to call at the Plantinian house when making official or semi-official visits to Antwerp. Besides Albert and Isabella and Don Ferdinand, the masters of the Golden Compasses entertained Don Francisco de Mello (1641), the Marquis Castel Rodrigo (1646) and Prince Leopold William (1647). Polish royalty visited the house with great regularity - Prince Vladislav in 1624, Prince Casimir in 1635 and Queen Louisa Maria Gonzaga in 1646. Queen Christina of Sweden too visited it in 1654.²

In 1668 it was another Italian prince, Cosimo III de' Medici, who looked over the *Officina Plantiniana*. This descendant of a famous line of bankers simply noted dryly in his diary that the typographical equipment there must be worth 300,000 *scudi*. An almost complete darkness descends after Cosimo de' Medici's visit. No doubt other distinguished sightseers wandered through the patrician residence in the Vrijdagmarkt but, with three notable

1. Cf. M. Sabbe's essay on this visit quoted on p. 400, n. 2.
2. A concise biography of Plantin and the early Moretuses, compiled in the time of Balthasar II, lists the eminent visitors to the Plantin House (Arch. 98, p. 42): 'Depuis plusieurs années cette Imprimerie Plantinienne a Anvers a esté honorée de la presence et liberalité de plusieurs souverains et aultres grand seigneurs et princes et gouverneurs du Paysbas, qui ont daigné de la venir veoir comme en l'an 1601 les Ser^{mes} Archiducqs Albert et Isabelle, 1624 Vladislaus, alors Prince et despuis Roy de Poulogne, 1631 Marie de Medecis Royne Mere de France et Gaston frere unique du Roy de France, 1634 Prince Thomas de Savoye, 1635 Ferdinand Cardinal Infant d'Espagne et Gouverneur du Paysbas et le prince Casimirus a présent Roy de Poulogne, 1641 Don Francisco de Mello Gouverneur des Paysbas, 1646 Louise Gonsague Royne de Poulogne, marquis de Castel Rodrigo Gouverneur des Paysbas, 1647 Ser^{mus} Leopoldus Guilielmus Archiducque d'Austrice et Gouverneur des Paysbas, 1654 Christine Royne de Suede, Louis de Bourbon Prince de Condé. Auxquels Souverains et Seigneurs les susdits administrateurs de la ditte Imprimerie ont offert quelques inscriptions, qu'ils leur avoyent dressées, et l'imprimoyent en leur presence.' In 1651 Balthasar II Moretus asked for permission to set up a private chapel in the Golden Compasses. One of the points he made in justifying his request was the number of exalted persons who had already been received in the house. Mentioned by name (but without any indication of date) were: Vladislaus and Casimir, kings of Poland; Maria de' Medici; Maria Gonzaga, Queen of Poland; Albert and Isabella; the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand; Leopold, Archduke of Austria; Francis Thomas of Savoy; and the Duke of Orléans, Prince of Condé (Arch. 104, pp. 597-599; concerning Balthasar II's petition, cf. p. 290).

exceptions, nothing is known of such visits between 1668 and 1876, when the thread can be picked up again.

These three exceptions are revealed by typical Plantinian addresses. ‘Sa Majesté la reine des Français [the wife of King Louis-Philippe], MM. le roi et la reine des Belges et LL. AA. RR. les princesses françaises Marie et Clémentine honorent en ce moment, 2 heures après-midi, 28 Octobre 1834, de leur Auguste présence l'ancienne Archi-Typographie Plantinienne dont l'établissement remonte à l'an M.D.LVI. Anvers, de l'Archi-Typographie Plantinienne, chez Albert Moretus’ [Her Majesty the Queen of France, Their Majesties the King and Queen of the Belgians and Their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Marie and Clémentine of France, honouring with their August presence at this moment, 2 o'clock in the afternoon of 28th October 1834, the ancient Plantinian Press, the foundation of which dates back to the year 1556. Antwerp, in the Plantinian Press of Albert Moretus] is how the text of the first of these addresses runs.¹ The second, in almost the same words, shows that a few months later, at one o'clock in the afternoon of 14th July 1835 to be exact, King Leopold I and his wife returned, this time accompanied by the Prince of Linange. The visit must have made a great impression on the Queen of the Belgians for a third address indicates that less than a year later, on 3rd May 1836 (at eleven o'clock in the morning), Her Majesty, accompanied by her sister Marie, once more favoured the *Officina Plantiniana* with her presence.²

Crowned heads and high-ranking dignitaries were not the only ones who were given the opportunity of admiring the famous press from the inside during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The big house was always open to the curious. There was no traveller of inquiring mind who did not find his way to the Vrijdagmarkt when passing through Antwerp. Many of them wrote down their impressions in diaries and travel journals.³ Most of these travellers confined themselves to brief exclamations of admiration: ‘It

1. See plate 103.

2. Prints of these addresses can be seen in Room 14 (the Press), and also in Folio Varia I and II. For the visit of 3rd May 1836, cf. also L. Degeorge, *La maison Plantin à Anvers*, 2nd ed., 1878, p. 24.

3. J.A. Goris, *Lof van Antwerpen. Hoe reizigers Antwerpen zagen van de XV^e tot de XX^e eeuw*, 1940, pp. 89-93. Cf. the commentary and summary by H.F. Bouchery in ‘Plantiniana’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 18, 1940, pp. 173-176.

actually has eleven presses, and Balthasar Moretus is now in charge' wrote the German theologian Calixtus in 1641. 'The magnificent Plantinian printing office [which] has twelve presses and at least one hundred founts of type' was the comment of the Englishman Brown in 1668. In 1677 the young German Apronius saw 'founts of silver' as well as more than ten presses.

Some travellers expressed their admiration in greater detail. These descriptions are not models of their kind, but the German Hartmann in 1657, the Englishman Skippon, and the Frenchman Balthasar de Monconys in 1663 reflect quite aptly what visitors found most striking in those days - and this seems to have been much the same as that which impresses the present-day tourist.

The words of Monconys can be quoted by way of illustration: 'We have also been in Plantin's printing office, which retains the name of its founder, although it is one Moretus, a descendant of his son-in-law, who directs it. It is quite a large house, consisting of four wings enclosing an open quadrangle. In the middle of this is a pretty garden, the walls of which are most pleasantly covered by vines, like almost all the walls in this town, which goes very well with brickwork. In the lower part of one of these wings is the printing shop, where twelve presses are constantly at work. The rest of the house, except for part of the ground floor which serves as living quarters, is filled with copies of each book that they have printed and some other books besides.'

This interest in the Plantinian house was shared by sightseers of more humble rank. In 1643 Balthasar II Moretus was asked by Hendrik Barentsen, a Catholic friend who was a bookseller in Holland, if he would print an unspecified tract for him (probably a political or religious lampoon aimed at the North). Balthasar II was not very enthusiastic about the commission and tried to put it off indefinitely, pointing out that many Dutchmen visited his press in the summer:¹ '... for I have since been thinking that if it must be printed in complete secrecy, this cannot be done in my printing office, where every day (chiefly in the summer, about the time of the coming fair) many strangers, Dutchmen too, come to look around...'²

1. M. Sabbe, 'Vondel, Balthasar II Moretus, Leonardus Marius en Hendrik Barentsen' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, p. 95.
2. Original Dutch text: '... want hebbe t'sedert oock bedacht, dat mits heel secretelyck gedruckt moet wesen, het selve in myn druckerye niet wel en sal connen gheschieden, alwaer dagelyckx (principalyck inden somer, ende omtrent de aenstaende kermisse) veel vremdelinghen oock hollandsche deselve komen besichtigen.'

LE SEVL DIVIN EST PERDVABLE:
TOVTE AVTRE CHOSE
EST PERISSABLE.

TOVTE ce qui est creé & imprimé de Dieu,
Pour vivre en luy, ô Prince & Princesse d'Orangé,
Tefmoigne par effect le naturel du lieu
D'où il provient, & là (son tour fini) se range.

Le terrestre ça bas & le celeste en haut
(Selon l'ordre divin, faut toujours qu'il retourne:
Ce qui est outre plus n'est qu'arrogance, & faut
Qu'il s'abisme en la mort, quelque temps qu'il sejourne.

Heureux donques celuy, qui selon le conseil
De Iesus qui l'assiste à foy mesmes renonce,
Rangant sa volonté, effort & appareil
A cela que Dieu veut, establist & prononce.

En sa misericorde ainsi le prion nous,
Que (toute opinion & vanité cessante)
La verité divine ait force dedans tous,
Pour abismer chacun la chose à foy nuisante.

Ainsi nul ne craindra fausse accusation:
Ainsi chacun suivra le bon ordre & police
De ses Superieurs sans contradiction:
Ainsi Dieu vous avance à son œuvre & service.

*Fait & imprimé presents les tresillustres Prince
& Princesse d'Orange, venus voir
l'imprimerie de Christophle Plantin,*

XIIII. jour de Decembre. M. D. LXXIX.

102.34

(102) *Opposite*: Address dedicated to the Prince and Princess of Orange, printed in their presence on 14th December 1579, when they visited Plantin's premises. Only one copy of it is known.



(103) Another loyal address, specially printed on 28th October 1834 at 2 o'clock in the afternoon in the presence of Marie-Amélie, Queen of France, consort to King Louis-Philippe, who visited the *officina* in the company of Leopold I, King of the Belgians and his wife, Queen Louise-Marie (daughter of the French royal pair) and the French princesses Marie and Clémentine. The only known copies are in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

The facts available about such visits show that they can be dated to the second half of the seventeenth century, that is to say the period when the bookshop was in a room facing the courtyard (the present proof-readers' room).¹ The two things are probably connected: to reach the shop the public had to pass through the main gateway and across the courtyard, and thus had the opportunity of peering through the windows of ground-floor rooms or putting their heads round open doors. Mention of visitors of this sort stopped abruptly when the bookshop was moved to the Heilig Geeststraat: after that the privilege of entering the courtyard and viewing the *officina* was extended only to invited guests, as before 1640.

The fact that measures had to be taken at quite an early date to prevent quarrels among the staff over the conducting of strangers round the press - and the sharing of the tips which these people liked to give - suggests, however, that even before 1640 the number of those invited guests through the years can hardly have been small. On 12th March 1633 the 'chapel' or association in which the Plantinian workpeople were organized made the following ruling: '... [it] is decreed that anyone who shows strangers round any part of the premises shall be obliged (if he is so requested) to declare on oath what gratuity he has received, of which he shall retain three *stuivers*, he penalty [for infringement of this rule] being forfeiture of 25 *stuivers*'.²

A few months earlier a similar kind of provision had been made for the sharing of tips received from people who had their names set and printed on the Plantinian presses as a memento of their visit: 'At the same time [i.e. 22nd December 1632] it is decreed that if any person approaches a workman to have his name or any other matter printed, the compositor and the printer shall each retain three *stuivers* of any gratuity given and the remainder shall go to the chapel.'³

1. Cf. pp. 387-288.

2. M. Sabbe, 'De Plantijnsche werkstede. Arbeidsregeling, tucht en maatschappelijke voorzorg in de oude Antwerpsche drukkerij' in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academic voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1935, ordonnantie L, art. 52 (p. 676): '... is geordonneert dat iemant die vrent volck leijt om te wijsen achter oft voor, sal gehouden zijn (dies versocht sijnde) op eet te verclaren wat drinckgelt hij ontvangen heeft, waer af hij sal genieten drij stuijvers op de verbeurte van 25 stuijvers.'

3. *Ibidem*, ord, L, art. 46 (p. 675): 'Ten selve tijde is geordonneert bij soo verre datter eenige lieden iemant aenspreken om hunnen naem gedruickt te hebben oft iet anders, soo sal den setter en den drucker van het drinckgelt dat sij geven elck drij stuyvers genieten ende de rest sal voor de capel blijven.'

It can be seen that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Plantin house was important to what would now be termed tourism in Antwerp. It is less certain whether this was true for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The wealthy, and now also noble Moretuses give the impression of having been much more selective in these centuries. The last masters were in fact reputed to be veritably Cerberean, keeping out the tourists as determinedly as their forebears had welcomed and entertained them. In 1874, when die negotiations began which were to lead to the acquisition of the *Gulden Passer* by the City of Antwerp, there were few outside the family circle who knew what the old Plantinian house looked like from the inside or what treasures it harboured.¹

1. Cf. 'La Maison Plantin-Moretus' in *Le Bibliophile belge*, 9, 1874, pp. 230-238.

Chapter 14

The Plantin-Moretus Museum

In 1873 a rumour was circulating to the effect that foreign art-lovers had made Jonker Edward Moretus offers for his family treasures.¹ This caused great consternation among a group of people with a love of and concern for the national heritage who did not want to let these priceless relics of Antwerp's former splendour leave the country. Their spokesman, the Count of Flanders, who was chairman of the Royal Commission for the Exchange of Works of Art and Science, took immediate action and discussed with the Minister of the Interior the measures which the situation demanded.

The Minister judged it desirable that the building and its contents should be bought by the City of Antwerp with the financial support of the Belgian state. When Jonker Edward Moretus was sounded on the matter he expressed his approval. The Antwerp authorities, particularly the burgomaster Leopold de Wael, were more than enthusiastic. In 1874 valuers and experts were appointed. Edward Moretus was very moderate in his demands and was content to ask a price of 1,200,000 Belgian francs. The city was prepared to meet half of this sum and hoped that the state would find the rest. Everything pointed to a swift and smooth completion of the transaction.

Then bureaucracy began to make difficulties. One of the valuers appointed by the state arrived at a lower estimate for the paintings than those engaged by the city. This was enough to make the ministry decide that the

1. Concerning the purchase of the Plantin house by the City of Antwerp, see M. Sabbe, 'Comment l'hôtel Plantin-Moretus devint musée public' in *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du 4^e centenaire de Christophe Plantin*, 1920, pp. 9-14.

other estimates were too high. Edward Moretus was angered by the insulting tone of the ministerial letters and refused to reconsider his price. The Antwerp authorities, convinced of his reasonableness, did not even make him any new offers.

The transaction seemed on the point of falling through when the Count of Flanders managed, at the last moment, to persuade the minister to change his attitude, or at least to modify it: the government would contribute 200,000 francs; Antwerp would have to find the remaining million.

This the city did and it was able to arrange credit terms with Jonker Moretus. On 10th August 1875 the city council voted unanimously in favour of the purchase, expressed its appreciation of the Count's efforts and praised the Jonker's love for his native town. On 20th April 1876 the deed transferring the Plantin house to the City of Antwerp was signed. The necessary adaptations and restorations were quickly carried out, so that by 19th August 1877 the *Gulden Passer* could be opened to the public as the Plantin-Moretus Museum.¹

Emmanuel Rosseels, an Antwerp literary figure, was made technical director (until his retirement in 1902); Max Rooses was made curator. He held this office until a few months before his death on 15th July 1914. After 1902 he added Rosseels's former duties to his own.²

Max Rooses was a native of Antwerp. He was 37 when he left the Ghent *atheneum* (a state grammar school) in 1876, where he had taught Dutch language and literature, and returned to his home town as curator of the new museum. He had already made a name for himself as a literary critic, and as an ardent, liberal Fleming, militant in the cause of his people and their language. He continued these activities, playing quite an important part in the political life of the city. But even before he returned to Antwerp he had felt himself drawn towards history and the history of art. With an amazing

1. For the development and extension of the Plantin house as a museum, cf. the catalogues quoted on p. 259, n. 1.
2. For Max Rooses, see E. de Bom's 'Bibliographie van Max Rooses' in *Het Boek*, 4, 1915, pp. 1-4, 97-112, 194, and 'Max Rooses. In Memoriam (10 Februari 1839-15 Juli 1914)' in *Het Boek*, 4, 1915, pp. 185-193; 'Max Rooses herdacht' in *De Gulden Passer*, 16-17, 1938-1939 (with contributions by H.F. Bouchery, J. Denucé, A.H. Cornette, E. de Bom, A.J.J. Delen, and the orations delivered at the funeral on 17th July 1914); L. Voet, 'Max Rooses (1839-1914). Bij een verjaardag' in *Antwerpen*, 10, 1964, pp. 75-81.

energy and capacity for work, and with an erudition and breadth of intellect which made him Belgium's first great art historian, he launched himself upon the twofold task of illuminating the lives of the masters of the Golden Compasses and studying the seventeenth-century painters of the Antwerp School. He achieved prodigious feats, publishing not only an impressive number of detailed studies and editions of source material, but also standard works on Christophe Plantin, Rubens, Jacob Jordaens and Van Dyck - and although whole libraries of books have since been written on these great figures from the artistic and cultural history of the Southern Netherlands, these works have not been superseded after all these years and still need to be consulted. Under Max Rooses's leadership, the old Plantin house became not only a world-renowned museum but, as in the days of Plantin and Balthasar I Moretus, an active centre of scholarly research.¹

Rooses also attended to the extension of the collections. The particular character of the Plantinian house meant that only some of these were suitable for enlargement. Furniture, paintings and other art objects, manuscripts and typographical material had all to be regarded as integral parts of the former printing-press and family residence; as such these collections were virtually complete in themselves and it was not possible, or desirable, to add much to them. The library, however, was capable of enlargement and here Rooses established straight away the guide-lines of a policy which the Museum authorities have consistently followed ever since: the acquisition of missing Plantin and Moretus editions, and the extension of the collection of old (i.e. pre-1800) Antwerp impressions.

One of the later Moretuses was a devoted collector of graphic arts and his folios of prints were also acquired by the city at the transfer of 1876. Rooses, with his intense interest in art history, made this small section his special care and began his unremitting efforts to enlarge it. At the same time he thought that the City of Antwerp was under a moral obligation to buy drawings and prints by living Antwerp artists. He managed to obtain permission from the city fathers to make purchases and - more important - also suc-

1. For one particular aspect of the activities of the Museum, see L. Voet, 'Het Museum Plantin-Moretus als centrum van bibliofilie' in *Antwerpen*, 7, 1961, pp. 154-160; in French: 'Le Musée Plantin-Moretus, centre de bibliophilie' in *Deuxième Congrès international de Bibliophilie. Actes et Documents*, 1963, pp. 57-62.

ceeded in extracting credit and subsidies from them and from other authorities and private donors. Together with the librarian F. Gittens he was able to bring about the establishment in 1905 of the ‘Bestendig Dotatiefonds voor Stadsbibliotheek en Museum Plantin-Moretus’ [Permanent Donation Fund for the Antwerp Municipal Library and the Plantin-Moretus Museum] which has contributed so much to the enrichment of the two institutions.¹ The collection of drawings and prints by Antwerp masters, old and new, became so large in course of time that it outgrew the Museum and had to be transferred to a separate building in 1936: the ‘Stedelijk Prentenkabinet’ (Municipal Gallery of Prints), specially set up for this purpose in a house at the corner of the Vrijdagmarkt, next door to the Museum.²

Max Rooses retired in 1914, a few months before his death. His deputy, Dr. Jan Denucé, succeeded him. Dr. Maurice Sabbe took over from Dr. Denucé after the 1914-18 war. Sabbe was a well-known Flemish literary figure who, like Rooses, had previously taught Dutch language and literature at a secondary school. He proved a sound historian and published many notable articles and books on Christophe Plantin - and particularly on the Moretuses, who had been rather neglected by his predecessor.³

It was during Sabbe's curatorship that the independent Prentenkabinet mentioned above was established, with A.J.J. Delen as its first curator,⁴ followed in 1945 by Frank van den Wijngaert.⁵ Maurice Sabbe died on

1. G. Schmook, ‘XL jaar Antwerps maecenaat’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 28, 1950, pp. 57-70.
2. F. van den Wijngaert, ‘Het Antwerpsch Prentenkabinet’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 14, 1936, pp. 138-144; A.J.J. Delen, *Het Stedelijk Prentencabinet van Antwerpen*, 1941.
3. R. Roemans, ‘Analytische bibliographie van en bibliographie over Prof. Dr. Maurits Sabbe’ in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1932, and *Maurits Sabbe, de kunstenaar en de geleerde*, no place or date of publication given [1933]; H.F. Bouchery, ‘Maurits Sabbe als conservator van het Museum Plantin-Moretus’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 16-17, 1938-1939, pp. 3-16, and ‘De tentoonstelling “Maurits Sabbe als conservator”’, *ibid.*, pp. 17-20.
4. A.J.J. Delen became chief curator of the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp, in 1945. He died on 17th June 1960: L. Craeybeckx, ‘In Memoriam Ary Delen’ in *Antwerpen*, 6, 1960, pp. 104-105.
5. F. van den Wijngaert retired in September 1959 for health reasons. He died on 12th June 1962: G. Schmook, ‘Frank van den Wijngaert. Hulde aan een gezamenlijk oeuvre’ in *Noordgouw*, 1, 1961, pp. 1-5; L. Voet, ‘In memoriam Frank van den Wijngaert (1901-1962)’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 40, 1962, pp. 1-11 (with a bibliography of his work). Van den Wijngaert was succeeded at the *Stedelijk Prentenkabinet* by Miss I. Vertessen who unfortunately died already on 26th April 1962: G. Schmook, ‘In memoriam Irène Vertessen (Antwerpen: 25-2-1917 - 26-4-1962)’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 40, 1962, pp. 12-18 (with a bibliography of her work by Mrs. I. Vervliet).

12th February 1938 and was succeeded by the assistant curator, Dr. Herman Bouchery.¹

The Second World War broke out. Air raids on occupied Belgium by the Allies took place and in 1942 the Plantin-Moretus treasures, with collections from other museums, were taken to the castle of Lavaux-Sainte Anne near Namur. When the Allies landed in Normandy the evacuation of the castle was ordered. In the midst of all the chaos the art treasures were transported back to their respective towns but on 26th August 1944, near the bridge at Dinant, the column of vehicles was mistaken by Allied aircraft for a German troop convoy. Five people were killed and serious damage was done, but the Plantin-Moretus collections got off relatively lightly. Only a few books and the fine eighteenth-century clavicymbal were struck by bullets; the latter was damaged badly but not beyond repair.²

The worst, however, was yet to come. German flying bombs began to fall on Antwerp. The Museum treasures, dispersed at various storage places, survived the rest of the war unscathed, but not the Plantin house itself. On 2nd January 1945, at 10 o'clock at night, a V2 rocket hit the Vrijdagmarkt, causing great destruction over a wide area. Although only some 50 yards from the point of impact, the Museum remained standing. It suffered extensive damage, however, and in the bleak winter weather it had the forlorn look of all bombed buildings: windows shattered, beams and woodwork splintered and twisted, roofs and walls gashed. The front wall of the building was left practically intact as the wide windows there let the blast waves straight through. There was no such easy outlet at the back of the house and the blast wrenched the gable facing the courtyard out of its joints, leaving it leaning at an angle.³

1. H. Bouchery was made professor at Ghent University in 1946. He died on 11th April 1959. See G. Schmook, 'In Memoriam Prof. Dr. Herman Bouchery, 2 januari 1912-11 april 1959' in *Antwerpen*, 5, 1959, pp. 192-193, and 'In Memoriam Prof. Dr. Herman Bouchery, 1912-1959' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 1-18 (with a bibliography of his work by Mrs. L. Vydt).
2. Concerning this event, see the second article by G. Schmook quoted in the preceding note.
3. F. van den Wijngaert devoted a chapter to the V2 incident in *Glorie en nood van het Plantijnse huis*, 1947. Cf. also his article 'Het Museum Plantin-Moretus en de V-ramp op de Vrijdagmarkt te Antwerpen' in *Tété*, 2, 1947, pp. 110-113.

Under the direction of Dr. Herman Bouchery (appointed professor at Ghent University in 1946) and Frank van den Wijngaert (responsible for the running of the Plantin-Moretus Museum from 1946 until 1950), two men who had given sterling and untiring service all through the war and who now spared themselves just as little, the first repair works were begun. The actual rebuilding could not be started until 1947. This extremely delicate task was carried out with great care and precision by the appropriate city departments, under the leadership first of the architect A. de Mol, then of the chief architect A. Fizez and his assistant R. van Noten.¹ On 38th July 1951 the Plantin-Moretus Museum could at last be opened to the public again.

1. Concerning the rebuilding of the Museum, see A. de Mol, 'Restauratie van het Museum Plantin-Moretus' in *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Monumenten en Landschappen*, 1955, pp. 9-35. Cf. also L. Voet, 'Het Museum Plantin-Moretus heropend' in *De Gulden Passer*, 30, 1952, pp. 17-23.



(104) The staff of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in 1902. The seated figures are Max Rooses (left) and Emmanuel Rosseels (right). Standing behind them is the assistant keeper G. Gilbert. The other men are doorkeepers and supervisors; their livery was inspired by sixteenth-century costume.

Appendixes

Appendix 1

*A Tour of the Plantin-Moretus Museum*¹

The whole west side of the Vrijdagmarkt in Antwerpen is taken up by the Plantin-Moretus Museum and the Stedelijk Prentenkabinet (Municipal Gallery of Prints). The latter was erected in 1936, but the splendid façade of the Museum is a typical eighteenth-century construction in golden-yellow Grimberg stone. This beautiful stone was hidden for almost a century and a half under a thick coating of plaster. The plaster was removed in 1903, when the opportunity was taken of restoring the right half of the façade in grey Euville stone. The Antwerp architect Engelbert Baets drew up the plans for this frontage in 1761. It is only one room deep and is joined on to the older parts of the building enclosing the courtyard.

Above the main door the figures of a woman and of Hercules stand sentinel on either side of a shield bearing Plantin's famous compasses and his equally celebrated device *Labore et Constantia*. The Antwerp sculptor Artus Quellin executed this work in 1640 for Balthasar I Moretus. Originally it ornamented the entrance to the *Bonte Huid* in the Hoogstraat, but in 1644, at the request of Balthasar II, Quellin moved it to its present position where it has remained ever since, even surviving the explosion of 2nd January 1945 unharmed.

The entrance hall and staircase

On pedestals in the entrance hall stand marble busts of the two distinguished Antwerp citizens to whom the city and the civilized world owe the Plantin-Moretus Museum, namely Jonker Edward Moretus, last owner of the house, portrayed by Robert Fabri, and Leopold de Wael, burgomaster of Antwerp at the time, by Eugène van der Linden.

Turning right the visitor enters the great hall which is situated in the eighteenth-century part of the building. A monumental stairway leads upstairs, but we remain on the ground floor. Ahead is an Apollo in white stone by the Brussels

1. For the bibliographical and archival references, see above under the chapters devoted to the architectural history of the Plantin house and to its art collections.

sculptor Guillaume Godecharle (1750-1835) which had graced one of the rooms of the house since 1809. Over the doors are four panels of wood carved in basrelief by the Antwerp artist Daniel Herreyns in 1781. On the ceiling over the staircase, about fifty feet above the floor, is a fresco representing an eagle with outstretched wings. It was painted in 1763 by Theodoor de Bruyn, an Antwerp painter of Dutch parentage. He was also responsible for the five wall paintings which give the eighteenth-century drawing-room opening into the hall its particular atmosphere.¹

Leaving these eighteenth-century surroundings, the visitor enters the seventeenth-century part of the Museum.

The Tapestry Room (Room 1)

The walls of this small and peaceful room are actually hung with tapestries - rare and beautiful sixteenth-century Brussels work, contained in a seventeenth-century border. The coat of arms of the Losson-van Hove family is woven into this border, but so are Plantin's compasses. A possible explanation is that a Moretus bought the tapestries from the Losson-van Hove family and had the compasses worked into the still unfinished border. The hangings were cut up to fit them into the room for which their new owners intended them. In 1922 new sections were woven to join up the tapestries on either side of the two doors of the room.

The name 'Thomyris' is woven in the dress of one of the characters depicted, showing that the work represents scenes from the life of the Queen of the Massagetes - or of the great Persian king Cyrus whom she defeated and killed.

Above the fireplace hangs an early copy of Rubens's famous painting *The Lion Hunt* (the original is in the Munich Pinakothek), which has ornamented the Plantinian house since at least 1658. In the middle of the room is a fine tortoiseshell table, of seventeenth-century Antwerp manufacture. Between the windows that look out onto the courtyard stands a small oak sideboard in Flemish Renaissance style on which is displayed Chinese porcelain.

The sculptured corbels which here, as in most of the Museum rooms, carry the main roof-beams display the two symbols that are repeated all through the building. These are alternately Plantin's compasses, representing his motto *Labore*

1. This drawing-room has been rearranged into the 'Salon Émile Verhaeren'. It contains now a very fine collection of paintings, drawings, books, letters, documents, and personal souvenirs of the great Belgian poet (1855-1916), a gift of René Vandevor, President of the Court of Appeal at Douai (France). The 'Salon Émile Verhaeren' was inaugurated on 19th October 1966. On this occasion an illustrated catalogue *Salon Émile Verhaeren: Don du Président René Vandevor* was issued, containing an introduction by L. Craeybeckx, burgomaster of Antwerp, a necrology of René Vandevor by A. Potier, and 'Pages brèves sur l'Ensemble Verhaeren' by R. Vandevor. (The catalogue also appeared in Dutch.)

et Constantia - the moving point symbolizing toil (*labor*) and the fixed point steadfastness (*constantia*), and the star of the Moretuses. When, after the fashion of his time, Jan I Moretus was looking for some symbol that would contain an allusion to his name he chose the *Rex Morus*, the Moorish king who, with the other two Magi, came to worship the Holy Child. As his device he adopted *Ratione Recta*, meaning that he took good principles as his guide, just as the Magi had had a star to lead them to Jesus. When Balthasar I succeeded his father, however, he replaced the Moorish king by the star itself and chose as his motto *Stella Duce* (the star as my guide), which fitted the new symbol while retaining the spirit of his father's device.

The Great Drawing-Room (Room 2)

This drawing-room could equally well be called the first Rubens room. On the damask-draped walls hang a dozen paintings, of which ten - portraits of Plantin and the early Moretuses, their wives and friends - are from the hand of the great Antwerp master. Rubens was a close friend of Balthasar I and the house has many reminders of the brilliant artist and his work.

The rooms also contain two notable seventeenth-century Flemish cabinets. To the right of the fireplace is a very precious example in tortoise-shell, rosewood, and ebony, with twenty-three Biblical scenes painted on white marble. To the left there is a simpler but very graceful piece in rosewood, inlaid with niello-work in pewter. The Plantin compasses appear on one of the inner doors; on the outer door the initials LVO are to be seen, the meaning of which remains obscure. Among the objects standing on this cabinet is a silver-gilt clock in the form of a bell-tower. According to a Moretus tradition it was given to the family by the Archdukes Albert and Isabella.

The Drawings and Manuscript Room (Room 3)

The third and last room in this wing is also draped with damask and contains a number of notable paintings of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Here too is displayed a treasured part of the Museum collections, namely the drawings and manuscripts.

The Museum's collection of old drawings is not extraordinarily large - it numbers about 650 works - but is of its kind very interesting, if not unique. It comprises designs for book illustrations, the sketches to which the woodblocks and copperplates for Plantinian works were cut. They are drawings by the greatest Antwerp masters of the time, including Rubens himself, but only the lesser divinities are represented here as Room 19 has been dedicated specially to Rubens.

On the other side of the room a selection of rare manuscripts can be admired, dating from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries. They are interesting for the

history and development of Latin scripts as well as for the techniques employed by the medieval illuminators. Many of them are also of great intrinsic value to textual criticism of old authors.

The most beautiful specimens are displayed in separate showcases: *Froissart's Chronicle* in three parts, the title-pages of which are splendid examples of Flemish fifteenth-century manuscript illumination and, even more magnificent, the two volumes of the King Wenceslas Bible, 1401-02, one of the most impressive works produced by illuminators of the Bohemian school at its height.

The Courtyard

The pleasant vaulted cloisters around part of the courtyard can be reached from Room 3, past the Lion Stairs - so-called because of the lion on the newel supporting the arms of Balthasar III and his wife Anna Maria de Neuf. It was carved by Pauwel Diricx in 1621. Balthasar III was only ennobled in 1692, so that the lion must presumably have guarded other emblems until then - probably the Plantinian compasses or the Moretus star, or both of these.

The courtyard acquired its present form between 1620 and 1622, and between 1637 and 1639, under Balthasar I Moretus, but the south and west walls still date partly from Plantin's time. These earliest parts of the house are seen to advantage from the cloisters.

Busts of the early masters of the *Officina Plantiniana*, Plantin, Jan I and Jan II Moretus, and of their friend the great humanist Justus Lipsius, are set into the walls. Artus Quellin made the bust of Jan II in 1644; Hans van Mildert executed the others in 1621. The bust of Jan II had to be replaced by a copy in 1883 as it had suffered badly from rain and frost, and the same had to be done for those of Plantin and Lipsius in 1942. The originals are now displayed in various rooms of the Museum.

From a little further on the east wall can be admired, and on it a bust of Balthasar I sculpted by Artus Quellin in 1642. From the courtyard itself the busts of later masters of the house can be seen on the wall above the cloisters: Balthasar II (by Peter Verbruggen, 1683), flanked by Balthasar IV, 1730, and Joannes Jacobus, 1757. In a small passage, invisible from this side of the courtyard, is the bust of Balthasar III by Joannes Claudius de Cock, 1700, set in a richly embellished shield.

With trim flowerbeds, and the vine which according to tradition was planted by Plantin himself - the root-stock at all events is of great age - the courtyard and cloisters are a peaceful place, steeped in the atmosphere of the Flemish Renaissance.

Before entering the first door on the right which leads via a passage to the shop, the visitor should note the beautiful seventeenth-century pump in blue marble with a copper spout.

The Shop (Room 4)

Along the walls are shelves of books and in the centre is a long counter. On it stands a money balance and some boxes of weights: in spite of stringent monetary laws, the clipping of coins was a common activity in those days, against which merchants needed to be forearmed. There are neat piles of loose sheets - works could be sold in this way, *in albis* as it was called. On the wall is an index of prohibited books (printed by Plantin in 1569) and a list of schoolbook prices fixed by the Antwerp authorities. This is a seventeenth-century bookshop!

In fact the modern visitor enters this shop at the wrong end, as the customers used the door in the Heilig Geeststraat. As the shop is level with the courtyard, they had to climb a few steps to get into the room. The office in the room behind the shop can be seen through a glass partition.

The Back Room of the Shop (Room 5)

This room has a desk, at which the book-keeper must have sat enthroned on his three-legged stool, a Flemish sideboard dated 1653 and a table of the same period.

The Tapestry Drawing-Room (Room 6)

A side door in the office leads into a drawing-room, the walls of which are covered by Audenarde tapestries, the so-called *verdures*. The rest of the furniture is such as would be found in any seventeenth-century patrician drawing-room: a massive Dutch sideboard, a smaller Flemish one with some china, a table, chairs and a large painting over the fireplace.

The exit is framed by two beautifully carved pillars with ornamentation in early Flemish Renaissance style (c. 1550).

Genesis and History of the Book (Room 7)

The appearance of a book on the market is the result of many operations. In a number of show-cases in this room are assembled the various materials and equipment which used to be necessary for the production of a book, including an author's manuscript ready for press - the starting point of the whole process; the punches, matrices, and the moulds needed for casting the type - the basis of the whole craft of printing; the woodblocks and copperplates for illustrations; and the sticks, galleys and other tools used by the compositor. The display endeavours to show the different stages in the making of a book: composing; printing; the special processes of red-and-black printing; the correction of galley-proofs; the folding of the sheets into pages; and the binding.

Other show-cases illustrate the evolution of the book from the time of Gutenberg (c. 1450) to the end of the eighteenth century, showing its changing characteristics through these centuries. Here can be seen how type was influenced by script; how the *incunabula* gradually moved away from the manuscript tradition; and

how the title-page grew and developed. A few cases are devoted to printing and the book trade in the sixteenth century. These exhibits deal with inventories of type, book catalogues, relations with authorities and censors, and ‘privileges’ as a protection against pirate editions.

The Kitchen (Room 8)

If the visitor returns to the courtyard and follows the continuation of the cloisters, he will come to the old wash-house of Plantin and the Moretuses. It has now been furnished and decorated as an old Flemish kitchen in the Antwerp style. On the table are a number of utensils which were found in a concealed well in one of the cellars.

The Correctors' Room (Room 9)

The door-case of this room, carved by Pauwel Diricx, bears the date 1638. The room was in fact built in 1637-38 on what had formerly been the backyard of the *Bonte Huid*. After being used as a shop and an office, it was furnished as a proof-readers' room at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Consequently the chief item of furniture is the large writing table placed against the wall under the two windows. It has built-in seats with high backs that screen off the whole *ensemble*. It still bears the traces of its centuries of use, for the oak platform on which it rests is deeply worn by the continual shuffling in and out of the proof-readers.

A modern bust of Cornelis Kiel (Kilianus) and a portrait of Frans Raphelengius (a copy by A. Thijs after the original in Leiden University) recall two of Plantin's foremost correctors and assistants.

Seventeenth-century sideboards and other pieces of furniture complete the interior. On one of the walls is a fine sixteenth-century genre painting, *A Scholar at Work* (probably Adriaan van de Venne, though it has often been attributed to Pieter van der Borch, one of Plantin's best draughtsmen and engravers). It was long thought to represent Cornelis Kiel. Over the fireplace hangs another beautiful work, *St. Paul at the house of St. Aquila and St. Priscilla*, by an anonymous seventeenth-century painter.

The Office (Room 10)

At this point the visitor enters the oldest section of the house, the part that Plantin knew. In spite of the rich Malines gilt leather on the wall and the large painting of *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* by Erasmus Quellin, it is at once apparent that this is the office of a businessman. As evidence of this there is an oak desk, a portable desk reinforced with strips of iron, a small iron coffer, a money balance and a letter-rack fixed into the wall. The fact that it was thought necessary to put iron bars

over the windows shows clearly enough that large sums of money were handled here through the years.

Plantin himself worked in this office. After Balthasar I's building schemes and the attendant reorganization of the working space, this little room became known as the 'small office' to distinguish it from the new 'big office'. When the latter was made into the correctors' room (Room 9) the 'small office' once more became the nerve-centre of the *Officina Plantiniana*.

The Justus Lipsius Room (Room 11)

This is one of the most intimate rooms of the Museum. It is hung with superb and very rare *guadamacil*, sixteenth-century Spanish gilt leather which clearly shows its Moorish origin in its graceful arabesque motifs (the leather on the wall on the courtyard side and on the adjoining wall next to the entrance has been restored).

The Justus Lipsius room was not given its name by the curators: the Moretuses rechristened Plantin's *vriendenkamer* or guest room in the early seventeenth century. It was here that the great Flemish humanist, a close friend of Plantin and Jan I Moretus, used to work during his many visits to the house.

Various paintings remind the visitor of the scholar. Over the entrance door hangs a portrait of him at the age of 38 by an anonymous sixteenth-century master, and over the fireplace is an early copy of Rubens's *Justus Lipsius and his Pupils*, the original of which is in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Here the humanist can be seen with his two favourite pupils - Jan Woverius, the archducal councillor, and Philip Rubens, the artist's brother. In the background, looking on at the lesson, stands the great painter himself. Finally, on one of the walls hangs Rubens's portrait of the Roman philosopher Seneca, whom Lipsius greatly admired and whose bust appears in the previous painting.

The Humanists' Room (Room 12)

This small room is in fact also dedicated to Justus Lipsius. Books and documents connected with the scholar are exhibited here. As has already been mentioned, he was a welcome guest in the Plantinian house so that it is hardly surprising that the Museum possesses a unique and extensive collection of Lipsius documents, including no less than 130 of his letters. On the wall is the bust of Justus Lipsius which originally ornamented the courtyard.

The Type Room (Room 13)

This former store-room of the *officina* is reached through a narrow passage where can be seen the bust of Plantin which originally gazed down on the courtyard. Along the walls and up to the ceiling are shelves filled with type-cases. Lower down are the reserve stocks of metal type in their original packing. On the mantelpiece are three eighteenth-century wooden statuettes representing Honour, Virtue, and Doctrine.

The Printing Office (Room 14)

This room once formed the bustling centre of the Plantin House. Today this corner of the Museum still has its own special atmosphere. Five presses dating; from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stand along one side of the room. In spite of their venerable age they are perfectly preserved and in full working order. In fact Plantin's celebrated sonnet 'Le Bonheur de ce monde' is still printed on one of them; the original impression, from the time of the great printer, can be seen in one of the following rooms.

Against the farther wall, under a seventeenth-century terracotta of the Virgin of Loreto, stand two presses which look much more time-worn than the others. They are of an older type and probably date from Plantin's day, although at a later date, possibly between 1620 and 1640, they were fitted with a technical refinement known as the 'Blaeu-yoke'. They are two splendid relics of a glorious past, and the oldest presses known to have been preserved. To the right of these are shelves with all kinds of printing implements and a fine press for printing copperplates dating from 1714.

Opposite the row of presses are the type-cases, where the old type cast in the time of Plantin and the Moretuses still seem to be waiting for the compositors to set them into their sticks, for the printing of the masterpieces which won the *Officina Plantiniana* its world renown and found a ready market from Mexico to China, and from Denmark to Morocco.

The Staircase

After leaving the printing office the visitor comes once more to the entrance and the well of the stairs. This time he ascends these stairs with their beautiful carved foot. He has left the sixteenth-century portion of the house and entered the eighteenth-century front. On the first-floor landing is a Louis Quinze clock and a painting by Sporckmans, *The Carmelite Order confirmed by the Pope*, which until 1769 hung in the monastery church of the Discalced Carmelites in Antwerp.

The First Plantin Room (Room 15)

This is reached by turning left from the landing. Immediately on entering this room the visitor sees a portrait of the great printer by an anonymous sixteenth-century master. The painting by Rubens in Room 2 is a copy after this portrait. Further on is another anonymous work - a miniature portrait, also of the sixteenth century. Over the fireplace hangs an embossed leather bas-relief, *Christ before Caiaphas*, signed Justin (possibly Justin Mathieu, 1796-1864). Show-cases give an outline of Plantin's life, illustrated by his works and by documents from the Plantinian archives.

The Second Plantin Room (Room 16)

Plantin's life and works can be traced further in the show-cases in this room. On the walls hang portraits of the immediate family and descendants of the first master of the *Gulden Passer*. Against one of the walls stands a beautiful Boule cabinet with its companion clock.

The Little Library (Room 17)

At this point the visitor enters the seventeenth-century section of the house again. This library is a peaceful little room containing part of the Museum collection of books. A wooden statuette of the Madonna gazes down from over the exit door.

The Moretus Room (Room 18)

This is devoted to Plantin's successors. A number of family portraits hang on the wooden partitions. Five terracotta busts of masters of the house stand on pedestals between the windows, sketches for the busts in the courtyard. There is also a freestone bust of Jan II Moretus which originally had a place in the courtyard but had to be replaced by a copy. The show-cases contain various books and documents illustrating the lives and activities of the Moretuses.

The Rubens Room (Room 19)

Across the small corridor is the room dedicated to Sir Peter Paul Rubens, the great master of the Flemish Baroque. Rubens painted many portraits for his good friend Balthasar I Moretus. A number of these have already been referred to (Room 2); there are five more in this room. It is quite possible, however, that these five are mainly the work of pupils of Rubens.

Rubens did not only paint portraits for his friend. He also worked for him as a book-illustrator, drawing many designs for Plantinian editions from which copperplates were engraved. In particular he evolved a new style of title-page which was avidly copied and ushered in a new period in the history of this art form. A number of these designs and many of the copperplates are preserved in the Museum, some of them being exhibited here, together with a few receipts signed by Rubens and one of Balthasar I's ledgers in which his financial transactions with his friend are entered.

Above the mantelpiece which Pauwel Diricx carved in 1640 hangs a painting representing the *Plantinian Compasses* by an anonymous seventeenth-century artist. The carved door-case framing the exit door is another piece of work by Diricx, dating from 1640: Balthasar I wanted an impressive entrance to his library which from

1640/41 until about 1675 was housed in the two following rooms (Rooms 20 and 21).

The Antwerp Printers' Room (Room 20)

Antwerp occupies an honoured place in the history of printing in the Netherlands - and not only by virtue of the fact that Christophe Plantin lived within its walls.

The art of printing reached the city at an early date, the first book being printed there in 1481. In the so-called *incunabula* period, Antwerp was just one of a number of equally important printing centres. At the end of the fifteenth century its great period of prosperity began; Antwerp's Golden Age, in printing as well as commerce. Between 1500 and 1540 more than half the books published in the Netherlands came off Antwerp presses. This represents 80 per cent of the total production of the Southern Netherlands (i.e. modern Belgium). During the second half of the sixteenth century - Plantin's period - Antwerp's share of the national output must have been still higher, and the international character of the market was more strongly marked.

The Antwerp printers maintained their international reputation through the seventeenth century, but as the city's economy began to decline, so did the printing trade. For Antwerp typography the eighteenth century was a period of decay and mediocrity. This process can be followed century by century through the show-cases.

On the walls hang portraits of Antwerp and foreign scholars whose works were published in the city. Most of them had close relations with Plantin and the Moretuses. Against the wall, beside the exit door, is the seventeenth-century 'Red Lion' of the Verdussens, the other eminent Antwerp printing family who, like the Moretuses, were active from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. This sign, sculptured in terracotta, was donated to the Museum by one of the last descendants of the family.

The Drawing-Room (Room 21)

Another seventeenth-century salon which contains, however, a number of eighteenth-century pieces. It is hung with rare gilt leather. On the walls are some family portraits and a Louis Quinze clock. Over the mantelpiece, carved by Pauwel Diricx in 1640, is a late seventeenth-century landscape by the Antwerp painter Peter Verdussen. An eighteenth-century glass case contains earthenware, glass and porcelain which belonged to the Moretuses (the family arms can be seen on some of the pieces), together with two beautiful little pieces of seventeenth-century Flemish ivory work, *St. George* and *St. Martin*.

In one corner of the room stands a musical instrument of remarkable construction. This fine piece is actually a combination of two instruments, a harpsichord and a spinet, and was built by J.J. Coenen at Roermond in 1734. The painting inside the lid, *St. Cecilia playing the Organ*, is an adaptation of Rubens's *St. Cecilia playing a Harpsichord*.

The Archives Room (Room 22)

This little room is also hung with Malines gilt leather. Various paintings hang on the walls and over the fireplace. The show-cases display a few documents from the abundant Plantinian records which form such an inexhaustible source of information for the history of the house, of the art of printing and, more generally, for the economic, social and cultural history of the Low Countries.

The Geography Room (Room 23)

The Low Countries have played an important part in scientific geography and cartography. In about 1540 the Southern Netherlands took the leadership in this field from Italy and Germany, enjoying until 1590 international fame and influence through such scholars as Gemma Frisius, Mercator and Ortelius - and once again Antwerp was pre-eminent in the South. In the seventeenth century the leadership passed to the Northern Netherlands. In no other period has a single country dominated the world market so completely: Frenchmen, Englishmen, Spaniards and Italians, not to mention other peoples, had to go to Dutch publishers if they wanted reliable maps of their own territories and seas. Then in the eighteenth century France broke the Dutch monopoly.

In this room are shown a few representative pieces from the Netherlands illustrating their period of pre-eminence in this important and specialized branch of printing. The significance and influence of the sixteenth-century South Netherlands cartographers is emphasized by certain examples, which show how they knew the Congo better than their successors of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and were also well informed about the East African lakes, supposedly discovered by Livingstone, Stanley and others of their contemporaries; and how Gemma Frisius, Mercator and Ortelius became the promoters of the first polar expeditions - albeit by inaccurate representations on their maps.

Two wall maps merit particular attention: one of Flanders by Mercator (1540) and the large map of Antwerp by Virgilius Boloniensis and Cornelius Grapheus (1565), two remarkable products of sixteenth-century Flemish cartography, of which no other copies are known. Also worthy of note are two rare globes, one terrestrial and one celestial, made by Armand-Florent van Langeren, the great seventeenth-century South Netherlands spherographer. The globe of the world is important for the history of exploration.

The Foreign Printers' Room (Room 24)

The Museum libraries contain not only Plantinian and other Antwerp works, but also an important number of publications produced elsewhere. A few of the most beautiful pieces from this collection are displayed here, arranged according to century and country to show the various period and regional characteristics. The Southern Netherlands except Antwerp, the Northern Netherlands, France,

Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Spain are represented. The gem of the collection, the 36-line Gutenberg Bible, naturally holds pride of place in one of the display-cases.

On one of the walls is an enormous copper-engraving depicting *The Triumphal Entry of the Emperor Charles V and Pope Clement VII into Bologna* (24th February 1530) by J.N. Hogenberg. On the opposite wall are ordinances printed in the *Officina Phntiniana*, together with a seventeenth-century copper-engraving representing the siege and relief of Vienna in 1683, given to M. Rooses by Archduke Karl Ludwig of Austria after his visit to the Museum.

The Small Drawing-Room (Room 25)

This room is hung with Malines gilt leather and contains two paintings: the portrait of Edward Moretus, last owner of the Plantin House, by J. Delin, 1879, and *St. Joseph with the Holy Child*, a late seventeenth-century work by Jacob Leysens.

A few show-cases containing woodblocks give a foretaste of the theme - book illustration - of the next room but one (Room 27).

The Bedroom (Room 26)

This room is also hung with Malines gilt leather. It contains typical seventeenth-century bedroom furniture: a carved oak bed with a tester in the same wood, a washstand, a chest of drawers surmounted by a mirror, a prie-dieu above which is a palmwood effigy of Christ, and a few paintings.

The Book Illustration Room (Room 27)

The woodblock and copperplate dominated book illustration until the rise of lithography at the very end of the eighteenth century and photography in the nineteenth. Copper-engraving, although known as early as the fifteenth century, initially took second place to the woodcut as a medium of illustration. Plantin worked chiefly with woodblocks. From the middle of the sixteenth century, however, copper-engraving began to make headway. Plantin was one of the first in the Netherlands, and perhaps in the whole typographical world, to use this technique on a large scale. In this he was immediately imitated everywhere so that during the seventeenth century the woodcut was almost completely superseded by the copper-engraving. Of the illustrations used by Plantin and the Moretuses, about 15,000 woodblocks and 3,000 copperplates are preserved in the Museum. It is a unique collection which provides a splendid survey of the various schools of graphic art in Antwerp.

In this room are displayed a number of important works by these Antwerp masters, together with a short historical introduction to wood-engraving in the second half of the fifteenth century, illustrated by rare *incunabula*.

The visitor now passes through an alcove room (Room 28), retraces his steps to the Small Drawing-Room (Room 25) and from there takes the stairs leading to the foundry.

The Foundry Work Room (Room 29)

A bench along the wall, an anvil, vices, grindstones, bellows, files, wooden rulers, vases, small pots and boxes - all are in their places as if the old type-founders had just left this workshop.

The Foundry (Room 30)

The visitor may wonder why this type-foundry was installed on the second floor; unlike most of the upstairs rooms, this one has a stone floor so that the risk of fire was somewhat lessened.

What immediately catches the eye are the smelting furnaces and also the tools which the founders needed to have to hand when working lead.

The foundry was set up by Balthasar I Moretus after he had had this wing built in 1620-1622. It was in use, except for a few intervals, until the end of the eighteenth century and thereafter was lovingly preserved in working order. It is a unique example of an old type-foundry.

It was here that the lead printing types were cast. Punches, matrices, and moulds were necessary for casting these letters. The technique was as follows: designs were drawn and from them letters were engraved in relief in steel bars; these were the punches. These punches were struck into little copper blocks (very occasionally lead blocks were used), producing matrices. These had to be touched up until the punch impression was of uniform depth. The actual founding could then begin. The adjusted matrix was fixed in a mould which was then filled with molten lead. The mould was opened and the lead letter was ready; or rather, almost ready, for it still needed a few finishing touches before it could be used. These various processes are illustrated in one of the display-cases.

Plantin did not design or cut type himself. He bought his matrices and punches from the best Flemish and French specialists of his time - and in such large quantities that the Moretuses only needed to provide themselves with a few new sorts. Many of the punches and matrices bought by Plantin have survived centuries of intensive use. The Museum still possesses about 20,000 matrices and about 5,000 punches representing some 80 different sorts of types and bodies, including Roman, Italic, Gothic, Greek, Hebrew, Samaritan, Ethiopian, Syriac, music-type and the peculiar script type known as *Civilitéé*. Again it is a unique collection of its kind, and many of its items are on view in the showcases. The sixteenth-century punch-boxes with their attractively painted lids are particularly notable.

The Large Library (Room 31)

This is reached by descending the small staircase. Although spacious and lined from floor to ceiling with shelves that are filled with books, this library contains only part of the Museum's collection of pre-1800 printed works.

Balthasar I Moretus originally set up this library of the masters of the Golden Compasses in two upstairs rooms of the west wing (Rooms 20 and 21). Around 1675 it was transferred to this and the adjoining room (Room 32). The shelves inside the low barrier date from this time.

For a long time this library was used as a private chapel where the Moretuses and their workpeople heard Mass before starting their day's work. The altar has disappeared, but on the wall where it stood there still hangs the painting which served as an altarpiece: *Christ on the Cross*, attributed to Peter Thijs (1624/6-1677/9). On the reading desks and other pieces of furniture are a celestial and a terrestrial globe and some seventeenth-century limewood busts of saints and popes.

The Second Library (Room 32)

contains more of the Museum's collection of books.

The Max Horn Room (Old Bookbindings) (Room 33)

The great Belgian bibliophile Max Horn, who was born in Antwerp on

6th June 1882 and died in Brussels on 2nd March 1953, bequeathed his collection to the Plantin-Moretus Museum. It has been installed in this room which bears his name: a unique collection of original or rare editions of French literary works of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in equally rare and precious bindings.

Examples of old bookbindings are displayed in cases on one side of the room. Great care has been bestowed on the binding of books through the ages. The technique, however, has varied. In the Netherlands the 'blind stamping' method of decorating book-covers was used until the early sixteenth century. Then the oriental technique of gold-tooling spread over Europe via Italy, nearly completely superseding blind stamping by the middle of the sixteenth century.

The Museum has very interesting specimens of both types of binding, and some of the most important of these are on display here. It boasts the earliest known panel-stamped binding, made in the thirteenth century by, or for, Wouter van Duffel, an Antwerp priest. This work is of great importance historically as it disproves the theory, held generally until recent years, that panel stamping did not develop until the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and it also shows that this form of blind stamping had its origin in the Netherlands. There are other rare works to be admired in this room, including books which once belonged to the French kings Henry III and Louis XIV, and to Madame de Pompadour.

A few family portraits hang on the walls together with a gigantic woodcut

on vellum, *The Triumphant Entry of the Emperor Charles V and Pope Clement VII into Bologna*, by the Liège artist Robert Péril. It is the only known copy of this work and a woodcut counterpart of J.N. Hogenberg's copper-engraving in Room 24.

When he leaves this room the visitor is once more in the eighteenth-century part of the building, beside the great main staircase.

Collections of the Plantin-Moretus museum

ART COLLECTIONS - These comprise about 150 paintings;¹ also sculpture (see pp. 314-316), furniture (see pp. 308-310), gilt-leather hangings (see pp. 311-312), tapestries (see pp. 313-314), porcelain and ceramics.²

TYPOGRAPHICAL COLLECTIONS - These consist of seven printing presses; about 5,000 punches and about 20,000 matrices;³ moulds;⁴ about 650 drawings;⁵ further about 15,000 woodblocks and about 3,000 copperplates. All these collections are discussed in Vol. II.

THE LIBRARY - This contains about 20,000 'old' volumes (i.e. printed before 1800);⁶ a reference library of about 20,000 volumes;⁷ about 500 manuscripts;⁸ and bookbindings (see p. 357).

THE ARCHIVES⁹.

1. Manuscript catalogue by H.F. Bouchery. For the paintings see also pp. 316 sqq.
2. Manuscript catalogue (in Dutch and French) by C. van Herck. Cf. p. 311.
3. M. Parker and K. Melis, *Inventaris van de stempels en matrijzen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus. Inventory of the Plantin-Moretus Museum punches and matrices*, 1960 (mimeographed copy; may be consulted at the Museum). The details were incorporated in M. Parker, K. Melis, and H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana. II. Early inventories of punches, matrices and moulds in the Plantin-Moretus archives' in *De Gulden Passer*, 38, 1960, pp. 1-139. Concerning this collection, see also Volume II.
4. The original collection consisted of 62 items. In 1956 the Museum received a further 200 old moulds from the Brussels type-foundry of Van der Borght.
5. Manuscript inventory and catalogue by F. van den Wijngaert (may be consulted at the Museum). For the botanical drawings, see F. van den Wijngaert, 'De botanische teekeningen in het Museum Plantin-Moretus' in *De Gulden Passer*, 25, 1947, pp. 34-51.
6. There is an alphabetical card catalogue of authors and printers. For the library, see pp. 338 sqq.
7. There is an alphabetical card catalogue of authors and subjects.
8. J. Denucé, *Musaeum Plantin-Moretus. Catalogue des manuscrits. Catalogus der handschriften*, 1927. Cf. also pp. 338 sqq.
9. J. Denucé, *Musaeum Plantin-Moretus. Inventaris op het Plantijnsch archief, Inventaire des Archives plantiniennes*, 1926.

Appendix 2***Chronological List of the Masters of the Gulden Passer***

1555-1589	Christophe Plantin.
1589-1610	Jan I Moretus (Plantin's son-in-law).
1610-1614	Balthasar I and Jan II (sons of Jan I). In partnership with Martina Plantin.
1614-1618	Balthasar I and Jan II Moretus.
1618-1628	Balthasar I, with Jan van Meurs as his associate. In partnership with Maria de Sweert (Jan II's widow).
1628-1641	Balthasar I. In partnership with Maria de Sweert.
1641-1655	Balthasar II Moretus (son of Jan II, nephew of Balthasar I). In partnership with his mother Maria de Sweert.
1655-1674	Balthasar II Moretus.
1674-1681	Anna Goos, Balthasar II's widow, with her son Balthasar III Moretus.
1681-1696	Balthasar III Moretus.
1696-1707	Anna Maria de Neuf, Balthasar III's widow.
1707-1714	Anna Maria de Neuf with her son Balthasar IV.
1714-1716	Balthasar IV Moretus.
1716-1730	Balthasar IV Moretus with his brother Joannes Jacobus.
1730-1757	Joannes Jacobus Moretus.
1757-1768	Franciscus Joannes Moretus (son of Joannes Jacobus).
1768-1797	Maria Theresia Borrekens (widow of Franciscus Joannes).
1797-1805	The five sons of Franciscus Joannes Moretus and Maria Theresia Borrekens, with Jacob Paul Moretus as manager.
1805-1808	Jacob Paul, Frans Jozef, and Lodewijk Frans Moretus, with Jacob Paul as manager.

1808-1814	Frans Jozef and Lodewijk Frans Moretus, with Frans Jozef as manager.
1814-1820	Lodewijk Frans Moretus.
1820-1865	Albert Moretus (nephew of Lodewijk Frans, son of Jozef Hyacinthus).
1865-1876	Edward Moretus (Albert's brother).

Appendix 3

Genealogy of the Masters of the Gulden Passer¹

(I) JAN I MORETUS (22nd May 1543 - 22nd Sept. 1610) *m.* 4th June 1570 Martina Plantin (1550 - 17th feb. 1616).

1. Gaspar (4th Dec. 1571 - *d.* at Leiden, 1st Sept. 1583).
2. Melchior (20th April 1573 - 4th June 1634) priest (tonsure 1593; ordained 1598), insane by Oct. 1598.
3. BALTHASAR [I] (23rd July 1574 - 8th July 1641) unmarried.
4. JOANNES [JAN II] see *Table II*.
5. Henrica (21st June 1578 - 22nd June 1578).
6. Catharina (12th Dec. 1580 - after 1633) *m.* 2nd Aug. 1598 Theodoor Galle (*bapt.* 16th July 1571 - 18th Sept. 1633) → *issue*.
7. Elisabeth (1) (29th Nov. 1582 - 11th June 1584).
8. Elisabeth (2) (26th Oct. 1584 - 25th July 1649) *m.* 14th Nov. 1604 Jan Wielant (*bapt.* 19th July 1575 - 19th Nov. 1631) → *issue*.
9. Adriana (16th June 1586 - 4th Sept. 1602).
10. Christophorus (4th June 1588 - 12th Dec. 1588).
11. (son; *d.* at birth, July 1590).

(II) JAN II MORETUS (27th July 1576 - 11th Mar. 1618) *m.* 17th July 1605 Maria de Sweert (3rd Oct. 1588 - 7th May 1655, daughter of Nicolaas and Elisabeth Janssens de Bisthoven).

1. Elisabeth (*bapt.* 2nd Feb. 1608 - *d.* at 3 months).
2. Joannes (*bapt.* 20th Dec. 1610 - 7th Oct. 1663) unmarried, feeble-minded.
3. Maria (*bapt.* 13th Dec. 1612 - ?) *m.* 24th Nov. 1629 Jan de la Flie (*bapt.* 11th June 1595 - 27th Dec. 1661) → *issue*.
4. Catharina (*d.* young).
5. BALTHASAR [II] see *Table III*.
6. Elisabeth (*bapt.* 2nd April 1617 - 25th Jan. 1678) *m.* 6th May 1635 Michael Huguens (*bapt.* 13th May 1608 - 8th Feb. 1664) → *issue*.

1. Cf. Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste* (interesting amendments and annotations in the copy in the Museum made by M. Rooses), and R. Moretus-Plantin de Bouchout, *Demueres familiales*. Abbreviations used: *m.* = married; *d.* = died; *bapt.* = baptized; *d.s.p.* = died without issue. The names of Masters of the *Gulden Passer* are given in small caps.

(III) BALTHASAR II MORETUS (9th Dec. 1615-29th Mar. 1674) *m.* 23rd July 1645 Anna Goos (*bapt.* 30th Sept 1627 - 30th Sept. 1691, daughter of Jacobus and Clara Bosschaert).

1. BALTHASAR [III] see *Table IV*.
2. Joannes Jacobus (20th July 1647 - 25th Feb. 1715) entered S.J. 13th Dec. 1668.
3. Anna Maria (6th Mar. 1649 - 19th July 1655).
4. Susanna Clara (14th July 1650 - 24th April 1706) nun, 8th Dec. 1671.
5. Christophorus Maria (15th Aug. 1651 - 26th June 1716) entered Minorites 6th Oct. 1669, professed at Louvain, 12th Oct. 1670.
6. Ignatius (25th Mar. 1654 - 4th Nov. 1657).
7. Maria Isabella (2nd Sept. 1655 - 5th May 1676) unmarried.
8. Franciscus (19th Oct. 1656 - 27th Feb. 1705) priest and canon of Antwerp Cathedral.
9. Gaspar (20th Sept. 1658 - 14th Dec. 1658).
10. Melchior (19th Jan. 1661 - 22nd Aug. 1693) entered Premonstratensians 11th July 1684, ordained 8th June 1686.
11. Anna Maria (20th Feb. 1664-26th Feb. 1742) nun.
12. Maria Theresia (10th Mar. 1667 - 22nd June 1667).

(IV) BALTHASAR IN MORETUS (24th July 1646 - 8th July 1696) *m.* 20th June 1673 Anna Maria de Neuf (*bapt.* 9th Sept. 1654 - 16th Oct. 1714, daughter of Simon, lord of Hooghelande and Anna Steymans).

1. (daughter; *d.* at birth, 10th July 1674).
2. Anna Maria (7th July 1675 - 5th July 1680).
3. Margareta Elisabeth (3rd April 1677 - 6th Nov. 1678).
4. BALTHASAR [IV] see *Table V*.
5. Margareta Francisca (29th Sept. 1681 - 22nd May 1687).
6. Maria Catharina (*bapt.* 20th Aug. 1683 - 6th Aug. 1710) *m.* 3rd Oct. 1703 Egidius Cornelius de Vlieghere (*bapt.* 14th June 1679 - 16th Oct. 1713) → *issue*.
7. Petrus (12th Feb. 1685 - 21st May 1734) canon and civil lawyer, became a canon of Antwerp Cathedral, April 1705.
8. Anna Maria (*bapt.* 4th Feb. 1687 - 4th Sept. 1724) *m.* 30th Sept. 1711 Philippus Ludovicus de Pret (*bapt.* 30th Oct. 1680 - 6th Oct. 1755) → *issue*.
9. JOANNES JACOBUS see *Table VI*.

(V) BALTHASAR IV MORETUS (12th Feb. 1679 - 23rd Mar. 1730) *m.* 13th May 1702
Isabella Jacoba de Mont (al. de Brialmont) (*bapt.* 26th Oct. 1682 - 29th May 1723,
daughter of Jacobus and Anna van Grysper).

1. Balthasar Antonius (*bapt.* 17th Aug. 1703 - 22nd Aug. 1703).
2. Balthasar [V] Antonius (*bapt.* 14th Mar. 1705 - 15th Dec. 1762) unmarried.
3. Petrus Jacobus (*bapt.* 18th Feb. 1706 - *d.* young).
4. Maria Isabella Jacoba (*bapt.* 1st April 1708 - 23rd Feb. 1768) unmarried.
5. Egidius Josephus Maria (*bapt.* 15th July 1710- *d.* young).
6. Anna Maria Joanna (*bapt.* 28th Aug. 1711 - *d.* young).
7. Simon Franciscus (*bapt.* 25th Nov. 1713 - 22nd May 1758) *m.* 12th April 1739
Maria Rebecca Josepha van Heurck (*bapt.* 8th Sept. 1712 - 3rd Dec. 1780) *d.s.p.*
8. Ludovicus Maria Josephus (*bapt.* 23rd Jan. 1716 - *d.* young).

(VI) JOANNES JACOBUS MORETUS (17th June 1690 - 5th Sept. 1757) *m.* 21st April
1716 Theresia Mechtildis Schilder (*bapt.* 13th June 1696 - 3rd June 1729, daughter
of Franciscus and Maria Isabella Theresia de Vlieghere).

1. FRANCISCUS JOANNES see *Table VII*.
2. Balthasar Jacobus (24th July 1718 - after 1758) unmarried.
3. Joannes Petrus (28th Oct. 1719 - 30th Aug. 1720).
4. Paulus Jacobus (4th Jan. 1721 - 13th Mar. 1776) *m.* 19th Dec. 1746 Joanna
Maria de Man (*bapt.* 19th Jan. 1723 - 28th Nov. 1763) → *issue*.
5. Maria Theresia Mechtildis (23rd Dec. 1722 - 24th April 1802) nun.
6. Maria Petronella (12th May 1724 - 17th June 1798) *m.* 16th May 1752 Arnoldus
Franciscus Josephus Bruno de Pret (*bapt.* 6th Oct. 1722 - 1st Aug. 1789) →
issue.
7. Anna Carolina Josepha (5th July 1725 - 1st Dec. 1799) nun.
8. Joannes Josephus (2nd Oct. 1727-27th Feb. 1806) unmarried.
9. Catharina Maria (26th May 1729 - 15th Mar. 1801) nun.

(VII) FRANCISCUS JOANNES MORETUS (1st June 1717 - 31st July 1768) *m.* 11th Nov. 1750 Maria Theresia Josepha Borrekens (*bapt.* 27th July 1728 - 5th May 1797, daughter of Engelbertus Josephus and Maria Catharina Wellens).

1. Joannes Franciscus (*bapt.* 1st Jan. 1752 - *d.* young).
2. Catharina Francisca Josepha (3rd Aug. 1753 - 13th Oct. 1757).
3. Theresia Maria Josepha (*d.* at birth, 13th July 1754).
4. Maria Carolina Josepha (20th July 1755 - 26th Dec. 1756).
5. JACOBUS PAULUS JOSEPHUS [JACOB PAUL] (3rd Sept. 1756 - 24th April 1808) unmarried.
6. LUDOVICUS FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS [LODEWIJKFRANS] (7th Jan. 1758 - 20th Aug. 1820) unmarried.
7. Carolus Antonius Josephus (*bapt.* 5th April 1759 - 21st April 1760).
8. FRANCISCUS JOSEPHUS THOMAS [FRANS JOZEF] (*bapt.* 21st Dec. 1760 - 15th Oct. 1814) unmarried.
9. Josephus Hyacinthus see *Table VIII*.
10. Arnoldus Franciscus Josephus (*bapt.* 15th Jan. 1764 - 25th June 1764).
11. Henricus Paulus Franciscus (*bapt.* 17th Mar. 1765 - 25th Mar. 1806) *m.* 21st July 1789 Coleta Maria Josepha Wellens (*bapt.* 8th Dec. 1768 - 1st May 1798) → *issue* [including one son, Constant (1797-1866) *m.* 1826 Maria de Stephanis (*d.* 1853) *d.s.p.*].
12. Maria Theresia Petronella (*bapt.* 27th Dec. 1766 - *d.* young).
13. Maria Mechtildis Josepha (7th Mar. 1769 - 24th May 1789) unmarried.

(VIII) JOSEPHUS [JOZEF] HYACINTHUS MORETUS (23rd Jan. 1762 - 3rd Sept. 1810) *m.* 11th Sept. 1787 Maria Henrica Coleta Wellens (*bapt.* 12th July 1762 - 20th Aug. 1809, daughter of Ludovicus Antonius Josephus and Helena Nicola Geelhand).

1. Josepha Maria Theresia (2nd Feb. 1791 - 7th June 1874) *m.* 21st April 1818 Augustinus Carolus Joannes Nepomucenus, Count de Baillet (25th Feb. 1794 - 4th June 1866) → *issue*.
2. Carolus Paulus Franciscus (11th Oct. 1792 - 2nd Feb. 1793).
3. Henrica Maria Isabella (9th Nov. 1793 - 12th June 1864) *m.* 18th April 1815 Carolus Joannes Josephus van den Berghe (*bapt.* 14th Nov. 1785 - 17th Jan. 1832) → *issue*.
4. ALBERTUS [ALBERT] FRANCISCUS HYACINTHUS FREDERICUS (26th Sept. 1795 - 1st April 1865) unmarried.
5. Ferdinandus Henricus Hyacinthus (12th April 1797 - 29th April 1834) unmarried.
6. Mechtildis Theresia Josepha Maria (15th Jan. 1799 - 2nd Aug. 1820) *m.* 14th July 1819 Augustinus Joannes Baptista Geelhand de Merxem (28th April 1790 - 24th July 1855) → *issue*.
7. Catharina Maria Josepha (1st Nov. 1800 - 22nd Feb. 1830) *m.* 1st May 1821 Ferdinandus Franciscus Xaverius, Count de Baillet (24th Nov. 1787 - 15th April 1842) → *issue*.
8. EDUARDUS JOANNES HYACINTHUS see *Table IX*.

(IX) EDUARDUS [EDWARD] JOSEPHUS HYACINTHUS MORETUS (5th Mar. 1804 - 26th June 1880) *m.* 24th April 1827 Albertina Coleta Catharina Josepha du Bois (25th Nov. 1803 - 17th August 1891), daughter of Ferdinandus Antonius Desiderius Josephus Adrianus, Baron du Bois and Regina Antonia Petronella Wellens).

1. Leonia Maria Albertina (24th Jan. 1828 - 26th January 1913) *m.* 21st Dec. 1859 Ferdinand de Vinck (29th April 1815 - 15th April 1895).
2. Isaura Maria Josephina (27th May 1833 - 26th December 1905) *m.* 28th Nov. 1860 Baron Xavier de Renette (27th November 1823 - 27th August 1900) → *issue*.
3. Stanislaus Maria Balthasar (29th Sept. 1840 - 3rd Oct. 1855).
4. Alexius Maria Carolus Henricus (*bapt.* 7th Oct. 1844- 8th Oct. 1914) unmarried.
5. Georgina Maria Augustina (22nd April 1849 - 20th July 1919) *m.* 23rd November 1878 Marquis Anatole de Granges de Surgères (29th Mar. 1850 - 4th August 1902) → *issue*.

Appendix 4

Notes on the Genealogy of the Later Moretuses

Up to and including Joannes Jacobus Moretus it was only the masters of the *Gulden Passer* who continued the Moretus family in the male line - see the genealogy in Appendix 3.

Two of the four sons of Joannes Jacobus Moretus married. The descendants of the eldest son, Franciscus Joannes, master of the *Gulden Passer* (1757-68) are also listed in Appendix 3. This branch failed in the male line with the death of Alexis, Edward Moretus's unmarried son, in 1914.

There are still descendants in the male line of Joannes Jacobus's fourth son, Paulus Jacobus (1721-76): from this branch descend the various members of the family who still bear the name Moretus or Moretus-Plantin. Concerning these the reader should consult the genealogical table in Roger Moretus-Plantin de Bouchout's *Demeures familiales. Notices historiques sur la Maison Plantin à Anvers et quelques propriétés urbaines et rurales ayant appartenu à la famille Moretus*, 1950.

Appendix 5
The Plantinian Printing Office:
Presses in Operation, 1564-1765¹

1564: 2 - 3 - 4 -5	1585: 6 - 1	1606: 6 - 7
1565: 5 - 6	1586: 3	1607: 7 - 6
1566: 7	1587: 6	1608: 6
1567: 5	1588: 6	1609: 6 - 7
1568: 6	1589: 4	1610: 7
1569: 10	1590: 4½ - 4	1611: 7
1570: 9	1591: 4	1612: 7
1571: 11	1592:?	1613: 7
1572: 13	1593: 4½ - 5	1614: 9
1573: 12	1594: 5	1615: 9
1574: 16	1595: 5	1616: 9
1575: 15	1596: 5½	1617: 9
1576: 15 - 1 - 2	1597: 5½	1618: 9
1577: 3	1598: 5½	1619: 9
1578: 6	1599: 5½	1620: 9
1579: 5	1600: 5½	1621: 9
1580: 7	1601: 5½ - 5	1622: 9 - 11
1581: 8	1602: 5	1623: 11
1582: 7	1603: 5	1624: 11
1583: 10	1604: 6	1625: 11
1584: 6	1605: 6	1626: 11 - 10

1. For the period 1564-89, cf. R. de Roover, 'The business organisation of the Plantin Press' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, p. 239. The data for the subsequent years were compiled from the pay-rolls: Arch. 789 (1590-94), 779 (1594-1602), 777 (1603-10), 778 (1610-16), 773 (1617-24), 774 (1624-38), 775 (1638-52), 776 (1652-66), 790 (1666-76), 324 (1676-78), 325 (1678-82), 341 (1682-88), 791 (1689-99), 792 (1700-09), 793 (1710-50), 794 (1755-1820). - The numbers given indicate in principle the situation in the beginning of the year. More than one number for a given year reflect the fluctuations in the course of that period.

1627: 10	1668: 11	1709: 8
1628: 10 - 9 - 6	1669: 11	1710: 8
1629: 6 - 7 - 8½	1670: 11	1711: 8
1630: 8	1671: 11	1712: 8
1631: 9	1672: 11 - 10	1713: 8 - 9 - 11
1632: 9	1673: 10 - 10½	1714: 11 - 10 - 9
1633: 8	1674: 10 - 10½	1715: 9
1634: ?	1675: 10½ - 10 - 9½	1716: 8½ - 8
1635: ? - 6	1676: 9½	1717: 8 - 7½ - 7
1636: 6 - 3	1677: 9½	1718: 7 - 8
1637: 6	1678: 9½ - 8	1719: 8 - 8½ - 9
1638: 6	1679: 6 - 7 - 8	1720: 9
1639: 7	1680: 9½ - 11	1721: 10
1640: 9	1681: 11	1722: 10 - 11
1641: 9	1682: 11	1723: 12 - 11
1643: 9	1683: 11	1724: 11
1643: 9 - 10	1684: 11 - 10½	1725: 11 - 10
1644: 10	1685: 10	1726: 10
1645: 7	1686: 10	1727: 10 - 9
1646: 7	1687: 10 - 11	1728: 9½ - 9 - 8
1647: 7 - 7½	1688: 11	1729: 8
1648: 7½ - 11	1689: 12 - 11	1730: 8
1649: 11	1690: 11	1731: 8 - 9
1650: 11	1691: 11	1732: 10 - 11
1651: 11	1692: 11	1733: 11
1652: 11-7	1693: 11-10	1734: 11
1653: 7 - 8	1694: 10 - 9	1735: 11
1654: 8 - 9	1695: 8	1736: 11
1655: 9 - 10	1696: 8 - 9	1737: 11
1656: 10 - 8	1697: 9	1738: 11 - 10
1657: 8	1698: 9 - 10	1739: 10 - 9
1658: 8	1699: 10 - 10½ - 11	1740: 9
1659: 8	1700: 11	1741: 9

1660: 8	1701: 11	1742: 9
1661: 8	1702: 11	1743: 9 - 8½
1662: 8 - 9	1703: 11	1744: 8½ - 4
1663: 9 - 11	1704: 11	1745: 4 (?)
1664: 11	1705: 10½ - 10	1746: 4 - 3
1665: 11	1706: 10 - 9	1747: 2
1666: 11	1707: 9 - 6 - 8 - 8½	1748: 2 - 3
1667: 11	1708: 8½ - 6 - 8 - 7	1749: 3

1750: 4 - 5 - 6 - 7

1751: 7 - 8

1753: 8

1753: 8

1754: 8

1755: 8

1756: 8

1757: 8

1758: 8 - 6

1759: 6

1760: 7 - 7½ - 6½

1761: 6½

1762: 6½ - 6

1763: 5½ - 6

1764: 6 - 5

1765: 6 - 3

Appendix 6
Notes on the Currency and Money Values
in the Netherlands in the
Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries¹

Prices in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century were often expressed in Flemish *ponden* (pounds), the *pond* being divided into 20 *schellingen*, and the *schelling* into 12 *penningen*. Plantin sometimes reckoned in Flemish pounds² - for example in the period 1563 - 1567 and in transactions with his paper suppliers. However, right from the start of his career his preference was for the Carolus-guilder or florin (abbreviated as fl., divided into 20 *stuivers* or *patars*, abbreviated as st.)³. His successors reckoned wages and prices in Carolus-guilders and this is how the various financial transactions of the Plantin-Moretus family have generally been given in the preceding pages.

To obtain a better idea of the economic realities which these figures express it is necessary to determine the value of the Carolus-guilder in present-day monetary units. Finding equivalents of this kind is one of the most difficult aspects of economic history. The question can be approached in various ways, but none of the methods yields conclusive answers and the results they produce only partially coincide.

This research is rendered still more difficult by the pronounced inflationary tendencies in the centuries in question. In about 1725 Western Europe entered a period of monetary stability which lasted until the outbreak of the First World

1. The author is greatly indebted to Dr. E. Scholliers, attached to the University of Ghent, who most willingly furnished the data for this Appendix. The prices and wages quoted are taken from his contributions to C. Verlinden, *Dokumenten voor de geschiedenis van prijzen en lonen in Vlaanderen en Brabant*, I, Bruges, 1959, pp. 241-480 and II, Bruges, 1965, pp. 641-1056. The problems which are only briefly touched on here are dealt with in more detail in his authoritative book: *Loonarbeid en honger. De levensstandaard in de XV^e en XVI^e eeuw te Antwerpen*, 1960.
2. See also Vol. II on this question and on money of account (units of value not necessarily represented by a coin in circulation) and actual coins.
3. The Carolus-guilder was equal to 1/6 of the Flemish pound; i.e. 1 *pond* = 6 Carolus-guilders.

War in 1914; between *c.* 1500 and *c.* 1725, however, Western currencies declined in value, at a variable rate spread over different periods. Thus the guilder of Plantin's youth was not worth the same as that of his old age and this in turn was different in value from the guilder in which his grandsons reckoned their wages and prices.

The intrinsic value of the guilder

The first method which can be used to decide the relative values of particular coins is comparison of their respective gold and silver values.

Intrinsic value of the guilder in grammes op fine gold and silver

<i>year</i>	<i>gold</i>	<i>silver</i>
1560	1.515 grammes	18.242 grammes
1570	1.515	17.412
1580	1.178	13.681
1590	1.000	11.608
1600	0.927	11.487
1650	0.704	10.333
1700	0.624	10.333

The pre-1914 gold franc in Belgium (and France) was valued at 0.290 g fine gold or 4.5 g fine silver. Therefore the value of the guilder expressed in terms of the Belgian and French franc was:¹

<i>year</i>	<i>via the gold value</i>	<i>via the silver value</i>
1560	5.2 francs	4.00 francs
1570	5.2	3.9
1580	4.0	3.0
1590	3.4	2.6
1600	3.2	2.5
1650	2.4	2.3
1700	2.1	2.3

For purposes of comparison it should be noted that:

(1) In 1914, £1 sterling (1 gold sovereign) was valued at 7.32 g fine gold or 104.6 g fine silver. The official rate of exchange was £1 sterling = 25.8 gold francs.

(2) In 1914, 1 dollar was valued at 24.042 g silver. The official rate of exchange was \$1 = 5.35 gold francs.

1. The figures of the gold and silver value differ because the relationship of gold to silver in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was not the same as in the nineteenth century.

The purchasing power of the guilder

Expressing the value of a coin in terms of gold or silver is always somewhat artificial as the price of the noble metals is determined by their production costs. Finding out what the coin could purchase at particular points of time is a better barometer of its value.

The following could be bought for 1 guilder in Antwerp:

<i>year</i>	<i>litres rye</i>	<i>litres wheat</i>	<i>kg butter</i>	<i>dried herrings</i>	<i>litres colza fat</i>	<i>litres olive oil</i>	<i>kg tallow</i>	<i>kg coal candles</i>
1560	72	-	4.5	71	-	4.9	4.2	-
1570	53	-	3.5	67	-	2.9	3.3	-
1580	45	21	2.7	99	5	2.4	2.5	-
1590	29	21	2.2	63	-	1.6	1.9	75
1600	25	17	2.7	33	2.5	1.1	1.8	-
1650	27	13	1.5	46	2.7	1.8	1.6	65
1700	28	16	1.9	27	3.2	1.7	1.9	56

Unskilled workers' wages

The question of the purchasing power of a coin presents a number of difficulties which may be sufficient to distort the overall picture. Certain products - such as sugar and tobacco - which are now commonplace and relatively cheap commodities were formerly expensive luxuries. Before the development of the New World granaries in the nineteenth century, Europe was still dependent on what she could produce herself and marked fluctuations of price according to the relative scarcity or abundance of the staple cereals were very common phenomena.

The third possible method of approach is perhaps the best one; it should at least be applied to verify and if necessary rectify the results of the other two. It consists of comparing the wages of unskilled labourers at different times. Through the centuries this group has always been paid wages which purchase no more than the necessities of life. The basis on which these necessities have been calculated and the number of hours which unskilled men have had to work to earn this minimum may have varied through the years; what has remained constant is the fact that such workers have always been paid at subsistence level.

Daily (summer) wages of an unskilled worker (day labourer) in Antwerp are given in the following table:

<i>year</i>	<i>wage in stuivers</i>	<i>wage in guilders</i>
1560	5	0.25
1570	6	0.30
1580	8 - 9	0.40 - 0.45
1590	10	0.50
1600	12	0.60
1650	12	0.60
1700	12	0.60

Conclusion

The intrinsic value of the guilder declined steadily from *c.* 1560 to *c.* 1700. However, the purchasing power of the guilder (and the index of wages associated with it) shows a somewhat divergent curve: from 1560 to 1590 it declined more sharply than that of the intrinsic value, while on the other hand after 1590 it showed greater stability than the gold and silver values of the guilder.

Conversion into present-day units is extremely hazardous and the results are always open to challenge. However, after balancing the various advantages and limitations of the three methods one against the other, it may be concluded that one guilder in 1560 was equal to approximately 1,000 BF (Belgian Francs) today. In 1590 it was worth approximately 500 BF and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about 400 BF. The 1969 rate of exchange being \$ 1.00 = 50 BF and £ 1.0.0 = 120 BF, the following table may be given:

Approximate value of one guilder

1560	1,000 BF = \$ 20.00 = £ 8.6.8
1590	500 BF = \$ 10.00 = £ 4.3.4
17th-18th cent.	400 BF = \$ 8.00 = £ 3.6.8

It should be remembered, however, that whereas the cost of living in Belgium and Great Britain is roughly the same, that in the United States is much higher. An amount of 1,000 BF in Belgium or £ 8.6.8 in Great Britain therefore represents a greater purchasing power than \$ 20.00 in the United States (probably in terms of dollars about \$ 30.00 to \$ 35.00).

Bibliography

Bibliography

Biographies

Max Rooses, the first curator of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, published the first detailed and scholarly biography of the founder of the house in 1882. This work, *Christophe Plantin, imprimeur anversois*, had a second edition in 1896. A third edition, augmented by a study of Plantin's successors, handsomely produced and lavishly illustrated (partly with prints made from original woodblocks and copperplates in the Museum collection), appeared in 1914 under the title: *Le Musée Plantin-Moretus. Contenant la vie et l'oeuvre de Christophe Plantin et ses successeurs, les Moretus, ainsi que la description du musée et des collections qu'il renferme* (subsequently referred to as Rooses, *Musée*).

After so many years this study remains a monument of erudition and a standard work that has never been superseded. It has, however, one great fault: no references to sources are given, which makes verification of details very difficult.

Maurits Sabbe, the third curator of the Museum, also devoted many interesting studies to the heritage entrusted to him. As well as producing a number of concise biographical sketches of Plantin, he helped to illumine many points of detail from the printer's life and work. He was more particularly interested in the Moretuses, who had been neglected by his predecessor. A number of these essays on Plantin and the Moretuses were collected and published as: *Uit het Plantijnsche huis. Verspreide opstellen*, Antwerp, 1923; *De Moretussen en hun kring. Verspreide opstellen*, Antwerp, 1928; and - translated into French - *L'oeuvre de Christophe Plantin et de ses successeurs*, Brussels, 1937.

In 1937 there appeared his concise but very readable synthesis: *De meesters van den Gulden Passer. Christoffel Plantin, aartsdrukker van Philips II, en zijn opvolgers, de Moretussen*, Amsterdam, 1937.

Other biographical sketches of Plantin and the Moretuses are based largely on the works of Rooses and Sabbe and give relatively few new facts. An exception is a detailed and workmanlike study in English: Colin Clair's *Christopher Plantin*, London, 1960.

Sources

One of the reasons why it has been possible to publish so much about the Plantin-Moretus family, and why so much can still be written, is the fact that the archives of the house have been preserved practically intact. They provide an inexhaustible source of facts about the dynasty, its business, printing and the book trade in Western Europe, and more generally about the social, economic and cultural evolution of the West in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and (to a lesser extent) the nineteenth century.

These archives (subsequently referred to as *Arch.*) are still kept in the Plantin-Moretus Museum and comprise 1446 numbers: see J. Denucé, *Inventaris op het Plantijnsch archief. Inventaire des Archives Plantiniennes*, Antwerp, 1926.

A most important source for the life of Plantin, namely his correspondence, has already been published: M. Rooses and J. Denucé, *Correspondence de Plantin*, 9 parts in 8 vols, Antwerp, under the auspices of the ‘Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen’, 1883-1920 (subsequently referred to as *Corr.*). This has been supplemented by M. van Durme's *Supplément à la Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, Antwerp, 1955 (subsequently referred to as *Suppl. Corr.*).

It is regrettable that there has been no such publication of source material for the Moretuses.

Literature

The literature on the subject of Plantin, the Moretuses and the Plantin-Moretus Museum is exceedingly extensive. It is listed in: A. Dermul and H.F. Bouchery, *Bibliographie betreffende de Antwerpsche drukkers*, Antwerp, 1938; A. Dermul, ‘Aanvullingen en verbeteringen op de “Bibliographie betreffende de Antwerpsche drukkers”’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 21, 1943, pp. 119 sqq.; L. Voet, ‘Plantiniana 1943-1958. Bibliografie betreffende Plantin, de Moretussen en het Museum Plantin-Moretus verschenen tussen 1943-1958’ in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 19-42; 37, 1959, pp. 21-73.

A large number of the relevant articles and short studies appeared in *Bulletijn van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, 1882 (of which only two volumes were published), and more especially in *De Gulden Passer*, *Bulletin van de ‘Vereeniging der Antwerpsche Bibliophielen’* (since 1923).

A number of important essays also appeared in commemorative volumes: *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire du célèbre imprimeur anversois Christophe Plantin*, Brussels, 1920; *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955. Internationaal congres voor boekdrukkunst en humanisme 4-10 september 1955*, Antwerp, 1956 (also in *De Gulden Passer*, 33, 1955, and 34, 1956).

Genealogy

The genealogy of the Plantin-Moretus family is set out in J.B. van der Straelen's *Geslagt-lyste der nakomelingen van den vermaerden Christoffel Plantin, koninklijken aerts-boekdrukker, binnen de stad Antwerpen; waer by gevoegd is eene geslagt-lyste der familie Mourentorff alias Moretus. Alles... verzameld en opgesteld... door J.B. van der Straelen, en uytgegeven door P.-Th. Moons-van der Straelen*, Antwerp, 1858 (subsequently referred to as Van der Straelen, *Geslagt-lyste*). Supplementary data can be found in R. Moretus-Plantin de Boechout's *Demeures familiales. Notices historiques sur la Maison Plantin à Anvers et quelques propriétés urbaines et rurales ayant appartenu à la famille Moretus, principalement dans l'ancien pays de Ryen*, Antwerp, 1950.

Works consulted¹

Allen, P.S., 'Le cercle de Plantin' in *Fêtes données en 1920 à Anvers et à Tours à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de la naissance de Chr. Plantin*, Antwerp, 1920, pp. 35-44.

Andriessen, J., 'Het culturele leven in het Zuiden' in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 5 (Utrecht and Antwerp, 1952), pp. 365-394 (the period 1567-1609) and 6 (Utrecht and Antwerp, 1953), pp. 336-359 (the period 1609-1648).

Andriessen, J., 'Mystiek bij enkele Nederlandse Jezuïeten der XVII^e eeuw' in *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 29. 1955, pp. 271-301.

Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens. Catalogue de l'exposition organisée à la Galerie Mazarine (mars-avril 1954), Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 1954.

Asencio, F., 'Juan de Mariana y la poliglota de Amberes: censura oficial y sugerencias de M. Bataillon' in *Gregorianum* (Rome), 36, 1955, pp. 50-80.

Augerius Gislenuus Busbequius, 1522-1591. Vlaams humanist en keizerlijk gezant. Hulde bij het vierde eeuwfeest van het begin van zijn gezantschap in het Oosten, 1554-1954, Brussels, 1955 (Publication of the 'Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten' of Belgium).

Backer, H. de, 'Marie de Médicis dans les Pays-Bas et sa visite à l'imprimerie Plantin-Moretus' in *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire du célèbre imprimeur anversoïse Christophe Plantin*, Brussels, 1920, pp. 75-84.

Bakhuizen van den Brink, J.N., 'Bonaventura Vulcanius en Leiden' in *Varia historica aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. A.W. Byvanck ter gelegenheid van zijn zeventigste verjaardag door de Historische Kring te Leiden*, Assen, 1954, pp. 151-164.

Barberi, F., 'Paolo Manuzzio e Cristoforo Plantin' in *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, 16, 1941-1942, pp. 83-94.

1. Only the works which were actually consulted for this first volume are given here. This bibliography does not contain all the studies which deal with the history of Plantin and the Moretuses - only those directly relevant to the questions discussed in this volume. The bibliographies given in the following volumes should be consulted where necessary.

- Bataillon, M., 'Philippe Galle et Arias Montano Matériaux pour l'iconographie des savants de la renaissance' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance. Travaux et documents*, 2, 1942, pp. 132-160.
- Battistini, M., 'Jean Michel Bruto, humaniste, historiographe, pédagogue au XVI^e siècle' in *De Gulden Passer*, 33, 1954, pp. 29-156.
- Becker, B., 'Thierry Coornhert et Christophe Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 1, 1923, pp. 97-123.
- Beer, R., 'Niederländische Büchererwerbungen des Benito Arias Montano für den Eskorial im Auftrage König Philipp II. von Spanien, nach unveröffentlichten, aus dem Musée Plantin-Moretus zu Antwerpen von Max Rooses zur Verfügung gestellten Urkunden' in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (Vienna), 25, Heft 6, 1905, pp. I-XI.
- Bemden, J.J.P. van den, *De familie Galle, plaetsnyders van het laetst der XVI^e en de eerste helft der XVII^e eeuw*, Antwerp, 1863.
- Bergmans, P., 'Quatorze lettres inédites du compositeur Philippe de Monte' in *Mémoires in-8^o de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd series, 1, 1921.
- Boas, M., 'Gillis en Sambucus' in *Het Boek*, 10, 1921, pp. 129-138.
- Bock, E. de, *Johan Baptist Houwaert*, Antwerp, 1960.
- Boele van Hensbroek, P.A.M., 'Lodovico Guicciardini, Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi. De oudste beschrijving der Nederlanden, in hare verschillende uitgaven en vertalingen beschouwd. Bibliografische studie' in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht*, 1, 1877.
- Boeynaems, P., 'Les Nuñez, famille d'éminents médecins d'origine espagnole à Anvers aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles' in *XV Congreso internacional de Historia de la Medicina*, Madrid, 1956, pp. 229-233.
- Bom, E. de, 'Bibliographie van Max Rooses' in *Het Boek*, 4, 1915, pp. 1-4, 97-112, 194.
- Bom, E. de, 'Max Rooses. In Memoriam (10 Februari 1839-15 Juli 1914)' in *Het Boek*, 4, 1915, pp. 185-193.
- Bomberghen, H. van, *Généalogie de la famille van Bomherghen*, Brussels, 1914.
- Bonger, H., *De motivering van de godsdienstvrijheid bij Dirk Coornhert Volckertszoon*, Arnhem, 1954.
- Bosmans, H., 'Deux lettres inédites de Grégoire de Saint-Vincent publiées avec des notes bibliographiques sur les oeuvres de Grégoire de Saint-Vincent et les manuscrits de della Faille' in *Annales de la Société scientifique de Bruxelles*, 26, 1902, pp. 22-40.
- Bosmans, H., 'Le traité "De centro gravitates" de Jean-Charles della Faille' in *Annales de la Société scientifique de Bruxelles*, 38, 1912, pp. 255-317.
- Bosmans, H., 'Le mathématicien Jean-Charles della Faille de la Compagnie de Jésus' in *Mathesis*, 41, 1927, pp. 5-11.

- Bosmans, H., 'Théodore Moretus de la Compagnie de Jésus, mathématicien (1602-1667), d'après sa correspondance et ses écrits' in *De Gulden Passer*, 6, 1928, pp. 57-162.
- Bouchery, H.F., 'Maurits Sabbe als conservator van het Museum Plantin-Moretus' in *De Gulden Passer*, 16-17, 1938-1939, pp. 3-16.
- Bouchery, H.F., 'De tentoonstelling "Maurits Sabbe als conservator" (Museum Plantin-Moretus, van 11 tot 26 Februari 1939)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 16-17, 1938-1939, pp. 17-20.
- Bouchery, H.F., 'Aanteekeningen betreffende Christoffel Plantin's houding op godsdienstig en politiek gebied' in *De Gulden Passer*, 18, 1940, pp. 87-141.
- Bouchery, H.F., 'Platiniana' in *De Gulden Passer*, 18, 1940, pp. 173-176 and 20, 1942, pp. 296-297.
- Bouchery, H.F., 'Laboris et Constantiae elogia. Een onuitgegeven gedicht door Johannes Hemelarius aan Balthasar I Moretus opgedragen' in *De Gulden Passer*, 19, 1941, pp. 217-227.
- Bouchery, H.F., 'De "Rode Leeuw" der Verdussens' in *De Gulden Passer*, 20, 1942, p. 297.
- Bouchery, H.F., *Museum Plantin-Moretus. Catalogus der schilderijen* [A manuscript catalogue of the paintings which can be consulted in the Museum].
- Bouchery, H.F. and F. van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, Antwerp, 1941 (Maerlantbibliotheek, 4).
- Boumans, R., 'Was Ortelius katholiek of protestant?' in *Handelingen der Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 6, 1952, pp. 110-127.
- Boumans, R., 'The religious views of Abraham Ortelius' in *The Journal of Wartburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 17, 1954, pp. 374-377.
- Bouwsma, W.J., *Concordia Mundi: the career and thought of Guillaume Postel (1510-1581)*, Cambridge, Mass., 1957 (Harvard Historical Monographs, 33).
- Brouwer, P.C. de, 'Joannes Goropius Becanus. Een der Brabantse humanisten uit de zestiende eeuw' in *Brabantia, Tweemaandelijks Tijdschrift van het Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noord-Brabant en de Stichting Brabantia Nostra*, 2, 1953, pp. 270-281.
- Brouwere, J.G. de, 'La magnifique et somptueuse Pompe funèbre de Charles Quint, 1558' in *Annuaire de la Société Héraldique de Luxembourg*, 1950, pp. 47-62.
- Brouwers, L., *Carolus Scribani S.J., 1561-1629. Een groot man van de contrareformatie in de Nederlanden*, Antwerp, 1961.
- Burger, C.P., 'Nieuwe bijzonderheden over Peeter Heyns en zijn school "Den Lauwerboom"' in *Het Boek*, 18, 1929, pp. 91-96.
- Carter, H., 'Plantin's types and their makers' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 247-269 [also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34, 1956, pp. 121-143].
- Carter, H., 'The types of Christopher Plantin' in *The Library*, 1956, pp. 170-179.
- Clair, C., 'Plantiniana in the Brotherton Library University of Leeds' in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 120-121.

- Clair, C., 'Plantiniana in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum and at the Public Records Office' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 112-121.
- Clair, C., 'Willem Silvius' in *The Library*, 1959, pp. 192-205.
- Clair, C., *Christopher Plantin*, London, 1960.
- Clercq, C. de, 'Les éditions bibliques, liturgiques et canoniques de Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 283-318 [also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34, 1956, pp. 157-192].
- Clercq, C. de, 'La Bible française de René Benoist' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1957, pp. 168-174.
- Clercq, C. de, 'Deux épisodes plantiniens' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1958, pp. 155-163.
- Clercq, C. de, 'Jean et Jacques Taffin, Jean d'Arras et Christophe Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 125-136.
- Clercq, L. Le, Une requête autographe de L.-Th. Schenckels (Bruxelles, avril 1624) in *De Gulden Passer*, 16-17, 1938-1939, pp. 21-27.
- Clouzot, H., *Cuirs décorés. II. Cuirs de Cordoue*, Paris, undated (c. 1920).
- Colin, G., 'A propos d'une reliure de Plantin' in *Studi di Bibliografia e di Storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*, II, Verona, 1964, pp. 1-14.
- Colin, G., 'Une ode à Philippe II, écrite, imprimée et reliée par Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 43, 1965, pp. 65-91.
- Corbett, P.B. and F. Masai, 'L'édition Plantin de Cassien, de la règle des pères et des capitulaires d'Aix pour les moines' in *Scriptorium*, 5, 1951, pp. 60-74.
- Craeybeckx, L., 'In Memoriam Ary Delen' in *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der stad Antwerpen*, 6, 1960, pp. 104-105.
- Crombruggen, H. van, 'Een brief van Adriaan Saravia over Lipsius en "Het Huis der Liefde"' in *De Gulden Passer*, 28, 1950, pp. 110-117.
- Crombruggen, H. van, *Janus Lernutius (1545-1619). Een biografische studie*, Brussels, 1955 (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 17, no. 23).
- Davies, D.W., 'The provenance of the oriental types of Thomas Erpenius' in *Het Boek*, 30, 1949-1951, pp. 117-122.
- Davis, N.Z., 'Christophe Plantin's childhood at Saint Just' in *De Gulden Passer*, 35, 1957, pp. 107-120.
- Decker, A. de, 'Eenige Antwerpsche drukkers in den vreemde' in *Bulletijn van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, 1, 1882, pp. 137-223.
- Degeorge, L., *La maison Plantin à Anvers. Relation détaillée de visites faites à cette demeure célèbre lors de son acquisition par la ville d'Anvers augmentée de documents historiques sur l'imprimerie*, Brussels, 1877.
- Degeorge, L., *La maison Plantin à Anvers. Monographie complète de cette imprimerie célèbre au XVI^e et XVII^e siècles; 2^e éd., augmentée d'une liste chronologique des ouvrages imprimés par Christophe Plantin*, Brussels, 1878 (3rd ed., Paris, 1886).
- Delcourt, M., 'L'humanisme aux Pays-Bas au temps de Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der*

- Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 70-80 [also in *De Gulden Passer*, 33, 1955, pp. 208-218].
- Delcourt, M. and J. Hoyoux, *Laevinus Torrentius. Correspondance*, Liège, 1950-1954. 3 vols (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 119, 127, 131).
- Delehayé, H., *A travers trois siècles. L'oeuvre des Bollandistes, 1615-1915*, Brussels, 1920.
- Delen, A.J.J., 'Christoffel Plantin als prentenhandelaar' in *De Gulden Passer*, 10, 1932, pp. 1-24.
- Delen, A.J.J., *Het Stedelijk Prentencabinet van Antwerpen*, Antwerp, 1941.
- Delen, A.J.J., *Christophe Plantin, imprimeur de l'humanisme*, Brussels, 1944 (Collection nationale, 5th series, no. 50).
- Denucé, J., 'De twaalf apostelen van het Muzeum Plantin-Moretus' in *De Stroom*, 1, 1918, pp. 54-58.
- Denucé, J., *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*, Antwerp and The Hague, 1912-1913, 2 vols. (Publications of the 'Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen' 27 and 28).
- Denucé, J., *Musaeum Plantin-Moretus. Inventaris op het Plantijnsch archief. Inventaire des archives plantiniennes*, Antwerp, 1926.
- Denucé, J., *Musaeum Plantin-Moretus. Catalogue des manuscrits. Catalogus der handschriften*, Antwerp, 1927.
- Denucé, J., 'Spaansch en Mechelsch goudleder te Antwerpen in de XVII^e eeuw' in *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 2nd series, 9, 1934, pp. 161-185.
- Dermul, A., 'Aanvullingen en verbeteringen op de "Bibliographie betreffende de Antwerpsche drukkers"' in *De Gulden Passer*, 21, 1943, pp. 119-149.
- Dermul, A. and H.F. Bouchery, *Bibliographie betreffende de Antwerpsche drukkers*, Antwerp, 1938.
- Devos, J.P., 'Hendrik Cock van Gorcum, humanist, boogschutter in de koninklijke lijfwacht te Madrid' in *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 3rd series, 6, 1950, pp. 1-9.
- Devos, J.P., 'Deux compatriotes des Pays-Bas: Jehan Lhermite d'Anvers (1560-1622) et Henri Cock de Gorcum (1554?-...) en Espagne' in *Estudios dedicados a Menendez Pidal* (Madrid), 2, 1951, pp. 551-565.
- Doetsch, C., *Iconograjia de Benito Arias Montano*, Madrid, 1927.
- Donnet, F., *Le 'Papen Moer' à Berchem*, Antwerp, 1921.
- Doorslaer, G. van, 'La vie et les oeuvres de Philippe de Monte' in *Mémoires in-8^o de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd series, I,4, no. 1271, 1921.
- Doorslaer, G. van, 'George de la Hèle, maître de chapelle, cornpositeur (1547-1587)' in *Bulletin de l'Académie royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, 1924, pp. 108-140.
- Doorslaer, G. van, 'Glans nouvelles sur Rembert Dodoens' in *Bulletin du Cercle archéologique, littéraire et artistique de Malines*, 31, 1926, pp. 17-40.

- Dorsten, J.A. van, *Poets, patrons, and professors. Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden humanists*, Leiden, and London, 1962 (Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Leiden, General Series 2).
- Dumont, J.H., *La vie aventureuse d'Antoine van Bomberghen, compagnon de lutte de Guillaume le Taciturne*, Antwerp, 1952.
- Durme, M. van, *Antoon Perrenot van Granvelle, beschermheer van Christoffel Plantijn*, Antwerp, 1948 (Verhandelingen van de Katholieke Vlaamse Hogeschooluitbreiding, 399).
- Durme, M. van, 'Le cardinal de Granvelle et Fulvio Orsini' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance. Travaux et Documents*, 12, 1950, pp. 324-331.
- Durme, M. van, *Antoon Perrenot, bisschop van Atrecht, kardinaal van Granvelle, minister van Karel V en van Filips II (1517-1586)*, Brussels, 1953 (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 18).
- Durme, M. van, *Supplément à la Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, Antwerp, 1955.
- Durme, M. van, 'Plantin, Granvelle et quelques documents inédits ou non publiés dans la "Correspondance"' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 214-229 [also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34, 1956, pp. 88-103].
- Durme, M. van, *El cardinal Granvela (1517-1586). Imperio y revolution bajo Carlos V y Felipe II*, Barcelona, 1957.
- Durme, M. van, 'Granvelle et Plantin' in *Estudios dedicados a Menendez Pidal* (Madrid), 7, 1957, pp. 225-272.
- Eeghem, W.A. van, 'Iohan Baptista Houwaert, de prachtlievende (Bibliographica X-XV)' in *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1957, pp. 285-291.
- Elaut, L., 'Een Plantin-uitgave van H. Ranzovius' hygiënisch traktaat' in *De Gulden Passer*, 35, 1957, pp. 129-138.
- Elaut, L., 'Het kommentaar van Jacques Grévin op Vesalius' tekst in de Plantin-uitgaven van het "Epitome"' in *De Gulden Passer*, 40, 1962, pp. 96-104.
- Ernalsteen, J., *Joannes Stadius, 1527-1579*, Brecht, 1927.
- Essen, L. van der, and H.F. Bouchery, *Waarom Justus Lipsius gevierd?*, Brussels, 1949 (Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 11, no. 8).
- Fabri, J., 'Un ami de Juste Lipse: l'humaniste André Schott (1552-1629)' in *Les Études classiques*, 21, 1953, pp. 188-208.
- Fabri, J., 'La correspondance de Pierre Pantin avec Balthasar Moretus (1607-1611)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 43, 1965, pp. 167-247.
- Fêtes données en 1920 à Anvers et à Tours à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de la naissance de Christophe Plantin*, Antwerp, 1920 (also in Dutch: *Gedenkboek*, etc.).
- Fontaine Verwey, H. de la, 'De geschriften van Hendrik Niclaes. Prolegomena eener bibliographie' in *Het Boek*, 26, 1940-1942, pp. 161-221.

- Fontaine Verwey, H. de la, 'Silvius en Plantijn' in *Het Boek*, 26, 1940-1942, pp. 111-125.
- Fontaine Verwey, H. de la, 'Hoe werd Silvius koninklijk drukker?' in *Het Boek*, 26, 1940-1942, p. 222.
- Fontaine Verwey, H. de la, 'Hendrik van Bredero en de drukkerijen van Vianen. Een episode uit het voorspel van de tachtigjarige oorlog' in *Het Boek*, 30, 1949-1951, pp. 3-41.
- Fontaine Verwey, H. de la, 'Trois hérésiarques dans les Pays-Bas du XVI^e siècle' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Travaux et Documents*, id, 1954, pp. 312-330.
- Fontaine Verwey, H. de la, 'Over enige boeken te Vianen gedrukt tijdens het "voorspel"' in *Opstellen... aangeboden aan Dr. F.K.H. Kossmann*, The Hague, 1958, pp. 20-34.
- Foppens, J.F., *Bibliotheca Belgica, sive virorum in Belgio vita, scriptisque illustrium catalogus, librorumque nomenclatura. Continens scriptores a clariss. Viris Valeria Andrea, Auberto Miraeo, Francisco Sweertio, aliisque, recensitos, usque ad annum MDCLXXX*, Brussels, 1739, 2 vols.
- Förster, M., 'Die altenglische Glossenhandschrift Plantinus 32 (Antwerpen) und Additional 32246 (London)' in *Anglia, Neue Folge*, 29, 1917, pp. 94-161. *Gedenkboek der feesten gegeven in 1920 te Antwerpen en te Tours ter gelegenheid van de vierhonderdste verjaring van Chr. Plantin's geboorte*, Antwerp, 1920 (also published in French: *Fêtes données*, etc.).
- Génard, P., 'Les globes du géographe Arnould Florent van Langren' in *Bulletin de la Société royale de Géographie d' Anvers*, 8, 1883.
- Gerlo, A., 'Les humanistes et poètes neo-latins belges à l'époque de la Renaissance' in *Mélanges Georges Smets*, Brussels, 1952, pp. 255-285.
- Gerlo, A., 'L'apport de l'humanisme belge au développement de la pensée scientifique' in *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, March-May 1956, pp. 1-34.
- Gerlo, A., *Bibliographie de l'humanisme belge, précédée d'une bibliographie générale concernant l'humanisme européen. Avec la collaboration d'E. Lauf*, Brussels, 1965 (Université Libre de Bruxelles. Travaux de l'Institut pour l'Etude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme: Instrumenta Humanistica I).
- Gerlo, A., H.D.L. Vervliet and I. Vertessen, 'La correspondance inédite de Juste Lipse conservée au Musée Plantin-Moretus' in *De Gulden Passer*, 42, 1964, pp. 1-232.
- Gerlo, A., *La correspondance de Juste Lipse conservée au Musée Plantin-Moretus. Introduction, Correspondance, Commentaire, Documents, Bibliographie*, Antwerp, 1967.
- Geurts, P.A.M., 'Mr. Willem van Assendelft, kanunnik-schoolmeester te Leiden (1579-1591) en het "Privilegium fori" der universiteit' in *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 6, 1964, pp. 1-107.
- Godeaux, L., *Esquisse d'une histoire des sciences mathématiques en Belgique*, Brussels, 1943 (Collection nationale, 39).
- Godenne, W., *Les reliures de Plantin*, Brussels, 1965.
- Goris, J.A., *Lof van Antwerpen. Hoe reizigers Antwerpen zagen van de XV^e tot de XX^e eeuw*, Brussels, 1940.

- Gossart, E., 'Le chroniqueur Garibay chez Plantin' in *Le Bibliophile belge*, 11, 1876, pp. 281-287.
- [Granges de Surgères, de], 'Lettres d'anoblissement accordées à Balthasar Moretus III et à ses descendants avec autorisation de continuer l'exercice de la typographie plantinienne sans déroger à la noblesse' in *Annales du Bibliophile belge*, new series, 2, 1882, pp. 89-107 [also published separately, Paris and Brussels, 1884].
- Groote, H.L.V. de, *Vijftig jaar boekdrukkunst te Antwerpen, 1764-1814*, Antwerp, 1961.
- Gruel, L., 'Notice sur Christophe Plantin, relieur à Anvers (1514-1590)' in *Journal général de l'Imprimerie et de la Librairie*, 1891, pp. 213-216.
- Guignard, J., 'A propos des éditions françaises de Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1553-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 319-363 [also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34, 1956, pp. 193-237].
- Gulik, E. van, and H.D.L. Vervliet, *Een gedenksteen voor Plantijn en Van Raphelingen te Leiden, waarin opgenomen de Catalogus Librorum residuorum Tabernae Raphelengianae*, Leiden, 1965.
- Gulyas, P., *Sámbooky János könyvtára; irta es az 1587 evi jegyzeket kiadta. Bibliotheca Joannis Sambuci, scripsit et catalogum anni 1587 edidit*, Budapest, 1941.
- Havre, G. van, *Les marques typographiques de l'imprimerie plantinienne*, Antwerp, 1911.
- Henrard, P., 'Mathieu de Morgues et la Maison Plantin' in *Bulletins de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 2nd series, 49, 1880, pp. 542-589.
- Henrard, P., 'La correspondance de Philippe Chifflet et de Balthazar Moretus I' in *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique*, 41, 1885, pp. 319-366.
- Herck, C. van, 'Antwerpsche scribanen' in *Jaarboek van Antwerpen's Oudheidkundige Kring*, 9, 1933, pp. 53-83.
- Herck, C. van, 'Een vondst van Antwerpsche tegeltableaux uit het einde der XVI^e eeuw' in *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Oudheidkundige Kring van Antwerpen*, 20-21, 1944-1950, pp. 121-127.
- Herck, C. van, *Catalogus van plateel, porselein, aardewerk, glaswerk [in het Museum Plantin-Moretus]* [A manuscript catalogue which can be consulted in the Plantin-Moretus Museum].
- Herck, C. van, *Catalogue de faïences, porcelaines, poterie, verrerie [au Musée Plantin-Moretus]* [A manuscript catalogue which can be consulted in the Plantin-Moretus Museum].
- Hessels, J.H., *Abrahami Ortelii et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum epistulae; cum aliquot aliis epistulis et tractatibus quibusdam ab utroque collectis (1524-1628)*, Cambridge, 1887.
- Heussen, A.H., *Het leven van Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1554-1562). Beschrijving, vertaling en aantekeningen*, Leiden, 1949.

- Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie en Belgique des origines à nos jours*, Brussels, 1923-1934, 7 parts in 2 vols.
- Hoc, M., *Le déclin de l'humanisme belge. Étude sur Jean-Gaspard Gevaerts, philologue et poète (1593-1666)*, Brussels and London, 1922.
- Hoffmann, H., 'Der Breslauer Mathematiker Theodor Moretus S.J. (1601-1667)' in *Jahrbuch der Schlesische Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur*, 107, 1934, pp. 118-155.
- Hoffmann, J.L., 'Un catalogue de la librairie Raphelinguenne, 1619' in *Le Bibliophile belge*, 4, 1869, pp. 57-59.
- Högberg, P., 'Reliures belges à l'université d'Upsal' in *De Gulden Passer*, 5, 1927, pp. 1-9.
- Hunger, F.W.T., 'Vier onuitgegeven brieven van Abraham Ortelius aan Carolus Clusius' in *De Gulden Passer*, 3, 1925, pp. 207-219.
- Hunger, F.W.T., *Charles de l'Escluse (Carolus Clusius), Nederlandsch kruidkundige*, The Hague, 1927-1943, 2 vols.
- Jesse, J.H., 'Christoffel Plantijn te Leiden (1582-1585). Heilige Geest-hofje aan de Breestraat (1692-1850)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 12, 1934, pp. 110-120.
- Jongkees, J.H., 'Stephanus Winandus Pighius Campensis' in *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 3rd series, 8, 1954, pp. 120-185.
- Jongkees, J.H., 'De brieven van Stephanus Pighius' in *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 16, 1961, pp. 228-243.
- Jongkees, J.H., 'Masius in moeilijkheden' in *De Gulden Passer*, 41, 1963, pp. 161-168.
- Kingdon, R.M., 'The Plantin breviaries: a case study in the sixteenth-century business operations of a publishing house' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Travaux et Documents*, 22, 1960, pp. 133-150.
- Kuiper, G., *Orbis Artium en Renaissance. I. Cornelius Valerius en Sebastianus Foxius Morzillus als bronnen van Coornhert*, Harderwijk, 1941.
- Kugener, M.-A., 'Séjour de l'humaniste Nicolas Heinsius en Belgique: mai-octobre 1644' in *De Gulden Passer*, 6, 1928, pp. 225-238.
- Lamy, T.-J., 'La Bible Royale en cinq langues imprimée par Plantin' in *Bulletins de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 3rd series, 23, 1892, pp. 628-668.
- Lefèvre, M., 'Chronologie des oeuvres de Pontus Heuterus' in *De Gulden Passer*, 41, 1963, pp. 128-160.
- Legré, L., 'La botanique en Provence au XVI^e siècle; Mathias de Lobel et Pierre Pena' in *Bulletin de la Société botanique de France*, 44, 1897, pp. XI-XLVII.
- Lopez de Toro, J., 'Arias Montano escribi a Justo Lipsio y a Juan Moreto' in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 60, 1954, pp. 533-543.
- Lossen, M., *Briefe von Andreas Masius und seinen Freunden, 1538 bis 1573*, Leipzig, 1886 (Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, 2).
- Louis, A., 'La vie et l'oeuvre botanique de R. Dodoens' in *Bulletin de la Société royale de Botanique de Belgique*, 82, 1950, pp. 271-293.

- Louis, A., 'Beschouwingen bij een ongekende brief van Rembertus Dodoens' in *De Gulden Passer*, 30, 1952, pp. 111-120.
- Louis, A., 'Rembert Dodoens. Een groot Vlaams humanist en wetenschapsman, 1517-1585' in *Onze Alma Mater* (Louvain), 8, 1954, pp. 1-16.
- Louis, A., 'Considérations historiques sur une flore pseudo-lobélienne' in *Bulletin du Jardin Botanique de l'Etat* (Brussels), 1957, pp. 317-326.
- Macmillan, D., *George Buchanan, a biography*, Edinburgh, 1906.
- Maes, L., 'Lettres inédites d'André Schott' in *Le Muséon, Études philologiques, historiques et religieuses*, 7, 1906, pp. 67-102, 325-361; 9, 1908, pp. 368-411; 11, 1910, pp. 239-270.
- Masson, G.-A. and G. Mongrédien, 'Le sonnet de Plantin' in *La Revue critique*, 29, 1920, pp. 607-614.
- 'Max Rooses herdacht' in *De Gulden Passer*, 16-17, 1938-1939, II.
- Meerbergen, J., 'Bisschop Willem Damaasz. Lindanus' in *Pastor bonus*, 30, 1953, pp. 45-53, 104-114, 169-177, 235-246; 31, 1954, pp. 45-51, 116-123.
- Meester de Ravenstein, B. de, *Lettres de Philippe et de Jean-Jacques Chifflet sur les affaires des Pays-Bas (1627-1639)*, Brussels, 1943 (Publications in-8° of the 'Commission royale d'Histoire').
- Michielsen, L., 'De Kompagnie van Triëste en Fiume (1750-1800). Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de kapitalistische industrie' in *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, 27, 1936, pp. 70-91, 181-233.
- Michielsen, L., 'Nota's over den rijkdom en den boekhandel der Moretussen in de XVIII^e eeuw' in *De Gulden Passer*, 14, 1936, pp. 53-60.
- Mol, A. de, 'Restauratie van het Museum Plantin-Moretus' in *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Monumenten en Landschappen*, 1955, pp. 9-35.
- Molhuysen, P.C., *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche universiteit. I. 1574-7 Febr. 1610*, The Hague, 1913 (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicaties, 20).
- Molhuysen, P.C., 'De Academie-drukkers' in *Pallas Leidensis*, 1925, pp. 307-322.
- Mongrédien, G., 'Le sonnet de Plantin. Curieuses imitations' in *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire du célèbre imprimeur anversois Christophe Plantin*, Brussels, 1920, pp. 43-64.
- Morales Oliver, L., 'Avance para la bibliografía de obras impresas del Dr. Benito Arias Montano' in *Revista del Centro de Estudios Extremenos* (Badajoz), 2, 1928, pp. 171-236.
- Moretus, H., 'L'édition plantinienne des Annales de Baronius' in *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire du célèbre imprimeur anversois Christophe Plantin*, Brussels, 1920, pp. 17-27.
- Moretus-Plantin de Bouchout, R., *Demeures familiales. Notices historiques sur la Maison Plantin à Anvers et quelques propriétés urbaines et rurales ayant appartenu à la famille Moretus principalement dans l'ancien Pays de Ryen*, Antwerp, 1950.

- Morren, E., 'Charles de l'Escluse. Sa vie, ses oeuvres, 1526-1609' in *Bulletin de la Fédération des Sociétés d'Horticulture de Belgique*, 1874.
- Muntendam, A.M., 'Critiek van Roemer Visscher op Plantin's drukkersmerk' in *De Gulden Passer*, 14, 1936, pp. 77-79.
- Nash, R., *An account of calligraphy and printing in the sixteenth century from dialogues attributed to Christopher Plantin. Printed and published by him at Antwerp, in 1567. French and Flemish text in facsimile, English translation and notes*, Cambridge, Mass., 1940.
- Nash, R., *Calligraphy and Printing in the sixteenth century. Dialogue attributed to Christopher Plantin in French and Flemish facsimile. Edited with English translation and notes*, Antwerp, 1964.
- Nauwelaerts, M.A., 'Bijdrage tot de bibliographic van Simon Verepaeus' in *De Gulden Passer*, 25, 1947, pp. 52-90.
- Nauwelaerts, M.A., *Simon Verepaeus, 1522-1598; paedagoog der contra-reformatie*, Tilburg, 1950 (Opvoedkundige brochurereeks, no. 145).
- Nauwelaerts, M.A., 'Het letterkundig werk van de Nederlandse humanist Christophorus Vladeraccus (1524-1601). Een bibliographische bijdrage' in *Folium*, 1, 1951, pp. 6-11.
- Nauwelaerts, M.A., 'De correspondentie van Simon Verepaeus met de "Officina Plantiniana" te Antwerpen' in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 43-57.
- Nauwelaerts, M.A., 'Humanisten rondom Plantin' in *Noordgouw* (Antwerp), 4, 1964, pp. 9-26.
- Nève, F., *Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le Collège des Trois-Langues à l'Université de Louvain*, Brussels, 1856 (Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers de l'Académie royale de Belgique, 28).
- Nève, F., 'Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, orientaliste et poète, l'un des collaborateurs de la Polyglotte d'Anvers' in *Revue belge et étrangère*, 1862, pp. 1-51.
- Nicolaas Beets- en Rembert Dodoens-hulde op 16 en 17 oktober 1953*, Brussels, 1953 (Uitgave van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Geneeskunde van België).
- Nippold, F., 'Heinrich Niclaes und das Haus der Liebe. Ein monographischer Versuch aus der Secten-Geschichte der Reformationszeit' in *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1862, pp. 323-402, 473-562.
- Olthoff, F., *De boekdrukkers, boekverkoopers en uitgevers in Antwerpen sedert de uitvinding der boekdrukkunst tot op onze dagen*, Antwerp, 1891.
- Ortroy, F. van, *Bio-bibliographie de Gemma Frisius, fondateur de l'école belge de géographie, de son fils Corneille et de ses neveux les Arsenius*, Brussels, 1920. [Anastatic reimpression: Amsterdam 1966.]
- Ortroy, F. van, 'Les Van Bomberghen d'Anvers. Imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs' in *De Gulden Passer*, 2, 1924, pp. 131-144.
- Paquot, J.N., *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-*

- Bas, de la principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines*, Louvain, 1763-1770, 18 vols in-8° or 3 vols in folio.
- Parker, M. and K. Melis, *Inventaris van de stempels en matrijzen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus. Inventory of the Plantin-Moretus Museum punches and matrices*, Antwerp, 1960 [Stencilled; may be consulted in the Plantin-Moretus Museum].
- Parker, M., K. Melis and H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, II. Early inventories of punches, matrices, and moulds in the Plantin-Moretus archives' in *De Gulden Passer*, 38, 1960, pp. 1-139.
- Parkhurst, C., 'Aguilonius' Optics and Rubens' color' in *Het Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek; Netherlands Year-book for History of Art*, 1961, pp. 35-49.
- Pater, J.C.H. de, *Jan van Hout (1542-1609). Een levensbeeld uit de 16^e eeuw*, The Hague, 1946.
- Peeters, P., *L'oeuvre des Bollandistes*, Brussels, 1942 (Subsidia hagiographica, 24).
- Peeters-Fontainas, J., 'Encore une reliure attribuée à Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 16-17, 1938-1939, pp. 28-30.
- Peeters-Fontainas, J., 'Extrait des mémoires de Jean-Martin Cordero de Valence. Sa vie d'étudiant à Louvain, ses traductions espagnoles, ses éditions aux Pays-Bas' in *De Gulden Passer*, 31, 1953, pp. 59-87.
- Peixoto, J., *Relações de Plantin com Portugal. Notas para o estudo da tipografia no seculo XVI*. Coimbra, 1962 (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra. Instituto de Estudos Historicos doutor Antonio de Vasconcelos).
- Perroud, M., *Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres e Mathieu de Morgues, abbé de Saint-Germain (1582-1670)*, Le Puy, 1865 [also in *Annales de la Société d'agriculture au Puy*, 1865].
- Philippen, L.G.M., 'Franciscus van Sterbeeck, Antwerpsche mycoloog, bouwkundige en historicus, 1630-1693' in *De Gulden Passer*, 8, 1930, pp. 27-66.
- Pinvert, L., *Jacques Grévin (1538-1570). Étude biographique et littéraire*, Paris, 1899.
- Pirenne, H., 'L'importance économique et morale d'Anvers à l'époque de Plantin' in *Fêtes données en 1920 à Anvers et à Tours à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de la naissance de Chr. Plantin*, Antwerp, 1920, pp. 15-24.
- Presser, J., 'Het culturele leven in het Noorden' in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 5 (Utrecht and Antwerp, 1952), pp. 395-422 (the period 1567-1609) and 6 (Utrecht and Antwerp, 1953), pp. 360-383 (the period 1609-1648).
- Prims, F., *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, Brussels and Antwerp, 1927-1949, 11 parts in 27 vols.
- Prims, F., 'Brieven aan Gaspar Gevartius' in *De Gulden Passer*, 6, 1928, pp. 204-210.
- Prims, F., 'Letterkundigen, geleerden en kunstenaars in de rekeningen der stad Antwerpen' in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1931, pp. 171-211.

Prims, F., 'Baxius (1581-1640)' in *Antwerpiensia*, 19, 1948, no. 16, pp. 7S-80.
Prims, F., 'Michiel Coignet' in *Antwerpiensia*, 19, 1948, no. 22, pp. 103-114.

- Poncelet, A., 'Dix lettres inédites relatives à François Lucas de Bruges' in *Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges*, 53, 1903, pp. 225-259.
- Puraye, J., *Dominique Lampson, humaniste, 1532-1599*, Bruges, 1950.
- Ramirez, A., *Epistolario de Justo Lipsio y los Españoles (1577-1606)*, Madrid, 1966.
- Raynaud, M.G., 'Une édition de Froissart projetée par Christophe Plantin (1563-1565)' in *Mélanges Julien Havet. Recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés à la mémoire de Julien Havet (1853-1893)*, Paris, 1895, pp. 515-519.
- Récats, B., 'L'humanisme de Jacques Grévin, médecin et poète de la Pléiade' in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves de l'Université libre de Bruxelles*, 12, 1952, pp. 381-400.
- Rekers, B., *Benito Arias Montano, 1527-1598. Studie over een groep spiritualistische humanisten in Spanje en de Nederlanden, op grond van hun briefwisseling*, Groningen, 1961 (Amsterdam University thesis).
- Renouard, P., *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, carders, graveurs, fondeurs de lettres, relieurs, doreurs de livres, faiseurs de fermoirs, enlumineurs, parcheminiers et papetiers ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600, recueillis aux Archives Nationales et au Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1901.
- Renouard, P., 'Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle' in *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 32, 1922, till 44-45, 1933-1934.
- Risselin-Steenebrugen, M., 'Martine et Catherine Plantin. Leur rôle dans la fabrication et le commerce de la lingerie et des dentelles au XVI^e siècle' in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, 26, 1957, pp. 169-188.
- Risselin-Steenebrugen, M., 'Dentelles anversoises et commerce espagnol au début du XVIII^e siècle' in *Bulletin des Musées royaux d' Art et d'Histoire*, 30, 1958, pp. 59-70.
- Risselin-Steenebrugen, M., 'Christophe Plantin, facteur en lingerie fines et en dentelles' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 74-111.
- Risselin-Steenebrugen, M., 'Les débuts de l'industrie dentellière. Martine et Catherine Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 39, 1961, pp. 77-124.
- Roemans, R., 'Analytische bibliographie van en bibliographie over Professor Dr. Maurits Sabbe' in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1932, pp. 717-1206.
- Roemans, R., *Maurits Sabbe, de kunstenaar en de geleerde*, [place and date of publication not given - probably 1933].
- Roersch, A., *L'humanisme belge à l'époque de la Renaissance. Études et portraits*, Brussels, 1910.
- Roggen, D., 'Bezoek van Albert en Isabella aan de Plantijnsche drukkerij ter gelegenheid van hun blijde intrede in Antwerpen (December 1599)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 5, 1927, pp. 22-35.
- Rombouts, P., *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin*

et autres documents se rapportant à la charge du prototypographe. Antwerp and Ghent, 1881 (Uitgaven van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen, no. 10).

Rombouts P. and T. van Lerijs, *De liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint-Lucasgilde. Les liggeren et autres archives historiques de la gilde anversoise de Saint-Luc*, Antwerp and The Hague, 1872, 2 vols.

Roobaert, E.S., 'Nieuwe gegevens over Calvete de Estrella en L. Guicciardini uit de rekeningen van de Antwerpse Magistraat' in *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis, inzonderheid van het oude hertogdom Brabant*, 41, 1958, pp. 68-94.

Rooses, M., *Le Musée Plantin-Moretus. Description sommaire des bâtiments et des collections*, Antwerp, 1878.

Rooses, M., 'Ortelius et Plantin' in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Anvers*, 5, 1880, pp. 350-386.

Rooses, M., 'Plantijns Koninklijke Bijbel. Geschiedenis van een boek in de XVI eeuw' in *De Gids*, 3, 1880, pp. 238-273.

Rooses, M., *Christophe Plantin, imprimeur anversois*, Antwerp, 1882 (2nd ed. 1896).

Rooses, M., 'Plantijns geboortejaar en plaats' in *Bulletijn van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, 2, 1882, pp. 191-202.

Rooses, M., 'Eene bladzijde uit het verloren handschrift van: "Admiranda hujus saeculi"' in *Bulletijn van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, 1, 1882, pp. 92-97.

Rooses, M., 'Plantin prototypographe' in *Bulletijn van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, 2, 1882, pp. 101-110.

Rooses, M., 'Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus' in *Rubens Bulletin*, I, 1882, pp. 203-219, 275-299; 2, 1883, pp. 48-80, 125-148, 176-211. [Published separately as *Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus. Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der kunst*, Antwerp and Ghent, 1884.]

Rooses, M., 'Pierre-Paul Rubens et Balthasar Moretus' in *L'Art*, 1885, pp. 225-233; 1886, pp. 37-44, 57-60. Included in the anonymous work *Pierre-Paul Rubens. Sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Paris, [1883], pp. 207-226.

Rooses, M., *Les rimes de Christophe Plantin*, Lisbon, 1890.

Rooses, M., 'Poelman, Théodore' in *Biographie nationale [de Belgique]*, 17, Brussels, 1903, col. 874-884.

Rooses, M., 'Raphelengien, François' in *Biographie nationale [de Belgique]*, 18, Brussels, 1905, col. 727-735.

Rooses, M., *Le Musée Plantin-Moretus. Contenant la vie et l'oeuvre de Christophe Plantin et ses successeurs, les Moretus, ainsi que la description du musée et des collections qu'il renferme*, Antwerp, 1914.

Rooses, M. and J. Denucé, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, Antwerp, 1883-1920, 9 parts in 8 vols (Uitgaven van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen, 12, 15, 26, 29-34).

Rooses, M. and P. Rombouts, *Boek gehouden door Jan Moretus II, als deken der*

St. Lucasgilde (1616-1617), Antwerp, 1878 (Uitgaven van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen, 1).

Rooses, M. and M., Sabbe, *Catalogus van het Museum Plantin-Moretus* (by M. Rooses; revised and brought up to date after 1919 by M. Sabbe. Dutch editions 1882, 1897, 1909, 1915, 1927; French editions 1881, 1883, 1887, 1893, 1902, 1908, 1920, 1922, 1928; English editions 1894, 1903, 1921, 1924; German edition, 1930).

Rooses, M. and M., Sabbe, *Les rimes de Christophe Plantin* (2nd enlarged ed. By M. Sabbe), Antwerp, 1922.

Roosmalen, J.B.W.M. van, 'Gielis Beys, schoonzoon van Plantijn' in *Jaarboek van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Stad en Land van Breda 'De Oranjeboom'*, 2, 1949, pp. 86-88.

Roover, R. de, 'The business organisation of the Plantin Press in the setting of sixteenth century Antwerp' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 230-246 [also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34, 1956, pp. 104-120].

Rosano, L. de, *Pierre Pithou*, Paris, 1925.

Rouzet, A., 'Adresses d'imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs belges des xvème et xvième siècles' in *De Gulden Passer*, 40, 1962, pp. 151-207.

Roze, E., Huit lettres de Charles de l'Escluse (18 juin 1592 - 15 juillet 1593) in *Journal de Botanique*, 1895.

Rudbeck, J., 'Christophe Plantin als Buchbinder' in *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, 1913-1914, pp. 42-45.

Rudbeck, J., 'Christophe Plantin relieur' in *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire du célèbre imprimeur anversois Christophe Plantin*, Brussels, 1920, pp. 67-72.

Ruelens, C., 'Christophe Plantin et le sectaire mystique Henrik Niclaes' in *Le Bibliophile belge*, 3, 1868, pp. 130-138.

Sabbe, M., 'Comment l'hôtel Plantin-Moretus devint musée public' in *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire du célèbre imprimeur anversois Christophe Plantin*, Brussels, 1920, pp. 9-14.

Sabbe, M., 'Gedichten van en voor Chr. Plantin' in *Het Boek*, 9, 1920, pp. 129-136.

Sabbe, M., 'Nog een rijmpje van Chr. Plantin' in *Het Boek*, 9, 1920, p. 229.

Sabbe, M., 'Quelques rimes de Plantin' in *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire du célèbre imprimeur anversois Christophe Plantin*, Brussels, 1920, pp. 31-39.

Sabbe, M., 'Het sonnet "Le Bonheur de ce monde"', toegeschreven aan Chr. Plantin' in *Het Boek*, 9, 1920, pp. 289-296.

Sabbe, M., 'La typographie à Anvers avant et après Plantin' in *Fêtes données en 1920 à Anvers et à Tours à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de la naissance de Chr. Plantin*, Antwerp, 1920, pp. 3-14.

Sabbe, M., 'Een Plantijnsch bandje?' in *Het Boek*, 11, 1922, pp. 209-212.

Sabbe, M., "'Itinerarium Parisiense" van Balthasar Moretus II' in *Jaarboek van Antwerpen's Oudheidkundige Kring*, 5, 1922, pp. 43-52.

- Sabbe, M., *Uit het Plantijnsche huis. Verspreide opstellen*, Antwerp, 1924.
- Sabbe, M., 'Christoffel Plantin. Een levensbeeld' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 4-23 [also published separately, Antwerp, 1921].
- Sabbe, M., 'De drukkunst te Antwerpen vóór en naast Christoffel Plantin' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 24-31 [also in *Gedenkboek der feesten gegeven in 1920 te Antwerpen en te Tours ter gelegenheid van de vierhonderdste verjaring van Chr. Plantin's geboorte*, Antwerp, 1920, pp. 3-14].
- Sabbe, M., 'Het Sonnet "Le Bonheur de ce monde"' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 32-40.
- Sabbe, M., 'Ludovici Guicciardini' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 41-49.
- Sabbe, M., 'Uit den humanistenkring rondom Plantin' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 51-56 [also in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1922, pp. 253-264].
- Sabbe, M., 'Uit de briefwisseling van Clusius met Chr. Plantin en J. Moretus' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 57-67 [also in *Het Boek*, 10, 1921, pp. 97-114].
- Sabbe, M., 'Jan Moretus als Nederlandsch letterkundige' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 68-85 [also in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1922, pp. 691-740].
- Sabbe, M., 'Vondel, Balthasar Moretus II, Leonardus Marius en Hendrik Barentsen' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 86-98 [also in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1921, pp. 605-624].
- Sabbe, M., 'In- en uitvoerrechten op boeken en papier gedurende de 17^e en 18^e eeuw in Zuid-Nederland' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 99-115 [also in *Het Boek*, 10, 1921, pp. 285-293, 337-345, 361-373].
- Sabbe, M., 'Op den drempel van den adelstand' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 116-135 [also in *Vlaamsche Gids*, New Series, 11, 1922-1923, pp. 152-188].
- Sabbe, M., 'De Moretussen op reis in 1668 door de Brabandsche Kempen, de Meierij van 's Hertogenbosch, Zeeland en Vlaanderen' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 136-147 [also in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1923, pp. 491-514].
- Sabbe, M., 'Antwerpen's boekenmarkt ten tijde van keizer Karel' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 148-175 [also in *Dietsche Warande en Belfort*, 24, 1924, pp. 80-93, 131-158].
- Sabbe, M., 'De Chifflet's met den prins-cardinaal en prins Thomas in de Plantijnsche Drukkerij 1635' in *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, pp. 176-182 [also in *De Gulden Passer*, 2, 1924, pp. 34-44].
- Sabbe, M., 'Uit het reisdagboek van Balthasar Moretus III (1668)' in *Oudheid en Kunst. Tijdschrift van den Geschied- en Oudheidkundigen Kring voor Brecht en omgeving*, 15, 1924, pp. 25-39.
- Sabbe, M., 'La typographie anversoise au XVI^e siècle. Christophe Plantin et ses contemporains. La typographie anversoise au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle' in *Histoire du livre*

- et de l'imprimerie en Belgique des origins à nos jours*, 3 (Brussels, 1923-24) and 4 (Brussels, 1924-25).
- Sabbe, M., 'Les rapports entre B. Arias Montanus et H. Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 4, 1926, pp. 19-43.
- Sabbe, M., *La vie des livres à Anvers*, Brussels, 1926.
- Sabbe, M., *Antwerpsche drukkerij*, Brussels and Amsterdam, 1927.
- Sabbe, M., 'J. Lipsius en Chr. Plantin te Utrecht in 1581' in *De Gulden Passer*, 5, 1927, pp. 10-12.
- Sabbe, M., *Rubens en zijne eeuw. Het geestesleven te Antwerpen in Rubens' tijd*, Brussels, 1927.
- Sabbe, M., 'Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie et la Polyglotte anversoise' in *De Gulden Passer*, 6, 1928, pp. 250-253.
- Sabbe, M., 'Un imprimeur au seuil de la noblesse, Balthasar Moretus III' in *De Gulden Passer*, 6, 1928, pp. 173-203 [also in *L'oeuvre de Christophe Plantin et de ses successeurs*, Brussels, 1937, pp. 69-114].
- Sabbe, M., *De Moretussen en hun kring. Verspreide opstellen*, Antwerp, 1928.
- Sabbe, M., 'De humanistische opleiding van Plantin's kleinkinderen' in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, pp. 5-26 [also in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1924, pp. 732-748].
- Sabbe, M., 'Hoe stond Benedictus Arias Montanus tegenover de leeringen van Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël)?' in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, pp. 27-51 [also in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1925, pp. 622-644].
- Sabbe, M., 'De Antwerpsche vriendenkring van Anna Roemers Visscher' in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, pp. 52-77 [also in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1925, pp. 754-769].
- Sabbe, M., 'Balthasar Moretus III te Madrid in 1680' in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, pp. 132-177 [also in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1927, pp. 150-194].
- Sabbe, M., 'Ysbrand Vincent en zijn Antwerpsche vrienden' in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, pp. 178-232 [also in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1924, pp. 499-551].
- Sabbe, M., *Le Sonnet de Plantin*, Antwerp, 1928.
- Sabbe, M., 'Démêlés des Moretus avec les R.P. Jérômites de l'Escorial au XVII^e siècle' in *De Gulden Passer*, 7, 1929, pp. 119-145 [also in *L'oeuvre de Christophe Plantin et de ses successeurs*, Brussels, 1937, pp. 115-156].
- Sabbe, M., 'Balthasar Moretus III, Auf der Schwelle des Adels' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1930, pp. 246-268.
- Sabbe, M., 'Het legaat van Kan. Nic. Oudaert aan Jan Moretus' in *De Gulden Passer*, 9, 1931, pp. 45-47.
- Sabbe, M., 'Balthasar Moretus II naar de Vasten-Messe te Francfort in 1644' in *Jaarboek van Antwerpen's Oudheidkundige Kring*, 8, 1932, pp. 31-53.

- Sabbe, M., 'Arias Montano y Barrefelt (Hiël y la teologia ortodoxa)' in *Revista del Centro de Estudios Extremenos* (Badajoz), 8, 1934, pp. 63-92.
- Sabbe, M., *Balthasar Moretus en Madrid (notas de viaje de tin librero flamenco por España), 1680-1681*, Madrid, 1934.
- Sabbe, M., 'Labore et Constantia. Een schilderij van Erasmus Quellin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 12, 1934, pp. 107-109.
- Sabbe, M., 'Nog over het schilderij "Labore et Constantia" van Erasmus Quellin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 13, 1935, pp. 37-38.
- Sabbe, M., 'De Plantijnsche werkstede. Arbeidsregeling, tucht en maatschappelijke voorzorg in de oude Antwerpsche drukkerij' in *Verlagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academic voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1935, pp. 595-694.
- Sabbe, M., 'Een en ander over Dodoens' Cruydboeck-uitgaven van 1608 en 1618 en de Van Ravelingen's' in *De Gulden Passer*, 15, 1937, pp. 89-106.
- Sabbe, M., *De meesters van den Gulden Passer: Christoffel Plantin, aardsdrukker van Philips II, en zijn opvolgers, de Moretussen*, Amsterdam, 1937 (Patria, vaderlandsche cultuurgeschiedenis in monografieën, 7).
- Sabbe, M., *L'oeuvre de Christophe Plantin et de ses successeurs*, Brussels, 1937.
- Sabbe, M., 'Der Amsterdamer Papierhändler Vincent und die Antwerpener Drucker Moretus-Plantin' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1938, pp. 17-24.
- Sabbe, M., *Peeter Heyns en de Nimfen uit den Lauwerhoom. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het schoolwezen in de 16^e eeuw*, Antwerp and The Hague, undated (Uitgaven van de Vereeniging der Antwerpsche Bibliophielen, 41).
- Sabbe, M., *Viaje a España del librero Baltasar Moreto (1680). Traducción, prologo, notas y apendices por Antonio Rodriguez-Monino*, Madrid, 1944.
- Salon Émile Verhaeren. Donation du Président René Vandevor*, Antwerp, 1966.
- Saulnicr, V.L., 'L'humanisme français et Christophe Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 42-69 [also in *De Gulden Passer*, 33, 1955, pp. 180-207].
- Saulnicr, V.L., 'Sur le séjour à Lyon de Christophe Plantin' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Travaux et Documents*, 18, 1956, pp. 96-100.
- Schevensteen, A.F.C. van, 'Notes biographiques sur Joannes Goropius Becanus, médecin-philologue (1518-1573)' in *Comptes rendus du 2^e Congrès national des Sciences*, Brussels, 1935, pp. 113-127.
- Schevensteen, A.F.C. van, 'Levensschets van Goropius Becanus, geneesheer-philoloog' in *Vlaamsch Geneeskundig Tijdschrift*, 14, 1936, pp. 3-12.
- Schmook, G., 'XL jaar Antwerps maecenaat' in *De Gulden Passer*, 28, 1950, pp. 57-70.
- Schmook, G., 'In Memoriam Prof. Dr. Herman Bouchery, 2 januari 1912 - 11 april 1959' in *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der stad Antwerpen*, 5, 1959, pp. 192-193.
- Schmook, G., 'In Memoriam Prof. Dr. H. Bouchery 1912-1959' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 1-18 [with 'Lijst van werken en bijdragen' by L. Vydt-De Bled].

- Schmook, G., 'Frank van den Wijngaert. Hulde aan een gezamenlijk oeuvre' in *Noordgouw* (Antwerp), 1, 1961, pp. 1-5.
- Schmook, G., 'In Memoriam Irène Vertessen (Antwerpen: 25-2-1917-26-4-1962)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 40, 1962, pp. 12-18 [with 'Lijst van werken en bijdragen' by I. Vervliet-Regemortels].
- Schneider, M., *De voorgeschiedenis van de 'Algemeene Landsdrukkerij'*, The Hague, 1939 (Leiden University Thesis).
- Schoups, J., 'J. Hemelarius: Laboris et Constantiae elogia' in *De Gulden Passer*, 19, 1941, pp. 229-265.
- Schrevel, A.C. de, 'Documents pour servir à la biographie de François Lucas' in *Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges*, 39, 1889, pp. 191-400.
- Schunke, I., 'Die Einbände des Christoph Plantin' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1956, pp. 319-330.
- Schunke, I., 'Plantin und die niederländische Einbandkunst seiner Zeit' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 123-141.
- Secret, F., 'Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la publication de la Bible d'Anvers' in *Sefarad, Revista del Institute Arias Montano de Estudios Hebraicos y Oriente Proximo* (Madrid-Barcelona), 18, 1958, pp. 121-128.
- Secret, F., 'Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, représentant de G. Postel à la Polyglotte d'Anvers' in *De Gulden Passer*, 44, 1966, pp. 245-257.
- Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire du célèbre imprimeur anversoise Christophe Plantin*, Brussels, 1920.
- Seymour de Bicci, 'Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits du Musée Plantin-Moretus à Anvers' in *Revue des bibliothèques*, 20, 1910, pp. 217-232.
- Silvestre, H., 'Notices et extraits des manuscrits 5413-22, 10.098-105 et 10.127-44 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles' in *Sacris Enidiri*, 5, 1953, pp. 174-192.
- Slenk, H.J., 'Christopher Plantin and the States General: some new documents' in *De Gulden Passer*, 43, 1965, pp. 248-264.
- Smet, G. de, 'Kiliaan en de Batavia van Hadrianus Junius. Een bijdrage tot de wordingsgeschiedenis en de kritiek van Kiliaans woordenboeken' in *Handelingen der Zuid-Nederlandsche Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 8, 1954, pp. 61-73.
- Smet, G. de, 'Invloed van Junius' Batavia op Kiliaans woordenboek' in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, 74, 1956, pp. 44-59.
- Sormani, A.J., 'Het Huis Plantijn te Leiden' in *De Gulden Passer*, 22, 1944, pp. 51-55.
- Southern, A.C., *Elizabethan recusant prose 1559-1582. A historical and critical account of the books of the Catholic refugees printed and published abroad and at secret presses in England together with an annotated bibliography of the same*. London and Glasgow, 1950.
- Stein, H., 'Les manuscrits du Musée Plantin-Moretus (catalogues de 1592

- et de 1650)' in *Messenger des Sciences historiques de Belgique*, 60, 1886, pp. 211-231.
- Stein, H., 'La succursale plantinienne de Paris' in *Bibliographe moderne*, 1920-1921, pp. 34-57.
- Stein, H., 'Une lettre de Plantin à Pierre Pithou (10 février 1576)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 4, 1926, pp. 44-45.
- Stellfeld, J.A., *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*, Brussels, 1949 (Mémoires in-8° de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts V, 3).
- Straelen, J.B. van der, *Geslagt-lyste der nakomelingen van den vermaerden Christoffel Plantin, koninklyken aerts-boekdrukker, binnen de stad Antwerpen; waer by gevoegd is eene geslagt-lyste der familie Mourentorff alias Moretus*, Antwerp, 1858.
- Sweertius, F., *Athenae Belgicae sive nomenclator Infer. Germaniae scriptorum, qui disciplinas philologicas, philosophicas, theologicas, iuridicas, medicas et musicas illustrarunt*, Antwerp, 1628.
- Teirlinck, I., 'Joost van Ravelingen, botanist en dichter' in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1913, pp. 870-892.
- Tempesti, F., 'La bibliotheca di un umanista ungherese della seconda metà del Cinquecento' in *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, 24, 1956, pp. 25-32.
- Theunisz, J., *Carolus Clusius*, Amsterdam, 1939 (Patria, vaderlandsche cultuurgeschiedenis in monografieën, 17).
- Thys, A., *Historiek der straten en openbare plaatsen van Antwerpen*, 2nd ed., Antwerp, 1893.
- Tiele, C.A., 'Christophe Plantin et le sectaire mystique Henrik Niclaes' in *Le Bibliophile belge*, 3, 1868, pp. 121-129.
- Tiele, C.A., 'Les premiers imprimeurs de l'université de Leide' in *Le Bibliophile belge*, 4, 1869, pp. 83-87, 112-119, 141-145, 157-160.
- Truchis de Varennes, A. de, 'Les Chifflet à l'imprimerie plantinienne. Trente-cinq lettres de leur correspondance avec les Moretus et le catalogue de leurs ouvrages édités à cette célèbre imprimerie' in *Bulletin trimestriel de l'Académie de Besançon*, 1908, pp. 352-424 [also published separately, Besançon, 1909].
- Updike, D.B., *Printing types. Their history, forms, and use: A study in survivals*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, Mass, 1937, 2 vols.
- Valerius, A., *Bibliotheca Belgica: de Belgis vita scriptisq. claris. praemissa topographica Belgii tothis seu Germaniae Inferioris descriptione*, Louvain, 1643.
- Valvekens, E., 'Prenten uit de XVI^e eeuw. Een privilegium der rebellen voor Christoffel Plantin, 8 Februari 1580' in *De Standaard*, 10th February 1940.
- Vanderhaeghen, F., *Musée Plantin à Anvers. Notice sur la bibliothèque plantinienne*, Ghent, 1875.
- Vanderstraeten, C., 'Pontus Heuterus' in *Het oude Land van Loon*, 6, 1951, pp. 1-5.

- Velde, A.J.J. van de, *Lichtzuilen uit het verleden*, Ghent, 1945 (Uitgaven van het Willemsfonds, no. 181).
- Verheyden, P., 'Banden met blinddruk bewaard in het Museum Plantin-Moretus' in *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 4, 1906, pp. 28-37, 51-63, 117-128, 163-169.
- Verheyden, P., 'Plantijnsche Bandmerken' in *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 8, 1910, pp. 263-265.
- Verheyden, P., 'De paneelstempel van Wouter van Duffel, priester, boekbinder te Antwerpen (1249-1285)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 15, 1937, pp. 1-36.
- Verheyden, P., 'Twee banden van Plantin voor Keizer en Prins' in *De Gulden Passer*, 15, 1937, pp. 107-119.
- Vermaseren, B.A., *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving in de XVI^e en XVII^e eeuw over den opstand*, Maastricht, 1941 (Nijmegen University Thesis).
- Vermaseren, B.A., 'De "Mercurius" en "Historia" van Michael ab Isselt', in *Miscellanea Mgr. Dr. P.J.M. van Gils* (Publications de la Société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg, 85, 1949), pp. 677-692.
- Vermaseren, B.A., 'Het ontstaan van Hadrianus Junius' Batavia (1588)' in *Huldeboek P. Dr. Bonaventura Kruitwagen*, The Hague, 1949, pp. 407-436.
- Vermaseren, B.A., 'De kleine historische werken van M. ab Isselt' in *Donum lustrale catholicae Universitati Noviomagensi oblatum*, Nijmegen, 1949, pp. 335-356.
- Vermaseren, B.A., 'De werkzaamheid van Janus Douza Sr. († 1604) als geschiedschrijver van Holland' in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, 69, 1954, pp. 49-107.
- Vermaseren, B.A., 'De Antwerpse graveur Filips Galle en zijn kroniekje over de opstand (1579)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 35, 1957, pp. 139-147.
- Vermeiren, M.L., 'La Bible de Wenceslas du Musée Plantin-Moretus à Anvers' in *De Gulden Passer*, 31, 1953, pp. 191-229.
- Vertessen, I., 'Het Album Amicorum van Abraham Ortelius' in *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der stad Antwerpen*, 3, 1957, pp. 98-101.
- Vertessen, I., 'Een onuitgegeven gedicht van Christoffel Plantin in het Album Amicorum van Abraham Ortelius' in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 88-90.
- Vertessen, I. and A., Gerlo, 'Onuitgegeven brieven van Justus Lipsius' in *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 17, 1963, pp. 181-252.
- Vervliet, H.D.L., 'Une instruction plantinienne à l'intention des correcteurs' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1959, pp. 99-103.
- Vervliet, H.D.L., 'Typographica Plantiniana. I. Ter inleiding: de studie van het zestiende-eeuwse letterbeeld en het geval van "La Théologie Germanicque" (Plantin, 1558)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 170-178.
- Villermont, M., *L'infante Isabelle, gouvernante des Pays-Bas*, Tamines, 1912, 2 vols.

- Vocht, H. de, 'Andreas Masius (1514-1573)' in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Vatican City), 4, 1946, pp. 435-441.
- Vocht, H. de, *Stephani Vinandi Pighii epistolarium published from the Brussels copy, Cart. et Man., 187, with introduction and notes*, Louvain, 1959 (Humanistica Lovaniensia, 15).
- Voet, L., *Het Museum Plantin-Moretus* (1st ed. 1951. Also in French, English and German editions).
- Voet, L., 'Boeken en drukkers' in *Antwerpen in de XVIIIde eeuw* (Uitgaven van het Genootschap voor Antwerpse Geschiedenis, III), Antwerp, 1952, pp. 314-347.
- Voet, L., 'Het Museum Plantin-Moretus heropend' in *De Gulden Passer*, 30, 1952, pp. 17-23.
- Voet, L., 'Het Plantijnse huis als toeristisch centrum' in *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der stad Antwerpen*, 1, 1955, pp. 12-18.
- Voet, L., 'The personality of Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 198-213 [also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34, 1956, pp. 72-87].
- Voet, L., 'Plantiniana 1943-1958. Bibliografie betreffende Plantin, de Moretussen en het Museum Plantin-Moretus verschenen tussen 1943-1958' in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 19-42, en 37, 1959, pp. 21-73.
- Voet, L., 'Abraham Ortelius, "afsetter van carten"' in *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der stad Antwerpen*, 5, 1959, pp. 46-52.
- Voet, L., 'Plantin en de kring van Granvelle. Enkele nog onuitgegeven brieven en documenten' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 142-169.
- Voet, L., 'Het Plantijnse huis te Leiden. De bedrijvigheid van het drukkersgeslacht Raphelengius en zijn betrekkingen met Antwerpen' in *Verslag van de Algemene Vergadering van de leden van het Historisch Genootschap gehouden te Utrecht*, 1960, pp. 10-36. (*Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 75, 1961).
- Voet, L., 'Het Museum Plantin-Moretus als centrum van bibliofilie' in *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der stad Antwerpen*, 7, 1961, pp. 154-160.
- Voet, L., 'In memoriam Frank van den Wijngaert (1901-1962)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 40, 1962, pp. 1-11.
- Voet, L., 'Les relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et la maison plantinienne à Anvers' in *Duisburger Forschungen*, 6, 1962, pp. 171-232.
- Voet, L., 'Le Musée Plantin-Moretus, centre de bibliophilie' in *Deuxième Congrès international de Bibliophilie. Actes et Communications. Paris 28 septembre - 3 octobre 1961*, Paris, 1963, pp. 57-62.
- Voet, L., 'Max Rooses (1839-1914). Bij een verjaardag' in *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der stad Antwerpen*, 10, 1964, pp. 75-81.
- Vries de Heckelingen, H. de, *Correspondance de Bonaventura Vulcanius pendant son séjour à Cologne, Genève et Bâle (1573-1577); précédée de quelques lettres écrites avant cette époque*. The Hague, 1923.
- Wauwermans, 'Ortelius, Abraham' in *Biographie nationale [de Belgique]*, 16, Brussels, 1901, col. 291-332.

- Wijngaert, F. van den, 'Het Antwerpsch Prentenkabinet' in *De Gulden Passer*, 14, 1936, pp. 138-144.
- Wijngaert, F. van den, 'De botanische teekeningen in het Museum Plantin-Moretus' in *De Gulden Passer*, 25, 1947, pp. 34-51.
- Wijngaert, F. van den, *Glorie en nood van het Plantijnse huis*, Antwerp, 1947.
- Wijngaert, F. van den, 'Het Museum Plantin-Moretus en de V-ramp op de Vrijdagmarkt te Antwerpen' in *Tété* (Amsterdam), 2, 1947, pp. 110-113.
- Wijngaert, F. van den, 'De late Moretussen en de boekillustratie' in *De Gulden Passer*, 25, 1947, pp. 186-240, en 26, 1948, pp. 150-205.
- Wijngaert, F. van den, *Inventaris met aansluitende catalogusnummers der tekeningen bewaard in het Museum Plantin-Moretus* [In manuscript; may be consulted in the Plantin-Moretus Museum].
- Wijngaert, F. van den, *De oude tekeningen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus. Catalogus* [In manuscript; may be consulted in the Plantin-Moretus Museum].
- Wijnman, H.F., 'Thomas de Vechter, lettergieter te Leiden 1584-1602' in *Het Boek*, 29, 1948, pp. 149-153.
- Wijnman, H.F., 'De studie van het Ethiopisch en de ontwikkeling van de Ethiopische typografie in West-Europa in de 16^{de} eeuw. II. De ontwikkeling van de Ethiopische typografie in West-Europa in de 16^{de} eeuw' in *Het Boek*, 32, 1955-1957, pp. 225-246.
- Wijnman, H.F., 'The origin of Arabic typography in Leiden' in *Books on the Orient*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1957, pp. VII-XV.
- Willems, L., 'De herkomst van het typografisch materiaal van T. Erpenius' in *De Gulden Passer*, 9, 1931, pp. 83-90.
- Willems, L., 'Een gedicht van Jonker Vander Noot op den dood van C. Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer*, 14, 1936, pp. 43-46.
- Williams, J., 'Books printed by the Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp and Leyden in the Travelling Library of Sir Julius Caesar' in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 112-119.
- Wilt, A. de, 'Enkele leden van de familie Plantin en de Annuntiaten' in *De Gulden Passer*, 38, 1960, pp. 140-150.

Index

Numbers refer to pages. Those followed by an asterisk refer to a footnote on that page. Those preceded by pl. (*plate*) may refer to the actual illustration or to its caption.

Names and subjects occurring *passim* have been left out unless the context seems to warrant inclusion.

Bold figures refer to passages where fuller information on the subject may be found.

Sub-references following one general heading were not treated uniformly for each subject as to the order of the sub-headings. Whereas it was found that an alphabetical order was the best solution in some cases, particularly where sub-headings are very numerous, a chronological order was maintained in other cases.

Dutch and Flemish names with *van* are alphabetized under their main parts, not under *Van*; the Netherlands vowel *ij* is taken together with *y*.

Index

- Aa, Van der - document 3, 11*, 139*, 140*
- Aardenburg 306
- ABC et petit cathéchisme* 46
- Ackermans van Brecht, Hendrik - 387
- Acta Sanctorum* 347, 390
- Aegidius, Petrus - 364
- Aguilon (Aguilonius), François d'- 213, 390
- Aitzinger, Michel - 122, 380
- Aix 376
- Albert, Archduke - 214
- Albert & Isabella, Archdukes - 309, 398, 402, 417. See also: Albert; Isabella
- Alcala Polyglot Bible 56, 60
- Alcala University 376, 377
- Alcozer, Father d' - 231-234
- Aldus Manutius 129, 132, 352, 367
- Alphonso X, King - of Aragon 317, 318, 320* 331
- Alps 76
- Alsens, Hendrik - 67
- Alva, Duke of - 7, 28, 48, 50, 57, 71*, 73, 76, 84, 99, 114, 130, 384*
- Amsterdam 51, 112, 247
- Angoulême, Henri of - 7
- Anisson 232
- Anjou et d'Alençon, François Duc d' - 93, 94, 96, 98, 108, 380*
- Annales ducum seu principum Brabantiae* (1623) by F. Haraeus 213
- Annales ecclesiastici* by C. Baronius 194, 196
- Annales Magistratum et Provinciarum* (1609) bij S. Winandus Pighius 196
- Ansian 296
- Antesignanus, Pierre - 380, 384
- Anti-Spanish press at Vianen 7, 50-54
- Antonio, Dom - 110, 111
- Antverpia* by C. Scribanus 196
- ANTWERP
- beleaguered (1576) 84
 - blockaded (1572) 74.
 - Plantin's arrival at - 9
 - siege of - by Parma 108; pl. 31
 - taken by Parma (1585) 112;pl. 32
 - see also: French Fury (1583) and Spanish Fury (1576)
- Apronius 404
- Arabic typography 171*, 174*, 175*
- Architypographus Regius: see Prototypographus
- Arents, Hans - called Spierinck: see Spierinck
- Arias Montanus, Benedictus- 21*, 27, 60, 61, **62-65**, 68, 69, 71*, 72, 75, 77, 83, 84, 86*, 87*, 91*, 92, 95, 100, 102, 109, 111*, 112*, 113*, 114, 117*, 118*,

121*, 122, 128, 131* 132* 133, 134*, 143, 149, 150*, 155, 156*, 204, 214,
262, 263, 270, 317, 318, 320*, 325, 331, 340*, 353, 368, 376, 377, 381*, 382*,
384, 385; pl. 13

Arras, Jean d'- 35, 37, 40, 41

Arras, Union of-: see Union

Arriaga, Rodrigo - 392

Arundel, Earl of - 394

Assendelft, Jonker Henricus van - 105

- Assendelft, Willem van - 109*
 Assonleville, Christophe d'- 121*
 Attack on Plantin (1555) 19
 Audenarde 419
 Augsburg 378
 Augustine 381
 Autobiographical note by Plantin 19
 Azpilcueta, Martin d'- 377
- Bacherius, Petrus - 372
 Backer, Jacob de - pl. 37
 Backx, Andries - 165
 Baeck, Painter - 326*, 327*
 Baets, Engelbert - 295, 415; pl. 74
 Baius, Michel - 114*, 372
 Balen, Van - 309, 326
 Baltimore, Lord - 394*
 Barentsen, Hendrik 404
 Barlandus, Adriaan - 109
 Barneveld (near Amersfoort) 28
 Baronius, Cesare Cardinal - 119, 194, 195, 196, 307, 317, 318, 320*, 331, 378, 392
 Barrefelt, Hendrik Janssen van - 21*, 24, 26*, 27, 28, 29, 99*, 101, 102*, 110, 122, 129, 133, 164*, 191, 385, 393*; pl. 23, pl. 24
 Bartelus, Carolus - Valentinus 377
 Basle 376
 Basta, Jorge - 226
 Bauhusius, Bernardus - 393*
 Bauerscheit, J.P. van - 295
 Bavaria 378
 Bax, Nicasius - 388
 Becanus Guilelmus 226
 Becanus, Joannes Goropius - 19, 47, 48, 49, 69, 91, 368; pl. 12
Beelden ende figuren wt den Bybel by Barrefelt 101
Beitel, House De - 154*, 261, 263, 276, 377
 Bellarmino, Roberto Cardinal - 317, 320* 335. 392
 Bellemans, Jozef - 322*, 327
 Bellerus (Bellère), Jan - 17*, 33, 351
 Bellerus, Pieter - 67, 127
 Benoist, René - 58
 Berchem, Plantin's country house at 88, 200, 207, 221*, 222*
 Bergstraat 261, 265
 Bernuy, Fernando de - 47, 48, 49, 261
 Besançon 76
 Beschey, Balthasar - 320, 337
 Beuckeleers-Donche, E. - 322*
 Beyerlinck, Laureis - 390, 392*

Beys, Adrien - 185, 186, 195

Beys, Adrien - Jr 186

BEYS, CATHERINE -

- daughter of Egidius Beys and Magdalena Plantin 179
- marries Pierre Danton 183

BEYS, CHRISTOPHE -

- eldest son of Egidius Beys and Magdalena Plantin 160, 179
- his character 184
- his career as a printer 184
- his business declines 185
- death of his first wife (1638) 185
- remarries 185
- dies (1647) 185

Beys, Cornelis Gielisz. - 157

Beys, Denis - 186

BEYS, EGIDIUS -

- his origins 157
- his qualifications 158
- enters Plantin's service (1564) 157
- sent to Paris to act as Porret's assistant (1567) 77, 157
- marriage to Magdalena Plantin (1572) 77, 78, 79, 158
- indignation at sale of Plantin's Paris shop 87, 160
- sets up independently at Paris 159
- difficulties with Porret 159
- sends his son Christophe to Antwerp (1583) 160
- sells Plantin's publications in Paris (1583) 160
- in desperate straits (1589) 178
- his share in Plantin's estate 164

(BEYS, EGIDIUS)

- instals himself once more in Antwerp (1589) 179
- misuses Plantin's name and printer's mark 180; pl. 43, pl. 44
- returns to Paris 180
- dies (1595) 181
- portrait by an anonymous master 317, 334; pl. 41
- his children and their careers 179, 183
- see also: Plantin, Magdalena -; Beys, Catherine -; Beys, Christophe -; Beys, Gilles -; Beys, Jan -; Beys, Madeleine -; Beys, Marguerite -; Beys, Marie -.

BEYS, GILLES -

- youngest son of Egidius Beys and Magdalena Plantin 179
- writes for help to Balthasar Moretus (1618) 184

BEYS, JAN -

- son of Egidius Beys and Magdalena Plantin 179
- dies young (1606) 184

BEYS MADELEINE -

- daughter of Egidius Beys and Magdalena Plantin 179
- marries Jérémie Périer 181, 183
- her children 183

BEYS, MARGUERITE -

- daughter of Egidius Beys and Magdalena Plantin 179
- marries Pierre Pautonnier 179
- dies 183
- her children 183

BEYS, MARIE -

- daughter of Egidius Beys and Magdalena Plantin 179
- marries Olivier de Varennes 183
- her children 183

Biblia Polyglotta 31, 56, 57, 60, 61, **62-64**, 74, 75, 149, 156*, 367, 383; pl. 15

Biblia Regia: see *Biblia Polyglotta*

Bie, Jacob de - 393*

Biset, Painter - 306

Bizari, Pietro - 104*, 379

Blotius, Hugo - 372

Bocangelino, Pietro - 132*

Boch(ius), Jan - 123, 388, 392*

Boel Jr., Painter - 326*, 327*

Bogaerde, Jacob van den - 279

Bogaerde, Jaspar van den - 282

Bogaerde, Willem van den - 280

Bois, Albertine du - 320*, 328

Bollandus, Jan - 390

Bologna 426, 429

Boloniensis, Virgilius -: see Virgilius Boloniensis

BOMBERGHEN, VAN -

- Antoon 52
- Cornelis 41, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 54, 261, 352; pl. 12
- Daniel 45
- Karel 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 53, 87; pl. 12

Bonheur de ce Monde, Le - 134, 422

Bonhomius, Franciscus - 118*

Bonn 378

Bonte Huid, House De - 166*, 222*, 267, 268, 270, 274, 275, 377, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 289, 311*

Bookbinding, Antwerp - of c. 1565 pl. 98

Bookbinding, Renaissance - pl. 97

Boonen, Joannes - 331

Borcht, Pieter van der - 165, 323, 335, 420

Borgh, Van der - 429

Bordazar, Antonio - 246

Bordeaux 184, 190

BORREKENS, MARIA THERESIA JOSEPHINA

- wife of Franciscus Joannes Moretus 244
- carries on as a window (1768) 247
- her management 248
- stays at Antwerp (1794) 249
- her book production under French occupation 250
- dies (1797) 250
- her estate (1805) 250
- portrait by Filips-Jozef Tassaert 319, 333; pl. 66

- Borrewater, Elizabeth - 151
 Borromeo, Federico Cardinal - 392
 Bosius, Jacobus - 392
 Bosschaert, Thomas Willeboirts 206, 318, 319, 327; pl. 50
 Bossche, Van den - 162, 202
 Bouchery, Herman - 50*, 53, 54, 57*, 411, 412
 Bourbon, Charlotte of - 97, 98
 Bourges 376
 Boyermans (Boeyermans), Nicolas - 305*, 306, 326
 Boyvin, Jean 392
 Brandenburg 379
 Brandt, Jan - 389
Brandijzer, House *Het* - 268
 Bray, Salomon de - 320*, 328
 Brayer, Lucas - 37*
 Brechtanus, Joannes Custos - 364
 Brechtanus: see Ackermans
 Breda 157, 249
 Brederode, Hendrik van - 50, 51, 52
 Breestraat, Leiden 106
 Breslau 188, 379, 392
 Breugel 326
 Breviaries and missals. Pirated editions from Liège and Cologne of - 67
 Breviaries and missals. Revised - after Council of Trent 65
 Brialmont: see Mont
Briefve instruction pour prier 35, 36, 38, 39* 41; pl. 11
 Briel, Den - 73
 Brocar, Arnao Guillon de - 56
 Brocensis, Sanctius -: see Sanchez de las Brozas
 Broeck, Crispijn van de - pl. 37
 Broers, Caspar - 321, 328
 Brothers of the Common Life 364
 Broza (Brozas), Francisco Sanchez de la -: see Sanchez
 Bruges 372, 373, 375, 379
 Brughelius, Petrus - 372
 Bruhesius: see Brughelius
 Brunswick 249
 Brussels 35, 93, 113, 143, 183, 220, 221, 241* 295, 313, 370
 Bruto, Giovanni Michele - 16, 17; pl. 3. See also: *Institutione*
 Bruyn, Cornelis de - 99
 Bruyn, Peter de - 296
 Bruyn, Theodoor de - 296, 321, 328, 416; pl. 80
 Buchanan, George - 378, 386
 Bullock, George - 380*
 Burchius, Adrianus - 372, 393*
 Busbecq, Ogier Ghislain de - 372
 Buscoducensis: see Nicolaus

Busschey, Henricus - 372
Buyssetius, Joannes - 81*, 84, 91*, 92*, 372
Buyster, Joos de - 280
Bijt, Painter - 326*, 327*

Cabaros, Jean - 35, 41
Cabillau, Balduinus - 393*
Caen 8, 9, 10, 139, 140*
Caesar, Sir Julius - 175
Caesarea 376
Calandrin, Jan - 274
Calixtus 404
Calvete de Estrella, Christoval - 377
Calvinist books allegedly printed by Plantin 35
Cambrai 170*
Cambridge 148
Camerarius, Joachim II - 81*, 86*, 378, 382* 383, 386*
Canisius, Petrus - 372, 384*
Canterbury, Archbishop of - 23, 101*
Capet, Jean - 372
Caraffa, Antonius Cardinal - 377
Caramuel Lobkowitz, Joannes - 213, 226, 392
Cario, Ludovicus - 372, 385
Carolus guilder 440
Caron (Charondas), Louis Le - 134*, 376
Carrio: see Cario
Casas, Bartolomeus de las - 98; pl. 29

- Casimir, Prince of Poland 402
 Casteels, Painter - 326*, 327*
 Castel Rodrigo, Marquis - 402
 Castro, Leon de - 64, 65
Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Moretiana digestus anno 1805 344
Catalogus librorum bibliothecae Balthasaris Moreti (1675?) 343
Catalogus librorum residuorum tabernae Raphelengiana 174*
Catalogus manuscriptorum Balthasaris Moreti... 1650 342
 Cayas, Gabriel de - 11*, 18, 47, 48, 50, 53*, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83*, 86*, 88*, 89, 102, 108*, 111*, 113, 114, 117*, 118, 128, 129*, 131*, 139, 141*, 143, 149*, 152
 Chacon, Pedro - 377
 Chapel, Private - 290
 Charles II, King - of Spain 235
 Charles V, Emperor - 69, 377, 426, 429
 Charondas: see Caron
 Chastellerault 6
 Cheffontaines, Guillaume de - 376
 CHIFFLET
 - Jacques 393, 400
 - Jean-Jacques 319, 320*, 329
 - Jules 218, 319, 320* 329, 395
 - Laurent 393
 - Philippe 206, 393, 394, 400
 - Pierre-François 393

 Chitré near Chastellerault 6
 Christianus, Rhenanus - 101; pl. 22
 Christina, Queen - of Sweden 402
Christus vera vitis 31
Chronicon by Eusebius (1512) 353
Chronicon by Sigebert of Gembloux (1513) 353
Chronika des Hüsagesinnes der Lieften 21, 22, 24, 37, 38*, 39, 48* 52*
 Ciacconius: see Chacon
 Ciofano, Ercole - 378
Civitate Dei, De - by Augustinus 351
 Clair, Colin - 11*, 14*, 17*, 20*, 23
 Clement, John - 352, 380*
 Clement VI, Pope - 426, 429
 Clement VIII, Pope - 194
 Clement XI, Pope - 319, 320*, 328
 Clerck, Canon P. de - 352
 Clusius, Carolus - 90, 131*, 175, 196, 370, 382*, 386*
 Coberger (Couberger), Charles - 221
 Cock, Hieronymus - 34, 37*
 Cock, Joannes de - 286, 418
 Cocq, Henri - 372

Coecke van Aelst, Pieter - 366
Coenen, Joannes Josephus - 310, 424; pl. 83
Coignet, Michel - 384
Colius Ortelianus, Jacobus - 121*
Cologne 23, 28, 33, 53, 67, 87, 104*, 113, 141, 156, 367, 378, 381
Compania de Impresores y Libreros 246
Comptoir in the *Gulden Passer* pl. 76
Conception, Antonio de la -: see Sienna *Constantia, De - libro duo* by J. Lipsius
192
Coornhert, Dirck Volckertszoon - 21*, 192, 372, 385
Cope, Alan - 378, 383*
Coppens van Diest, Egidius - pl. 68
Coppens, Jan - 277
Corderius, Balthasar - 318, 320*, 327, 392
Cordero, Juan Martin - 17*
Cordes, Catharina de - 45
Coria 377
Correa, Thomas - 377
Corvinus, Matthias - King of Hungary 317, 318, 330* 331
Costerus, Franciscus - 372
Couberger: see Coberger
Couchet, Petrus Joannes - 309, 360
Council of Trent 62, 65
Counter-Reformation 198
Courtrai 201
Courtyard of the *Gulden Passer* pl. 71, pl. 72, pl. 73
Craton von Kraftheim, Johann - 131*, 379

- Cruce, De - libri tres* by J. Lipsius 205*
 Cruquius, Jacobus - 373
 Cruser, Hermann - 378
 Cuenca 377
 Cultural climate around 1600 197, 198
 Currency and money values 440-443
 Cuyckius, Henricus - 373
 Cyrus 313, 416
- Daelder, House De (Bourgondische)* - 149, 262*
 Daniel, author of *Chronika des Hüsgesinnes der Lieften*: see *Chronika*
 Daniel, Pierre - 376
Dansk Urtebog 226
 Danton, Pierre - 183
 David, Joannes - 393*
Decretum Gratiani 351
 Delen, Ary J.J. - 14*, 410
 Delin, Jozef - 320*, 328, 426; pl. 67
 Delrio: see Rio, Del -
 Dendermonde 94
 Denucé, Jan - 355, 410
Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi by L. Guicciardini 396
 Deventer, 364, 365
Devotio moderna 364
 Dillen, J. - 321* 334, 418, 420, 423, 424
 Diricx (Diericx), Pauwel - 280, 302, 314; pl. 79, pl. 86
Diverses pièces pour la Défence de la Reyne... (1637) 213
 Dodoens, Rembert - 47, 90, 177, 196, 226, 370, 383
 Dodonaeus: see Dodoens
 Dôle 392
 Dormale, Claus van - pl. 97
 Does, Jan van der -: see Dousa, Janus -
 Doeza: see Dousa, Janus -
 Douai 201, 241, 244, 373, 375, 416*
 Dousa, Janus-lord of Noordwijk, Langevelde and Kattendijk 99, 130, 132*, 373, 386
 Dresden 249
 Dresseler, Jan - 117
Drie Koningen, House De - (Leiden) 167*
 Drukkerijstraat 265, 297
 Duffel, Wouter van - 355*, 428
 Duisburg 374, 381
 Duititius: see Duytitius
 Dunkirk 76*, 94
 Dusseldorf 378
 Duytitius, Andreas - 379, 383, 384*

Eccius, Simon - 378
Ecluse, Charles de l'-: see Clusius
Edelheer, Jacob - 389
Edicts against heresy 35, 36, 69, 70
Ekeren, Battle at - 321, 328
Elbe 112
Elizabeth I, Queen - 352
Elsevier, Lodewijk - 128
Elstius, Joannes - 144
Elzevir: see Elsevier
Emden 22, 35
Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné (1751 sqq.) 347
Enkhuizen 112
Epigrammata Funebria ad Christophori Plantini Architypographi Regii Manes
122; pl. 24
Epistolae diversorum philosophorum (1499) 352
Epistres ou lettres missives escritespat l'effluxion d'esprit de la vie uniforme
by Barrefelt 101
Erasmus, Desiderius - 364
Erpenius, Thomas - 174*
Escorial 65, 76, 384. See also Hieronymites of San Lorenzo
Estienne, printers at Geneva 32
Estienne, Henri - 353
Estienne, Robert - 132, 367
Ethiopic types 174*
Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae by C. Kiliaan (1599) 196
Eusebius 353
Exerce imperia et ramos compesce fluentes 31

Explanatio veri ac legitimi juris quo Lusitaniae... rex Antouius... nititur ad bellum Philippi... 110, 111

Eyckens, Painter - 326*, 327*

Eykus, Jacobus - 226

Fabri, Robert - 316*, 415

Fabricius, Andreas - 373

Fabricius, Franciscus - 378

Fabricius (Le Fèvre de la Boderie), Guido and Nicolas - 63, 367

Faille, Jean Charles della - 390

Faille, Pauline della - 321*, 337

Faletti, Bartholomeus - 65

Falkenburgius, Gerardus - 373

Family of Love 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 39, 47, 52, 98, 99, 100, 385

Farinalius, Joannes - 19

Farnese, Alexander - Duke of Parma: see Parma

Ferdinand IV, King of Spain 246

Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante Don - 400

Fèvre de la Boderie, Le -: see Fabricius

Feyt, Painter - 326*, 327*

Ficino, Marsilio - 319, 320*, 335

Fievet, François 241

Fivez, A. - 412

Flanders, Count of - 407, 408

Flandria commentariorum lib. IIII descripta by J. Marchantius (1596) 196

Fleurus, Battle of - (1794) 248

Flie, Jean de la - 264

Florence 332, 424

Florence de Seneca (1555) 17

Florin: see Carolus Guilder

Flushing 74

Fonson, Albert - 324

Fontaine Verwey, H. de la -: see Verwey

Fornierius: see Fournier

Fournier, Guillaume - 376

Franck, Hans - 274

Frankfurt Book Fair 32, 43, 46, 53, 87, 104*, 113, 117, 155, 166*, 173, 199, 225, 381

Francq, Simon le - 185

Fregenal de la Sierra 62

French Fury (1583) 94, 96, 106, 108

French Revolution (1789) 248

Froissart 340*

Fromondus, Libertus - 213, 393*

Fruin, Robert - 25

Fungerus, Joannes - 176*

Fury, French - (1583) 94, 96, 106, 108

Fury, Spanish - (1576) 28, 74, 85, 89, 92, 93, 94, 268, 270; pl. 19, pl. 20

Galen, Matheus - 373

Galenus, Claudius - 171

Galle Family 196

Galle, Filips - 165, 194, 368, 382; pl. 14

Galle, Theodoor - 194, 324

Gameren, Van -; see Gamerius

Gamerius, Hannard - 373

Ganricus, Pomponius - 366

Garibay y Zamalloa, Esteban de - 377, 381

Garnier, Flaminius - 121*

Gassan dit Plantin, Pierre - 186

Gassen, Antoine - 161

GASSEN, JEHAN - 77, 161

- marries Catharina Plantin (1571) 138

- killed in an assault (1574) 155 See also Plantin, Catharina -

Gassen, Pierre - 16, 32, 38, 40, 46, 141, 154

Gay, Le - Seigneur de Morfontaine 229

Gemma, Cornelius - 373

Gemma Frisius, Reinier - 373, 425

Genebrard, Gilbert - 376

Geneva 32

Genoa 379

Gete 52

Gevartius, Gaspar 318, 320*, 327, 389; pl. 99

Gheesdael, Jan van - 373

Ghent 93, 148. See also Pacification of -

Ghetuygenissen vanden verborghen Ackerschat, Het hoek der - by Barrefelt

100

Gierstraat: see Valkstraat

- Gifanius, Obertus - 378
 Gillis, Pieter -: see Aegidius, Petrus -
 Giselinus, Victor - 351
 Gobelius, Severinus - 379
 Godecharle, Guillaume - 316, 416
 Godefroy, Charles - 324
 Godefroy le peintre 324
 Goering, Hermann - 324
 Goltzius, Hendrik - 226; pl. 24
 Gomarus, Franciscus - 176*
 GOOS, ANNA -
 - wife of Balthasar II Moretus (1645) 233
 - her wealth 223
 - her children 227
 - goes into partnership with her son Balthasar III Moretus (1674) 230
 - her estate (1691) 290, 313, 323
 - portrait by Jacob van Reesbroeck 319, 330; pl. 58
 - See also: Moretus, Balthasar II -; Moretus, Balthasar III -
 Gozaeus, Thomas - 373, 381
Graduale Romanum (1599) 197
 Grammay, Gérard - 17*, 18
 Granges de Surgères, A. de - 328; pl. 67
 Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot Cardinal de - 49*, 55, 56, 66, 67, 99, 104, 114, 130, 134*, 353, 370, 377
 GRAPHAEUS
 - Abraham - 280, 283
 - Alexander - 5, 15, 321*, 334, 369
 - Cornelius - 364, 366, 425; pl. 68
 Gras, Adriana - 151, 235, 317, 318, 330, 334
 Gras alias Marin, Pieter - 151
 Gravius, Bartholomaeus - 118*, 373
 Gravius, Henricus - 373
 Greek editions, Plantin's first - 47
 Gregory XIII, Pope - 13, 64
 Grévin, Jacques - 380*
 Grimmer, Abel - 322*, 328
Groen Oorkussen, House *Het* - 267, 268, 269*, 270
 Groot, Huig de -: see Grotius
Grote Valk, House *De* - 47, 208, 216, 261, 262, 263, 264, 276, 277
 Grotius, Hugo - 176*
 Gruter, Herman - 165
 Gruterus, Janus - 192
 Gryphius, Antoine - 38*
 Guicciardini, Ludovico - 12, 90, 119, 146, 369*, 396, 397
 Guilder: see Carolus Guilder

Gulden Brugstraat 265, 297

Gulden Cordewagen: see *Gulden Kruiwagen*

Gulden Eenhoom, House *De* - 34, 260, 261

Gulden Helm, House *De* - 265*

Gulden Kalf, House *Het* - 268, 294, 295*, 296

Gulden Kruiwagen, House *De* - 267, 268, 269*, 270*

Gulden Lelie, House *De* - 268, 286, 293, 294

GULDEN PASSER, HOUSE *DE* -

- first use of the name (1561) 34, 260
- the first - in Kammenstraat 34, 47, 260, 261
- the second - in Kammenstraat 47, 83, 151, 154*, 163, 166*, 208, 211, 216, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 276
- the third - in the Vrijdagmarkt 83, 88, 163, 166*, 168, 207, 208, 211, 222*

GULDEN PASSER IN THE VRIJDAGMARKT, HOUSE *DE* - 259 sqq.

- situation 1567 268
- situation 1576 269
- reconstruction 1579-80 271
- situation 1581 272
- renovations 1620-22 278
- situation 1622 279
- reconstruction 1637-39 264, 282
- situation 1639 285
- the new front (built 1761-63) 293
- situation 1763 294
- present-day situation 298, 299, 300; pl. 71-89

- Gulden Tralie*, House De - 268, 294, 295*
Gulden Zon, House De - 268, 294, 299
 Gutenberg Bible 340, 343, 426; pl. 96
 Gutierrez: see Vera Cruz
- Haarlem 374
 Hal, F.H. van - 309, 321*, 336
 Hal, Painter Van - 326*, 327*
 Halle 235
 Hamburg 112, 156
 Hamon, Pierre - 143
 Hamont, Michel van - 72
 Haraeus, Franciscus - 213, 373
 Harderwijk 373
 Hartmann 404
 Hassard of Armentières, Pierre - 373
 Hasselt, Augustijn van - 51, 52, 53, 54
 Hayus, Joannes 373
 Hazard, Paul 25
 Hebrew bibles, Plantin's first - 47
 Heembeek (Neder-Over-Heembeek) 295
 Heidelberg University 379
 Heilig Geeststraat 83, 88, 163, 265, 267, 268, 269*, 270, 273, 274, 275
 Heinsius, Daniel - 395
 Heinsius, Nicolaas - 395
 Hèle, Georges de la - 91, 373
 Belmont, Jan van - 319, 328; pl. 63, pl. 64
 Hemelaers (Hemelarius), Jan - 350, 389, 393*
 Hendelot 247
 Henry III, King of France 91, 93, 93, 130, 375, 428
 Henrys, War of the three - (1587) 117, 161
 Henten(ius), Jan - 58, 373
 Herbouville, d' - 247
 Heresy, Edicts against - 14*, 35, 36, 69, 70
 Heretic leanings, Plantin's - 21
 Herrenbergh, Van - 326*, 327*
 Herreyns, Daniel - 314, 416
 Hertogenbosch 375
 Hesteau, Loys - seigneur de Nuysement 132
 Heuterus, Pontus - 374
 Hey, H.P. van der - 252, 253
 Heyns, Pieter - 369, 382
 Hiël: see Barrefelt
 Hieronymites of San Lorenzo 213-215, 220, 231-234, 243, 244
Histoire curieuse de tout ce qui est passé à l'entrée de la Reyne... dans les villes des Pays-Bas (1623) by J. Puget de la Serre 213
Historia de España by E. de Garibay y Zamalloa 381

Historia naturae by J.E. Nieremberg (1635) 213
Hof van Spangen, House *De* - 265
Hogenberg, Frans - pl. 19, pl. 20, pl. 31, pl. 32
Hogenberg, Jan N. - 426, 429
Holstein 378
Hondius, Judocus - 175*
Hooft, Pieter Cornelisz. - 206, 394
Hoogstraat 83, 88, 265, 267, 268, 269, 270, 275, 278, 282, 283, 284, 287, 300
Hopper, Gregorius - 374
Hopper, Joachim - 196, 374
Horn, Max - 357, 428
Hortemberche, Herman - 81*, 88*
Horto, Garcia ab - 47
Hosius, Stanislas Cardinal - 379
Hosschius, Sidronius - 226
Hotman, François - 376
House of Love: see Family of Love
Hout, Jan van - 192, 380, 386
Houten Passer, House *De* - 166*, 168*, 222*, 272, 273, 276, 278, 279, 286, 289, 299, 315
Houwaert, Jan Baptist - 380*
Humani salutis monumenta by B. Arias Montanus 69
Humanism 198, 362-395
Hugo, Hermannus - 213, 393*
Hunnaeus, Augustinus - 374
Huygens, Constantijn - 206, 394
Huys, Pieter - 47, 262

- Ibarra, Joaquin - 246, 247
 Iconoclasm (1566) 48, 54, 74
Images et figures de la Bible by Barrefelt 101
 Immerseel, Jan van - 34, 35, 36
Imagines et figurae Bibliorum by Barrefelt 101
Indices librorum prohibitorum 72
 Ingolstadt University 373, 385
Institutione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente, La - 17, 31, 33; pl. 3, pl. 6. See also Bruto
 Inquisition, Spanish - 64
Institutionum scholasticarum libri tres by S. Verepaeus 205
Instruction chrestienne by Ravillian 40, 41, 346; pl. 11
 Isabella, Archduchess - 399. See also: Albert and Isabella
 Isselt, Michel van - 374
- Jagerswoud*, House *Het* 268, 294, 299
 Jans, Edouard de - 322*, 329
 Janssen, Abraham - 336
 Janssen van Barrefelt, Hendrik: see Barrefelt
 Janssens de Bisthoven, Elisabeth - 317, 334
 Jessée, Jean de la - 380*
 John Casimir, Count Palatine - 93, 94
 Joris, David - 25, 26*
Journal des débats, Le - 348
 Juan of Austria, Don - 93
 Junius, Franciscus - 394
 Junius, Hadrianus - 374, 381
- Kammenstraat 34, 41, 47, 83, 180, 260, 261, 263, 264, 265, 276, 282, 287, 297
 Kampen 37, 38*
 Karl Ludwig, Archduke of Austria 426
 Kerkhofstraat 216, 264
 Kerle, Jacob de - 91
 Keverberg, Karel de - 325
 Kiel, Cornelis van -: see Kiliaan
 Kiliaan, Cornelis - 63, 119, 122, 196, 322, 367, 420
King Wenceslas Bible 348, 418; pl. 94, pl. 95
Kleine Valk, House *De* - 166*, 261 276
Konijnenberg, House *De* - 261
Koperen Passer, House *De* - 272, 273, 277, 279, 281, 285, 294, 299, 300
 Kreitz, Willy - 316*
 Külm 379
- Labore et Constantia* 31; pl. 75
 Lace shop owned by Jeanne Rivière 16
 Laen, Jonkvrouwe Dieuwer van der - 105
 Lampsonius, Dominicus - 379, 383

Langeren, Arnold Florent van - 310*, 425
Languet, Hubert - 383, 386
Lannoy 148
Laocoon 304
Lastanosa, Pedro Juan - 377, 384
Latin schools in Antwerp 364
Latomus, Jacobus - 374
Laurense, Marijke - 169
Lausanne 376
Leclef 322*, 327
Leclerc, Jean - 260
Leeuwenstraat 265
Leicester, Robert Dudley Earl of - 111*
LEIDEN
- Plantin's stay at - 82*, 105-113, 128, 162, 379, 380
- Raphelengii in - 115, 116, 150, 151, 166-178, 181, 185
- The Spierincks in - 156

Leiden University 106, 150, 151, 177*, 373, 375, 376
Lemire, Jean -: see Miraeus
Lenseus, Joannes - 374
Leo X, Pope - 317, 318, 320*, 331
Leodius, Joannes - 378
Leopold I, King of the Belgians 403
Leopold William, Prince - 402

Lernutius, Janus - 374
 Lessius, Leonardus - 319, 320*, 335, 393*
 Levita, Joannes Isaac - 367
 Leyssens, Jacob - 321, 329, 426
 Liège 76, 87, 113, 371, 380, 381
 Lier 108, 240
 Lille 151, 184, 185, 240, 372
 Lindanus, Willem - 64, 371
 Linden, Eugène van der - 316*, 415
 Lingelbach, Johannes - 321, 329
 Linschoten, Klaas van - 64
 Lips(ius), Justus - 23, 69, 90, 100*, 102*, 107, 108, 109, 115, 121, 122*, 132, 140, 172, 178, 192, 205, 212, 213, 280, 285, 317, 318, 320*, 331, 332, 334, 370, 381, 385, 391, 418, 421; pl. 30, pl. 78
 Lisbon 162, 392
 Livinaeus, Joannes - 122, 374
 Loaisa, Garcia - 377
 Lobelius, Mathias - 90, 196, 371, 381
 Lobkowitz: see Caramuel Lobkowitz
 Lobo (Lupus), Duarte - 392
 Lombaardvest 16, 34, 260
 Lopez, Martin - 265, 267, 271, 294
 Lopez, Sisters of Martin - 271
 Losson, F.A. - pl. 70
 Losson-Van Hove Family 313, 416
 Louis XIII, King - of France 399
 Louis XIV, King - of France 428
 Louis-Philippe, King - of France 403; pl. 103
 Louisa Maria Gonzaga, Queen - of Poland 402
 Louise-Marie, Queen of the Belgians pl. 103
 Louvain 113, 189, 201, 205, 208, 235, 241, 244, 341, 363, 364, 365, 372-375, 381, 385
 Loyens 234, 235
 Lucas, Franciscus - 108*, 110*, 374
 Luchtman, Jordaen - 178
 Lupus: see Lobo
 Luyten, Henri - 329
 Lyons 8, 9, 10, 332, 233
Maagd van Antwerpen, House *De* - 128, 166*, 276
 Maastricht 93
 Macé, Robert II - 10, II*, 139
 Madoets, Antoine - 340*
 Madrid 61, 224, 231, 232, 247, 392
 Madrutius, Christopher or Ludovicus Cardinal - 82*, 86*, 377
Magnifique et sumptueuse pompe funebre faite aus obseques et funerailles du tresgrand... empereur Charles Cinquème, La - 33; pl. 7, pl. 9
Magnum Theatrum Vitae Humanae by L. Beyerlinck 390

Maire, Jan - 176
Malcus, House *Sint* - 216, 222*, 264
Malderus, Bishop Joannes - of Antwerp 318, 320*, 329, 389, 392*
Maldonado, Diego - 102
Malines 69, 73, 143, 146, 312, 353, 371, 425, 426
Mansion 321*, 329
Mantels (Mantelius), Jan - 390, 393*
Manutius, Aldus -: see Aldus
Manutius, Paulus - 65, 66
Marchantius, Joannes - 196
Marcquis, Lazarus - 389
Marie-Amélie, Queen - of France pl. 103
Marnix: see Toulouze
Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde, Jacob - 387
Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde, Philips - 387
Marselaer, Fredericus de - 226, 393*
Martinius, Martinus - 226
Martius, Jeremias - 378
Mary Queen of Scots 384*
Masius, Andreas - 56, 57, 135*, 370
Masius, Jan - 235
Matal (Matalius Metellus), Jean - 97*, 376, 383*
Mathieu, Justin - 316, 422
Mathias of Austria, Archduke - 93, 94, 97
Mathias, Father - 121

- Matrices and punches 42
 Maximilian II, Emperor - 374, 379
 Mayer, Jan de - 279
 Medici, Cosimo de' - 317, 318, 320*, 331
 Medici, Cosimo III de' - 402
 Medici, Lorenzo de' - 317, 318, 320*, 331
 Medici, Maria de' - 213, 393, 399, 400
 Meghen, Charles de Brimeu, Count of - 54
 Meir 16, 17, 260
 Mela, Pomponius - 137*
 Melissus, Paul - 379
 Mello, Don Francisco de - 402
Mémoires de l'Académie impériale et royale des Sciences et Belles Lettres de Bruxelles (1777-1784) 347
 Mena, Ferdinand - 376
 Menchenius, Henricus - 378
 Metellus, Matalius -: see Matal
 Metz 35, 36, 37
 Meulenaer, Painter - 326*, 327*
 Meurs, Balthasar van - 319, 339
 Meurs, Jan van - 209, 210, 211, 321*, 331
 Meyerus, N. - 97*
 Miereveldt, Melchior - 319, 335
 Mignaut, Claude - 376
 Milan 76
 Mildert, Hans van - 280, 302, 418; pl. 71
 Miraeus, Aubertus - 319, 320*, 330, 389, 393*
 Miraeus, Jean - 389
 Mirandola, Pico della - 317, 318, 320*, 331
 Missals, Pirated editions of - from Liège and Cologne 67
 Missals, Revised - after Council of Trent 65
 Moerentorf, Jacob - 151, 317, 318, 320, 330, 332, 334
 Moerentorf, Joanna - 189
 MOERENTORF, PIETER -
 - marries Henrica Plantin (1578) 138, 162, 188
 - diamond merchant at Lisbon 162
 - his share in Plantin's estate 164
 - his nine children 188-190
 See also Plantin, Henrica -
- Moerentorf, Moerenturf, Moereteurf, Moerretuerf: see also Moretus
 Mofflin, Jan - 62, 85, 371, 382, 384
 Mol, A. de - 412
 Molanus, Jan - 374
 Momper, Joos de - 325, 326
 Monaw, Jacobus - 379
 Monconys, Balthasar de - 404

Mons surrendered (1572) 73, 76

Mont, Isabella Jacoba de - 240, 320, 336; pl. 62

Monte, Philippe de - 90, 374

Mont-Louis 6

More, Thomas - 352, 364, 380*

Moreau, Noël - 38, 39

MORETUS, ALBERT -

- son of Jozef-Hyacinth Moretus and Maria Henrica Coleta Wellens 252
- inherits the press (1819) 252
- resumes business (1828) 253
- his management 254
- dies (1865) 255

Moretus, Anna Maria - (1664-1742) 227

Moretus, Augustin T.J. - 321*, 330

MORETUS, BALTHASAR I -

- third son (unmarried) of Jan Moretus and Martina Plantin (born 1574) 3, II, 14, 18, 236; pl. 13, pl. 30
- alterations at Vrijdagmarkt premises (1637-39) 211, 314
- as a bibliophile 347
- breaks with his partner Jan van Meurs 210
- his bust 285, 286, 418; pl. 72
- design for an epitaph for Ph. Rubens pl. 55
- dies (1641) 210, 211

(MORETUS, BALTHAZAR I)

- his education 204
- gets a portrait of Lipsius from Jan Woverius (1620) 317
- gets a salary (1604) 208
- goes to work in the press (1594) 208
- joint manager with his brother Jan II (1610) 203
- joint master (1616) 204
- letter to Rubens (1611) pl. 52
- his modesty 205
- his output 212
- physically handicapped 204, 205
- paintings and portraits commissioned by him 317, 318, 323, 324, 325; pl. 34, pl. 35, pl. 36, pl. 47, pl. 48
- his portraits 206, 319, 320, 327, 330; pl. 50
- as printer of the Counter-Reformation 212
- rebuilds the *Gulden Passer* (1620) 207
- as a scholar 205
- his 'secret' library 345
- takes Jan van Meurs into partnership (1618) 209
- transfers the Kammenstraat shop to the Vrijdagmarkt 211

MORETUS, BALTHASAR II -

- son of Jan II Moretus and Maria de Sweert (born 1615) 216
- asks the permission for a private chapel 290
- becomes Master (1641) 217
- as a bibliophile 343, 347
- his bust 286, 418; pl. 73
- his children 227
- dean of St. Luke's Guild (1647) 219
- his education 217
- goes into partnership with his mother (1641) 224
- as a *grand seigneur* 217
- his inventories 222, 303, 305
- lays first stone 278, 284
- marries Anna Goos (1645) 223
- a parvenu? 221
- his portraits 319, 330, 335; pl. 57
- paintings commissioned by him 318, 319, 324
- his production 226
- *prototypogmplus* 220, 221
- travels to Frankfurt Fair (1644, 1656) 225
- his wealth 222

MORETUS, BALTHASAR III -

- son of Balthasar II Moretus and Anna Goos (born 1646) 218, 227, 228
- admitted to the nobility (1692) 234

- becomes Master (1674) 230
- as a bibliophile 347
- his bust 286, 291, 418
- dies (1696) 239
- his education 229
- functions of honour 229
- goes into partnership with his mother (1674) 230
- granted permission to stay a printer though a nobleman 236
- marries Anna Maria de Neuf (1673) 230
- travels to Spain (1680) and elsewhere 229, 231
- paintings commissioned by him 326
- portraits 319, 320, 330, 336; pl. 60
- his production 230

MORETUS, BALTHASAR IV -

- son of Balthasar III Moretus and Anna Maria de Neuf (born 1679) 239
- his education 241
- goes into partnership with his mother (1707) 239
- becomes Master (1714) 240
- his bust 286, 418; pl. 73
- functions of honour 241
- joint Master with his brother Joannes Jacobus (1716) 240
- difficulties as a nobleman 236
- his wealth 241
- portrait by an anonymous master 320, 336; pl. 61

MORETUS, BALTHASAR V -

- son of Balthasar IV Moretus and Isabella Jacoba de Mont (born 1705) 240
- makes over his share in the press to his uncle Joannes Jacobus (1730) 240

Moretus, Catharina - 194

Moretus, Christophorus Maria 227

Moretus, Constantin J.H. - 320*, 329

MORETUS, EDWARD (JAN HYACINTH) -

- son of Jozef-Hyacinth Moretus and Maria Henrica Coleta Wellens (born 1804) 255
- inherits the press from his brother Albert to become its last Master (1864) 255
- sells press and premises to the City of Antwerp (1876) 256,407
- portrait by Jozef Delin 320*, 328, 426; pl. 67

MORETUS, FRANCISCUS JOANNES -

- son of Joannes Jacobus Moretus and Theresia Mathilda Schilders (born 1717) 244
- builds the new front of the *Gulden Passer* 293-296
- his education 244
- becomes Master (1758) 244
- his business activities 245
- dies (1768) 247
- portrait by Tassaert 319, 333; pl. 65

MORETUS, FRANS JOZEF -

- unmarried son of Franciscus Joannes Moretus and Maria Theresia Borrekens (born 1760) 249
- carries on the press with his mother (1794) 250
- becomes acting head of the firm (1809) 250
- gives up printing for the duration of the French occupation (1810) 251
- dies (1814) 250

Moretus, Gaspar - (1571-83) 201

Moretus, Gaspar - (1658) 227

Moretus genealogy 431-436

Moretus, Hendrik-Paul - 249

Moretus, Ignatius - 227

MORETUS, JACOB-PAUL -

- unmarried son of Franciscus Joannes Moretus and Maria Theresia Borrekens (born 1765) 249
- carries on the press with his mother (1794) 250
- becomes head of the firm (1797) 250
- dies (1809) 250

MORETUS, JAN I - 75, 77, 78, 83, 85, 87, 88, 107, 112, 127*, 132, 302; pl. 28, pl. 30

- book dedicated to him 350
- book design and typography 196
- his bust 280, 285, 418, 423; pl. 71
- his eleven children 200
- comes to work with Plantin (1557) 151
- his daughter Catharina marries Theodoor Galle 194
- deputy to Plantin 119, 120, 153
- dies (1610) 200
- difficulties about Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici* 195
- his estate 203, 204
- inherits the press as Plantin's successor 163, 191
- international contacts 199
- his library 341
- manages the Antwerp shop in Plantin's absence 150
- marries Martina Plantin (1570) 138
- his mastery of languages 193
- mediates between Plantin and Egidius Beys 160
- New Year's wish to Plantin (1573) pl. 46
- orders for breviaries from Spain 214
- his origins 151
- his output 196
- his qualifications 152, 192
- portrait by and after Rubens 317, 320, 331, 332; pl. 47
- as a printer and publisher 193
- prosecutes Egidius Beys for using Plantin's name and motto 180

(MORETUS, JAN I)

- publisher of Lipsius 196
 - his religious orthodoxy doubted 194
 - his salary (1576) 154
 - his son Balthasar 200
 - his son Jan II 200
 - his son Gaspar 201
 - his son Melchior 201
 - stays at Venice (1562-63) 152
 - takes up residence at the Vrijdagmarkt (1596) 263
 - his translation of Lipsius's *De Cotistantia* 192; pl. 51
 - triptych over his tomb by Rubens 200; pl. 49
 - his will 202
 - works out a compromise with his co-heurs 164
- See also Plantin, Martina -

MORETUS, JAN II -

- fourth son of Jan Moretus and Martina Plantin (born 1576) 201
- his bust 286, 418; pl. 72
- his children 216
- command of languages 207
- dies (1618) 209
- dean of St. Luke's Guild (1616-17) 208
- gets a salary (1604) 208
- goes to work in the press (1592?) 208
- joint manager with his brother Balthasar I (1610) 203
- joint Master (1616) 204
- marries Maria de Sweert (1605) 208
- portrait by Erasmus Quellin 319, 330, pl. 53
- printer of the Counter-Reformation 212

Moretus, Jan III - 216

MORETUS, JOANNES JACOBUS -

- son of Balthasar III Moretus and Anna Maria de Neuf (born 1647) 237, 240
- activities as a financier 242
- his bust 286, 418; pl. 73
- coat-of-arms pl. 56
- his education 241
- functions of honour 241
- joint Master with his brother Balthasar IV (1716) 240
- portrait by Jan van Helmont 319, 328; pl. 64
- portrait by anonymous master 320, 332
- his production 243
- sworn in as an advocate (1713) 241
- his wealth 241

Moretus, Jozef-Hyacinth - 249
MORETUS, LODEWIJK-FRANS -
- unmarried son of Franciscus Joannes Moretus and Maria Theresia Borrekens 250
- becomes sole owner of the Press 250
- resumes activity (1817) 252
- dies (1819) 252
- as a bibliophile 347

Moretus, Ludovic - 224, 319
Moretus, Maria - 264
Moretus, Maria Isabella - 227
Moretus, Maria Theresia - 227
Moretus, Melchior - (son of Jan I) 201, 235, 236*, 320*, 328
Moretus, Melchior - (son of Balthasar III) 227
Moretus, Simon Franciscus - 240
Moretus, Susanna Clara - 227
Moretus, Theodoor - 188*, 392
Moretus-Plantin, Charles Count - 330, 337
Morgues, Matthieu de - 207, 213, 319, 320*, 335, 392, 393
Morillon, Maximilian - 55, 59
Mornay, Philippe de -, seigneur of Duplessis 99, 380*, 383, 386
Moscow 373
Mostaert, Painter - 326
Mourentorf, Mouretourff, Mouretourft: see Moretus, Moerentorf.
Munich 332, 416
Munster 249
Munster, Treaty of - (1648) 212
Muret, Marc-Antoine - 376

Museum Plantin-Moretus: see Plantin- Moretus Museum.

Musius, Cornelius - 321*, 334

MUSSCHENBROECK

- Adriaan Joost van - 177
- Joost van - 178
- Sara van - 178

Mylius, Arnold - 91

Namur 93

Napoleon, Emperor - 251

Napoleonic Wars 248

Nassau, Louis of - 73

Navarrus: see Azpilcueta

Neder-Over-Heembeek 295

NEUF, ANNA MARIA DE - 418

- wife of Balthasar III Moretus 230
- carries on as a widow (1596) 239
- dies (1714) 239, 240
- her estate (1714) 289, 290, 305, 313, 323, 324
- goes into partnership with her son Balthasar IV (1707) 239
- her management 239, 241
- portrait by an anonymous master 320, 336; pl. 59
- reduces working hours and wages (1703) 243

Nicholas V, Pope - 317, 318, 320*, 331

Niclaes, Hendrik - 20, 21*, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26*, 27, 28, 37, 47*, 51, 52, 99, 100, 101, 129, 385; pl. 4, pl. 5

Nicolaus Buscoducensis 364, 365

Nieremberg, Juan Eusebio - 213, 392

Nieuwenaar, Count of - 373

Nonnius, Ludovicus - 211, 319, 320*, 330, 389, 393*

Noten, R. van - 412

Nouveau Testament de Nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ (1567) 58

Novum Testamentum Gallicum 39, 58, 61

Nuremberg 378

Nuysement: see Hesteau

Nijhoff-Kronenberg 366

Nijmegen 144

Obsidio Bredana by H. Hugo (1636, 1627, 1629, 1631) 213

Officium Beatae Mariae (1600, 1609) 196

OFFICINA PLANTINIANA

- chronological list of Masters 430
- imprint 1589-90 191
- imprint 1590-96 192
- imprint 1596-1610 192
- imprint 1610-16 203

- imprint 1616-18 204
- imprint 1618-28 209
- imprint 1628-29 209
- imprint 1696-1707 239
- imprint 1707 239
- imprint after 1797 250
- presses in operation (general list) 437
- presses 1562-66 261
- presses 1578-81 271
- presses 1618-26 209
- presses 1750-65 245
- presses 1768-94 248
- presses 1794-1814 249, 250
- presses 1828-64 254
- presses 1865-70 255
- sudden decline (1765) 243

Olaus Magnus 133*

Olearius, Henricus - 378

Ommen, Otmaer van - 200

Oorkussen, House *Het* - 267, 268, 269*, 270*

Oosterweel, Battle at - 51

Opticorum Libri VI by F. Aguilonius (1613) 213

Orange, Prince William of - 51, 52, 73, 84, 93, 97, 98, 104*, 105, 108, 114, 302, 397, 398; pl. 102

Orga, José de - 246

Oriental types 174*

Origines Antwerpianae by Joannes Goropius Becanus 69, 369

Origines Antverpiensium by C. Scribanus (1610) 196

Orleans 8, 376

Orsini, Fulvio - 378

- Ortelius (Ortels), Abraham - 13, 86, 90, 119, 165, 196, 317, 318, 320*, 329, 331, 350, 351. 368, 382, 383, 386, 425; pl. 16, pl. 99, pl. 100
 Ostend Company 243
 Oudartius, Nicolas - 118*, 122, 351, 371
 Overbeke, Pauwels van -; his map of Antwerp pl. 17, pl. 18
 Oxford 353
- Pacart, Abraham - 186
 Pacification of Ghendt 92
 Paedts Jacobszoon, Jan - 172
 Pagani, B. - 321*, 330
 Palamedes, Antonie - 319, 335
 Paludanus, Franciscus - 393*
 Pamelius, Jacobus - 87*, 374
 Pantin (Pantinus), Pierre - 317, 318, 320*, 331, 374, 393*
 Papius, Andreas - 375
Paraeneticon by J. Hemelarius 350
 PARIS 8, 9, 33, 36, 37*, 76, 102, 103, 148, 157, 219, 249, 326*, 327*, 375, 376
 - book market 32, 46
 - Plantin's flight to - 34
 - Plantin's shop, rue St.-Jacques 50, 79, 80, 87, 159
 - Catharina Plantin and Jehan Gassen in - 154, 155
 - Magdalena Plantin and her family in - 77,78, 157-161,178-185
- Parma, Alexander Farnese, Duke of - 93, 94, 104*, 108, 112, 113; pl. 28, pl. 31, pl. 32
 Parma, Margaret of - 34, 35, 40, 48, 51
 Paschal, Charles - 91*
Patar: see *stuiver*
 Pantonnier, Balthasar - 183
 Pantonnier, Pierre - 183
 Pena de Aracena 65, 102
Penning 440
 Perez, Luis 86, 113
 PÉRIER, ADRIEN -
 - Magdalena Plantin's second husband (1596) 138, 181
 - his imprint (1597) pl. 45
 - quarrel after Magdalena's death 182 See also: Plantin, Magdalena
 -
- Périer, Jérémie - 181
 Périer, Michel - 183
 Péril, Robert - 439
 Perrenot, Frédéric -, lord of Champagny 114, 115*, 134*
 Persia 379
 Pevernage, Andries - 90

Philip II, King of Spain 5*, 28, 33, 47, 55, 56, 60, 62, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71*, 73, 74, 75, 80, 84, 89, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 105, 107, 110, 125, 134*, 274, 376, 377, 384; pl. 26

Philip III, king of Spain 194, 214, 377

Philip IV, King of Spain 220

Philippus Prudens by J. Caramuel Lobkowitz (1639) 213

Philomathus 226

Picart, Painter - 326*, 327*

Pighius, Stephanus Winandus - 49*, 53*, 55, 57, 58, 59, 114*, 196, 370, 382

Pinsen-Simon, Marie - 179*

Pithou, Pierre - 376, 385*

Pius V, Pope - 64, 65

Plakkaten 35, 36, 69, 70

Plantarum stirpium historia 381

PLANTIN, CATHARINA -

- the printer's third daughter (born 1553) 77, 141
- education 143, 145
- her business sense 146
- 'gouvernante' for Pierre Gassen's lace trade 154
- marries Jehan Gassen (1571) 77, 138, 154
- domestic trouble: with Gassen's cousins 154
- becomes a widow (1574) 155
- fetched back to Antwerp 155
- marries Hans Arents, called Spierinck (1575) 138, 155, 186
- her life with Spierinck 156
- her eldest son by Jehan Gassen 186

(PLANTIN, CATHARINA)

- her children by Hans Spierinck 186 See also: Gassen, Jehan -;
Spierinck, Hans Arents, called -

PLANTIN, CHRISTOPHE -

- *ABC et petit cathechisme* (1567) 46
- account with Philip II 90
- active at Caen 10
- activity in Leiden 117
- admitted into St.-Luke's Guild at Antwerp 12
- his ailments (1576) 87
- allegedly printed Calvinist books 35
- anonymous editions of Barrefelt pl. 23, pl. 24
- anonymous portrait at Leiden 5, 316; pl. 1
- *Antiphonary* (1572) 67
- anti-Spanish press, involved in - 50
- appointed the Duke's (i.e. Anjou's) printer 96
- appointed printer to the States General 95; pl. 21, pl. 25
- appointed Prototypographus 69
- apprenticed with Robert Macé at Caen 10
- approached by Duke of Savoy to become ducal printer in Turin 91
- approached by King Henry III of France to become royal French printer 91
- arrival at Antwerp 3, 11, 260
- his assets (1562) 43
- attack on - (1555) 19
- attitude towards Calvinism 30, 37
- attitude towards the rebellion 103, 105
- auction sale of goods (1562) 41, 261
- autobiographical note 19
- avowals of orthodoxy and loyalty 104
- *Biblia Polyglotta* 56, **62-64**, 74, 75
- birth, year and place of - 4, 6, 120
- as a bookbinder 11-17
- bookbinding ascribed to - pl. 3
- bookshop in Kammenstraat (1576) 83
- bookshop by the north door of the Cathedral 83
- break with Calvinist partners 49
- building activities (1579-80) 88
- burial and tomb 121
- business difficulties (1585) 116
- business journeys to Holland (1579-80) 29
- business partners turn out to be Calvinists 47, 52
- as a business man 128
- his bust 280, 285, 418, 421; pl. 71
- buys Assendelft's house at Leiden 105
- buys a house to be rid of a neighbour 128

- Calvinism, attitude towards - 30, 37
- Calvinist business partners 47, 52
- Calvinist journeymen 35, 37
- Catharina, widowed, fetched back from Paris 155
- character sketch 123-137
- character sketched by Sabbe 125
- citizen of Antwerp 4
- clandestine anti-Spanish press, involved in - 50
- his command of languages 132, 133
- the 'Compagnie' (1563-67) 44-50
- compared to Aldus Manutius 129, 132
- country house at Berchem 88
- crisis of 1572 73-80
- criticism by Schneider 123
- daughter Catharina (q.v.) 77, 155
- daughter Henrica (q.v.) -
- daughter Magdalena (q.v.) 4, 77, 79
- daughter Margareta (q.v.) 3, 63, 83
- daughter Martina (q.v.) -
- daughter who died young 140
- his death 121
- deed of partnership with Van Bomberghen family pl. 12
- his descendants 138-190
- dismisses workmen and proof-readers (1576) 84
- earliest known portrait pl. 14
- early career 11
- engages Egidius Beys (1564) 157
- engages Jan Moretus (1557) 151

(PLANTIN, CHRISTOPHE)

- engraved portrait by Filips Galle pl. 14
- entered into Leiden *Album Civium Academicorum* 106
- his erudition 132
- established a branch in Salamanca 119
- his estate 162-168
- exile in Paris pl. 11
- expansion of business 60-73
- fame as a printer 195
- father Jean 8, 10
- fellow printers at Antwerp, Cologne, Paris 33
- financial difficulties 80
- financial losses through serving Philip II 90, 113
- financial losses through Spanish Fury 86
- first Greek editions 47
- first privilege 17; pl. 8
- first years as a printer 31-34
- flight to Paris 34, 44
- French Bible (1578) 91
- gives up publishing (1576) 117
- Granvelle, relationship with Cardinal - 55, 67
- Hasselt, relationship with Aug. van - 51
- health 75
- Hebrew Bibles 47
- Hebrew type 45
- heretic leanings 21-30
- *Horae* in 12mo and 24mo (1572) 67
- houses owned at his death 166
- illness at Valenciennes (1572) 77
- inventory of possessions (1562) 42; pl. 10
- invitation to settle in Rome 110
- jewels, theft of - 39
- journey to Liège, Paris, Cologne, Frankfurt (1576) 87
- journey to Rouen (1572) 77, 80
- journeymen employed 1573-76 81, 82
- judged by contemporaries 131
- labour disputes 78
- lace shop in *Tapissierspand* 145
- lace trade with Pierre Gassen 46
- last years at Antwerp 113-122
- Latin Bible (1583) 91
- leaves Antwerp temporarily 106
- at Leiden 105-113
- liquidation of press contemplated 80
- loss of Spanish market (1576) 90
- marries Jeanne Rivière (q.v.) (c. 1546) 11, 138
- matrices and punches 42

- matrices of Hebrew characters 45
- measures to ensure secrecy about his production 101
- memorial album 122
- monopoly in Spain for breviaries etc. 68
- his mother 8
- mottos 31
- moves to Vrijdagmarkt (1576) 262
- as a mystic 29
- number of titles printed 1555-62 32
- number of titles printed 1568-72 69
- obliged by the States of Holland to print certain books 111
- origin and youth 3-11
- owner of (second) *Gulden Passer* in Kammenstraat (1565) 83
- owner of (third) *Gulden Passer* in Vrijdagmarkt (1579) 88
- Paris shop 50, 53, 79, 80, 87
- payment from King Philip II 120
- peak years (1573-76) 80-83
- place of birth 4, 6
- poem dedicated to the Magistrate and the People of Antwerp 13;
pl. 16
- his poetry 134; pl. 33
- portraits by anonymous masters 316, 320, 332, 334
- portrait by Hendrik Goltzius pl. 24
- portrait by Rubens 317, 318, 330, 332; pl. 35
- portrait on triptych over his tomb pl. 38
- portrait engraved by Wiericx 5; pl. 2

(PLANTIN, CHRISTOPHE)

- prepares to leave Leiden 111
- presses in operation 1568-72 69
- presses in operation 1573-76 81
- presses in operation 1578 88
- presses in operation 1583 88
- presses in operation at Leiden 109*
- presses in operation 1585 118
- presses in operation 1586-89 119*, 199
- presses sold (1577) 87
- his pride 126
- becomes a printer 12, 17-21
- prints for the States-General 103
- privilege for Books of Hours 67
- production 1555-62 32
- production 1568-72 69
- *Pratotypographus* 69, 70, 95, 97
- Psalter (1572) 67
- publications after 1585 198
- punches and matrices 42
- recommendation in favour of Jan Moretus 121; pl. 30
- refuses to help Egidius Beys 160
- registered as an Antwerp citizen 12
- *Relation simple et véritable d'aucuns griefz* 107
- relationship with Granvelle 55, 67
- relationship with Aug. van Hasselt 51
- return to Antwerp (1585) 111
- Roman Catholic, presenting himself as a pious - 29
- sale of Leiden press 115, 116, 150
- sale of Paris shop to Sonnius (1577) 159
- shop in Kammenstraat 34
- shop in Kammenstraat extended 83
- shop at Leiden 106
- shop in Lombaardvest 16
- shop in Paris 50, 79, 80
- shop in Paris sold 87
- shop in Twaalfmaandenstraat 16, 34
- son Christophe 138, 141
- subsidies for *Biblia Polyglotta* 63
- suspected of heresy 103
- temporary exile in Paris pl. 11
- theft of jewels in Paris 39
- his tolerance 131
- as a translator 132
- triptych over his tomb pl. 37
- turnover 1571-76 80*
- typography and book design 33, 68

- University printer at Leiden 106
- upbringing of his daughters 142
- value of his estate 165
- Virgil edition in 16mo (1564) 46
- visit from the Prince and Princess of Orange (1579) 97
- wage-sheets (1573-76) 82
- his will 162
- year of birth 4, 120

Plantin, Christophe -; the printer's son 138, 141

PIANTIN, HENRICA -

- the printer's youngest daughter (born 1561 or 1562) 142
 - a slightly backward child 144
 - marries Pieter Moerentorf (1578) 138, 162, 188
 - her nine children 188-190
- See also Moerentorf, Pieter -

Plantin, Jacques - 10*

Plantin, Jean - 4, 7, 8, 10

PLANTIN, MAGDALENA -

- the printer's fourth daughter (born 1557) 4, 77, 141
 - education 143, 145
 - marries Egidius Beys (1572) 79, 238, 258
 - her life with Beys 158
 - applies to Plantin for financial help (1589) 161
 - marries Adrien Périer (1596) 138
 - dies (1599) 181
 - her eleven children by Egidius Beys 179
 - portrait by an anonymous master 316, 317, 334; pl. 42
- See also: Beys, Egidius -; Périer, Adrien -

PLANTIN, MARGARETA -

- the printer's eldest daughter (born 1547) 3, 139, 141
 - education 142, 145
 - marries Frans Raphelengius (1565) 63, 138, 147
 - manages her husband's bookshop 83
 - remains a Roman Catholic 115
 - her life at Leiden 170
 - dies (1594) 171
 - her six children 170
- See also: Raphelengius, Frans -

PLANTIN, MARTINA -

- the printer's second daughter (born 1550) 106, 141, 155, 182
 - education 143, 145
 - lace trade 145
 - marries Jan Moretus (1570) 138, 151
 - nominal head of the firm (1610) 203
 - retires from business (1614) 203
 - dies (1616) 203
 - her estate (1616) 302
 - portraits by and after Rubens 317, 318, 320, 331, 332; pl. 48
- See also Moretus, Jan -

PLANTIN-MORETUS MUSEUM

- Archives (Room 22) 292, 425
- Book Illustration Room (Room 27) 425
- books and manuscripts 338-361; pl. 92-103
- ceramics 311
- clocks 309
- Correctors' Room (Room 9) 284, 287, 291, 420
- courtyard 285, 286, 418; pl. 71, pl. 72, pl. 73
- Drawings and Manuscript Room (Room 3) 291, 305, 306, 417
- embossed leather 311; pl. 84
- Entrance Hall and Staircase 415
- First Library Catalogue (1592) 342, 344, 345; pl. 90
- Foundry (Rooms 20 & 30) 287, 427
- furniture 309, 308; pl. 81, pl. 82
- Geography Room (Room 23) 239, 292, 425
- globes 310; pl. 89
- Humanists' Room (Room 12) 276, 291, 421
- Kitchen (Room 8) 284, 290, 291, 420
- Large Drawing Room (Room 2) 291, 305, 306, 417; pl. 77
- Large Library (Room 31) 292, 358, 359, 360, 428; pl. 88, pl. 89
- Library: see books and manuscripts; Large Library; Second Library; Small Library
- Lipsius Room (Room 11) 276, 284, 287, 291, 306, 307, 421; pl. 78
- manuscripts 353-356; pl. 93-95

- Max Horn Room (Room 33) 292, 357, 358, 361, 428
- Moretus Room (Room 18) 292, 423
- musical instruments 309; pl. 83
- Office (Room 10) 276, 287, 291, 420
- paintings 316-337
- plan 298, 299
- porcelain 311
- Printing Office (Room 14) 272, 273, 287, 422
- Room 5 289, 419
- Room 7 419
- Room 15 292, 422
- Room 16 292, 422
- Room 20 292, 357, 358, 424
- Room 21 292, 357, 358, 424
- Room 24 425
- Room 25 426; pl. 79
- Room 26 426
- Rubens Room (Room 19) 292, 423
- Salon Emile Verhaeren 416*; pl. 80
- sculpture 314
- Second Library (Room 32) 292, 358, 359, 360, 361
- Second Library Catalogue (1675) 343, 344, 345; pl. 91
- Shop (Room 4) 289, 419
- Small Library (Room 17) 292, 423
- tapestries 313

(PLANTIN-MORETUS MUSEUM)

- Tapestry Drawing Room (Room 6) 419
- Tapestry Room (Room 1) 291, 305, 306, 416
- Third Library Catalogue (1805) 344, 345, 347
- tour through - 415-429
- Type Room (Room 13) 421
- war damage 411

Plato 317*, 323, 324, 358*, 359

Plautus 367

Poelman, Jean - 119, 200

Poelman, Theodoor - 119, 144, 350, 354*, 368, 382; pl. 93

Pointer, Barthélemy 35

Poivre, Marcelin le - 155*

Poland 379, 402

Poliziano (Politianus), Angelo - 319, 320*, 335

Polyglot Bible: see *Biblia Polyglotta*

Polytes, Joachim - 55

Pompadour, Madame de - 428

Ponce de Leon, Gonzales - 121*

Pond, Flemish - 440

Pontus de Tyard Bissi: see Tyard Bissi

PORRET

- Antoine - 8
- Claude - 8
- Pierre - 4, 7, 8, 10*, 11, 12, 24, 37, 38, 39, 50, 53, 60*, 77, 154, 157, 159, 161

Postel, Guillaume - 10*, 28, 99, 130*, 376, 383

Potsdam 324

Prague 183, 188, 392

Princenhage 157

Prosperus's *Epigrammata* pl. 93

Prototypographus 69, 70, 95, 97

Puget de la Serre, Jean - 206, 213

Punches and matrices 42

Puppier, Antoine - 8*

Puppier, Mathieu - 8*

Puppier, Pierre - 8, 9

Puteanus, Erycius - 318, 320*, 327, 393*

Puydt, de - 317*

Quellin, Artus - 283, 286, 294, 418; pl. 72, pl. 75

Quellin, Erasmus - 319, 322*, 325, 330, 430; pl. 53

Ranst 382*

Ranzovius, Henricus - 378

RAPHELENGIUS, CHRISTOFFEL -

- eldest son of Frans Raphelengius and Margareta Plantin (born 1566) 169
- marries Maryke Laureense 169
- carries on his father's business with his brother Frans (q.v.) 172
- dies suddenly (1600) 172
- his daughter Maeyke 177
- his illegitimate son Chr. Ravelingh 178

RAPHELENGIUS, FRANS - 63, 83, 88, 107, 164, 384

- his education and qualifications 148
- comes to work for Plantin 149
- marries Margareta Plantin (1565) 138, 147
- becomes a printer (1576) 150
- becomes a citizen of Antwerp 150
- inclines towards Calvinism 98
- prints anti-Spanish books 98; pl. 26, 28
- manages the Antwerp press in Plantin's absence at Leiden 150
- becomes a Calvinist 115, 170
- succeeds Plantin at the Leiden press 115
- becomes deputy-professor of Hebrew 116
- becomes University printer at Leiden 116
- entrusts his sons Frans Jr. (q.v.) and Christoffel (q.v.) with the management of the press 172
- his share in Plantin's estate 164
- his work 171
- his policy as a publisher 176
- as a scholar 175
- dies (1597) 171
- his six children 169

(RAPHELENGIUS, FRANS)

- portrait 320*, 334, 420
- See also: Plantin, Margareta -; Raphelengius, Christoffel -;
- Raphelengius, Frans - Jr; Raphelengius, Joost -

RAPHELENGIUS, FRANS - JR.

- second son of Frans Raphelengius and Margareta Plantin (born 1568) 5, 6, 121*, 122, 164, 169, 197, 216, 354
- carries on his father's business with his brother Christoffel (q.v.) 172
- not appointed Christoffel's successor (1600) 172
- his disappointment 173
- books produced (1600-18) 173*
- liquidates his business (1619) 174
- adheres strictly to Plantin's tradition 197
- relationship with Balthasar I Moretus 206, 209

Raphelengius, Joost - 169, 170, 173, 177

Raphelengius, Maeyke - 177

Rataller, Georgius - 375

Ravelingen: see Raphelengius

Ravelingh, Christoffel - 178

Ravillian, Pierre - 40, 346; pl. 11

Rebolledo, Bernardino de' - 226

Redinger, Thomas - 354*, 379, 384*

Reesbroeck, Jacob van - 317, 319, 330, 334; pl. 54, pl. 57, pl. 58

Reineri, Cornelius - 375, 384*

Relation simple et véritable d'aucuns griefz 5*, 86*, 107, 126*, 262

Renesse-Breidbach, Count Clemens Wenceslas de - 348, 352

Rennes 184

Requesens, Don Luis de - 84, 385

Rethius, Johannes - 378

Revardus, Jacobus - 375

Rezo romano 215, 225, 231-234, 246

Rezo sagrado: see *Rezo romano*

Richelieu, Armand-Jean du Plessis, Cardinal de - 393

Rio, Martin Antonio del - 375

Rivière, Cardot - 139*

Rivière, Guillaume - 10*, 99, 139*, pl. 26

RIVIÈRE, JEANNE -

- Plantin's wife 3, 112, 164, 191, 192
- marriage (c. 1546) 11, 138
- lace shop 16
- share in Plantin's estate 165
- dies (1596) 275
- her estate 275, 302
- personal goods 168

- her personality described by Lipsius 140
- portraits 317, 318, 320, 331, 332; pl. 36, pl. 38

Roan, Duque de - 226

Robelet, Isabella - 179, 185

Robles, Blaz de - 81*, 86*

Rockox, Nicolaas - 389, 393*

Roermond 310, 371, 373, 424

Roesberg near Brühl 325

Rogers, Daniel - 378, 386

Roland furieux 17

Rome 64, 65, 110, 326*, 327*, 373, 374, 376

Roses, Max - 11, 23, 40, 43*, 90, 140, 205, 221, 249, 255, 256, 314, 322, 329, 356, **408-410**, 426; pl. 104

Rosseels, Emmanuel - 408; pl. 104

Rosweyde (Rosweydus), Heribert - 390, 393*

Rouen 77, 78

Rubens, Albert - 226

Rubens, Peter-Paul - 190, 200, 207, 212, 281, 302, 305, 306, 317, 318, 320, 323, 330, 332, 335, 416, 517, 421, 423, 424; pl. 35, pl. 36, pl. 52, pl. 78, pl. 87

Rubens, Philip - 332, 389; pl. 55, pl. 78

Rudolph II, Emperor - 93, 374, 379

Ruxelius, Joannes - 10*, 11*

Ryckaerts, Jan - 37*

Sabbe, Maurits - 11, 29*, 123, 125, 205, 229, 249, 316*, 325, **410**

Sadelius, Antonius - 383

Saillius, Theodorus - 393*
 Saint-Avertin 6, 7
 Saint Bartholomew's Eve (1572) 73, 79, 158
 Saint-Gaudens 186
 Saint-Ghislain, Monastery of - 76, 77
 Saint-Just 8, 9
 Saint Luke's Guild at Antwerp 12, 18, 120*, 150, 154, 208, 219, 220, 229
 Saint-Vincent, Grégoire de - 390
 Salamanca, Plantin's branch at - 119, 199
 Salamanca University 64, 119*, 377
 Saluste, Guillaume - seigneur de Bartas 193
 Sambucus, Joannes - 108*, 177, 354, 379
 Sammelins, Benjamin - pl. 37
 San Francisco, Ludovicus a - 377
 Sanchez de la Broza (las Brozas) (Sanctius Brocensis), Francisco - 119*, 377
 Sande, Pauwel van den - 280
 Sanderson, John - 378
Sans-culottes 248
 Sante Pagnino 149, 171, 367
 Santvliet, Catharina van - 269, 270
 Saravia, Adrian - 23, 26, 27*, 29*, 101*, 102*, 379, 385, 386, 391*
 Sarbievius, Mathias Casimir - 226, 331
 Sassenus, Servatius - 129*
 Savoy, Duke of - 91, 92
 Savoy, Thomas of - 400
 Scaliger, Joseph-Juste - 376
 Schedius: see Melissus
Schelling 440
 Schenk, Lambertus - 122
 Schilders, Theresia Mathilda - 242, 319, 320, 328, 336; pl. 63
 Schneider, Dr. F. - 95*, 96*, 123, 124
 Schoenmarkt 216, 264
 Schoevaerts, Matthijs - 322*, 332
 Scholirius, Petrus - 389
 Scholliers, E. - 440*
 Schoonbeke, Gillebert van - 265
 Schoondonck, Egidius - 14, 18, 393*
 Schotti, Clementia de - 273, 277
 Schotti, Jacob de - 45, 47, 48, 49, 152*; pl. 12
 Schottus, Andreas - 115*, 137*, 371, 374, 388, 390
 Schottus, Franciscus - 389
 Schrijver, Cornelius de -: see Grapheus, Cornelius -
 Schulting, Cornelius - 378
 Scotti, Rigo - 152*
 Scribanus, Carolus - 196, 319, 320*, 335, 390
 Scribonius, Cornelius -: see Grapheus, Cornelius -
 Scrinius, Michael - 379

Seduardus sive de vera jurisprudentia... libri XII by J. Hopperus (1590) 196
 Sedulius's *Carmen Paschale* pl. 93
 Seghers, Cornelis - 322*, 332
Sendt-brieven wt yverighe herten by Barrefelt 101
 Seneca, L. Anneus 17, 172, 212, 317*, 323, 324, 335, 358*, 359, 412; pl. 87
 Serenus, Valerius - 129*, 377
 Sermoy 256
 Serranus, Petrus - 377
 Serre, de la: see Puget de la Serre
 Seville 65, 244
 Sibrechts, Painter - 326*, 327*
 Sienne, Antonio de - 377
 Sigebert de Gembloux 353
 Silesia 379
 SILVIUS

- Detlevius (Ditlevius) - 117*, 378
- Karel - 106
- Willem - 32, 59, 70, 71, 106, 147*, 396

 Simenius, Petrus - 383
 Sint-Jansrui 265, 274
 Sint Oedenrode 201
 Sirlet, Cardinal Guilielmus - 377
 Sixtus V, Pope - 373
 Skippon 404
 Smet: see Vulcanius
 Somere, Lodewijk van - 41

- Somers, L.J.J. - 308*
- Sonnius, Michel - 87, 91, 159, 160, 161
- Sorbonne 58, 376
- Spain, book sales in - 213, 215, 245, 246
- Spain, 'Royal Press' in - 347
- Spanish book market 213, 215, 245, 246
- Spanish Fury (1576) 28, 74, 85, 89, 92, 93, 94, 268, 271; pl. 19, pl. 20
- Speculum justitioe*: see *Spiegel der gerechticheit*
- Speelmans, Cornelis - 128
- Spierinck, Anna - 186
- SPIERINCK, HANS ARENTS CALLED -
- marries Catharina Plantin (1575) 138, 155, 186
 - goes to Frankfurt (1576) 155
 - leaves his wife at Cologne (1576) 156
 - moves to Hamburg (1577) 156
 - acts as Plantin's Hamburg agent 156
 - goes to Leiden 156
 - returns from Leiden to Antwerp (15 88) 157
 - is worried about Egidius Beys (q.v.) 159
 - his share in Plantin's estate 164
 - dies (1611) 186
 - his seven children 186
- Spiegel der gerechticheit tho ene anschouwinge des warachtigen levens. Den* -
by H. Nicolaes 22, 23, 24, 101; pl. 4, pl. 5
- Spitaels, Antoon - 64
- Sporckmans, Huibrecht - 322*, 332, 422
- Spore, Andreas & Nicolaas - 99; pl. 26
- Stadius, Jan - 375
- Stanyhurst, Richard - 378, 392
- Stapleton, Thomas - 392
- States-General 84, 93-98, 103, 108, 114
- Steelsius 67
- Steeuwech(ius), Godeschalk - 375
- Stegen, Walter van der - 114
- Stephanus, Maria S.J.A. de - 320*, 329
- Stephanus: see Estienne
- Sterbeeck, Frans van - 390
- Stevin, Simon - 109
- Straelen, J.B. van der - 3*, 249
- Strasbourg 376
- Stuiver* 440
- Suavius, Lambert - 16
- Suffridus, Petrus - 375
- Sweert, Maria de - 208, 210, 216, 222,* 223*, 224, 264, 317, 319, 330; pl. 54
- Sweert, Nicholas de - 313, 334
- Sweerts (Sweertius) Frans - 148, 389

Sylvius, Jean - lord of Sapigny 4

Syriac script 376, 383

Taffin, Jacques - 37*

Taffin, Jean - 37*, 40, 41, 387

Tassaert, Filips Jozef - 319, 333; pl. 65, pl. 66

Tassis, Jean-Roger de - 66, 104

Tegnagel, Gregorius - 375

Tesmoignages du Thrésor caché au champ. Le livre des - by Barrefelt 101

Theatrum fungorum oft het toneel der campernoelien by L. Beyerlinck 390

Théâtre de l'Univers by A. Ortelius 90; pl. 16

Theatrum Orbis Terrarum by A. Ortelius 90, 119, 196, 350; pl. 16

Thesaurus geographicus by A. Ortelius (1596) 196

Thesaurus lingae sanctae by Sante Pagnino 367

Thielen, Jan-Filips van - 321, 333

Thomyris 313, 416

Thijs, A. - 330, 334, 420; pl. 39

Thijs, Peter - 290*, 321, 333, 361, 428; pl. 88

Tiercelin, Charles - lord of La Roche du Maine 3

Tiron, Antoine - 145*, 340*

Tisnacq, Charles de - 72, 111*

Tongerlo 384

Tongres 373

Tornielli, Augustin - 392

Torre, Jacques de la - 17

Torrentius, Livinus - 87, 110, 113*, 114, 121, 131*, 371, 374, 375, 381, 389

- Toulouse 9
 Toulouze. Jan van Marnix, lord of - 51
 Tournai 217
 Tours 4, 6
Tractatus de monarchia Siciliae by Baronius 195
 Tremelius, Emanuel - 379, 381
 Trent, Council of - 62, 65
 Treterus, Thomas - 379
 Trieste and Fiume Company 243, 245
 Trognesium, Emmanuel Filips (or Filibert) - 66, 104*
 Turin 91, 92
 Turianus, Franciscus - 92*, 377
 Twaalfmaandenstraat 16, 34, 260
 Tyard Bissi, Pontus de - 91*, 129
 Typographus regius 70
Tyrannies et cruautéz des Espagnols, perpetrées es Indes Occidentals by B. de las Casas 98; pl. 29

 Uden, Lucas van - 321, 333
 Union of Arras 93, 94
 Utrecht 50

 Valence 376
 Valenciennes 77-79
 Valentinus: see Bartelus
 Valerius, Cornelius - 375
 Valkstraat 83, 149, 261, 265, 276
 Valles, Francisco - 377
 Valverda, Juan - 47
 Vanderhaeghen, F.- 338*
 Vanderlinden, E. - 322*
 Vandevor, René - 416*
 Varennes, Olivier de - 178*, 183
 Vargas, Juan de - 66, 77, 103
Variarum lectionum libri III by J. Lipsius 69
 Vaugondy, Robert de - fils 310
 Vechta, Conrad de - pl. 94
 Vechter, Thomas de - 174*, 175*
 Velde, Canon J.F. van de - 348, 352
 Velde, Willem van de - 357
 Vendius, Erasmus - 378, 385*
 Venice 152
 Venne, Adriaan van de - 322, 335, 420
 Vera Cruz, Alonso de - 377
 Verbraken, Amaat - 273
 Verbruggen, Peter - 286, 326*, 327*, 418; pl. 73
 Verdussen, Printers at Antwerp 215 316*, 423

Verdussen, Peter - 321, 333, 424
 Verdussen, Widow - 324
 Verepaeus, Simon - 205, 375
 Verhaecht (Verhaeght), Tobias - 326
 Verhaeren, Emile - 416*
 Vernois, Pierre - 34
 Verrijpen: see Verepaeus
 Vertessen, Irène - 410*, 411*
 Vervliet, Daniel - 112*, 165
 Vervoort, D. - 322*, 332
 Verwey, H. de la Fontaine - 22, 24, 29
 Verwithagen, Jan - 37*
 Vesalius, Andreas - 47
 Vianen, anti-Spanish press at - 7, 50-54
 Vienna 372, 379, 392
 Viglius ab Aytta 51
 Villanus, Jacobus - 101; pl. 22
 Villavicentio, Laurens a - 377
 Villiers l'Oiseleur, Pierre 387
 Vincent, Ysbrand - 228*, 241*
 Viperana (Viperanus), Giovanni Antonio - 81*, 86*, 378
 Virgil edition 1564 46
 Virgilius Boloniensis 425; pl. 68
Virorum doctorum de disciplinis effigies XLIII by F. Galle pl. 14
 Visscher, Anna Roemers - 206, 394; pl. 101
 Vitruvius, Pollio - 366
Vivae imagines parthun corporis humani by A. Vesalius and J. Valverda 47
 Vives, Luis - 132*
 VLADERACCUS

- Christoffel - 122*, 375
- Joannes - 122*
- Petrus - 122*

- Vladislav, Prince of Poland 402
 Vlimmeren (Vlimmerius), Jan van - 375
 Vondel, Joost van den - 395
Vosken, House *Het* - 222*, 278, 279, 281, 286, 289, 299, 300
 Vossius, Gerardus - 110*
 Vrouwensteeg, Leiden 106
 VRIJDAGMARKT 41, 44, 83, 166*, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 268, 269, 270, 274, 275, 283, 284, 300
 - general situation in Plantin's days 266
 - on Boloniensis map (1565) pl. 68
 - situation 1820 pl. 69
 - situation today 297
- Vulcanius, Bonaventura - 375, 386*, 387
- Wael, Leopold de - 316*, 407, 415
 Wages 442
 Wallius, Jacobus - 226
 War of Austrian Succession 243, 245
 War damage to Plantin-Moretus Museum 411
 War of the three Henrys (1587) 117, 161
 War of Spanish Succession 243
Watergeuzen 73
 Wenceslas: see King Wenceslas Bible
 Wendelinus, Godefridus - 226, 318, 320*, 327, 393*
 Wesel 51, 53
 Wiericx brothers 196
 Wiericx, Joannes - 5; pl. 2
 Willeboirts Bosschaert: see Bosschaert
 Winckelman, Hendrik - 39*
 Witdoeck, Jan - 190, 220*
 Withem, Claude de - 54
Witte Lelie, House *De* - 368
 Wolfert, Jan-Baptist - 321, 333
Woud, House *Het* -: see *Jagerswoud*
 Wouters: see Valerius
 Woverius, Jan - 201, 281, 317, 318, 319, 320*, 329, 332, 389, 393*, 421
 Wroclaw: see Breslau
 Wijngaert, Frank van den - 410
- Ximenes, Ferdinand - 26, 29, 56, 117*
- Ykens, Frans - 321, 333
IJzeren Passer, House *De* - 166*, 186, 222*, 272, 273, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 289, 299
- Zegers, Gerard - 305*, 306, 321, 326, 333

Zelius, Bernard - 63

Zilveren Passer, House *De* - 166*, 168*, 272, 273, 276, 277, 279, 281, 285,
294, 299, 300

Zon: see *Gulden Zon*

Zutphen 189

Zwaantje, House *Het* - 268, 294, 295*

Zwolle 364

Zylius, Otto - 393*

Zype (Zypaeus), Frans van den - 390

[Deel II]

Preface

Plantin and his descendants were the greatest typographers produced by the Southern Netherlands, the present Belgium, and they rank high among the great international printing families.

This is not meant to imply that they completely dominated the typographical scene in their day. The Manutius family in Italy, the Estiennes and Didots in France, the Blaeus and Elseviers in Holland - quite apart from those who, like Baskerville, Ibarra, and Bodoni, founded no dynasties - also influenced printing in the centuries discussed in this volume, sometimes more profoundly. However, all that remains of these other giants and of the thousands of their lesser contemporaries are the books bearing their names or imprints, and sometimes a few letters and other documents that allow the broad outlines of their lives to be reconstructed, their hopes and ambitions, struggles and disappointments to be traced. Only in the Plantin House (now the Plantin-Moretus Museum) is it possible to see down to the smallest detail how books were made before the Industrial Revolution, at the end of the eighteenth century, ushered in an age of mechanization. Only here can an authentic old press, type-foundry, and proof-readers' room, with their furnishings and tools, be inspected and admired.

The masters of the Golden Compasses preserved their materials and equipment with a devotion that bordered on mania, making it possible for one of the most complete typographical collections in the world to be handed over with the Plantin House in 1876 and entrusted to the care of the city of Antwerp. It is a peerless collection: seven printing presses (including the two earliest examples known); an early eight-

eenth-century press for copper intaglio printing; some 5,000 punches and 20,000 matrices, cut by the greatest sixteenth-century masters of the craft - a unique treasure in itself; about sixty moulds; roughly ten tons of cast type; a vast amount of composing sticks, galleys, reglets, and other small implements; approximately 14,000 wood-blocks and 3,000 copperplates used for illustrating the works produced by the house; and some 500 drawings from which illustrations were cut.

If workmen from the time of Plantin and the Moretuses could return they would be able to set about their tasks straight away with familiar tools and in familiar surroundings, the compositors at their cases, the printers at their presses, the type-founders at their furnace. Only the central heating and the electric lights would seem strange at first.

Plantin and the Moretuses preserved another category of material, less spectacular to the average visitor to the house, who sees only a few samples of it in the display cases, but one of the most important assets of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in terms of cultural history. In an air-conditioned strongroom in the basement are ranged long rows of ledgers, cash books, files, registers, and bound volumes of letters, covering the whole period from the foundation to the winding up of the firm.

Numbers of letters and documents relating to other old printers have been preserved, but the Plantinian collection is the only extensive set of records to have come down virtually complete. Because of their scope and the importance of the printing house to which they belong, they form an invaluable source of information about printing and publishing from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and more generally about economic, social, and cultural life in this period.

The person who turns the pages of these volumes - sometimes the sand still drops from them where once a master of the *Gulden Passer* or an assiduous book-keeper hastily scattered it, impatient for the ink to dry - is given a glimpse of the old printing world. In a manner not possible anywhere else, he will see how books were written, printed, and distributed in those days. He will be able to picture the rooms of the Plantin House peopled not by museum staff and circulating visitors, but by humanist scholars and workmen. He will sit at banquet tables, hear heated arguments or learned disputations over rummers of wine, witness the visits of great personages attended by

VII

splendid retinues, and share in the printing of the addresses composed in their honour by the masters of the house. Studying these archives he will hear oaths and curses echoing from press and foundry, and through the windows he will see workpeople brawling in the now-so-peaceful courtyard.

In spite of the vast amount that has been written about Plantin and the Moretuses¹ and the extensive use that has been made of the archives, relatively few works have dealt with all the actual processes of printing and selling; only certain aspects of these activities have so far been studied with any thoroughness.²

The author hopes that the present work will do something to fill this gap, although he is well aware that the lack of earlier studies means that many questions can only be touched on at present. The intention has been to survey the activities of the *officina* in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the period in which it was a flourishing business, but for some aspects of these activities, again because of the extent of the material in the archives and the dearth of previous studies,³ it has been necessary to limit the scope of the discussion and concentrate more particularly on the time of Christophe Plantin, the founder of the firm.⁴

1. See the bibliography in Vol. I.
2. General surveys for Plantin's time in: M. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 153-174; C. Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, pp. 197-224; L. Voet, 'The making of books in the Renaissance as told by the Archives of the Plantin-Moretus Museum', *Paga* (Printing & Graphic Arts), 10, 1965, pp. 33-66.
3. Study of the period after 1589 is severely handicapped by the fact that the correspondence of Plantin's successors has not yet been published.
4. The Dutch texts reproduced in this work are always accompanied by an English translation. The French texts have not been translated as a rule. The transcriptions aim to render the originals as closely as possible. However, in French texts taken from the Archives accents have been added so that they are read more easily by the modern reader. In Plantin's accounts very often the word 'pat(t)ar' is used for 'st(ui)ver'. In our transcriptions this has been rendered uniformly into 'st.'

List of Plates and Illustrations

- (1) Title-page of Olaus *facing 8*
Magnus, *Histoire des Pays Septentrionaux*, 1561, with Plantin's own imprint.
- (2) Title-page of the same *facing 8*
book showing the imprint of the Paris bookseller and publisher Martin le Jeune.
- (3) Spread from the *Libro de la Stampa* (Arch. 1), the ledger recording - with all the refinements of Italian double-entry accounting and written in Italian - the firm's transactions during the partnership with the Van Bomberghens, 1563-67. *between 8 & 9*
- (4) Spread from the ledger, 1566-69 (Arch. 40) showing the simpler method of book-keeping Plantin adopted after the dissolution of the partnership with the Van Bomberghens. *between 8 & 9*
- (5) Spread from Plantin's costing notes (Arch. 43) as they were meticulously kept for the benefit of the Van Bomberghens in the period of the partnership, 1563-67. *between 8 & 9*
- (6) Page from the journal for 1566 (Arch. 5) listing all transactions on a daily basis in chronological order, to be transferred to the ledgers afterwards, though usually in abbreviated form. *facing 9*

XIII

- (7) The furnaces of the type *facing 56*
foundry in the Plantin
house, probably dating
from 1620-22 when
Balthasar I Moretus had
this wing added to the
premises.
- (8) Punches from the *between 56 & 57*
Plantin-Moretus Museum
collection, by Hendrik van
den Keere, Guillaume le
Bé, Robert Granjon, and
Claude Garamond, clearly
showing the different ways
these craftsmen had in
finishing off their punches.
- (9) Various moulds from the *between 56 & 57*
Plantin-Moretus Museum
collection
- (10) Matrices for Robert *between 56 & 57*
Granjon's Ascendonica
roman (MA 7) in a wooden
box that may be one of the
39 boxes supplied by
Hendrik van den Keere in
1576. In the foreground
two punch boxes with
painted lids in German
style.
- (11) Matrices in lead (MA 9) and *between 56 & 57*
in copper (MA 78) for
Claude Garamond's
'Grosses Capitales
Extraordinaires'.
- (12) Two series of initial letters *facing 57*
cut in wood and to be cast
in sand (ST 1 and ST 78),
both by Hendrik van den
Keere.
- (13) Fount scheme for three *facing 80*
formes of a roman
garamond on colineus,
supplied by Hendrik van

- den Keere, 1571 (Arch. 153, f° 125).
- (14) Fount scheme for three formes of a gothic nonpareille supplied by Hendrik van den Keere in 1569 or 1570 (Arch. 153, f° 271) showing a meticulous acknowledgment by the typefounder of how he arrived at the amount of his bill. *facing* 81
- (15) Fount scheme for a civilité augustine supplied by Hendrik van den Keere, 1850. As usually the typefounder carefully accounted for all the items of his bill. *facing* 96
- (16) Fount scheme for a paragon Greek, supplied

XIV

- by Van Everbroeck 1565. *facing 97*
 Also this founder gave a
 detailed acknowledgment
 of weight and price.
- (17) General view of the *facing 120*
 workshop.
- (18) One of the two oldest *between 120 & 121*
 presses.
- (19) Detailed view of an old *between 120 & 121*
 press.
- (20) Detail of one of the later *between 120 & 121*
 presses showing the more
 sophisticated system of
 fastening the platen to the
 yoke.
- (21) Side view of one of the *between 120 & 121*
 later presses showing the
 various appurtenances.
- (22) The intaglio press, built in *between 120 & 121*
 Holland in 1714.
- (23) Drawing of an *between 120 & 121*
 'new-fashioned press' from
 Moxon's *Mechanick*
Exercises.
- (24) Drawing of the moving *between 120 & 121*
 parts of a 'new-fashioned
 press' from Moxon's
Mechanick Exercises.
- (25) Type-cases in their place *facing 121*
 on the rack.
- (26) Spread from an interleaved *facing 168*
 copy of Virgil's *Bucolica*
 of 1575, a quarto edition
 with ample margins and
 leading for school use.
- (27-28) Recto and verso of an *between 168 & 169*
 uncut and unfolded sheet
 of a 24mo edition of
 Cicero's *De officiis libri III*
 clearly showing the
 imposition of such a sheet.

- (29) One side of an uncut and *facing* 169
unfolded sheet of the 64mo
Kalendarium 1570, one of
the smallest books ever
published by Plantin.
- (30) General view of the *facing* 192
proof-readers' room in the
Plantin house.
- (31) A page-proof with *facing* 193
corrections by the
proof-readers of Joannes
Christophorus Calvette de
Stella, *Ad ... Ferdinandum*
Alavarum Toletum Albae
Ducem Encomium, 1573.
- (32) A page-proof with *facing* 193
corrections by the
proof-readers of Laurentius
Gambara, *Ad Deum*
gratiarum actio, pro
victoria de Turcis habita,
1572.

- (33) Title-page for Vesalius & Valverde, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani*, 1566, engraved in copper by Pieter Huys to a design of Lambert van Noort. *facing 208*
- (34) Title-page of the *Psalterium*, 1571, cut in wood by Antoon van Leest to a design of Pieter van der Borch. *between 208 & 209*
- (35) Title-page of the *Antiphonarium*, 1573. This monumental work was originally issued without a title-page, but after protests from customers Plantin produced one in great haste, mutilating for the purpose the woodblock of the 1571 *Psalterium*. *between 208 & 209*
- (36) *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, illustration to the folio missal of 1575, cut in wood by Gerard Janssen van Kempen to a design by Pieter van der Borch. *between 208 & 209*
- (37) Plantin's printer's mark, drawn on a woodblock prepared with a white ground, ready for cutting. For some reason the work was not carried out. *between 208 & 209*
- (38) Drawing in pen and bistre by Maarten de Vos, representing The Last Judgment, obviously intended to be engraved in copper to illustrate a folio missal. Most probably the work was not carried out, as there are no Plantinian service books known with *between 208 & 209*

copperplates engraved to these designs which form a series of eight.

(39)

Woodcut illustration from Willem Silvius's edition of Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (Antwerp 1567). After an abortive attempt in 1580 to buy these blocks from Silvius - not to use them himself but rather to prevent Silvius from bringing out a competing edition to Plantin's own, to be illustrated with copperplates, Plantin actually bought them from

- Silvius's widow in 1583. *between 208 & 209*
 Designer and engraver of
 these blocks are unknown.
- (40) Copperplate illustration *between 208 & 209*
 (etching) from one of
 Plantin's editions of
 Guicciardini's
Descrittione... (1581, 1582,
 and 1588). The engraver -
 probably Van der Borcht -
 based his work on the
 woodcuts in the Silvius
 edition (cf. plate 39).
- (41) Title-page design, drawn *between 208 & 209*
 by Peter Paul Rubens, for
 the *Poemata* of Maphaeus
 Barberini (Pope Urban
 VIII), 1634.
- (42) Title-page of Maphaeus *between 208 & 209*
 Barberini, *Poemata* (1634):
 copper engraving by
 Cornelis Galle to Rubens's
 design (cf. plate 41).
- (43) One of the 42 copperplates *facing 209*
 engraved by Pieter and
 Frans Huys for Vesalius &
 Valverde, *Vivae imagines*
partium corporis humani,
 1566. (Cf. plate 33.)
- (44) Title-page of Goltzius's *facing 209*
Romanae et Graecae
antiquitatis monumenta e
priscis monumentis eruta,
 being the first part of the
Opera Huberti Goltzii,
 1645. Engraved in copper
 by Theodoor Galle to a
 design of Peter Paul
 Rubens.
- (45) The outline block (slightly *facing 232*
 reduced) of the two-colour
 woodcut portrait of Charles
 V, appearing in Goltzius's
Icones Imperatorum

Romanorum, 1645. (Cf.
plates 46 & 47).

- (46) The light-effect block *between 232 & 233*
(slightly reduced), printed
in ochre, of the two-colour
woodcut portrait of Charles
V in Goltzius's *Icones*
Imperatorum Romanorum.
(Cf. plates 45 & 47.)
- (47) The complete portrait
(slightly reduced) of
Charles V, two-colour
woodcut appearing in
Goltzius's *Icones*
Imperatorum Romanorum,
being the fifth part of
Opera Huberti Goltzii,
1645. The book contains
144 'emperor'

- portraits, cut for Balthasar I Moretus by Christoffel Jegher between 1631 and 1634. In 1708 the blocks were sold to the Antwerp printers Verdussen, but in 1876 reacquired by the Plantin-Moretus Museum.
- (48) Copy of Valerius, *Argonauticon libri VIII*, a 16mo printed and published by Plantin in 1566. This copy was bound by Plantin himself and probably given by him to Abraham Ortelius, the cartographer, whose signature appears on the title-page. *between 232 & 233* *facing 233*
- (49) *Approbatio* for Justus Lipsius, *De amphitheatro liber*, dated 22 July 1598. The censor wrote his *approbatio* on a copy of the 1585 edition (see also plate 69) which Lipsius had corrected and added to in preparation for the reissue of 1598. *facing 256*
- (50) The *approbatio* for Lipsius's *De amphitheatro liber* as it was printed in the 1598 edition. (Cf. plate 49.) *facing 256*
- (51) Privilege granted by king Philip II to Plantin for the Polyglot Bible, 22 February 1573. *facing 257*
- (52) Page from the manuscript of *Vivas figuras del cuerpsso humano* (see also plate 53) with the dedication to Jeronimo de Roda, member of the *facing 288*

Council of State. The dedication was crossed out and consequently not printed, as Roda was held responsible for the Spanish Fury (1576) and as such was one of the most hated persons in Antwerp.

(53)

Spread from the manuscript of *Vivas figuras del cuerpsso humano*, an adaptation in Spanish of Vesalius & Valverde, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani*, 1566. At the end of the manuscript appears the hand-written *approbatio* of the Antwerp censor Silvester Pardo, dated 28 April 1576. Just as the dedication to Jeronimo de Roda (cf. plate

XVIII

- 52) it was not printed and *between 288 & 289*
undoubtedly for the same
reason: the sack of
Antwerp during the
Spanish Fury of 4
November 1576.
- (54) Foreword to Lipsius's *De cruce libri tres*, written by *between 288 & 289*
a copyist in a clear hand,
corrected and slightly
altered in the author's own
hand. (Cf. plates 55 & 56.)
- (55) Text of the foreword to *between 288 & 289*
Lipsius's *De cruce libri tres*
(cf. plate 54) as printed in
the first edition, 1594.
Continued on plate 56.
- (56) Conclusion of the foreword *between 288 & 289*
to *De cruce libri tres* as it
was printed. (Continued
from plate 55; see also
plate 54.)
- (57) Title-page design for an *between 288 & 289*
edition of Apollodorus of
Athens, dated 1581. The
work was not printed. (Cf.
plate 58.)
- (58) First page of the projected *facing 289*
edition of Apollodorus of
Athens (cf. plate 57). The
text used as a basis was an
earlier printed edition
(Antonius Blado, Rome,
1555) with some slight
revisions. Plantin did not
publish the book; the
initiative may have been
with the scholar involved,
who may have offered the
manuscript to Plantin
complete with a title-page.
The unusual wording of the
latter points in this
direction.

- (59) Seneca's *Tragoediae* facing 296
prepared for press with a
title-page already set and
printed, but crossed out as
it was finally substituted
for another (cf. plate 61).
- (60) Seneca's *Tragoediae*, pages
2 and 3 prepared for press.
Page 2 (verso of the
title-page) was certainly
printed in the Plantin press,
but page 3 and the
following pages belong to
the French or Italian
edition that must have
served as model. The
corrections are in the hand
of the publisher, Frans

- Raphelengius the Younger, *between 296 & 297*
grandson of Plantin. The
book appeared in 1589, but
differs entirely from the
1588 paste-up.
- (61) Title-page of Seneca's *Decem Tragoediae* as it *between 296 & 297*
appears in Plantin's 1589
edition. The 1588 design
(cf. plate 59) was
completely altered and the
format changed from
octavo to 16mo.
- (62) Page from the *Decem Tragoediae*, 1589. *between 296 & 297*
Comparison with the
originally projected layout
shows that the corrections
and changes made there
were incorporated, but the
order of the plays was
altered.
- (63) Title-page of Cornelis *between 296 & 297*
Kiliaan, *Dictionarium*
Teutonico-Latinum, 1588,
prepared for the 1599
edition. The emendations
are in Kiliaan's own
handwriting.
- (64) Title-page of Kiliaan's *between 296 & 297*
Etymologicum Teutonicae
Linguae sive Dictionarium
Teutonico-Latinum, 1599.
This was an augmented and
revised edition of the
Dictionarium
Teutonico-Latinum, the
second edition of which
appeared in 1588. Kiliaan's
sketch (see plate 63) was
largely followed, but with
a few additions, including
alteration of the title.

- (65) A page from Kiliaan's *Dictionarium*, 1588, with notes and additions by the author. (Cf. plate 63.) *between 296 & 297*
- (66) A page from Kiliaan's *Etymologicum*, 1599. The author's additions and corrections in the 1588 edition (cf. plate 65) were largely incorporated in the new edition. *between 296 & 297*
- (67) Manuscript prepared for press; a spread containing text and illustration for an edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Prints of the illustrations were pasted onto the appropriate pages. See also plate 68. *between 296 & 297*

- (68) Spread from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 1591. In printed form the book corresponds with the layout shown in plate 67, but text and illustration have been transposed. *between 296 & 297*
- (69) Page from Lipsius's *De amphitheatro liber*, Antwerp (but actually printed at Leiden), Plantin, 1585. The author's additions and corrections are on the blank pages of this interleaved copy, in preparation for the new edition that appeared in 1598. *between 296 & 297*
- (70) Spread with foreword to the reader from Simon Verepaeus, *Epitome novae Grammatices Despauterianae, Liber quintus*, 1578. Revisions made by the author for the new edition of 1590. *facing 297*
- (71) Page from the 'livre des ouvriers', 1563-67, with the amounts of work done by and the wages paid to the compositor Cornelis Tol from the end of 1563 to the end of 1565. *facing 320*
- (72) One of the ordinances of the Plantin press drawn up to ensure orderliness and smooth running. It was printed in civilité type at the end of 1563. This copy was signed by all the compositors and pressmen then working in the Officina. *facing 321*

- (73) General view of the *facing* 400
bookshop (Room 4 of the
Museum).
- (74) Spread from the *Catalogus* *between* 400 & 401
librorum qui ex
typographia Christophori
Plantini prodierunt, 1584.
On the left-hand page
books published in
Spanish, Italian, and
German; on the right-hand
page books in French.
- (75) Spread from the *Index* *between* 400 & 401
librorum qui ex
typographia Plantini
prodierunt, 1615. This
catalogue was compiled by
or under the direction of
Balthasar I Moretus, it also
lists titles that were no
longer obtainable; these are
marked with an asterisk.

- (76) *Catalogus Librorum* *between 400 & 401*
Typographiae Plantin,
 1579. A broadside list of
 books printed and offered
 for sale by Plantin, after the
 unique copy in the
 Osterreichische
 Staatsarchiv, Vienna.
- (77) Handling of money and *facing 401*
 packing of goods in the
 sixteenth century: from a
 woodcut by Jobst Amman,
Aigentliche abbildung desz
gantzen gewerbe der
Kauffmanschafft...,
 Augsburg, 1585. The
 woodcut clearly shows the
 bales, barrels, and boxes in
 which freight, including
 books, was packed and
 shipped at the time.

Introductory

Chapter 1

*Records and Accounts*¹

In about 1556, in connexion with a delivery to a customer, Plantin noted in passing that he had not kept his account-books for 1553, 1554, and 1555, implying that he could not verify this particular bill.² The young printer does not seem to have learnt his lesson immediately. He still managed to lose some of his ledgers and account notes,³ but, nevertheless, from this time on he began to be generally more careful with such records.

Plantin started a *grand livre* in 1555 in which transactions for a particular period were arranged according to the individual or body concerned.⁴ Probably at the same time he began a *journal* in which he entered daily sales (and purchases, where appropriate) of books, in the chronological order in which the transactions were made. These journals, however, are preserved only from 1558 onwards.⁵ Plantin also kept note of various other receipts and expenditures in separate registers,⁶ but entries in these were much abbreviated, tended to be careless, and are presumably far from complete.

1. J. Denucé, *Inventaris op het Plantijnsch archief, Inventaire des archives plantiniennes*, 1926. 'Arch.' in subsequent notes refers to the Plantin-Moretus Museum Archives; numbers refer to Denucé's inventory.
2. Arch. 38, f^o 86^{vo} ('A Mons. Gerard Gramay: racoustré et fait un miroir à son estuy de peignes. Je nay point mes livres de 53.54.55.').
3. Including the journal for 1555-57 and his *cahiers de Francfort*. For other gaps in the archives see below.
4. Arch. 38.
5. Arch. 35 (1558-60), Arch. 36 (1561-62).
6. In Arch. 34 there are sundry notes and entries, including a list of the matrices bought by Plantin, but mostly devoted to dispatches of books (particularly to France); in Arch. 35 there are notes on the amount of work completed by members of staff. It appears from Arch. 38, f^o 40^{vo} that Plantin had a 'livret de Francfort' in 1558 that has not been preserved.

All this changed at the end of 1563 when Plantin went into partnership with Cornelis van Bomberghen and other members of that family. Until the partnership was dissolved in 1567 its book-keeping was exemplary.¹

The partners started a *Giornale della Stampa*² and a *Libro della Stampa* or ledger,³ and kept them, in Italian, according to the principles set out by Luca Paciolo in the first printed treatise on double-entry book-keeping (Venice, 1494). In these books all the transactions of the partnership were entered, giving a clear picture of its activities.

The book-keeper, either Cornelis van Bomberghen himself or a clerk in his service, made up his accounts from entries which Plantin kept in a series of registers: his *journal des affaires* (purchases of equipment, paper, etc., sales, receipts and expenditures⁴), the *grand livre des affaires* (which contained practically the same information but concentrated under fewer headings⁵), a *livre des ouvriers* (the wages of the pressmen, compositors, proof-readers, illustrators, etc.⁶), a *livre des libraires et autres* (for business with booksellers and private customers not conducted through the shop⁷), a *livre des ventes à la boutique*,⁸ a

1. Cf. F. Edler's interesting exposition 'Cost accounting in the sixteenth century. The books of account of Christopher Plantin, Antwerp, printer and publisher', *The Accounting Review* (Chicago), 12, 1937, pp. 226-237. For double-entry book-keeping in general see R. De Roover, 'Aux origines d'une technique intellectuelle: la formation et l'expansion de la comptabilité à partie double', *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, 9, 1937, pp. 171-193, 270-298; for double-entry book-keeping in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century see W. Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de Internationale handel van de Vlaamse firma's in de 16^e eeuw*, 1959, pp. 432 sqq.
2. Arch. 2.
3. Arch. 1. Cf. plate 2.
4. Arch. 3 (1563-67, entries in chronological order but grouped according to subject: *Papier*, *Impression*, *Reliures*, etc.). From 1566 on (or at least preserved from that date: Arch. 44 [1566], Arch. 45 [1567]) a journal was kept for each year. These recorded purchases and sales in greater detail and in chronological order, but only of books and sometimes paper; particulars of bindings, work completed by the men, transport costs, printing shop equipment etc. are omitted here.
5. Arch. 4.
6. Arch. 31.
7. Arch. 39 (1564-65). Later split into two registers: *Libraires* (Arch. 40, 1566-69) and *Debiteurs* (private customers other than booksellers: Arch. 37, 1565-69).
8. Arch. 43^{iv} (1565-69). Cf. p. 390, note 1.

journal de C. Plantin (with the *livre des ustensiles* and entries of various transactions¹), and a *livre des relieurs*.²

These various records made it possible to calculate and enter up the production costs of every book printed.³ This represented a form of industrial book-keeping and cost accounting practically unique in pre-nineteenth-century Europe.⁴

The dissolution of the partnership in 1567 meant an end to this refined double-entry book-keeping according to Paciolo's precepts. Historians of accountancy have expressed some surprise at this return to a less perfect system and have assumed that Plantin did not grasp the full scope and potential of double entry. This was probably partly the case, but there is no doubt that there were also practical considerations. Keeping the accounts by the double-entry method, as in 1563-67, demanded a great deal of time and the *Giornale della Stampa* and the *Libro della Stampa* required the services of an expert. There was good reason for it in a joint enterprise where it was necessary for the partners to be able to know at short notice what their assets and liabilities were, what profits they could expect to make, or what losses they would have to help cover. Once Plantin was independent again there was no longer any need for him to go to so much trouble. His records of his main transactions, incomings, and outgoings were sufficient to show him whether he was making a profit or a loss, without the extra labour involved in double entry of all this information. Plantin's successors were of the same opinion and the fairly rudimentary method of accounting to which he returned was to remain practically unchanged until the end of the *officina* in the nineteenth century.

The *journal*⁵ and the *grand livre*⁶ remained the basis of the system, without the balancing and other refinements which had characterized the 1563-67 period, but they were more accurately kept than before

1. Arch. 36.

2. Arch. 755 (1564-65), Arch. 756 (1565-69).

3. Included in Arch. 4.

4. Cf. Edler's remarks in the article quoted on p. 4, note 1. See also p. 380 and plate 5.

5. Cf. plate 6.

6. Cf. plate 4.

1562. Most transactions continued to be entered up in chronological order in the journals.¹ Whenever the extent of the transactions in hand or the needs of the moment required it, special ledgers were started. Thus there was one for dealings with the booksellers (this might be further divided into ledgers for the *libraires d'Anvers* and *libraires étrangers*), another for business conducted with people other than booksellers, or for some other special category.² Particulars were sometimes extracted from these ledgers and entered in separate books.³ Plantin also continued some of the registers he had had to keep during the partnership and which he had found valuable (some of these had actually been started before 1563). They included *livres des ventes à la boutique*, *livres des ouvriers*, *livres des relieurs*, and *cahiers de Francfort*. He also initiated *livres de caisse* in which cash receipts and payments were entered.⁴ Such registers were preserved very carefully from 1567 onwards, although this does not mean that there are no gaps. Hiatuses in the record are particularly apparent in three categories of business: the affairs of the branches at Paris and Leiden (the accounts probably remained in those cities and were later lost); the Frankfurt Fairs, where the same thing must have happened;⁵ and the activities of the firm in the nineteenth century (presumably a number of the registers were still of practical use and were therefore retained by Edward Moretus when he handed over the Plantin House to the City of Antwerp in 1876).⁶ Why so few *livres des ventes à la boutique* should have survived is less clear.⁷

Besides these regular accounts, Plantin and his successors preserved many other papers which record their activities. The information

1. At least in so far as they concern books (and sometimes paper); consequently they belong with Arch. 44 and 45, not with Arch. 3 (cf. p. 4, note 4).
2. For example, Plantin started separate registers for transactions with Philip II (e.g., Arch. 5, 6, and 22).
3. For example, the register *Dettes anciennes 1588-1612* (Arch. 1127). See also p. 451.
4. Preserved from 1570 (Arch. 28) on.
5. Only preserved from 1586 to 1639 (Arch. 963-1052), together with the *cahier* for Lent 1579 (Arch. 962). Cf. also pp. 408, note 5 and 500, note 1.
6. Cf. Vol. I, p. 254.
7. Concerning these *livres de vente* see p. 394, note 2.

they provide may also appear, wholly or in part, in the account-books, or it may be kept entirely separate. Such documents include letters, bills, receipts, IOUs, notes of deliveries of paper and other materials, inventories of printed books and stocks of paper, ‘privileges’ granted by the authorities for printing books, proofs, insurance and customs declarations, as well as more intimate items such as last wills and testaments, and accounts for personal purchases. Part of this record was in the form of registers, part in loose sheets of paper or parchment put into files and stored in chests and trunks. All this material was sorted out with some care, either at the time of the transfer of the house to the municipality,¹ or afterwards by the director Max Rooses, and assembled and bound.

Naturally it was in this part of the Plantinian archives, consisting as they did of piles of loose sheets of paper, that the greatest losses must have been sustained. In many cases chance alone must have decided what went into the waste paper basket and what was preserved for posterity, although the volume of material that has survived gives the reader the impression that the almost obsessive care of Plantin and the Moretuses for their documents prevented much from being thrown away.

The business, its spheres of operation²

The masters of the *Gulden Passer* were at the same time printers, publishers, and booksellers. As booksellers they sold not only their own products, but also those of other printers, both native and foreign.

The *Officina Plantiniana* functioned for more than three hundred years and in the course of this long period it repeatedly had to adapt to changing circumstances. This is reflected in changes within the firm in the relative importance of its printing, publishing, and selling activities.

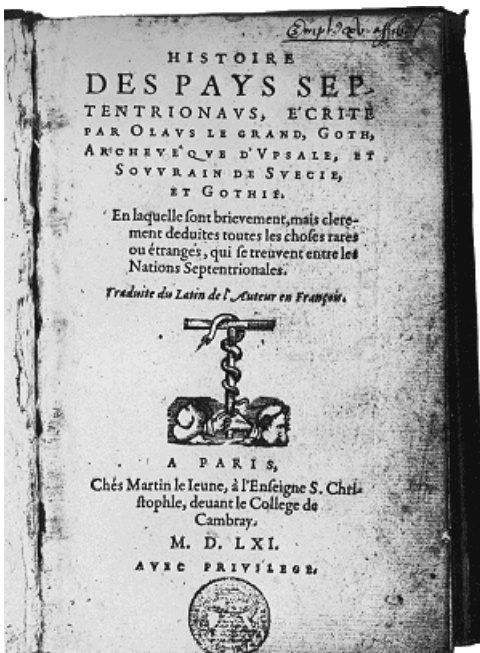
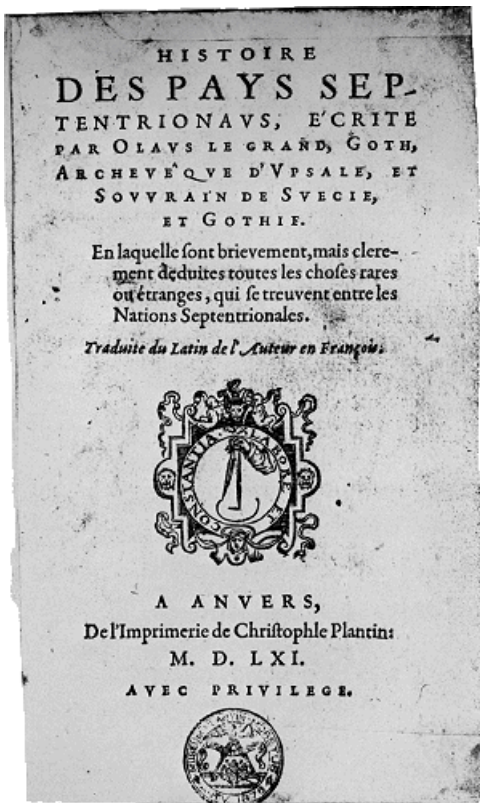
1. In the years immediately before the transfer of the Plantin House to the City of Antwerp, the archives were put in some sort of order by Edward Moretus's son-in-law, Baron de Renette.
2. This chapter, which gives only a brief idea of the various activities and facets of the firm, is intended as an introduction to the chapters devoted to production and sales.

In about 1650 the Moretuses began to specialize almost exclusively in service books for the Spanish market, and henceforth they acted mainly as the publishers of what they printed on their own presses. Their retail trade contracted and was similarly restricted largely to the sale of their own works.

The picture for the preceding period is much more complex. Like the later Moretuses, Plantin and his immediate successors were both printers and publishers. To a great extent they themselves bore the costs of publishing many of the works they printed. On the title-pages of books in Latin this was generally indicated by the formula *Ex officina Christophori Plantini* - changed to *Ex officina Plantiniana*¹ under the Moretuses.

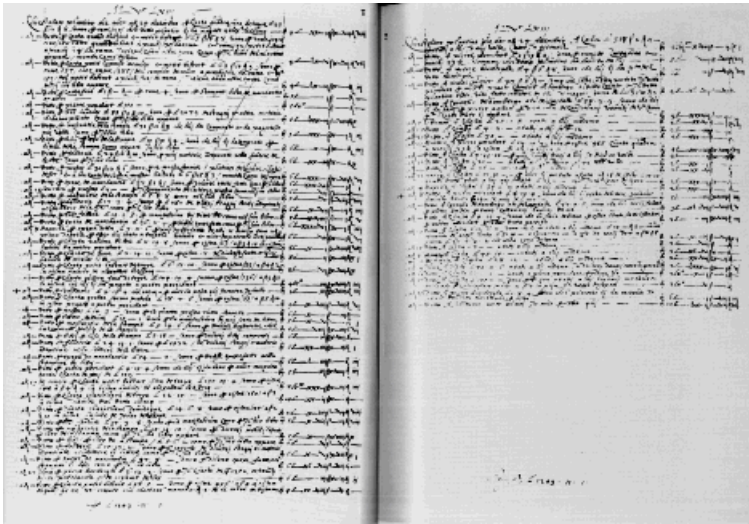
In the troubled years after the Spanish Fury at Antwerp (1576), Plantin was often constrained to print and publish works that might displease the Spanish authorities and their supporters. To cover himself, he devised a means of distinguishing between books which he freely undertook to produce, or at least found not too irreconcilable with his personal position, and those that were forced upon him or were likely to have unpleasant consequences for him. The former category were given the usual formula *Ex officina Christophori Plantini*; the latter had the subtle modification *In officina*.² Sometimes, however, he preferred to publish potentially dangerous works anonymously or under the name of one of his sons-in-law, or even of one of his journeymen.³ In vernacular works he often made use of formulas which revealed the fact that he had been obliged to publish them; books in Dutch might bear the words 'Deur bevel vande overheijt' [By command of the authorities].⁴

1. Usually followed by the name of the Moretus in question: 'Ex Officina Plantiniana apud Joannem Moretum', for example. The corresponding French and Dutch formulas were 'De l'imprimerie de Christophle Plantin' and 'Bij Christoffel Plantijn'.
2. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 236-237; cf. also Vol. I, p. 111.
3. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 98-99. The Moretuses also sometimes thought it wiser not to print their address. Balthasar I Moretus published Mathieu de Morgues's apologies for the exiled French Queen Maria de' Medici anonymously so as not to antagonize Louis XIII and Richelieu.
4. Cf. Vol. I, p. 110.



- (1) *Opposite left:* Olaus Magnus, *Histoire des Pays Septentrionaux*, 1561, with Plantin's own imprint.
(2) *Opposite, right:* The same book showing the imprint of the Paris bookseller and publisher Martin le Jeune, who bought a large part of the run and whose copies were given a special title-page. The upper part of Plantin's original title-page (the actual title of the book) was retained, and also the two lines of text at the bottom.

*2-*3



(3) Spread from the *Libra de la Stampa* (Arch. 1). This ledger records in great detail, with all the refinements of double-entry accounting in the new Italian manner-and even written in Italian-the firm's transactions during the partnership with members of the Van Bomberghen family, 1563-67.

The image shows two pages from a handwritten ledger, likely from the 16th century. The left page is titled "M. D. LXXVI. Guilielmus Syluius Lib" and the right page is "M. D. LXXVI. Guilielmus Syluius libe". Both pages contain columns of text and numbers, representing financial transactions. The entries are written in Latin and include details such as dates, descriptions of goods or services, and monetary amounts. The ledger is organized into columns, with the left side detailing transactions and the right side showing the corresponding amounts. The handwriting is in a cursive script typical of the period. At the bottom of each page, there are summary lines and a diagonal line indicating the end of an account or a section.

(4) Spread from the ledger, 1566-69 (Arch. 40). Already at the end of the partnership with the Van Bomberghens Plantin contented himself with a simpler method of book-keeping, consisting of ledgers (as shown here) and journals (see plate 6). The ledgers detailed transactions with booksellers and important private customers: deliveries and payments to these on the left-hand page ('doibt'); deliveries and payments received from them on the right-hand page ('doibt avoir'). Whenever a page was filled the balance was shown and the account continued on the next available blank



(5) Spread from Plantin's costing notes. For the benefit of the Van Bomberghens in the period of the partnership, 1563-67, Plantin kept meticulous records (Arch. 4) of the costs of each book produced. The entries on the page illustrated give details of the company's earliest publications (1564): the 16mo Virgil; H. Joliffe, *Responsio venerabilium sacerdotum...*; *ABC avec la civilité puerile*; *Testamenten der 12 Patriarchen*; *Reinard de Vos*; the 16mo Horace; the 16mo Lucanus; and *Promptuariolum Latinae linguae*.



(6) *Opposite*: Page from the journal for 1566 (Arch. 5). The journals list all transactions (purchases and deliveries of books, payments made and received, and occasionally also purchases of paper and other materials) on a daily basis in chronological order. These entries were usually transferred to the ledgers, but mostly in a much abbreviated form.

Bearing the costs of printing and publishing books demands a great deal of capital. The quantity of work which Plantin and the early Moretuses printed would have been beyond the means of businessmen with far greater resources. A large percentage of the works, consequently, were commissioned by third parties, the masters of the Golden Compasses being merely the printers. These third parties might be the authors themselves - or relatives or other persons with an interest in the writer - who were prepared to meet the total cost of putting their books before the literate public. This was often, though not always, indicated on the title-page: ‘Impresso en Anveres por Christophoro Plantino, prototypographo dela Catholica Magestad. A costa d'el autor’ (Garibay, *Compendia historial ... de todos los reynos de España*, 1571); ‘Imprimé par Christophle Plantin, pour l'auteur’ (E. Perret, *XXV Fables des Animaux*, 1578); ‘Abrahamo Ortelio cosmographo regio excudebat Christophorus Plantinus’ (A. Ortelius, *Nomenclator Ptolemaicus*, 1579); ‘A Anvers, de l'imprimerie de Christoffle Plantin, pour Abraham Ortel autheur mesme de ce livre’ (A. Ortelius, *Théâtre de l'Univers*, 1579); ‘Ghedruet tot Leyden by Christoffel Plantyn voor Lucas Jansz. Waghenaer’ (L.J. Waghenaer, *De spiegel der zeevaerdt*, 1584). In some cases the *officina* did not disclose its share in the production of a particular work and let all the credit accrue to the author. Only the initials and the type used reveal that the introductory text of Rubens's *Palazzi di Genova*, 1622, was printed on the presses of his close friend Balthasar I Moretus. In other instances it was the author who modestly retired, his financial contribution being revealed only by the Plantinian account-books.¹

Ecclesiastical and secular authorities often enlisted the services of the famous Plantinian press, commissioning works and frequently taking an entire edition, which they then paid for and distributed. In 1562, in Plantin's absence, the firm printed *Reformation de la confession de la foy que les ministres de Genève présentèrent au Roy en l'assemblée de Poissy*, by F. Claude de Saintes, a work which attacked the French Calvinists. It was ordered by Polytes, the recorder (*griffier*) of the city of Antwerp,

1. To give just one example, Stewechius's *Flavii Vegetii de re militari libri IV*, 1585 (cf. p. 296).

acting on behalf of the Privy Council at Brussels. Ten years later, in 1572, the Council of Brabant commissioned Plantin to print *Discours sur les causes de l'exécution faite ès personnes de ceux qui avoyent conjuré contre le roy et son estat*, an apology for the St. Bartholomew's Eve massacre. In 1582 the city of Antwerp had its *Rechten ende costumen van Antwerpen* printed by Plantin, who was in fact their official printer. In such instances the share of the public body in the production of the work was not explicitly stated on the title-page or in the colophon, although the formulation of the address made it clear that Plantin was simply the printer, not the publisher.¹

Plantin and the early Moretuses also worked for other publishers. Usually there is only a discreet colophon or some indication at the end of the book to remind the reader of the firm's part in it. The first book which Plantin printed, G.M. Bruto's *Fanciulla*, has an unobtrusive 'De l'imprimerie de Christophle Plantain' at the back, while the emblem of the publisher Bellerus adorns the title-page.² Sometimes, however, Plantin's collaboration is stated on the title-page. Most of the albums of engravings published by Philip Galle but with a text in letterpress printed by Plantin have a formula to this effect.³

1. For example, *Discours sur les causes...*, 1572, has 'De l'imprimerie de Christophle Plantin, Imprimeur de Sa Majesté, M.D.L. XXII, par ordonnance signé De la Torre'; *Rechten ende costumen van Antwerpen* has 'T' Antwerpen, ghedruckt by Christoffel Plantyn (Antwerp, printed by Christophe Plantin).
2. There is one copy known, however, which Plantin adapted specially for presentation to the influential Grammar. In this Bellerus's address and printer's mark were replaced by Plantin's address. Other instances: (1) J. Meyerus, *Comites Flandriae*, 1556, has on the title-page 'Apud Joannem Bellerum', in the colophon 'Excudebat Joanni Steelsio Christophorus Plantinus'; (2) M.H. Vida, *Opera*, 1558, has on the title-page 'Apud Joannem Steelsium', in the colophon 'Excudebat Christophorus Plantinus'; (3) *Breviarium reverendorum patrum ordinis divi Benedicti*, 1561, has on the title-page 'Coloniae, apud Maternum Cholinum', in the colophon 'typis Christophori Plantini'; (4) L. Lemnius, *Occulta naturae miracula*, 1567, has on the title-page 'Apud Guilielmum Simonem ad insigne Scuti Basiliensis' and in the colophon 'Excudebat Christophorus Plantinus'.
3. For example Vosmerus, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae*, 1578: 'Excudebat Gallaeo Christophorus Plantinus'; P. Heyns, *Le miroir du monde*, 1579: 'De l'imprimerie de Cristoffle Plantin pour Philippe Galle'. This also happened with books for other publishers: H. Luytens, *De nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, 1565, has 'Excudebat Antonio Tilenio C. Plantinus'.

In other cases there is no mention at all of Plantin's participation and it is only the type and initials, or entries in the accounts, which reveal it.¹

On the other hand Plantin's correspondence shows that many works bearing the words 'ex officina Christophori Plantini', which would normally be taken to mean that he had borne the costs of printing and publishing, were in fact produced with the financial backing of colleagues. In many letters towards the end of his life the great printer would sadly explain how, since the Spanish Fury, he had become a 'hireling' in the service of more fortunate competitors - in particular Michel Sonnius of Paris and Arnold Mylius of Cologne - who subcontracted work to him, but retained his name on the title-pages, hoping that his international repute would improve their sales.² These laments are probably somewhat exaggerated and the publications Plantin mentioned are more likely to have belonged to yet another category: works printed or published with partial financial backing from third parties.

These third parties might be the authors themselves who helped to cover Plantin against possible financial risks, advancing him the necessary cash to pay his workers and buy his materials in anticipation of the return on the capital invested. The sums invested were usually balanced by supplying the backer with a number of copies of the work printed.³ These third parties could also be secular or ecclesiastical authorities who subsidized the publication of specific editions.⁴ This sort of sponsorship is not usually stated in the works themselves, and again is revealed only by an examination of the Plantinian

1. There are copies of Plantin's edition of P. de Ronsard's *Les Amours*, 1557, with the address 'A Rouen, par Nicolas de Rous', others with 'A Basle, par Augustin Godinet'. Plantin's part in the production is not indicated in the work itself and has only been traced by means of the archives and comparison of the types used. See M. Sabbe, 'Plantin et les "Amours" de Ronsard', *De Gulden Passer*, 2, 1924, pp. 110-115; J. Guignard, 'A propos des éditions françaises de Plantin', *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen, 1956*, pp. 351-352.
2. Cf. Vol. 1, p. 91.
3. Cf. pp. 293 sqq.
4. For example, H. Barlandus, *Hollandiae comitum historia et icones*, Leiden, 1584 (see Rooses, Musée, p. 235); J. Bochius, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis... in adventu principis Ernesti*, 1595 (cf. Rooses, Musée, p. 265).

correspondence and accounts. Financial backing of this type could also be provided by other publishers. At the beginning of his career Plantin made many agreements with colleagues in the trade who contracted to take a considerable proportion of the copies of the work to be printed. Such copies were generally printed with a special title-page bearing the name of the sponsor;¹ in exceptional cases the name might be coupled on the title-page with that of Plantin.² In his later years, too, Plantin sometimes invoked the financial aid of publishing printers in Antwerp or abroad, although this was usually done to facilitate the production of interesting and promising, but costly projects.³ For one such enterprise, Plantin joined forces with Steelsius and Nutius; the three Antwerp publishers even had a common printer's mark prepared and coupled this with their combined address: 'Antverpiae, apud Christophorum Plantinum, haeredes J. Steelsii, et Philippum Nutium' (*Decretales Gregorii*, 1573).⁴ There were other instances of the names of the temporary associates appearing together on the title-page; for example H. Luytenius's *Enarrationes Evangeliorum*, 1565, had 'Antverpiae, excudebat Christophorus Plantinus sibi et Antonio Tilenio'.⁵ The author believes that a good deal of Plantin's editions after 1576 belong in this category, i.e. works financed by money advanced by Sonnius, Mylius, and others, who were repaid in appropriate numbers of books, Plantin retaining a percentage of the edition to sell on his own behalf.

1. In the following editions some copies had a title-page with Plantin's address, others a title-page with the name of another bookseller: (1) P. Belon du Mans, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez...*, 1555 (Antwerp, J. Steelsius); (2) [Alvarez], *Historiale description de l'Éthiopie*, 1558 (Antwerp, J. Bellerus); (3) Olaus, *Histoire des pays septentrionaux*, 1561 (Paris, Martin Le Jeune), cf. plates 1-2; (4) *Dictionarium Tetraglotton*, 1562 ([a] ex officina Christophori Plantini, [b] ex officina Christophori Plantini sumptibus haeredum Arnoldi Bierckmanni, [c] in aedibus Joannis Stelsii, [d] ex officina Guilielmi Silvii); (5) *Biblia*, 1559 (Antwerp, J. Steelsius).
2. J. Guerin, *Traicté... de peste*, 1567: 'A Anvers, de l'imprimerie de Christophle Plantin. On les vend à Enghien à la Pomme de Granade, chez Iehan de Hertoghe'.
3. Such as the vast *Opera S. Augustini* and *Opera S. Hieronymi* (cf. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 216-218).
4. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 117. See also p. 14, note 4.
5. Another instance was *S. Cyrilli Catecheses*, 1564: 'Excudebat sibi et Materno Cholino, civi Coloniensi, Christophorus Plantinus'.

Thus Plantin and the early Moretuses were primarily printers and printer-publishers of their own works. Occasionally they also acted as publishers of books printed by other firms. Examples are understandably not very numerous: the masters of the Golden Compasses needed all their resources to keep their own presses active. It was, in fact, only in the peak years of 1568-75 that Plantin used other printers. However, in this period, when his own presses were fully taken up with production of the Polyglot Bible and of missals and breviaries, he did so fairly often, contracting out urgent work (sometimes paid for by authors or other publishers) to such printers as Theodoor Lindanus, Hendrik Aelsens, and Jan Verwithagen in Antwerp, Ghislenus Manilius in Ghent, Jan Masius (or Maes), Jacob Heydenberghe, and Servatius Sassenus in Louvain. Only Verwithagen and Masius put their names in the books which they printed for Plantin. Masius, who was responsible for the greatest number of such impressions, used type supplied by Plantin.¹

Outside the years 1568-75, there appear to be scarcely any instances of the masters of the Golden Compasses publishing books printed by other firms. However, there were occasions both before and after that period when they helped finance such productions, usually by agreeing to take a considerable proportion of the copies printed. As has been seen above, they frequently had recourse to this method to obtain finance for their own projects, supplying copies with their client's imprint by way of repayment. They stipulated and obtained the same terms when they helped finance the production of a book.² For example there are copies known of *Le premier volume de Roland furieux* of 1555 with Plantin's imprint, and others with that of the Antwerp printer Gerard Spelman. To judge from the initials and type used, the work was certainly not printed on Plantin's presses.

1. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 165-166.
2. The formulas used in these cases were: 'Apud Christophorum Plantinum', 'Chez Christophle Plantin', and 'By Christoffel Plantyn'. Cf. Plantin's letter of 4th May 1586 to Councillor Brughel (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1098) '... *Antverpiae Apud Christophorum Plantinum* par lesquels il s'entend que je ne les ay pas imprimés mais bien qu'ils sont a vendre à Anvers en nostre boutique...'

An edition might also acquire two different title-pages for other reasons. There are copies of works printed in 1567 which have Plantin's Paris address on the title-page.¹ He must have thought that this would stimulate sales in France. Many of the works published by Plantin's son-in-law at Leiden between 1585 and 1589 exist in two versions, one giving the Dutch university town as the place of publication, the other Antwerp. This does not mean that Plantin helped to subsidize his son-in-law's publications. The Antwerp address must have been used as a means of assuring a market for certain 'suspect' works² (emanating as they did from Protestant Leiden) in the Southern Netherlands, which had been brought back under Spanish rule. Later the Moretuses did help to meet the costs of a few of their Leiden relatives' publications, including the Dutch edition of the Dodoens herbal of 1618,³ although in this particular case copies intended for Antwerp were not given a special title-page.

On a number of occasions Plantin and his successors varied this practice of involving themselves in the publication of other printers' works by buying up remaining copies of an earlier publication, providing them with a new title-page, and reissuing them. Sometimes such books were made part of a new series; or they might contain a certain amount of new material.⁴

1. P. Savonne, *Instruction et maniere de tenir livres de raison*, 1567: 'A Paris. Au Compas d'Or, Rue Saint Jacques'; *Fabulae Aesopi*, 1567: 'Parisiis, sub Circino Aureo, via Jacobaea'.
2. Especially the works of Justus Lipsius: cf. pp. 269-270. The letter quoted on p. 13, note 2, dealt with this matter: Plantin was asking permission to change the address on the title-pages of the Leiden publications of Lipsius to 'Antverpiae, Apud Christophorum Plantinum'.
3. M. Sabbe, 'Een en ander over Dodoens' Cruydboeck-uitgaven van 1608 en 1618 en de Van Ravelingen's', *De Gulden Passer*, 15, 1937, pp. 89-106.
4. For example: (1) a book of canon law in 3 vols., 1573 (with P. Nutius and the heirs of J. Steelsius), the first volume as issued comprising copies with altered, title-pages and colophons of G. Desboys's Paris edition of 1561 (cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 117); (2) M. Lobelius, *Plantarum seu stirpium historia*, 1576, the second part being Thomas Purfoot's edition published in London, 1571 (cf. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 222-223); (3) P. Leopardus, *Emendationum et miscellaneorum libri viginti*, 1568, begun but not completed by H. Goltzius of Bruges, who handed over to Plantin the first eight quires he had printed (cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 227); (4) H. Goltzius, *Opera omnia*, 1645, 4 of the 5 vols. being copies of J. Biaeus's edition, published in Antwerp, 1617-20 (cf. *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens, Catalogue de l'exposition à la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1954, no. 346).

The production of a book involves several processes.¹ Printing consists of the reproduction of a text by mechanical means, and a text is obviously the first requirement.

To reproduce a text certain materials and instruments are necessary. In the time of Plantin and the Moretus these consisted of: paper or parchment to provide a surface on which to print; printing presses; lead type, cast in matrices which had been struck with punches; and ink. Most of these were supplied to printers by specialist firms.

In Plantin's day the possession of a text and a suitably equipped workshop did not mean that the printer was ready to begin. Authorities kept careful watch over their typographers and insisted that the religious and political orthodoxy of every text should be attested before printing.

Once the printer had obtained the church's *approbatio*, and the necessary 'privilege' or patent had been granted by the secular authority, he could set about choosing the format of the book and the typeface he was going to use. His choice in these matters was determined by the paper and founts he had available, by the purpose and nature of the work, and in some cases by the author's wishes. He then decided on the number of copies to be printed; this depended either on his own instinctive judgment of the potential market, or on his customer's requirements.

1. For surveys for the Plantinian house, more particularly in Plantin's time, see p. vii, note 2. Technical expositions: (1) the chapter 'L'imprimerie' in the Plantin edition of *La première et la seconde partie des Dialogues françois pour les ieunes enfans. Het eerste ende tweede deel van de Françoische t' samensprekinghen, overgheset in de nederduytsche spraecke*, 1567 (attributed to Plantin himself, cf. Vol. I, p. 135) contains interesting technical details and is much quoted in the following pages (under the abbreviated title *Dialogues françois et flamands*). Ray Nash, in *Calligraphy and printing in the sixteenth century*, 1964, gives - apart from a reproduction of the original French and Dutch texts - an English translation with comments; (2) J. Moxon, *Mechanick exercises on the whole art of printing* (1683-4), a new edition with valuable notes by H. Davis and H. Carter, 1958; (3) W. Gs Hellinga, *Copy and print in the Netherlands*, 1962. A worthwhile general discussion of the subject, with a full bibliography, in L. Febvre & H.J. Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, 1958; for France there is also D.T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime, 1500-1791*, 1958. See also G. Barber, *French letterpress printing*, 1969.

It was at this point that the actual work of printing began. The compositors set the type in lines in their composing sticks, placed the lines of type in long trays known as galleys, and made these galleys up into pages. The text having been set in this way, a proof was pulled and passed to the proof-readers for correction. When all faults had been corrected, the journeymen laid the formes in the presses and printed the requisite number of sheets. Other workmen, the collators, assembled the printed sheets, folded them into quires, and then made the quires up into complete copies.

This completed the work in the printing press itself. Most books were sold *in albis*, that is to say, unbound. If a customer wanted bound books then the copies were put out to specialist bookbinders.

Many editions were illustrated. Like the manufacture of paper and ink, the cutting or casting of type, and bookbinding, this was mostly done outside the house. Artists drew the models which the specialists cut in wood or engraved in copper - the only methods available to the illùstrator until the advent of lithography at the end of the eighteenth century. The wood-blocks could be printed on the same presses as lead type and the two processes could be integrated in the *officina*. Copperplates, on the other hand, required special presses and the printing of these was often left to specialist firms.

In the following sections the various aspects of printing, publishing, and business management will be dealt with. The different activities have been grouped together into a number of main subjects: first the printer's materials, next his techniques. The subsequent section is devoted to Plantin's publishing activities, as opposed to printing, and the one after that to the social aspects of a sixteenth-century business and the relationships between the master and his men. The final section deals with sales and financial aspects. In the Appendixes some particular problems are discussed and sources given from which the author has derived his conclusions.

The printer's materials

Chapter 2

*Paper and Parchment*¹

It is necessary first to consider the materials and equipment essential to the craft of printing. Paper is one of the necessities of the trade that, by its nature, requires continual replenishment; it can of course be used only once. It will be seen that paper accounted for an average of 60-65 per cent of the cost of producing a book, this percentage rising to 75 per cent for some large printings.² It used up vast amounts of capital with remorseless regularity. Through the years paper merchants were the most important suppliers of the Plantin firm and their bills figure as one of the principal items of regular expenditure in its accounts.

Before discussing who these merchants were, some idea must be given of the quantities of paper the masters of the Golden Compasses had to order. These quantities were, then as now, expressed in reams of 500 sheets, subdivided into 20 'mains' (quires) of 25 sheets each. The amounts involved can best be comprehended by considering how

1. For Plantin's period: a few details in Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 77 and 158. For the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, two studies by M. Sabbe are interesting and informative: 'Ysbrand Vincent en zijn Antwerpsche vrienden', *De Moretussen en hun kring*, 1928, pp. 178-232; 'Inen uitvoerrechten op boeken en papier gedurende de 17^e en 18^e eeuw in Zuid-Nederland,' *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 99-115. For the Northern Netherlands paper industry in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries consult the first chapter of B.W. de Vries, *De Nederlandse papiernijverheid in de negentiende eeuw*, 1957 (a notable book with a good bibliography; however, the author made no use of Sabbe's studies). For France, see p. 24, note 6.
2. Cf. pp. 379 sqq.

much paper was needed to print a book. Obviously this varied according to the format, the number of pages, and the number of copies printed. For a folio edition the sheet is folded into two. If the sheet is printed on both sides one sheet gives four pages of print. One folio book of 100 pages therefore requires 25 sheets of paper, and if 1,000 copies are to be printed, the total needed is $25 \times 1,000 = 25,000$ sheets = 50 reams. For a quarto edition each sheet is folded in four, giving eight pages of print. A book of 100 pages thus requires $12\frac{1}{2}$ sheets and a printing of 1,000 copies takes 12,500 sheets or 25 reams. For an octavo edition the corresponding figures are $6\frac{1}{4}$ sheets, and 6,250 sheets or $12\frac{1}{2}$ reams.

The following are a few actual examples from the firm's account-books:

J. Sambucus, *Emblemata*, 1564, octavo, 240 pp., 1,250 copies: 'Il contiennent 16 feilles et la première a esté refaïcte et est de 1,250 qui sont 42 rames et la feille refaïcte 2 rames qui font ensemble 44 rames.'¹

M. Barlaeus, *De miseriis et fragilitate humanae vitae libellus*, 1566, octavo, 63 pp.: 'Il est imprimé à 150... et y est entré 25 mains.'²

Cassiodorus, *Institutionis divinarum lectionum liber I*, 1566, octavo, 112 pp.: 'Il contient 7 feilles et est imprimé à 550, y est entré 9 rames de papier.'³

The Polyglot Bible, in eight huge folio volumes, required no less than 1,600 sheets per copy,⁴ making an impressive total of about 1,920,000 sheets or 3,840 reams for the entire printing of 1,200.

The masters of the Golden Compasses made this sort of calculation for every work that they published. This they had to do for working out the cost of production and fixing the selling price. But these figures still do not convey a clear picture of the vast amount of paper that was carried into the press every year. There is a simpler method of gauging the quantities involved. The daily output of normal work from one printing-press amounted to 1,250 sheets, printed on both sides, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ reams. For liturgical books (the 'black-

1. Arch. 4, f^o 62^{vo}.

2. Arch. 4, f^o 91^{vo}.

3. Arch. 4, f^o 91^{vo}.

4. See Plantin to Arias Montanus, *Corr.*, II, no. 205 (3rd Feb. 1570).

and-red' editions as they were known in the Plantin press) the norm dropped to 1,000 sheets printed on one side, i.e., one ream.¹ In a working week of six days one press turned out between six and fifteen reams, according to the nature of the publication, giving 312 to 780 reams per year. These figures, based on the rate of work which the men were expected to maintain, are confirmed by a petition submitted in 1757 by Franciscus Joannes Moretus, in which he requested to be allowed to import paper from abroad duty-free.² The firm was then fully geared to the production of service books. The relevant sentence is 'The Plantinian printing office is equipped with eleven presses, for the employment of which at least 3,432 reams are required each year, that is to say six reams per week for each press.'³

Two centuries earlier Plantin had reported a consumption of five reams per press per week for a certain service book, but this was a very large antiphonary that demanded special care in production;⁴ this rate can be regarded as an absolute minimum.

The number of reams required in a given year can thus be determined almost mathematically from the number of presses working,⁵ as long as it is remembered that until about 1610 ordinary (i.e., non-liturgical) editions predominated, with a consumption of approximately 15 reams per week per working press; that between 1610 and 1650 ordinary and liturgical publications were roughly equal in number; and that after 1650 production was almost entirely given up to service books, with a consumption of about 6 reams per press per working week. If for the period 1555 to 1765 an average of ten working presses is assumed (which is probably a little too high) at a rate of 4,000 reams per year (which is probably slightly too low), this gives a consumption

1. Cf. p. 328.

2. Sabbe, 'In- en uitvoerrechten op boeken en papier...', pp. 109ff. Cf. also pp. 34-35 below.

3. *Ibidem*, p. 110.

4. *Corr.*, IV, no. 249 (Plantin to de Geneville, 12th-19th Mar. 1575: 'Chaicunne sepmaine se peut imprimer a 4 presses 10 feilles du grand Antiphonaire a mille feilles pour taxe qui seroyent dix mille feilles par chaicunne sepmaine'); i.e., 10,000 sheets per week or 20 reams for 4 presses.

5. Cf. Vol. I, Appendix 1.

for this span of 210 years of 840,000 reams or 420,000,000 sheets - all of them made by hand.

Paper is considerably older than the art of printing; there were already merchants on hand to supply Gutenberg. Raw materials, consisting of rags of flax and hemp fibre, were available everywhere in Europe; but in spite of this, centres of production were few. This was chiefly because large supplies of running water were required for cleaning and milling the rags and for driving the rollers. Paper manufacture therefore tended to be concentrated outside towns and in hilly or mountainous districts. There were very few paper mills in the Southern Netherlands in Plantin's time, and in the North they were virtually non-existent. 'Daniel de Keyser, huissier du conseil de Gandt [Ghent] et papetier du moulin dudit Gandt' supplied Plantin with 41 reams in 1574,¹ when the printer was desperately looking for sources of paper, and sent 90 reams in 1575.² These, however, are the only deliveries of home-produced paper to Plantin that can be confirmed.³ Plantin would not have been able to meet all his requirements with Netherlands-made paper, but he does not seem to have availed himself of what domestic supplies there were. Probably he was not satisfied with the quality.

In the sixteenth century the three foremost paper manufacturing countries were Italy, France, and Germany. Transport costs, especially overland, added greatly to the price of goods. This is presumably why Plantin hardly ever ordered paper from Italy, although Italian paper was highly thought of. Only one purchase is known. Plantin bought some reams of 'grand papier imperial d'Italie' in 1569-71 for the enormously high prices of 21 and 23 fl. per ream. It is

1. Arch. 19, f^o 48.
2. *Idem*. Plantin did not order this consignment: 'Nota que du papier dudit fauldra accorder avec ledit de Keyser car il la envoy  pour compte de Golsius [Hubertus Goltzius] et ledit Golsius ne luy a point sceu payer ledit papier et il n'est pas du format que nous avons demand .'
3. There may have been other deliveries: in most cases it is impossible to determine exactly from which mills the paper merchants supplying Plantin obtained their stocks. But, bearing in mind Plantin's general purchasing policy, it seems reasonably certain that where Netherlands paper-makers were concerned he would have dealt with them directly, not via middlemen.

significant that he made this purchase in Antwerp, from Antonio Ciardi, an Italian bookbinder who also sold paper on occasion.¹

Germany was far more important as a source of supply, at least in Plantin's early years, and there is mention of purchases from that country in some of his letters.² There is even a contract, dated 11th April 1566, which has been preserved. In it Simon Heret, a citizen of Mainz, undertook to supply 3,000 reams of paper of various kinds over a period of three years. The paper was to be made for Plantin at Heret's own mill near Mainz,³ but the printer was not able to keep up payments and the contract was terminated.⁴

These purchases of German paper were hardly ever entered in the ledgers or *journals*. Presumably they were written up in the early *Cahiers de Francfort* that have not been preserved.⁵ They do not seem to have been very large and consisted mainly of high-quality writing paper ('très fin pour écrire') which Plantin often resold to eminent customers such as de Çayas, Philip II's secretary,⁶ the president of the

1. Arch. 16, f^{os} 83 and 157: 22 reams altogether for 483 fl. 3 st.
2. *Corr.*, III, no. 415 (J. Moretus to Plantin, 6th Sept. 1572: 'Iheret [Heret] est aussi venu a Francfort lequel a environ deux mille rames de papier à imprimer lequel est beaucop millieur et mieulx cole que ne souloit estre celluy qu'il vous a vendu aultrefois, selon la monstre qu'il m'a monstrée mais ses balles ne sont pas encores arrivées, et me semble que sera bien vers la fin de la foire devant que arriveront. Je ne ferai nul marché devant qu'avoir vostre avis. Le marchant qui a pour enseigne les deux colonnes a quasi tout vendu sa marchandise car elle est bonne et belle pourquoy est fort requise.' See also notes 4 and 6 below, p. 24, notes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and p. 26, note 1, p. 42, note 1, p. 43, note 1, and the lists on pp. 27-31.
3. Arch. 116, f^o 91.
4. Arch. 3, f^o 66 (note of 20th April 1567: 'J'ay pour faire accord avec Symon Heret du different qu'avions ensemble touchant certain marché de papier faict avec luy par ordonnance lequel ne pouvions tenir par faute de payement et pource disie avoir achapté dudit à Francfort [details follow of a delivery worth 299 fl. 5 st.]'). Heret's paper seems not to have been of the finest quality (see note 2 above); this, may be one of the reasons why Plantin let the contract lapse, invoking financial difficulties (which, however, may have been quite real).
5. Cf. p. 6. Deliveries, however, were entered in the journal for the period 1563-67 (Arch. 3). The total value represented was small (cf. p. 28 below).
6. *Corr.*, I, no. 84, p. 187 (Plantin to de Çayas, 1st Oct. 1567: 'J'ay achapté à Francfort 20 rames de très fin duquel, suivant vostre ordonnance, je délivreray, incontinent que la marchandise sera arrivée, les six rames que V.S. demande au signeur Hieronymo Curiel'); cf. *Corr.*, I, no. 86 (Plantin to de Çayas, 4th October 1567) and *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 43 (Plantin to de Çayas, 2nd Nov. 1567); *Corr.*, V, no. 756 (Plantin to de Çayas, 3rd May 1577 - Plantin had bought at the Frankfurt Fair the previous year 'ballam papyri elegantioris' which he had left at Cologne because of the political situation and was now sending via Liège). See also Arch. 38, f^o 88 (6th May 1558: sale to de Çayas of 1 'rame de papier fin Francfort' and 1 'rame papier Francfort commun'; 28th June 1558: sale of 1 'rame de papier Francfort').

Privy Council, Viglius,¹ the Abbot Mofflin² and Alexander Grapheus,³ and even to Antwerp paper merchants,⁴ together with a certain amount of other fine paper for *de luxe* editions.⁵

Most of the paper used in the Plantinian press came from France,⁶ either ordered directly from French paper merchants or imported via Antwerp dealers. Direct negotiations with French manufacturers and merchants predominated in Plantin's early career, when he often

1. Arch. 36, f^o 13 (4th Oct. 1561: '1 rame du papier de Francfort fin [4 fl. 10 st], 2 rames du papier de Francfort moyen [5 fl. 10 st.], 4 rames du papier de Francfort à l'aigle [11 fl.]').
2. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1170, p. 88 (Mofflin to Plantin, 4th Nov. 1586: 'Si je ne vous donnois trop de fascherie je vous voudrois bien encores supplier qu'il vous plaise m'envoyer dix ou douze mains de papier délié de Franckfort, pour escrire avec la poste en Espagne').
3. Arch. 38, f^o 80 (22nd Jan. [1558] '4 mains de papier Francfort fin').
4. On 24th January 1559 Plantin promised the Antwerp paper merchant Govaert Nuts 'de luy bailler de mon fin papier de Francfort aussi long temps que i'en auray à 3 fl. 15 st. chaicunne rame quant il luy en plaira avoir' (Arch. 38, f^o 100^{ro}).
5. *Corr.*, I, no. 124 (Plantin to de Çayas, 3rd May 1568: 'J'ay mesmes faict aussi faire du papier à Francfort, pour faire quelque nombre d'exemplaires [of the planned Polyglot Bible]... dont j'envoye icy une feille a V.S. pour monster'); *Corr.*, II, no. 210 (Plantin to Granvelle, 18th Feb. 1570: 'Ayant faict lier quelques exemplaires [breviaries] des douze que j'avois imprimé sur papier de Francfort...'); *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 78 (Granvelle to Plantin, 19th Nov. 1568: 'La Sylvestrine sera oeuvre prouffictable, et me fairez plaisir de m'en imprimer trois exemplaires en bon papier de Francfort, pour mes librairies...').
6. Only in a few instances were the French paper-mills specified where Plantin or his suppliers made their purchases. For example, Arch. 3, f^o 3^{vo} (note of 10th Nov. 1563: '... 150 rames de papier grand bastard achapté par le Sire Lucas Brayer à Paris de monsieur Guillaume de Grandrée gentilhomme demeurant à Saint Leonard au pais de Nivernois, 15 lieues pardela Troyes au Champagne'). But the area whence the deliveries came was often noted: Troyes, La Rochelle, Rouen, Auvergne. (It seems to the author that 'papier de Lyon' indicates a quality, not the place of origin.) It may also be taken for granted that the provincial French dealers supplied mainly paper from their own immediate area. For the French paper industry see: D.T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime, 1500-1791*, 1958, pp. 239-309; the bibliography of L. Febvre & H.J. Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, pp. 502-503; an interesting monograph on the Troyes area is L. Le Clerc, *Le papier. Recherches et notes pour servir à l'histoire du papier, principalement à Troyes et aux environs depuis le quatorzième siècle*, 2 vols, 1926.

visited France and dealt with them in person.¹ His letters from this period contain many references to the paper he had imported directly from his homeland.² In an undated letter to Pierre Porret (1567?) there is a passage which seems to indicate that these transactions did not always go smoothly.³

The position began to change after 1567. The Plantin press was expanding rapidly into a very large concern that devoured ever-increasing quantities of paper and demanded all Plantin's time and energy. France remained an important source of paper, and direct dealings with French merchants continued: the size of their deliveries in the period 1568-76 - when Egidius Beys acted as agent at Paris - even exceeded those of previous years. But Antwerp dealers were being employed more and more to supply the needs of the firm. Between 1568 and 1576, when French merchants supplied about 20,000 fl. worth of paper, their opposite numbers in Antwerp provided almost 90,000 fl. worth. One account alone, that of Jacques de Lengaigne, 'papetier etc. en Anvers', amounted to more than double those of all the French suppliers together.

In 1576 the troubles in the Southern Netherlands brought about a catastrophic decline in production in the Plantinian press, and purchases of paper fell accordingly. But even with the press working at a greatly reduced tempo, the task of supplying it with paper remained

1. For example, *Corr.*, I, no. 11 (Plantin to H. Crusenius, 22nd Oct. 1561: 'Ego namque ... in Gallias ad papyrum emendum me contuleram...'); II, no. 180 (Plantin to Granvelle, 27th Aug. 1569: 'Monsieur le prevost d'Aire estant adverti de mon retour de France, ou j'estois alé, dès le mois de juing, pour faire mon achapt de papiers, qu'il me convient avoir pour la continuation de nos impressions...'); *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 63 (Plantin to Granvelle, 8th May 1568: 'Et ce pendant ie me suis proposé d'aler en France pour y faire l'achat du reste des papiers dont il me convient faire la provision pour l'impression de la Bible [Polyglotte]...').
2. *Corr.*, I, no. 20 (Plantin to de Çayas, 19th Dec. 1566: 'Le papier pourrois je faire venir de Troye en Champagne ou de La Rochelle...'); no. 84 (Plantin to de Çayas, 1st Oct. 1567: 'Le plus grand d'iceux ferois je venir d'Auvergne... L'autre moindre ferois je venir de La Rochelle ou d Troye en Champagne ...').
3. *Corr.*, I, no. 52, p. 121: '... pour subvenir aux paiements de nos ouvriers et papiers, don't j'ay maintenant assés et à comandement, encores que j'entende que nos bons amis de par delà ayent fait tant qu'il ne nous en vienne plus de Troye, de peur que je ne continuasse nos entreprises.'

a difficult one. The war dislocated communications with France and Germany, making imports irregular and causing costs to soar.¹ Even after the surrender of Antwerp in 1585 and the restoration of law and order in the Southern Netherlands, difficulties continued. In France itself religious and political ferment exploded into civil war. Once more paper prices rose.²

Paper for the Plantinian press continued to be obtained both by direct importation from France and via paper merchants in Antwerp, as in the years 1568-76.³ Antwerp dealers still had the lion's share, although their percentage of the total was reduced, at least in the period 1577-85.

Not all the paper that Plantin bought was used in his press. In his early years he also carried on a fairly lively retail trade in paper. In 1557 he made an agreement with a certain François de la Chontierelt (?) to buy jointly quite a large amount of paper (886 reams at a price of 685 fl. 10 st.) with the express intention of selling it in Antwerp.⁴ But Plantin usually conducted this retail trade, which diminished in importance after 1563, by selling paper out of his stocks to colleagues,⁵ friends, or customers in his shop.⁶

1. Cf. *Corr.*, V, no. 756 (Plantin to de Çayas, 3rd May 1577: the paper bought for de Çayas at the Frankfurt Fair had been left behind at Cologne, then sent on via Liège to Paris - see p. 23, note 6; on the way marauding soldiers had forced the carrier to 'ransom' the paper, which had put the price up).
2. Cf. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1320 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, 19th Nov. 1587: '...turn propter difficultates vecturarum papyri, cujus nunc vectura sola pluris constat quam olim tota papyrus domi nostrae reddita'); no. 1388 (Plantin to J. Piedts, 1st Aug. 1588: '[Plantin was to complete a Processional within five days] qui m'a esté beaucop plus grief et coustageux qu'il ne m'eust esté si on m'en eust livré la copie lors que je convins du prix avec ledict Signeur Pevernage parce que depuis ledict temps les papiers sont rencheris d'ung tiers').
3. And once from a dealer in 's-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc).
4. Arch. 38, f^o 79.
5. Cf. for example Arch. 38, f^o 61 (1557[?], Steelsius), f^o 79 (Steelsius, Bellerus). Between 1559 and 1573 Plantin sold a total of 70 reams of paper, in a large number of separate consignments, to G. Mercator at Duisburg: L. Voet, 'Les relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et la Maison Plantinienne à Anvers,' *Duisburger Forschungen*, 6, 1962, pp. 221-222.
6. In the first half of 1566, for example: paper worth 43 fl. 4¼ st. (out of total sales of 565 fl. 16 st.) (Arch. 43^{iv}).

Paper Deliveries to the Plantin Press between 1563 and 1589¹

I. Period 1563-67²

NETHERLANDS

Antwerp

Govaert Nuyts (Nys, Nutz) 2,571 fl. 2 st.
(1565-66) and his widow
(1566)

Willem Nuyts, son of 2,938 fl. 12 st.
Govaert (1565-67)

Jacques de Lengaigne 724 fl. 13 st.
(Lengaigne) (1566-67)

Claude Willin (1566-67)³ 676 fl. 10 st.

Cornelis van Oproede 37 fl. 4 st.
(1566)

Jan Comperes (1567) 46 fl. 4 st.

Martin Jacobs (1567) 100 fl. 14 st.

Unspecified merchants 14 fl. 16 st.

Bruges

Hubertus Goltzius 46 fl. 8½ st.

	—————	—————
Total Netherlands		7,156 fl. 3½ st.

FRANCE

1. This list is chiefly compiled from the ledgers, though not all deliveries were entered there, especially of paper from Germany (cf. p. 23). Many deliveries of French paper seem not to have been recorded in the accounts either. Payment was probably made via Plantin's Paris shop (the accounts have not been preserved) or via relatives and business associates such as Pierre Porret, Egidius Beys, and Michel Sonnius. The amounts given are therefore below the real figures.
2. Compiled from Arch. 1, 3, 4, 36, and 37. The data from these various sources overlap, which makes it difficult to calculate the size of many transactions and raises questions that cannot always be satisfactorily answered. On the other hand these sources have a fairly full record of transactions with France and Germany.
3. Whose profession was given as 'espissier' (grocer) (Arch. 37, f^o 71).

Pierre Péricart, Troyes 7,451 fl. 7 st.
(1563-67)

Alexander le Clerc, (1564), 1,484 fl. 13 st.
his widow (1566-67), and
Guillaume Colisis, husband
of the latter's widow,
Troyes (1566-67)

To be brought forward 8,936 fl.

7,156 fl. 3½ st.

Brought forward	8,936 fl.	7,156 fl. 3½ st.
Lucas Brayer, Paris (1563)	312 fl. 15½ st.	
Nicolas Curiel, Rouen (1564)	381 fl. 1½ st.	
Nicolas Le Bé, Troyes (1564)	88 fl. 2 st.	
Jehan de Coulanges, Auvergne (1564)	85 fl.	
‘Papier de Rouen’	75 fl.	
Probably France:		
Jerôme Corrin (Corru)	693 fl.	
	—————	—————
Total France		10,570 fl. 18½ st.

GERMANY

Wife of Gillis Musenhole, Frankfurt (1565)	6 fl. 12 st.	
Simon Heret, Mainz (1567)	299 fl. 5 st.	
‘Papier de Francfort’ (1566-67)	86 fl. 4½ st.	
	—————	—————
Total Germany		392 fl. 1½ st.

Total for period 1563-67		18,119 fl. 3½ st.
--------------------------	--	-------------------

II. Period 1568-76¹

NETHERLANDS

Antwerp

1. Compiled from Arch. 16 and 19. Deliveries from the French merchants J. Enjoubert, G. Le Bé, G. Merlin, and J. Goedhave in 1570 were noted on a loose sheet (included in Arch. 116, f^o 141), but were not accounted for in the ledger. Deliveries in 1568-69 from G. Merlin, described as ‘bookseller of Paris’, were entered in Arch. 17, f^o 518. The delivery from Denys de Vauzelle of Ghent is noted in Arch. 36, p. 142. In this period Plantin apparently also had paper from Gabriel Madur, ‘merchant of Auvergne’, (to whom Plantin wrote a business letter in Oct. 1574, *Corr.*, IV, no. 572), but whose deliveries are not recorded in the ledger. Other extant letters from these years are those by Plantin to J. Moreau (*Corr.*, IV, nos. 600 [3rd Jan. 1575] and 613 [19th Mar. 1575], V, nos. 681 and 689 [Dec. 1575]), and to J. Gouault (*Corr.*, V, no. 717 [27th April 1576]). The author has not discovered records of deliveries from Germany for this period.

Jacques de Lengaigne 44,168 fl.
(1568-76)

Lucia de Moulin, widow of 28,104 fl. 19 st.
Govaert Nys (1568-76)

Martin Jacobs (1568-73) 2,243 fl. 19½ st.

Jacques Comperes (1568) 19 fl. 10 st.

To be brought forward

 74,536 fl. 8½ st.

Brought forward	74,536 fl. 83½ st.	
Guillaume Colisis (1568; 1572-75) ¹	2,200 fl. 15 st.	
Guillaume Nijs (1569-73)	4,617 fl. 18 st.	
Jacques Pelten (1569-72)	1,038 fl. 7 st.	
Antoine Ciardi (1569-71)	483 fl. 2 st.	
Jacques Vervloet (1571)	432 fl.	
Cornelis van Oproede (1573)	146 fl. 4 st.	
François Lycops (1575-76)	424 fl. 16 st.	
Probably Antwerp:		
Jean Huybrecht (1573)	109 fl. 4 st.	
Roger Roulandt (1574-76)	1,742 fl. 2 st.	
	—————	
Total Antwerp		85,730 fl. 16½ st.
<i>Ghent</i>		
Denys de Vauzelle (1573)	31 fl. 13 st.	
Daniel de Keyser (1574-75)	104 fl. 9½ st.	
<i>'s-Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc)</i>		
Jacques Jacobsen (1575)	860 fl. 17 st.	
	—————	
Total Netherlands		86,727 fl. 16 st.
FRANCE		
Paul Cosme, Paris (1569)	1,609 fl.	
Jean Papolin, Rouen (1572)	1,064 fl.	
Jean Moreau, Troyes (1574-75)	702 fl. 18½ st.	
Jean Gouault, Troyes (1575-76)	5,579 fl. 9 st.	
Jacques de Lintzenich, Aix-en-Provence (1575-76)	5,275 fl. 13 st.	

1. Recorded in Plantin's account-books as resident in Troyes in 1566-67, and as 'pappetier d'Anvers' in 1572.

Guillaume Merlin, Paris 895 fl. 8 st.
(1568-70)

Guillaume Le Bé, Troyes 426 fl. 10 st.
(1570)

Jacques Enioubert, 935 fl.
Clermont (1570)

Probably France:

Antoine Ledieu, La 295 fl. 4 st.
Rochelle (?) (1570)

Jean Grenier, La Rochelle 3,119 fl. 2 st.
(?) (1573-74)

Jacques Goedhave (1570) 247 fl. 10 st.

Total France

20,149 fl. 14½ st.

Total for period 1568-76

106,877 fl. 10½ st.

III. Period 1577-85¹

ANTWERP

Lucia de Moulin, widow of Govaert Nys (1578-79) 2,585 fl. 12 st.

Jacques de Lengaigne (1579-83) 1,232 fl. 18 st.

Guillaume Nijs (1579) 1,335 fl. 6 st.

Gillis Nijs & Hans Verspreeet (1580-85) 14,265 fl. 14 st.

Probably Antwerp:

Lambert van Kestel (1579-85) 10,390 fl. 4½ st.

Jacques van de Walle (1582) 1,012 fl. 2 st.

Total Antwerp 30,821 fl. 16½ st.

FRANCE

Jean Gouault, Troyes (1577-84) 10,671 fl. 3 st.

Jacques Muet, Troyes (1580) 184 fl. 2 st.

Jean Muet, Troyes (1581) 2,094 fl.

Michel & Jean Muet, Troyes (1581) 1,376 fl. 10 st.

Probably France:

Robert del'Escolle (1580) 1,731 fl. 4 st.

Pierre de la Gorse (1581) 497 fl. 19 st.

François Lefort (1582) 2,520 fl. 16 st.

Total France 19,075 fl. 14 st.

Total for period 1577-85 49,897 fl. 10½ st.

1. Compiled from Arch. 19. No details of transactions with Germany; those with France may be incomplete. Plantin was at this time in correspondence with J. Gouault (*Corr.*, VI, no. 891, Gouault to Plantin, 19th Sept. 1580).

IV. Period 1586-89²

NETHERLANDS

Antwerp

Gillis Nijs & Hans
Verspreeet (1586-89) 19,688 fl. 3 st.

Guillaume Colisis (1586) 75 fl.

Hendrik Meys (1586) 270 fl.

Probably Antwerp:

Lambert van Kestel
(1588-89) 1,324 fl. 6 st.

Total Antwerp 21,357 fl. 9 st.

2. Compiled from Arch. 19. No details of transactions with Germany; those with France may be incomplete; Plantin in correspondence with J. Hennequin (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1163 [14th Oct. 1586]).

Brought forward		21,375 fl. 9 st.
<i>'s-Hertogenbosch</i> <i>(Bois-le-Duc)</i>		
Jacob Jacobsen (1588)	11 fl. 12 st.	
	—————	
Total Netherlands		21,387 fl. 1 st.
FRANCE		
Jean Hennequin, Troyes (1586-87)	3,349 fl. 4 st.	
Jean Gouault, Troyes (1587-88)	2,334 fl. 4 st.	
	—————	
Total France		5,683 fl. 10 st.
		—————
Total for period 1586-89		27,070 fl. 11 st.
V. Summary		
Period 1563-67		18,119 fl. 3½ st.
Period 1568-76		106,877 fl. 10½ st.
Period 1577-85		49,897 fl. 10½ st.
Period 1586-89		27,070 fl. 11 st.
		—————
Grand total 1563-89		201,964 fl. 15½ st.

In later life, too, Plantin sometimes purchased paper for resale, as in the case of the writing paper for de Çayas, Mofflin, and other important figures in Spain and the Netherlands.¹ In such instances as these, however, it was often as much a matter of performing a friendly service as of making a profit.

Plantin sometimes bartered with paper. In 1570 or 1571, for example, he sent many bales of French paper to Mainz to this end.² What his exact aim was in doing this is not certain, nor whether he succeeded. It may be that works he was contemplating printing at that time required large quantities of fine-quality German paper, and that as he could not pay in cash (this inability had already put a stop to deliveries from the Mainz paper manufacturer Heret in 1567) he was trying to obtain his supplies by barter. Later, after 1576, Plantin made over quite large quantities of paper to Antwerp merchants such as Martin Jacobs and Guillaume Colisis.³ What probably happened

1. See p. 23, note 6, and p. 24, notes 1-3.

2. Arch. 36, f^o 111.

3. M. Jacobs: Arch. 19, f^{os} 5, 6, 9; G. Colisis: Arch. 19, f^{os} 41 and 48.

here is that Plantin, while his business was contracting and imports were disrupted, got rid of stocks of the high-quality paper he no longer

needed so urgently, either in exchange for more immediately usable supplies or in settlement of his accounts.

The manner in which paper for the press was obtained continued practically unchanged under Plantin's immediate successors. It was still brought in from France, either directly or through the offices of Southern Netherlands dealers.¹ As in the past, political conflicts and military activities sometimes made supplies difficult to obtain.²

At the end of the seventeenth century there was a dramatic shift in the balance of the paper market. In the space of a few years Holland changed from being an importer of paper to a manufacturer of that commodity able to dominate the Western European market. This development was reflected in supplies coming into the Plantinian press. After 1650 a few Dutch firms had supplied all paper for the Moretuses. However, they imported it from France, where they had interests in, or even owned, paper mills. About 1685 the bills they sent in began to mention 'papier hollandois' and at the end of the century this Dutch paper had largely replaced the French.

The Moretuses' correspondence shows how this change came about and the results it had. One of the firms affected was that of the Vincent family of Amsterdam, who were one of the chief suppliers of the Plantinian house from 1660 to 1718.³ An edict published by the States-General of the Northern Netherlands in 1671, on the eve of Louis XIV's invasion of their country, was a severe blow for the Vincents, for it forbade the import of French goods. They even thought of settling in the Spanish Netherlands, but Balthasar II Moretus, in a letter of 30th July 1672, advised them against 'coming to reside in these parts' as the general outlook there was even less favourable. The 1671 edict, however, proved an incentive to enterprising Dutchmen with money to invest: paper mills began to be set

1. As for example Guillaume Verspreet of Antwerp in 1620 (Arch. 130, f^o 71) and Franciscus van Immersed, of Malines in 1638-39 (Arch. 86, f^{os} 1 sqq.).
2. Arch. 242, f^o 4^{vo}: '[10th Jan. 1634] Receu de Nicolai Thouvenot et... Louis huicht bales de papier les quels ont envoié le 5 juing 1633. Les voicturiers sont tardés en chemin à cause quils debvoient mener du poudre pour le Roy de France.'
3. Dealt with in detail by M. Sabbe, 'Ysbrand Vincent en zijn Antwerpsche vrienden.'

up in the Veluwe and Zaan districts. It took a little while, of course, before these could produce on a profitable scale, and in the meantime the Vincents went on dealing in French paper. In 1675 Ysbrand Vincent journeyed south to visit the family's own mill at Pradier and the other mills that worked for his firm; these were concentrated mainly along the Charente in the region of Angoulême. He intended to settle there permanently, but the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 compelled him, as a Dutch Protestant, to flee from a France that had become so inhospitable to those of his religion. After much adversity - in the course of which he frequently invoked the good offices of Balthasar III Moretus - Ysbrand and his French wife finally crossed the border into the Spanish Netherlands in 1686. It was another ten years before their two children, who had had to remain behind in France, were able to slip across the frontier and join them.

These tribulations did nothing to help the Vincents' trade with France. Moreover, many of the French paper manufacturers were Protestants. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes caused large numbers of them to seek refuge in Holland. Dutch paper production rose in quantity and quality while the French declined. Ysbrand Vincent dispatched increasing amounts of Dutch paper to Antwerp. There are echoes of all this in the letters exchanged between Ysbrand and the Moretuses. There was a great dearth of journeymen paper-makers in France; most mills were falling into ruin and could not be repaired for lack of money, wrote the Dutchman on 16th June 1698.¹ Paper had risen sharply in price in France because of 'the costliness of rags, glue, of the necessities of life, the scarcity of journeymen paper-makers [so many having been] killed in the war' - so he put it in a letter of 6th March 1699,² 'Most paper mills in France have been ruined, and the little [paper] that is made there is scandalously unreliable, mixed with dross' are his observations in a letter of 25th July

1. Arch. 630, p. 500 (cf. Sabbe, *op. cit.*, p. 195).

2. Arch. 630, p. 622 (cf. Sabbe, *op. cit.*, p. 196). Original Dutch text: 'de dierte der lompen, lym, levensmiddelen, schaarsheid van papiermaakers gezellen in den oorlog omgekomen en gestorven.'

1704.¹ With the same letter Vincent sent a sample to Antwerp ‘of which I have had great quantities made in one of our provinces with fresh well - water, it has been properly sized, is fit to be used for writing books and to be dampened three times, and in all respects is of such quality that no French paper can equal it.’²

The Plantin press continued to obtain practically all its paper from Holland from the beginning until about the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Southern Netherlands started to emerge as a paper producing region.³ Some paper mills had in fact been established among the hills of Brabant during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In accordance with the protectionist principles of the time, these were sheltered as much as possible by import duties imposed on foreign paper. The first legislation enacted in 1670 provided for only moderate duties, but in a decree of 14th August 1752 these were increased considerably, for by this time the government believed that there were sufficient native mills to meet all the needs of the country. The new tariff was applied only to paper from France, Germany, and the autonomous bishopric of Liège. Dutch paper continued to be taxed at the old rate. Then in 1756-57 new mills were set up in Brabant, and old ones reorganized. Certain of their owners seem to have had great influence, especially Jan Baptist van Langenhoven at Brussels and the partners Jan Baptist van Tryst (or Triest) and René van Kuyl (or Cuyt) with mills at Diegem and La Hulpe. Through their efforts a decree of 21st September 1757 extended the new tariff to include Dutch paper.⁴ Dutch paper at the new prices would have been too expensive for

1. Arch. 631, p. 94 (cf. Sabbe, *op. cit.*, p. 196). Original Dutch text: ‘De meeste papiermolens in Frankrijk zijn geruineert, en het weinige dat er gemaakt word, schandelijk ontrouw, met kas gemengt.’
2. Original Dutch text: ‘...waarvan ik groote partijen in eene onzer provintien in zoet fontein-water heb doen maaken, het is trouw vastgelymt, bekwaam om tot schryfboeken gebruikt en drie maalen genet te worden, en in alien deelen van zoodaanigen deugdzaam aart, dat er geen fransche papieren by kunnen haalen.’
3. Discussed in detail in Sabbe, ‘In- en uitvoerrechten op boeken en papier gedurende de 17^e en 18^e eeuw in Zuid-Nederland.’
4. Minutes of a meeting of 10th Sept. 1757, signed by three members of the council, emphasizing the protectionist arguments that inspired the decree: Sabbe, ‘In- en uitvoerrechten’, pp. 108-109.

Franciscus Joannes Moretus, who had recently inherited the Plantinian press, and on 26th September 1757 he hastily cancelled orders he had placed in Holland. He then approached Van Langhenhoven at Brussels, who did all he could to win this important account. Van Langhenhoven promised to provide the printer with the very best paper he had and offered him small gifts of notepaper, not to mention ‘two sacks of turnips... which are the produce of our own garden at Evere, which parish yields the best [turnips] in all Brabant’. In fact Van Langhenhoven and his widow were allowed to supply some of the paper requirements of the press from 1757 to 1762. In spite of Van Langhenhoven's promises and endeavours, however, F.J. Moretus was not completely satisfied with the quality delivered. In addition to this he had publications in hand which needed to be printed on particular types of Dutch paper. Through the offices of a privy councillor, Jan Karel van Heurck, he petitioned the government for leave to import 1,600 reams¹ of paper a year from Holland at the old tariff.² On 22nd December 1757 he was given permission to import exactly half this amount at the 1680 rate of duty. Franciscus Joannes was not satisfied and insisted on his 1,600 reams. The government's anticlimactic reply, given to Van Heurck on 6th June 1758, was that the Plantin Press could import as much Dutch paper as it wanted at the old rate. According to Franciscus Joannes it was not Van Heurck's efforts, nor a sudden generous impulse on the part of the government, that brought about this unexpected success, but the fire which burnt down the Diegem paper mill of the partners Van Tryst and Van Kuyt.³ Thus it was that Dutch paper continued to feed the presses of the *Officina Plantiniana* through the second half of the eighteenth century.

The prices paid by Plantin and his successors for their paper depended

1. He used 3,432 reams per year (cf. p. 21 above).
2. This interesting petition is reproduced by Sabbe in ‘In- en uitvoerrechten’, p. 110.
3. Mentioned in a letter of 8th June 1758 to an Amsterdam correspondent (quoted by Sabbe, ‘In- en uitvoerrechten’, p. 114).

of course on size and quality. Through the centuries all the masters of the firm were particular about the quality of the paper they used. The letters they wrote to their suppliers were generally full of complaints about the kinds delivered, coupled with the constant threat to go elsewhere.¹ The suppliers often spoke up for themselves and in so doing furnished important details of contemporary paper manufacture.²

This does not mean that the masters of the Golden Compasses bought only the best and most expensive paper. It had to be good of its kind, but the kind used varied according to the edition being produced and the price at which it was going to be sold. Paper for a popular book or for a government ordinance did not need to be as fine as that used for a breviary or a missal. It was not unusual for a work to be printed on various qualities of paper according to whether it was going to be made up into what might be termed a standard, a special, or a *de luxe* edition. Plantin discussed this in connexion with the Polyglot Bible in his letter to de Çayas of 1st October 1567. He proposed two kinds of paper. One was to be an expensive Auvergne paper at 4 fl. 10 st. a ream, on which half the edition was to be printed for those to whom money was no object ('pour ceux qui désirent plustost avoir quelque chose d'excellent que d'y espargner l'argent'). The other was to be a cheaper sort from La Rochelle or Troyes at 2 fl. 17 st. a ream, on which the other half

1. Cf. Plantin's letters to his suppliers (as referred to on p. 28, note 1, p. 30, notes 1 and 2); for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see the sometimes caustic remarks and reproaches to Ysbrand Vincent and Van Langenhoven, as given in Sabbe's two studies.
2. For example, Ysbrand Vincent's remark in a letter of 13th Jan. 1676 about making coarse, poor-quality paper in the winter (Sabbe, 'Ysbrand Vincent', p. 183); Van Langenhoven's proud announcement that he was producing 40 reams per day (18th June 1757) and within eight days would reach 50 (Sabbe, 'In- en uitvoerrechten', p. 111); the latter's note in 1758 stating that he was building a drying shed in his yard 'in order to keep my manufactory at full tempo in wintertime, when we have a superabundance of water' (Sabbe, *ibidem*, p. 113). The importance the Moretuses attached to paper manufacture is shown by the memoranda compiled about 1760 by F.J. Moretus, full of technical detail and interesting for what is revealed of the Dutch industry in those years (Arch. 696, no. 101, f^o 7^{ro} -7^{vo}; published by L. Voet, 'Een aantekenboek van Franciscus Joannes Moretus nopens technische aspecten van het drukkersbedrijf, opgesteld omstreeks 1760,' *De Gulden Passer*, 44, 1966, pp. 240-243).

of the edition would be printed for the common people who had less money to spend and who in any case were less likely to be interested in the aesthetics of book production ('pour le commun, qui n'est si cognoissant ou n'a le moyen d'y employer tant d'argent, ou bien qui ne se delectent pas à la belle marge du livre').¹ This proposal was repeatedly modified until in the end the Polyglot Bible was printed as follows: 960 copies on 'papier grand royal de Troyes'; 200 on 'papier fin royal au raisin' of Lyons; 30 on 'papier imperial à l'aigle'; and 10 on Italian 'grand papier imperial'. In addition 13 copies were printed on parchment.² Quite frequently liturgical works were put on the market in two different versions.³ It sometimes happened that just a few copies out of a particular edition were printed on better, or at any rate different, paper from the rest. It was, for example, quite common for presentation copies to be printed on blue-tinted paper, a practice which Plantin followed on occasion.⁴ Now and again a small number of copies might be printed on paper of superior quality, and usually of larger format, at the special request of bibliophiles. Cardinal Granvelle, for example, was very fond of works 'à la belle marge'. The many letters exchanged between Plantin and this prelate or his representatives contain frequent references to such specially printed copies of Plantinian books destined for the cardinal's three libraries.⁵

What has been said above implies that the larger the size, the higher

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 84.

2. Cf. Plantin's letter to de Çayas, 4th Nov. 1572 (*Corr.*, III, no. 424; *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 95).

3. In December 1571 and January 1572 Plantin shipped 886 copies of a breviary in octavo on 'commun papier' (at 17½ st. each) and 1,183 copies on 'papier blancq de Lyon' (at 19½ st. each) to Philip II. Another shipment of breviaries in octavo, later in the year, included 1,120 copies on 'commun papier' and 880 copies on 'papier blancq'. Of the 955 copies of the monumental breviary in folio, sent to Philip II in 1573, 810 copies were printed on 'papier commun' (4 fl. 10 st. each) and 144 copies on 'grand papier' (5 fl. 10 st. each) (Arch. 22).

4. Including his first book, J.M. Bruto, *La Institutione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente*. One copy on blue paper is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, another in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris, and a third one in the British Museum. On this blue paper, see W. Weis, 'Blaues Papier für Druckzwecke,' *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1959, pp. 26-35.

5. Cf. the letters referred to on p. 24, note 5.

the price of the paper. Before the invention by Nicolas Louis Roberts in 1798 of a machine that could turn out paper in continuous sheets, the measurements of a sheet of paper depended on the size of the scoop. This in turn depended on the physical strength of the workman who had to handle it. The largest sheet of hand-made paper ever achieved was produced at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the James Whatman Springfield mill at Maidstone in Kent. It measured 51½ by 30¾ inches.¹ A special scoop had to be made for it which was mounted on a hoist; some six or eight men were needed to handle it and the whole operation was done more for publicity than as a serious piece of paper manufacture. In the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries the largest sheets of paper only very exceptionally exceeded 18 × 26 inches (45 × 65 cm).² In 1574-76 Plantin had some 22 × 33-inch (55 × 85 cm) paper made. This was for printing an enormous choir-book, intended for the Spanish market, but when the project fell through it was used for editions of de la Hèle and other composers; it must have been among the largest sizes produced in the normal course of manufacture by the old methods.³

Neither in their orders nor in their records of deliveries did the masters of the Golden Compasses ever state measurements.⁴ Sizes and varieties were combined in what might be termed code-names, often derived from the watermark used. Watermarks at that time generally did not identify the manufacturer, but indicated the size and sometimes the quality as well. These code-names had precise meanings. Plantin knew exactly the quality, size, and price represented by such entries in his stock-taking of 1565⁵ as: 1,304 reams

1. Dard Hunter, *Papermaking through Eighteen Centuries*, p. 236.
2. *Ibidem*, p. 235.
3. The pages of the Plantin-Moretus Museum copy of de la Hèle, *VIII missae, quinque, sex et septem vocum*, 1578 (slightly trimmed when bound) measure 21¼ × 32¾ inches (54 × 83 cm).
4. Whereas the weight per ream was only occasionally noted (Arch. 36, p. 167: ordered from J. de Lengaigne, 23rd Feb. 1573, 1,000 reams 'de fin papier double', weighing 38-40 and 42 Antwerp pounds per ream).
5. Arch. 4, f^{os} 202 sqq.

‘papier carré’, 3,356 reams ‘petit bastard’, 631 reams ‘grand bastard et petite grande forme’, 466 reams ‘papier diet carillon’, 83 reams ‘grosbon carillon’, 63 reams ‘papier diet volume de Brie’, and so on. Unfortunately the meanings of these and other names have been lost.¹ As these types of paper were made with different scoops in different mills, there must sometimes have been considerable variations in both size and quality within each category. When paper was being ordered, or when it was being discussed with authors, it was common practice for samples of the kinds in question to be shown so that misunderstandings could be avoided.² It was because of these variations that the owners of the *officina* always tried to stock up with enough paper to print a complete edition before they started work on a book;³ deviation from this rule often brought difficulties.⁴ It was probably considerations such as these which led Plantin to have a ‘protest’ drawn up in April 1566, by a notary public. The document

1. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century regulations for the French paper industry when giving names (generally not found in the Plantinian Archives) specify the weight per ream only, never the dimensions. Only as late as 1730 the exact sizes of the various kinds of paper were detailed in these ordinances. Cf. C.M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*. I, Introduction, pp. 5-6.
2. In the transaction with Lengaigne (see p. 38 note 4) it was explicitly stated that in the agreement signed by both parties in the paper merchant's records ‘une feille dudict papier pour monstre’ was attached.
3. Two or more similar kinds of paper could be used in the same book, although this was exceptional (e.g., Arch. 4, f^o 62: T. a Veiga, *Commentarii in Galeni Opera*, 1564; f^o 65, Erasmus, *Adagiorum epitome*, 1564). In Alexis Piemontois, *Secrets*, 1564 (Arch. 4, f^o 65) the difference was more marked (20 reams ‘papier fin à l'aigle et daufin’ at 23 st. per ream against 135 reams at approx. 12 st. per ream). As the paper used in the copies of the *Secrets* known to the author appears identical, this was probably an instance of a limited number of copies being printed on better quality paper than the bulk of the run. Cf. p. 37 for similar examples.
4. *Corr.*, IV, no. 572 (Plantin to G. Madur, 20th-26th Oct. 1574: ‘... le papier qu'avés ordonné de nous faire venir me sera bien agreable et l'eust esté davantage si selon l'ordonnance et promesse donnee il fust venu plus tost: Car j'ay eu tele necessité du petit raisin qu'il m'a convenu faire couper du grand raisin et d'autres sortes plus grandes et en faire achapter a Paris pour continuer l'ouvrage commencé sur iceluy estimant que ne faudriés de nous en pouvoir en temps, chose qui m'a esté de grand prejudice et retardement. Toutesfois puisque la faute est faite je la pren en pacience et pour advertissement de continuer en mon ancien propos de ne commencer plus d'ouvrages que je n'aye le papier en ma puissance pour la continuer jusques a la fin...’)

held Pierre Péricart of Troyes liable for any costs that might be incurred through the late delivery of an unspecified quantity of ‘petit bastard’ paper; it was served on Péricart's son, who happened to be in Antwerp at the time.¹

Fluctuations in dimensions and quality were matched by great variations in price. Occasionally paper prices were calculated by weight,² but usually they were expressed in reams. By way of illustration, here are the amounts and types of paper delivered to Plantin in 1568, 1569, and 1570 by Jacques de Lengaigne, his principal Antwerp supplier.³ For a total of 9,578 fl. 18 st. the printer received the quantities given in following table.

Paper at 3 fl. 12 st.

836 reams ‘grand real fin [de Troye]’	3,009 fl. 12 st.	
33 reams ‘grand carré fin double’	118 fl. 16 st.	
443 reams ‘fin double’	1,594 fl. 18 st.	
20 reams ‘fin double aigle’	72 fl.	
68 reams ‘fin double devise’	244 fl. 16 st.	
500 reams ‘grand double’	1,800 fl.	
_____	_____	
1,900 reams		6,840 fl. 2 st.

Paper at 3 fl. 6 st.

23 reams ‘grand carré fin moyen’	75 fl. 18 st.	
25 reams ‘double croisé’	82 fl. 10 st.	
_____	_____	
48 reams		158 fl. 8 st.

Paper at 3 fl. 3 st.

40 reams ‘grand double croisé’	126 fl.	
178 reams ‘fin double croisé’	560 fl. 14 st.	

1. Arch. 36, p. 105.

2. As in Plantin's contract with Heret of Mainz (Arch. 116, f^o 91).

3. Arch. 16, f^{os} 36 and 137.

12 reams 'fin † [= croix]' 37 fl. 16 st.

20 reams 'grand real de
Troye cassé' 63 fl.

250 reams 787 fl. 10 st.

2,198 reams to be brought
forward 7,786 fl.

2,198 reams brought forward 7,786 fl.

Paper at 2 fl. 15 st.

100 reams 'ville Lyon et II' 225 fl.

Paper at 1 fl. 18 st.

130 reams 'grand bastard' 247 fl.

Paper at 1 fl. 12 st.

4 reams R 6 fl. 8 st.

Paper at 1 fl. 10 st.

36 reams '[fin] grand carré' 56 fl.

Paper at 1 fl. 8 st.

50 reams 'grand carré' 70 fl.

Paper at 1 fl. 7 st.

426 reams 'petit bastard' 575 fl. st.

Paper at 1 fl. 4 st.

120 reams 'petit carré' 147 fl.

200 reams 'papier à 24 pattars' 240 fl.

185 reams 'petit bastard Rouen' 222 fl.

505 reams 609 fl.

Paper at 1 fl. 2 st.

4 reams 'pot' 4 fl. 8 st.

Grand total

—————
3,453 reams

9,578 fl. 18 st.

The fine German paper which Plantin was buying at this time cost about the same as the most expensive types of French paper supplied by Lengaigne.¹ Far higher in price was the Italian paper supplied by Antoine Ciardi for certain copies of the Polyglot Bible.² Plantin had to pay 21 and 23 fl. per ream for it - about six times as much as for the dearest French and German kinds. The 22 reams which Ciardi delivered cost the printer 483 fl. 3 st. - roughly the price of 220 reams of average quality paper, such as the 'ville de Lyon'.

These figures apply to the period before 1576. It has already been seen that political conditions after that date pushed up the price of paper: in the last years of Plantin's life they rose by a third and more. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prices continued to rise with the cost of living. However, during these two centuries the *Officina Plantiniana* specialized in service books and this simplified the ordering of paper. Plantin had needed many categories of paper for his wide range of publications, but from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards it was possible to reduce these to the few high-quality kinds used in the printing of breviaries and missals. The situation is admirably depicted in the petition addressed in F.J. Moretus's name to the central government on 10th October 1757, in connexion with the lifting of import duties on Dutch paper.³

1. In 1565 Plantin paid 6 fl. 12 st. for 2 reams of 'fine Frankfurt paper' (Arch. 4, f^o 2). In 1558 and 1559 he sold this type of paper to de Çayas (Arch. 38, f^o 88) and to the Antwerp paper merchant G. Nuyts (Arch. 38, f^o 100) at 3 fl. 15 st. per ream. In 1561 he sent Viglius three different samples of Frankfurt paper: 'papier fin' at 4 fl. 10 st. per ream, 'papier moyen' at 2 fl. 15 st. per ream, and 'papier à l'aigle' at 2 fl. 10 st. per ream (Arch. 36, f^o 13^{ro}). In 1567 he charged de Çayas 3 fl. 3 st. a ream for a consignment of 6 reams of 'the very fine paper I bought at Frankfurt', plus 6 st. per ream to defray transport costs (*Corr.*, I, no. 86, Plantin to de Çayas, 4th Oct. 1567).
2. Arch. 16, f^{os} 83 and 157. Cf. pp. 22-23.
3. Sabbe, 'In- en uitvoerrechten', p. 111: 'Il lui faut six differents formats qui se reduisent a deux sortes de papier; l'une qu'on appelle grand raisin pour l'impression des missels folio magno et maximo, les grands bréviaires et le missel in quarto, contre 6 fl. 5 st. la rame. L'autre sorte pour les moiens et les petits formats ne coute que 4 fl. 12 st. Il a besoin de l'un et l'autre sorte, dans la proportion d'un a quatre, c'est à dire: que selon le debit ordinaire et regulier, il lui faut quatre rames de 4 fl. 12 st. contre une de 6 fl. 5 st.' In about 1760 F.J. Moretus broke down a consignment of Dutch paper (700 reams) as follows: 100 reams grand raisin (6 fl. 5 st. a ream), 100 reams grand cavalier (4 fl. 14 st.), 100 reams cavalier (4 fl. 12 st.), 100 reams petit cavalier (4 fl. 2 st.), 100 reams fin carré (4 fl. 12 st.), 100 reams petit carré (4 fl. 12 st.), 100 reams vol. du Brie (4 fl. 12 st.) (Arch. 696, no. 101, f^o 10^{ro}; cf. L. Voet, 'Een aantekenboek van Franciscus Joannes Moretus,' *De Gulden Passer*, 44, 1966, p. 242).

It can be seen that paper merchants were among the most important suppliers of the Plantin press. Its masters had to spend vast sums of money on this vital material. In the quarter of a century between the end of 1563 and the middle of 1589 Plantin had to pay out more than 200,000 fl., an enormous amount for the time and further proof of the great size and economic importance of the firm he founded.

Plantin in fact had to pay even more than this. In the great majority of cases, the prices included delivery at the press, but sometimes they did not include transport costs, which could be very considerable.¹ Together with workmen's wages, paper formed the biggest item of regular expenditure. In 1566, for example, 4,529 fl. 18½ st. was spent on paper, and 4,141 fl. 3½ st. was paid in wages to the compositors and pressmen. This gives a total of 8,671 fl. 2 st. compared with a total expenditure of 13,041 fl.² This ratio can be regarded as fairly constant. Through the years, in boom and depression alike, paper consumed about one third of the money the masters of the *Gulden Passer* invested in their firm.

Paper was generally delivered in quite large quantities. Naturally, time elapsed before there could be any return on the money spent on

1. Many examples in Arch. 3 (including f^o 3^{vo}: 10th Nov. 1563; Plantin had to pay 312 fl. 15 st. for 150 reams of paper bought for him by Lucas Brayer in Paris, and 70 fl. for transport). Another example: 47 fl. 8½ st. for bringing 3 bales (352 reams, weighing 3,165 pounds) from Paris on 16th June 1571 (Arch. 49, f^o 80^{fo}; f^o 99^{fo} is a similar instance). In some cases these transport charges must have been deducted later from the paper merchant's accounts: in his letter to J. Moreau of 3rd Jan. 1575 (*Corr.*, IV, no. 600) Plantin itemized the freight charges he had had to pay (179 fl. 17 st. altogether) and deducted this from what he owed the merchant for a delivery of 459 reams of paper. Plantin, however, had to bear the costs of transporting the paper he bought from Heret of Mainz in 1567 (50 fl. 3 st. plus 4 fl. 16¼ st. additional expenses incurred at that town; the paper itself cost 299 fl. 5 st.) and this was the general rule for imports from Germany. In 1567 Plantin calculated these costs at 6 st. per ream from Frankfurt to Antwerp. As the paper cost 3 fl. 3 st. per ream this was an addition of about 10 % - very little compared with the preceding examples, but possibly explained by the relatively high value of this special paper (*Corr.*, I, no. 86, Plantin to de Çayas, 4th Oct. 1567; cf. p. 42, note 1).
2. Cf. Appendix 1.

paper. To counteract this, and to avoid having to find and pay out large sums of money all at once, Plantin made agreements with his chief suppliers which enabled payment to be spread over a period of months. The usual arrangement was to pay one third of the account on delivery, one third after two to three months, and the remainder after a further two to three months.¹

Paper bought for the *Officina* was not always used immediately. Common prudence dictated the holding of reserves which could keep the business going in times of emergency. White paper was always to be found stacked in the attics and store-rooms of the house. The extent and value of these stocks fluctuated, but whenever exact details are given they show that this paper represented a continuing asset, often a very considerable one. In value it approached and sometimes exceeded the firm's more permanent equipment, such as printing-presses, founts of type, and material for illustrations.²

Books could also be printed on parchment. This material, however, was used only occasionally and the *officina* did not keep stocks of it, ordering supplies only when needed for a particular work. Parchment is regularly listed in the inventories, but always with the note that it was for covering tympan and friskets.³ The author has found no mention in the inventories of parchment for printing.

The reason for this was simply that parchment was much dearer than paper. It was reserved for sumptuously produced limited editions, mainly in the years 1568-72; examples were thirteen copies of the Polyglot Bible, and copies of the *Psalterium* and *Antiphonarium*. The *parcheminiers* Jan Tollis, his widow Catelijne (from 1572), and

1. Other methods were sometimes used: Plantin undertook to pay his supplier J. Moreau in full within three months of delivery at Antwerp (*Corr.*, V, nos. 681 and 689, Plantin to J. Moreau, Dec. 1575).
2. Arch. 27 (Sale of Plantin's goods, April 1562: 561 fl. 8 st., out of a total of approx. 7,200 fl. - more than the presses and 'figures' [wood-blocks and copperplates for illustrations], but considerably less than the cast type, cf. Vol. I, p. 42); Arch. 4, f^{os} 202 sqq. (stock in 1565, cf. above, p. 38); Arch. 98, f^{os} 511-527 (stock of paper at the Vrijdagmarkt premises, 3rd Nov. 1589 - 5,329 reams; cf. Vol. I, p. 166, note 3); Arch. 354, p. 16 (stock in 1642 - 8,996 fl.) and p. 49 (stock in 1652 - 26,546 fl. 15 st.); Arch. 108, p. 25 (stock in 1658 - 21,324 fl. 15 st.).
3. Cf. p. 150.

Jan Thys supplied the printer with consignments of parchment at various prices for friskets, bookbinding, and printing.¹ Parchment for printing cost 2 fl. 5 st. per dozen sheets in 1570 and 2 fl. 6 st. in 1572; for slightly larger sizes ('parchemin de 30 pouces') 2 fl. 16 st. was paid for the same number.² This meant that twelve sheets of parchment cost almost as much as a ream of good quality paper. Parchment was twenty-five times as dear as the 'grand real fin de Troye'; the 3 fl. 12 st. which Plantin paid for one ream of this very expensive paper purchased just twenty sheets of parchment.

Only extremely wealthy customers could afford to buy books printed on parchment. The *Psalterium* printed on paper cost 8 fl., a high price for the period, but on parchment it cost 60 fl. - half a year's wages for the workman who printed it.³ The *Antiphonarium* cost 17 fl. on ordinary paper, 19 fl. on best quality paper, and 162 fl. 10 st. on parchment.⁴ This was more than a compositor earned in a year - and even then the last pages were printed on paper.

One of the problems experienced with parchment was that of supply. Parchment was made from the skins of animals, chiefly (in France and the Netherlands at least) calves and sheep. The parchment Plantin used was probably prepared from sheepskins.⁵ Not more than two sheets could be cut from one skin. The 16,263 sheets of parchment

1. Arch. 16, f^{os} 30 and 113 (J. Tollis), f^o 192 (J. Tollis's widow), f^{os} 86 and 151 (J. Thys); Arch. 19, f^o 1 (J. Tollis's widow), f^o 40 (J. Thys).
2. In 1572 the parchment for friskets cost 1 fl. 16 st. a dozen (or 3 st. a piece); in that year Plantin paid 1 fl. 19 st. for two dozen sheets of parchment for bookbinding. On the other hand, in 1563-65 Plantin bought parchment for friskets at prices approaching and even exceeding those paid for printing parchment in 1568 to 1572 - 4 st. a sheet (2 fl. 8 st. a dozen), 5 st. (3 fl.) and 6 st. (3 fl. 12 st). (cf. p. 150, note 1). This may be due to the fact that though the frisket parchment could be of inferior quality to that for printing, the sheets had to be as large as possible. Compare too the estimate submitted by Plantin to Arias Montanus for the printing of twelve copies of the Polyglot Bible on parchment (*Corr.*, II, no. 205; 3rd February 1570: 'Sumptus pergameni computasse, qui pervenient ultra 3800 fl. Biblia namque habitura 1600 folia, pro quibus totidem dozenis pergameni opus est'. That is to say 2 fl. 7½ st. a dozen).
3. *Corr.*, II, no. 270 (Plantin to Bishop d'Oignies, 6th April 1571).
4. *Corr.*, III, no. 387 (Plantin to Bishop d'Oignies, May 1572).
5. There is no description of the nature of the parchment, but a few times in the accounts there is mention of 'parchemin de veau', which was considerably cheaper than ordinary parchment (1 fl. 10 st. a dozen), so presumably the parchment used by Plantin for printing was made from sheepskin.

used just for the thirteen copies of the Polyglot Bible must have meant the slaughter of at least some 8,000 sheep.

Under these circumstances supplies of parchment were obviously limited. Plantin also had to contend with the fact that his sheepskins had to be imported from Zealand. When that province rose against Philip II in 1572, the printer's source of supply was almost cut off. He was only able to obtain small quantities at ever increasing prices.¹ This was why the last 44 quires of the parchment copies of the *Antiphonarium* had to be printed on paper.² It also explains why Plantin used 16,263 sheets when printing the thirteen parchment copies of the Polyglot Bible for Philip II, not the 20,800 that were needed to complete the work: the last two volumes of each of the thirteen bibles had to be printed on paper.³

Supplies continued to be difficult in subsequent years. On 23rd December 1588 Plantin wrote to Lopez Soares d'Albergia, a Portuguese who had asked him for parchment, to say that good quality in this commodity was no longer to be had in Antwerp. For this reason he, Plantin, had not sent any - after all, the Portuguese could import good parchment from Holland directly.⁴ Plantin hardly ever printed on parchment after 1572. His successors contented themselves with printing an occasional presentation copy⁵ or the whole or part of a government-subsidized edition on parchment.⁶

1. *Corr.*, III, no. 387 (Plantin to Bishop d'Oignies, May 1572: ... j'envoye ici... deux [Antiphonaria] en parchemin ausquels toutesfois j'ay esté contrainct en la fin d'imprimer 44 felles en milleur papier que j'ai peu recouvrer autrement m'eust il convenu laissé la besongne à cause que depuis les troubles de Zéelande je n'ay sceu recevoir de parchemin et mesmes en ay achapté assez bon nombre de peaux au prix de 14 patarts la peau [when at the beginning of 1572 the price for the dearest kind still came to only 4¾ st. a hide]); *Corr.*, IV, no. 580 (Plantin to H. de Torres, 31st October 1574: the printer had less than 60 fl.'s worth of unprinted parchment left).
2. See preceding note.
3. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 87.
4. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1422.
5. Among the examples in the Plantin-Moretus Museum of printing on parchment from the *officina* are a *Graduale* of 1599 and a copy of J.P. de la Serre, *Histoire curieuse de tout ce qui s'est passé à l'entrée de la Reyne, mère du roi très-chrétien, dans les villes des Pays-Bas*, 1632, presented to Maria de' Medici and bought back for the Museum after 1876.
6. Including the publication of the Statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1624.

Chapter 3

Ink

Ink is another essential material and one which plays a large part in determining the aesthetic qualities of the printed page. In a letter to Pierre Porret, who must have commented adversely on the quality of ink used by the printer, Plantin humbly accepted his friend's criticism and promised improvement.¹

The question now arises as to how ink was made in Plantin's day. In the *Dialogues françois et flamands* of 1567² the author confines himself to a very brief observation: 'The difference is that ours [i.e., printing ink as opposed to writing ink] is made of turpentine, oil, and lamp black.'³ A memorandum about various tricks of the printing trade which Franciscus Joannes Moretus compiled in about 1760 contains more detail, but it is still rather vague about the exact composition of printing ink⁴ - in fact he literally copied the note on making printer's ink as it appeared in the manual of recipes by Alexis Piemontois, *Les secrets*, various editions - both in French and in Dutch - of which were published by Plantin in the early 1560s.

Moxon in his *Mechanick Exercises* (1683-84) and Le Breton in the *Encyclopédie française* are more informative and more precise and the reader is recommended to consult their expositions.⁵ The recipe

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 53 (June-July 1567).

2. Cf. p. 15, note 1.

3. In the French text: 'La différence est, que la nostre est faite de tormentine, huile & fumée.'

4. Arch. 696, no. 101, f^o 5^{ro} (text reproduced by L. Voet, 'Een aantekenboek van Franciscus Joannes Moretus nopens technische aspecten van het drukkersbedrijf, opgesteld omstreeks 1760', *De Gulden Passer*, 44, 1966, p. 233).

5. Compare too H. Klaetsch, *Die Druckfarbe in vergangenen Zeiten*, 1940, based mainly on German sources.

for making black ink consisted essentially of mixing an oil-based varnish with lamp black which had been obtained by burning oil. The turpentine mentioned by the author of the *Dialogues* was simply a thinning agent - something that Le Breton advises strongly against.

Two kinds of ink, one fairly fluid and the other much less so, are described by Moxon and Le Breton and are also mentioned in Alexis's *Secrets*. Both are encountered in the Plantinian account-books under the names 'encre faible' and 'encre dur'. Alexis and Moretus with him state that the 'weak' variety is more suitable in winter.¹ Le Breton devotes a long passage to this point. The *Officina Plantiniana*, however, must have used the two kinds winter and summer, for both feature in deliveries to the firm all through the year. This seems to tally with Moxon, who recommended 'weak' ink for the larger type sizes and 'hard' ink for the smaller.²

Plantin and his successors bought their ink from specialist firms of 'ancriers' or 'faiseurs dancre' in Antwerp.³ These merchants did good business with the Plantin press. In the period 1563-66 Guillaume van Esche (or IJsche) delivered 1,300 lb. of ink, for which he received 199 fl. 1½ st.⁴ As the firm expanded its expenditure on ink rose correspondingly. In the ten-month period from 13th January to 24th November 1568, Plantin bought 987 lb. of ink from Van Esche (427 lb. of 'encre dur', 252 lb. of 'faible' and 308 lb. of unspecified variety) at a cost of 160 fl. 7¾ st.⁵

The same prices were paid for both kinds of ink, and these prices rose over the years. In December 1563 ink cost 2¾ st. per pound; in 1564 it had risen to 3 st. per pound; and in 1568 to 3¾ st. In 1590 it

1. 'Il le faut un peu cuire, le laissant liquide ou epais selon qu'il sera besoin mais en hiver plus liquide qu'en été et toujours le plus epais fait la lettre plus noire, plus nette et plus reluisante...'
2. Cf. too Ord. I (1715), art. 8: 'It is also decreed that weak ink must not be generally used, but hard ink must be used as much as possible; also that the ink must be applied using not too much grease but following the demands of the type, since the grease is only put on to save labour; and on the contrary to put it on properly and pull it off forcefully and apply it continually is necessary to produce a pure and proper work...' See on Ord. I, p. 310, note 1.
3. Under Jan I Moretus one of the 'faiseurs dancre', François Bellet, was also a compositor in the *Officina Plantiniana* (Arch. 21, f^o 349).
4. Compiled in accordance with Arch. 3. Cf. for the year 1566, Appendix 1.
5. Arch. 756, f^o 171^{vo}.

had reached 7 st. and in 1599 7½ st. per pound.¹ In 1590-91 Jan Moretus had to pay Joris Berger 330 fl. 14 st. for a little over 900 lb. of ink and an unspecified quantity of varnish,² whereas in 1568 his father-in-law had bought a larger amount of ink for less than half this price.

In addition to black ink, red ink was used quite extensively, especially for liturgical books. This red ink was prepared by mixing vermilion with the same varnish as was used for black printing ink.³ It was made up as required in the printing press: ink prepared with vermilion dries up too quickly to be stored. Plantin and his successors regularly purchased quantities of varnish for red ink from their usual suppliers. Prices of this commodity followed the same upward trend as those of ink: 2½ st. per pound in 1566 and 1568; 6 st. in 1599. Vermilion itself was not obtained from the same tradespeople as ink. It was a certain Arnold Kindt, 'marchant espissier', who supplied Plantin with the material, as well as pepper, spices, and wine, from 1563 until the printer's death.⁴ At this time vermilion came chiefly from Spain and it was probably through his contacts with the Peninsula that Kindt had started to deal in this particular substance. Plantin himself sold quite considerable quantities of it to the French paper merchant J. Moreau of Troyes in 1574-75⁵ - which indicates that vermilion was then not easily obtainable in France. It is interesting to note that prices of 'unprocessed' vermilion fell while those of ink were rising at the rate indicated above.⁶ In 1564 Plantin paid 37 st. per pound for it, and 36 st. in 1565; in 1572 the price had fallen to 18 st. Later it rose again, but as late as 1587 it was still costing the printer only 22 st. per pound.

1. Arch. 21, f^{OS} 58 and 180 (supplied by J. Berger), f^o 349 (supplied by F. Bellet).
2. The quantity of varnish supplied cannot be given exactly.
3. As described in more detail by Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, and Le Breton in the *Encyclopédie française*, and also by Alexis Piemontois in his account of the preparation of ink. In this account Alexis also gives indications on the preparation of green and blue printing ink.
4. Arch. 3, f^{OS} 10^{ro}, 10^{vo}, 30^{fo}; Arch. 19, f^{OS} 20, 129, 169.
5. *Corr.*, IV, no. 600 (letter to J. Moreau, 3rd Jan. 1575).
6. Perhaps recently discovered deposits permitted the marketing of greater amounts.

Vermilion is a mineral. Before it could be used for making red ink it had to be crushed and ground, a job which cost time and money. The 3 lb. which Plantin bought in April 1564 required '6 journées d'homme à broyer dudict vermillon'; at 6 st. a day this came to 1 fl. 16 st.¹ The 8 lb. purchased on 16th June 1565 took nine days' work at 8 st. per day.²

All this made ready-to-use vermillion an expensive material. At the beginning of his career Plantin did not publish many liturgical works. Purchases of vermillion in the period 1563-66 were limited to 18 lb., for which 32 fl. 8 st. was paid. Later, when service books were beginning to account for an increasingly large percentage of production, expenditure on vermillion went up accordingly. In the years 1572-75 as much as 1,174 lb. was bought, for which Arnold Kindt received a total of 1,253 fl. 2 st. In the 1586-89 period 277 lb. was purchased at a cost of about 352 fl.³

Although Plantin and the Moretuses had to spend quite a lot of money over the years on black and red ink, this represented a small percentage only of their total running costs. In 1566, for example, out of a total expenditure of 13,041 fl. 1¼ st., only 170 fl. 4½ st., or 1.3 per cent, went on ink.⁴

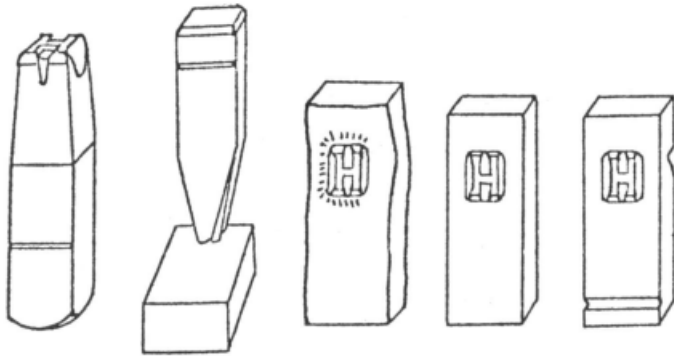
1. Arch. 3, f^o 10^{vo}.
2. Arch. 3, f^o 30 (paid to Guillaume Paillette of Rouen). This same G. Paillette is mentioned, again in connexion with the grinding of vermillion, in February 1566 (Arch. 31, f^o 101: twice three days at 10 st. a day). In 1568-70 it was one 'Lievin le peintre' who performed the task (Arch. 31, f^o 101: 1568, twelve pounds ground in twelve days at 7 st. per day; Arch. 757, f^o 374: 1570, 6 st. per pound). He must have died on the premises from an epidemic disease, when working for Plantin, as on 1st Sept. 1571 the latter paid 14 st. 'pour le coffre à mettre le corps dudict estant mort' and the substantial sum of 12 fl. to the men 'qui l'ont porté en terre et nettoyé la maison' (Arch. 36, p. 116).
3. In the inventories the stock of vermillion is mentioned only a few times: in 1707 (Arch. 721, no. 77: under the stairs leading to the library and in the office, 151 two-pound packets, that is 302 pounds; at 3 fl. per pound representing a value of 906 fl.) and 1757 (Arch. 721, no. 81: under the stairs next to the room of J. Lipsius 187 pounds; at 2 fl. 7 st. per pound representing a value of 439 fl. 9 st.).
4. Cf. Appendix 1.

Chapter 4

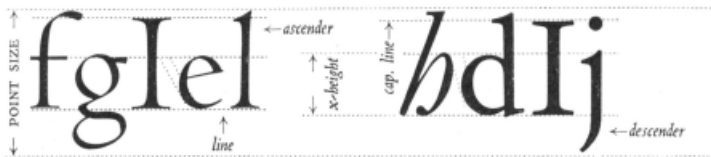
Type Material

The most important aspect of Gutenberg's invention lay not so much in the creation and utilization of the printing-press as in the art of manufacturing movable type. Printing consists essentially of reproducing texts by means of movable metal type which has itself been reproduced mechanically. Before describing how type was made in Plantin's time, it is necessary, however, to discuss what stocks of type he and his contemporaries required to carry on their craft.¹

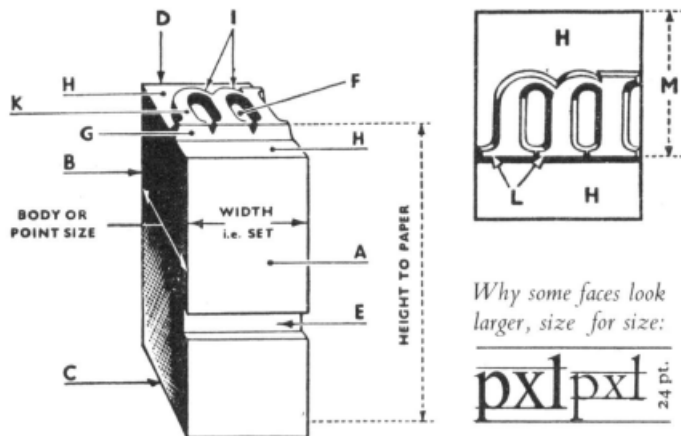
1. The first important study on the subject was M. Rooses, 'De letters der Plantijnsche drukkerij, 1555-1589,' *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 2, 1904, pp. 7-21. This article was used as an introduction to Rooses's *Index Characterum Architypographiae Plantiniana*, 1905 (in Dutch with a French translation). It is still of some interest with regard to cast type; but as far as punches and matrices are concerned it has been superseded by later studies. There is a stencilled inventory of the collection of punches and matrices (which can be consulted in the Museum): M. Parker & K. Melis, *Inventaris van de stempels en matrijzen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus; Inventory of the Plantin-Moretus Museum Punches and Matrices*, Antwerp, 1960. The reference numbers used for the series of punches and matrices given in the following pages refer to this inventory (ST: punches; MA: matrices). The information it contains was incorporated in M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, II. Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices and Moulds in the Plantin-Moretus Archives,' *De Gulden Passer*, 38, 1960, pp. 1-139. This is the basic study of the Plantin-Moretus Museum collection and also includes useful data about the type-cutters who worked for the house. A general survey can be found in the publications of the expert who first studied the subject thoroughly and scientifically: Harry Carter, 'Plantin's Types and their Makers,' *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, pp. 247-269; 'The Types of Christopher Plantin,' *The Library*, 1956, pp. 170-179. For the type-cutters and the typefaces belonging to the Netherlands, very useful data are to be found in the invaluable work of reference of H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*, 1968. Very interesting for the manufacture of printing types in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: H. Carter, *A View of Early Typography up to about 1600*, 1969 (with many references to the Plantinian archives). For articles on specific type-cutters who worked for Plantin, see also below. - The author wishes to express his warmest thanks to Mr. Harry Carter for having been so kind as to read through this chapter and for giving much valuable advice.



From punch to matrix. Left to right: punch; matrix being struck; one unjustified matrix; two justified matrices.



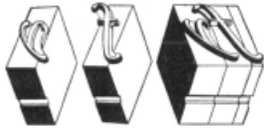
Nomenclature of type forms. Left: 'Venetian style' (c. 1470); right: 'old style' (after c. 1495).



N.B. Most authors writing before 1925 used *beard* for that part of the type that descends from the *face* (printing surface) to the *shoulder*. Modern custom uses the word *beard* to mean *front shoulder*, or that part which is allowed for descenders.

Parts of metal type and their names.

- A Front (of body)
- B Back (of body)
- C Foot
- D Head
- E Nick
- F Counter
- G Beard or bevel showing depth of 'drive'
- H Shoulder
- I Hair line
- K Main stroke
- L Serif
- M Type line



face: *abcdefghijklmnopqr*

Kerns. Many types are said to be 'kerned'. The *kern* is any part of the face that overhangs and rests on the shoulder of the adjacent type.

Kerns. Many types are said to be 'kerned'. The *kern* is any part of the face that overhangs and rests on the shoulder of the adjacent type.

*Typefaces and founts*¹

The roman and italic are today the two basic letter forms used in printing - a state of affairs which had already been reached by Plantin's time. North of the Alps, however, the angular Gothic or black letter script of the later Middle Ages was still used for handwritten books, and because of this it continued in use in all its angularity as a printed type. For everyday purposes a quicker, cursive, handwriting was employed. In 1557 the Frenchman Robert Granjon adapted this cursive Gothic for printing. Plantin was among the first to use this new style of type. He referred to it as the 'lectre françoise' or 'lectre d'écriture'. In technical literature it is termed 'civilité' type. Roman, italic, Gothic, and civilité, augmented by decorative *fleurons* or printer's flowers, were sufficient for the ordinary run of publications. For some of his scholarly works Plantin also had to have Greek and Hebrew alphabets available. He had a Syriac alphabet cut for the Polyglot Bible. His son-in-law Frans Raphelengius at Leiden had founts of Arabic, Ethiopic, and Samaritan type prepared. In addition to these exotica, music editions required special type.

To be properly equipped a printing press had to possess a whole range of type sizes. It was not enough to have one set of a particular alphabet. A huge folio antiphonary required much larger type than a 24 mo edition of a classical author, and type size also had to be varied within a work in order to attract the reader's attention at particular places - to chapter headings, for example. For each design of type which he used, the printer of Plantin's day, like his modern successors, had to have several complete alphabets in various sizes.

These supplies of type of various kinds are referred to as 'founts', and their sizes are expressed in points - according to the Didot system

1. For further details of their history and use, cf. pp. 154 sqq.

on the Continent and the pica point system in the English-speaking world. But in the sixteenth century each fount had its own name. It might take its name from the type-cutter who had helped to create it ('Garamonde', for example) or from the works customarily set in it: this is how 'Bible' and 'St. Augustine' type came to be so called. Sometimes the aesthetic qualities of a type decided its name, examples being 'jolie' and 'nonpareille'.

By way of illustration, here are some lines from the chapter devoted to the printing press (and probably written by Plantin himself) in *Dialogues françois et flamands*, 1567:¹

G: ...But how do you come to have so many kinds of types?

E: That is on account of the diversity of works that have to be printed, either in large or smaller letter. According to them the types have received different names.

G: Is it your opinion that, through being accustomed to make a book in a certain kind of type, they have called such type after it?

E: I understand it so, as in the composition of missals they called some missal types canon and petit canon de messel, glose de messel; lettre de Cicéro, lettre de S. Augustin, because they had been used to printing such authors with these types.

G: Where did the others get their names?

E: Some have taken them from nations which have used them commonly. Of this sort are some we call romain and gros romain or texte, ordinary romain, petit romain, and the italics, lettre françoise, and Greek type.

G: Have others been named for different reasons?

E: Oh yes. Because of their great beauty some are called mignonne, nonpareille and paragon. Others have taken their names elsewhere, such as gros and petit canon, texte, two line tourné letters, gros trait, grand and petit bourgeois, lettre bâtarde, lettre de somme or modern, and lettre de parchemin.²

1. In the translation by professor Ray Nash. The names for which the initials G and E stand are not known with any certainty. It has been suggested that E may stand for Robert Estienne, the great French printer, and G for Jacques Grévin, the French physician and humanist, friend of Plantin. Cf. Nash, *Calligraphy and Printing*...
2. The writer's explanation is rather confused, failing to distinguish between the names of type designs and of type bodies.

The names given to types varied to some extent at least from one region to another. When Albert Moretus was ordered by the French authorities in 1810 to provide them with inventories of his stocks of cast type, he was careful to stress the fact that the terms he used were different from those current in France.¹ It is even quite possible that the names varied from one printing office to another, although the type-cutters and the foundries must have tended to exert a standardizing influence over considerable areas as the terms they used became current among their customers.

The uncertainty of usage noticeable in Plantin's earlier years shows that the practice of naming the various sizes of type must then have been of recent date. Different names were sometimes given to the same fount² and two different founts might be referred to by the same term.³ There were also founts that had not yet been named. In an inventory of 1566 Plantin had to describe a fount as 'Petit texte de Hautin entre la nonpareille et la Garamonde bréviaire ou bible'. Later he was to term this type the *grosse nonpareille* and the body on which it was cast as the *coronel*.⁴ The fact that the name of the French type-cutter Claude Garamond, who had died in 1561, was given to one of the founts is another indication that the nomenclature was a recent innovation, at least as far as Plantin and his colleagues were concerned. The terminology which the great printer adopted in his early years remained in use in the firm until the nineteenth century.

The names of founts used in the *Officina Plantiniana* are given in the table on p. 56.⁵

1. Arch. 156, f^o 171: 'Observation: Comme les termes dont nous nous servons pour désigner les différentes sortes de nos caractères, sont différens de ceux, qui sont en usage en France; ignorans ceux-ci, nous n'avons pu faire autrement, que de nous servir de nos termes ordinaires.'
2. Cf. the table on p. 56.
3. Rather rare, but it did occur. *Petit Texte* could refer to two very dissimilar type sizes: the *Nouveau Texte* (15.5 Pica points) and the *Bible* (7.6 Pica points).
4. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', p. 30.
5. From Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', p. 121. Cf. also for the analogies and differences between the Plantinian names for body sizes of type and those used in England, France; and Germany: H. Carter, *A View of Early Typography...*, p. 127.

Names of Type Sizes as used in the Officina Plantiniana

	<i>20 lines in mm</i>	<i>Didot points</i>	<i>Pica points</i>
Gros Flamand	1,088	144	155
La Plus Grande Romaine	478	78	83
Canon d'Espagne (Espagne)	333	44.5	47.5
Gros Canon (Gras Canon)	288	38.2	41
Moyen Canon	228	30.5	32.2
Petit Canon	189	25.5	27.2
Ascendonica	139	18.5	20
Parangonne (Vraie Parangonne, Grosse Parangonne)	132	17.5	18.7
Reale	130	17.3	18.5
Petite Parangonne	122	16.3	17.7
Texte (Vrai Texte, Gros Texte, Gros Romain)	116	15.5	16.6
Nouveau Texte (Petit Texte)	109	14.5	15.5
Augustine (Vraie Augustine, Grosse Augustine)	93	12.5	13.4
Petite Augustine	87	11.5	12.3
Mediane (Cicero)	79	10.5	11.3
Philosophie (Descendiane)	70	9.5	10.3
Garamonde (Petit Romain, Petite Ascendonica, Bourgeoise)	65	8.7	9.4
Colineus (Bourgeoise)	61	7.9	8.6
Bible (Petit Texte, Breviaire, Gaillarde)	52.5	7	7.6

Coronelle (Mignonne, Grosse Nonpareille)	45	6	6.5
Jolie	43	5.6	6.1
Nonpareille or Nomporeille (Petite Nonpareille)	41	5.3	5.8

The equivalents to Didot and Pica points are approximated averages. The value '20 lines in mm' is to be understood as measured from the first to the twenty-first line, on corresponding points of the printed image.

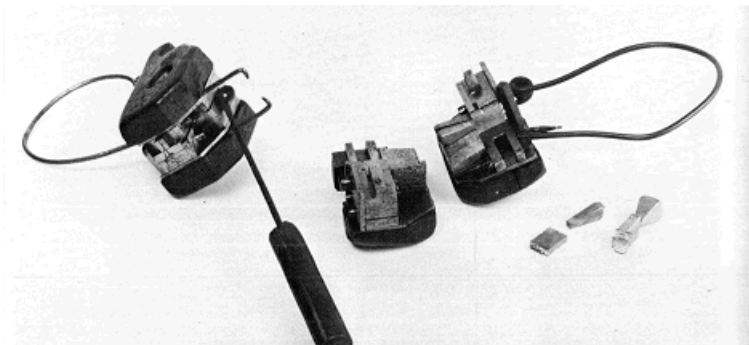
The size or body of a fount is not obtained by measuring the size of the printed image of any of its letters, but is taken from the depth of the shank of the cast letter. This measurement is always slightly greater than the depth of the largest printed image. For example,



(7) *Opposite*: The furnaces of the type foundry in the Plantin house, on the second floor above the gallery. They probably date from 1620-22 when Balthasar I Moretus had this wing added to his premises.



(8) *Top*: Punches from the Plantin-Moretus Museum collection, the work of some of the greatest sixteenth-century punch-cutters: *above left* Van den Keere; *above right* Le Bé; *below left* Granjon; *below right* Garamond. Each of these craftsmen had his own way of finishing off his punches, seen in the length of the shanks, in square-cut, pointed, or rounded ends, so that the sets are quite easily distinguishable. Note among Granjon's punches one with the shank partly cut through (*above left*) and a small punch (*below right*). The latter is an accent which could be fastened to the larger punch and struck together in a matrix.



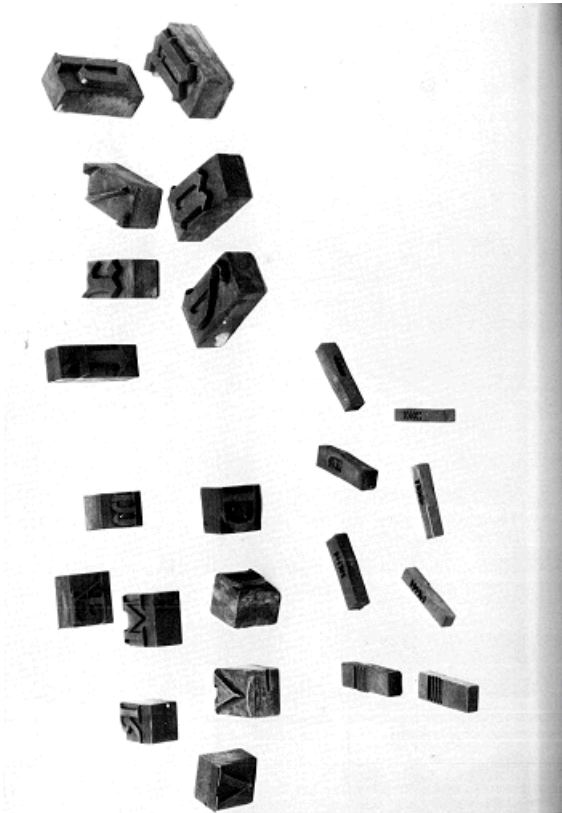
(9) *Bottom*: Moulds. *Left* a closed mould seen from above, with spoon. *Right* an opened mould with a cast letter (extreme right, partly visible, top turned to the left) and, barely visible, a matrix. *Below right* two cast letters, one still with the jet, the other with it broken off. Clearly visible on both moulds is the clamp which held the matrix in place underneath while the molten lead was poured in. The mould on the left also has hooks which served to prise loose any cast letter that had stuck.



(10) *Opposite, top*: A set of matrices (Ascendonica roman by Robert Granjon, MA 7) in a wooden box: possibly one of the 39 boxes supplied by Hendrik van den Keere in 1576. In the front are two punch boxes with painted lids in German style, possibly bought at the Frankfurt Fair.



(11) *Opposite, bottom*: Matrices. *Left* in lead-(MA 9); *right* in copper (MA 78) of the same body size ('Grosses Capitales Extraordinaires' by Garamond, later completed by the addition of Greek capitals by Van den Keere). The lead matrices, which lack the Greek capitals, are more roughly finished: they may have been a cheap set, meant for sale at Frankfurt.



(12) *Opposite*: Two series of initial letters cut in wood and to be cast in sand, (ST 1: 'La plus grande romaine', 73 pieces; ST 78 'Gros Flamand', 58 pieces; both by Hendrik van den Keere). Two examples of type cast in sand are the letters D and V, centre left. The part cast in sand (with the type face) is relatively thin, as can be seen in the V, but it was applied to a lead block to achieve the correct height-to-paper. *In the foreground* matrices of two similar sets of music notes, the top row unjustified (and thus out of shape), the lower row justified.

in the *ascendonica* as used by the Plantin press the depth of the lowercase x is about 3 mm ($\frac{1}{8}$ inch), of the lower-case p and h about 5.5 mm ($\frac{7}{32}$ inch), while the depth of the shank of the cast type is 7 mm ($c.9/32$ inch). It is this measurement, which also determines the minimum distance between the lines in a text, that is indicated by the term *ascendonica* (or nowadays by the number of points in either the Didot or the Pica points system). Generally speaking a particular size of printed image corresponds to a particular size of body. Quite often, however, a smaller type was cast on a given body size¹ - this might be done to introduce more white space between the lines for the sake of better legibility - or the relative size of the printed image to the body might be increased - by casting a slightly larger type on a given body size - to produce a more compact effect.² In the latter eventuality the ascenders or descenders (or both) of the lowercase letters usually had to be reduced in length.³

The Latin alphabet has twenty-six letters. For each of these characters the printer needs lower-case letters and upper-case or capitals; he usually requires an additional set of slightly smaller capitals, known as small caps. Some of the letters in the sixteenth century had more than one form. The lower-case s, for example, nearly always occurred in the short (s) and the long (f) variety. On the other hand, certain letters might be missing. The w and capital J did not figure in Roman type, which was mainly used for printing texts in Latin, were w does not occur and J was rendered by I. In addition to these basic sorts there are also several punctuation marks, figures, letters with diacritical marks, and the many ligatures (tied letters) so beloved in the Renaissance period. A complete roman and italic alphabet con-

1. For example, in the type specimen of c. 1585 (cf. p. 75, note 2) the 'texte sur la vraye parangonne' (16.6 pt Pica [i.e., Texte] cast on 18.7 pt Pica [i.e., Parangonne] - matrices of Claude Garamond [MA 20]; cf. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', p. 22).
2. In the type specimen of c. 1585 the 'gros canon romain' [41 pt Pica] is adapted to be cast on the 'moyen canon' [32.2 pt Pica] (MA 2-3 a & b); 'mediane romaine sur la philosophie' (MA 36 a & b) is an adaptation of 11.3pt pica [mediane] to be cast on 10.3 pt Pica [philosophie].
3. Both type sizes mentioned in the preceding note were created by Garamond and adapted by Hendrik van den Keere: Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', pp. 21 and 10.

sisted of an average of 120 to 150 signs, the number being occasionally much greater than this.¹ The heavy black letter alphabets or ‘flamandes’ were less richly provided with ligatures and diacritical marks, and had only one size of capital letter (no small caps), so that the total number of signs was considerably less than in the roman and the italic. Civilité type came halfway between the black letter and roman in this respect. A good fount might contain about 120 different items. Far and away the greatest number of signs was found in Greek alphabets. Because of their extensive, if not excessive use of ligatures, hardly any founts of Greek letters had less than 250 characters while some approached 500.²

The illustrations (pp. 59-62) show typical numbers of signs.

Punches and matrices³

The metal type needed for printing was cast one letter at a time in matrices. These matrices obviously had to be shaped so as to produce the desired letter and this meant that a number of processes had to be carried out, and a number of implements prepared before the actual casting of type could begin.

These processes, which lie at the basis of the whole craft of printing, and on which its aesthetic results depend, are described in the chapter of the *Dialogues françois et flamands* already quoted above.

1. Thus in 1556 Plantin had 162 matrices of the *garamont petit romain*; in 1563 this number had risen to 177. In 1571 H. van den Keere added to this the letters J and U in small and large capitals, and 20 accent signs. The series now comprised 224 matrices (Plantin-Moretus Museum collection: MA 48). For other examples of roman as well as italic, Gothic, civilité, and Greek, cf. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, ‘Early Inventories’. Remember, however, that these are examples from sets of matrices *as they have been preserved*: some matrices may have disappeared, others may have been added to the original sets.
2. There are 287 matrices in an augustine Greek in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 32 & 33), 386 matrices in a garamond (MA 51 & 52), 407 matrices in a median (MA 142 & 143), and 493 matrices in a Bible (MA 59 & 60). Cf. the remark in the preceding note.
3. Cf. the bibliography quoted on p. 52, note 1. See also plates 9-12.

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N
O P Q R S V X Y Z a b c d e f g h
i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z
Æ Ex Qu & et as at eta eis et *Œ* *Œ* *ff*
ffi fi ffl fl fr ij is ll æ ß si sl sp ss st st
nt ß ta th us á à â ã ç é è ê ë ě ě í
ì î ï ï ï ï ï ï ï ï ï ï ï ï ï ï ï ï
ñ ó ò ô õ ð ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ
ñ ù ù ù ù ù ù ù ù ù ù ù ù ù ù ù ù
AB C D E G H J M
N P R T U Z e m 1 2 3 4 5 6
*7 8 9 0 , ' . ; : ! ? (- * _ \$ % & ' "*

MA 15. Parangonne (18.7 Pica points): Robert Granjon. Mentioned for the first time in Plantin's 1563 inventory; 162 matrices.

G: Let us proceed then and begin with the types, since you have put them foremost. How are they made?

E: First the punch is made. This is a long piece of steel, on the end of which is engraved the desired character.

G: What becomes of that?

E: When it is made it is struck into copper and a matrix is made, which is nothing but the impression of the character struck, exactly as when a seal is impressed in wax.

G: What is the purpose of the character thus struck into copper?

E: Into this matrix the type-metal, such as lead or tin, with which they wish to make the type, is poured, in a mould.



MA 108. 'Gros texte' (16.6 Pica points): Robert Granjon, 1567; 180 matrices.

This exposition is brief in the extreme and does no more than indicate what the first stages in the manufacture of type were, and states that a punch and a matrix were the result.

The first step was to cut the letter in relief on the end of a steel shank. This was the punch. Sometimes the punch-cutter had to use additional small punches to deal with details as the counters of the letters a, e or g. There are fifteen of these counterpunches in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, the only sixteenth-century examples known.¹

1. Four counterpunches in ST 68 and eight in ST 70, both groups cut by H. van den Keere in 1577; three in ST 77 (origin unknown).

The punch was then struck in a copper block by means of a hammer. This rough treatment knocked the copper out of shape and the ‘strike’ as it was termed (the *officina*'s French texts called it ‘une frappe [creue]’, the Flemish texts ‘een [rauwe] afslag’) had to be further worked upon. The block itself had to be filed until it once more formed a regular parallelepiped and the impression of the character struck had been perfected. This ‘justified’ matrix was then ready for use.

Very occasionally punches were struck in lead, thus producing lead matrices. The twenty-three lead matrices of the ‘Grosses Capitales Romaines Extra-ordinaires’ preserved in the Museum are the only known instance of this happening in the Plantinian firm.¹ These were capitals of very large dimensions that could be more easily impressed and justified in lead than in copper. Moreover, only a small number had to be cast from these matrices and this obviated some of the risks entailed in casting lead in lead. A set of copper matrices was also struck with the same punches.² It should not be concluded from this that the lead matrices proved unsatisfactory in use and had to be replaced with the copper set - from the records it would seem that the lead matrices were actually prepared after the copper ones.³ It is very likely that the lead set constituted a relatively cheap strike for sale at the Frankfurt Fair. However, for one reason or another there were no customers and the set returned to Plantin's personal collection.

Equally exceptional were the punches cut in wood instead of in steel. They were not used to produce matrices but were impressed in sand, in which the type was subsequently cast. The ‘lectres en bois de Grosse Romaine extraordinaire [pour jecter en sablon]’ were made by Hendrik van den Keere in 1575. When he delivered them he also provided some sample characters he had cast in sand.⁴ A similar

1. MA 9. See plate 11.

2. MA 78. See plate 11.

3. The copper series was struck by H. van den Keere between the 27th August and the 17th September 1570 (Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, ‘Early Inventories’, pp. 44-45), whereas the lead series (‘matricez de plons de Grandes Capitales’) does not turn up until the inventory of 1588 (*ibidem*, p. 87).

4. ST 1 (a total of 73 pieces): H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types*, pp. 216-219. For casting in sand cf. H. Carter's note in the 1958 edition of Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*, p. 371.

series, this time a black letter, was sent in 1580.¹ These were extraordinarily large characters and could hardly have been produced with the traditional steel punch, struck in copper matrices, nor could they have been cast in the rather small portable moulds normally in use.²

For a given set there were usually fewer punches than matrices.³ It was possible, for example, to combine a punch for a diacritical mark with one for a letter and so produce a whole range of modified vowels. One small additional punch of this kind greatly increased the number of possible matrices. All that was required was accurate placing of the two punches when striking them in the matrix.

In theory it was possible to strike an unlimited number of matrices with one punch: that is to say, provided it did not break or get knocked out of shape. And with one matrix, always providing that it was not damaged in any way, a theoretically unlimited number of letters could be cast. It was therefore the punch which determined the quality of the type and it was the manufacture of punches that demanded the greatest amount of time and skill.

In the pioneering days of printing the typographer had to cut his own punches, strike matrices, and cast the type - or at least have these operations carried out in his own workshop under his direct control. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, specialization had begun to develop and professional punch-cutters and type-founders appeared. At first one craftsman would practise both skills and it remained normal for punch-cutters to have a foundry for casting type. However, there were already type-founders in the sixteenth century who hardly ever created their own type designs but were content to work with matrices prepared by their more skilful colleagues.

In Plantin's time it was therefore already possible to stock up with lead type from specialist firms. Many of Plantin's contemporaries

1. ST 78 (58 pieces): *ibidem*, pp. 81-85.

2. See plate 12.

3. The *coronelle romaine* cut by Hendrik van den Keere has 116 punches (ST 21) and 160 matrices (MA 161).

and competitors were quite happy to do this, but not the master of the *Gulden Passer*:¹ he did not want to be dependent on what type-founders happened to have in stock. He wanted to have the most beautiful types available and as far as possible they had to be exclusively for his own use. He could only do this by buying up punches and matrices and with these producing type to meet his requirements. Plantin carried out this policy - and on a scale that seems far to have exceeded the actual needs of his press. He seems to have had a veritable mania for collecting punches and matrices.

In 1556, scarcely a year after he had started printing, Plantin owned at least four sets of matrices.² In 1561 the number had already risen to twenty-two, five of the sets being unjustified strikes.³ A year later Christophe Plantin had to flee Antwerp and all his possessions were officially auctioned in the Vrijdagmarkt.⁴ The goods that came under the hammer included Plantin's stock of cast type,⁵ but not his greatest typographical asset: his collection of matrices had been taken to safety in time. He made use of his exile in Paris to buy new sets of punches and matrices.

The list drawn up at the end of 1563, after his return to Antwerp, mentioned twenty-nine sets of justified matrices, six sets of strikes and eight sets of punches.⁶ When Plantin put his signature to the contract with members of the Van Bomberghen family, he was not entering the partnership empty-handed. His collection of punches and matrices remained his personal property but it was put at the disposal of the new enterprise and was regarded as the equivalent of a capital investment of 1,200 fl. In addition Plantin was paid an annual sum of 60 fl. under the terms of the contract for the use of this equipment.⁷

1. At the beginning of his career Plantin did find himself obliged to buy cast type 'ready made'. But as early as 1556 he appears to have owned a few series of matrices from which he could have his own letters cast. Later too he occasionally obtained 'ready made' supplies but this remained very exceptional (cf. p. 106, note 4).
2. Arch. 34, f^{os} 3-4: Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', pp. 7-8.
3. Arch. 2, f^o 45: *ibidem*, pp. 9-14.
4. Arch. 27. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 42-43.
5. See pp. 113-114.
6. Arch. 36, pp. 34-37: *ibidem*, pp. 15-24.
7. M. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 380.

Plantin continued to build up his collection during the years of the partnership. The list compiled in 1566 of the ‘utensiles d'imprimerie acheptées par moy et mon frère [i.e., Pierre Porret in Paris] depuis la compagnie faicte’ notes the acquisition of 13 sets of punches, 17 sets of matrices, and a number of moulds, the total value of these items being 1,358 fl.¹ The partnership was dissolved in 1567 when Plantin's associates had to flee from the persecuting Alva. At least four sets of Hebrew matrices belonging to Cornelis van Bomberghen remained behind in the Plantin press.

By that time Plantin's punches and matrices already constituted an impressive and unique possession. He was very proud of them and on 19th December 1566 he wrote to de Çayas:² ‘Quant aux caractères je les ay tous taillés et en ordre et les ay par le moyen de mes amis recouverts et acheptés de longue main, à tels frais, travail et nombre d'argent qu'on n'y pourroit bonnement mettre prix: d'autant que je ne pense pas qu'il s'en trovast encores autant ensemble de si beaux et bons en aucune partie de toute l'Europe, ainsi comme plusieurs des principaux imprimeurs et gens à ce cognoissants de la France, de l'Alemagne et de l'Italie l'ont rescript et maintes fois confessé en mon absence, et puis après en ma présence à la foire de Francfort.’

Plantin may be suspected of some exaggeration in this letter in which he was trying to arouse the enthusiasm of Philip II's secretary for the Polyglot Bible project. Nevertheless the printer was able to provide the Spanish king and his advisers with evidence in support of his claims. In 1567 he published his famous *Index sive specimen characterum Christophori Plantini*, some copies of which he sent to Madrid.³ Three copies survive today, all of them to be found in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. This *Index* was issued in two slightly different versions, one showing 41, the other 42 types. It presented

1. Arch. 2, f^o 46: Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, ‘Early Inventories’, pp. 24-30.
2. *Corr.*, I, no. 20.
3. Cf. *Corr.*, I, no. 25 (March 1567, Plantin to de Çayas: ‘Suivant l'ordonnance de V.S. et ma promesse, je vous envoye les deux livrets avec l'indice de la meilleur partie de mes charractères, avec espoir de vous envoyer le reste quand je l'auray imprimé’).

a selection of the principal founts then at Plantin's disposal - 12 roman, 10 italic, 3 black letter, 3 civilité, 6 Greek, and 7 Hebrew.¹

Plantin did not rest on his laurels. The 'Registre de tous les poinçons, matrices et instruments [i.e., moulds] appartenants à Christoffle Plantin' compiled in 1572 showed that his collection had been appreciably enlarged.² The inventory lists 12 strikes ('frappes creues'), 56 sets of justified matrices, and 31 sets of punches. Seven sets of matrices and one of punches must have been left out, while 'toutes les matrices de l'Hebrieu et Syriac tant creues que justifiées, qui sont tout ensemble en une boîte' were mentioned, but without being itemized.

Before 1570 the sources from which Plantin obtained his punches and matrices were quite numerous and varied. Through Cornelis van Bomberghen he acquired at least four sets of matrices for Hebrew type. These matrices (or at all events the punches with which they had been struck) dated back to the beginning of the century. They had been used at Venice by Cornelis's uncle, Daniel van Bomberghen, for his famous Hebrew editions.³ In 1565 Plantin had in his service Jacques Sabon, a type-cutter and founder who later went to live in Germany; as head of the Egenolff type-foundry, in Frankfurt, he played an important part in the development of the craft in Germany. Yet while he was at Antwerp Jacques Sabon had only worked one incomplete set of large capitals.⁴

At this time there were two type-cutters and founders working in Antwerp who compare favourably with other memorable sixteenth-century practitioners of the art. François Guyot, a Frenchman by birth, was active in the city from 1539 until his death in 1570.⁵ His importance lay in being one of the first to adapt elegant French type faces and introduce them into Southern Netherlands typography.

1. Published in facsimile with an introduction by Douglas McMurtrie, 1924.

2. Arch. 153, pp. 285-292: Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', pp. 30-51.

3. *Ibidem*, pp. 42-43.

4. Arch. 31, f^o 98 (cf. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', p. 18). On Sabon as a type-founder cf. pp. 106-107. Biographical data on this craftsman in H. Carter, *A view of Early Typography...*, pp. 97-98.

5. Cf. H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types...*, pp. 26-27.

Ameete Tavernier was his contemporary in Antwerp and died in the same year as the Frenchman. Tavernier was a pupil of Joos Lambrecht, the Ghent type-cutter who was so deeply imbued with the Renaissance spirit: he was at the same time printer, seal-engraver, schoolmaster, and poet. Tavernier's work was superior to that of Guyot and he ranked high among the great typographical artists of the second half of the sixteenth century.¹

The young Plantin used material from these two craftsmen. The first works that left his *officina* were largely set in Guyot and Tavernier types. At first, however, he was content, or was constrained to buy ready-cast type. Only one set of Guyot matrices² and one set that can be attributed to Tavernier³ are listed in the inventory of 1561. The Plantin-Moretus Museum possesses other sets of matrices by these two type-cutters,⁴ although two of the Tavernier sets are not mentioned until the inventory of 1588, where they are listed as strikes⁵ - and it is in this unworked and unused state that they have been preserved. The other sets cannot be identified in the inventories of Plantinian types (up to 1652). They must have been bought by one of the Moretuses at a later date, probably when the effects of a typefounder or printer were put up for auction;⁶ these also remained unused.

Plantin did not buy punches or matrices from these two outstanding Antwerp craftsmen after 1561. He remained on friendly terms with Tavernier and he made use of Guyot's services as a type-founder,⁷ so it is clear that he did not stop buying their products for any personal

1. On Ameete Tavernier as a type-cutter see Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, III. Ameete Tavernier, Punchcutter (c. 1522-1570),' *De Gulden Passer*, 39, 1961, pp. 17-76; H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types...*, pp. 28-30.
2. MA 69.
3. MA 53a: Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Ameete Tavernier,' p. 50.
4. Guyot: MA 3 and MA 131 b; Tavernier: MA 77, 146, 150, 163, 168 (for the attribution see Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Ameete Tavernier').
5. MA 146 and 150.
6. Perhaps on the liquidation of the firm of Van Wolsschaten, the Antwerp dynasty of type-cutters and type-founders, at the end of the eighteenth century (cf. p. 112).
7. Cf. p. 106.

reason. He may not have been completely satisfied with the quality of Guyot's work, but even the most difficult client could not have faulted that of Tavernier. The explanation is probably that Plantin did not want to use types which any of his Antwerp colleagues could obtain, or already had in their possession. He wanted to have more exclusive designs and he found them in France. From 1561 until 1570 he obtained most of his punches and matrices from French craftsmen.

Claude Garamond is regarded by many experts as the greatest type-cutter of the sixteenth century and one of the greatest of all time.¹ His roman alphabets are among the most beautiful ever made. In 1556 Plantin already possessed a 'Garamont petit romain', and a 'mediane Garamont rommain' is added in the inventory of 1561.² Garamond died in Paris in 1561. His stocks and materials were publicly auctioned. Plantin was able to acquire the matrices for a Hebrew alphabet, but this set had actually been made by Guillaume Le Bé,³ not by Garamond. All that Plantin managed to obtain of Garamond's own work were a number of 'varia' and uncompleted sets.⁴ Guillaume Le Bé did better, getting the punches of at least four and possibly six roman alphabets - Garamond's last important creations. Le Bé bought most of these directly from the widow, not at the auction. It was at this time that Le Bé ran into financial difficulties. On the specimens of his 'tres gros hebrieu' (cut in 1559) he sadly noted that in 1562 'à cause des troubles' (i.e., the beginning of the French religious wars) he had been obliged to sell the punches, moulds, and matrices of this set to Plantin. He sold the punches of Garamond's *augustine* and

1. Besides Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', see also H.D.L. Vervliet, 'The Garamond Types of Christopher Plantin', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, I, 1965, pp. 14-20, for a discussion of Garamond and his punches acquired by Plantin. On Garamond see also J. Paillard, *Claude Garamont, graveur et fondeur de lettres*, Paris, 1914. (Reissue: La Courneuve, Ofmi-Garamont, 1969.)
2. MA 48 and MA 36 a.
3. 'Lectre Hebraique taille de Be pour Garamont', cut by Le Bé for Garamond in the latter's house in Paris in the summer of 1551 (Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', p. 22).
4. Including ST 3; cf. *ibidem*, p. 18.

bible to the printer at the same time.¹ Between 18th April and 4th July 1573 Plantin bought the matrices of a further Garamond *petit romain* and a *mediane romain* in Paris.² This was probably from Le Bé again, for between 20th September and 6th October 1573 the type-cutter received 5 *pond* 10 *schellingen* for the capitals of a *garamonde romain* and between 6th October and 29th November 1573 a further sum of money for a Garamond *parangon romain*.³ Plantin in fact made these various purchases in 1573 on behalf of the Ghent type-cutter Hendrik van den Keere, whose activities will be described in more detail below.⁴ After Van den Keere's death these sets, together with the bulk of the rest of his typographic material, passed into Plantin's collection.⁵ The printer left them unused.

Guillaume Le Bé also ranked among the great masters of the craft. His speciality was Hebrew. The nineteen alphabets which he cut between 1545 and 1591 were some of the finest of their kind. They had a decisive influence on the development of Hebrew type faces.⁶ As the Polyglot Bible project took shape, Plantin began to feel the need of more Hebrew alphabets to augment Van Bomberghen's Hebrew types, the *Lectre hébraïque de Bé pour Garamont* (the *vray Texte Hébreu à la façon de Venise*, as he usually termed it), which he had purchased at the Garamond auction of 1561 in circumstances outlined above,⁷ and Le Bé's *tres gros hebrieu* that he had acquired in 1562.⁸ Plantin turned once more to Le Bé, who supplied him with a *double parangonne* and a *double mediane* about 1566 and a *coronelle* in March 1570.⁹

Pierre Haultin (died 1587?) was another important French master

1. ST 13 a and ST 20 a: cf. *ibidem*, pp. 18-19.
2. Petit romain, MA 47 a; the median has been lost. Cf. also next note.
3. MA 47 a and MA 97: cf. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', pp. 62-63.
4. Cf. pp: 73 sqq.
5. Cf. the references in note 3 on this page.
6. In addition to the data given in Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', see Carter, 'A Message from Plantin to Guillaume Le Bé', *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 59-62.
7. MA 72 (cf. p. 69, note 3).
8. ST 50, MA 6.
9. MA 18; MA 40; ST 55, MA 82 and 83 a; cf. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', pp. 38, 42-46.

of this period.¹ He had a bookshop in Paris but, being a Huguenot, he regularly left the capital in times of tension for the greater safety of La Rochelle or Lyons. Plantin had quite a lot of contact with him in the early years of his career. The *texte romain* in the 1556 inventory may possibly be Haultin's work.² The next inventory, that of 1561, lists no fewer than seven sets of matrices as having been supplied by him.³ However, the transactions stopped as suddenly as they had begun. The 1563 inventory reports a Haultin *bible grecque* and in 1565 a *coronelle romaine* was delivered,⁴ but these were the last. It is true that in July 1567 Plantin tried, through Pierre Porret, to obtain strikes of a Greek alphabet, but this was with the intention of reselling the set at Frankfurt.⁵

Another French type-cutter had replaced Haultin in Plantin's favour. This was Robert Granjon, also one of the great masters of the craft, who was born and raised in Paris but lived also in Lyons.⁶ He devised the civilité in 1557, and although he cut all the other typefaces as well, his importance lies in his italic alphabets. Granjon's work helped to determine the future development of the italic: his influence is comparable to that of Garamond and Le Bé in their respective fields.

In 1556 Plantin already possessed two sets of Granjon matrices for

1. L. Desgraves, *L'imprimerie à La Rochelle; 2: Les Haultin*, Geneva, 1960. Some short but pertinent remarks on Haultin as a punch-cutter in H. Carter, *A View of Early Typography...*, pp.86-87.
2. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', p. 8 (not extant).
3. These have been preserved: MA 65 and 67, MA 3, MA 66 a, MA 32 and 33, MA 142 and 143. In a letter of 3rd June 1561 from the Paris bookseller M. Le Jeune to Plantin (*Corr.*, I, no. 4) mention is made of the forwarding of a set of matrices without giving further details ('Davantage vous trouverés ung paquet de matrisses que mon cousin Hotin vous envoie').
4. Bible Greek, MA 140 and 141; coronelle romaine, MA 160.
5. Letter from Plantin to P. Porret, *Corr.*, I, no. 52.
6. With regard to the creation of the civilité, see the bibliographical references in p. 156, note 1, as well as the data given in Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories'. On his later career in Italy: H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Robert Granjon à Rome, 1578-1589. Notes préliminaires à une histoire de la typographie romaine à la fin du XVI^e siècle,' *Bulletin de l'Institut historique beige à Rome*, 38, 1967, pp. 177-231. Cf. also H.D.L. Vervliet, *The Type Specimen of the Vatican Press 1628*, 1967.

cursive alphabets, namely a *cicero italique* and a *petite italique*.¹ The 1563 inventory lists six more sets - 4 italic, 1 Greek, and 1 *mediane faceon d'écriture à la main Granion*, this being the new civilité which Granjon had 'invented'.² In November 1564 Granjon arrived in Antwerp. He remained there until August 1567 and later returned for a shorter stay, from November 1569 to April 1570. It is not known whether Granjon worked for other Netherlands printers while he was in Antwerp, but he certainly received many orders from Plantin. In this period he supplied a very large proportion of the punches and matrices that are today counted among the treasures of the Plantin-Moretus collection. Granjon's final departure for France in 1570 virtually put an end to his dealings with Plantin, except for a few occasional orders - punches and matrices for a *nonpareille cursive* (1573-74) and a *jolye Grecq* (1574-75)- for which the printer paid either at the Frankfurt Fairs, or through his son-in-law Egidius Beys in Paris.³ The Plantin-Moretus Museum possesses no fewer than 40 sets of punches and matrices that are wholly or partly the work of Granjon (16 italic, 10 roman, 5 civilité, 5 Greek, 1 Syriac, and 3 of music type).⁴

These bare figures cannot fully convey Granjon's importance to the building up of Plantin's collection of types and to the evolution of the Plantinian typefaces. As far as can be made out, Plantin in his dealings with Garamond, Le Bé, Haultin, and even with the Antwerp masters Guyot and Tavernier, had to be content with what they happened to have ready in stock (the three Hebrew alphabets which he ordered from Le Bé for use in the Polyglot Bible were an exception). This was also the case with Granjon before 1564 and after 1570. From 1564 to 1570, however, contacts between printer and punch-cutter were much closer, and from the agreements that were drawn

1. MA 133 and MA 54 a: cf. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', p. 8.
2. Italic, MA 58 a, MA 81, MA 147 (one set has been lost); Greek, MA 51 and 52; civilité, MA38 and 107. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 10-12.
3. Nonpareille cursive, ST 30 and MA 71; Jolye grecq, ST 49, MA 94 and 95. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 73-74, 77-78.
4. Cf. the list: *ibid.*, pp. 137-138.

up it appears that the latter worked largely to order.¹ By commissioning appropriate work from Granjon, Plantin was able to fill the many gaps in his collection and also supplement, and sometimes even remodel the sets already in his possession.²

After Granjon's close association with the Plantin press had ended in 1570 his place was immediately taken by another punch-cutter. This was Hendrik van den Keere the Younger, of Ghent, who was also known by the French form of his name, Du Tour. He was the son of Hendrik the Elder who himself had continued the business of his old master Joos Lambrecht. The younger Van den Keere was the greatest Flemish punch-cutter of the sixteenth century.³ Although his roman alphabets never quite equalled the elegance of his French models, they were nevertheless strongly designed, easily legible, and at the same time economical, because of their smaller ascenders and descenders. His speciality, however, was the 'flamande': his black letter alphabets were among the most beautiful ever designed. On 7th January 1568 he supplied Plantin with 21 matrices for *fleurons* and on 16th June 1569 he contracted to deliver strikes of a nonpareil gothic within five to six weeks.⁴ Orders did not become really frequent until after Granjon's departure, but from 1570 until his death in the summer of 1580, Van den Keere supplied Plantin with punches and matrices with unrelenting regularity, and supplemented

1. Agreements: 3rd February 1565 (Arch. 31, f^o 86^{vo}), 3rd July 1565 (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 230), 7th December 1566 (*ibid.*, no. 231), 18th April[1570] (Arch. 31, f^o 89^{ro}).
2. Namely the cutting of new longer or shorter letters to permit the casting of certain alphabets on a larger or smaller body.
3. H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*, 1968, pp. 30-32. His accounts, in so far as they refer to his dealings with Plantin, are in the Museum archives (Arch. 42; the accounts H. van den Keere submitted to Plantin are in Arch. 153, f^{os} 101 sqq.). Several of the letters exchanged by him and his successors with the *Officina Plantiniana* have been preserved: from Van den Keere to Plantin, 29th July 1571 (*Corr.*, II, no. 281), 16th January 1576 (*Corr.*, V, no. 698), 13th February 1579 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 823), 11th July 1580 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 884; also *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 151); the widow of H. van den Keere to Plantin, 4th October 1580 (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 152), 27th December 1580 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 898), 30th January 1581 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 908); Plantin to the heirs of H. van den Keere, 15th February 1581 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 915).
4. Arch. 153, p. 189.

or modified existing sets, greatly extending the Plantinian typographical collection. Altogether the Ghent craftsman delivered 44 sets of punches and matrices (14 roman, 14 Gothic, 1 cursive italic, 1 civilité, 2 Greek, and 12 music types), and also a number of *fleurons* and various signs.¹

Hendrik van den Keere died between 11th July and 4th October 1580 in the prime of life, probably of blood poisoning following an injury to his leg.² In addition to the material he had supplied to Plantin he had a private collection consisting partly of his own work and partly of that of other masters.³ On 4th October 1580 Van den Keere's widow offered to sell Plantin this collection.⁴ The letter spoke of 'all the punches, matrices, and moulds' but it is clear from other documents that the widow and Thomas de Vechter (Hendrik's foreman, who continued the business) kept back quite a number of these. Twenty-two sets of punches and 26 sets of matrices, valued at 2,250 fl. were offered to Plantin for 2,000 fl. Letters were exchanged and the bargaining continued until finally, on 15th February 1581, a contract was signed whereby Plantin acquired 20 sets of punches and 12 sets of matrices for the sum of 1,400 fl.⁵ It was stipulated that the children of Hendrik van den Keere and Thomas de Vechter should be able to buy back the material at the same price. They did not exercise their right and the punches and matrices - the work of Van de Keere, Granjon, Garamond, and Tavernier - remained Plantin's property.⁶

This was Plantin's last major acquisition. He had built up one of the largest collections of typographical material ever assembled by a

1. Cf. the list in Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', pp. 138-139.
2. In the last letter written to Plantin on 11th July 1580 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 884) he mentioned in passing that he had hurt his leg.
3. Van den Keere did in fact acquire a few of these sets through the intermediary of Plantin. Cf. p. 70.
4. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 152.
5. *Corr.*, VI, no. 915.
6. Cf. the 1580 and 1581 inventories and the De Vechter inventory of-after 1581: Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', pp. 51-84.

single printer, and he expressed his justifiable pride in it in many of his letters. As with all collections, not all the items were of the same high quality. Some punches and matrices remained unused - sometimes for no ascertainable reason - while other sets were used for a time and then discarded as typographical fashion, or Plantin's tastes changed with the passing years and as new alphabets became available.

At no stage in his career did Plantin have more than a relatively limited number of founts in use, but he could, if he so wished, have a range and variety of types cast from his matrices that was not equalled by any printer of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. The inventory of cast type in stock in May 1575 (*Inventaire des lectres de l'imprimerie de C. Plantin*) lists no fewer than 67 founts: 26 roman, 13 italic, 11 black letter, 8 Hebrew, 6 Greek, 2 civilité, 1 Syriac, and 7 music.¹ For a time in 1585 Plantin was considering winding up the business. With this prospect in mind he had a type specimen set in the various alphabets and founts then in his possession.² This document catalogued a total of 101 founts of type: 33 roman, 24 italic, 18 black letter, 4 civilité and *bastarde*, 8 Greek, 10 Hebrew, 1 Syriac, and 3 music - and even then the list was not complete.³

After Plantin's death in 1589 the collection was divided up, part going to Jan Moretus in Antwerp and part to Frans Raphelengius in Leiden. It was probably already smaller by a few sets. At that particular moment it was in fact housed in three different places. At Antwerp⁴ there were 36 sets of justified matrices, 28 sets of strikes and a comparatively small number of punches (647 altogether, 364 of them being for civilité alphabets and most of the rest for music types). In 1583 Plantin had taken a quantity of typographical material with him to Leiden. In 1585 he left behind there a total of 1,191 punches

1. Arch. 43.

2. Folia Varia IX, pp. 125-134; also in R 24.37 (the same specimen letters cut out according to bodies and pasted up in a register).

3. For example, several music founts are missing. However, several double sets occur (mostly where founts had been cast on different bodies).

4. Inventory of [1589]: Arch. 98, pp. 525-527 (cf. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', pp. 89-92).

(10 sets of black letter, 100 *lettres syriennes*, i.e. Syriac, 172 *hebraïques de diverses sortes*), 30 sets of justified matrices, and 9 sets of strikes.¹ The rest, that is to say most of the punches for his roman and italic alphabets (1,736 altogether), six sets of justified matrices, and 14 of strikes, were in Plantin's warehouse at Frankfurt,² for reasons that will be discussed below.³

Naturally Jan Moretus and Frans Raphelengius kept the material Plantin had left at Antwerp and Leiden respectively. The stock at Frankfurt was divided between them. As his share Raphelengius received 290 punches (a *jolie romaine*, a *colineus cursive*, a *petite musique* and a number of *fleurons*) and 5 sets of strikes.⁴ The rest passed to Jan Moretus. If the figures are totalled it appears that Plantin left his heirs 3,574 punches, 72 sets of justified matrices, and 51 sets of strikes.⁵ Jan Moretus's share of the total collection was 2,093 punches, 42 sets of justified matrices, and 37 sets of strikes;⁶ Raphelengius received 1,481 punches, 30 sets of justified matrices, and 14 sets of strikes.

The Leiden and Antwerp branches of Plantin's family remained on good terms with one another. They lent each other matrices⁷ or had strikes made from their punches for their kinsmen.⁸ Between 1590 and 1601 a number of punches were exchanged for matrices at the request of the Raphelengii.⁹ When the latter began to dispose of their material the Moretuses were given first option. In 1613 and

1. Inventory of 1590: Arch. 99, pp. 31-33 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 95-98).
2. Inventories of 1588 (Arch. 98, pp. 459-460: cf. *ibid.*, pp. 84-88) and 1590 (Arch. 153, pp. 355-357: *ibid.*, pp. 93-95)
3. Cf. pp. 90-91.
4. Inventory of [1590]: Arch. 99, p. 101 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 98-99).
5. There are a number of doubles in these 123 sets of matrices.
6. Also 36 moulds (for the 36 sets of justified matrices in Antwerp). But cf. p. 92, note 3.
7. Cf. for example the letters written by F. Raphelengius Jr. in 1601 (Arch. 92, pp. 109, 111, 115, 117) and 1618 (Arch. 92, p. 167), by Justus Raphelengius in 1616 (Arch. 92, p. 237).
8. Cf. the letters written by F. Raphelengius Jr. in 1601: Arch. 92, pp. 113, 119 ('Votre fils m'avoit escript de faire frapper les poincons de la Mediane flamande. Je le feray et pour vous et pour moi [Raphelengius had the punches for this set, but he had no matrices] quand Hondius aura commodité de se transporter pour quelques jours en ceste ville'), and p. 121.
9. Inventory: Arch. 153, p. 387 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 99-101).

1619-20 the bulk of the Plantinian collection returned to Antwerp from Leiden, together with a number of additions which the Raphelengii had commissioned. These included punches and matrices for an Ethiopic and Samaritan alphabet that had been made for Scaliger's *Opus de emendatione temporum*, 1593.¹ The Moretuses, however, were unable to acquire the Raphelengian punches and matrices for an Arabic alphabet. These had been sold in about 1612 to the English Arabic scholar William Bedwell.²

The Plantinian collection was largely intact again. Thereafter it was to undergo no major alteration. The type-founders who worked for the Moretuses occasionally cut a punch to replace one that had been lost or damaged, or struck and justified a matrix.³ Very few new sets of punches and matrices were ordered or purchased. In the seventeenth century there was only the *nonpareille romaine achaptée de la vesve de Th. Strong*. Thomas Strong was an Irish type-founder who worked for the Moretuses from 1600 to 1624.⁴ This set was probably bought largely as a gesture of goodwill to the widow; in fact it corresponds with a Haultin nonpareil, for which the house had possessed justified matrices since 1561.⁵

There was more activity in this field in the eighteenth century. Johan Michael Smit worked in the Plantinian press from November 1732 to April 1736 arranging the typographical material and re-justifying matrices which had been badly spoiled. He also brought a few Garamond and Granjon founts up to date by cutting new letters.⁶ The well-known Belgian type-cutter Jacques-François Rosart was given a more important task. In February 1758, one year before he

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 108-110.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

3. So for example one Van Wolsschaten charged 8 fl. in 1672 for making a punch for coronel romain and the justification of 6 matrices (Arch. 154, f^o 83), and 36 st. in 1688 for striking 4 matrices in nonpareille (Arch. 154, f^o 135).

4. Cf. p. 109.

5. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', pp. 109-110.

6. Cf. an undated letter from J.M. Smit to J.J. Moretus about the need for justifying certain sets of matrices and cutting some punches (Arch. 156, f^o 141). He did do this (cf. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', p. 18 and pp. 124 & 128).

left Haarlem to settle in Brussels, he sent Franciscus Joannes Moretus 182 matrices, with punches, of a *garmond gros oeil*.¹ In his covering letter he wrote ‘I will send you the second in three or four weeks’. The ‘second’ referred to was a *colineus* roman, the 196 matrices and 134 punches of which have also been preserved.² At this time Franciscus Joannes seems to have been seriously thinking of having all his roman alphabets modernized. In about 1760, Jan Baptist van Wolsschaten, a member of a prominent Antwerp family of punch-cutters and type-founders,³ cut an *augustin* roman for him.⁴ A few years before, in 1757, the famous French craftsman Pierre-Simon Fournier had got in touch with the Moretus firm and announced that he had bought the type-foundry belonging to the Mesdemoiselles Le Bé. He offered to sell a number of strikes of which he possessed duplicates, but the Moretuses do not seem to have taken the matter any further.⁵

That was as far as the modernization went.⁶ For the rest there are a number of punches and matrices in the collection of very heterogeneous origin that the Moretuses must have bought in the seventeenth or eighteenth century and which they certainly did not use. They probably acquired these when the estate of a printer or typefounder was put up for auction.⁷ The material includes three sets of Tavernier matrices, one set by François Guyot, and matrices for two sets of capitals which date back to the fifteenth or early sixteenth century.⁸

In the course of the centuries the Plantinian typographical collection suffered a certain amount of inevitable depletion. Some entire sets

1. Arch. 630, p. 25 (letter to F.J. Moretus, 16th February 1758), between pp. 42-43 (account). ST 17 and MA 45.
2. ST 18 and MA 46.
3. Cf. pp. 109 sqq.
4. ST 14 and MA 35.
5. Arch. 156, f^o 151 (letter of 7th February 1757).
6. The Moretuses in fact tried also to modernize their material in other ways; especially by buying quantities of ready cast type (cf. p. 112).
7. Probably from the Van Wolsschatens on the winding up of their business around 1776; cf. p. 68, note 6, and p. 112.
8. MA 5 a and MA 5 b.

were lost; individual punches or matrices are missing from others. That the collection should have been preserved so largely intact, however, is nothing less than miraculous. In the Plantin-Moretus Museum there are 4,477 punches, 15 counter-punches, 15,825 justified matrices, and 4,681 strikes. The bulk of the collection consists of material that Plantin himself brought together. The Imprimerie nationale in Paris, the house of Enschedé in Haarlem, the Oxford University Press, and the Vatican all have important collections of punches and matrices, but in none of them is the sixteenth century so plentifully represented, and by the work of the greatest type-cutters of the age. It is only in this Museum that the work of Claude Garamond, Robert Granjon, Guillaume Le Bé, Hendrik van den Keere, and other craftsmen of their period can be studied comprehensively and in detail. Here their individual techniques of punch-cutting can be examined, impressions can be taken of the characters they engraved from the metal punches, and type can still be cast in their matrices. The Plantin-Moretus collection is therefore unique. It is one of the chief treasures of the Plantinian house and one of the most splendid relics of the golden age of printing.

Some of the matrices were found wrapped in paper. Others were preserved in oak boxes which still house them today. A number of these boxes undoubtedly date back to Plantin's time. They may be the *boictes nouvelles* of which Van den Keere delivered thirty-nine in February 1576, and for which he received the sum of 3 fl.¹ For some years past the punches have been stored by sets in suitable wooden boxes. The Museum also has eleven pinewood boxes which must have been specially made to hold punches. Their lids are decorated with various paintings in a typically German style. They appear to date from the sixteenth century and were probably bought by Plantin or Jan Moretus at the Frankfurt Fairs.

Plantin himself designed no type, and he seems to have given the punch-cutters who worked for him a free hand. Only one instance is known of his specifying what he wanted. Plantin's instructions

1. Arch. 42, f^o 9. Cf. H. Carter, 'Plantin's Types and their Makers,' p. 254.

for the coronelle Hebrew used in the Polyglot Bible and his sketches for the letters aleph and beth can be seen in one of Guillaume Le Bé's albums in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.¹ There is only one occasion recorded on which the printer is known to have consulted an expert about an alphabet. This was when his friend Guillaume Postel, the great French orientalist, gave him detailed advice as to how Granjon was to cut a Syriac fount.² Through his choice of types, however, and through his contact with the greatest type designers of the Renaissance, Plantin exercised an important influence on the evolution of the printed letter in Western Europe. He introduced the French roman and italic alphabets in their most elegant form into the Southern Netherlands and familiarized the Flemish type-cutters with them. Undoubtedly it was Plantin's orders that led Hendrik van den Keere to take up the roman alphabet. The types used in the Leiden *Officina Plantiniana*, together with the Van den Keere material which Thomas de Vechter took to that university town after 1582, became a source of inspiration to Dutch type-cutters in the seventeenth century. These Dutch craftsmen in turn exercised a decisive influence on succeeding generations of Western European type-cutters. Modern roman and italic types can be said to have derived from sixteenth-century French alphabets by way of the Plantin House and seventeenth-century Holland.

These historical considerations give the typographical collection of the Plantin-Moretus Museum a significance that far exceeds its intrinsic value, great though this is. So the fact that the entire collection has at last been fully catalogued, and the makers of the various sets identified, is of the utmost importance for the history of typography in general and for the study of the evolution of the printed letter in particular. It was a herculean task and it made the greatest demands on the knowledge, skill, and patience of the experts involved. These were the English scholar Harry Carter, of the Oxford University Press, from

1. H. Carter, 'A Message from Plantin to Guillaume Le Bé,' *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 59-62.
2. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 90 (letter of 28th July 1569).

*Registre pour les 3. formes printives de la Garamonde
sur Colineus pour Christoffle plantin.*

a	5000	ā	222	ā	266	A	209	A	101
b	1500	ē	302	ē	192	B	91	B	63
c	2560	ī	95	ī	66	C	200	C	124
d	2632	ō	175	ō	114	D	333	D	169
e	7510	ū	280	ū	110	E	224	E	104
f	900	ī	65	ā	109	F	150	F	75
g	1039	ī	50	ē	101	G	196	G	97
h	1065	ī	1136	ī	101	H	171	H	65
i	7500	ī	446	ō	125	I	323	I	174
k	106	ī	300	ī	99	K	104	K	256
l	2944	ī	512	ā	55	L	170	L	107
m	3400	ī	405	ē	70	M	106	M	85
n	5076	ī	106	ī	94	N	170	N	125
o	5209	ī	200	ō	62	O	190	O	119
p	2600	ī	65	ī	60	P	159	P	126
q	1200	ī	54	ē	37	QV	44	Q	74
r	3150	ī	60	ī	39	Q	40	R	123
s	3075	ī	500	ū	60	Qu	74	S	132
t	1800	ō	60	+	105	R	176	T	152
u	8125	ī	70	+	115	S	146	V	147
v	1000	ī	131	x	140	T	162	X	45
w	5000	ī	60	+	90	V	102	Y	53
x	577	ī	40	x	150	W	62	Z	42
y	500	ī	00	R	215	X	05	U	170
z	408	ī	00	X	236	Y	64	U	75
aa	040	ī	50	ē	60	Z	71	J	114
ab	1545	ī	70					f	41
ac	505	ī	--						
ad	2449	1	+20						
ae	1029	2	204						
af	214	3	230						
ag	77	4	100						
ah	436	5	204						
ai	200	6	105						
aj	437	7	153						
ak	101	8	101						
al	373	9	142						
am	55	0	161						
an	8024.		7762.						

En quadrats . 4219 .

En seminaires .
101857.

*De quelle mentrie a 66. pates ce mètre de pindre
a 35. pates a pale et l'entree faite qu'il y fait
fait l'entree a 63. pates qui monte a 12. pates l'entree
a 32. pates 172. pates. Et pour l'entree, mètre de l'entree
et mètre de l'entree a 66. pates. Et pour l'entree, mètre de l'entree*

(13) *Opposite*: Fount scheme for three forms of a roman garamond on colineus (8.6 pica points), supplied by Hendrik van den Keere, 1571 (Arch. 153, folio 125). The type-founder used 261 lb. of type-metal and delivered a total of 101,857 letters.

Register tot der vromen durtche Nonpareille
 door Christoffel Plantin. 271

a	8 104	ä	5 64	Expansio.	A	4 5 0
b	3 023	ë	2 1 01	23575.	B	4 7 5
c	6 210	o	4 50		C	6 0 3
d	9 0 00	o	2 0 2		D	6 5 6
e	2 0 6 12	n	1 6 40	2322	E	6 7 0
f	2 4 16	ñ	3 00	2190	F	3 1 1
g	3 9 60	ŷ	3 27	1504	G	6 5 0
h	5 5 44	ÿ	1 7 20	1042	H	6 3 0
i	5 5 90	j	5 92	2	I	7 0 0
k	1 0 5 2	ſ	5 77	31753.	K	3 5 3
l	4 2 12	ſ	4 00	Somma Sommarum.	L	6 0 7
m	4 2 97	ſ	4 10	204331.	M	6 4 2
n	1 2 5 56	·	4 9 50	Dutch text	N	6 7 2
o	0 3 5 4	·	6 5 6		O	6 1 2
p	2 7 23	·	2 0 20		P	6 2 5
q	5 0 0	·	4 23		Q	2 1 0
r	6 9 93	·	2 6 25		R	7 2 0
s	2 0 2 0	(3 22		S	6 4 0
t	4 4 10	†	2 1 0		T	6 2 0
u	2 0 73	‡	5 3		U	5 4 6
v	0 8 20	§	1 1 2		V	4 2 2
w	2 0 60	¶	2 2 70.		W	7 6
x	2 6 00				X	1 0 1
y	2 4 20				Y	1 3 4
z	2 5 76				Z	1 2 3 7.
	2 5 40					
	1 6 00					
	1 3 7 6 3 3.					

Nonpareille 23 lb. Coste tot de
 quadraten, want 1 gr. 3 1/3.
 Nog ghescheyt 1 6 lb. Stoff van 2 gr. 2 1/2 lb.
 Nog van de maide Gerdien, want
 inde gachinge ghemey 10 lb.
 Enge romt al ghemey al dat dees
 velle adigheit ten somme van
 85. gr. 9. 1/2.

(14) *Opposite*: Fount scheme for three formes of a gothic nonpareille (5.8 pica points), supplied by Hendrik van den Keere in 1569 or 1570 (Arch. 153, folio 271), a total of 204,331 types. The Dutch text, below ‘Somma Sommarum’, reads: ‘which for casting at 8 stuivers per thousand comes to 81 fl. 14 st. And I do not wish to profit from the waste material nor still less to lose from it, seeing that I have taken more care over the work than over my own. Also supplied 23 lb. of lead for the quadrats, coming to 1 fl. 3 st. Also 16 lb. of type-metal for 2 fl. 2 st. And for the baskets, cords, mats, and packing 10 st. Therefore everything together concerning this type comes to the sum of 85 fl. 9 st.’

whom the first impulse for the project came; the American expert Mike Parker; and Dr. H.D.L. Vervliet, then Assistant Curator of the Plantin-Moretus Museum. They were assisted by Matthew Carter, Harry Carter's son, and by K. Melis of the Museum staff.¹ The result made all their efforts worth while and it has considerably advanced present knowledge of Renaissance typography.

The Plantinian archives afford few details of the technical aspects of cutting punches and striking matrices,² except for a little information about the speed - theoretical or actual - at which the work was carried out. In a letter of 16th January 1576, Van den Keere dealt at length with a number of orders which he was then executing for Plantin and discussed the time that they would take.³ In connexion with a very large music type he stated that he would not be able to deliver one punch per day⁴ - which implies that this would have been the tempo with more normal sizes. Justifying the matrices of a *jolie* roman alphabet would require three weeks as he could not complete more than five or six matrices a day, and even to maintain this rate he would need to have help.⁵ For another fount he specified three months for cutting, two weeks for justifying matrices and two weeks for the moulds and the preparation of the steel and copper. This added up to four months, but Van den Keere pointed out that, allowing for other work that was likely to arise, the printer must reckon on half a year.⁶ In a letter of 13th February 1579, he estimates

1. Cf. E. Howe, 'Plantin at Antwerp. A Typographical Adventure', *The British Printer*, 73, 1960.
2. In F.J. Moretus's notebook there is an interesting entry on the making of punches, or more precisely, the method of 'softening' the steel to be used for this purpose (Arch. 696, no. 101, f^o 4^{vo}; cf. L. Voet, 'Een aantekenboek van Franciscus Joannes Moretus nopens technische aspecten van het drukkersbedrijf, opgesteld omstreeks 1760', *De Gulden Passer*, 44, 1966, pp. 234-235).
3. *Corr.*, V, no. 698.
4. 'Je ne vous scauray point delibvrer tout les jours un poinson.'
5. 'J'ay encore de la besoigne a la justification de la jolye romaine, environ 3 sepmaines, et puy le temps qui me fauldra pour les riglettes de cuyvre. Je ne scay point justifier en prenant ayde encores, oultre les 5 ou 6 matrices le jour.'
6. 'Il y fault 3 mois a la taille, 2 sepmaines a la justification, 2 sepmaines aux moules et aultre preparation d'acher[acier] et de cuyvre qui font 4 mois. Avec la besoigne qui se pourroit entremesler cependant, vous ne pouvez prendre moins de un demy an.'

the time needed for justifying the matrices of a *philosophie* roman at three weeks.¹

The speed at which Granjon cut punches can be gauged from some interesting data. On 3rd February 1565 he contracted to supply Plantin with a parangon Greek. On 9th February he delivered the first fifteen punches, and the whole set was ready on 29th June. Granjon had thus completed 200 punches in a period of 156 days, making, including Sundays and holy days, an average of 1½ punches per day.²

Naturally there is more information about the financial aspects of all this in the Plantinian archives. It appears that Granjon reckoned his prices on the basis of the punch plus one matrix struck with it. This probably meant that the cost of the copper for the matrices was included in the price. For example, on 3rd July 1565 he agreed to supply Plantin with a garamond italic and a *mediane* italic at 2 fl. for each punch with one justified matrix.³ On 21st November 1569 the 108 punches of a Syriac alphabet were entered at a rate of 2 fl. 5 st. per punch with matrix.⁴ Granjon was also expected to deliver the matrices for the parangon Greek ordered on 3rd February 1565, but the provisional price entered in the accounts was for the punches only, at 1 fl. each.⁵ In the case of the italic *sur la grosse ascendonica* it was agreed, however, on 18th April 1570 that Plantin should pay 1 fl. 5 st. per punch and should receive four matrices to every punch ‘dont ie luy payeray le cuivre’. There were 43 Flemish pounds of this copper according to an entry of 22nd April. At 4 st. per pound it came to 8 fl. 12 st. altogether.⁶

1. *Corr.*, VI, no. 823: ‘... touchant la Philosophie Romaine, soyez adverty come j'espere de commencer a y justifier encore de ceste sepmaine, car j'espere de frapper demain les ligatures de ma Nonpareille flamande, et pour vous faire plaisir, je laisseray ladicte Nonpareille jusques a tant que la Philosophie soit justifiée et preste a fondre, ce qui pourra estre d'icy à 3 sepmaines ou environ.’
2. Arch. 31, f^o 86^{vo}.
3. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 230.
4. Arch. 31, f^o 89^{ro}.
5. Arch. 31, f^o 86^{vo}.
6. Arch. 31, f^o 89^{ro}.

Transactions between Plantin and Granjon usually involved detailed and elaborate contracts. A number of them have been preserved.¹ They all contained clauses which gave Plantin a virtual monopoly of the types. In the contract of 3rd July 1565, for the supply of two italic alphabets, Granjon agreed not to cut any identical type for himself or any other party, except on payment to Plantin of the prohibitive sum of 200 *escus d'or* as compensation. The type-cutter was allowed to keep the matrices ‘pour mon seul et particulier usage et proffict’, although again there were certain conditions: any type that he cast from these matrices must be solely for his own use and he was to keep Plantin informed as to which works he intended printing with them (Granjon was also a printer and bookseller). The contract of 7th December 1566, in which Granjon undertook to cut a *garamond civilité* for 200 fl., also reserved a strike for the maker ‘laquelle frappe il sobliera de nalliener, vendre, prester ne faire fondre dessus pour personne du monde que pour sen servir soymesmes en sa maison ou demeure et non ailleurs ne par autre qui que ce soit’. The agreement of 3rd February 1565 for the *paragon Greek* also permitted Granjon to reserve a set of matrices for himself, but the conditions under which he could use them were so restricted that in practice he could do little except store them away. The only way he could make money from them was to sell them to Plantin at the price laid down in the contract.² Plantin was probably able to dictate these stringent terms because in this case he had advanced Granjon money against delivery.³

Hendrik van den Keere's letters, and above all his accounts, afford

1. Cf. p. 73, note 1.
2. ‘...lesquelles frappes il seroit alors tenu de me livrer excepté une qu'il pourroit retenir pour soymesmes sans en pouvoir rien fondre ni besongner faire fondre ni besongner pour personne au monde qui il fust. Et en cas qu'il ou ses heritiers voulussent par après vendre lad[itte] frappe il ou eux seroyent tenus de la me bailler ou envoyer et moy de luy [ou] leur en payer douze escus sol et la justification si pour lors elle se trouvoit bien justifiée.’
3. The agreement also provided that Granjon, after the completion of the set, might keep the punches; but he must pay back to Plantin the sum advanced to him and provide the printer with a set of matrices for his ‘proffict et peine de luy avoir avancé l'argent’.

interesting particulars of the financial side of his dealings with Plantin. In his letter of 16th January 1576¹ he stated his terms for a set of matrices and punches for music type: 2 fl. 10 st. per punch, 6 st. for each justified matrix; Plantin was to pay for the copper needed. Van den Keere's estimate was 8 to 10 pounds of copper at 10 st. per pound. If Plantin was agreeable to these proposals, then he must buy a 50-pound lump of copper as soon as possible. In the same letter Van den Keere warned Plantin that he would have to pay as much as 3 fl. per punch for another set, in this case for a large music type.²

Van den Keere calculated his prices on a somewhat different basis from Granjon. Punches and matrices (more precisely: the justifying of the matrices) were priced separately, while the printer had to supply the copper or else pay for it separately. The prices quoted above would suggest that the Ghent master charged more for his products than Granjon. However, they refer to two fairly difficult, or at least extensive commissions and included the cutting of one of Plantin's largest music types. Van den Keere's prices for ordinary alphabets were roughly the same as Granjon's, and in general even slightly lower. For example, in October 1570 he sent in the following bill for a parangon black letter:³

‘Pour la taille de 68 poinsons’ (at 1 fl. per 68 fl. punch)

‘Pour la frappe de la lettre susdite pesante 1 fl. 4 st. 3 livres’ (i.e. the price of the copper, total weight 3 pounds)

‘Pour la justification de 68 matrices de la lettre’ (at 2 st. per matrix)

76 fl.

The account for a *canon flamande* on 23rd July 1570 was as follows:⁴

1. *Corr.*, V, no. 698.
2. ‘Vous ne pouvez compter les poinsons a moins de 3 fl. et puyez encore quelque somme d'avantage pour les despens extraordinaires.’
3. Arch. 153, f^o 101.
4. Arch. 153, f^o 276.

To cutting 88 punches (at 1 fl. each)	88 fl.
To strikes of the whole <i>canon</i> , weighing 6fl. 4 st. 15½ pound (at 8 st. per pound)	
To justifying 88 matrices (at 4 st. each)	17 fl. 12 st.
	—————
	111 fl. 16 st.

In the case of the *lettre castillane*, a type which was later known in the Plantin press as the *Spaanse canon* (Spanish canon), Van den Keere charged 2 fl. 10 st. per punch and 5 st. for each justified matrix.¹ This came to 167 fl. 10 st. for 53 punches and 15 fl. 10 st. for 62 matrices. It had been intended to print the great choir books for Spain in this large, rounded black letter type, but as a result of the events of 1576 the project was abandoned before any printing was put in hand.

Matrices were not always justified by the craftsman who had cut the punches. Jacques Sabon in 1565 received 17 fl. ½ st. for perfecting the 227 matrices of a Granjon paragon Greek, a rate of 1½ st. per matrix.² In 1569 (?) Herman Gruter sent a bill for 3 fl. 11 st. for justifying 41 matrices of a Hebrew alphabet- 1¾ st. each.³

Something that does not emerge so clearly from the various prices charged is the relationship between justified matrices and sets of strikes. When Granjon and Van den Keere submitted their accounts they were in fact charging for their actual work on justifying the matrices; for the strike itself they asked virtually no more than the value of the copper block. Taken by themselves, however, strikes were in reality worth a great deal more than the copper they were made of. For those who did not have the corresponding punches at their disposal, a set of strikes was the starting point for type-founding. When strikes were sold separately by a punch-cutter he normally priced them so as to receive a reasonable return for the skill he had exercised in making the original punches; if a third party sold them, the aim was usually to recover part of the purchase price of the punches. Strikes were

1. April 1574: Arch. 53, f^o 106

2. Arch. 31 f^o 98^{vo}.

3. Arch. 31, f^o 139^{vo}.

therefore sold at much higher prices than were asked for equal amounts of unworked copper. On the other hand it was usual for sets of strikes to depreciate in value in the course of time, either because the novelty or exclusiveness of the typeface had gone, or because punches or matrices had been lost or damaged.

The punch-cutters' and type-founders' accounts do not give so clear a picture of these matters as some of the Plantinian inventories. Unfortunately only three of them record prices and estimates: those of 1561, 1563, and 1566. It is not always possible to extract figures for each individual series: punches and matrices, or different sets of matrices, were often grouped together. The 1563 inventory is also peculiar in that the sums of money quoted there are frequently lower than their equivalents in the 1561 and 1566 lists.¹ Apart from this anomaly,² prices or estimates correspond more or less with the bills submitted by Granjon and Van den Keere. It may be assumed that the 1561 and 1566 figures are a reasonably accurate record of what Plantin actually paid for his punches and matrices, whereas depreciation should possibly be taken into account when interpreting those for 1563. Another interesting point about these inventories is the fact that they enable the prices of strikes and justified matrices to be compared: the former generally figure at only half the price of the justified ones.³

The 1563 and 1566 inventories record a number of abnormally low prices paid by Plantin, but there is an explanation for these.

1. So for example the 'matrices de Nompaille Rommain et Italique avec 2 Instruments' (MA 67 and MA 66 a) were quoted at 90 fl. in 1561 (100 fl. with the moulds), while in 1563 they were only valued at 35 fl. and 33 fl. 12 st., together 68 fl. 12 st. The 'Philosophie de Haultin avec son moule' (not extant) was 35 fl. in 1561 and 25 fl. 6 st. in 1563; the 'Italique
2. This might be connected with an evaluation of Plantin's punches and matrices made for 'l'immortelle de Granjon' (MA 147; non-justified series) was 16 fl. in 1561 and 12 fl. in 1563. his partners. Plantin must have allowed for depreciation in a number of sets. Some of the other 1563 figures, those which recur in 1566, have to be explained in some other way: cf. the text immediately following.
3. For example in 1561 the justified matrices of Granjon's civilité median (MA 38: now 126 matrices, nine of them not justified) were entered at 35 fl., the unjustified set (MA 107: now 103 matrices) for 16 fl.

They refer to acquisitions which he made in Paris: Guillaume Le Bé stated that in 1562 he had sold some sets of punches and matrices to the printer for no more than a nominal sum; and the material which Plantin bought at the auction of Garamond's estate was probably knocked down to him at less than its full value.¹

These inventories of 1561, 1563, and 1566 enable the growth of Plantin's typographical collection to be expressed in money terms. The 17 sets of justified matrices and the five sets of strikes which were in the printer's possession before his flight to Paris in 1561 were valued at 900 fl. The 1563 inventory gives the position when the printer went into partnership with the Van Bomberghen family. We have, however, already seen that in general the noted prices were much lower than in 1561 and 1566. The sums quoted here add up to 817 fl. 10 st. Prices for some items were not entered - comparison with the 1561 and 1566 inventories suggests that these would have totalled 250 fl. - and no particulars are available for three sets of matrices. The total value must have been in the region of 1,200 fl. - and this is the amount quoted in the deed of October 1563 as the contribution Plantin made to the partnership by bringing in his punches and matrices.²

The inventory of 1566 puts the total value of Plantin's acquisitions 'depuis la compagnie faite' at 1,358 fl. In fact this amount also included the purchases made in Paris in 1562, before the setting up of the partnership - they had already figured in the 1563 inventory. If these are deducted, Plantin's purchases between 1563 and 1566 work out at around 700 fl. This would make his collection in 1566 worth about 2,258 fl.³

After 1566 no further totals are available until 1589, when Plantin's estate was divided among his heirs.⁴ To make the calculations easier

1. For example the punches of Garamond's augustine roman (ST 13a: 135 pieces) were assessed at 42 fl. 6 st. in 1563. The value of the 203 matrices was not recorded in 1561, but in 1566 punches and matrices were given together at 125 fl. For comparison: in the 1566 inventory the 75 punches and 133 matrices of Granjon's colineus italic were quoted together at 225 fl.
2. Cf. p. 65.
3. The 900 fl. of the 1561 inventory plus the 1,358 fl. of the 1566 one.
4. For the financial aspects of the division of Plantin's estate cf. Vol, I, pp. 162 sqq. For the apportioning of punches and matrices between Plantin and the Raphelengius branch, cf. pp. 75-76.

average figures were used in the assessment. Punches were valued at 15 st. each, sets of justified matrices at 30 fl., and sets of strikes at 15 fl. Thus the 3,574 punches were taken to be worth 2,680 fl. 10 st., the 72 sets of matrices 2,160 fl. and the 51 sets of strikes 765 fl., making a total value of 5,605 fl. 10 st.¹ This was a considerable sum, but Plantin had in fact paid much more than this for his collection: a reasonable estimate would be 10,000 to 15,000 fl. The assessment at 5,605 fl. 10 st. took depreciation fully into account, but it did not allow for the marked devaluation of the currency which had taken place. This had reduced the purchasing power of the guilder in 1589 to half of what it had been in 1561-66. If the purchases made between 1561 and 1576 are expressed in terms of 1589 values, the cost to Plantin of building up his typographical collection could be put as high as 20,000 fl.

Plantin's punches and matrices represented a large investment of capital, but as this was spread over the thirty-four years of his printing operations it did not bear down too heavily on the business. In 1566, for example, he spent 103 fl. 12 st. on these items, compared with a total expenditure of 13,041 fl.:² barely 0.8 per cent and less than he had paid for ink in that year.³ In some years the percentage might be much higher; on the other hand there were years in which Plantin made no additions to his collection. Although punches and matrices were by no means cheap, the amount of money spent on them was small in comparison with what Plantin had to pay to have his type cast. What should be stressed is the fact that this investment in equipment was not *strictly* necessary, at all events not on this scale. Plantin could have obtained all the cast type he needed from a typefounder, or from a punch-cutter who practised both branches of the craft. It might have been slightly more expensive to buy type in this

1. The 36 sets of justified matrices kept at Antwerp were assessed at 36 fl. (instead of 30 fl.) because they had the corresponding moulds. This means an additional 216 fl. for these 36 sets, bringing the total to 5,821 fl. 10 st.
2. Cf. Appendix 1.
3. Cf. p. 51.

way, but the difference in cost between casting type with his own matrices and having it done with someone else's material certainly did not warrant the amount of money invested in punches and matrices. The extensive purchase of these materials was undertaken largely to secure a monopoly of certain type faces for the Plantin press.

However, the collection was an asset and not just so much dead capital. It served as collateral in certain transactions. It has already been seen that when Plantin went into partnership with the Van Bomberghens in 1563, his punches and matrices gave him a share in the business worth 1,200 fl. When the printer died in 1589 he had 1,736 punches, 6 sets of matrices, and 14 sets of strikes stored in the warehouse he had rented in Frankfurt. He had offered these - or a proportion of them - as security for a loan of 6,000 fl in 1585. The money was to be paid back with 4 per cent interest before 1590.¹ In this way he was able to obtain money that helped him keep his *officina* going in the catastrophic years of 1585-89.

Plantin was also able to sell punches and matrices from his collection and thus recover some of the money he had invested in it - plus a little profit. At Frankfurt, in 1579, he sold strikes of Granjon's *gaillarde* (bourgeois) roman and *granjonne* italic to the successors of Dietrich Gerlach of Nuremberg.² The inventory of c. 1572 begins with an enumeration of 15 *frappes creues* by Granjon and Garamond, followed by the brief remark 'Tout cecy est envoyé à Francfort'.³ As no further trace of these has ever been found it must be assumed that they never returned from Frankfurt.

The fact that Plantin sometimes sold items from his typographical collection no doubt explains why from time to time sets of punches or matrices would cease to appear in the inventories. On the whole this does not seem to have happened very often: sales were not very extensive and were largely confined to strikes, for which Plantin

1. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1354 (Plantin to de Çayas, 8th March 1588); cf. also *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1204 (to de Çayas, 31st January 1587) and no. 1350 (to de Çayas, 18th February 1588).
2. Arch. 962, f^o 74 (118 and 129 matrices; 39 fl. in all).
3. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', pp. 31-32.

retained the punches so that he could have new matrices made if necessary. Sometimes he himself would buy a set of strikes specially for sale elsewhere. One example was the Haul tin *mediane* Greek which he ordered through Pierre Porret in July 1567.¹

‘Elsewhere’ in this case was Frankfurt once again: Plantin's sales of typographical material were largely limited to the fairs held in that city. The reason for this is not far to seek. In Paris, Plantin had little chance of selling at a worthwhile profit matrices for type faces that French printers could obtain locally. He did not want to sell them in Antwerp or elsewhere in the Netherlands as this would have lost him the exclusiveness of his types. In Germany, on the other hand, these French Renaissance alphabets were less widespread and were in some demand. Their use by German printers could do Plantin little serious harm. Plantin also sent a few sets of matrices to Spain - not on his own initiative in this case, but as part of transactions that were more or less forced on him by the Spanish authorities.²

Finally in this section, some attention must be given to the question of how it was that, from 1580 onwards at least, so many sets of punches and matrices came to be stored in Plantin's warehouse in Frankfurt. Did the printer consider selling a large part of his collection

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 52.-In Arch. 36, f^o 17^{vo} there is a note of 1st Jan. 1562 by Plantin saying that he received from ‘Francoys le fondeur des lectres’ [François Guyot] four sets of matrices which two days later he sent to Martin Le Jeune in Paris. However, the context suggests that Plantin was acting only as a middleman between Guyot and Le Jeune. It is interesting to note that in those years an Antwerp type-founder supplied founts to a Paris publisher.
2. *Corr.*, IV, no. 479 (Plantin to F. de Villalva, 2nd July 1573): the printer had given four sets of matrices to Arias Montanus. These matrices are specified in the shipment to Spain of 8th May 1573 (‘grosse ascendonica; cursive ascendonica; parengonne; texte romain’) and valued at 96 fl. (Arch. 22, f^o 21^{vo}). In January 1573 Plantin had exchanged several letters with de Çayas which indicate that on the Spanish side pressure had been exerted on the printer to send sets of matrices; Plantin had no objections in principle, but he was not keen to send his own justified matrices as the Spaniards had requested (*Corr.*, III, nos. 459 and 460). Later, in August 1574, it was the Madrid printer M. Gast who, having been requested by the Spanish court to print breviaries, asked Plantin for a certain set of matrices to cast the type he needed for these (*Corr.*, IV, no. 546). In other words the Spanish authorities wanted to set up a business in Madrid which would be a serious rival to Plantin's. Plantin's reply to Gast's request was very evasive (*Corr.*, IV, no. 562: letter of 4th October 1574).

in the years of crisis after the Spanish Fury of November 1576? This idea may well have occurred to him, but Plantin was more likely to have been thinking of the safety of his collection than of its possible conversion into ready cash. But the fact that the material was in Frankfurt may have given him the idea - and the opportunity - of using it in 1585 as security against a cash loan: a course of action that did not require him to give up his valuable collection.

Cast type¹

The result of the type-cutter's work was a matrix from which the type needed for printing could be cast. The casting was done in a mould. The chapter entitled 'L'Imprimerie' in the *Dialogues françois et flamands* of 1567 contains a description of the mould and how it was used. The exposition, however, is not as clear as it might be:

E: Into this matrix the type-metal, such as lead or tin, of which they wish to make the type, is poured, in a mould.

G: I understand what you mean. However, it seems to me very difficult to make letters in that way so expertly proportioned that they all fit together exactly.

E: That is done by means of the mould, which is made of several pieces fastened together, by which all the types are made alike, being as they say of the same fount.

G: The mould may thus take the matrix of an A as readily as that of a B and so on, and the A and B are therefore proportioned alike?

E: That is right.

G: It is made of several pieces, you say?

E: Yes, necessarily so, for otherwise the type would not be able to have the things necessary to it. First the mould is mounted on a block (the wood) against which there is a little bow which lifts. Then there is a plate, the long pieces (carriage) and the wire (nick) fastened to the long pieces. There are the bodies, the gauges, the jets, the registers, the gallows, and the stool, essential to the complete mould.

G: This, then, is how the founts are cast inside the moulds, to which the matrices are attached...

1. This aspect of the question of the *Officina Plantiniana's* typographical material has not yet been researched. There are some data in Roose's study quoted on p. 52, note 1.

The mould¹ consisted of two halves that fitted together. When pushed together a small aperture was left in the centre. The matrix was pressed against the underside of this slot by means of the ‘bow’ or clamp. Molten metal was poured in through the top of the slot with a spoon until the aperture was filled. When the mould was opened, a casting appeared with the letter on one end. This letter was not quite ready for use: the jet had to be broken off and the foot of the shank planed smooth.

The castings made in a particular mould had all the same body and length, though they varied in width from i to m, as the lead had been poured in the same aperture. On the other hand, each metal type size (body) had to have its own mould. Sets of matrices were often supplied with the appropriate mould. They were carefully noted in the inventories of typographical material. That of c. 1572, for example, mentions twenty-three ‘instruments’ and specifies the bodies for which they were intended. The number of these had risen to thirty in the 1612 inventory and to thirty-three in that of 1652.² Documents relating to the division of Plantin's estate in 1589-90 mention 36 moulds; as there is no further specification, it is possible that the figure is not accurate.³

It is clear from these figures that the increase in the number of moulds did not run parallel with the growth of Plantin's collection of punches and matrices. It was, in fact, not altogether practical to use a separate mould for each type face. Attempts at rationalization were made quite early, with the idea of producing moulds which, with small adjustments, could serve for the various kinds of type (roman, italic, black letter, etc.) on a particular body and even for

1. For this important instrument consult Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* and Harry Carter's notes to the 1958 re-edition, pp. 377-379. See also Carter's comments on the text of the *Dialogues françois et flamands* together with historical and technical remarks on the mould in *A View of Early Typography*, pp. 6-8. Cf. plate 9.
2. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, ‘Early Inventories’, pp. 105-106, 118-119.
3. In the part of Plantin's collection kept at Antwerp 36 sets of justified matrices were described as ‘avec leur instrument’. Theoretically this means that each set must have had its own mould, but in practice it might mean ‘with about 36 moulds’.

more than one body. Plantin himself laid some stress on this in a letter to de Çayas,¹ while certain details in Van den Keere's correspondence² and in the inventories³ also point to these developments. Nevertheless, the 33 moulds mentioned in the 1652 inventory had to be supplemented at a later date. The Plantin-Moretus Museum now possesses 62 old moulds which were handed over with the rest of the typographical collection in 1876.⁴

The width and depth of the shanks of cast type varied from body size to body size. All shanks, however, had to be of exactly the same height to paper in order to form a level surface for inking and printing: any piece of type projecting above the others would have gone through the paper, and any piece of type that was too short would not have printed.

1. *Corr.*, III, no. 460 (letter of 27th January 1573): Plantin had been asked to send his own matrices to Spain, whereupon he replied 'mais il seroit necessaire de sçavoir s'il se trouvera par delà homme expert pour faire les mousles ou instruments propres à fondre les lectres sur les dictes miennes matrices; car autrement ce seroit double peine, temps et despenses d'envoyer par delà mes dictes matrices s'il les falloit renvoyer par deça pour faire faire lesdicts mousles ou instruments à fondre car ils ne se pourroyent faire sans avoir lesdictes matrices. Car quant à mes instruments à fondre lesdictes matrices ils ne sont pas faicts ni accomodés seulement pour celles dudict Missal mais pour autres diverses matrices hebraïques, Syriennes, Grecques et autres et ce avec diverses viz et subjections que peu de fondeurs pourroyent entendre sans les leur enseigner par quoy seroit chose superflue de les envoyer par delà et à moy dommageable...'. Cf. also *Corr.*, IV, no. 501 (Plantin to de Çayas, 24th December 1573): referring to the striking of matrices to be used for casting the type for the missals, the printer explained 'Materia siquidem cuprea est paranda prius turn polienda prius quam cudi possint dictae matrices, quàs istic crudas desyderari credo quo possint aptari ad earn altitudinem instrumenti fusorii et linearum interstitium quam volent illi quorum eis uti.'
2. *Corr.*, V, no. 698 (letter of 16th January 1576): '... et aurons beaucoup de paine a les fondre, et aultres despens extraordinaires, a cause qu'il me sera nécessaire d'user au moins 3 moules, mais j'espere bien de me pouvoir ayder avec voz moules en les enflant selon que besoin sera. Les cinq lignes accordent tout justement avec 5 lignes du petit ou nouveau texte de Garamond, qui est tousjours donc un moule a bon compte.'
3. See for example the list of moulds in the inventory of c. 1572 (Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, 'Early Inventories', p. 36), which clearly shows that one mould could serve for different types of approximately equal sizes (e.g., 'Le moule pour le gros Canon Romain de Garamond, et le flamen de H. du Tour').
4. In 1956 the collection was augmented by 200 old moulds from the Brussels type-founding firm of Van der Borcht.

This was the state of affairs in the sixteenth century and for a large part of the seventeenth. At the end of the seventeenth century, however, there was a slight change when a new technique was evolved for printing liturgical books in black and red.¹ Type of normal height to paper was used for the parts of the text to be printed black, taller type for the parts to be printed red. The red was printed first, then the type used for this was removed and replaced by quadrats and spaces and the sheets put back in the press for the black to be printed. Compared with the method previously used, this was quicker and more accurate, although it meant that the printer had to have letters of two different heights. The introduction of this technique into the Plantin press can be dated fairly accurately. In the accounts for 31st January 1682 of the Van Wolsschaten family, the type-founders who supplied the *officina* from 1660 onwards, there appeared the first specific mention of a delivery of ‘high’ type (116 pounds of a bible roman).² Thereafter, deliveries of this type alternated with ordinary type, for which no special term was used, until in 1701 the latter acquired the name ‘low letter’ by which it was subsequently known in the house.³ It is possible, however, that the technique had been applied there even earlier than this, and that founders working in the *officina*⁴ had cast type of this kind some years before 1660.⁵

Moulds were valued at 5 to 6 fl. in the inventories;⁶ the thirty listed in 1612 were thus worth from 150 to 180 fl.⁷ As well as being

1. Cf. pp. 322-323.
2. Arch. 154, f^o III.
3. Arch. 154, f^o 167.
4. Presumably the work they did would not have warranted such detailed entries in the books as the Van Wolsschatens' efforts.
5. There is mention in the 1652 inventory (Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, ‘Early Inventories’, pp. 118-119) of a mould for ‘paragon Greek on a low (i.e., short) shank’.
6. In the 1563 inventory (Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, ‘Early Inventories’, pp. 16-17) all the moulds are quoted at 5 fl. with the exception of that of the Garamond gros canon roman which was entered at 6 fl. In the 1566 inventory (*ibidem*, p. 25) the only separately noted mould - for the Haultin grosse nonpareille - was entered at 6 fl. On 1st February 1566 the sum of 18 fl. was paid to F. Guyot ‘pour 3 instruments au petit hebrieu et au moyen’ - i.e., 6 fl. each (Arch. 3, f^o 43^{vo}).
7. At the division of Plantin's estate the 36 sets of justified matrices ‘avec leur instrument’ were valued at 3.6 fl. a set, those kept at Leiden and Frankfurt, presumably without moulds, at 30 fl. each. This means that the moulds were valued at 6 fl. each, or 210 fl. altogether. The author suspects that the number of moulds was somewhat exaggerated (cf. p. 92, note 3).

not too expensive they lasted for quite a considerable time before they needed to be replaced.

The same was not true of cast metal type. This had to be replaced or replenished fairly often, as it wore out, buckled, or broke. It may have been this factor which led Plantin to invest such large sums of money in comparatively unproductive punches and matrices. In this way he was at least sure of always having the type he liked when he needed it.

Even if the Plantinian archives give comparatively few technical details about punches and matrices, they do contain a wealth of such information about type-founding. The composition of the *estoffe*,¹ the type-metal from which the type was cast, forms a good starting point. An analysis of a Plantinian lead type of about 1581 shows it contained 82.71 per cent lead, 8.99 per cent tin, 5.81 per cent antimony, 0.53 per cent copper and traces of iron.² A text dated 1565 actually states how much of each ingredient Plantin needed to produce a given quantity of type-metal.³ It is detailed on p. 96.

The 773 pounds mentioned produced only 517 pounds of usable type-metal,⁴ which meant that about one third was lost or expelled during smelting.

The basic ingredients here are the same as in the type that was

1. Moxon and the rest of the authors who deal with this subject are rather vague on the preparation of type-metal: see Harry Carter's notes in the 1958 re-edition of Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*, pp. 379-380. The information in the archives of the Plantin House is consequently important and relevant.
2. Cf. Harry Carter, *A View of Early Typography*, p. 21. The modern standard for foundry type is approximately 15 per cent tin, 25 per cent antimony, and 60 per cent lead, with a trace of copper added (*ibidem*, p. 21). Metal for modern composing machines usually contains as little as 2-5 per cent tin and 10-12 per cent antimony for slug casting machinery (Linotype, Intertype) or 5-10 per cent tin and 15-25 per cent antimony for Monotype machinery, the balance in both cases made up by lead without any addition of copper.
3. Arch. 3, f^o 28^{fo}; Arch. 36, p. 89.
4. Arch. 36, p. 89, specifies: 'Il est procédé de ce que dessus en tout 490 lb. Item des cendres 27 lb. qui coustent 15 st.'

<i>Ingredients</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Value</i>
Antimony	155 pounds (20 %)	8 fl. 8 st. (5 fl. 8 st. per 100 pounds)
Tin	100 pounds (12.8%)	15 fl. 10 st.
Copper	25 pounds (3.4%)	4 fl. 7½ st. (17 fl. 10 st. per 100 pounds)
Lead	493 pounds (63.8%)	19 fl. 4 st. (3 fl. 18 st. per 100 pounds ¹)
<hr/>		
Total	773 pounds (100.0%)	47 fl. 9½ st. ²

analysed, but the proportions are different.³ To judge from eighteenth-century accounts - of which more below - it is mainly the antimony, with the copper and iron, that was expelled during smelting, and the proportion of lead and tin was correspondingly increased.

1. In arch. 36, p. 89, a distinction is made: 93 lb ‘des buses de la pompe à 3 fl. 18 st.’ making 3 fl. 12 st. and 400 lb [ordinary lead], also valued at 3 fl. 18 st. and worth 15 fl. 12 st.
2. To this sum had to be added 11 fl. 15 st. for 10 ‘creusets’ (3 fl. 2 st.), ‘charbon et turbes’ (4 fl. 10 st.), ‘manufacture à Jaques Sabon et Cornelis Meesters’ (3 fl. 8 st.), and ‘pour la purification des cendres’ (15 st.).
3. In the various Plantinian texts dealing with type-metal in the sixteenth century a distinction is often made between *estoffe* or *matière* on the one hand, and *estoffe* or *matière dure* or *forte* on the other, without further elucidation. However, it may be assumed that the *estoffe dure* was made almost exclusively on the basis of lead with a strong concentration of antimony (i.e., without the addition of tin); whereas tin was added in the *estoffe*. The following quotations tend to support this view: ‘125 lb [antimony] pour faire l'estoffe dure à fondre’ (arch. 3, f^o 1^{vo}); ‘Poisent en pure estoffe [a delivery of cast type from L. van Everbroeck] 34 lb 10 *once*; fait de 4 lb de forte matière et 12 lb de neuds [old lead] avec 3 lb d'estain d'Oostland [Holy Roman Empire], le tout ensemble meslé’ (October 1563; arch. 36, p. 64); ‘J'ay refondu les matières fortes pour y adiouxter du plomb et de l'estain’ (arch. 36, p. 36); ‘f. Guyot debiteur 300 lb. de matière forte [the text originally had “demye forte”] faicte qu'il dict estre trop forte pource livre, encore 150 lb. de plomb pour l'affoiblir. Plus debiteur 50 lb destain pour adiouxter avec à la faire coulante’ (December 1563; arch. 36, p. 66). an admixture of copper was also thought to soften the ‘matière forte’ and make it more suitable for type-metal: ‘midraille de cuivre [25 lb]... à mesler parmi la matière forte à faire lestoffe des fontes de lectres’ (arch. 3, f^o 1^{vo}). In one case the author found a mention of ‘matière demye dure’, although without any indication of its composition (arch. 36, p. 64). In eighteenth-century texts there is occasional mention of ‘hard material’, but too vague to permit of any conclusions being drawn. Neither for the sixteenth nor for the eighteenth centuries has it been possible to discover whether *matière dure* was always mixed with other ingredients (lead and tin) to form a suitable type-metal, or whether it was sometimes used unmixed, for certain kinds of type only. Cf. the remark of Harry Carter (*a View of Early Typography*, p. 21) that small-size type needs more tin than bigger sizes to make the metal flow easily into a small cavity.

1590

281

Recepten tot de siffrer om +0000
van augustijn-fonstijc-
van de siffrer-planten

a	123	1	176	in	60	R	100
1	140	1	270	4	60	R	60
8	157	1	463	4	50	R	105
0	170	1	450	4	48	R	113
0	180	1	160	4	58	R	106
0	190	1	28	4	60	R	68
0	200	1	200	4	26	R	100
0	210	1	166	4	20	R	109
0	220	1	187	4	21	R	40
0	230	1	233	4	23	R	122
0	240	1	188	4	16	R	80
0	250	1	58	4	23	R	100
0	260	1	55	4	54	R	118
0	270	1	60	4	23	R	120
0	280	1	66	4	52	R	136
0	290	1	70	4	30	R	117
0	300	1	27	4	98	R	60
0	310	1	22	4	125	R	107
0	320	1	28	4	97	R	117
0	330	1	83	4	855	R	109
0	340	1	97	4	67	R	128
0	350	1	54	4	56	R	40
0	360	1	60	4	36	R	40
0	370	1	58	4	27	R	47
0	380	1	67	4	32	R	2212
0	390	1	56	4	5325	R	1911
0	400	1	27	4	1100	R	410
0	410	1	32	4	410	R	320
0	420	1	25	4	9	R	7555
0	430	1	9	4	15	R	39100
0	440	1	15	4	245	R	2212
0	450	1	245	4	35	R	1911
0	460	1	35	4	35	R	2311
0	470	1	60	4	60	R	
0	480	1	33	4	33	R	
0	490	1	40	4	40	R	
0	500	1	35	4	35	R	
0	510	1	551	4	551	R	

23326 5551

Somma sommarum 23 fl. 11 st.

23 fl. 11 st.

(15) *Opposite*: fount scheme for a ‘french type’ (civilité) augustine (13.4 pica points) supplied by Hendrik van den Keere, 1580 (arch. 153, f^o 281). The founder delivered a total of 39,100 types, weighing, with quadrats and packing, 191 lb. The Dutch text below ‘Somma sommarum’ reads: ‘Which costs for casting at 10 st. per thousand the sum of 19 fl. 11 st. for casting 19½ lb. of quadrats at the same [rate] together with the basket, waste, and cords, and taking it to the ship 4 fl. Somma sommarum 23 fl. 11 st. Shipped the 10th December, weighing 191 lbs.’

Dit is de lijst van de gantsen Grooten root Officij

19	43	31	50	37	27
104	70	17	116	00	29
124	57	59	111	53	28
131	43	31	111	58	13
134	14	40	111	52	15
137	53	60	111	50	29
140	15	55	111	50	22
143	80	33	111	50	31
146	63	32	111	50	32
149	82	36	111	52	31
152	53	32	111	50	24
155	55	36	111	50	31
158	44	57	111	52	20
161	30	32	111	52	29
164	31	47	111	52	29
167	49	56	111	51	25
170	24	30	111	48	23
173	37	46	111	39	29
176	30	25	111	39	13
179	89	53	111	38	30
182	51	31	111	11	34
	77	32	111	26	28
	37	47	111	67	25
	30	31	111	33	56
	37	38	111	27	06
	30	37	111	54	32
	49	50	111	15	51
	40	48	111	33	37
	50	37	111	31	39
	35	24	111	33	08
	68	37	111	28	32
	48	16	111	28	29
	69	32	111	24	41
	71	19	111	33	57
	106	34	111	30	54
	322	31	111	37	19
	1150	34	111	23	27
	182	55	111	23	21
		32	111	26	20
		30	111	32	22
		32	111	29	26
		23	111	18	29
		19	111	57	30

Dit is de lijst van de gantsen Grooten root Officij

Item 29 lb. de mouleurs [i.e., quadrats] à 3 st. la lb.

(16) *Opposite*: fount scheme for a Greek type, paragon (18.7 pica points), supplied by Van Everbroeck, 1565 (arch. 153, f^o 47). The Dutch text below reads: ‘This type, metal only, without baskets, weighs 264 lb. Each pound costs 3 st. coming to 39 fl. 12 st.’ In a different handwriting, probably Jan Moretus’s, is added in french: ‘Item 29 lb. de mouleurs [i.e., quadrats] à 3 st. la lb.’

Iron is missing in the instance detailed here, although it is clear from other accounts of the same period that Plantin regularly bought iron filings, old nails, and similar items for inclusion in his type-metal.¹

The percentages given above provide a general idea of the composition of Plantin's type-metal, but they are by no means absolute, or hard and fast. Purely empirical methods were applied and the relative proportions could vary greatly, partly in accordance with the body size of the cast type.² Lead was always the basis of metal type in Plantin's time and to this were added appreciable quantities of tin, to make the metal more fluid in the molten state, and antimony to make it harder, together with a little iron and copper. as the intensity with which Plantin's stocks of type were used increased, so did the frequency with which they wore out or became damaged. It became customary to obtain some of the metal needed for casting new type by melting down worn or damaged type: from 1565-66 onwards this was regular practice.³

No particulars have been found of the composition of type-metal in the seventeenth century, but there are a number of detailed accounts from the eighteenth century. In about 1760 franciscus Joannes Moretus drew up a 'memorandum concerning the cost of making hard metal for casting type' which gives examples taken from practice.⁴ Some are detailed on p. 98.

The amount of waste material - the *lycagie* as it was termed - was remarkably large when iron scraps were added to the molten metal. It is clear from the subsequent notes on type-founding which F.J.

1. Including, in October 1563, 30 lb *limaille de fer* (for 9½ st.) (arch. 3, f^o 1^{vo}) and on 6th November 1563, 11 lb. *de limaille d'espingles* (at 2 st. a pound: 1 fl. 2 st.) and 10 lb. *de limaille de fer* (at ½ st. a pound: 5 st.).
2. Cf. Harry Carter's remark quoted on p. 96, note 2.
3. This had happened even in the earlier period: in December 1563 the type-founder f. Guyot delivered 406 lb *en matière de vieilles lectres* to be cast into an augustine roman (arch. 3, f^o 4^{vo}).
4. Gathered from jottings by his father, Joannes Jacobus Moretus: hence the dates 1738 and 1739 (arch. 696, no. 101, f^{os} 5^{ro} and 8^{ro}. Cf. L. Voet, 'Een aantekenboek van franciscus Joannes Moretus nopens technische aspecten van het drukkersbedrijf, opgesteld omstreeks 1760', *De Gulden Passer*, 44, 1966, pp. 235-237).

I.	Antimony	300 pounds	[21.4%]
	Lead	900 pounds	[64.3%]
	Old nails	200 pounds	[14.3%]
		—————	
	Total	1,400 pounds, giving 995 pounds of type-metal	
II.	(15th february 1738)		
	Old lead	1,000 pounds	[71.4%]
	Antimony	400 pounds	[28.6%]
		—————	
	Total	1,400 pounds, giving 1,100 pounds of type-metal	
III.	(30th and 31st January 1739)		
	Lead	1,200 pounds	[67.6%]
	Antimony	375 pounds	[21.1%]
	Old iron	200 pounds	[11.3%]
		—————	
	Total	1,775 pounds, giving 1,175 pounds of type-metal	

Moretus wrote for his own edification and instruction that those engaged in the process were aware that most of this iron, and a considerable proportion of the antimony was lost during smelting.¹ Notable too is the emphasis which was placed on the use of old type: ‘Observe that for good results old type should comprise half the mixture.’² This remark follows the ‘memorandum given by Jan Michiel Smit’ on ‘the proportions that should be adhered to in preparing metal for casting type’,

1. In the ‘memorandum by Jan Michiel Smit’, discussed in the text immediately following, is stated ‘64 lb. of this 164 lb. is *lycagie*, because the antimony and the old iron is scraped off and lost; this material is no longer any good for the melting pot and cannot be sold, being valueless’.
2. Arch. 676, no. 101, f^o 5^{ro} (cf. p. 97, note 4). Original Dutch text: ‘Nota: dat om wel te gieten de hellight [= helft] moet oude letters sijn ende de rest de stof.’

which also prescribes a goodly percentage of melted down old type. Smit's proportions were:

Old type	50 pounds	[30.5%]
Lead	50 pounds	[30.5%]
Antimony	40 pounds	[24.4%]
Iron scrap	24 pounds	[14.6%]
	—————	
	164 pounds	

This emphasis on the use of old type must be seen in the light of

another factor: the absence of tin and copper as compared with 1566. It is certainly no coincidence that the missing metals were the two most costly ingredients. In 1565 Plantin was paying 5 fl. 10 st. per 100 lb. of antimony, and 3 fl. 18 st. for the same amount of lead, whereas the prices for these quantities of tin and copper were 15 fl. 10 st. and 17 fl. 10 st. respectively. This very likely would have been the main reason for the disappearance of tin and copper from type-metal. However, to obtain good metal, a certain percentage of tin was still needed - and this could be got from old type prepared to the standards applied in Plantin's time. as this process was repeated over and over again, the percentage fell until even the 'old' type going into the crucibles contained hardly any tin. Given the empirical methods of the time, however, it may be assumed that the type-founders went on regarding old type as essential for the improvement of their type-metal - which to some extent at least it was.

It was not only in the Plantin press or among antwerp type-founders that copper and tin ceased to be used. The tendency was general to Western Europe, as appears from an analysis of a number of old cast types.¹ Whereas Plantinian type of around 1580 contained 8.99 per cent tin and 0.53 per cent copper, the percentages had dropped in 1647 (in London) to 2.9 and 0.15 per cent. The other examples for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contain hardly any traces of copper and only negligible amounts of tin (with a few exceptions, probably due to the presence of old type in the metal).² The percentage of antimony rose proportionately. It was only 5.81 per cent in the Plantinian type, fluctuated around 7 to 8 per cent until 1700 and exceeded 14 per cent in subsequent years. Tin did not

1. Data compiled by Mr. Harry Carter and shown at the exhibition *Printing and the Mind of Man* (London, 1963). The pieces of type - with the exception of Plantin's - were taken from old founts at the University Press, Oxford, the dates of acquisition of which were known. The analyses - again with the exception of Plantin's type - were carried out by fry's Metal foundries Ltd., London.
2. In his *Manuel typographique*, 1764-66, the famous french type-cutter and type-founder Pierre-Simon Fournier mentions lead and antimony only, and an alternative of iron and copper: Febvre & Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, p. 75.

figure again in appreciable quantities until the end of the eighteenth century. The proportion of antimony was maintained, which meant that again the percentage of lead in type-metal was considerably reduced.¹

Mention has already been made of the amount of *lycagie* (dross), the loss of material during the preparation of this type-metal. But not all metal produced could be turned into cast type: during this process too quite a lot was lost through oxidization, spilling, and from shavings. In 1575 Plantin must have expressed his surprise to Hendrik van den Keere at receiving so little type in comparison with the amount of material he had supplied, for in connexion with a delivery the type-founder noted tartly that ‘tout le laccage monte à 10 % sur toutes les sortes communes. Et à advenant de 20 % sur la petite nonpareille, 16% sur la jolye et coronelle, 12% sur la Byble’. This meant that only 2,713½ pounds of cast type had been made from 3,027¼ pounds of metal, a wastage of 313¾ pounds.² Plantin must in fact have known this: figures that he recorded in 1563-64 give roughly the same proportions.³

F.J. Moretus's memorandum gives a few interesting details of the technique of preparing type-metal.⁴ When the ingredients had been sufficiently mixed and smelted in the pot or crucible, a hole was bored in the vessel to allow the metal to run out. F.J. Moretus compares this with the method then in vogue in Holland, but without coming to any conclusion about the relative merits of the two techniques.

1. 1760 (Greek type cast by Baskerville, Birmingham): 85.5 % lead, 0.5 % tin, 14 % antimony, traces of copper; 1776 (arabic type by Caslon, London): 81.1 % lead, 1.3 % tin, 17.5 % antimony, 0.1 % copper; 1794 (Hebrew type by Caslon, London): 76.3 % lead, 8 % tin, 16.6 % antimony, 0.1 % copper; 1805 (Greek type by Figgins, London): 75.7% lead, 2.8% tin, 21.4 % antimony, 0.1 % copper; 1841 (Sanskrit type by Watts, London): 70.6 % lead, 11.4 % tin, 18.8 % antimony, 0.2 % copper. Today's standard: 60 % lead, 15 % tin, 25 % antimony (cf. p. 95, note 2).
2. Arch. 153, f^o 177.
3. E.g. arch. 3, f^o 1^{ro} (October 1563, a Garamond brevier delivered by f. Guyot: net 191½ lb; *laccage* 32½ lb.; gross 224 lb.), f^o 1^{vo} (October 1563, small ascendonica roman delivered by f. Guyot: net 262 lb, *laccage* 25 lb, gross 287 lb).
4. Arch. 696, no. 101, f^o 5^{vo}. for the text cf. Voet, ‘Een aantekenboek van franciscus Joannes Moretus,’ p. 235.

In the north the crucibles were after the manner of the silversmiths, who allowed the molten metal to become cool and then broke the vessels in order to get the metal out. In both methods the melting pots were destroyed. This must have happened in Plantin's time too; a note of 18th May 1565 gives the additional expenses incurred in the preparation of a quantity of type-metal, including 'creusets, pièces: 10', valued at 3 fl. 2 st.¹

Even a small text presupposes a large amount of cast type, and there had to be a sufficient quantity of each typeface and body available to meet the needs of the moment. The type was cleaned and distributed ('dissed') again after use and thus became available once more - but while the text was being printed, a quantity of type was obviously immobilized. The only way to feed an increasing number of presses with type was to add to the stock. In a letter of 1st August 1572 Plantin explained that, in order to speed up the printing of a work by Luis of Granada he had increased the number of presses engaged from two to four and had started to cast new stocks of type.²

However, storage space and above all the cost of manufacture set a limit to increases of typographical stocks. In some instances, rather than immobilize quantities of type, or increase his stock of it, Plantin found it more expedient to print a limited number of copies. In this way the type was quickly available again. He would then have the text re-set later and make up the number of copies. He even resorted to this policy for the great Polyglot Bible.³

The compositors worked by formes.⁴ The quantities of type to be

1. Arch. 3, f^o 28^{vo}. Plantin had also bought three *pots de fer pour fondre la matière dedans*, which together weighed 78½ lb. and cost 7 fl. 19½ st. at the rate of 1 st. the pound (plus 1 st. to transport them to the workshop) (arch. 3, f^o 1^{vo}). These pots were presumably not destroyed but may have been used only for a limited operation.
2. *Corr.*, III, no. 408.
3. In the first months of 1572 Plantin, short of money and paper because of the political troubles, found he could not print the complete run of 1,200 copies of the last two volumes of the Polyglot Bible, so he printed just half that number. When the situation improved he set the texts again and printed the remaining 600 copies. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 79-82. for other examples see pp. 170-171.
4. Cf. pp. 311 sqq.

supplied were therefore calculated and expressed in this measure. The type-founders delivered the amounts of type needed to set as many formes as were required.¹ But in these formes certain letters occurred more frequently than others: a text required a far larger quantity of letter ‘e’ than of ‘x’ or ‘z’. Nowadays type is supplied with a fixed prescribed proportion of each letter: this is known as the *fount-scheme* (french: *police*; Dutch: *polis*; German: *Giesszettel*).² The principle was already known and applied in Plantin's time. The archives of the firm contain quite a number of fount-schemes as calculated in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.³ It sometimes happened that a complete fount-scheme was not needed, only certain sorts; in the Plantinian accounts these deliveries were entered as *defects* or *imperfections*.⁴

The number of letters that could be cast with a particular quantity of type-metal naturally varied according to typeface and body. These ratios are also specified many times in the archives. The entries given opposite date from 1563-65.⁵

F.J. Moretus, in his memorandum of about 1760, expressed the relationships differently, giving the weight of type-metal per 1,000 pieces of type, as shown in the table on p. 104.⁶

There is some information available about the time that the type-founders took to complete particular orders. In a letter of 13th february 1579, Hendrik van den Keere stated that Plantin could have

1. Cf. H. van den Keere's letters of 16th January 1576 (*Corr.*, V, no. 698: ‘je vous fondray bien jusques a 20 fourmes come le demandez, de la Reale et Parangonne ensemble’), and of 13th february 1579 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 823: ‘Puis après quant a la fonte pour 3 fourmes, vous la pourrez avoir dedens 3 ou 4 sepmaines’).
2. The author has actually found the term ‘police’ (fount-scheme) in a letter from fournisseur le Jeune, 20th april 1775 (arch. 123, f^o 123), and in a note, undated but from the second half of the eighteenth century (arch. 697, f^o 189).
3. Cf. for example the long series in arch. 153 (sixteenth century) and the ones in arch. 36, pp. 53, 55, 57 (1563). See plates 13-16.
4. Cf. for example arch. 153, f^{os} 21 sqq., the ‘boeck van die defecten’ cast by f. Guyot.
5. Compiled from data in arch. 4, f^{os} 6 sqq. a question mark means that the author was not able to discover whether the weight was gross (with *lacage*) or net (without *lacage*).
6. Arch. 696, no. 101, f^o 21^{fo}. Cf. L. Voet, ‘Een aantekenboek van franciscus Joannes Moretus’, p. 240.

<i>Size</i>	<i>Kind</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Formes</i>	<i>Letters</i>
Paragon (18.7 pt.)	roman	181¼ lb. (?)		16,000
Text (16.6 pt.)	italic	208 lb. (?)		38,324
	roman	236 lb. (?)		38,872
Augustine (13.4 pt.)	italic	217 lb.		
		(237 lb. gross)		61,761
	roman	243 lb. (?)		50,988
		32 lb. (net)		12,417
	Greek	28 lb. (?)		7,580
Median (11.3 pt.)	italic	183¾ lb. (?)		52,868
		112 lb. (?)		37,413
		396 lb. (net)	4	114,086
	roman	220½ lb. (net)	3	59,083
	black letter	242 lb. (net)	3	59,083
Philosophic cast on Median	roman	124 lb. (net)	1½	39,226
Philosophie (10.3 pt.)	black letter	343 lb. (net)	3	106,163
Garamond (9.4 pt.)	italic	208 lb. (net)		95,668
		roman	262 lb.	
		(287 lb. gross)		110,321
		410 lb. (net)		383,025
		277 lb. (net)	3	119,446
		163¼ lb. (?)	2	65,340
		169½ lb. (?)	2	70,305
	black letter	218 lb. (net)		96,460
Bible (7.6 pt.)	italic	99 lb. (gross)		65,354
	roman	191½ lb.		
		(224 lb. gross)		112,270
	black letter	236½ lb. (?)	3	132,666
Greek	25 lb. (?)		12,329	

Nonpareil (5.8 roman pt.)	160 lb.	
	(184 lb. gross)	159,705

three formes of a philosophie roman within three to four weeks.¹ This involved 340 pounds of type-metal, representing a little over 100,000 letters. It is not known, however, how many men the Ghent type-founder had working for him at that time. In his memorandum,

1. *Corr.*, VI, no. 823 (cf. also p. 102, note 1).

Weight of Type-metal per 1,000 Pieces

Ascendonica (20 pt.)	8 pounds
Paragon (18.7 pt)	6½-7 pounds
Text (16.6 pt.)	6 pounds
Median on Augustine (13.4 pt.)	4 pounds
Garamond, large (9.4 pt.)	3 pounds
Garamond, small (= Colineus; 8.6 pt)	somewhat over 2 pounds
Bible (7.6 pt.)	1½ pounds
Bible on Coronel (6.5 pt.)	just over 1 pound

F.J. Moretus gave more precise information, and these 1760 figures would probably have been right for Plantin's time too: 'Note that a master with two journeymen and one or two apprentices has to cast and prepare 100 pounds of median [31,000 letters] or other letters of the same dimensions and weight each week. A journeyman here casts 3,000 letters per day.'¹

Who supplied all these schemes and 'deffects' and 'imperfections' down through the years? In contrast with punches and matrices, lead type was bulky, heavy, and difficult to transport. Its production did not demand artistry so much as sound workmanship. Whereas the masters of the Golden Compasses preferred French craftsmen for their punches and matrices, they had their type cast nearer home - and when the need arose, they set up a foundry in their own house. The type-founders who worked for Plantin and the Moretuses all lived in Antwerp - except in the period 1570-82, when Ghent craftsmen supplied the *officina*. Ghent is linked with Antwerp by the River Scheldt. If this convenient and comparatively cheap means of transport had not been available, Plantin would probably have thought twice before doing business with Van den Keere and Thomas de Vechter, however highly he regarded their skill.

At the beginning of his career, from 1555 to 1561, Plantin appears to have obtained his stocks from the two leading type-founders² at

1. Arch. 696, no. 101, f^o 16^{vo}. Cf. L. Voet, 'Een aantekenboek van Franciscus Joannes Moretus', pp. 239-240.
2. Both supplied Plantin with type in 1558 (Arch. 38, f^{os} 106 and 109). See pp. 67-68 for their type-cutting activities.

Antwerp, François Guyot and Anieet Tavernier, who have already been discussed as type-cutters. From 1563 onwards Plantin's dealings with his type-founders were recorded in more detail.

In October 1563¹ the printer bought 351 pounds of *knoppen ou neuds de vieilles verrières* [the leading of old window-panes] *à faire estoffe pour fondre lectres*, 125 pounds antimony *pour faire l'estoffe dure à fondre*, 47 pounds *estain d'Oostland* [tin from Germany] *pour faire matière à lectres*, 30 pounds of iron filings, 25 pounds of copper filings, 3 *pots de fer pour fondre la matière dedens, pesants ensemble 78½ livres à 1 st. la livre et 1 st. pour en avoir faict apporter à la maison*, scales,² weights,³ and a number of other requisites.⁴ In November he provided himself with a further 300 pounds of *plomb vieil de conduite*, 11 pounds of *limaille d'espingle*, 10 pounds of *limaille de fer*, a quantity of charcoal and peat, and two *creusets pour fondre la matière*.⁵ At the end of the month Plantin had the brass-founder Van Diest convert the fireplace in the big loft into a *fourneau à faire la matière dure*,⁶ but the following month the furnace was moved to what had formerly been the printing shop. During November and December, Plantin bought further odds and ends for his foundry.⁷ More purchases of metals and other ingredients followed, but the type itself continued to be supplied by specialist firms. Ameet Tavernier ceased to appear in the account-books; but the name of another Antwerp type-founder, Laurent van

1. Arch. 3, f^{os} 1^{ro} and v^o.

2. 'Balances à poiser de deux sortes, les petites 12 st., les balances grandes 1 fl. 10 st.'

3. 'Poix de une once, 2 poix de 2 once, ung poix de 4 once, un poix de ½ livre, un de 1 lb., un poix de 2 lb., un poix de 4 lb.: 12 st.; Poix de cuivre en faceon de mars pesant une livre: 9 st.'

4. 'Mande à charbon (3 st.), cueiller de fer à puiser la matière (5 st.), cueiller persée pour escumer ou nettoyer la matière (2 st.), mollets [?] vieux (3½ st.), fourchettes vieilles pour attizer le feu (2½ st.), cueiller grande à fondre sur le fourneau (10 st.), une establie à besogner dessus avec sa mortasle à justifier (1 fl. 7 st.), pressoir à tenir les lectres sur les compositoires (1½ st.), verges de fer 8 avec 1 plat et le rond du fourneau (9¾ st.), feille de fer pour retirer [?] la matière du mousle (1¾ st).'

5. Arch. 3, f^o 3^{ro}.

6. Arch. 3, f^o 3^{vo}. See also Arch. 36, p. 64.

7. Arch. 3, f^o 4^{ro}: a 'mortier de fer pour estamper les drogues de la fonderie (70 lb: 3 fl. 1¾ st.)' and 'poix de fer esgalles dont y en a un de 50 lb, un de 25 lb, un de 12 lb, deux de chaconne 5 lb et un de 3 lb qui font en tout 100 lb, coustent ½ st. chaconne livre: 2 fl. 10 st.'

Everbroeck or Everborgh (Plantin used both spellings), appeared alongside that of François Guyot.¹

Plantin's 'type-foundry' was confined in fact to smelting type-metal.² After all his possessions had been sold in the Vrijdagmarkt in April 1562 (including his stocks of type), Plantin had to face the difficult task of completely re-equipping his *officina*. He was able to buy back some of the type from the purchasers,³ and bought other ready-cast type as well,⁴ but this was not enough. He started to make his own metal, either because it was quicker, or cheaper,⁵ or possibly for both reasons. But this type-metal was sent out to François Guyot and Laurent van Everbroeck. Who smelted Plantin's type-metal in the period 1563-64 is not recorded. It may have been done by unskilled labour; there is evidence to suggest that the work was sometimes so badly executed that the metal was below standard.⁶

In April 1565 Plantin engaged the services of Jacques Sabon, the craftsman who has already been mentioned in connexion with punches and matrices.⁷ Plantin spent a modest 17 fl. 5½ st. on new tools to

1. Arch. 3, *passim*; Arch. 4, f^o 6^{vo}; Arch. 36, p. 64; Arch. 31, f^{os} 63, 66, 69. Cf. H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*, 1968, p. 34.
2. As was first stressed by Harry Carter, 'Plantin's Types and their Makers', p. 265.
3. For example from J. Loeus a quantity of roman and italic ascencionica 'taille de Guyot lesquelles led. Loe avoit achaptées à la vendue des biens de Plantin': 329 lb, at 5¼ st. a pound, 86 fl. 7¼ st. (Arch. 3, f^o 1^{ro}) and a 'lectre median faceon d'escriture taille de Granion' (162 lb) 'que ledict Loe avoit achaptée en la vendue faicte par l'ammen des biens de Plantin' (Arch. 3, f^o 1^{vo}).
4. At the end of 1565 Plantin bought a quantity of a nonpareil Gothic type from Ameet Tavernier - but through an Emden merchant (Arch. 4, f^o 10^{vo}: 8th December [1565] 'La nonpareille d'Amy flamende d'un marchand d'Emde: 84 fl. 9 st.'). Cf. Arch. 3, f^o 39 ('J'ay payé à Gerard d'Embde 84 fl. pour la petite nonpareille flamande d'Amy fondue.'). On 26th February 1565 at an auction of the goods of the music printer Jacques Susato he bought 256 lb of small music type (at 2½ st. a pound) and 207 lb. of large music type (at 2 st. a pound) (Cf. *Roses Musée*, p. 159).
5. The profit, however, was small: cf. pp. 119-120.
6. Plantin noted on 13th September 1564 that he had been obliged to request L. van Everbroeck to make a new cast or at least to check it: 'J'ay refondu lestoffe forte qui avoit esté faicte par avant et ay prins pour mender Laurent Van Evrebroeck fondeur de lectres à qui iay payé 9 st.' (Arch. 3, f^o 17^{ro}).
7. Cf. p. 67.

ensure that his man was adequately equipped.¹ In the Plantinian foundry Sabon cut a few punches, justified a number of matrices, and cast some type. His total output was not large: 4,100 *pièces fleurons de diverses sortes*, 2,000 quadrats, 800 *pièces moulures*, and other small commissions, also consisting mostly of ornaments.² By June 1565 the printer and the type-founder had settled accounts and Sabon left the *Officina Plantiniana* to start a new career in Frankfurt.

Plantin's foundry seems to have survived the departure of Sabon for a time. Until the summer of 1567 at least he had type-metal made there,³ although it was also supplied by Guyot and Van Everbroeck or produced by them from the lead, tin, antimony, and other materials which Plantin provided. One of the reasons for the eventual closing down of the foundry was probably the swift growth of the *officina* into a large business: Plantin could no longer apply the operating methods of his early years, when he had the time and the opportunity to look after every detail himself. Another important reason was probably the fact that once he had built up his

1. Arch. 3, f^o 24^{ro}: ‘Jaques Sabon fondeur a achapté pour l'usage de la iustification et fonderie de lectres: 3 limes grosses et 2 marteaux (19½ st.), 1 compas (1 st.), ung fourneau de fer (3 fl.), 1 vis pour tenir la cheville du banc (1 st.), 1 cuiller (1 fl. 8 st.), la coupe seule, la barre du trapan, lestoc à main (together: 2 fl.), lestoc grand (6 fl.), le manche de la cueiller et trapan (4 st.), pierres à frotter les lectres 2 (1 fl. 10 st.), la boule du trapan pesante 3 lb. (15 st.), un soufflet et 1 hanz... (?) (6 st.), unes grandes tenailles à tirer les creusets du fourneau (1 fl. 1 st.)’.
2. Arch. 31, f^o 98^{vo}.
3. On 7th May 1565 Plantin noted the payment to F. Guyot for 200 lb. ‘pour fondre lectres’ (Arch. 3, f^o 27^{vo}), which could point to the fact that the foundry was no longer in business. After that Plantin repeatedly noted the buying of materials under the headings ‘matière ou estoffe de fonderie’ or ‘fonderie’. In most cases no further details are given (cf. Arch. 3, f^{os} 36^{vo} [10th October 1565], 40^{vo} [22nd December 1565], 43^{ro} [26th January 1566], 46^{ro} [16th March 1566], 70^{ro} [28th June 1567], 73^{ro} [16th August 1567]), but a couple of times data given suggest that the foundry was still working, albeit intermittently: Arch. 3, f^o 37 *bis*^{vo} (10th November 1565: payments to a certain Cornelis Meesters ‘pour la peine et travail dudict’; further outgoings ‘en pierres à faire le fourneau’ and for charcoal and the purchase of materials), f^o 60^{ro} (19th November 1566, ‘J'ay payé au fondeur qui a lavé et purifié les cendres d'estoffe de Laurent van Everbroeck pour ses paines et travail, 15 st.’), f^o 62^{ro} (19th January 1567, ‘en terre à faire ung fourneau et la faceon: 15 st.; j'ay payé a Jehan [the name left blank] pour 2 iournées: 1 fl. 10’), f^o 70^{ro} (22nd June 1567, ‘pour autant payé a Jehan Stels de lb. 69 de matière’).

initial typographical stocks, he had access to quite big quantities of old type which could always be melted down again.¹

Guyot died in 1570. Van Everbroeck no longer figured in Plantin's account-books after 1570-71. For a short time the printer turned to Herman Gruter (or de Gruyter), another Antwerp type-founder,² but he soon discovered that Hendrik van den Keere, the Ghent craftsman who then supplied him with most of his punches and matrices, was a better proposition. From 1570 until his death in 1580, Van den Keere supplied Plantin with all the type he needed. After Van den Keere's untimely death his foreman Thomas de Vechter continued the business for a while at Ghent, and then, at the end of 1581, moved to Antwerp, where he continued to supply Plantin.³ When Antwerp was besieged he left for the North. On 29th October 1584 he was in Leiden, near Plantin once more.⁴ He was to work in the Dutch university town until his death.

When the *Officina Plantiniana* in Leiden closed down in 1619-20, Balthasar I Moretus obtained some of the type that had been cast there for his relations, although his acquisition amounted only to two exotic alphabets: a double median Hebrew and an Arabic.⁵

De Vechter's place at Antwerp was taken by Herman and Ameet de

1. Occasionally he also bought old type from colleagues. Thus in December 1563 from Jacques Susato 333 lb. 'de vieilles lectres pour estoffe' (at 1½ st. a pound: 24 fl. 15 st.) (Arch. 36, p. 74).
2. Arch. 31, f^o 139^{vo}. Cf. on Herman Gruter: Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types*, p. 34.
3. Arch. 153, p. 327 (De Vechter's account, 10th September 1581 'at Ghent'), p. 329 (*idem*, 5th January 1582 'in Antwerp'). According to Rooses, *Musée*, p. 160, De Vechter worked for Plantin at Ghent until 14th December 1581.
4. Arch. 20, f^o 93. Later he appears to have lived in the house Plantin bought in the Breestraat and Raphelengius's premises after 1585. For the activities of the Ghent type-founder in Leiden see: H.F. Wijnman, 'Thomas de Vechter lettergieter te Leiden 1584-1602,' *Het Boek*, 29, 1948, pp. 149-153. Cf. on the date of his death (not 1602, but probably after 1618) Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types*, p. 35.
5. This is about 50 pounds of Hebrew and 150 pounds of Arabic, offered for 120 fl.: letter from F. Raphelengius Jr. to Balthasar I Moretus, 21st February 1620 (Arch. 92, p. 205). In an earlier letter dated 18th October 1619 (Arch. 92, p. 243), Justus Raphelengius had emphasized that Erpenius wanted the stocks of cast type of Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopian, jolie and ascendonica Hebrew, and that he could not refuse them to him.

Gruyter¹ some of whose accounts - for 1588-90 and 1592 - are preserved.² On 11th March 1594 a Guillaume vander Mont, silversmith and type-founder, submitted a bill.³

In the early years of the seventeenth century a new figure appeared. This was the Irishman Thomas Strong, who supplied the Plantinian press with cast type until October 1624.⁴ From 26th October 1624 until 22nd August 1626, his son James took over the responsibility, but on the latter date the terse entry 'il est parti sans liquider compte restant' was made in the accounts. The money owed amounted to 256 fl. 9 st.⁵ The Moretuses had to look for another type-founder. They found one in Leonard Milcam (31st October 1626 - 1st April 1656, when his affairs were settled by his widow).⁶ He was followed by Hans Pen (19th August 1656 - April 1659).⁷ After that the Van Wolsschaten family were practically the sole suppliers of type from 1660 until about 1730.⁸

Max Rooses states, 'In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Moretuses set up a foundry in their printing office, where their type was fashioned by their own workmen; it is still there today. It was in use from 1614 until 1660, and from 1730 until the end of the eighteenth century.'⁹ The present author does not know on what evidence Rooses dated the establishment of the foundry, which cannot have been set up in its present form until a few years later in the extension to the house built by Balthasar I Moretus in 1620-22.¹⁰ It is possible, however, that a foundry had been installed before this date somewhere else in the Golden Compasses in the Vrijdagmarkt, or in

1. Herman de Gruyter may be identified with the Herman Gruter who worked for Plantin in 1569. Ameet de Gruyter was probably his son. Herman de Gruyter was one of the three experts - the others being the printers Daniel Vervliet and Andreas Bax - who valued the typographical stocks on behalf of Plantin's heirs in 1589-90.
2. Arch. 153, pp. 351, 359-380.
3. Arch. 153, p. 383.
4. Listed in the wages accounts (*semaines des ouvriers*) from 24th March 1601 (Arch. 779) until 26th October 1624 (Arch. 780).
5. Arch. 780.
6. Arch. 780 and 781.
7. Arch. 781.
8. Accounts in Arch. 154 (till 1718), 155 (the Van Wolsschatens' ledger, 1672-96) and 156 (1719-29).
9. *Index Characterum Architypographiae Plantiniana*, 1905, p. 9.
10. Cf. Vol. I, p. 287.

the *Gulden Valk* in the Kammenstraat. Compared with a printing shop, a foundry did not require a great deal of equipment; a reasonably large room and a good furnace were sufficient.

This would mean that from 1620-22, and possibly earlier, Strong, and then Milcam and Pen, worked in the Plantin House itself. Clear evidence is lacking, however. Strong and his successors appeared in the wages sheets from 1614¹ together with the compositors and pressmen. All that this proves is that Strong and his successors worked sufficiently regularly for the *Gulden Passer* to receive what amounted to weekly pay, although this was based strictly on the actual quantity of cast type, or its equivalent in other work, that they completed. But they could just as easily have done this work on their own premises as in the Golden Compasses. ‘Thomas de lettergieter’, as Strong is described, seems to have had two apprentices and a journeyman, ‘Adrian Clerck compere in de gieterije’ working for him in 1605.² They do not appear on Jan Moretus's list of workmen and so they were probably Strong's own employees. However, Balthasar I Moretus found it necessary to equip one room as a foundry in his extensions of 1620-22 - and he enlarged it slightly in 1637-39; this suggests that founders worked in the house at least from the former date.

Uncertainty also surrounds the closing down of the type-foundry in 1660: none of the sources mentions it explicitly. Max Rooses presumably gave this date because the Van Wolsschatens would have preferred to work in their own foundry, which would have undoubtedly been better fitted than the fairly primitive foundry rooms at the Golden Compasses. The author agrees with this view, for which other supporting arguments can be advanced.³

1. From 1601 till 1608 Thomas Strong *fondeur* appears fairly regularly in the *semaines des ouvriers*. From the end of 1608 till 1614 he is mentioned very irregularly, generally under the heading ‘expenses’ and not among the workmen. From the 31st October 1614 onwards he was again listed among the workmen. This is presumably what inspired Rooses's assertion.
2. Arch. 779, at the back (enumeration of Jan I Moretus's New Year gifts, 1st January 1606).
3. The Van Wolsschatens are no longer listed among the workmen, and they also worked for other printers, unlike Strong and his immediate successors.

The Moretuses do not always seem to have been fully satisfied with the work supplied by the Van Wolsschatens, or they preferred to have the services of a type-founder who would always be available to replenish their founts of type as required. In 1696 Anna Maria de Neuf, Balthasar III Moretus's widow, approached her friend and business associate Ysbrand Vincent, the Amsterdam paper merchant, to see if he could send her a good type-founder from Amsterdam.¹ Vincent replied that there were only three type-foundries in Amsterdam, employing seventeen or eighteen men. This small labour force was always busy and, by way of warning, Vincent pointed out that all of them were Lutherans or Calvinists. After a long search Vincent found a journeyman type-founder who was ready to go to Antwerp, provided his rather demanding conditions were met.² When it came to the point, however, the man decided to stay in Amsterdam. The Moretuses then considered having their type cast in Holland. Once more Vincent acted as intermediary. He sent samples and details of prices from the leading firms in Amsterdam.³ His personal preference was for the firm of Dirk Voskens's widow.⁴ An order was duly placed with this foundry and on 9th July 1706 a quantity of garamond roman was delivered worth 304 fl.⁵

This first consignment from the North was also to be the last one. The Van Wolsschatens continued to supply the Plantinian press until 1736, when Joannes Jacobus Moretus was finally able to realize his mother's plan and succeeded in obtaining the services of the French founder Perreault. With his help the *officina*'s own type-foundry was brought into operation again.⁶ It continued under Perreault's direc-

1. M. Sabbe, 'Ysbrand Vincent en zijn Antwerpsche vrienden', *De Moretussen en hun kring*, pp. 197-200.
2. Including 12 fl. per week 'whether holy days occur or not'. Vincent also enclosed in his letter a list of the piece-rates then paid to Amsterdam type-founders (Sabbe, *op. cit.*, p. 198).
3. The type specimens are in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.
4. '... that the types of the widow Voskens are in their use found to be better, deeper, and more durable than any others.'
5. The firm of Voskens bought worn type from the Moretuses and melted it down for re-use. Whether this Antwerp material was used for the garamond roman which they supplied is not known.
6. Contract of employment of P. Perreault, 19th May 1736 (Arch. 156, p. 87).

tion until about 1760. Why it was then closed down again by J.J. Moretus's successor is not clear. Probably Perreault either died or left, and F.J. Moretus was unable to find a suitable manager to replace him. The Van Wolsschatens were called in once more, and from June 1761 until 1776 J.B. van Wolsschaten sent in a series of bills for type supplied.¹ That was the end of the firm's connexion with the Plantinian press. J.B. van Wolsschaten must either have died or given up the business in that year.

By this time the *Officina Plantiniana* had passed its zenith and had begun to stagnate. Nevertheless it still had to maintain its stocks of type. There were no longer any type-founders in Antwerp and they had to be sought elsewhere. Before J.B. van Wolsschaten had submitted his last account, the widow of F.J. Moretus had been in contact with Pierre-Simon Fournier (Fournier le Jeune). This great French type-founder dispatched quite large quantities of his work to Antwerp in the years 1775 to 1777.²

Thorough examination of the firm's correspondence and accounts will perhaps illumine the further troubles of the Moretuses with their type-founders. For the moment a few brief notes must suffice. In 1792, 1796-99, and 1807, Mathieu Rosart of Brussels cast small quantities of type for the Moretuses, using their matrices.³ The Plantinian press was almost completely idle from 1810 to 1828. The slight revival of that year was accompanied by a small order for type, this time supplied by the Antwerp firm of J.H. Hartung.⁴ As far as can be made out, this firm provided 'new-fashioned' type from its own matrices. The last delivery that can be traced is one from M. Gando of Brussels; this firm had supplied leads in 1831 and then in 1834-35 a considerable quantity of various types, similarly cast from its own matrices.⁵

1. Arch. 701, *passim*.

2. Including in 1775 a gros texte roman and italic (cf. Fournier's letters, Arch. 579, pp. 123-138; notices of dispatch, Arch. 701, pp. 277, 278, 292, 295).

3. Arch. 630, pp. 51-168.

4. Arch. 653, f^o 25.

5. Arch. 652, pp. 279-316.

It would be possible, drawing on the house archives, to give details of practically all the deliveries of cast type made to the *Officina Plantiniana* in the course of more than three centuries. This would be going beyond the scope and purpose of the present work and the resulting compilation would be of very limited value. It has already been pointed out that cast type wore out quite quickly and replacement was regular and routine.¹ In the years 1563-65 and the period of expansion from 1567 to 1576 large stocks of new typographical material were built up. For the rest of the time it was mainly a question of replacement and maintenance. A true idea of the extent and value of the *officina's* cast type can more readily be obtained by looking at the stocks in the house at a particular moment.

One of those moments is afforded by the inventory drawn up for the auction of Plantin's possessions in 1562. It lists the stocks of a medium-sized printing office with four presses in operation (see p. 114).²

In the years 1567-76 Plantin reached the height of his career. The type inventory of May 1575 itemized the stock of a large printing business then unequalled in Europe (see pp. 115-117).

Stocks of type were included in the inventory drawn up on Plantin's death, but the total was given only: 50,460 pounds, less 5,855 pounds for the cases and trays in which the type was stored,³ giving a net weight of 44,605 pounds. This was an increase of about 6,000 pounds compared with 1575, but most of it was ordered and delivered in the second half of 1575 and in 1576, while the great expansion was still proceeding.

1. It is of interest that in the Plantinian foundry small quantities of type were found (and carefully preserved), varying from a complete alphabet to one single letter, wrapped in paper and bearing inscriptions stating that these were 'test' types to check the height, width, and depth of a given body for a given fount. (The wrappings, when dated, all belong to the eighteenth century.)
2. Arch. 27, f^{os} 41-44.
3. Arch. 98, pp. 517-521.

Stock of Type in 1562

<i>Size</i>	<i>Kind</i>	<i>Weight</i>
Large ascendonica	roman	45 lb.
Ascendonica (20 pt.)	roman & italic	579 lb. (652 lb. gross)
	roman & italic	392 lb.
	black letter (German) and Greek	239 lb. (net)
Text (16.6 pt.)	roman & italic	624 lb.
Augustine (13.4 pt.)	roman, italic, Greek	683 lb. (net)
Median (11.3 pt.)	roman, italic, Greek	1,120 lb.
	black letter	200 lb.
	black letter (German)	202 lb.
	civilité	162 lb.
Philosophie (10.3 pt.)	roman	347 lb.
Bible (7.6 pt.)	roman & italic (old type)	500 lb.
	roman & italic (new type)	195 lb.
	black letter (German)	141 lb.
Nonpareille (5.8 pt.)	roman & italic	574 lb.
Almanac (?)	roman & italic	517 lb.
Case of capitals (large and small) & fleurons		71 lb.
Quadrats		30 lb.
Printer's pie		151 lb.

Total		6,772 lb. (net)

In 1652 Balthasar II Moretus entered a net weight of 43,465 pounds in his list of typographical material.¹ In spite of all the deliveries of cast type between 1589 and 1652 the total quantity had changed very little. The use of worn type in the making of type-metal had roughly balanced the new consignments.

1. Arch. 354, pp. 72-83. Subdivided into: roman 18,324 lb.; italic 4,775 lb.; Gothic 3,575 lb.; Greek 2,361 lb.; Hebrew, Syriac, Samaritan, and Arabic 2,103 lb.; German Gothic, Spanish canon, and civilité 1,746 lb.; flowers 481 lb.; music 3,944 lb.; set texts of missals and breviaries 1,140 lb.; capitals 1,394 lb.; quadrats and lines 1,683 lb.; type-metal (worn letters 1,430 lb.; material 'burned out of ash in the foundry' 350 lb.; new hard material 159 lb.) 1,939 lb. - Balthasar II stated that all the weights were net, subtracting 15 lb. for each pair of type-cases, and for each box 8 lb. These stocks were mainly in the 'little house over the canal' (cf. Vol. 1, p. 293).

Stock of Type in May 1575¹

	<i>Kind & size</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Sub-total</i>
I.	ROMAN		
	1. Petite nonpareille (5.8 pt.)	192¾ lb.	
	2. Nonpareille cast on coronelle (6.5 pt.)	92 lb.	
	3. Coronel (6.5 pt.)	633½ lb.	
	4. Coronel cast on bible (7.6 pt.)	126 lb.	
	5. Bible (7.6 pt.)	1,031 lb.	
	6. Bible gaillarde	450 lb.	
	7. Colineus (8.6 pt.)	1,160 lb.	
	8. Garamonde (9.4 pt.)	409 lb.	
	9. Gaillarde cast on garamonde (9.4 pt.)	99 lb.	
	10. Garamonde cast on philosophic (10.3 pt.)	68 lb.	
	11. Philosophie (10.3 pt.)	1,282 lb.	
	12. Mediane cast on philosophie (10.3 pt.)	916½ lb.	
	13. Mediane cast on garamonde (9.4 pt.)	50 lb.	
	14. Mediane (11.3 pt.)	1,567½ lb.	
	15. Augustine cast on mediane (11.3 pt.)	822¼ lb.	
	16. Augustine grasse (13.4 pt.)	1,093 lb.	
	17. Augustine petite (12.3 pt.)	937¼ lb.	

1. Arch. 43.

18. Augustine cast on texte (16.6 pt.)	287½ lb.	
19. Texte nouvelle (15.5 pt.)	1,250 lb.	
20. Parangonne grasse (18.7 pt.)	700½ lb.	
21. Texte cast on parangonne (18.7 pt.)	375 lb.	
22. Parangonne petite (17.7 pt.)	1,285 lb.	
23. Texte cast on petite parangonne (17.7 pt.)	365½ lb.	
24. Ascendonica (20 pt.)	2,029 lb.	
25. Parangonne cast on ascendonica (20 pt.)	493½ lb.	
26. Petit canon (27.2 pt.)	275½ lb.	
27. Moyen canon (32.2 pt.)	228½ lb.	
28. Gros canon maigre (41 pt.)	85 lb.	
29. Gros canon gras (41 pt.)	318 lb.	
30. Capitales extraordinaires	63 lb.	
31. Capitales pour titres	100 lb.	
	<hr/>	
Total roman		18,785¾ lb.

	<i>Kind & size</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Sub-total</i>
II.	ITALIC		
	1. Petite nonpareille (5.8 pt.)	104 lb.	
	2. Jolie (6.1 pt.)	318½ lb.	
	3. Bible (7.6 pt.)	284 lb.	
	4. Colineus (8.6 pt.)	492 lb.	
	5. Garamonde (9.4 pt.)	346 lb.	
	6. Philosophie (10.3 pt.)	213 lb.	
	7. 'Mediane droite à lalemande' [i.e., à l'allemande] (11.3 pt.)	452¼ lb.	
	8. Mediane pendante (11.3 pt.)	359½ lb.	
	9. Augustine (13.4 pt.)	252 lb.	
	10. Texte (16.6 pt.)	648½ lb.	
	11. Parangonne (18.7 pt.)	217½ lb.	
	12. Ascendonica by Granjon (20 pt.)	304 lb.	
	13. Ascendonica by Guyot (20 pt.)	168 lb.	
	Total italic		4,159¼ lb.
III.	GOTHIC (BLACK LETTER)		
	1. Nonpareille (5.8 pt.)	361 lb.	
	2. Bible (7.6 pt.)	255 lb.	
	3. Garamonde (9.4 pt.)	198 lb.	

4. Philosophie (10.3 pt.)	503 lb.	
5. Mediane (11.3 pt.)	470½ lb.	
6. Bourgeoise cast on mediane (11.3 pt.)	86½ lb.	
7. Augustine (13.4 pt.)	209 lb.	
8. Texte (16.6 pt.)	340 lb.	
9. Parangonne (18.7 pt.)	316 lb.	
10. Petit canon (27.2 pt.)	75 lb.	
11. Gros canon (41 pt.)	950½ lb.	
	<hr/>	
Total black letter		3,764½ lb.

IV.

CIVILITÉ

1. Cast on gros texte, by Granjon	404½ lb.	
2. Cast on petite augustine, by P. Haultin	163 lb.	
	<hr/>	
Total civilité		567½ lb.

V.

ROUND GOTHIC
(ROTUNDA)

1. Gros canon d'Espagne		624 lb.
-------------------------	--	---------

	<i>Kind & size</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Sub-total</i>
VI.	HEBREW		
	1. 'Petit Hebrieu diet coronel' (6.5 pt.)	240½ lb.	
	2. Bible (7.6 pt.)	2½ lb.	
	3. Augustine (13.4 pt.)	160½ lb.	
	4. Gros canon (41 pt.)	23½ lb.	
	5. Gros parangon (18.7 pt.)	347 lb.	
	6. Various sizes, unspecified	1,197½ lb.	
		—————	
	Total Hebrew		1,971½ lb.
VII.	GREEK		
	1. Bible (7.6 pt.)	296½ lb.	
	2. Colineus (8.6 pt.)	64 lb.	
	3. Garamonde (9.4 pt.)	275 lb.	
	4. Mediane (11.3 pt.)	624½ lb.	
	5. Augustine (13.4 pt.)	503¾ lb.	
	6. Parangonne (18.7 pt.)	726½ lb.	
		—————	
	Total Greek		2,490¼ lb.
VIII.	SYRIAC		
	'Syriacque de Granjon'		293 lb.
IX.	MUSIC		

	Eight different kinds, totalling	3,689¼ lb.
X.	‘DIVERSES LETTRES DE PLUSIEURS SORTES’ Unspecified, totalling	472 lb.
XI.	SUNDRIES	
	1. ‘Longues et breves accentuées sur diverses sortes de lettres’ (macrons and breves)	18 lb.
	2. ‘Fleurons de diverses sortes’	214 lb.
	3. ‘Quadrats divers’	516 lb.
	Total sundries	748 lb.
XII.	TYPE-METAL ‘Estoffe diverse de lettres à refondre’	532½ lb.
	GRAND TOTAL	38,097½ lb.

A century and a half later, on 18th November 1810, when the Moretuses were ordered by the French administration to submit an inventory of their printing press, they estimated their stock of cast type at 19,121 pounds ‘ancien poids de Brabant’.¹ As in many such enforced inventories, those concerned cannot have had too great a regard for statistical accuracy and greatly understated the amount. The 1818 inventory, in fact, records 35,804 pounds:² compared with 1652 this meant a reduction of about 8,000 pounds. The later Moretuses got rid of more old type than they had ordered of new. This must have happened mainly at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century and the chief, and perhaps the only beneficiary seems to have been the Brussels type-founder Matthieu Rosart. At all events the relatively small quantity of type that he supplied was far outweighed by the old type he received. In March 1792, for example, he got 1,005 pounds of old type melted down already into bars (‘in diverse lingotte’), and of this only a very small amount was cast for the *officina*.³ Such consignments were the subject of many letters and much negotiation in subsequent years. The correspondence with Rosart ended in 1808. Rosart's last letter, dated 13th September of that year, contained a new request for type-metal and referred to a conversation the type-founder had had with the Moretuses in which the latter had expressed their intention of getting rid of a further quantity of old type.⁴

It is possible that several thousands of pounds of cast type also left the Plantinian press in this way after the inventory of 1818 had been made. Only 10,000 to 12,000 kg were handed over to the city of Antwerp in 1876 to form part of the Plantin-Moretus Museum collection.

The unceasing replenishment of stocks explains why, in contrast with

1. Arch. 156, f^o 171.

2. Arch. 685, f^o 55^{ro} (entry for 7th August 1820: ‘all the type in the type-room, old as well as new type-metal in the small office weighing together 35,804 lb. net according to the 1818 inventory’).

3. Arch. 630, p. 55.

4. Arch. 630, p. 167.

punches and matrices, wood-blocks, copperplates, and similar material, the cast type made over in 1876 was of relatively recent date.¹ Not much type from Plantin's time survived the crucibles, but quite a lot of boxes of type with the names of Hartung and Gando, the last type-founders to have worked for the Plantin house, have been found, and also a considerable amount delivered by Pierre-Simon Fournier around 1775. As none of this great French type-founder's matrices have been preserved, his type in the Museum collection forms another unique treasure.

Like everything else all this cast type had to be paid for. The two elements in the price were generally carefully distinguished, and sometimes listed separately. These were the cost of type-metal and the charge of casting.

In May 1565 Plantin noted down all the ingredients required for the smelting of 517 pounds of type-metal, and their prices, arriving at a total of 59 fl. 4½ st., that is, slightly over 2¼ st. per pound.² In the same month Plantin bought a further 39 pounds of metal from Cornelis Meesters, working in Plantin's foundry but acting here on his own behalf, at 2 st. per pound, a little less than he had to pay for his own produce. Plantin also paid his type-founders 2 st. per pound on several occasions,³ but Guyot, Van Everbroeck, and Van den Keere usually charged 2½ st. per pound when they themselves provided the metal; occasionally they asked for 3 st., and once a rate of 2⅞ st. was quoted.⁴ Prices thus varied considerably in the years 1563-67, presumably in relation to the cost of the ingredients (more tin and copper made the metal dearer), but the average was slightly over 2 st. per pound. The saving for the printer who made the type-metal himself was minimal: a fraction of a *stuiver* per pound in the most

1. What has been preserved from Plantin's time consists mainly of exotic alphabets which were used only exceptionally and were practically never recast. The stock of Arabic, mentioned in the 1652 inventory (see p. 114, note 1), has unfortunately disappeared.
2. Cf. pp. 95-96.
3. Cf. for example Arch. 153, f^o 37 (Van Everbroeck, 1565).
4. Cf. for example Arch. 3, f^o 1^{ro} (Guyot, 1563: 2½ st.); Arch. 4, f^o 6^{vo} (1566: 3 st. a pound for 70 lb. 'de matière dure'); Arch. 3, f^o 1^{vo} (Guyot, 1563: 2⅞ st. a pound).

favourable instances. It was not worth going to a lot of trouble for economies of this order and when Plantin set up his own foundry in 1563 this was probably done more to speed up deliveries of cast type than to keep down the cost of type-metal.¹

The price did not rise much in the eighteenth century, mainly because the two ingredients - tin and copper - that had been the most expensive in Plantin's day had practically disappeared from type-metal. However, it had become slightly more profitable to produce the metal on the premises. This is shown by the calculations made by F.J. Moretus in his memorandum of about 1760 to which reference has already been made.²

Memorandum concerning the making of hard metal for casting type

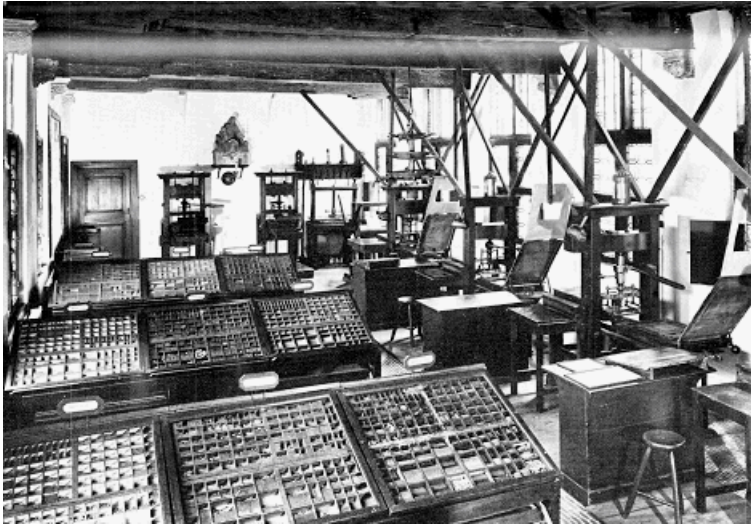
(1)	300 pounds of antimony at	42 fl.
	14 fl. per 100 pounds	
	900 pounds of lead at 6 fl.	58 fl.
	9 st. per 100 pounds	
	200 pounds of old nails at	3 fl. 10 st.
	1 fl. 15 st. per 100 pounds	
		—————
	Together	
	1,400 pounds of raw	103 fl. 10 st.
	material	
	Coal	6 fl.
	Furnace and crucible	6 fl.
	Day wages	6 fl. 17 st.
	Workmen's food	3 fl. 10 st.
		—————
		125 fl. 17 st.
	Net weight of type-metal	
	produced 995 pounds	
	for which suppliers would	180 fl. 7 st.
	charge 3½ st. per pound =	
	whereas preparation on the	125 fl. 17 st.
	premises cost	

1. Cf. also p. 106.

2. Arch. 697, no. 101, f^o 5^{ro}. Cf. L. Voet, 'Een aantekenboek van Franciscus Joannes Moretus,' p. 235-236.

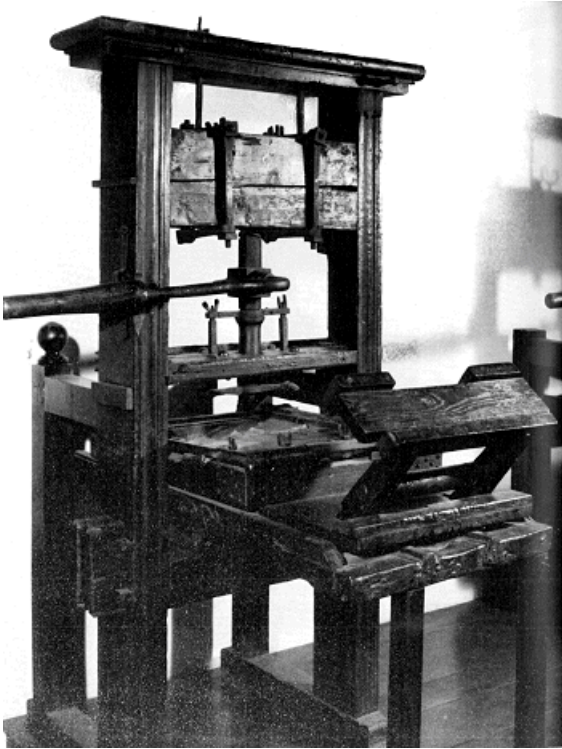
Saving

—
54 fl. 10 st.

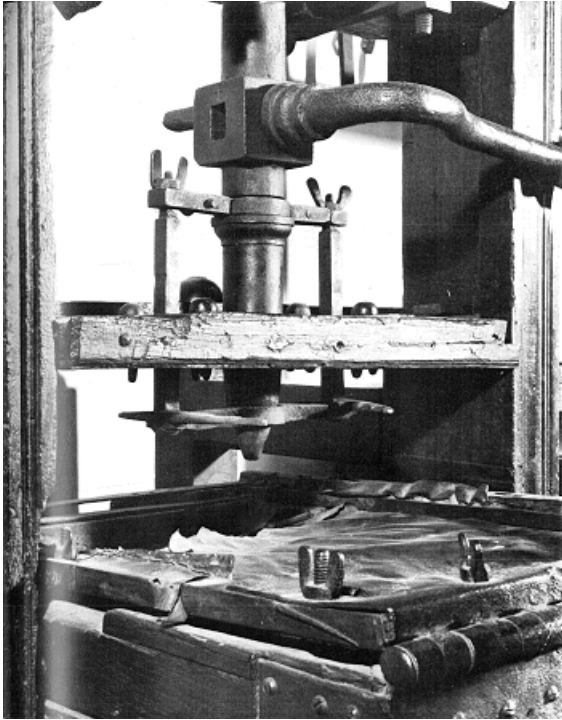


(17) *Opposite*: General view of the workshop, with on the left the type-cases, and on the right the presses (three of the five are visible). In the background are the two oldest presses and on the extreme right, just visible, is the intaglio press.

*18



(18) One of the two oldest presses. The wooden frame is still in good condition, but the platen has disappeared.



(19) Detailed view of the old press of plate 18 showing the 'yoke' from which the platen was suspended. Parchment is stretched over the closed-up frisket.

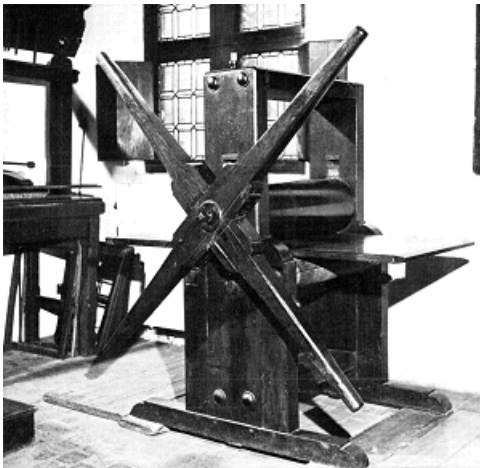
*20



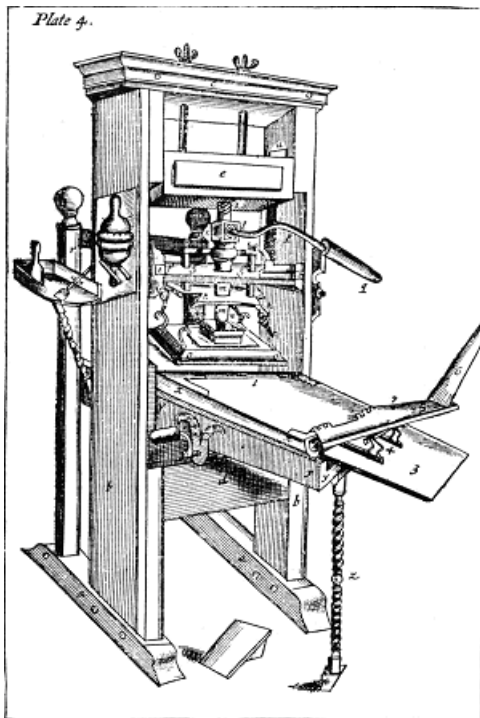
(20) Detailed view of one of the later presses. The more sophisticated system of screws fastening the platen to the yoke is clearly visible.



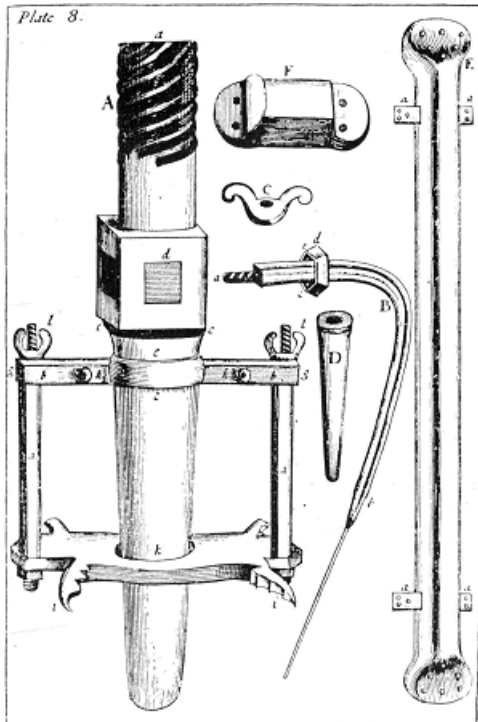
21) *Top*: Side view of one of the later presses showing the various appurtenances. On the left, leaning against the press, is the stand on which the ink was spread. An ink-ball hangs from the top of the frame.



(2) *Right*: The intaglio press, built in Holland in 1714.



(23) The new-fashioned or Blaeu press as described in Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*. Explanation of letters and figures: *aa*: the feet; *bb*: the cheeks; *c*: the cap; *d*: the winter; *e*: the head; *f*: the till; *gg*: the hose in the cross-iron of which, encompassing the spindle, is the garter; *hhhh*: the hooks on the hose the platen hangs on; *iklmn*: the spindle (*i*: part of the worm below the head, whose upper part lies in the nut of the head; *kl*: the eye of the spindle; *m*: the shank of the spindle; *n*: the toe of the spindle); *oooo*: the platen tied on the hooks of the hose; *p*: the bar; *q*: the handle of the bar; *rr*: the hind-posts; *ss*: the hind-rails; *tt*: the wedges of the till; *uu*: the mortices of the cheeks, in which the tenance of the head plays; *xxxxyy*: the carriage (*xxxx*: the outer frame of the carriage; *yy*: the wooden ribs on which the iron ribs are fastened); *z*: the stay (of the carriage).-1: the coffin; 2: the gutter; 3: the plank; 4: the gallows; 5: the tympan; 6: the frisket; 7: the points; 8: the point screws.



(24) The moving parts of the Blaeu press, after Moxon. A: the spindle; B: the bar; C: the female screw; D: the wooden handle; E: the ribs; F: the cramp irons. Moxon adds the following description (abridged): 'From the top to the toe of the spindle (*a-b*) is $16\frac{1}{2}$ ". The length of the cylinder the worms are cut upon is $3\frac{3}{4}$ " and its diameter $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". The distance between the bottom of the worms and the top of the cube is $1\frac{1}{2}$ "; the cube *cccc* measures $1\frac{1}{4}$ " each way. One inch under the cube at *e* is the neck of the spindle whose diameter is 2". It is 1" between the upper and lower shoulders of the neck at *ee*, so that the cylinder of the neck is 1" long. The lower end of the spindle (*b*) is called the toe; its form is hemispherical and about 1" in diameter. The toe should be made of well-tempered steel to avoid wear (through long or careless usage) towards one side of the toe which must remain in the axis of the spindle.'

*24



(25) Type-cases in their place on the rack. On one of the cases is a composing stick with a line of text; on the other a galley with a made-up page.

(2)	1,000 pounds old lead at 9	90 fl.
	fl. per 100 pounds	
	400 pounds antimony at 16	64 fl.
	fl. 6 st. per 100 pounds	

	Together	
	1,400 pounds	154 fl.
	Coal	14 fl.
	Food and day wages	14 fl.
	Melting and maintenance	14 fl.
	of furnace	

		196 fl. ¹
	Net weight of type-metal	220 fl.
	produced 1,100 pounds, for	
	which suppliers would	
	charge 4 st. per pound =	
	whereas preparation on the	196 fl.
	premises cost	

	Saving	24 fl.

The casting itself was usually calculated per 1,000 pieces for the smaller sizes, by weight for the larger, and within these two categories there was further variation according to typeface and size.

In 1563-64, for instance, F. Guyot charged the following rates:²

- 6 st. per 1,000 pieces for an augustine (13.4 pt.) roman and an ascendonica (20 pt.) roman & italic;
- 7 st. per 1,000 for a median (11.3 pt.) and an augustine italic;
- 8 st. per 1,000 for a nonpareil (5,8 pt.) italic and a bible (7.6 pt.) roman;
- 10 st. per 1,000 for a bible italic;
- 15 st. per 1,000 for an augustine Greek;
- 2½ st. per pound for a gros canon (41 pt.);
- 5 st. per pound for a paragon (18.7 pt.).

Hendrik van den Keere's prices were within the same range:³

1. The bill was in fact slightly simplified: 400 lb of antimony at 16 fl. 6 st. per 100 pounds must have cost 65 fl. 4 st. and not 64 fl. This would have brought the total to 197 fl. 4 st. and reduced the savings to 22 fl. 16 st.
2. Arch. 3, f^{os} 1 sqq.
3. Arch. 153, *passim*.

6 st. per 1,000 for a bible (7.6 pt.) black letter;
6½ st. per 1,000 for a garamond (9.4 pt.) roman, a garamond on colineus (8.6 pt.) roman, a median (11.3 pt.) italic;
7 st. per 1,000 for a garamond italic and a colineus italic and black letter;
8 st. per 1,000 for a bible italic, a median black letter, and a philosophie (10.3 pt.) black letter;
12 st. per 1,000 for a nonpareil (5.8 pt.) roman.

For a *lettre romaine dicte la breviaire* (7.6 pt.) Plantin paid Guyot in October 1563 the sum of 70 fl. 9 st., made up as follows:¹

112,270 pieces of type with a total weight of 191½ pounds, for which 224 pounds of type-metal was used

- pieces of type at 8 st. per 1,000	44 fl. 16 st.
- type-metal at 2½ st. per pound	25 fl. 13 st.
	—————
	70 fl. 9 st.

This works out at about 7⅓ st. per pound of cast type, of which approximately 4¾ st. was the charge for casting.

For three formes of a garamond (9.4 pt.) roman - 119,446 pieces of type with a net weight of 277 pounds - Hendrik van den Keere charged in 1578:²

- pieces of type at 6½ st. per 1,000	38 fl. 17 st.
- type-metal at 2½ st. per pound	34 fl. 12½ st.
	—————
	73 fl. 9½ st.

This represented a rate of approximately 53⅓ st. per pound of cast type, roughly 2¾ st. of this being for the actual casting.

The Van Wolsschatens usually charged per pound of type, even for the smaller sizes. In most instances their prices did not include the supplying of type-metal.³

In the Moretuses' foundry in the eighteenth century the workmen were paid piece rates, also reckoned per 1,000 letters for the smaller types, by weight for the larger ones. Their wages are quite close to the rates once asked by Guyot and Van den Keere - but it should be remembered that the prices charged by the sixteenth-century type-founders allowed for their own profit margins and their workmen's wages.

1. Arch. 3, f^o 1^{ro}.

2. Arch. 153, f^o 261.

3. Arch. 154, 155, and 156, passim. See also Arch. 697, no. 101, f^o 21^{vo} (cf. L. Voet, 'Een aantekenboek van Franciscus Joannes Moretus,' p. 239.)

Notice of salaries and wages for casting type and other matters concerning the expenditure of the foundry¹

Manager's salary, per week 5 fl. 12 st.

Work paid for per 1,000 pieces

For coronel (6.5 pt.),
philosophie (10.3 pt.), bible
(7.6pt.); augustine (13.4
pt.), augustine on median
(11.3 pt.)

- casting	7 st.
- breaking (i.e., removing surplus metal)	$\frac{3}{4}$ st.
- dressing	1½ st.
- 'pour composer' (i.e., setting up)	$\frac{3}{4}$ st.

For median (11.3 pt.),
garamond (9.4 pt.)

- casting	6 st.
- breaking	$\frac{3}{4}$ st.
- dressing	1½ st.
- setting up ('pour composer')	$\frac{3}{4}$ st.

For nonpareil (5,8 pt.)

- casting	12 st.
- breaking	$\frac{1}{2}$ st.
- dressing	3 st.
- setting up ('pour composer')	$\frac{1}{2}$ st.

For bible on colineus (8,6 pt.)

- casting	9½ st.
- breaking	$\frac{3}{4}$ st.
- dressing	1½ st.

1. Arch. 697, no. 101, f^o 15^{ro} v^o. Cf. L. Voet, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-239.

- setting up ('pour
composer') $\frac{3}{4}$ st.

Work paid for per pound:

For large canon (41 pt.),
small canon (27.2 pt.),
ascendonica (20 pt.),
parangon (18.7 pt.), text
(16.6 pt.).

- casting $1\frac{1}{2}$ st.

- breaking $\frac{1}{4}$ st.

- dressing $\frac{1}{2}$ st.

- setting up ('pour
composer') $\frac{1}{4}$ st.

For small text (15.5 pt.)

- casting $1\frac{3}{4}$ st.

- breaking $\frac{1}{4}$ st.

- dressing $\frac{1}{2}$ st.

- setting up ('pour
composer') $\frac{1}{4}$ st.

The masters of the *Gulden Passer* spent a good deal over the years on their stocks of type. When Plantin's possessions were auctioned in April 1562 the cast type brought in 2,745 fl. 7 st.¹ This represented 38 per cent of a total sum of 7,200 fl. - 42.6 per cent if the value of Plantin's household effects is deducted from the total (making it 6,444 fl.). At the printer's death the cast type was valued at 4 st. per pound; there was 44,000 pounds of it, giving a total of 8,800 fl. This was nearly half of the estimated value of the entire *officina*.² This 8,800 fl., however, represented only a fraction of what the type had actually cost, and the estimate did not take into account the fact that the stock had to be regularly renewed. Whereas punches and matrices, once bought, entailed little further expenditure, money was always being spent on the stocks of type. Between 1st October 1563 and 18th March 1566 Plantin paid 2,200 fl. 15½ st. for his cast type.³ Between 1570 and 1579 he paid Van den Keere 8,395 fl. 12 st. on this account;⁴ 7,777 fl. 12½ st. of this was paid between 1570 and 1576.

In contrast with the less bulky and easily portable punches and matrices, this great mass of cast material was not really suitable for depositing as security for loans. All that could be done was to sell some of it when retrenchment was the order of the day - which Plantin seems in fact to have done after the Spanish Fury of 1576.⁵

1. Arch. 27. The stock of cast type amounted to 6,772 lb. Cf. p. 114.
2. Which was 18,000 fl. It should be pointed out that, first, Plantin took a quantity of cast type to Leiden in 1583, where it remained (in 1589-90 F. Raphelengius had over 4,000 lb of type there, worth 800 fl. at 4 st. a pound); secondly, that in 1589 a relatively small quantity of punches and matrices were kept in Antwerp and included in the estimate (2,201 fl. 5 st., whereas the total of punches, matrices, and moulds amounted to 5,821 fl. 10 st.), which makes the proportion of punches and matrices somewhat too low. If the estimates for the printing offices in Antwerp and Leiden are added together this produces a total of 22,607 fl. (18,000 fl. for Antwerp, 4,607 fl. for Leiden), of which 9,600 fl. represents cast type and 5,821 fl. 10 st. the matrices, punches and moulds.
3. Arch. 4, f^{os} 6^{vo}-10^{vo} (these figures do not include the price of type-metal prepared in Plantin's foundry or of type-metal for which he purchased the ingredients).
4. Arch. 153, f^{os} 115 sqq.
5. Letter of 19th August 1578 to de Çayas (*Corr.*, VI, no. 805): after the disaster the printer sold five presses and an unspecified quantity of cast type for about 3,000 fl. (a press cost about 50 fl.; which puts the value of the type sold at about 2,750 fl.).

There were other occasions too when the printer sold some of his type. His journal records the sale in 1568 of a philosophic roman for 72 fl. 12 st. (242 pounds at 6 st. per pound) to the Antwerp printer Joannes Trognesium.¹ This was no doubt done to oblige an influential but difficult colleague,² rather than because there was financial profit in it. Plantin's loan of type to the Louvain printer Masius is to be ascribed to pressure from certain people in high places.³ Whatever the whole truth may be, such transactions were probably few in number and limited in extent.⁴ Only at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, when the firm was stagnating, did the Moretuses raise money by selling off fairly large quantities of old or slightly used type for rendering down into type-metal.

Spread over the years, however, expenditure on casting was probably not too much of a burden. In 1566, for example, Plantin spent 104 fl. 16 st. on the purchase of type-metal or its ingredients and paid 405 fl. 6½ st. to his type-founders, making 510 fl. 2½ st. altogether. This sum represented 3.91 per cent only of a total expenditure for that year of 13,041 fl.⁵ Nevertheless, cast type came third in the

1. Arch. 46, f^o 91.
2. Cf. Vol. I, p. 66.
3. As appears from two letters of Plantin to de Vandeville, 31st January 1586 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1068) and 14th March 1586 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1077). In the latter Plantin declared himself willing to let Masius keep 250 lb. of the type that had been lent him, but the rest had to be returned. Cf. also *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1153 (letter to N. Oudaert, 8th October 1586).
4. In 1634 Charles I tried to get Greek type from Balthasar I Moretus. He refused at first, but the English representative in Brussels, Gerbier, succeeded in persuading the printer, through the intermediary of Rubens. The type was cast in 1635 - but not paid for, and therefore not delivered. This was particularly annoying for Balthasar Moretus because this type had been cast at a height-to-paper which he could not use for his own printing: H.F. Bouchery & F. van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, 1941, p. 20. It is possible that in the eighteenth century the Moretuses also cast type for customers in Spain and Portugal: some of the test types (see p. 113, note 1) are wrapped in papers stating that the type cast was destined for Spain (nos. 1, 21, 41, 42, 90, 95, 96, 99, 132: 1740-41) and Portugal (nos. 40, 52, 87, 108: 1735).
5. Cf. Appendix 1. The proportion would have been somewhat higher in 1563-64, when Plantin had to bring his stock of lead type up to standard.

officina's regular expenses,¹ although it was a good way behind paper and wages. It was the most costly part of the equipment of the printing shop: compared with the stocks of cast type, even the printing presses formed only a small percentage of the working capital.²

1. That is to say an abstract made of the costs of illustrations (payments for drawings; cutting of wood-blocks; engraving of copperplates) which could be considerable but were spread very unevenly, and formed an irregular source of expenditure.
2. Cf. the following chapter.

The Printer's Techniques and Methods

Chapter 5

The Printing Shop

The work of a printing press requires quite complicated equipment, and to understand the plant and tools it is necessary to have some idea of how this work was done.

Moxon in 1683-84, the *Encyclopédie française* in 1769, and various other books¹ devote fairly lengthy passages to it. But once more it is the author of the *Dialogues françois et flamands* of 1567 who is most helpful with his businesslike descriptions of the various operations and the principal implements.²

E: When it is a question of printing any book, it is given to the compositor, who assembles the types that are distributed separately in the case, in which there are as many boxes as there are different types.

G: I follow so far.

E: Then he fastens the copy on which he wishes to work to a visorium, which is a long wooden piece that supports the copy, and for fear lest it become folded he fixes a mordant, which is a cleft stick going crosswise. That done, he takes his composing stick, also of wood, wherein he sets the lines, and as he completes them he places them in a galley where the pages are made up.

G: Then do you print the pages, one after the other?

E: Not at all. But when he has set two or four or six or eight of them, depending on the size of the book, he imposes them all together in a chase.

G: What is this chase?

1. See the introduction and notes by the publishers of the 1958 re-edition of Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* and the bibliographical notes in Hellinga, *Copy and Print*. Cf. also the bibliography in p. 132, note 8.
2. As given in Ray Nash's excellent English translation.

E: It is a square, made of six bars of iron of which four form the sides and the other two a cross at the middle, so that there are four small squares in which the pages are imposed.

G: Are all chases made this way?

E: No. Sometimes there is only one crosspiece and sometimes none at all. That is on account of the difference in the size of books.

G: These pages imposed, what does he do?

E: He justifies them and locks them with wooden furniture, of which some pieces are called headers (head-sticks), tapered (side- and foot-) sticks, reglets, and quotations - so called because they are used for the quotations that are placed in the margins.

G: That being done, how does he lock them in the chase? For there must be innumerable pieces.

E: It is true. However, he locks them with quoins in such a way that all the pieces are pressed in from every side, like the staves of a wooden measure by its hoops.

E: The forme made up this way is handed over to the two pressmen who operate the press.

G: It is necessary now for you to explain the press.

E: First, the press is made firm between two sister twins (cheeks), set upright on two paws (feet). They are joined by two summers (head and winter) and are made secure above with stays, pins, and keys which hold fast and steady all the top part.

G: Then is it a business of such great force?

E: You will hear. Between the sister twins the screw (spindle) is located, fitted in the hose. The pivot (head) of this spindle enters into the nut supported by crampons. It then rests on the stud bedded in the top of the platen. This platen is a large and broad piece of iron which covers all that has to be printed and is attached by means of rings.

G: This is not enough. What means is there to make the spindle go round?

E: There is a bar which, being pulled by the handle, lowers the spindle and, being pushed back on to its catch, raises it.

G: Then when work is under way the printer pulls the bar in order to bring the platen down on the forme and when he wishes to take off his sheet he pushes the bar back?

E: So it is. But it must be understood that the forme is put on a marble or stone set in the coffin, at the four corners of which there are corner irons holding the chase. This coffin is on a plank with cramp-irons underneath and runs backward and forward the length of the cradle (ribs) by means of a spit below, upon which the rounce is fitted.

G: Then turning the rounce brings all the coffin forward under the platen and sends it back again after the operation?

E: You are quite right. The cradle does not move, and is supported at one end by the press itself and at the other by a wooden upright called the foot (forestay). On the hind end of the coffin is a large (outer) tympan, attached by means of iron joints, and the small (inner) tympan goes inside it, so that the blankets are held between them.

G: What are these blankets for?

E: The blankets are placed between the platen and the forme lest the platen, by its great hardness, should batter it.

G: But is the paper never going to be laid on?

E: I am coming to that. The paper is laid on top of the tympan. It is pricked on to two small points fastened to the large tympan by means of screws and nuts, so it can be got at easily for the reiteration. The reiteration is done when the paper is turned over for printing on the other side.

G: The paper being stretched out thus, is it printed at once?

E: No, not yet, for it must be covered by a frisket, held firm by hasps.

G: What is this frisket?

E: It is a parchment covering all parts of the forme not to be printed, such as the space between pages, the margins, and all white spaces.

G: It is done then, for all I can see.

E: Not yet, for it is necessary to have dampened the paper on the previous day so that it is evenly moist.

G: Why so?

E: Otherwise the ink, although very sticky, would not take hold. On being dampened the paper is placed between two planks so that it stays flat and takes the water better. Meanwhile the ink balls are being prepared.

G: What are the ink balls?

E: They are for putting ink on the forme. They are made, first, of a wooden stock, then some well-carded wool stuffed into it, which is covered by pelts nailed all round the wood. That done, ink is taken which clings to the leather, and it is beaten on the forme, which retains as much as is needed for printing.

G: Is it possible the type takes that without anything further?

E: It is, and for that reason the ink must be thick and sticky lest it should run while on the type.

G: What is there to do then?

E: The tympan is then lowered, the frisket being fixed, and taking the rounce by the handle the pressman makes the coffin enter halfway under the platen. The bar is pulled for the first time, the coffin is run on in the other half, and the bar pulled a second time.

G: Why is the coffin not run clear in the first time?

E: Because the platen cannot cover the whole forme...

G: And what is done with the forme when all copies are printed?

E: When they are about to finish work they heat some lye in a kettle. This being done they put the forme in a big trough where it is rubbed and cleansed with brush and lye, which gets rid of all the remaining ink. That done, they give it back again to the compositor for distribution of the types, each one back to the box from which he had taken it.

Thus the compositors used type-cases,¹ composing sticks,² galleys,³ visorums,⁴ and chases. The pressmen required rather more equipment: the presses themselves and all that appertained to them; ink balls,⁵ basins and troughs for moistening the paper,⁶ lye-troughs for washing the formes.⁷ There also had to be a sufficient number of trays, boxes, trestles, and table-tops to hand in the printing shop, not to mention such items as hammers, saws, ladders, and so on.

The press

The printing-press was the most complicated and most expensive of all these.⁸ It was the only piece of equipment that invariably figured

1. Cf. the detailed description in the 1958 re-edition of Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*, pp. 27-33.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 81 and 282 sqq.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 81 and 278 sqq.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
8. Interesting description of printing presses and their evolution in the sixteenth century: J.W. Enschedé, 'Houten handpersen in de zestiende eeuw,' *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 4, 1906, pp. 195-215 and pp. 262-272; F. Madan, 'Early Representations of the Printing-Press, with Especial Reference to that by Stradanus', *Bibliographica* I, 1895, pp. 223-248, 499-502; F. Madan, 'Early Representations of Printing Presses', *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 4, 1924, pp. 165-167. Cf. also R. Nash, *Dürer's 1511 Drawing of a Press and Printer*, 1947. For the seventeenth century: a detailed exposition in Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, pp. 45 sqq., with interesting footnotes and an appendix, pp. 373-374, by H. Carter. Cf. also J.W. Enschedé, 'De drukpersafbeeldingen in Ampzing en Scriverius 1628', *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 6, 1908, pp. 265-268. For the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: L.C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer*, 1938, pp. 69-86. Numerous pictures from the sixteenth and later centuries with notes in M. Audin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie par l'image. I. L'histoire et la technique*, 1929; *Iconographie de l'Imprimerie et du Livre*, s.d. (to be used with care as there are many none too reliable later reconstructions); K. Dieterichs, *Die Buchdruckpresse von Johannes Gutenberg bis Friedrich König*, 1930; L. Neipp, *Les machines à imprimer depuis Gutenberg*, 1951 (with more emphasis on presses of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries).

in the firm's inventories. The expensiveness was only relative, however. The inventory made in 1589-90 after Plantin's death listed ten presses, valued at 50 fl. each, 500 fl. altogether.¹ Fifty guilders at that time represented roughly one third of the year's wages of a pressman or compositor; 500 fl. was approximately what Plantin spent on vermilion and ink in the period 1586 to 1589. A great deal of money has to be invested in machinery in a modern printing works. The price of a printing-press in Plantin's day was not especially high; compared with paper and cast type, it amounted to only a fraction of the total running costs - and of course it lasted much longer.

The estimated values in the inventory of 1589-90 are generally a little lower than the actual purchase price of the presses. When Plantin had to re-equip his *officina* in 1563-65, he paid between 50 and 60 fl. each for the seven presses he bought or commissioned.² The presses he had formerly owned had been auctioned with the rest of his effects in 1562 at widely divergent prices: one went for only 37 fl. 10 st., another for 57 fl., while the remaining two fetched 75 fl. and 75 fl. 15 st.³

The fact that a good printing-press in Plantin's day cost on average a modest 50 to 60 fl. explains why he was able to expand his business so quickly and why he and his successors were able to bear up under economic recession without too much difficulty. The capital invested in the machines did not greatly depress the profitability of the firm. It did not require much money to put a new machine into operation and no great financial loss was entailed when some presses were temporarily out of action. Laying in sufficient stocks of type as his business expanded cost Plantin far more in the period 1563 to 1576 than the purchase of printing-presses.

The description of the printing-press in the *Dialogues françois et flamands*, although brief, shows how the apparatus worked and what its component parts were. The presses had to be capable of two movements, one horizontal and one vertical. In the horizontal movement the *coffin* with the *stone*, on which the *chase* with the *forme*

1. Cf. Vol. I, p. 165.

2. Cf. pp. 136-138.

3. Arch. 27, f^{os} 44^{vo} and 45^{ro}.

rested, was pushed forward by means of a *handle*. This brought the coffin under the *platen*. In the vertical movement the *platen* was lowered, by means of a *lever* and by way of a *spindle* attached to a crosspiece between two upright supports, until it pressed on the forme. The horizontal movement made it possible for the forme to be properly quoined, or locked up, and then unlocked, and the operations of inking, feeding in the blank paper, and removing the printed sheet to be carried out. The vertical movement performed the actual printing, lowering the platen so that the paper came into contact with the inked forme. There had to be some means of ensuring that the paper was applied with the greatest possible speed and precision against the inked forme as required. This was achieved in a simple but ingenious manner with the *tympan*,¹ which was attached to the coffin and could be folded down on the forme, and the *frisket*, jointed to the tympan.

The type of press described in the *Dialogues françois et flamands* of 1567 must have been comparatively new at the time. As far as can be made out from the fairly numerous woodcuts of the first half of the sixteenth century depicting printing-presses and the places where they were installed, these machines were quite primitive and crude until about 1525, when they began to take on the form described in the *Dialogues*.² The construction of this newer type was regarded as so satisfactory that it remained in use without important modification until early in the nineteenth century, when incipient mechanization in the shape of the Stanhope iron press (1800) began to revolutionize the industry. Small improvements were, however, made in the intervening years, in particular to the platen and the mechanism operating it.

Moxon in 1683-84 described at great length what he called the ‘new-fashioned press’.³ The real difference between this and the ‘old-

1. In fact consisting of the actual tympan and the inner tympan (which must fit exactly in the tympan): Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, pp. 63-64.
2. For these early presses cf. especially J.W. Enschedé, F. Madan, R. Nash, and M. Audin in the works quoted on p. 132 note 8.
3. See plates 23-24.

fashioned press', which Moxon also described, lay in the fact that in the former the wooden casing around the spindle had been replaced by an iron fitting rather like a yoke; the platen was still attached in the same way, that is to say it was suspended by cords, but from the underneath of the 'yoke' this time. The new arrangement gave greater elasticity and smoothness of operation, printing becoming more even and the lever springing back more easily.

Moxon ascribed the invention of the new press to the famous Dutch cartographer and printer Willem Janszoon Blaeu († 1638), but Dutch sources are completely silent about this aspect of Blaeu's work.¹ Whatever the truth of this may be, a medal of the Middelburg printers' guild of 1631 depicts a press of this new type.² It may be assumed that presses with iron yokes, whether or not they were invented by Blaeu, were first built in the Northern Netherlands around 1625. At some later date the system was again improved by fixing the platen directly to the yoke by screws or other means: this made it much easier to get the platen level, which produced an even better distribution of pressure.

The 'new-fashioned press' meant an improvement in quality of work, although not necessarily of speed. Its use, however, did not spread quickly. When Moxon devoted so much space to this Dutch invention, it was to urge his countrymen to take it up. How far he was successful remains open to question. The only eighteenth-century presses extant in Britain and America belong to the old-fashioned type.³ In France and Germany too the old type remained in use. Only one kind of press was described by the *Encyclopédie française* in 1769, and this was the sort that Plantin used. But the printer's descendants profited from the technological advance on the part of their northern colleagues.

The Plantin-Moretus Museum has seven presses which all date from before 1800. Five of them are of the improved Blaeu type, with

1. Cf. Carter's notes in Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*, pp. 373-374.
2. J.W. Enschedé, 'Houten handpersen in de zestiende eeuw,' p. 266, note 2.
3. For presses preserved in the United States see L.C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer*, 1938.

platens attached by screws to the iron yoke.¹ The other two are, to judge from their wooden frames, considerably older, and must go back to the time of Plantin or at least Jan Moretus. This makes them the oldest presses in the world. Both have the Blaeu yoke. Their platens have disappeared, but from the construction of the lower parts of the yokes it would seem that the platens were suspended.² This, therefore, was the earliest form of iron yoke, fitted to older presses in the course of the seventeenth century.

Dutch typographers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were ahead technically of their foreign counterparts. But whereas in France, Germany and - despite the efforts of Moxon - England, the example of the Dutch had little effect, the Moretuses faithfully adopted all their improvements. How quickly they did this is another question. Careful sifting of the accounts submitted by the joiners and smiths who worked for the Plantin house might make it possible to say exactly when these Dutch inventions were applied there - and this in turn might enable the advent of the Blaeu yoke and its improved version to be dated more accurately.

Contemporary sources provide some interesting details of the component parts of presses of Plantin's day, and especially of what they cost. At the end of 1563, after his possessions had been auctioned in the Vrijdagmarkt, Plantin faced the problem of re-establishing his *officina*. It was at this time that he went into partnership with a number of financial backers to whom he had to render account, so naturally his book-keeping had to be more detailed than he thought necessary in later years, when he was again sole master of the firm. The accounts for the years 1563-67 allow the equipment of the printing shop to be traced down to the smallest detail.

In October 1563 Plantin bought his 'presse à imprimer no. 1'.³ The total cost of 59 fl. 3½ st. was made up as follows:

1. See plate 20.

2. See plate 19.

3. Arch. 3, f^o 1. The text is also given by Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, p. 84.

Ferreure à Mathias le Serrurier	30 fl.	
Bois à Michel de la Motte	14 fl.	
Pierre du back	3 fl.	
Platine de cuivre pesant 41½ livres à 4½ st. chacune livre	9 fl.	4½ st.
Barreau		5 st.
Rabotement ou pour avoir dressé et rabotté la platine de cuivre	1 fl.	
Port et affustage		17½ st.
Marteau (1½ st.), escardes à laine (3 st.), une lime et un compas		6½ st.
Sparres 4 à 2 st. la pièce et pour 2 st. de clou		10 st.
	59 fl.	3½ st.

Press no. 2 was an old one which the cabinet-maker Michel de la Motte and the locksmith Matheis had to set about refurbishing. Plantin's notes show that in the end there was little of the original press left.¹ The third press was built specially for

1. Arch. 3, f^o 3^{vo} (20th November 1563): 'Pour une vieille presse acheptée en Lombarde Veste: 10 fl.; Pour la ferreure toute neufve avec leschange de lad[icte] vieille presse: 22 fl; Pour le bac tout neuf avec leschange du bois de lad [icte] vieille presse: 11 fl.; Pour la pierre de lad[icte] presse à Rombaut demeurant en Steenhauwersvest: 3 fl.; Pour la platine de cuivre pesante 42½ livres et 4½ st. la lb.: 9 fl. 11 st.; Pour avoir rabboté la platine et pour le bac à encre: 1 fl. 6 st.; Pour le travail de ferier lad[icte] presse et les cloux quil y a faillu: 8 st.; Pour une sparre à escansonner 2½ st., en clous 1½ st., en ...(?) 2 st. sa journée: 15 st.; en 2 peaux de parchemin pour les timpans à 5 st. pièce: 10 st. [total:] 58 fl. 10 st. Minutez pour la presse numero 2: pour le manche de barreau et pour le manche du rouet: 5 st.; 2 escardes: 3 st.; 1 marteau: 2 st.; 2 chandeliers longs à presse: 4 st. pièce; 1 brayoir à 1 st.; 2 peaux de parchemin de veau pour la tympan: 10 st.; [total:] 1 fl. 9 st.' Cf. also the complementary notes in Arch. 36, f^o 47^{vo}: 'Le 27 septembre j'ay achapté une vieille presse en Lombarde veste au Reynard pour le prix de 10 fl. et ay délivré lad[icte] presse à Michel de la Mote et marchandé à luy quil me fera le bois dune presse toute neufve et ce pour le prix de 11 fl. par tel moyen que le bois de lad[icte] vieille presse sera à luy...; Le 27 de septembre j'ay marchandé à Matheis le serrurier de me faire la ferreure toute neufve d'une presse et ie luy laisse toute la ferraille de la vieille presse cy devant spécifiée dont il ne se doibt servir à la ferreure de la neufve fors que de la ronse et avec lad[icte] ferraille vieille ie luy doibs bailler pour toutes choses la somme de 22 fl.'

Plantin by De la Motte and Matheis, although the spindle, *escrieu*, and platen came from Paris.² Numbers 5 and 7 were also constructed by the two

2. Arch. 3, f^o 5^{ro} (21st December 1563): 'A Michel de la Motte, 7 fl. 7½ st.; A Matheis le Serrurier, 8 fl. 4 st.; et la pierre, 3 fl. La vis faicte à Paris avec lescrieu et platine ensemble: 25 fl. [total]: 40 fl. 1½ st.' - Arch. 3, f^o 3^{ro} (5th November 1563): 'Vis, escrieu et platine venants de Paris... J'ay receu une vis de presse avec son escrieu pesant [not entered] et la platine pesant [not entered]. Lad[icte] vis et escrieu coustent à Paris 14 fl. 18 st.; la voicture à 42 st. le cent font [not entered].'

Antwerp craftsmen.¹ Numbers 4 and 6 were again ‘old presses with their appurtenances’ which, however, were in reasonably good condition and did not need such extensive renovation as no. 2.²

In these various entries in the accounts, two items are always specified: the imposing stone and the platen. If the former was broken the press might be put out of action for quite a long time, and so the farsighted Plantin was always careful to have a small reserve of imposing stones to hand.³ When specified, the platens appear to have been made of copper and their prices reckoned by weight.⁴ Plantin also bought spares of these: in the years 1563-67 four to seven working presses.⁵ The inventory made of Plantin's estate in

1. Press no. 5 (Arch. 3, f^o 18^{vo}; 14th October 1564): ‘J'ay payé a Mattheis Bessels serreurier pour la ferreure entière de lad[icte] presse: 30 fl.; A Michel de la Motte pour la pierre: 3 fl. 5 st.; Pour le bois entier: 14 fl.; pour l'estansonner, le bac à encre, sparres es dessous (?) les pieds, les manches du barreau et de la ronse, etc: 3 fl.; [total] 50 fl. 5 st.’; (Arch. 3, f^o 19^{vo}): ‘Presse cinquiesme... encores: J'ay payé à Michel de la Motte pour une plattine pesante 46¾ à 4¼ st. la lb. et 1 fl. pour raboter: 10 fl. 18½ st.’ - Press no. 7 (Arch. 3, f^o 39^{vo}, 11th December 1565): ‘Au serrurier Matheis Bessels: 30 fl.; Le bois à Michel de la Motte: 16 fl.; La pierre d'icelle: 3 fl. 5 st.; Pour 3 chassis de fer à Matheis Bessels: 6 fl.; [total:] 55 fl. 5 st.’
2. Press no. 4 (Arch. 3, f^o 9^{ro}; 1st April 1564): ‘Presse vieille avec ses apartenances...: 60 fl. 10 st. J'ay achapté une vieille presse avec 3 rames, 2 frisquettes, une plattine, 2 bancs, 2 blanchets, 6 es à tremper et 8 paires de casses vuides à mettre lectres, et pour le port de la crane jusques au logis 8 st.’ - Press no. 6 (Arch. 3, f^o 25^{vo}; 10th April 1565): ‘J'ay achapté à la vendue des biens de feu Jaques Susato ce qui ens[uiet]:... la presse avec 4 rames de fer et ses apartenances: 43 fl.’
3. The payment of 3 fl. was noted on 31st December 1563 ‘pour une pierre pour servir au bac de quelque presse sil sen rompoit quelqu'une’ (Arch. 3, f^o 5^{ro}). On 6th April 1564 (Arch. 3, f^o 9^{vo}) followed the buying of a stone for the big press for 3 fl. 5 st. (‘J'ay faict faire et receu une pierre pour la grande presse à l'adventure si celle qui y est rompoit’); and on 10th April 1565 (Arch. 3, f^o 23^{ro}) a stone for 3 fl. (‘Une pierre ou marbre à presse à 3 fl.’).
4. Cf. presses nos. 1, 2, 5 and following note.
5. In fact two on 4th December 1563 (Arch. 3, f^o 4^{vo}): ‘platines de cuivre 2 pesantes l'une 56 lb. et lautre 62½ lb à 4 st. la livre et poisent ensemble 125 lb: 25 fl.’), one on 22nd April 1564 (Arch. 3, f^o 10^{vo}): ‘J'ay payé à Michel de la Motte pour une plattine pesant 39 livres net à 4½ st. la livre: 8 fl. 14 st.’), and one on 31st December 1566 (Arch. 3, f^o 61^{vo}): ‘pour une grande platine de cuivre pesant 69 lb. à 4 st. la lb.: 13 fl. 6 st.’).

1589-90 mentions as many as nine spare platens in addition to the ten on the working presses.¹

The fact that the account-books imply that all these platens were of copper is interesting.² The author of the *Dialogues françois et flamands* describes the platen as a 'large and wide piece of iron'. When Plantin's possessions were auctioned one press was listed as having two platens 'one of metal and one of iron'.³ Moxon too only makes mention of an 'iron plate'. On the other hand the use of copper or copper-covered platens seems to have been the rule in Holland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴ All the presses preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum have copper platens.

The tympan and frisket completed the printing-press. Curiously enough the price of the tympan itself was hardly ever quoted.⁵ In all probability it was treated as one of the basic components, its price included in that of the ironwork, and one per press must have been deemed sufficient. Friskets were mentioned just as infrequently. Three of the four presses sold in 1562 had two friskets each, the other three. The old press (no. 4) which Plantin bought in 1564 also had two among its *apartenances*. Probably two friskets per press continued to be the rule in the newly constituted printing shop and these were presumably included in the prices of the presses the printer ordered in 1563 and subsequent years, but there were just a few that he bought separately.⁶

Chases served to take the made-up formes. In strict 'demarcation' terms they belonged to the compositors' sphere of operations although

1. Cf. Vol. I, p. 165.
2. At least as far as specified: it is possible, or at least not entirely impossible that the platens for several presses bought in 1563-65 were made of some other material.
3. Arch. 27, f^o 45^{ro}.
4. H. Carter in the 1958 edition of Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*, p. 77.
5. On 10th April 1565 (Arch. 3, f^o 25^{vo}; '2 tympanns grands et 1 petit' together with 2 chases and another article of equipment: 1 fl. 2 st.), on 29th December 1565 (Arch. 3, f^o 41^{ro}; 1 small tympan: 3 st.), on 18th June 1566 (Arch. 3, f^o 52^{vo}; 'un tympan à la 7 presse': 13 st.).
6. On 1st February 1564 (Arch. 3, f^o 6^{vo}): 3 (at 12 st. each, 1 fl. 6 st.); on 15th October 1564 (Arch. 3, f^o 18^{vo}): 1 (12 st.) and 3 'croix de frisquettes' (6 st.); on 29th December 1565 (Arch. 3, f^o 41^{ro}): 4 'pentures de frisquettes' (14 st.) and 3 'croisées de frisquettes' (6 st.).

they ended up on the presses when ready. As a rule they were listed as appurtenances of the presses. Three of the four presses sold in 1562 had three chases, the other two. Press no. 4 which Plantin bought in April 1564 had three, while for no. 6, the press acquired at the auction of the estate of Susato, the number rose to four. The inventory of Plantin's estate in 1590 has the entry, 'aussi quelques chassis ou rames de fer outre les 2 servantes à chacune presse',¹ which makes it clear that two chases for each press (or perhaps better: at least two for each press) was then the general rule. And this is quite understandable: while one was on the press, the compositor had to have another one available so that he could continue imposing the set pages. These items of equipment were not as a rule included in the price of the presses which Plantin ordered. Moreover, they were sometimes supplied by other tradesmen than the locksmith who built most of the ironwork for Plantin's machinery.²

When the presses were installed, great care had to be taken to ensure that they stood perfectly level and that they were properly supported: the movement of the coffin and of the handle of the platen caused a degree of vibration that would otherwise affect the stability and the good operation of the machine. The money Plantin paid his joiners for supporting beams constituted a further expense.³

This did not complete the list of equipment needed by the pressmen. They had to have troughs and basins for wetting the paper.

1. Cf. Vol. I, p. 165.
2. In Arch. 3 there is mention of the purchase of chases in October 1563 (4: bought from Jehan van Lire, 17 st.), on 1st February 1564 (4 'rames': 2 fl. each), on 21st July 1564 (4 'grands chassis': 8 st. each; and 11: 4 st. each; 3 fl. 16 st.), on 14th October 1564 ('à Mattheis Bessels serreurier pour 5 chassis de fer': 10 fl.), on 2nd December 1564 ('payé à Jan van Lire le 3 novembre pour ung grand chassis en la chambre à lectres': 14 st.), on 10th April 1565 (2 chases), on 11th December 1565 ('pour 3 chassis de fer à Matheis Bessels': 6 fl. - as a component of press no. 7), on 29th December 1565 (10 pairs of 'chassis de fer' at 2 fl. each: 20 fl.), on 26th January 1566 ('à Matheis Bessels 4 grands chassis de fer pour imprimer l'Anatomie': 8 fl.), on 18th June 1566 ('pour 7 chassis... aud[ict] de la Motte': 1 fl. 16 st.).
3. Cf. for example the data relating to presses 1 and 5. Also in Arch. 3, f^o 4^{ro} (29th December 1563: 'pour avoir remué la première presse et lestansonné en autre imprimerie: 6 st.'), f^o 8^{vo} (1st April 1564: 'pour avoir accoustré les presses et congné les derrières et mis le fer tenir le derrière et estanconné les 3: 2 fl. 7 st.').

Between October 1563 and January 1566 Plantin bought 45 *es à tremper le papier* (at 3 st. each this came to 6 fl. 15 st.); 4 *grands es à tremper le papier de l'Anatomie* (5 st. each: 1 fl.); 1 *tinnette à 3 pieds pour tremper le papier* (10 st.).¹ Six *es à tremper* were purchased with the second-hand press which became no. 4. Total expenditure on this item was therefore 8 fl. 5 st.

The formes had to be washed after use. For this purpose the following were bought in October 1563: *bac de bois à laver les fourmes*, this wooden trough costing 2 fl. 10 st.; *pied [stand] de bois pour poser le bac à laver* (10 st.); *tonnelet à mettre la potasse tremper pour la lessive* (10 st.); *borstel [brush] à laver les formes de lessive* (4½ st.); *chaudron servant à la lessive* (6 pounds at 3½ st. per pound, making 1 fl. 1 st.).² Altogether this came to 4 fl. 15½ st.

For inking the formes the pressmen employed ink balls (*basles*), using them two at a time. They were not expensive. Between October 1563 and March 1566 Plantin entered the sum of 4 fl. 4 st. in his account-books for this item, this sum buying him 42 pairs of *bois de basles* at 2 st. per pair.³ In October 1563 and again in January 1565 he spent 9 st. on 600 *cloux de basles*; these were used for tacking on the leather that covered the ink balls. The leather had to be cut to size, and for this further implements were necessary.⁴ Hammers were needed to drive home the tacks, and Plantin bought six of these for 1 fl. 1 st. (3½ st. each).⁵ The wool with which the ink balls were stuffed had to be carded; the two *escardes* for this purpose cost 3½ st. and 4 st.⁶

1. Arch. 3, dated October 1563 (tinnette; 4 es), 11th February 1564 (18 es), 22nd February 1564 (7 es), 2nd December 1564 (4 es), 23rd December 1565 (12 es), 26th January 1566 (4 grands es).
2. Arch. 3, f^o 1^{ro}.
3. Arch. 3, dated October 1563 ('bois de basles 12 qui font 6 paires': 12 st.), 10th February 1565 ('12 paires': 1 fl. 4 st.), 10th April 1565 ('12 paires de bois à basles et 2 brayoirs': 1 fl. 4 st.), 23rd March 1566 ('24 bois de basles à limprimerie': 1 fl. 4 st.).
4. Arch. 3, dated 7th November 1563 ('pour 1 bois rond et ung carré à servir de grandeur à couper les cuirs': 5 st.; 'un de espois à couper les cuirs dessus': 15 st.) and 8th December 1563 ('1 cousteau à couper les cuirs': 3 st.).
5. Arch. 3, dated October 1563 (3), 14th October 1564 (2) and 29th December 1565 (1). The hammers listed among the appurtenances of presses nos. 1 and 2, quoted at 1½ and 2 st., were presumably also a *marteau à basles*.
6. Arch. 3, dated October 1563 and 10th February 1564. For the last purchase it was specifically stated to be for press no. 3. 'Escardes' also belonged to the appurtenances of press no. 1 (value: 3 st.) and press no. 2 (2 'escardes'; value: 3 st.).

Ink had to be prepared, stored, and applied. For these purposes were purchased: 1 *tonnelet à encre* (7 st.); 1 *broyeur à encre* and a small *pot à huile* (2½ st.); 1 *ancier à noir et rouge ou a esté employé la pierre du bac d'une presse veille, pour faceon* (2 fl. 10 st.); 1 *tréteau à bac à lencre* (3 fl.); 1 *grande pierre avec une meullette à broyer le vermillion* (3 fl. 15 st.); and 2 *palettes à encre* (4 st. each); a total of 10 fl. 2½ st.¹ Each printing-press also had its own ink duct, but this was presumably included in the basic price,² as were some of the many other small items.³

Compositors' equipment

The type-setters' equipment was less expensive. Their principal tool was the composing stick. Plantin bought remarkably few of these. The author has been able to find mention of only twelve for the period 1564 to 1566.⁴ The first purchase entered in the accounts dates from 1st April 1564, that is to say a few months after Plantin had started work again. According to Moxon composing sticks in England in his day were the personal property of the compositors,⁵ and probably this was already the rule in Plantin's establishment. What Plantin did supply were galleys. These were of two kinds, those for composing and those for distributing.⁶ Between October 1563 and 16th March 1566 Plantin bought 32 galleys.⁷ For these and the composing sticks mentioned above he paid a total of 9 fl. 15 st.

1. Arch. 3, dated October 1563, 22nd April 1564, 4th May 1564, 10th April 1565.
2. As was in fact stated for press no. 3.
3. See for example the more detailed lists for presses nos. 1 and 2 above.
4. Arch. 3, dated 1st April 1564 (4), 10th April 1565 (2, and one from the auction of the printer J. Susato's property), 23rd September 1565 (3 'compositeurs sans vis') and 16th March 1566 (2).
5. *Mechanick Exercises*, pp. 40-41.
6. Moxon did not make this distinction.
7. Arch. 3, dated October 1563 ('1 gallee de distribution grande': 3½ st.); 29th November 1563 ('galées 3 à distribuer': 4 st. each; 3 'communes pour composer': 2½ st. each; '2 à tirer les pages pour commun folio': 4 st. each; total: 1 fl. 7½ st.); 1st April 1564 ('A Michel dela Motte pour 4 galées à coulisses et 4 compositeurs avec 2 galées à distribuer': 2 fl. 15 st.); 4th May 1564 ('4 galées: 2 à distribution à 4 st. pièce et 2 petites à 3 st.': 14 st.); 18th June 1564 (2 galleys at 5 st.); 10th April 1565 (3 galleys and 2 composing sticks: 1 fl. 8 st.); 16th March 1566 (8 galleys and 2 composing sticks: 2 fl. 10 st.).

A much more important item of expenditure were the type-cases, divided into small compartments, each of them reserved for a particular letter. Letters are not used with equal frequency and so, for example, z requires a smaller compartment than e or a. It will be obvious that the compartments were arranged not in alphabetical order, but so that the most used letters were easiest of access - on the same principle as the keyboard of a modern typewriter. However, just as there are today different keyboards in use, so the arrangement of the type-cases varied from place to place in those days, as they do now, and possibly even from one printer to another.¹ It has not been possible to reconstruct the arrangement in use in the Plantinian press.

One problem connected with type-cases can be cleared up, thanks to the firm's account-books. Moxon speaks of a 'pair of cases', namely a lower case for the small letters and an upper case for the capitals. He was the first to mention specifically the existence of such a pair of cases. In his commentary on Moxon² Harry Carter, the British expert, quotes two English texts of 1588 which speak of pairs of cases. The continental texts that Carter cites point to a single case. The *Dialogues françois et flamands* of 1567 talks of *la casse* divided into *cassetins*, and a French text of 1575 put it in much the same terms: 'une grande casse de bois pleine de petits cassis'. Finally Carter quotes a text from the Plantinian records which indicates the same arrangement.³ He believed that, unlike the English expression, the French *bas-de-casse*, *haut-de-casse*, and the Dutch *onderkast*, *bovenkast* go back to a time when only a single case was in use. He makes the pertinent observation that the 'double' case only came into use where alphabets with both large and small capitals, such as the roman and the italic, were adopted. In areas such as Germany and Eastern Europe, where the black letter and the Cyrillic alphabets with one kind of capital held sway, the single large type-case was adhered to.

Plantin's accounts for the years 1563 to 1567 allow the discussion

1. Cf. the examples given in Moxon; *Encyclopédie française*; M. Audin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie par l'image*, I, fig. 170-193 (18th-20th centuries).
2. *Mechanick Exercises*, p. 27 note.
3. Text of 1556: 'Garamond petit Romain, Du Bas de la casse 29 matrices, capitalles 26... Cicero Italique Grand Jonc [Granjon], capitalles 23, Bas de la casse 26' (Arch. 34, p. 111).

to be satisfactorily concluded. The printer seems to have had both single cases and pairs made - thirty of the former and eighty-one of the latter.¹ The predominance of pairs seems to indicate that they were employed for roman and italic. In some instances the types for which the cases were intended is indicated: '3 paires à compositions latines' and '6 paires à lectres latines' next to '6 casses pour lectres latines' and '6 casses à lectres communes'. The two latter entries show that not all roman and italic types had double cases; but then not all of Plantin's examples of these alphabets had two kinds of capitals. It must have been the presence or absence of small capitals that decided the choice of case. Hebrew alphabets, without the difference between capitals and lower case, all had single cases, whenever specified.² Greek alphabets had both kinds.³

Prices of cases fluctuated around 1 fl., although in some instances as much as 3 fl. and 3 fl. 6 st. was paid. *Casses* and *paires de casses* seem to have cost virtually the same to produce and their prices were therefore similar. The price per unit was small, but the large number purchased brought total expenditure on this item up to 132 fl. 11 st.

1. Arch. 3, dated October 1563 ('Casses pour la composition 4 vieilles acheptées de Leonard de Kinder': 2 fl.; 'Casses 3 paires pour la composition latine à Michel de la Motte': 3 fl.), 29th November 1563 ('de Michel de la Motte: 8 paires de casses, à. 18 st. la pièce': 7 fl. 4 st.), 24th December 1563 ('Casses à mettre le grec 2 paires à 3 fl. la paire': 6 fl.), 1st February 1564 ('Casses 8 paires à 19 st. pièce et 2 autres de 3 fl. paire': 13 fl. 2 st.), 1st April 1564 ('6 casses pour lectres latines, 5 fl. 8 st.; 4 casses d'Hebrieu à 22 st. pièce et 1 à grec de 3 fl.': 7 fl. 8 st.), 22nd April 1564 ('pour 4 casses à lecture hébraïque et 1 bac à encre': 6 fl. 4 st.), 4th May 1564 ('2 bac de casse seuls [?] pour mettre les signes et nottes': 1 fl.; '6 paires de casses à lectres latines de 20 st. pièce': 2 fl. 10 st.), 18th June 1564 ('A Michel de la Motte, 3 paires de casses à 22 st. pièce et 1 à 18 st.': 4 fl. 4 st.), 10th April 1565 ('pour casses à lectres, formats, reglets, etc.': 13 fl. 12¼ st.; '3 casses à Hebrieu': 4 fl. 10 st.; 'A Michel de la Motte pour 9 paires de cases': 10 fl. 7 st.), 23rd September 1565 ('une casse à mettre le gros gros grec': 3 fl. 6 st.; '6 casses à lectres communes à 22 st. pièce': 6 fl. 12 st.), 23rd December 1565 ('casses 6 paires à 24 st. paire': 13 fl. 4 st.), 16th March 1566 ('Michel de la Motte, 18 paires de casses à 22 st. paire': 19 fl. 16 st.), 15th June 1566 ('8 paires de casses vieilles achaptés de Laurent van Everbroeck fondeur à 12 st. paire': 4 fl. 16 st.), 31st December 1566 ('8 paires de cases': 8 fl.). The purchase of press no. 4 on 1st April 1564 included '8 paires de casses vuides à mettre les lectres'.
2. See preceding note: '4 casses d'Hebrieu; 4 casses à lecture hebraïque; 3 casses à Hebrieu.'
3. 'Casses à mettre le grec: 2 paires; 1 casse à grec; une casse à mettre le gros gros grec.' Cf. the two preceding notes.

The cases were placed on a kind of stand, so that they were slightly at an angle.¹ In October 1563 Plantin took delivery of ‘4 paires de tresteaux à poser les casses de la composition lesquels ie luy avoit faict faire et se peuvent ioindre dos à dos l'un contre l'autre ou bien se séparer lequel quon veut’, for which he paid 3 fl. per pair. In the period up to 15th June 1566 the printer bought a further 14 *tréteaux* and 2 *paires de tréteaux*.² Altogether these cost him 37 fl. 3 st. Type-cases that were not put into immediate use had to be stored somewhere, and for this purpose Plantin bought a number of *estallages*.³ He also provided himself with a stand à 18 *liettes pour les lectres fleuries et figures* (6 fl. 15 st.) and with another à *mectre les lectres par pages* (4 fl. 7½ st.). An old chest was converted into an *estallage pour mectre les fourmats* (1 fl. 11½ st.).⁴ The total cost of all these stands was 20 fl. 9 st.

Until recently compositors usually worked standing up, but until the end of the seventeenth century pictures of printing shops show them seated at their tasks, as is usual in modern composing rooms today. This was the case in Plantin's establishment, as is shown by his purchase on 29th November 1563 of 8 *bancs de chesne pour asseoir les compositeurs*. These oak benches cost 4 fl. 16 st. altogether and were followed by half a dozen stools - *escabelles à seoir les compositeurs* (1 fl. 12 st.).

Making up the formes and quoining them required pegs, wooden

1. Cf. Moxon, pp. 30-33.
2. Arch. 3, dated 10th April 1565 (‘A Jan van Lire pour 2 tréteaux à cases’: 3 fl.), 9th June 1565 (‘Pour 4 tréteaux à poser les casses à Jan van Lire’: 6 fl. 13 st.), 26th January 1566 (‘2 tréteaux à mectre les casses à Jan van Lire’: 3 fl. 10 st.), 16th March 1566 (‘A Jan van Lire, 6 tréteaux à cases’: 9 fl.), 15th June 1566 (‘2 paires de tréteaux à cases’: 3 fl.).
3. Arch. 3, dated October 1563 (‘Estallage à casses de composition... J'ay payé à Jehan van Lire menuisier pour sa faceon dun estallage faict pour mectre en reserve les casses à lectres quant elles ne servent point à composer et pour le bois tout ensemble’: 3 fl. 10 st.), 11th February 1564 (‘2 estallages pour mectre dessus les casses de grec’: 1 fl. 15 st.), and 4th May 1564 (‘2 estallages simples à casses par Jan van Lire à 25 st. pièce’: 2 fl. 10 st.).
4. Arch. 3, dated 7th November 1563 and October 1563. The ‘estallage à mectre les lectres par pages’ is further described: ‘J'ay faict faire et receu un estallage de 7 es dentredeux en la hauteur et de 3 entredeux qui est clos par derrière de bois dur’ (Arch. 3, f^o 2^{vo}).

slats, and the like. In October 1563 Plantin began his purchases of these items with 15 Flemish ells of reglets ‘for the Virgil formes’. In the following period, up to 10th March 1566, hundreds more ells of reglets and hundreds of pegs and *pièces de format* were bought, costing 46 fl. 9½ st. in all. Six iron hammers ‘for locking the formes’ were bought at 2 st. each.¹

The equipment mentioned above was enough to enable the pressmen and compositors to perform their tasks, but Plantin still had to find money for a whole range of minor but essential odds and ends. He paid 26 fl. 3½ st. for a number of chests,² ladders,³ and benches for the formes and paper;⁴ and a further 29 fl. 6½ st. for barrels, buckets, wooden bowls, baskets, etc.⁵

Pressmen and compositors began early in the morning and worked until late in the evening. For much of the day, at least in the winter months, they had to work by artificial light. Plantin provided individual lighting in the form of candlesticks, and supplied candle snuffers.⁶ All this cost him a modest 2 fl. 3¾ st.

1. Arch. 3, dated 16th March 1566.
2. Arch. 3, dated October 1563 (‘Basle grande faicte dossier blanc à metre livres’: 1 fl. 5 st.), and 22nd November 1563 (‘Basles 2 à metre la laine des imprimeurs’: 7 st.).
3. Arch. 3, dated 24th November 1563 (‘Eschelle pour le service de l'imprimerie à dresser les pilles de papiers ou livres’: 5 st.) and 23rd December 1565 (‘1 eschelle à estendre les formes’).
4. Arch. 3, dated October 1563 (‘banc à formes pour les compositeurs 1 et pour le papier 1 à 7½ st. pièce’: 14 st.), 11th February 1564 (‘3 bancs à servir de metre le papier quon imprime dessus et dedans et 3 autres à metre les formes dessus et dedans, 30 st. chacun; 2 grands de noyer à metre formes avec 4 moyens aussi de noyer et 18 es à tremper le papier’: 5 fl. 2 st.), 22nd April 1564 (‘de Jehan de Lire un banc à metre les formes de composition pour la 4^e presse et un pour le papier’: 3 fl. 6 st.), 2nd December 1564 (‘un banc à formes 30 st. travail etc. 28 st. et 64 bastons pour estendre (?)’: 8 fl. 8 st.), 11th December 1565 (‘Jehan van Lire pour un banc à la presse’: 2 fl.), 16th March 1566 (‘2 bancs à formes pour le nouvel grenier’: 3 fl. 10 st.). Two benches belonged to the old press the purchase of which was entered for April 1564 (press no. 4).
5. *Inter alia* Arch. 3, dated October 1563 (‘corbeilles à lectres 3 à 1½ st. et 4 petites à quadrats 1 st. pièce’: 8½ st.; ‘escuelles de bois pour l'imprimerie pour metre la colle etc.’: 3 st.), 29th November 1563 (‘barre de fer pour divers usages pesant 21 lb. à 1 st. la lb.’: 1 fl. 1 st.), 21st January 1564 (‘Estuves de fer pour l'imprimerie’: 5 fl. 10 st.), 2nd December 1564 (‘en es à planches’: 4 fl. 5 st.), 23rd December 1565 (‘pour unes estuves de fer à metre en limprimerie, 18 fl.; pour les asseoir aud[ict] lieu, 2 fl. 11 st.’).
6. Arch. 3, dated 7th December 1563 (‘chandelliers 4 à vis pour les compositeurs’: 6 st.), 1st February 1564 (‘chandelliers la 3 presse’: 14 st.), 13th August 1565 (‘2 chandeliers à presses’: 7 st.). ‘2 chandeliers longs à presse’ (4 st. each) were among the minor items belonging to press no. 2. As to candles, cf. Arch. 3, dated 7th December 1563 (‘mouchettes 6 pour l'imprimerie tant aux comp[ositeurs] quaux imprimeurs’: 8¾ st.).

The entries in Plantin's account-books for 1563-66 enable the present-day reader to visualize the printing shop in the Golden Compasses, with its presses and their accessories, with type-cases, trestles and stands, with benches, troughs, and all the small items essential to a swift and smooth flow of work. The expansion of the business in the years 1567 to 1576 led to many further purchases of equipment. Plantin and his successors regularly paid considerable sums to carpenters and locksmiths for their work on presses and the repair or replacement of chases, friskets, tympan, galleys, and water troughs. After 1567, however, it is difficult to make out which were entirely new purchases and which merely replacement items. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that another inventory was made of the equipment, and even then it was not a complete one. The 'inventory of the equipment in the printing shop on 15th April 1745'¹ listed: 11 presses, 64 iron chases, 70 galleys (large and small, good and bad indiscriminately mixed), 17 'trekbakjes' (?), 84 'trekhaken' (?), 19 brass basins, 22 type-cases, 2 trays of quoins, 86 deal table tops, 62 hardwood tables for putting formes on, 5 proof-reading tables, 21 trays for wool, 13 trays for the formes, 12 stones on which the formes could be corrected.

Only a part of all this equipment has survived. The inventory of the printing shop and the type room in the Plantin-Moretus Museum now lists two presses without their platens,² five presses with all their appurtenances (platens, friskets, tympan and inking systems), one press for intaglio printing, 9 friskets, 5 ink balls with leather coverings, 11 ink balls without covering, 5 'stones' [= marble], set on wooden stands, on which formes could be corrected, 323 type-cases, some of them placed on stands (the trestles that Plantin noted) in the printing shop, some

1. Arch. 461, f^o 4.

2. And without other items of equipment, but with the tympan, the spindle, and the yoke.

stacked in the type room on racks (the *estallages* entered in the accounts for 1563-67), 34 galleys, 39 composing sticks, 14 iron chases, 16 iron strips for dividing up the chases, one candlestick with snuffer. In addition there is in one of the cellars a stone trough that was once used for wetting paper. Comparison of the two lists shows that many objects have been lost, including the trays for wool, the copper basins, the table tops, and other items. The greater part of what is left can probably be dated to before 1800, but, with the exception of the intaglio press (1714), it would be difficult to hazard exact dates and places of manufacture.

The fact that the prices of the items Plantin bought in the years 1563 to 1567 are specified makes the inventory particularly interesting, and gives an idea of what the equipping of a large-scale concern such as he built up would have entailed in terms of money. He spent 553 fl. 10½ st. on the printing shop: 387 fl. 14½ st. on the presses, 135 fl. 11½ st. on spare stones and platens, chases, friskets, tympan, and other associated items, and only 30 fl. 4½ st. on the rest (ink balls, troughs and water basins, utensils for washing the formes and preparing and storing ink).

Fitting out the composing or type room cost just 253 fl. 7½ st. Of this, 132 fl. 11 st. went on type-cases, 37 fl. 3 st. on the stands for the cases, 20 fl. 9 st. on the *estallages*, 6 fl. 8 st. for benches, 46 fl. 9½ st. for wood for formes and quoins and only 9 fl. 5 st. for the type-setters' composing sticks and galleys. Finally there was a further 61 fl. 3 st. spent on candlesticks, benches, and other furniture that was used by both pressmen and type-setters.

The total cost to Plantin of fitting out his workshop in the period 1563-67 was therefore 868 fl. 1 st., more than half of which (523 fl. 6 st.) was accounted for by the presses and their accessories. This was not an enormous sum. And this was moreover equipment that lasted a long time so that in favourable circumstances the capital invested could easily be recovered.

What has been said about the relatively low cost of the presses compared to the firm's total capital and running costs also applies to the

whole of the equipment and furniture of the printing shop and type room. This is confirmed in the inventory of Plantin's estate. The total value of his business at Antwerp was estimated at 18,000 fl. The presses were valued at 50 fl. each, 500 fl. altogether; the cast type at 8,800 fl.; the punches and matrices at 2,201 fl.; and the wood-blocks and copperplates for illustrations at 6,723 fl. All the rest was included in the total of 18,000 fl. without further itemization: 'Par dessus tout cecy et parmy l'achapt de 18,000 fl. sont comprises toutes les casses, bacqs, mandes, tréteaux, formats, 9 platines à part, comme aussi quelques chassis ou rames de fer outre les 2 servantes à chacune presse, et toute telle menuté d'imprimerie.'¹ This means that in 1589 the contents of the printing shop and type room were assessed at 500 fl. (the value of the ten presses) - only one thirty-sixth part of the total estimated value of the press and its effects.

In addition to these more or less permanent items there were others that had to be regularly renewed: linen and parchment for the tympan and friskets; wool for filling the ink balls, and leather for covering them. These purchases were also carefully recorded in the years 1563 to 1567 and the accounts are therefore valuable and informative on this aspect too.

Entries of purchases of linen do not occur very often² as it presumably lasted for some considerable time. The same was not true of the parchment with which the friskets and the inner tympan were covered. In the case of the former, a new skin of parchment had to be cut for each forme, or, more precisely, for the formes of each new book. Between 1563 and 1566 Plantin bought eleven new sheets for the tympan (at 4, 5 and 6 st. each) and 208 pounds of old parchment for the friskets (at 2, 2³/₄ and 3¹/₄ st. per pound), making 34 fl. 14³/₄ st. altogether.³ In the inventories of 1658 and 1662 compiled by

1. Cf. Vol. I, p. 165.
2. Arch. 3, dated October 1563 ('Blanchets 2 de 7 quartiers de carese blanc pour le tympan': 1 fl. 9 st.) and 13th August 1565 ('3 aunes ¹/₄ de moins de crese à faire blanchets aux tympan à 22 st. laune': 3¹/₂ fl.).
3. Arch. 3, dated October 1563 ('Parchemin à faire les timpans de la presse 2 peaux à 4 st. pièce': 8 st.; 'Parchemin vieil à faire des frisquettes 3 lb. à 2³/₄ st. la lb.': 8³/₄ st.), 20th November 1563 ('2 peaux de parchemin pour les timpans à 5 st. pièce': 10 st.), 10th February 1564 ('Blanchet et peaux de parchemin': 1 fl. 5 st.; 'Parchemin vieil pour rimprimerie 50 lb. à 2 st. la lb.': 5 fl.), 10th April 1565 ('155 lb. de vieil parchemin à 3¹/₄ st. la lb.': 25 fl. 3 st.), 13th August 1565 ('5 peaux à tympan neufs à 6 st.': 1 fl. 10 st.). Among the minor items for press no. 2 were '2 peaux de parchemin pour les timpans à 5 st. pièce, 10 st.'. Other purchases of 'peaux [de parchemin]' were noted, but with no indication of whether they were for tympan, for bookbinding, or for printing. For example, Arch. 3, dated 10th April 1565 (purchase of '2 douzaines de peaux', 7 fl.; '19 peaux', 5 fl. 4¹/₂ st.; '18 peaux à 5 st. pièce', 4 fl. 10 st.; 24 'peaux', 4 fl. 4 st.).

Balthasar II Moretus the stock of parchment for friskets and tympan was valued at 1,980 fl.¹ As the accounts for 1563-67 show, however, the amount used up per year did not represent an exorbitant expense. Nor did the wool for the ink balls: 39 pounds were purchased between 1563 and 1567 for a total cost of 6 fl. 19¾ st.²

What did cost a lot of money was the leather required for the ink balls. In the memorandum of c. 1760 'concerning various things needed in the press'³, exact figures are given of consumption per unit. From one skin of leather 8 or 9 pieces large enough to cover an ink ball could be cut. Thirty-three skins per press per year were used, a total of 264 per year for the eight presses then in use. Each skin cost 12 st. and 264 times this amount made 158 fl. 8 st. Having them sewn cost 6 st. per dozen.

In the accounts for 1563-67 only the inclusive costs were entered. These were also considerable: between October 1563 and 28th August 1567 no less than 1290 skins were noted, costing altogether 328 fl. 15 st.⁴

1. Arch. 108. In the 1707 inventory the parchment (stored in the type-foundry) was estimated at 4,000 lb., which at 12 st. a lb. represented a value of 2,400 fl. (Arch. 721, no. 77). In 1757 the stock (then lying in the 'small room at the back of the shop and above the wash-house') had risen to 5,909 lb.; but the value per lb. having fallen to 7 st., the whole of the stock then was valued at only 2,068 fl. 3 st. (Arch. 721, no. 81).
2. Arch. 3, dated October 1563 (4 lb. at 3½ st. per pound, 14 st.), 10th February 1564 (for 14 st.), 10th April 1565 (8 lb. at 3 st. per pound, 1 fl. 4 st.), 26th May 1565 (6 lb. 1 fl. 4 st.), 13th August 1565 (4 lb. 14 st.), 23rd March 1566 (6 lb. 1 fl. 3¾ st.), 12th May 1566 (4 lb. at 3½ st. per pound, 14 st.), 5th July 1566 (3 lb. at 4 st. per pound, 12 st.).
3. Arch. 697, no. 101, f^o 1^{ro}. Cf. L. Voet, 'Een aantekenboek van Franciscus Joannes Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 44, 1966, p. 233.
4. Arch. 3, dated October 1563 ('6 peaux blanches de cuir de mouton à faire les basles': 1 fl. 7 st.); 10th November 1563 ('12 peaux de cuir blanc pour faire basles à imprimer': 2 fl. 8 st.); 24th November 1563 ('cuirs blanc no. 7 qui cousten 5 st. la pièce et est pour limprimerie': 1 fl. 5 st.); 29th November 1563 ('cuirs pour limprimerie': 15 at 4½ st. each, 3 fl. 7½ st.); 22nd April 1564 ('36 peaux blanches à faire balies': 48 st. a dozen, 7 fl. 4 st.); 20th May 1564 ('pour 12 peaux blanches à faire basles pour limprimerie': 2 fl. 14 st.); 17th June 1564 ('cuirs blancs pour faire basles dimprimerie, 40 peaux blanches': 9 fl.); 3rd October 1564 (34 pieces, 7 fl. 13 st.); 16th October 1564 (4 dozen, 23 fl. 13 st.); 13th January 1565 (4 dozen, 10 fl. 16 st.); 10th April 1565 (4 dozen, 10 fl. 16 st.; '19 peaux pour balles' at 5½ st. each, 5 fl. 3½ st.); 26th May 1565 (4 dozen, 10 fl. 10 st.); 13th August 1565 (26 pieces, 5 fl. 4 st.; '6 douzaines 3 peaux de peaux à basles à 3 fl. douzaine': 18 fl. 15 st.); 18th August 1565 (5 dozen, 14 fl. 5 st.); 23rd March 1566 (10 dozen and 4 pieces, 31 fl.; 'pour douze douz[aines] de cuirs achaptés à Mastrick [Maastricht] à 33 st. la douzaine, la mande 4 st. et le port ens[emble]': 21 fl. 10 st.); 12th May 1566 ('1 douzaine de peaux blanches pour limprimerie': 2 fl. 14 st.); 5th July 1566 (5 dozen, 15 fl.); 28th July 1566 (6 dozen, 17 fl. 10 st.); 2nd September 1566 (6 dozen, 16 fl. 4 st.); 6th October 1566 (6 dozen and 3 pieces, 17 fl. 13 st.); 19th January 1567 (8 dozen, 21 fl. 12 st.); 13th April 1567 (5 dozen, 12 fl. 12 st.); 28th August 1567 (5 dozen and 8 skins, 17 fl. 19½ st.).

On 30th June 1565, an amount of 8 fl. was entered as the price of ‘8 weeks of assembling and stitching the leathers’. This means that in only four years Plantin spent as much on leather for ink balls as on purchases of new presses. During the 34 years of his career as a printer his expenditure on this leather must have been at least three times as great as that on the complete furnishing and equipping of his *officina*, including the presses and their appurtenances.

The amount of money spent on lighting was not less considerable. Between 31st December 1563 and 19th January 1567, as many as 129 *stenen* of candles were bought. (The *steen*, a weight then in use in the Southern Netherlands, was lighter than the present English stone; it weighed 4.719 kg or 10 lb. 6 oz.). At 17 and 18 st. a *steen* these purchases of candles came to 118 fl. 3 st.¹

The printing shop and other rooms had to be heated in the winter, and there had to be a fire for warming the lye all the year round. The memorandum of c. 1760 already referred to contained a ‘note or

1. Arch. 3, dated 31st December 1563 (3 *stenen*, at 17 st. each, 2 fl. 11 st.); 23rd January 1564 (12, at 17 st. each, 10 fl. 4 st.); 3rd October 1564 (7, at 18 st. each, 6 fl. 6 st.); 16th October 1564 (5, 4 fl. 10 st.); 13th January 1565 (4, at 18 st. each, 2 fl. 14 st.); 10th April 1565 (12, 10 fl. 4 st.); 13th August 1565 (7, 6 fl. 18 st.); 18th March 1566 (52, 53 fl. 11 st.); 19th January 1567 (25, at 17 st. each, 21 fl. 5 st.).

estimate of the amount of English coal slack needed each year for the printing office¹:

The foundry - 2 quarters of slack per week, making per year	104
The printing shop - during the winter	80
In the cellar, for the furnace	100
For the copperplate printer	20
	304

The note concludes: ‘In 1738, 300 quarters were purchased at 26½ st. a quarter, which came to 397 fl. 10 st. and in 1739, 130 quarters at 22¼ - st. a quarter, 167 fl. 1½ - st. altogether.’ It was not until the end of the seventeenth century that the use of coal as fuel was recorded in the Plantinian accounts.² Before this wood and charcoal had been employed. This means that the relative amount and cost of fuel used in Plantin's time must have been higher than the above figures. The accounts for 1563 to 1567, however, give only negligible sums for this item,³ and these must represent no more than a fraction of the actual expenditure. There is written evidence from 1639 which would seem to imply that it had formerly been the custom for the cost of heating the printing office to be borne by the workmen themselves.⁴ Another reference shows that in the time of Plantin this expense was met with

1. Arch. 692, no. 101, f^o 4^{ro}.
2. The first mention of the use of coal known to the author dates from 1661 (Arch. 154, f^o 31). This refers to coal used by the Van Wolsschatens in their workshop when casting type for Balthasar II Moretus and debited to the account of the firm. The author's researches have not been exhaustive and coal may have been used as fuel for furnaces and for heating earlier than this, perhaps considerably earlier.
3. Arch. 3, dated 31st December 1563 (‘charbon pour brusler en limprimerie’: 12 st.; ‘tailles 6 à mettre le feu en limprimerie pour les compagnons’: 3 fl.), and 10th April 1565 (‘pour bois bruslé aux estuves de limprimerie’: 12 fl.).
4. Ord. L, art. 57 (Note. Anno 1639 the box which used to hang in the press done away with, with our master's consent who is giving wood or charcoal for the press, without the journeymen having to pay anything for it. The master gives them the coal-dust for stoking. Original Dutch text: ‘Nota. Anno 1639 is de Busse die in de Druckerij placht te hangen te niet gedaen, met consent van onsen Meester die daer voor het hout oft colen geeft voor de Druckerij, sonder dat de Gesellen daer voor iet moeten betaelen. Den meester vereert hun het gruyts voor het stoken.’ On this Ord., see p. 310, note 1.

money from the quarterly bonus that the master paid per working press.¹ Whether this was always the case, or whether the master made a regular contribution towards the heating cost is another question, but whatever the exact arrangement may have been, it is most unlikely that the men would have had to pay for heating the lye. The absence of entries of wood and charcoal purchases in the period 1563-67 is to be explained in another way. This was the time of the partnership with the Van Bomberghen family. Fuel costs were included in the sum of 50 fl. that Plantin received each year during that period to cover miscellaneous small items - heating and lye were mentioned specifically in the contract.² An average of 50 fl. per year for the whole of Plantin's career, however, makes the cost of these *menutez*, as they were termed, also considerably higher than that of equipping the press.

1. Arch. 788 (wages book 1583-89), under 3rd December 1589: 'aus compagnons pour leur quart d'an et rabatu 5 fl. 7½ st. pour les bois, 8 fl. 12½ st.' It is the only mention of this kind the author has found. Very likely the workers themselves were normally responsible for the heating, but here, as an exception, the patron himself had either advanced the money or had had the wood delivered and now deducted this from the premium.
2. As noted in the deed of partnership: cf. Vol. I, p. 46.

Chapter 6

Choice of Type, Format and Size of Edition

In Plantin's well-equipped printing office the cast type stood ranged in orderly rows in the cases, paper and ink were to hand. But even when a manuscript lay ready, covered by *approbatio* and privilege,¹ there were still a number of important decisions the master had to make before he could hand it over to his men for printing. Taking the nature of the intended publication into account, he had to select the design and size of the type, the format of the book, and the number of copies to be printed.

*Type designs*²

Printing types are stylized versions of script. To be legible and usable they have to be based on the style of handwriting in current use. Foreign alphabets posed no special problem for Plantin. He bought or commissioned punches and matrices for Greek and Hebrew alphabets of various sizes but fairly uniform design. He ordered only one size of Syriac, just as his son-in-law Raphelengius later had one size each of Arabic, Ethiopic, and Samaritan cut at Leiden.

Matters were much more complicated when it came to printing

1. See chapters 10 and 11.
2. For the history and evolution of type in general see D.B. Updike's notable work, *Printing Types. Their History and Evolution: A Study in Survivals*, 3rd edition, 1962. For the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a most interesting and highly readable exposition - with many references to Plantinian type - in Harry Carter, *A View of Early Typography to about 1600*, Oxford, 1969. For the history and evolution in the Netherlands during the sixteenth century - also with much attention for Plantinian type - cf. H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*, Amsterdam, 1968. See also chapter 4.

texts in a 'Latin' alphabet. Various 'Latin' hands had evolved through the years. With the coming of printing in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries these scripts influenced and conditioned the printed letter.

The Italian humanists of the fifteenth century rediscovered the beauty of the Carolingian minuscule and began to imitate it. The typographers responsible for introducing the art of printing into Italy soon started to reproduce this script in their punches and thus created the type that already acquired its name of roman in this period. At the end of the fifteenth century this type began its triumphal progress beyond the Alps and soon became the characteristic printed letter of the Western world. Plantin too knew this type as 'roman' and it was the one he used most. However, the roman had a number of competitors.

In fifteenth-century Italy there developed out of this *littera humanistica* or roman script a cursive form, the *littera cancellaresca*. In 1501 Francesco Griffi (of Bologna) adapted this for Aldus Manutius to use as a printed type. Like the form from which it developed this cursive or italic quickly spread all over Western Europe in the sixteenth century. Almost every one of Plantin's roman type sizes had its italic counterpart.

Roman and italic expanded at the expense of the gothic scripts, although north of the Alps, and particularly in the Germanic countries, it was a long time before the replacement was complete. A number of forms of gothic had evolved over the years and before the fifteenth century was out they had all been adapted for printing. For example the 'round gothic', which was in fact the form of gothic script used in Italy, where it was swiftly supplanted by roman, continued to be employed for a time in transalpine Europe for scholarly works. But here too it was eventually replaced by roman, a process that had been completed before Plantin set up his first press. Only

in Spain did this round gothic persist for a time, especially in service books.

The angular, upright Fraktur, or black letter form of gothic had been typical of the painstaking manuscripts of Western Europe from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. It fell out of use at the end of the latter century for handwriting, but lived on tenaciously in print in Germany, England, and in particular the Netherlands. Plantin even referred to this kind of gothic as *flamande* or *Nederduits*.

Alongside this angular type a more cursive form had developed, rather rounded in France and the Netherlands (*bastarde*), more pointed in Germany (*Schwabacher*). During the first half of the sixteenth century the *bastarde* disappeared from French and Netherlands printing practice and Plantin seems never to have used it. The *Schwabacher* persisted in Germany a little longer but eventually also went out of fashion. Plantin occasionally employed a cursive gothic type of this kind, calling it *allemande* or *Hoogduits*.

In France and the Netherlands the *bastarde* script was replaced by a still more cursive and rounded hand. In 1557 Robert Granjon, the French type-cutter referred to in an earlier chapter, introduced a printed version of this new gothic handwriting. Plantin was one of the first printers outside of France to obtain founts of this type. He called it *lectre françoise* or *lectre d'écriture*. Typographical historians use the term 'civilité'.¹

When printing a book in a 'Latin' alphabet Plantin had the choice of a range of types - roman, italic, and all the various forms of gothic, although as far as the gothic was concerned, the printer confined him-

1. After two editions which were set in this type: *La civilité puérile* of Desiderius Erasmus in the translation of J. Louveau (ed. R. Granjon, 1558) and *Civile honesteté pour les enfants avec la manière d'apprendre à bien lire, prononcer et écrire* (Paris, R. Breton, 1560). The standard work for civilité type is H. Carter & H.D.L. Vervliet, *Civilité Types*, 1966. It has superseded M. Sabbe & M. Audin, *Les caractères de civilité de Robert Granjon et les imprimeurs flamands*, 1921 (also in German translation: *Die Civilité Schriften des Robert Granjon in Lyon und die flämischen Drucker des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 1929). Cf. also H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Typografische schrijfboeken. Een hoofdstuk uit de geschiedenis van de Civilité-letter,' *De Gulden Passer*, 39, 1961, pp. 288-326, and 'Les caractères de civilité et la propagande religieuse', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Travaux et Documents*, 26, 1964, pp. 7-27.

self in practice to the *flamande* (black letter), *allemande* (*Schwabacher*) and *lectre françoise* or *civilité*. However, the printer did not really have a free choice. It was determined by quite strict rules and stubborn traditions which could not lightly be flouted. Particular types were reserved for certain kinds of work and certain languages. Contemporary attitudes to these matters are revealed in a letter from Plantin to Morillon¹ in which he explains that certain persons had rejected a proposed psalter simply because of the type used in a specimen page ‘of which they complain that it is a Flemish (i.e., a black letter) type that they will not have’.²

According to the ideas current in Plantin's time, Latin texts were printed only in roman or italic, with the exception of certain liturgical works such as psalters and antiphonaries for which gothic, of either angular or rounded style, was used. In practice this was nearly always a Flemish or angular gothic. On one occasion, however, Plantin planned to employ a round gothic for these service books. He knew from experience that the Latin peoples did not much care for the angular *flamande* and so when he proposed to produce for Philip II and the Spanish market the biggest choir books (antiphonary, psalter, and gradual) ever printed, he took the precaution of commissioning a round gothic alphabet that was more to Spanish taste. However, the revolt of the Netherlands against Philip II thwarted the project and Plantin's ‘lectre castillane’³ remained unused.⁴

1. Letter of 10th January 1572 (*Corr.*, II, no. 308).
2. ‘... et de l'offre qu'il vous plaist de me faire des Psautiers qui, à ce que j'ay entendu depuis par les marchants qui m'en avoyent parlé, ne sont pas au contentement de ceux à qui ils en avoyent envoyé pour monstre, et n'y allèguent autre cause que de la faceon des caractères de l'escriture qu'ils se plaignent estre lectre flamende dont ils ne veulent point avoir’. Probably this refers to the preparatory work for the great choir-books for Spain (not carried through because of the events of 1576); the people who had expressed their dissatisfaction with the Flemish type in the sample were probably Spaniards. Cf. the text immediately following.
3. Cut in 1574 by Van den Keere (St. 32; MA 136 and 137). Entered in the 1581 inventory as ‘grosse lectre castillane’ (Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, ‘Early Inventories’, pp. 68 and 74). Later mostly referred to as ‘[gros] canon d'Espagne’.
4. Its only known use was for the heading of a proclamation from Requesens for Spanish soldiers (and in Spanish) in 1574. Cf. Parker, Melis, & Vervliet, ‘Early Inventories,’ p. 74.

In the case of the vernaculars, a distinction was made between the Romance and the Germanic languages. Roman or italic was customary for French, Spanish, and Italian; gothic for the Germanic languages. Plantin issued books in two of the latter languages, using *flamande* in accordance with Netherlands tradition for Dutch texts and *allemande* for the very few works that he published in German.

The advent of *civilité* complicated matters considerably. Robert Granjon tried to launch his creation as a national French type. It was in fact used for a time in his homeland for French books. Plantin and some of his contemporaries in the Netherlands attempted to introduce this imitation of current handwriting into the Netherlands as a national type for both French and Dutch texts. However, Plantin soon abandoned his attempt to use *civilité* for French-language works, for competition from roman and italic in this sphere was too strong.¹ For publications in Dutch he and his fellow printers kept up their efforts for a little longer. Few large works in the *Officina Plantiniana* were set in *civilité*,² but it did figure to some extent as an accompanying type to black letter.³ The Netherlandish publishers, in fact, mainly reserved it for primers for Dutch-speaking schoolboys.⁴ It was in this capacity, and also in popular romances and novels, that Granjon's design persisted in the Netherlands as long as until the end of the eighteenth century.

Plantin consequently adhered to the traditions of his time when choosing types, in order to avoid the possibly adverse financial consequences of nonconformity. In one instance, however, he resisted the prevailing custom. Aldus's italic was so successful that before long

1. The last work of any importance in French set in *civilité* is dated 1564. The total list is not very long: Carter & Vervliet, *Civilité Types*, Appendix, nos. 2 (1558), 77 (1564), 78 (1564).
2. Carter & Vervliet, *Civilité Types*, Appendix, nos. 73 (1564), 74 (1564), 112 (1568), 208 (1582-1583), 214 (1583).
3. Rather as italic is used today in conjunction with roman. For Plantinian editions in which *civilité* was used in this way, see Carter & Vervliet, *Civilité Types*, Appendix, nos. 35 (1560), 44 (1561), 76 (1564), 101 (1567), 102 (1567), 113 (1568), 114 (1568), 115 (1568), 116 (1568), 149 (1577), 150 (1577), 163 (1578), 174 (1579), 175 (1579), 198 (1581), 199 (1581), 209 (1582), 227 (1584), 228 (1584-85), 235 (1585), 236a (1585), 325 (1611).
4. This aspect has been handled by H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Typografische schrijfboeken.'

many books, especially those of some literary merit - or pretension - were being set entirely in this type, a fashion followed by Plantin in his early years. But in the foreword to his Terence edition of 1560, he protested against this too liberal use of italic, especially in small format books. He based his objections on practical considerations: the italic letter was too narrow and slanted for comfortable and easy reading over long passages.¹ Plantin was not altogether consistent in this matter himself, but henceforward few of the books of any length - and none of the pocket editions - which he issued were set in italic. From being an equal and rival of roman, italic was reduced in the *officina* to the secondary role already noted, differentiating or emphasizing words or sections of a text. The same tendency was noticeable in the whole of Western Europe at this time, but only an examination of all the works published in the second half of the sixteenth century would establish whether Plantin actually pioneered this trend, or whether he simply put into words what his fellow printers were already thinking and practising.²

Although the printer was restricted in his choice of typeface by certain conventions, he had much more freedom when it came to type size. But here choice had obviously to be governed by the format selected for the work to be published: a small type for a book of monumental dimensions or a large one in a pocket edition would obviously have looked ridiculous.

1. 'Quemadmodum praeclare de literis meritos constat eos typographos qui clarorum hominum monumenta in lucem enchiridii forma emisere, ut et aere exiguo parari, et sine molestia circumferri et ad manum esse possint, ita et nos idem consilium esse sequutos nemo mirabitur, quod vero alio characterum genere utimur, rotundo videlicet, quem romanum nostrarum operarum more appellamus, in causa fuit vestri ac studiosorum commodi ratio, experti hunc minimum visui officere, italicum autem illum exilem ac pendulum quem cursorium dicunt, veluti fluctuatem ac ob id instabilem oculorum aciem vehementer affligere.'
2. This problem has not been thoroughly examined yet. See, however, Carter, *A View of Early Typography*, pp. 125-126. (His conclusion: 'The relegation of italic to a secondary role had been completed by the middle of the sixteenth century.')

Format¹

The advent of the art of printing brought with it the problem of putting a printed book together in the literal, physical sense. Very soon, during the incunabula period, the procedure of printing a sheet of paper, folding it, and then assembling such a folded sheet in sequence was developed.

Each side of a sheet is printed as one forme, which can be made up of different numbers of pages. Thus a forme consisting of one page only will result in the ‘full-size’ format,² printed recto and verso if required. It was used exclusively for broadsides. The author knows of no instance where an actual book was printed and made up in this way. If two formes (one for recto and one for verso) of two pages each were used, the sheet could be folded in two, giving a folio (two leaves, printed recto and verso, making four pages). A quarto was produced by printing formes of four pages each, four backing four. The sheet was then folded twice, once across and once lengthwise, thus giving eight pages. This progression was continued to produce an octavo (eight pages backing eight, i.e., sixteen pages on a sheet); a 16mo (32 pages: 16 backing 16); a 32mo (64 pages); and a 64mo (128 pages).

These were the more usual ways of folding a sheet of paper for book work and they evolved during the course of the fifteenth century. But there were other, more complicated arrangements. Two formes of twelve pages each would result in a 12mo, a sheet containing 24 pages, twelve backing twelve. This could be produced in two ways. One method was to place the pages in the forme in three rows of four and then fold the sheet twice lengthwise and three times across.³ The result was a book that was rather wide compared to its height. The other method was to place the pages in

1. Cf. R.B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography*, 2nd ed., 1928, pp. 164 sqq.; Ch. Mortet, *Le format des livres. Notions pratiques suivies de recherches historiques*, 1925 (very interesting on the historical aspect).
2. Designated in the *Index librorum* of 1615 as ‘in folio patenti’.
3. Or more accurately: when doing this the sheet had to be cut once lengthwise. Cf. the drawing and description in Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

two rows of six, then divide the sheet into pages with five vertical folds and one horizontal.¹ This made for a comparatively tall, but slim book. A further step in this direction was the 24mo, sheets printed in formes of 24 pages each, which was achieved basically by the same two methods.² There are examples of 12mo from 1524 (and possibly from as early as 1479), although it was not until about 1550 that they began to be a little more common. It seems to have been in Antwerp that these rather complicated formats were first generally adopted. Mortet quotes Plantin's catalogue of 1567 as the first known explicit mention of the 12mo and 24mo.³

The 18mo is something quite different. It is produced by folding a sheet in two unequal sections, one of one third the total area and the other of two thirds. The first section is folded in six and the second in twelve. The first example cited by Mortet is a Leiden Elsevier edition dating from 1627,⁴ but the format had already been quoted in the catalogue of the *Officina Plantiniana* in 1615 and concerns an edition of 1595.⁵

These were the various methods of folding in use from the end of the fifteenth century, and during the following century books began to be specified in these terms. As far as is known it was Aldus Manutius the Younger who first employed the expressions folio, quarto, octavo, and 16mo in his catalogue of 1541. The terms were adopted by Christoph Froschouer at Zürich, Sebastien Gryphius and Jacques Frelon at Lyons, and Johann Frobenius at Basle in their catalogues of 1548 and 1549. Henri II Estienne in his 1552 catalogue used both the older, vaguer definitions (*forma majori*, *forma minori*, and so on) and the newer, more precise terminology; it was not until 1569 that he employed the latter systematically. When Plantin began his printing career in 1555 the new system had only recently emerged but it was already generally accepted and he was to use no other.⁶

1. Cf. the preceding note.
2. Cf. plates 27-28.
3. Mortet, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 and 56.
4. *Ibidem*, pp. 57-59.
5. Cf. p. 168, note 7.
6. For particulars on imposition and folding see Appendix 8.

The method of folding determined the size of books. A book produced by folding a sheet of paper in two would obviously be larger than one where the sheet was folded in four. However, the size of sheets of the handmade paper which printers had to use until the beginning of the nineteenth century was determined by the size of the scoop - and scoops could vary greatly. The normal rules could be upset and a quarto volume printed on larger than average sheets of paper could be almost as big as a folio book on small sheets.¹ Similarly two folios, two quartos etc. were not always exactly the same size.² Indicating formats by the number of times the sheets were folded gave only an approximate idea of actual size.³ In the catalogues of the *officina* it was sometimes found necessary to state that editions might be larger than usual for their format. There were quarto or octavo books ‘in minori et maiori forma’ and besides ordinary folios there were works ‘in folio regali’ and even ‘in maximo folio regali’.⁴

In a letter to Cardinal Granvelle on 20th November 1568 Plantin stated that his workmen were not allowed to begin a work of any importance before he had seen a specimen page and decided on style and specifications.⁵ In practice, probably as a result of his frequent stays abroad, Plantin often deviated from this rule. Another letter, in fact, deals with an instance where his staff started on a book during

1. Cf. *Corr.*, I, no. 24 (Plantin to Ch. Pesnot, February or March 1567: Cettuy [Opera Cypriani] ay je délibéré d'imprimer sur une sorte de papier que j'ay qui est fort grand et le faire in 8^o, mais il sera comme petit 4^o.)
2. Sheets could also be cut in half before use.
3. Cf. Mortet, *op. cit.*, p. 47 and plates 1, 2, 3 and 4.
4. For example in *Index librorum*, 1584: Biblia Sancta Latine in 8^o minori et maiori forma; Missalia Romana diversis formis et characteribus in folio maiori ac minori, in 4^o maiori ac minori, et in 8^o; Missae [of de la Hèle] in maximo folio regali.
5. *Corr.*, II, no. 158 (‘Or, je ne permets jamais a mes gents qu'ils commencent en mon absence aucune chose nouvelle, ou que je tienne chère, si premièrement je n'en ay veu l'espreuve et ordonné la besogne’). Cf. also *Corr.*, I, no. 10 (Plantin to C. Valerius, 17th October 1561: ‘Antequam autem id aggredieremur librum (ut moris est mihi) percurrere volui ut viderem num quid, quod ad ornatum et elegantiam impressionis faceret, observare possem’).

one of his absences, the result of which was not too much to his liking.¹ From these and other references it appears that deciding on format, type size, and design were matters in which the Master of the Golden Compasses took great personal interest. For his own publications Plantin could make up his own mind as to which format and design would most stimulate sales, but where he was commissioned by third parties, these too had a say in the matter. In these cases the printer would first sound out his clients about the format and type design they wanted. If these negotiations went smoothly, he sent them a specimen page.² Such specimen pages were continually under discussion in Plantin's correspondence with Granvelle. The cardinal was a bibliophile and keenly interested in the aesthetic appearance of printed books and always eager to ask Plantin questions or give him advice on such matters;³ a solicitude which does not seem to have always been an unalloyed joy for the printer. In the publication of breviaries and missals for the Spanish market it was often Philip II himself who gave instructions or suggested alterations; and whenever he failed to do so, his advisers were ready to continue the barrage. It was, most probably, because of this more than anything else that Plantin, after 1585, let it be known - in what for him were rather

1. *Corr.*, II, no. 202 (Plantin to Granvelle, 28th January 1570): 'Et durant lequel intervalle de temps, mes gens, ayant entendu que je voulois faire suivre Lactance, en ont imprimé ce que j'envoye aussi joint... Car j'eusse fait faire plus belle distinction du nombre des chapitres de chaicun livre, et fait mettre quelque nombre en marge de l'annotation respondante, ce que je feray (encores que tard) commencer, au prochain livre qui suivra ce qui en est de fait.'
2. The sending of such specimens to authors or the persons commissioning works is mentioned in, for example, *Corr.*, IV, nos. 506 and 520 (Plantin to Navarrus, 6th January 1574 and to A. Genardus, 18th March 1574: concerning a work of Navarrus); IV, no. 612 (Plantin to de Geneville, 12th-19th March 1575: in connexion with the possible publication of service books for the abbey of Cluny); VIII-IX, no. 1285 (Plantin to J. Poelman, 22nd July 1587: '... avec la presente je vous envoye les monstres Missels, Breviaires, Diurnaux et Heures a l'usage des religieux de St. Benoist que suivant vostre demande j'ay faictes ...'); VIII-IX, no. 1382 (Plantin to Abbot Sarrazin, 26th June 1588: 'quelques espreuves faictes à la haste' of J. Carpentarius, *In vaticina Isaiaae*). Cf. also p. 301, note 2.
3. Cf. *inter alia*, *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 48 (Granvelle to Plantin, 2nd January 1568: the cardinal's comments on the title-page of the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas sent to him by the printer).

brusque terms - that he did not want to produce any more liturgical works for the Spanish king.

In his letters Plantin would often give his authors good advice in these matters and would explain his preference for a particular format or page design. This correspondence affords an insight into the factors he took into account when making decisions about the production of his own editions. For example he counselled the Spanish writer Sepulveda against a *magnum folium*, recommending instead a quarto: ‘for I have learnt from experience that I would be able to sell many more copies in this format than in the other.’¹

He explained to Genardus why he had set the text of Navarrus's work in two columns to the page: it would be easier for the eye to follow and read the shorter line that this arrangement gave.² In a letter to Granvelle he expressed his views on type size and legibility.³ Sometimes he was given advice too. Pierre Porret told him that it would be better not to print too many copies of Lipsius's *De Constantia* in quarto for the French market, but rather to make a *petit manuel* of it for schoolboys.⁴

To judge from his letter to Sepulveda, Plantin does not seem to have cared much for bulky tomes. It is true that he printed a goodly number of these when there were sound commercial reasons for

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 82 (Plantin to Sepulveda, 25th August 1567: ‘Ego autem tibi bona fide polliceor libentissime quomodo scripsisti impressurum, idque ipso modo et forma quae nobis praescripsisti, nisi (quod mallet) mihi abs tua humanitate concederetur in 4^{to} potius quam in magno folio ea exprimere, ut qui sciam, experientia edoctus, me multo plura exemplaria distracturum hoc forma quam alia. Caeterum nihil aliud mutari de tua sententia vellem, characteres etenim caeteraque omnia praescripta perplacent’).
2. *Corr.*, IV, no. 520 (18th March 1574: ‘Ego vero per columnas divisi paginas quod facilius oculi assequantur et perlegant jucundius breves quam longas lineas, taceo quod characteres ob id etiam crassiores videantur...’).
3. *Corr.*, II, no. 210 (18th February 1570: ‘...je me suis resolu de les imprimer de ceste lectre, qui est pareille en grandeur, mais plus ouverte, et, à mon advis, plus clère que celle dont j'avois imprimé lesdicts Offices de Cicéron in -8^o’).
4. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1018 (11th April 1584: ‘Le françoys ne sera de si bone vente que le latin et ne suys pas d'avis d'en faire beaulcop en quarto, mays si vous en voliés imprimer un petit manuel et mettre d'un costé le latin et le françoys de l'aultre, je croy qu'il se vendroict bien pour les escolliers veu qu'il est traduit quasi ad verbum’).

doing so, but his preference was for handier sizes. Characteristically, in his own impressions of the French editions of Leo Africanus, *Historiale description de l'Afrique*, and Belon de Mans, *Observations et singularitéz trouvées en Grèce et autres pays étrangers*, Plantin reduced the formats from a hefty folio and quarto to octavo.¹ His reissue of *Corpus iuris civile* in 1567 appeared in ten small octavo volumes, whereas the original edition, published in Lyons six years before, consisted of two unwieldy volumes. Throughout his career he experimented with pocket editions. In this he followed the example of his great predecessor Aldus Manutius and in turn served as a model for the Elseviers. It was only by chance that he came to publish the first pocket atlas: this was commissioned by Philip Galle, who provided the maps himself, Plantin simply setting and printing the text.² It was on his own initiative, however, that in 1563 he began to bring out handy-sized editions of Classical authors in 16mo. At the end of his career he went a step further and launched a series of such authors in what for the time was a 'super pocket' format, the 24mo. Plantin outlined his purpose in this several times. The series was intended in the first place for 'poor scholars and for travellers who want to carry a large store of books with them in a small space'.³ With the same idea in mind he published a *Missel in 8° portatif*,⁴ a pocket Bible, and a New Testament in octavo for schools.⁵

1. Cf. J. Guignard, 'A propos des éditions françaises de Plantin'; *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, pp. 356-357.
2. First edition, in Dutch, in 1577.
3. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1137 (Plantin to Captain de Tisnacq, 13th September 1586: 'Le Virgile est achevé in 24^{to}. Horace est commencé de mesme forme... le tout sans aucunes annotations ni notes d'aucune grandeur. Voulants ceux qui me favorisent a imprimer tels livres qu'ils servent aux pauvres escoliers et a ceux qui voyageants veulent porter avec soy beaucoup de livres en peu de masse'). Cf. also *Corr.*, VII, no. 1042 (Introduction by Plantin in the edition of Juvenalis and A. Persius Flaccus, in 24^{mo}, 1585, dedicated to de Tisnacq); no. 1062 (Introduction by Plantin in the *Opera* by Virgilius, in 24^{mo}, 1589, dedicated to Livinus Torrentius); VIII-IX, no. 1339 (Introduction by Plantin in the edition of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, in 24^{mo}, 1587, dedicated to C. Pruynen).
4. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1283 (Plantin to F. Ximenes, 21st July 1587: 'J'ay pareillement achevé le Missel in 8° portatif pour ceux qui vont par chemin ou autres qui se delectent oyant la messe de lire ce que le prebtre ne list si haut qu'on le puisse facilement entendre').
5. *Corr.*, IV, no. 565 (Plantin to Alan Cope, 9th October 1574: 'Unde occasionem arripui ea Biblia Lovaniensium theologorum opera variis lectionibus illustrata enchiridii forma excudendi'). *Corr.*, VI, no. 892 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, October-November 1580: 'Novum autem testamentum statui edere graeco-latinum semel pro iisdem Bibliis et iterum in 8° pro scholis').

This predilection for small format books led Plantin to use small type sizes even when this was not strictly necessary. This sometimes brought him into conflict with his clients. He set the *Elucidationes in omnia sanctorum apostolorum scripta* by his friend Arias Montanus in a larger type size than he had used for his preceding book because of the complaints that had been made about the smallness of the print.¹

Always a shrewd businessman, however, he sometimes took the opposite course and issued work in extra large print for those of poor eyesight.² In editions of Classical authors intended for school use, Plantin not only chose a large format and type size, but allowed generous margins and leading that made it easier for pupils to make notes or cribs.³

Title-pages also received Plantin's attention, although the only time he recorded his ideas on the subject was on one of the few occasions when the printer himself was guilty of negligence. He published a large antiphonary in 1572 without providing it with a title-page. He

1. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1320 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, 19th November 1587: 'Mitto 10 folia Elucidationum in Epist. Apost. in quibus majori caractere quam in priori libro utimur quod multi conquesti fuissent de exilitate...').
2. *Corr.*, II, no. 178 (Plantin to Granvelle, 18th June 1569: 'et l'impression grande [du Diurnale et Missel], pour le service des anciens et de ceux qui lisent leurs heures en chambre...'); *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1202 (Plantin to de Tisnacq, 23rd January 1587: 'J'ay achevé Missale in folio. Je l'imprime in 8^o et Diurnale aussi d'assés grosse lectre pour servir aux vieilles personnes...'). The old and the weak-sighted continually put pressure on the printer in this matter: *Corr.*, II, no. 183 (Plantin to Granvelle, 17th September 1569: the bishops and prelates of the Netherlands were asking Plantin to print breviaries in two volumes and in larger type); no. 184 (Plantin to M. de Berghes, Archbishop of Cambrai, 24th September 1569, in reply to the latter's request: 'j'ay cherché tous les moyens possibles de pouvoir faire les Bréviaires de forme maniable, en deux temps, de la plus grosse lectre qu'on pourroit, sans que toutefois ne l'un ni l'autre des parties n'excédassent juste grosseur'). Cf. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 29 (Granvelle to Plantin, 14th July 1567: 'Et si vous en imprimez [d'un breviaire] de grande lectre (car à la petite je n'y vois plus goutte sans lunettes) vous me fairez plaisir de m'en faire tirer deux ou trois exemplaires qui soyent de fort bon papier').
3. Cf. plate 26.

had to make one hastily after the work on the book had been completed (and after a number of copies had already been disposed of) to pacify his grumbling customers.¹

These few details scattered through Plantin's correspondence have to be sufficient. Neither he nor his successors left behind any considered and detailed exposition of their views on format or on the relation of type sizes to format. However, the following tables, extracted from three of the firm's catalogues² are revealing.³

In Plantin's early period, until about 1570, medium sizes predominated, particularly the octavo and 16mo. Later both the larger and the smaller formats increased in number. In the seventeenth century, with the disappearance of Classical authors from the Plantinian lists, the bigger formats soon began to catch up.⁴ The less usual formats (12mo, 24mo and 18mo) remained fairly exceptional; the smallest sizes (32mo and 64mo) were little more than curiosities.

1. *Corr.*, III, no. 465 (Plantin to the Bishop d'Oignies, 10th March 1573: 'J'envoye maintenant les deux proprius de Tempore de la partie Aestivale désirés aux premiers exemplaires et avec iceux 12 exemplaires de certains tiltres que j'ay imprimés pour mectre aux commencements desdicts Antiphonaires à cause qu'aucuns se plaignoyent de n'y voir pas de commencement').
2. The catalogues of 1572 and 1584 generally give recent publications; the 1615 catalogue also refers to older ones (even some from Plantin's time).
3. For comparison, figures from D.T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime 1500-1791*, 1958, p. 40, concerning the formats of a number of French publications examined by that author:

	<i>16th century</i>	<i>17th century</i>	<i>18th century</i>
Folio	193 (13.14%)	193 (10.16%)	79 (5%)
Quartro	321 (21.9%)	615 (32.35%)	307 (19.38%)
Octavo	773 (52.5%)	524 (27.64%)	440 (27.77%)
12mo	66 (4.63%)	544 (28.64%)	736 (46.46%)
16mo and smaller	115 (7.83%)	23 (1.21%)	22 (1.39%)

4. Characteristic of this tendency is the fact that the 'appendix' - the list of new works published by the *Officina Plantiniana* and inserted at the end of the 1615 *Index* - out of a total of 15 publications itemizes no less than 8 in folio, besides 1 in quarto, 5 in octavo and 1 in 12mo.

(1) <i>1572 catalogue</i> ¹	Folio	15 (6.41%)	} 39 (16.67%)
	Quarto	24 (10.26%)	} 39 (16.67%)
	Octavo	111 (47.44%)	} 185 (79.04%)
	12mo	2 (0.84%)	} 185 (79.04%)
	16mo	72 (30.76%)	} 185 (79.04%)
	24mo	10 (4.29%)	10 (4.29%)
	-----	-----	
	Total	234	

(2) <i>1584 catalogue</i> ²	Folio	66 (10.96%)	} 171 (28.40%)
	Quarto	105 (17.44%)	} 171 (28.40%)
	Octavo	293 (48.67%)	} 414 (68.77%)
	12mo	11 (1.83%)	} 414 (68.77%)
	16mo	110 (18.27%)	} 414 (68.77%)
	24mo ³	15 (2.49%)	} 17 (2.83%)
	32mo ⁴	1 (0.17%)	} 17 (2.83%)
	64mo ⁵	1 (0.17%)	} 17 (2.83%)
	-----	-----	
	Total	602	

(3) <i>1615 catalogue</i> ⁶	Folio	110 (11.32%)	} 275 (28.30%)
	Quarto	165 (16.98%)	} 275 (28.30%)
	Octavo	481 (49.45%)	} 649 (66.77%)
	12mo	41 (4.28%)	} 649 (66.77%)
	16mo	127 (13.04%)	} 649 (66.77%)
	18mo ⁷	1 (0.10%)	} 48 (4.93%)
	24mo	36 (3.70%)	} 48 (4.93%)

1. *Index librorum in officina Christophori Plantini excusi*, 1572.

2. *Catalogus librorum qui ex typographia Christophori Plantini prodierunt*, 1584.

3. All religious works except one, a Cicero edition.

4. Service book (*Horae*).

5. Service book (*Horae*).

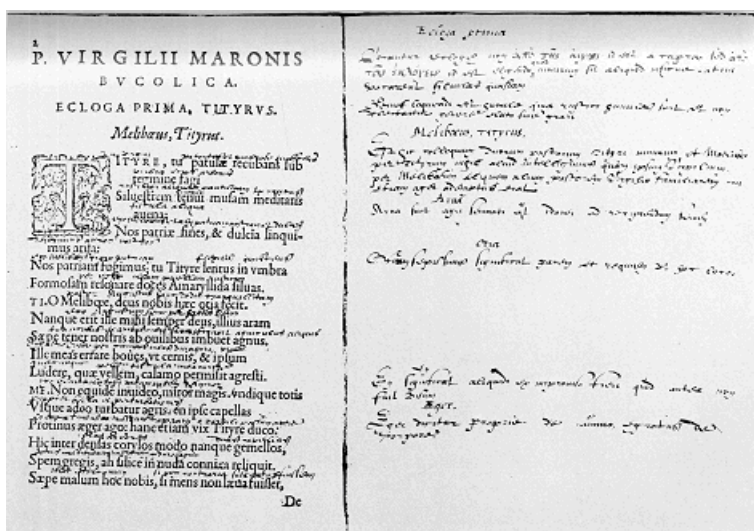
6. *Index librorum qui ex Typographia Plantiniana prodierunt*, 1615.

7. 'Litanien tot ghebruyck des Catholycken Legers ende alle Godtvruchtighe menschen, in 18, soo met copere als met houten figuren' (Litanies for the use of the Catholic Army and all Godfearing people, in 18mo, with both copper[plate] and wood[cut] illustrations) of 1595.

32mo ⁸	10 (1.03%)	} 48 (4.93%)
64mo ⁹	1 (0.10%)	} 48 (4.93%)
———	———	
Total	972	

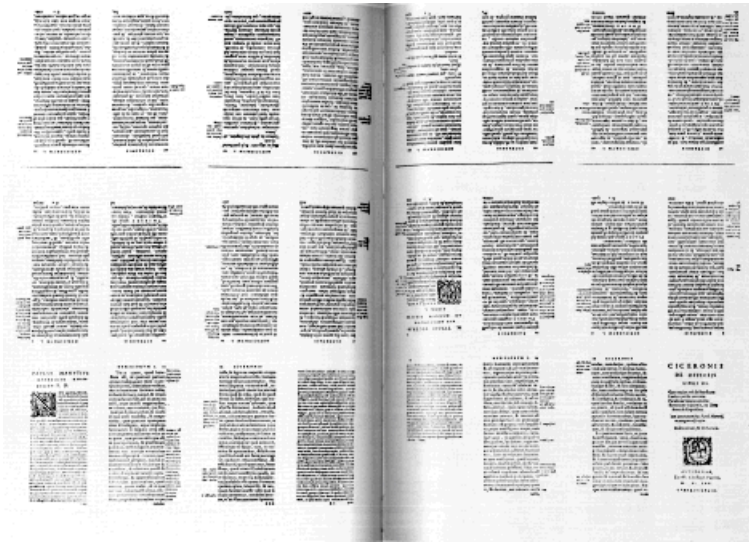
8. All religious works, mostly service books (*Horae*).

9. ‘Septem Psalmi Poenitentiales cum Kalendario Gregoriano, quatuor Evangiliis et aliquot Orationibus, in 64: forma minutissima.’ This title must be the *Kalendarium*, published by Plantin in 1570. A copy of this book in flat sheets (not folded) is preserved in the Museum (Arch. 1230, f^{os} 462-463). See plate 29. Part of it also reproduced in Hellinga, *Copy and Print*, ill. 51.



(26) *Opposite*: Virgil, *Bucolica*, 1575 (A 379), a quarto edition for school use, with wide margins and generous leading to facilitate making notes or cribs. The annotations in this interleaved copy are in the handwriting of Plantin's grandson, Balthasar I Moretus. (Slightly reduced.)

*26-*27



(27-28) Uncut and unfolded sheets of a 24mo book, printed in a work-and-turn operation, of Cicero, *De officiis libri III*, 1565 (Arch. 1230, f^o 69). Note the printed line at the top; this told the collator and binder that this part of the sheet had to be cut off before folding. Reduced. Cf. App. [...], p. [...].)



(29) *Opposite*: Uncut and unfolded sheet for one the smallest works published by Plantin, the 64mo *Kalendarium*, 1570 (Arch. 1230, f° 462). (Reduced)

Size of edition¹

The number of copies of a book to be printed was decided by the potential market, or by the wishes of the customers. Plantin's smallest runs were printed to order: twelve copies of an edition of De Kerle's music;² fifty of a small work by Moschus;³ and 120 copies of a volume of Latin verse by Maximilian de Vignacourt.⁴ In the case of the De Kerle, Jan Moretus was at pains to point out that such a ridiculously small number made no sense financially.⁵

The edition was usually much larger when Plantin had a free hand. The number of copies was as a rule 1,250 for ordinary editions, 1,000 for black-and-red liturgical works. These figures were not arrived at arbitrarily but were based on the rate at which the journeymen-printers worked: an average of 1,250 sheets per day for ordinary work, 500 per day for service books.⁶ Plantin in fact stressed the connexion between the two factors in a letter.⁷ For works in great demand the run was sometimes raised to 2,000 or 2,500. Plantin does not seem to have exceeded the latter figure except with his Hebrew Bible of 1566,⁸ for which he probably expected a good market

1. For the period 1563-67 some details in Rooses, *Musée*, p. 168. See also Febvre & Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, 1958, pp. 330-334.
2. Cf. note 5.
3. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1089 (Plantin to N. Firensius, 4th April 1586: 'Epitaphe faict par Monsieur Moscus').
4. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1088 (Plantin to M. de Vignacourt, 4th April 1586: *Monodia Belgidis in funus Serenissimae Margaretae Austriacae, Parmae ac Placentiae ducis*, 1586).
5. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1490 (Jan I Moretus to de Kerle, July 1589).
6. Cf. pp. 325 sqq.
7. *Corr.*, II, no. 169 (Plantin to Granvelle, 26th March 1569: 'Car je ne fay que 1000 exemplaires [from a breviary], qui est la taxe ordinaire, pour chaicunne journée, des compagnons besognans en telle ouvrage rouge et noir').
8. An edition of the Hebrew Bible appeared in 1566 in quarto, octavo, and 16mo. They were all printed from the same type: first the quarto copies were printed, then the pages rearranged into different formes for printing the 8^o and 16mo copies. In the quarto, 3,900 copies were printed of the Pentateuch and 2,600 of the following parts. Of the octavo, 2,600 copies of the Pentateuch were printed, 1,500 of the Psalms and Proverbs, and 1,300 of the remaining parts. Of the 16mo, the Psalms and Proverbs had a run of 2,600, and the remaining parts of 1,300. This consequently meant a run of 7,800 copies of the Pentateuch, of 6,700 of the Psalms and Proverbs, and of 5,200 of the remaining parts. (Arch. 4, f^{os} 75-76; cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 168.)

in the Jewish communities scattered through Europe and North Africa, and with the ill-fated *Pseaumes de David* of 1564.¹

Nevertheless Plantin did not stick rigidly to these figures. He did not hesitate to raise or lower them according to his anticipation of the market, so that besides his norms of 1,000, 1,250 and 2,500 there was a whole range of intermediate figures. The numbers of copies printed for 155 works published in the period 1563-67 were as given in table A on p. 172.²

The peak lies between 1,000 and 1,500 copies: 94 out of the 155 works come within this range, 63 of them on the standard figure of 1,250.³ The 800 category is also well represented, chiefly by scientific and scholarly works.⁴ Very small⁵ and very large⁶ editions were exceptional. It also appears from the records for this period that appendixes for a particular work might sometimes be printed separately and in a smaller run than the text itself, some copies being therefore issued without appendixes.⁷

The number of copies of a particular book to be printed was sometimes determined by rather special considerations. The breviary that Plantin printed in 1569 promised to be an unparalleled success. However, instead of printing 2,000 copies as he would have liked to have done, he kept the edition to 1,000 so as to have it on sale as

1. Of this book 3,000 copies were printed; cf. H. Slenk, 'Christophe Plantin and the Genevan Psalter', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 1967, p. 231.
2. From data in Arch. 4.
3. Not included in this enumeration is the special case of the Hebrew Bible of 1566 (cf. p. 169, note 8).
4. Most medical treatises, a botanical edition, and a legal work had a run of 800 copies, besides editions of Classical authors in Greek; and sometimes reissues of more popular works (such as the *Sambucus Emblemata*).
5. A run of 150 copies: Barlaeus, *De miseriis humanae vitae*, 1566 (probably ordered by the author); 200 copies: *Index seu specimen characterum Plantini*, 1567; 300 copies: *Index librorum Officinae Plantiniana*, 1566; *Instructions en flamand pour Manuale Cameracensis*, 1566.
6. Printings of 2,500 copies comprised Classical authors (Virgil in 12mo and octavo); various *Horae*; the *Parvus catechismus* of Canisius; the Greek grammar of Clenardus; and the *Corpus iuris civilis* of Raevardus.
7. E.g. Arch. 4, f^o 98^{vo}: 'De officio pii viri M.N. Joh. a Lovanio: Led [ict] livre sans loraison de Idiomate adiouxte à la fin de 800 exemplaires contient 9 feilles et est imprimé a 1550 exemplaires.'

quickly as possible to eager customers.¹ In another instance he restricted a missal to 750 copies. This was partly from fear that last-minute changes might be ordered which could cause costly alterations or even entail taking the book out of sale (Plantin experienced this with revised versions of service books), partly so as to be able to follow the first edition immediately with a second on better paper and with better illustrations.²

Under Jan I Moretus the figures seem to have differed to some extent from those for the period 1563-67, as can be seen from table B showing the numbers printed of 254 works in the years 1590-1600.³

The peak still came in the 1,000 to 1,500 range (163 out of 254 publications), although this time there were nearly as many editions in the 1,500 group as in the previous norm of 1,250. Compared with the earlier period two features are noticeable. First, there are many more categories, less adherence to standard runs. Secondly there is a marked upward trend in the figures. The number of large editions has increased and Plantin's upper limit of 2,500 is surpassed by 17 books: 3 at 2,550, 1 at 2,590, 8 at 3,000, 1 at 4,050 and 4 as high as 5,000. The increase was caused by liturgical books and all but one of the runs of more than 2,500 copies was of these; the exception was a school book by Despauterius that reached 3,000. The many publications of works by Justus Lipsius achieved the relatively modest figure of 1,500 copies.

A further analysis of both series of figures is interesting: it appears that under Jan I Moretus the business had grown in so far that higher runs occurred more frequently, though on the other hand Plantin produced about 200 titles in a mere four years, whereas Jan Moretus produced 254 titles in ten years. Of only 155 of Plantin's titles particulars are to be found, but Jan Moretus's production is practically

1. *Corr.*, II, no. 169 (Plantin to Granvelle, 26th March 1569: 'Je ne fay que 1000 exemplaires... Mon intention estoit bien d'en faire double nombre d'un train, ce qui eust esté beaucoup mieux mon proffict, mais la besongne eust autant plus long temps resté sous les presses, au mescontentement de plusieurs qui journellement l'attendent').
2. *Corr.*, II, no. 271 (Plantin to de Goneville, 14th April 1571).
3. Compiled from data in Arch. 779, f^{os} 1 sqq.

Number of Copies printed**A. PERIOD 1563-67 B. PERIOD
1590-1600**

Number of copies	Number of titles	Number of copies	Number of titles
150	1	100	1
200	1	200	2
300	2	250	1
500	4	500	12
550	2	550	1
600	2	600	2
700	1	775	1
800	18	850	9
850	1	875	2
900	2	950	3
1,000	10	1,000	5
		1,050	1
1,250	63	1,250	79
		1,275	1
		1,300	1
1,500	21	1,500	76
		1,525	3
1,550	6	1,550	11
1,600	10		
2,000	3	2,000	1
2,025	1	2,050	1
2,500	8	2,500	22
		2,550	3
		2,590	1
3,000	1	3,000	8
		4,050	1
		5,000	4
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	155		254

known in its entirety. The total number of copies of the 155 titles in 1563-67 amounted to 201,575, an average of exactly 1,300 copies per title, and a year production of some 39 titles totalling 50,000 copies. Under Jan I Moretus the production of the period 1590-1600 amounted to 392,865 copies for 254 titles, an average of nearly 1,550 copies per title, but a year production of only 25 titles, totalling 40,000 copies.

Chapter 7

*Proof Correction*¹

The important process of proof correction must be carried out between setting and printing. This was done sometimes by the author himself² or by persons recruited by him for the task,³ but mostly the work was done by the proof-readers, the specialists employed by the house.⁴ It is fairly easy to reconstruct the list of these *correctores* for Plantin's period, but more difficult from the time of Jan I Moretus onwards, for from the beginning of the seventeenth century these members of the staff were no longer entered in the *livres des ouvriers*. Their names only appeared there when their work, and therefore their pay, was exceptional in some way, or when a special agreement had to be recorded. They continued to figure in the *semaines des ouvriers* rather longer, but usually without any indication that they

1. Details in Rooses, *Musée*, and Sabbe, 'De Plantijnsche werkstede' (on this work see p. 310, note 1). An important contribution to the subject in H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Une instruction plantinienne à l'intention des correcteurs', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1959, pp. 99-103. For comparison: P. Simpson, *Proofreading in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries*, 1935, and the notes in the 1958 edition of Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, pp. 382-383.
2. Cf. pp. 300-301.
3. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1500 (Stapleton to Jan Moretus, 4th Oct. 1589: 'Conveni hic Duaci R.P. Oliverium Manaraeum Provinciali in Belgio Societatis Jesu, qui mihi promisit curaturum se ut aliquis ex suis in collegio Antverpiensi correctioni hujus operis incumbat, si quidem ejus opera a te exquiratur. Cura quaeso ne illa commoditas e manibus dilabatur, si tamen illa necessaria est, id est, nisi correctorem habeas vigilantissimum et doctum').
4. See Hellinga, *Copy and Print*, pp. 146 sqq., about the way proof-readers made their corrections. Cf. also plates 31 and 32.

were proof-readers - which makes it difficult sometimes to track them down among the compositors, pressmen, and other workmen. A number of separate notes and the list of members in the ledger of the proof-readers' fraternity (founded in 1664) makes it possible to draw up a more complete list for the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, although some gaps may remain. The list of names is given on pp. 176-179.

In the period 1563-67 Plantin frequently called in what would now be termed free-lance workers to rewrite texts, translate, or collate, to compile indexes or glossaries, or to carry out similar tasks.¹ In writing about the Plantin House, scholars have usually included these occasional workers among the proof-readers of the *officina*. They should not be regarded as such for they did no actual correction work and worked only irregularly for Plantin. In this category belong Quintinus Steenhartsius,² Guillaume Symon,³ the schoolmaster Antoine Tyron,⁴ Estienne de Wallencourt,⁵ and Petrus Kerkhovius.⁶ Among the regular proof-readers in that period there were a few who worked occasionally for Plantin and wholly or partially on what amounted to a piece-rate basis, as for example Andreas Madoets, Victor Giselinus, and Theodoor Kemp. These were exceptional cases: then and later, proof-reading in the Plantinian house was a full-time job.

Unlike the work in the press itself, proof-reading was reckoned and paid on the basis of working days. This does not mean that no account was taken of average rates of work when it came to fixing standards of achievement and salary. Mathias Ghisbrechts was the first proof-reader engaged after the reorganization of the firm in 1563 and Plantin entered into an agreement with him 'pour me servir de correcteur à l'imprimerie et est obligé de me servir... pour autant de besogne que six compositeurs pourront composer soit qu'une, deux ou trois presses

1. He probably did this later too, but in this particular period their names and the work they carried out were more carefully recorded in the wages accounts (Arch. 31). See also p. 188.
2. Arch. 31, f^o 42.
3. Arch. 31, f^o 76.
4. Arch. 31, f^o 84.
5. Arch. 31, f^o 84.
6. Arch. 31, f^o 91.

**List of Proof-readers
(according to date of first entry)¹**

Under Christophe Plantin²

*Kilianus, Cornelis [1558]	8th Dec. 1563 - d. 15th Apr. 1607 ³ .
*Ghisbrechts, Mathias	1st Nov. 1563 - 11th May 1565 ⁴ .
*Raphelengius, Franciscus	12th Mar. 1564 - 1585 ⁵ .
Madoets, Andreas	1st Apr. 1564 - 17th Mar. 1566 ⁶ .
*Giselinus, Victor	Dec. 1504 - 22nd Dec. 1566 ⁷ .
*Spithals, Antonius	1st Jun. 1569 - 31st Aug. 1576; May 1577 - 20th Aug. 1577 ⁸ .
*Le Fèvre de la Boderie, Nicolaas	8th Jun. 1569 - 6th Mar. 1572 ⁹ .

1. A list of the Plantinian proof-readers, from 1564 to 1598, with an addendum up to 1605, is in Arch. 116, f^o 13 (it gives simply the names with the year of commencement of service and a folio referring to one of the wages books). Proof-readers whose names appear in this list are indicated here by asterisk(*). Those mentioned in the list but omitted from this table: Carolus Clusius (no year or folio given) and Guido Fabritius Boddianus [Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie] (1572; no folio).
2. Information is scanty for the period 1555-62: (1) one Franciscus Tiletanus started work in 1561, probably as a proof-reader, recommended by G. Symonius (*Corr.*, I, no. 8, Plantin to Symonius, 15th Oct. 1561); (2) the presence in 1561 of a proof-reader called Godefridus [Goevaert] Telleporius (Arch. 36, f^{os} 10^{vo}, 16^{vo}, 17^{ro}; see also Rooses, *Musée*, p. 157, who read the name as Tellinorius); (3) the presence of a proof-reader and a 'liseur estant espagnol' in 1562 (cf. Vol. I, p. 35).
3. 'Cornelis dict Special' appears in the Plantinian wages accounts for the first time on 5th Feb. 1558 (Arch. 15, f^o 160); on 6th March 1558 he came to lodge with his employer (Arch. 35, f^o 148). He was then a compositor and had also to 'prendre garde aus lettres, partes, formats et autres ustensiles de limprimerie asscavoir de les faire serrer et mettre en ordre par ceux à qui il apartiendra.' On 8th Dec. 1563 he reappears in Plantin's service (Arch. 31, f^o 13, 1563-71; Arch. 32, f^o 93, 1572-79; Arch. 33, f^o 66, 1582; Arch. 786, f^o 4, 1590). Biographical details in M. Rooses, *Kilianus' Latijnsche Gedichten, uitgegeven en met een levensbericht voorzien*, 1880; P. Génard, *Levensschets van Cornelis van Kiel (Kilianus)*, 2nd ed., 1882; M. Rooses, 'Kiel (Corneille)', *Biographie Nationale [de Belgique]*, 10 (1888-1889), col. 748-759; *Kiliaanhulde op Zondag, 23 Juni, 1929*; F. Claes, 'Kiliaan, de grondlegger van de Nederlandse lexicografie', *Wetenschappelijke Tijdingen*, 28, 1969, col. 193-204. There is constant reference to Kilianus in Dutch language studies. A list of some recent articles in which the work of Plantin's proof-reader is discussed in L. Voet, 'Plantiniana', *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 45-47.
4. Arch. 31, f^o 72.
5. Arch. 31, f^{os} 82 and 83 (agreement between Plantin and Raphelengius when the latter started work). In 1565 he married Plantin's eldest daughter, Margareta.
6. Arch. 31, f^o 3. Cf. F. Claes, 'Andries Madoets, auteur van de Thesaurus Theutonicae Linguae', *Wetenschappelijke Tijdingen*, 30, 1971, col. 157-164.
7. Arch. 31, f^o 72.
8. Arch. 31, f^o 138; Arch. 32, f^o 276.
9. Arch. 31, f^o 139.

*Kemp, Theodoor	1st Jul. 1569 - 10th Dec. 1569 ¹
*Zelius Neomagensis, Bernardus	8th Feb. 1570 - 28th Jan. 1581 ²
Sterck, Laurentius	(before 12th Apr.) 1571 - 3rd Aug. 1571 ³
*Paschalis, Carolus	(before 13th Apr.) 1571 - 1st Mar. 1572 ⁴
*Moonen Hapartanus, Joannes	23rd Sep. 1571 - 17th Oct. 1576 ⁵
*Cornelii Harlemensis, Godefridus	1st Dec. 1573 - 17th Oct. 1576 ⁶
* Valerius, Robertus	early Oct. 1574 - 14th Jun. 1577 ⁷
*Stur, Nicolas	14th Oct. 1574 - 20th Jun. 1576 ⁸
*Favolius, Baptista	(c. 1574 - 1576, 16 weeks) ⁹
Vredius, Michael	mid-Dec. 1578 - end May 1579 ¹⁰
Feudius Orschotanus, Joannes	1st Jan. 1579 - 12th Mar. 1580 ¹¹
Moerman, Joannes	21st Jan. 1580 - 17th Mar. 1582 ¹²
Fine, Oliverius a	8th Feb. 1581 - 25th Sep. 1593 ¹³
Sasbout, Mathias	3rd Nov. 1582 - 16th Apr. 1583 ¹⁴
Fagle, Franciscus	18th Jun. 1588 - 18th Mar. 1589 ¹⁵
Mert, Joannes	29th Apr. 1589 - 1st Jul. 1589 ¹⁶
*Geesdael, Joannes	10th Jun. 1589 - 17th Aug. 1591 ¹⁷

1. Arch. 31, f^o 143.
2. Arch. 31, f^{os} 163 and 164; Arch. 32, f^o 274; Arch. 33, f^o 30. Entered as Bernardus Neomagensis in Arch. 31; as Bernardus Zelius in Arch. 32 and 33.
3. Arch. 31, f^o 84.
4. Arch. 31, f^o 142.
5. Arch. 32, f^o 70.
6. Arch. 32, f^o 150.
7. Arch. 32, f^{os} 187 and 190. Began at the Plantin House as 'lector lectoribus'.
8. Arch. 32, f^o 200: '... natif d'Audenarde, est venu céans le 14 octobre 1574 à nous servir de correcteur en Grec, Hebrieu, Latin, etc.'
9. Arch. 32, f^o 261.
10. Arch. 33, f^o 9.
11. Arch. 33, f^o 6.
12. Arch. 33, f^o 48.
13. Arch. 33, f^{os} 49, 95, 141; Arch. 786, f^o 15. Began with the firm as 'lector lectoribus'.
14. Arch. 33, f^o 76.
15. Arch. 33, f^o 142.
16. Arch. 33, f^o 155.
17. Arch. 33, f^o 157; Arch. 786, f^o 13.

Under Jan I Moretus (1589-1610)

Kilianus, Cornelis	see above
Fine, Oliverius a	see above
Geesdael, Joannes	see above
*Neoclesianus, Guilielmus	(c. Mar. 1591?) ¹⁸ .
Pauli, Renatus	19th Sep. 1591 - 14th Sep. 1592 ¹⁹ .
*Harduinus, Franciscus	8th Jan. 1594 - 7th Jan. 1595 ²⁰ .
*Drumarus, Petrus	c. 1594 ²¹ .

18. Arch. 786, f^o 22.

19. Arch. 786, f^o 38.

20. Arch. 786, f^o 53; also mentioned in Arch. 779 (*Semaines des ouvriers*).

21. Arch. 786, f^o 53. Became ill after a very brief term of service and left for Liège.

Hausius, Petrus Nicolaus	7th Jan. 1595 - 25th Mar. 1595 ¹
*Rombouts, Joannes	17th Oct. 1598 - 18th Oct. 1605 ²
*Stratonus (Straten), Alexander	22nd Jan. 1605 -? ³
*Nobelius, Jacobus	4th Nov. 1605 -? ⁴
*Corbinot, Mathias	7th Sep. 1608 -? ⁵

*17th-18th centuries (list incomplete)*⁶

Binnard, Martinus	before 1615 - after 1628 ⁷
Principe, Maximilianus a (Liège)	Mar. 1625 - d. 21st Oct. 1667
Par, Ludovicus	before 1640 - d. 10th Oct. 1653/29th Jan. 1654 ⁸
Hacqué, Joannes Baptista	left 9th Mar. 1658 ⁹
Coppens, Ignatius (Westerlo)	Mar. 1648 - d. 15th Nov. 1678 ¹⁰
Tasselo, Petrus (Antwerp)	Aug. 1662 - before 26th Oct. 1667
Blanckaert, Joannes (priest)	Sep. 1663 - before 27th May 1668 ¹¹
Coninck, Antonius Martinus de (Antwerp)	Dec. 1663 - d. 4th Mar. 1682 ¹²

1. Arch. 779 (*Semaines des ouvriers*). Not mentioned in the *livre des ouvriers* (Arch. 786).
2. Arch. 786, f^{os} 75 and 95. An apprentice proof-reader, he became a compositor on completion of his training.
3. Arch. 786, f^{os} 53 and 54 (until 1608); Arch. 777 (*Semaines des ouvriers*: entered to the end of the wages book, 18th Sept. 1610).
4. Arch. 786, f^o 137 (to 1608); Arch. 777 (to the end, 18th Sept. 1610); Arch. 130, f^o 64 (1616-24).
5. Arch. 786, f^o 117; Arch. 777 (to the end, 18th Sept. 1610).
6. Information for the period 1640-84 in the *livres des ouvriers* of 1640-60 (Arch. 781), 1660-1672 (Arch. 784) and 1673-84 (Arch. 783). There are entries only when proof-readers did more than the average amount of work; loose sheets give the names of readers in service, sometimes with additional details, such as the date of joining the firm and birth place. The register of the *Concordia*, the proof-readers' association, lists its members from its foundation in 1664 until 1764, often with biographical particulars, but not always with exact dates (Arch. 329); where no references are given in the list, the details were compiled from this register.
7. Arch. 130, f^{os} 39 and 45.
8. Arch. 781, f^{os} 140 and 168; Arch. 130, f^{os} 156 and 169.
9. Incidental reference in Arch. 784, f^o 23 (under I. Coppens).
10. Arch. 781, f^{os} 141 and 214; Arch. 784, f^{os} 23, 56, 103, 154, 161, 239, XXIV; Arch. 783, f^{os} 26 and 126.
11. Became canon of Antwerp Cathedral in 1668 (Arch. 329, f^o 10^{f^o}).
12. Arch. 784, f^o 182.

Neels, Adrianus (priest; Retie)	21st May 1668 - 28th May 1671 ^{13.}
Fabri, Guilielmus ('s-Hertogenbosch)	16th Oct. 1671 - before 22nd May 1681 ^{14.}
Oliva, Philippus (Antwerp)	Jul. 1673 - d. 1719

13. Arch. 784, f^o 181.

14. Arch. 784, f^o XXIII.

Weyden, Theodatus (Godtgaf) van der (priest; Antwerp)	Dec. 1678 - 19th May 1728
Jansenboy, Philippus Jacobus (nobleman) proof-reader for twelve years	after 1681 ¹
Goupil, Joannes (Brussels) proof-reader for 31 years	after 1681
Varick, Norbertus van proof-reader for twelve years	after 1681 (died young)
Noyens, Philippus Jacobus	c. 1714 - 14th Mar. 1744 ²
Elst, Franciscus van der (styled himself noble) proof-reader for four years	c. 1714 ³
Pleeck, Andreas (priest; Dendermonde) proof-reader for two months	c. 1714? (died 1722) ⁴
Kleyn, Martinus de (priest; Antwerp)	c. 1714-1728? - 28th Jun. 1765
Verdonck, Jacobus (Antwerp) proof-reader for two years	c. 1714 - 1728?
Brauw, Hieronymus (Alost)	1st Jun. 1728 - ?
Verwithagen, Norbertus (priest; ⁵ Antwerp)	8th Feb. 1751 - 11th Feb. 1763
Mertens, Nicolaus (priest; Antwerp)	28th Feb. 1763 - ?
Reyns, Maximilianus Petrus (priest; Antwerp)	2nd Apr. 1764 - ?

1. Left the press after receiving a benefice from the Duke of Bavaria (Arch. 329, f^o 11^{ro}).
2. Dismissed for no apparent reason in 1744; 'qui postquam fuisset secundum attestationem valde intelligens sua et diligens corrector per triginta annos sine causa fuisset dimissus a Joanne Jacobo Moretus 1744 14 Martii' (Arch. 329, f^o 11^{ro}).
3. 'Cum per quatuor annos fuisset corrector abiit, et dicebat velle adiscere Practicam ad requirendum majorem fortunam' (Arch. 329, f^o 11^{ro}).
4. Presbyter Teneramundanus quinquagenarius venit ad nos, et per duos menses fuit corrector valde urbanus ac bon^o indolis, postea factus est Pastor Monialium vulgo Vredenbergh Lyr^o [Lier] et post paucos annos ibi mortuus est' (Arch. 329, f^o 12^{vo}).
5. A curate at Antwerp Cathedral (Arch. 329, f^o 12^{vo}).

imprimant lad[icte] besongne de 6 compositeurs'.¹ Later, on 22nd June 1564, Plantin paid Ghisbrechts a bonus of 3 fl. because he had checked the work of two extra compositors besides his regular six.² Presumably a similar arrangement was in operation then for the other proof-readers engaged. They were supposed to match their work with a certain number of presses - normally two or three in Plantin's time. This number could be raised or lowered as need arose. In February 1567, when business grew very slack because of the political and religious troubles, Plantin arranged with Kiliaan, one of his two remaining proof-readers (the other was his son-in-law, F. Raphelengius, and therefore rather an exceptional case), that he should check the work of all the presses for as long as Plantin could keep them in operation. This meant 2, 3, or 4, with the salary adjusted according to the number.³

The number of proof-readers was therefore conditioned by the number of presses working, but with a certain amount of flexibility. If a number of presses were temporarily stopped, this did not mean that the readers appointed to them were automatically dismissed; conversely a temporary increase in the number could be dealt with by extra efforts on the part of the regular proof-readers, or by roping in auxiliaries - such as the master himself,⁴ or his family,⁵ or compositors.⁶ However, a considerable expansion or regression of any

1. Arch. 31, f^o 71^{vo}.
2. Arch. 31, f^o 72^{ro}: 'Le 22 Juin [1564] payé pour ce qu'il a vacqué à la correction de la besongne faite par Otho Pasch compositeur et d'Augustin à cause quil ne devoit par son accord corriger que pour 6 compos[iteurs]: 3 fl.'
3. Arch. 31, f^o 12^{vo}: 'Et doresnavant ie luy payeray le temps que ie ne tiendray que trois ou quatre presses douze st. par semaine outre les despens et en cas que ie ne tinsse que deux presses ie seray quicte pour la despense.'
4. *Corr.*, IV, no. 947 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, 15th-18th Sept. 1581: 'Valetudo nempe adversa, cotidiana occupationes typographicae hoc maxime tempore nobis ita difficili ut jam cogar praeter morem adjuvare nostrum Franciscum [Raphelengium] in legendis quod aiunt probis typographicis et quod parum laeta vel utilia queam aperte uti cuperem'). Ord. G(1555) stipulates 'Item, that the master... must read the proofs promptly, or have them read' - implying that on occasion the master himself might act as proof-reader. On this Ord.: p. 310, note 1.
5. Including his daughters: cf. Vol. I, pp. 143-144, and below p. 186.
6. An entry for the compositor Hans van Vossenhole reads: 'Le 4 May 1566 pour 1 forme in Jure civili: 18 st.; il a aidé à lire 8 espreuves in Jure civili: 8 st.' (Arch. 31, f^o 61). In 1605, after serving his apprenticeship as a proof-reader, Joannes Rombauts elected to become a compositor, but it was agreed that he should also 'soulager à la correction estant besoing' (Arch. 786, f^o 95).

duration was reflected in the number of proof-readers in service, as may be seen in the table on pp. 182-183.

The regression of 1566-67 and 1576, the slump of 1584-85, and the crisis of the following three years are as clearly reflected as the expansion of 1570-75, but not as quickly in the number of proof-readers as in the number of working presses, confirming that this class of employees was not as quickly dismissed nor as easily replaced or augmented as the compositors and pressmen.

The normal rate of work of the proof-readers in Plantin's time - the checking of the output of two or three presses, with some variation up or down, and occasional extra tasks¹ - seems not to have changed much in the subsequent centuries. The Moretuses began to specialize in the production of service books which had to be run off more slowly and in larger quantities than the average products of Plantin's period. This made it easier to check the work of a larger number of presses, but on the other hand these books had to be read more carefully than ordinary publications and the latter factor largely cancelled out the former. The ratio of one proof-reader to three presses was apparently fairly constant in the seventeenth century. There was, however, an instance of two proof-readers who each checked the work of four presses for a few years, but they received considerably increased pay for this. When a ninth press was brought into operation a third proof-reader made his appearance.²

The proof-readers' task consisted of carefully reading proof sheets of the set text, watchful for any mistakes that might have crept in, and then handing it back to the compositor for correction if necessary. The archives have many such corrected sheets,³ but the ordinances of

1. Cf. p. 188.
2. J.B. Hacqué left on 9th March 1658 and was not replaced until August 1662. His colleagues received an increase of 1 fl. 10 st. a week, because 'the work of three correctors has fallen on the remaining two' (Arch. 784, f^o 23). Cf. Vervliet, 'Une instruction plantinienne à l'intention des correcteurs', p. 102.
3. Examples from the *Officina Plantiniana* in Hellinga, *Copy and Print*, figures 52, 98, 156, 157, 163, 193.

Ratio of Proof-readers to Presses in Plantin's Time¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Presses</i>	<i>Proof-readers</i>	<i>Names</i>
1564	2	2	Kiliaan, Ghisbrechts
1565	5	3 (+ 2)	Kiliaan, Ghisbrechts, Raphelengius, (Madoets, Giselinus) ²
1566	7	2 (+ 2)	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, (Madoets, Giselinus)
1567	5	2	(Raph.) - Kiliaan
1568	6	2	(Raph.) - Kiliaan
1569	10	2 (+ 3 in second half of year)	(Raph.) - Kiliaan; 3 new proof-readers taken on in June-July (Spithals, Le Fevre, Kemp) - Kemp not mentioned after end of 1569.
1570	9	4	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Spithals, Le Fevre
1571	11	5 (+ 2 later in the year)	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Spithals, Le Fevre, Zelius. Note: a sixth proof-reader, Paschalis, in April; a seventh, Sterck, in April-July.
1572	13	7	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Spithals, Le Fevre, Zelius, Moonen, Paschalis
1573	12	5	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Spithals, Zelius, Moonen

1. For the number of presses see Vol. I, Appendix 5. In general the figures give the position in January of any year.
2. Madoets and Giselinus were part-time proof-readers.

1574	16	6	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Spithals, Zelius, Moonen, Cornelii
1575	15	8	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Spithals, Zelius, Moonen, Cornelii, Valerius, Stur

the house, mainly drawn up for the attention of composers and pressmen, have little to say about the process or the proof-readers' place in the printing office. They are only mentioned in passing,³ and only by exception is anything said about their relationship with

3. Cf. pp. 192-193. They and their work are explicitly mentioned only once: in Ord. A (1563), Art. 15. (The proof-reader shall do his work with great care and always inform the master of any errors that may occur; he shall read the proofs at once, in the order in which they have been brought to him, or as work and the occasion shall demand; on penalty of 4 st.)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Presses</i>	<i>Proof-readers</i>	<i>Names</i>
1576	15	8 (- 4 in second half of year)	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Spithals, Zelius, Moonen, Cornelii, Valerius, Stur. Note: Spithals, Moonen, Cornelii, Stur dismissed in June-Oct.
1577	3	4	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Zelius, Valerius. Spithals back, May-20th Aug.
1578	6	3	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Zelius
1579	5	5	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Zelius, Vredius, Feudius
1580	7	5	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Zelius, Feudius, Moerman
1581	8	3	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Moerman. Zelius dismissed in January.
1582	7	4	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Moerman, Fine
1583	10	4	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Fine, Sasbout
1584	6	3	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Fine
1585	6	3	(Raph.) - Kiliaan, Fine
1586	3	2	Kiliaan, Fine
1587	6	2	Kiliaan, Fine
1588	6	2	Kiliaan, Fine
1589	4	3	Kiliaan, Fine, Fagle. Note: Fagle left in March; two others (Mert, Geesdael)

engaged in April
and June.

compositors and pressmen.¹ Plantin's correspondence affords few concrete facts about them.²

Fortunately a few other documents are more informative. One of these, in Latin and in the handwriting of Jan I Moretus, can be dated to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Dr. H.D.L. Vervliet, who discovered and published this important piece, suggests that it

1. Ord. A (1563), Art. 11. (The type-setter who is last to complete his task must take both proofs to the proof-reader.) For the significance of this article see p. 312.
2. The proof-readers and their work are usually only mentioned in connexion with complaints about errors, as in *Corr.*, I, nos. 39 and 58; II, nos. 297 and 323; VIII-IX, no. 1157. Cf. also p. 298.

was compiled in 1607 or 1608, when the death of the old and tried proof-reader, Kiliaan, made it necessary to codify and write out for the newcomers the practices hitherto followed. In translation it reads:¹

Proof-readers who work for the Plantin printing press must diligently observe the following rules:

[That] in the morning they must be present punctually at the arranged time. They cannot absent themselves during lunch or dinner before the revised copy or the uncorrected proofs have been examined with care and zeal and compared with the marked corrections, so that the printers do not begin, by their fault or by that of compositors or by their negligence, to print before all has been properly corrected and revised.

That they take care to possess a knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages; that they study the vernacular tongues in order to respect the spelling of each.

That they read attentively not only the small type, but that in reading the large type sizes they look carefully at the syllables and letters of all the words and verbs; that they do not laugh when in very large type, not only letters but entire phrases have been omitted; that they do not reveal by what negligence this might have happened.

That they keep count of the exact order of pages in each of the formes of a book. The pagination must be diligently observed; in fact, an unnoticed fault in the pagination makes indexes quite useless, and hinders the reader in his work.

The proof-reader must examine the punctuation closely, and he must accustom himself to anticipate the [professional] 'reader' by a sentence. The 'reader' in fact should read more slowly or stop as soon as he sees that the proof-reader has been overwhelmed and held back by the mistakes.

The ends and beginnings of lines must be looked at carefully. In fact a frequent cause of trouble is the repetition of the end of the preceding line at the beginning of the following line. The catchword (that is, the syllables which announce the beginning of the next page) must be examined properly to see if it is not too short or too long.

In the smallest sizes, the letters *rt*, *nu*, *av*, *ae*, *oe*, *ct*, *&*, *st*, *si*, *fi*, require great attention to ensure that one is not substituted for the other.

That he watches to see that a letter of a wrong fount is not mixed with the

1. Arch. 118, f^o 1. Latin text and French translation in Vervliet, 'Une instruction plantinienne à l'intention des correcteurs', pp. 100-101.

others. If the cursive *ff*'s or *ss*'s have been turned upside down, the top loop is the bigger. If the 'o' is inverted it appears a little above or below the line. That they note also the difference between the letter o and [the numeral] zero.

That they follow carefully the spelling of each language; that they take into account, however, that used by wise and competent writers in their manuscripts, and the difference between the letters n and u, which by many authors are written in such a way that the difference cannot be seen, and often the sense [of the sentence] is lost. Similarly for abbreviations which often, in spite of every care, no one can understand; if for this reason faults have now and again been committed, these are not attributable to the proof-readers but to the authors who must furnish the printers with neat and legible copy.

Drinking and drunkenness must be carefully avoided; it is like a shameful illness, and very bad for the body and for the eyes.

Most of these hints are fairly obvious: naturally the proof-readers had to look more carefully at easily confused letters and ligatures, and at the end and beginning of lines and pages, and check the pagination. Less obvious is the request that they should not laugh out loud on finding glaring errors or reveal the name of their originators. Presumably the person who made this rule was influenced by actual incidents that had begun with merriment on the part of a proof-reader and had ended with an exchange of words between him and the aggrieved compositor.

The most revealing aspect of this document, however, is its presupposition of a *lector* in addition to the *corrector*. Such readers are mentioned several times in the Plantinian archives. 'Ung liseur espagnol' was among those who in 1562 brought the clandestine printing of a Calvinist pamphlet to light, and the activities of the Plantin press to a standstill for nearly eighteen months.¹ In October 1574 Robertus Valerius was taken on as a *lector correctoribus*, and Oliverius a Fine on 8th February 1581. Both soon acquired the qualification *correcteur* beside their names and the appropriate adjustment of salary. This must mean that the function was not a permanent appointment in the house and that 'apprentice' proof-readers and

1. Cf. Vol. I, p. 35.

young, untrained ones spent a period as *lectores* before promotion to the position and salary of proof-reader.¹ Sometimes temporary *lectores* were recruited: Plantin's daughters worked in this capacity when young.²

Although the individual *lector* appeared only briefly in the Plantinian wages accounts, the regulation of c. 1607-08 implies that the function itself was a permanent one and consequently in most cases can only have been fulfilled by a proof-reader. The proof-readers must often have worked in conjunction, one of them reading the text out loud, the other following the proof looking for faults. Probably the reading aloud was omitted if the work was too long or the number of proof-readers too small.

This hypothesis concerning the division of labour among the proof-readers is confirmed by a memorandum of about 1760.³ It is of late date and only concerns the correction of liturgical works (with one proof per set page of red type and one per page of black) but it is probable that the system in broad outline at least was in use in the seventeenth, and possibly the sixteenth century.

The English translation of the Dutch text reads as follows:

The practice of the correctors in correcting proofs when there are three proof-readers:

- (1) The first or senior reads the red [proof] and corrects it, item the second proof and the third proof.
- (2) The second proof-reader corrects the first [black] proof and hears the third [black] proof read.
- (3) The third proof-reader must read out the first [black] proof and listen to the red proof, and read and correct the second [black] proof by himself.

1. A. Straten, who joined the firm on 22th Jan. 1605, was at first termed a 'correctoris adiutor' (Arch. 777). This must have been another expression for the function elsewhere indicated as 'lector'.

2. Vervliet, 'Une instruction...', pp. 102-103. Cf. Vol. I, p. 144.

3. Arch. 697, no. 101, f^o 2^{ro}. On this memorandum cf. L. Voet, 'Een aantekenboek van Franciscus Joannes Moretus...'

When there are four proof-readers:

- (1) The first reads the red [proof] as in no. 1 above.
- (2) The second reads and corrects the second [black] proof and the third [black] proof by himself.
- (3) The third corrects the first [black] proof.
- (4) The fourth proof-reader reads out the first [black] proof, and listens to the red and the third [black] proof.

This text poses some problems of interpretation. The author offers a summary by way of clarification.

Three proof-readers

	<i>First or senior proof-reader</i>	<i>Second proof-reader</i>	<i>Third proof-reader</i>
1st proof red	Reads out & corrects		Hears read
1st proof black		Hears & corrects	Reads out
2nd proof red	Corrects		
2nd proof black			Reads & corrects himself
3rd proof red	Corrects		
3rd proof black		Hears (& corrects)	Reads out?

Four proof-readers

	<i>First or senior proof-reader</i>	<i>Second proof-reader</i>	<i>Third proof-reader</i>	<i>Fourth proof-reader</i>
1st pr. Red	Reads out & corrects			Hears read
1st pr. Black			(Hears & corrects)	Reads out
2nd pr. Red	Corrects			
2nd pr. black		Reads & corrects		
3rd pr. red	Corrects			
3rd pr. black		Reads & corrects		Hears read

Proof-readers were given other tasks besides the actual correction. In the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries these were called *extraordinaria* and included

rewriting, collating, and correcting manuscripts, making indexes, compiling glossaries, and so on.¹ An exceptional instance occurred at the reorganization of Plantin's business in 1563,

1. See also pp. 282 and 286 about these extra tasks.

when Madoets prepared the type-cases of Hebrew type and set the first pages of Isaac's Hebrew grammar.¹

In Plantin's early years these miscellaneous tasks were often done by casual workers - sometimes, as has already been pointed out, wrongly classed as proof-readers² - and part-time proof-readers. The regular proof-readers seldom did this work, or if they did it was treated as part of their daily work and paid as such, requiring no special entry in the wages accounts.³ The only special assignments traced for Plantin's period were undertaken by Raphelengius,⁴ Kiliaan,⁵ Ghisbrechts,⁶ Moonen,⁷ and Spithals.⁸ In the seventeenth century L. Par⁹ and I. Coppens¹⁰ distinguished themselves in this respect.

1. Arch. 31, f^o 3.
2. Cf. p. 175.
3. There were, nevertheless, instances after 1567 of the ordinary proof-readers being allotted to this kind of task: *Corr.*, IV, no. 606 (Plantin to de Pimpont, 21st Jan. 1575: 'J'ay receu hier vos Paralipomena... et tout incontinent faict mettre la main a noter les pages de nostre impression a chaicun article desdictes Paralipomena par celuy mesme de mes correcteurs a qui j'avois donné la charge de vostre dicte oeuvre et d'en faire aussi l'Index, de sorte que j'espere maintenant de le parachever bien tost'). The author has found no record of this work in the wages accounts, but another entry by Plantin shows that the proof-readers were paid extra on these occasions: when making an agreement with Arnold Mylius in 1576-77 for the joint printing of an edition, Plantin stipulated 'Item ie feray changer les chiffres à l'index général desd[ict]s Opera S. Hieronymi quil payera selon que ien payeray à mes correcteurs à qui ie les bailleray à faire comme iay faict de St. Augustin' (Arch. 32, f^o 299^{ro}). Again the author has not been able to discover any trace of the relevant payments for the *extraordinaria* of this work in the wage sheets of the readers then in service. But there are records of the work done on the index of the *Opera S. Augustini* (see note 8).
4. He collaborated on the Polyglot Bible. Cf. Vol. I, p. 149.
5. See the biographies of Kiliaan referred to on p. 176, note 3.
6. Arch. 31, f^o 72^{ro} (1563-65, compiling of indexes and revision of a Greek dictionary: 'Le 11 May 1565. J'ay receu le Thesaurus linguae Graece in f^o Crispini auquel il a (suivant l'accord fait entre nous deux au mois d'Octobre 1564) noté ce qui doibt laisser pour imprimer ung Lexicon Graecum in 4^{to} abrégé dud[ict] Thesaurus et doibt avoir pour son loger ung st. pour chaicunne feille dont il y en a 826 feilles faictes par luy qui sont en tout 41 fl. 6 st.').
7. Arch. 32, f^o 70 (one extra payment, 12th Jan. 1574: 'Je luy ay aussi payé pour son exemplaire du petit Missal in 4^o: 1 fl. 12 st.').
8. Arch. 32, f^o 276 (one extra payment, 20th Aug. 1577: 'pro 14 septimanis in Index Augustini 54 st. pro unaquaque septimana: 37 fl. 16 st.').
9. Arch. 781, f^{os} 140 and 168.
10. Arch. 781, f^{os} 141 and 214; Arch. 784, f^{os} 23, 56, 103, 154, 161, 239, xxiv; Arch. 783, f^{os} 26 and 126.

The proof-readers in fact worked at piece rates, although it was far easier in their case to arrive at a fixed daily wage (sometimes reckoned on a weekly or even annual basis). Distinction has to be made between the resident and non-resident proof-readers. The great number of these more intellectual members of staff in Plantin's day¹ received board and lodging for some length of time from their employer - sometimes for the whole period of their service with him. Manual workers were also engaged on this basis,² but the percentage was much higher with the proof-readers. Until 1571 most of them lived in, and after that date the non-residents were the exception rather than the rule.³ Plantin paid the resident proof-readers a salary calculated on an annual basis and varying between 40 and 60 fl. The upper limit was usually only reached after a few years. Just a few received more, among them Kiliaan⁴ and Nicolaas Le Fèvre de la Boderie.⁵

If Plantin was not providing a proof-reader with board and lodging, then the salary was of course higher⁶ and paid weekly. L. Sterck received 2 fl. per week in 1571 - but left because he could not manage

1. Under the Moretuses there would have been far fewer readers living in - mostly 'apprentice' readers and young assistants.
2. Cf. p. 336.
3. L. Sterck in 1571 seems to have been the first non-resident proof-reader. Residents were: Raphelengius, Madoets, Ghisbrechts, N. Le Fèvre de la Boderie, Feudius. Probably resident: Kemp, Cornelii, Stur, Vredius. Non-resident, or probably so: Sterck, Spithals, Valerius, Moerman, Sasbout, Fagle, Mert, and Geesdael. Resident at first: Zelius (joined 8th Feb. 1570; 'despens hors la maison' 28th Oct. 1573), Moonen (joined 23rd Sept. 1571; 26th Oct. 1573 'propres despens'), Oliverius a Fine (joined 8th Feb. 1581; 'hors despens' - and married - in March 1582). Kiliaan lived in from 1558 to 1582 and from 1586 until his death (Rooses, *Musée*, p. 126). In 1572 Plantin sought to be excused from having soldiers billeted on him, pointing out 'Comme ainsi soit que j'aie la maison si pleine d'ouvriers et d'ouvrage pour le service de Sa Majesté que je suis contraint de tenir trois lits hors de ma dicte maison pour y coucher aucuns de nos correcteurs...' (*Corr.*, III, no. 386: Plantin to Albernoz, Alva's secretary, 20th May - 9th June 1572).
4. Although not in the early years. Until 1571 Kiliaan earned only 4 fl. a month; from 1571 to 1582 he earned 1 fl. 10 st. a week (6 fl. a month; 72 fl. a year); from 1586 to 1591 he was paid 100 fl. a year; from 1591 until his death 150 fl. a year.
5. Monthly 6 fl. (1 fl. 10 st. a week).
6. At all events the two things were connected. In 1580 Feudius received an allowance of 12 st. for the 15 days he slept in the town instead of at the Plantin house.

on this; ‘encore que ie le luy eusse prédicit’ was what Plantin phlegmatically added to his note recording Sterck's departure.¹ The other non-resident proof-readers usually earned slightly more than 2 fl. per week: A. Spithals 2 fl. 10 st. in 1571, 2 fl. 14 st. from 1572 to 1574; B. Zelius 2 fl. 5 st. in October 1573, 2 fl. 10 st. from December 1575 to the beginning of 1580, 3 fl. from March 1580 to 1581; M. Sasbout 2 fl. 6 st. in 1582; J. Mert 2 fl. 14 st. when he started on 29th April 1589, 3 fl. per week from 13th May 1589; J. Geesdael 3 fl. per week in 1589. Oliverius a Fine began his career in 1582 as a fully fledged proof-reader ‘without board and lodging’ at 2 fl. per week, reaching 2 fl. 6 st. after six months, 2 fl. 10 st. one week later, 3 fl. in May 1584, and finally - in June 1589 - achieving 4 fl. The *lector* R. Valerius began in October 1574 at 1 fl. 10 st. per week, rising to 1 fl. 18 st. one year later, and 2 fl. 2½ st. after a further year. J. Moerman's advance was even swifter: 1 fl. 4 st. per week on 25th March 1580, 1 fl. 10 st. on 22nd April 1580, 1 fl. 16 st. on 29th April 1580, 2 fl. on 13th May 1580 - but this was his limit and he stayed on this salary until his departure on 17th March 1582. Because of the small number of proof-readers it is difficult to discover how far their salaries followed the upwards trend that can be shown for the manual workers.² The facts do suggest that there were adjustments, and that these, not the proof-readers' personal merits, or an accommodating attitude on the part of the master, were the reason for the 3 fl. and 4 fl. a week that the proof-readers were beginning to earn after 1585.

Sometimes there was extra work, paid accordingly. In the seventeenth century energetic proof-readers were able to earn considerable additional amounts in this way. But in Plantin's time such work rarely came the way of the regular proof-readers who, resident or non-resident, had to manage on their ordinary weekly pay. That pay was not particularly high compared to the manual workers. A good compositor or pressman generally took more home.³

The masters of the Golden Compasses took on quite a number of apprentices, training them up as compositors or pressmen while they

1. Arch. 31, f^o 84.

2. Cf. pp. 339 sqq.

3. Cf. the figures given on pp. 336-338.

either drew a very low wage or else lived in. A few proof-readers also entered the Plantinian press in this manner. The word apprentice was not used in their contracts but the phrasing and conditions were essentially those of articles of apprenticeship. In the case of Oliverius a Fine, for example 's'est accordé à me servir 4 ans pour les despens, présents sa mère, sa seur et le mari d'icelle'. He was given the title not of *corrector* but of *lector lectoribus*. From 8th February 1581 until 10th March 1582, Plantin paid sums to a total of 32 fl. which were charged to this reader's account. When Oliverius a Fine married in March 1582, this debt was cancelled, he was given a wedding present of 3 fl. 4 st., and he was promoted to full proof-reader at a weekly salary of 2 fl.

Jan I Moretus made an agreement in October 1598 whereby J. Rombauts, son of Herman Rombauts, a doctor from 's-Hertogenbosch, came to live in for six years 'for his board and lodging' and a gratuity of 40 fl. at the end of this term (from which was to be deducted any expenses Moretus had incurred on the apprentice's behalf). If at the end of the six years, Rombauts wanted to stay, then he would receive his keep and a yearly salary of 20, 25, or 50 fl. When the six years were up Rombauts decided to stay on - but as a compositor, helping with proof-correcting when necessary, at an annual wage of 120 fl. plus keep.

Although they were not the best paid of the Plantinian work force, the proof-readers were considered a step above the compositors and pressmen. Some of them gained a name for themselves outside the Plantin House: Frans Raphelengius, Plantin's learned son-in-law; Cornelius Kiliaan (Kilianus) who, with his Dutch dictionaries, became a pre-eminent figure in Dutch linguistics; Victor Giselinus, the doctor and humanist. Most were less distinguished and their intellectual standing and ambitions more modest. Until the middle of the seventeenth century there were only lay proof-readers, but with the Moretuses' specialization in the publication of service books, priests began to appear in this capacity and eventually largely replaced their lay colleagues.¹ At the end of the seventeenth century and the

1. The first to be described as such was J. Blankaert, who joined the firm in September 1663.

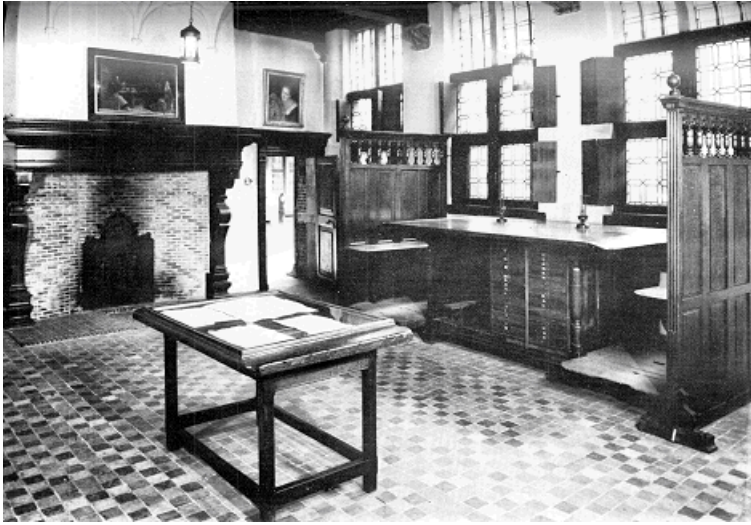
beginning of the eighteenth, there was even an aristocratic proof-reader and a person ‘styling himself noble’ (‘se nobilis dicens’).

Plantin and his successors did not have the same difficulties with these ‘white collar’ workers as with the turbulent, inky-handed ones. This does not mean that there was never any friction. The little world of the proof-readers was visited by the demon drink. The regulation of c. 1607-08 contains an earnest warning against its dangers and entries in the records show that this admonition was occasioned by actual incidents. For example, A. Spithals was dismissed in October 1574 because of ‘ivrognerie’ (but later taken on again). No details are given of what the ‘meurs fascheuses’ of B. Zelius precisely consisted of, although apparently this proof-reader later mended his ways to some extent.

Questions of wages rather than alcoholism presumably lay at the bottom of other expressions of ill humour on the part of the proof-readers or their employer. Oliverius a Fine departed with an angry slam of the door in 1593 after thirteen years with the Plantin House.¹ P.J. Noyens was dismissed without reason given in 1744 after thirty years’ service.² The hope of better money caused many proof-readers eventually to leave the Golden Compasses.³ However, in general relations between the master and the proof-readers, and among the proof-readers themselves, were more peaceful and equable than was the case with the manual workers.

The higher social standing of the proof-readers also put them on a different footing in the firm. The first of Plantin’s ordinances, compiled in 1555-56, laid down that proof-readers had to pay a *bienvenue*

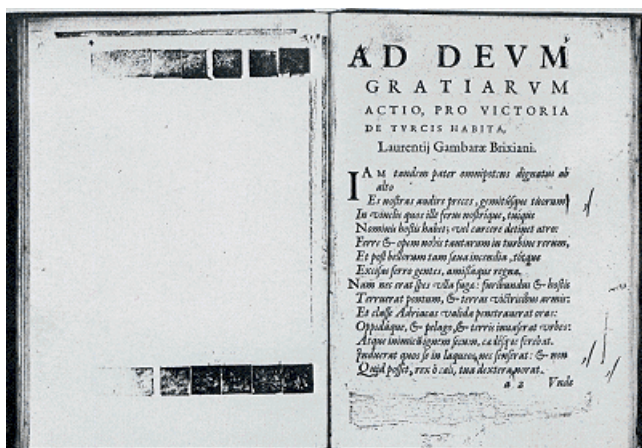
1. Arch. 786, f^o 15^{ro}: ‘Est parti malcontent et sans dire adieu etc.’
2. As was indicated in the list of members of the *Concordia* (Arch. 329, f^o 11^{ro}: ‘sine causa fuisset dimissus a Joanne Jacobo Moretus’). See also p. 179, note 2. Noyens must have been active in the *Concordia*. In Arch. 329, f^o 10^{vo} is his note: ‘... ego Philippus Jac. Noyens sepissime audivi [of earlier former colleagues whom he mentions by name]... quod correctores solerent quando fuissent per duos annos augmentari in pretio...’ It may have been an action for higher wages that provoked J.J. Moretus’s wrath.
3. Including in the sixteenth century L. Sterck and in the eighteenth Jansenboy, Van der Elst, and Pleeck.



(30) *Opposite*: Proof-readers' room in the Plantin house. On the large table against the wall the sheets for correction were spread out. The readers sat on the benches fixed to the partitions.



(31) Top: Joannes Christophorus Calvete de Stella, *Ad ... Ferdinandum Alvarum Toletum Albae Ducem Encomium*, 1573: page-proof with corrections by the readers (A 328). The Hebrew letters on the left-hand page were used as quadrats (see also plate 32). After correction they would have been replaced by quadrats. The 'summa privilegii' is a typical example of the way in which privileges were reproduced in Plantinian texts. Apart from these page-proofs in A 328 there is no other known copy of this eulogy of Alva by Calvete.



(32) Bottom: Laurentius Gambara, *Ad Deum gratiarum actio, pro victoria de Turcis habita*, 1572: page-proof with corrections by the readers (A 328). The empty space on the left-hand page where the quadrats were left projecting was probably meant for the text of the privilege (see also plate 31). These proofs are the only known copy of Gambara's eulogy.

to the chapel when they entered the firm's service,¹ but their official relationship to this association of the pressmen and compositors was confined to this entry fee. Later ordinances enjoined a respectful mode of address to the proof-readers,² but complaints and grievances could be uttered in their presence as they were in no sense outsiders.³ Although treated with respect and recognized as members of the workers' community in the Plantinian house, they remained completely outside the chapel. However, when the sick fund was reorganized in 1653, they were allowed to join the scheme, but as individuals.⁴

Not until 1664 did the proof-readers feel the need to form themselves into an association. On 22nd October of that year Maximilianus a Principe, Ignatius Coppens, Joannes Blanckaert, and Antonius Martinus de Coninck signed the rules and articles of the *confrérie* or *Concordia inter correctores typographiae Plantiniana* with the motto 'DVLCLIs ConCorDIa Vera CharItate ConstrICTa'.⁵ However, unlike the chapel, which fulfilled an important and social function in the firm as a trade union and sick fund, the *Concordia* was little more than a convivial club for the proof-readers. Its immediate purpose remained restricted to saving for and organizing an annual two-day celebration which normally began on 18th October, the feast day of St. Luke, patron of the Antwerp printers.⁶ Also unlike the chapel, membership of which was obligatory and a condition of employment, joining the *Concordia* was optional - in fact a number of later proof-readers remained outside it.

1. Ord. G. Cf. on the chapel pp. 361 sqq.
2. Ord. L, Art. 94 (1681).
3. Ord. L, Art. 108 (1692).
4. Cf. p. 374.
5. Statutes and list of members: Arch. 329.
6. Cf. Sabbe, 'De Plantijnsche werkstede', pp. 630-632.

Chapter 8

Illustration

As a bookseller Plantin bought and sold prints,¹ but it is the engravings he had made to illustrate his own publications that are the concern of this chapter. Of all the aspects of the Plantinian press it is book illustration that has been dealt with in most detail, although there has been as yet no general, overall survey of the subject and recourse has to be made to the many specialized studies which have appeared.² The art-historical importance of book illustration explains this interest and so far it has been experts in this field who have produced such studies.

1. A.J.J. Delen, 'Christoffel Plantin als prentenhandelaar', *De Gulden Passer*, 10, 1932, pp. 1-24. Remarkable letter from Plantin to a Paduan nobleman, Franciscus Gentilis, about 'antiquarian' prints - by Albrecht Dürer - their value, and the collector's fever they were causing (*Corr.*, I, no. 59, 19th July 1567).
2. For Plantin's period, Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 175-190; and notably A.J.J. Delen, 'Les artistes collaborateurs de Christophe Plantin', *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire du célèbre imprimeur anversois, Christophe Plantin*, 1920, pp. 85-123; cf. also A.J.J. Delen, 'Les illustrateurs français de Christophe Plantin', *Le Bibliophile*, 2, 1932, pp. 63-74 and 175-183. A general but interesting summary is R. Nash, 'Plantin's illustrated books', *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, pp. 270-282. The artists around Plantin are also discussed in the general setting of the graphic arts of the sixteenth-century Netherlands in A.J.J. Delen, *Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas et dans les provinces belges, des origines jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle. II. 1. Le XV^e siècle. Les graveurs-illustrateurs*, 1935. M. Rooses wrote scholarly and informative introductions to issues of certain Plantinian engravings, which were printed from the original wood-blocks or copperplates: *De houtsneden uitgevoerd voor den Brevier en voor den Missaal in-folio. Les bois gravés pour le Breviaire et pour le Missel in-folio*, 1910 (woodcuts by A. Nicolai, A. van Leest, G. Janssen van Kampen, C. Muller, G. van Parijs; and C. Jegher, seventeenth century); *De houtsneden uitgevoerd voor de breviëren, de missalen en andere kerkelijke boeken. Les bois gravés pour les brevières, les missels et autres livres liturgiques*, 1911 (the various artists and woodcutters who worked for Plantin, together with C. Jegher); *Het Oud en het Nieuw Testament. L'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament*, 2 vols., 1911 (reproductions from the wood-blocks of an unpublished Old Testament and a New Testament that appeared in 1571; drawings by G. Ballain, woodcuts by A. Nicolai, G. Janssen van Kampen, C. Muller, M. Duchesne); *De Emblemata van Hadrianus Junius. Herdruk der Plantijnsche uitgave*, 1902; also with introductory text in French: *Les Emblèmes d'Hadrianus Junius. Réimpression de l'édition plantinienne de 1565*, 1901 (drawings by G. Ballain and P. Huys, woodcuts by G. Janssen van Kampen, and A. Nicolai). See also M. Rooses, 'De Plantijnsche uitgaven van "Emblemata Joannis Sambuci"', *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 2, 1904, pp. 7-21 (drawings by L. d'Heere and P. Huys, woodcuts by A. Nicolai, C. Muller, G. Janssen van Kampen). Cf. also p. 238, note 1 (Jan Wiericx) and p. 239, note 4 (Crispijn de Passe). For the seventeenth century only Rubens's activities as a designer for the *Officina Plantiniana* have been studied in any detail: H.F. Bouchery & F. van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, 1941, replaced M. Rooses's work, *Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus. Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der kunst*, 1884 (see also p. 234, note 11). The craftsmen who engraved Rubens's drawings are also discussed in these works, but there is no study dealing with the others; incidental information about a few of them is in Rooses, *Musée*. For the later Moretuses, from c. 1660 to the end of the firm's activities, an excellent study is available: F. van den Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen en de boekillustratie', *De Gulden Passer*, 25, 1947, pp. 186-240, and 26, 1948, pp. 150-205. There are interesting notes about the artists represented by extant drawings in the Museum (and sometimes about the engravers who interpreted their drawings) in F. van den Wijngaert, *De oude tekeningen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus. Catalogus*. For a number of minor studies, see pp. 233 sqq.

In the heyday of the *Officina Plantiniana* there were only two means of illustrating a printed book: woodcuts and copperplate engravings (incised with a burin or etched).¹ At the end of the eighteenth century, lithography introduced a new medium, and somewhat later steelplate engraving began to compete with copperplate. The Moretuses of the nineteenth century only very occasionally made use of these new techniques,² and so the woodcut and the copperplate

1. And also engravings *en relief* in copper or lead. In the wood-block collection of the Museum there are some alphabets executed in this technique: one - incomplete - alphabet in copper (22 pieces: nos. 13656-13677) and three alphabets in lead (1: nos. 13567-13584, 13763, 13764; 2: nos. 13597-13655; 3: nos. 13585-13596 [12 variants of the initial I]; altogether 91 pieces). No data are available concerning the designers and engravers. The alphabet consisting of nos. 13567-13584, 13763, 13764 can be ascribed to the sixteenth century, and the one consisting of nos. 13585-13596 to the eighteenth. The others could belong either to the seventeenth or the eighteenth century.
2. In 1825 a 24mo diurnal with steel engravings (Van den Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen,' II, p. 203) and in 1831 a 16mo breviary with lithographs (Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, p. 67).

engraving remained the basis of book illustration in the Plantin press from start to finish. This presupposed specialists to cut the wood-blocks or to engrave or etch the copperplates. Often an artist is proficient in both forms, but the craftsmen working for the Plantin house stuck consistently to one or the other. When judging their work it must always be borne in mind that they themselves would have been masters of workshops: many a wood-block or copperplate, ascribed to a particular master on the grounds of style, a signature, or references in the Plantinian records, was in reality wholly or partially the work of an anonymous journeyman or even apprentice, albeit under his master's supervision.¹ It was possible too that in engravings letters and figures were cut by different craftsmen.²

Most of these specialists were technicians rather than creative artists.³ Pieter van der Borch designed his own etchings; Pieter Huys produced designs and also engraved those of others. Jan Wiericx, Theodoor Galle, Schelte a Bolswert, and Karel de Mallery occasionally did the drawings from which they made their plates. Christoffel Jegher was paid on several occasions for the designs for his woodcuts. These were exceptions, however, most practitioners working to models, whether illustrations appearing in other books or drawings supplied by more creative artists. It was therefore the

1. A good example, but the only explicit one the author has found: Arch. 38, f^o 96^{vo} (Arnold Nicolai, woodcutter: 'Le 17 mars [1557, 1558, or 1559] baillé la Chyromantie de Tricasse à tailler par son garson les figures et luy mesmes la lectre à 3½ st. pièce').
2. Especially for copperplates. A. Huberti's activities for the firm were largely confined to engraving letters on other artists' plates. E.g., Arch. 21, f^o 13, 1589 [April]: 'Pour tailleure des lectres en diverses plates' 3 fl. 17 st.; [November]: 'Noch geschrift gesneden in 7 plaetkens' [further letters cut in 7 small plates] 1 fl. 1 st. (Cf. Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 168.) In 1588 Huberti had been paid 2 fl. 10 st. 'pour la taille de l'escriture' on a portrait of St. Bruno; Crispijn de Passe, the engraver of the plate, was recorded as having received 15 fl., though this was probably only part of his fee (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1378, p. 402). The same question could arise with wood-blocks: cf. note 1 (figures by Nicolai's boy, the letters by the master).
3. When no further information or references are given for a particular artist here and in subsequent pages, see pp. 233 sqq.

calibre and evolution of these draughtsmen that determined the quality and development of Plantinian book illustration.

Information about the artists who worked for Plantin in the years 1555-62 is scanty. The copper engravings of *La magnifique et sumptueuse Pompe funèbre de Charles Cinquième* of 1559 give the famous Antwerp engraver and publisher of prints, Hieronymus Cock, as ‘inventor’ and the brothers Jan and Lucas Duetecum as the engravers. This spectacular album of Charles V's funeral procession carries Christophe Plantin's name as publisher, although it was in fact commissioned and financed by the herald of arms, Pieter Vernois. Plantin was an executor, like Cock and the Duetecums, and it is unlikely that he had any say in the choice of artists. Of the artists he obtained for his own publications only a few can be named with any certainty. Arnold Nicolai's signature on a number of woodcuts in Plantinian books show that this quite gifted woodcutter, to whom repeated reference will be made in this chapter, was already working for Plantin in 1555.¹ The Huys brothers had by this time engraved some copperplates for the Vesalius-Valverde medical treatise, planned by Plantin. These plates were auctioned with the rest of Plantin's property in April 1562, but he was able to buy them back in 1564.

Not until 1563 is it possible to glean more information about the illustrators around Plantin. During his enforced stay in Paris, Plantin must have met an artist whose talents for drawings and designing he valued. After his return to Antwerp he placed a number of orders. On 1st April 1564 a first remittance of 8 fl. 19 st. was made to Geoffroy Ballain, *enlumineur* of Paris, for a drawing of a ‘devant de livres en 16° à termes’ (a border with caryatids for a title-page of a 16mo book); 3 ‘vignettes carrées’ and ‘2 portaux faceon de ruines en 4°’ (borders in the form of ruined Roman porticos for title-pages of a quarto book). Until 1567 Ballain, of whom nothing further is known, continued to send

1. His monogram also appeared in the woodcuts of *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit* by Hendrik Niclaes (about 1562), issued without an imprint, but convincingly attributed to Plantin (cf. Vol. I, pp. 22-23). Nicolai is the only named artist in Plantin's wages books before 1562 (Arch. 38, f^{os} 96^{vo} and 97^{ro}).

designs for printer's marks, borders, Biblical subjects and so on with great regularity. Only once was Plantin not wholly satisfied with the finished work: in 1565 he had six of the 57 designs for the Hadrianus Junius *Emblemata* volume redrawn by Pieter Huys. It should be pointed out that Ballain produced some excellent work, especially, as might be expected from an *enlumineur*, in the decorative genre. On 5th August 1567 Plantin wrote to Paris about work on a new order.¹ Contact must have been broken off soon after this, possibly because of Ballain's death.

In this period Lucas d'Heere of Ghent, in his day a highly praised painter and member of a chamber of rhetoric, received 80 fl. 10 st. from Plantin for the delivery of 168 drawings for the Sambucus *Emblemata*, but it was the Hungarian humanist himself, in the Netherlands at the time, who obtained his services.² The experiment did not prove successful: eighty of the designs had to be redrawn. There is no record of any further work from the Ghent artist.

Again it was the famous Antwerp painter Pieter Huys who did the redrawing; he has already been referred to in his capacity as copperplate engraver. In October 1563 he designed an alphabet for Plantin. Besides the redrawing, he produced a further thirteen *emblemata* for the Junius book and 65 illustrations for the *Commentarii in Ptolomaeum et artem navigationis H. Broucci*, which actually remained in manuscript. This seems to have been the end of this category of work from Huys. Plantin then and later called on his services as an engraver, but he apparently found other artists who pleased him better as draughtsmen and designers. Huys was a painter of great merit and Plantin's attitude was possibly caused by the personality of the man himself rather than by lack of appreciation of his talents.³

Plantin had probably made use of his services in 1563-65 because

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 76.
2. Arch. 4, f^o 7^{ro} (21st Feb. 1564: 'Maistre Lucas d'Heere painctre demeurant à Guendt payé ... sur la pourtraicture de 168 Emblemes quil avoit marchandé avec Mons. Sambucus de faire à st. 10 la pièce').
3. See Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', p. 104. In 1566 Plantin noted a payment to Huys for 5 copperplates, but he added 'mais ie doute que ie n'ay receu que 4 planches' (Arch. 31, f^o 64).

there were no other suitable artists available. In 1565 Rembert Dodoens, then living in Malines, sent him some drawings of plants intended for a botanical work of his which Plantin was to publish. These drawings brought Pieter van der Borch, the man responsible for them, to Plantin's notice and led him to offer the artist commissions of his own. In this way began the relationship between the printer and the man who was to be his principal illustrator (and from 1574 also one of his chief engravers).¹ In 1566 Plantin was able to contact another artist who was to serve him faithfully for many years; this was Crispin (or Crispijn) van den Broeck, who lived in Antwerp. These two were responsible for the design of the greater part of the firm's book illustrations between 1565-66 and 1589.

There were other artists whom Plantin engaged. In 1566 the Antwerp painter Lambert van Noort designed the elegant title-page for the Vesalius-Valverde anatomical treatise. In 1574-75 the Dane, Melchior Lorck, who happened to be in Antwerp at that time, supplied some illustrations for breviaries and missals that are among the most beautiful of the genre. At the end of his career Plantin approached Maarten de Vos, a celebrated Antwerp painter in his day, who from about 1581 to 1589 provided him with a whole series of drawings.

The first of these principal Plantinian designers, Geoffroy Ballain, was a typical representative of the contemporary French school. His illustrations and ornaments gave Plantin's illustrated books of the period 1563-67 a pronounced Parisian character. The draughtsmen who principally served Plantin during the rest of his career - Van der Borch, Van den Broeck and De Vos - were Italianizing and Mannerist, and therefore characteristic of the Netherlands of their day. Their work exhibits, among other features, elongated figures with relatively small heads. But whereas in contemporary Antwerp prints the Italianate completely dominates, French influences continued to leaven

1. It is typical that in October 1565 Plantin still did not know the name of the man who supplied the drawings for the blocks: Arch. 3, f^o 37^{vo} (27th Oct. 1565: 'J'ay payé au painctre des figures de Mre Rembert Dodoens encores 20 fig.'). See also Arch. 3, f^o 33^{ro} (c. June 1565: 'J'ay payé à Pierre [name left blank] painctre à Malines pour la pourtraicture de 60 figures des herbes...').

Plantinian book illustration in some measure. It is a moot point whether Plantin consciously helped to determine the style of the artists working for him or whether, as is more likely, the influence of contemporary French book illustration simply tended to modify the Italianizing proclivities of the Plantinian designers. The new style, in which Italian and French influences were blended with the local Flemish tradition, was not confined to the *Officina Plantiniana*. Pieter van der Borcht, Crispin van den Broeck, and their 'romanist' colleagues worked for other Antwerp publishers. It is not too great a claim, however, to suggest that it was largely due to the sphere of operation and influence of the Plantin house that this new Antwerp style so quickly achieved international currency. Van der Borcht, Van den Broeck, and De Vos were no geniuses, but the fact that they were able to work for the most eminent international publisher of the time gave them an extremely important role in the development of book illustration in the second half of the sixteenth century.

When Plantin set himself up as a printer, copper engraving already reigned unchallenged as far as separate prints were concerned, but with a few exceptions it was still woodcuts which enlivened the pages of books. The young Plantin turned to woodcutters to convert into blocks for printing the designs of his draughtsmen, or the models taken from books to be reprinted. In later years he continued to make much use of their services. In Paris in 1565 Jean de Gourmont cut blocks of a number of drawings by Ballain. Nothing else is known about this Gourmont, except that, like Ballain, he was a Parisian. Equally mysterious are Marc Duchesne and Jan Cressone, who in 1568 and 1570 respectively appeared in the Plantinian accounts, only to disappear again without trace. It is known that Cressone was active in Antwerp, but it is possible that Duchesne, like de Gourmont, sent Plantin his work from Paris. A less mysterious figure was Willem van Parijs, son of the Antwerp print publisher Silvester van Parijs, although his period of activity for the Plantin press was equally brief (1564-65). Plantin's orders were mainly executed by four masters. Three of them were active in Antwerp, namely Arnold Nicolai (1555-c. 1568), Cornelis Muller (1564-72) and Antoon van

Leest (1566-84). The fourth, Gerard Janssen van Kampen (1564-83), was a bookseller in Breda.

In the beginning of Plantin's career these woodcut craftsmen had to work unceasingly to keep up with the printer's orders, but from about 1576 onwards the tempo began to slacken off. After 1584 orders practically ceased. This was partly due to the fact that the older masters had become sick or had died and no new ones had taken their places. In letters written between 1585 and 1589, Plantin complained bitterly that there was only one woodcutter left in Antwerp, and he was too old to deliver usable work. A few years later Jan I Moretus was obliged to entrust the making of a series of wood-blocks to a Frankfurt craftsman. Not until the seventeenth century were there Antwerp practitioners who could be called on. But there was a reason for this reluctance on the part of young artists to follow in the footsteps of the dwindling woodcutters in the Southern Netherlands of this time: copper engraving was replacing the woodcut in book illustration, too. In fact the man who had largely contributed to this development was Christophe Plantin.

Of the two media, the woodcut was the more compatible with the printed book. Wood-blocks and lead type could be integrated in the same formes and printed on the same presses. Typographical unity was thus preserved. The copper engraving required its own press. If this medium was to be used then any page on which text and illustration appeared together had to be printed twice on two different presses. Copper intaglio printing was considerably slower than letterpress printing; the copperplates were dearer; and engraving them required more time. Thus the use of copper engravings in a book destroyed the typographical unity and pushed up the production costs. For these reasons printers in the post-Gutenberg century preferred the woodcut for their illustrated works, leaving the copper engraving to those of their colleagues who sold separate prints. However, copper engraving had certain advantages: it allowed much finer and more precise work than the woodcut, and in a greater range of tones. But this advantage would not have been enough to enable copperplate engraving to prevail, had not fashion tipped the balance in

its favour. The bibliophiles and connoisseurs were coming to prize intaglio prints ever more highly and were beginning to demand them in illustrated books. When courageous publishers risked both the higher prices and the typographical difficulties involved in combining intaglio printing with letterpress - and began to reap success - then their fellow-publishers had to follow them. One of these pioneers was Plantin.

La magnifique et sumptueuse Pompe funèbre de Charles Cinquième, 1559, was Plantin's first publication with copperplate engravings. But this was in fact an album in which the printed text at the beginning of the book was subordinate to the illustrations. Plantin must already have been thinking of issuing an actual book illustrated with engravings. He had had some plates for the Vesalius-Valverde medical treatise cut by Frans and Pieter Huys before 1562. The interruption of his activities in 1562-63 and the sale in 1562 of his effects, including these plates, postponed the project for a few years. After his return from Paris, Plantin was able to buy the plates back and he had the remainder of the set engraved. At last in 1566 the *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani*, illustrated with forty-two copperplate engravings, was published.

Plantin did not switch from woodcuts to copperplates all at once. In 1567 he could still state in a letter to Granvelle that he would give advice about woodcut illustrations, but did not regard himself as qualified to discuss copper engravings.¹ He had an impressive number of wood-blocks cut for the missals and breviaries he published between 1570 and 1575 for the Spanish market: Antoon van Leest alone produced at least sixty. But at the same time he ordered a no less impressive number of copperplates for the same class of publications. In fact, he then and later published a number of liturgical editions - breviaries and missals - in different versions. Though they

1. *Corr.*, III, no. 342 (8th Aug. 1567: 'Mais quant est des figures taillées en cuivre, je ne voys pas que ce soit chose là où je m'entende ne de quoy je me doibve mesler aucunement: bien s'il est besoing de quelques figures aux livres, les quelles se puissent tailler en bois, en feray-je volontiers le devoir').

are identical in their printed texts, they differ as far as their technique of illustration is concerned: they either have only woodcuts or they have only copper engravings. In such cases the difference in cost price must have been the determining factor.¹

Plantin also had the cheaper wood-blocks made for books financed wholly or partly by their authors.² Both in this period and later the masters of the Golden Compasses continued to use woodcuts for herbals and other lavishly illustrated scientific and scholarly works.³ Between 1630 and 1640 Balthasar I Moretus had a number of large wood-blocks cut for service books.⁴ Nevertheless it was already clear by the late 1560s that the copper engraving was superseding the woodcut.

The *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani* of 1566 was a turning point in the development of book illustration in the Plantin press - and in the West.⁵ It was one of the first publications with copperplate engravings in the Netherlands, though it was not the very first: Hubertus Goltzius, the Bruges engraver and publisher, had issued one in 1563.⁶ Plantin was immediately imitated in Antwerp itself.⁷

The idea was certainly abroad, but Plantin was one of the few in the Southern Netherlands who had the nerve - and the capital - to apply

1. The breviary in quarto of 1575 cost 3 fl. with woodcut illustrations and 4 fl. with copper engravings (Arch. M. 296, f^o 2). A breviary in quarto of 1587 was priced 5 fl. for the copies with woodcuts and 6 fl. for those with copper engravings (Arch. M. 296, f^o 2). Cf. p. 381. It may be assumed that in most cases the number of copies printed with woodcuts exceeded those illustrated with copper engravings. In January 1575, for example, Plantin shipped to Spain 1,900 copies of his breviary in quarto with woodcuts and 300 copies with intaglio prints; for the breviary in folio shipped in October 1575 these numbers were 1,083 as against 177 (Arch. 22).
2. Including the Stewechius edition of Flavius Vegetius in 1585 and various illustrated books of J.B. Houwaert. Typical of the changing attitudes is the fact that *Pegasides Pley* by J.B. Houwaert, 1582-83, was planned to have woodcuts but finally appeared with copper engravings.
3. Including the edition of J.E. Nicrembergius. *Historia naturae*, as late as 1641.
4. Cf. p. 209.
5. See plate 33.
6. *Caesar sive Historiae Imperatorum Caesarumque Romanorum ex antiquis numismatibus restituae, liber primus*. Cf. Delen, *Illustrateurs-graveurs*, p. 117.
7. W. Silvius, Plantin's great rival, published in 1567 an illustrated edition of L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, with 13 large woodcuts and 2 large copper engravings.

it fairly consistently in a number of books with all the risks that this entailed: higher investment of money and higher retail prices in an untried market. It would not be an exaggeration to assert that it was Plantin's example and the success of his publications which spread the new technique of book illustration over Western Europe so rapidly that the woodcut had been reduced to a subsidiary role within a few decades. At all events it is significant that in the years 1570 to 1580 the Paris publishers began to import Antwerp copper engravers;¹ so is the fact that it was mainly by way of the copper engraving that the Plantinian style of book illustration spread through the whole of Western Europe.

Of the two brothers who had engraved the copperplates for the *Vivae imagines* it was Pieter Huys who did most work for Plantin. He has also been referred to in his capacity of draughtsman. He engraved a number of other plates between 1566 and 1574, but relations between the artist and the printer do not seem to have been particularly cordial.² Other engravers appeared even more briefly in the records: Pieter van der Heyden (a Meriga) (1569), Cornelis d'Hooghe (1569), Pieter Dufour (1574), Jules Goltzius (1577 and 1586), Frans Hogenberg (1581), Jan Collaert the Elder (1588-89), Crispijn [van] de Passe the Elder (1588-89), Hendrik Goltzius (1589). But Plantin was able to engage the services of some very capable engravers for longer periods: the best of them all in the second half of the sixteenth century, the brothers Jan and Hieronymus Wiericx,³ who divided their interests between the workshop and the tavern, with the emphasis on the latter, and sorely tried the patience and the purse of the printer;⁴ also Abraham de Bruyn (1570-83) and Jan [de] Sadele(e)r (1579? - 1609?). In 1574 the name of Pieter van der Borcht appeared: after producing countless drawings for the Plantinian woodcuts, he

1. H.J. Martin, in *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens, Bibliothèque nationale (Paris). Catalogue de l'exposition*, 1954, pp. 257-260.
2. Cf. p. 198.
3. The third brother, Antoon, does not appear to have worked for the *Officina Plantiniana*.
4. Typical instances in Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', p. 117.

now became one of the firm's foremost engravers, turning out copperplates in large numbers, mostly to his own designs.¹

It is rather surprising that Philip Galle, one of the outstanding engravers in the Antwerp of that day, should have done so little work for his friend Plantin. The explanation was that he did not want to undertake commissions for works for which he himself could not be fully responsible, and he did not wish his apprentices to do such work either.² He would not make an exception even in Plantin's case and only a few minor jobs were executed in his studio.³ Galle's attitude comes to light in letters written between 1585 and 1587 in which Plantin complained of the difficulties he had had in obtaining engravers: two good practitioners had recently died (probably Dufour and De Bruyn); Philip Galle and Jan de Sadeleer would not work for third parties, and the latter had in fact emigrated to Germany in 1586; the Wiericx brothers were utterly unreliable; the printer had made efforts to persuade Hendrik Goltzius to leave Holland and settle in Antwerp, but without success.⁴ Plantin may have painted an unnecessarily gloomy picture. He was reporting to certain Jesuits on his vain quest for engravers to illustrate a monumental work instigated by

1. Van der Borch seems only to have produced etchings; the author knows of no work of his done with the burin.
2. This passage in *Corr.*, VII, no. 1106 (Plantin to M. Hernandez, 28th May 1586) characterizes his attitude: 'Veni Antverpian, conveni Gallaeum qui prorsus negavit se nullum opus suscepturum cujus non esset absolute futurus Dominus.'
3. Five small plates engraved in 1580 and a few re-cut in 1589: Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 158.
4. *Corr.*, VII, nos. 1044 (5th Nov. 1585, Galle, de Sadeler and Goltzius mentioned), 1106 (28th May 1586, Goltzius, Galle, and de Sadeler mentioned), 1107 (31st May 1586, mention of Goltzius; '... j'ay long temps différé de vous escrire pource qu'après mon arrivée en ceste ville j'ay trouvé que le plus grand nombre des tailleurs en cuivre estoient trespasés et que une partie de ceux qui restoyent icy ne vouloyent rien entreprendre à tailler que pour euxmesmes et que l'autre partie se gouvernoit si pauvrement qu'il n'y avoit ordre de leur bailler vostre besongne'), 1108 (31st May-8th June 1586; letter to Hendrik Goltzius asking him if he would leave Haarlem for Antwerp); VIII-IX, nos. 1160 (22nd Oct. 1586, Goltzius and the Wiericx brothers mentioned; de Sadeler had gone to Mainz), 1182 (25th-27th Dec. 1586, mention of de Sadeler, Goltzius, Galle and the Wiericx brothers), 1188 (2nd Jan. 1587, the Wiericx brothers mentioned), 1193 (13th Jan. 1587, mention of the Wiericx brothers and Galle), 1194 (13th Jan. 1587, about the Wiericx brothers).

the Order which would engage all the energies of a number of artists for a considerable time.¹ For his own publications the printer was able to count on Pieter van der Borcht, and was also able to chase the Wiericx brothers out of the taverns when necessary and constrain them to take up the burin again.

After Plantin's death, Jan I Moretus continued to call on Van der Borcht for drawings and etchings, and on the Wiericx brothers and Jan de Sadeler - the latter had returned from Germany in the meantime - for engravings. Nevertheless he had to think about eventual replacements. This proved to be a not too difficult matter. Antwerp remained a European art centre. There were enough painters to hand who could find time to draw designs when requested by the masters of the Golden Compasses. In fact, Joos de Momper, Cornelis III in Floris, Adam van Noort, and Pieter de Jode did some work for Plantin's son-in-law.

The replacement of copperplate engravers was as swift and easy. Theodoor Galle, son of Philip, and since 1598 married to a daughter of Jan Moretus, did not show the same aversion as his father to working for others - or possibly he did not like to refuse his father-in-law. From 1600 Moretus was able to place with him all the orders he wanted. In fact, from 1600 to 1694 the Moretuses commissioned nearly all their engraving work from the Galle studio - under Theodoor until 1633, under his son Jan from 1633 to 1676, and then under Jan's son Norbert from 1676 to 1694.² In the first half of the seventeenth century the only engraver outside the Galle clan who received more than a very small quantity of work from the Moretuses was Adriaan Pauwels (1631-35). However, when Jan I Moretus had to obtain wood-blocks for illustrations of plants, with a view to publishing a botanical work by Clusius, he was obliged to turn to a German artist,

1. The book was Hieronymus Natalis's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, issued at Antwerp, 1593, without the name of the printer or publisher. For Plantin's efforts see M. Rooses, 'De plaatsnijders der Evangelicae Historiae Imagines', *Oud-Holland*, 6, 1888. Cf. also Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 150-155.
2. Most of the bills and other documents relating to the work of the Galle workshop for the firm are in Arch. 123.

Virgilius Solis of Frankfurt.¹ Minor commissions, however, were still carried out at Antwerp.²

As in many other aspects of the business, Jan I Moretus's management was a transitional period in book illustration. Under Balthasar I Moretus (1610-41) the emergent Baroque began to flower. Through the talents of the Antwerp artists Plantin's grandson was able to engage the Plantin House once again exerted an international influence through its Baroque style of book illustration. Theodoor Galle and the other engravers often produced the designs for their plates themselves;³ occasional recourse was also had to casual workers (P. de Jode, N. van der Horst). But not long after Balthasar I had taken over, he was able to interest a friend of his youth in designing illustrations for him. This friend was Peter Paul Rubens. In 1612 the great master began his work for the *Officina Plantiniana*⁴ with his design for a title-page and a dozen illustrations for a breviary and a missal (published in 1614) and for the title-page and six vignettes of an optical study by Aguilonius (published in 1613). In the following years Rubens drew a number of portraits but it was above all title-pages that Balthasar commissioned from his friend.⁵ From 1613 to 1640 Rubens determined their style in the Plantinian books and,⁶ as these were distributed all

1. Jan Moretus could probably have found someone nearer home, but his choice of Solis was no doubt partly determined by the fact that Clusius was then in Germany and could to some extent supervise the craftsman's production.
2. On 15th March 1603 Theodoor Galle sent in a bill for some pen drawings on wood (meant for cutting) (Arch. 123, f^o 10). This small commission would probably have been carried out in Antwerp, perhaps through the agency of Galle.
3. Many examples in Arch. 123, including f^o 2^{fo} (30th Sept. 1600): 'Drew the title-page for the Triumph of Valencin: 4 fl.; in addition drew and cut 2 plates for the Horae in quarto [12 fl. altogether]'.⁷
4. In 1608 Rubens had made a few drawings for plates for the *Electorum libri II* by his brother Philip. However, this had been done more to oblige his brother than to please the publisher, Jan Moretus.
5. Altogether Rubens produced designs for 27 title-pages, seven portraits and eleven illustrations (all for the breviary and missal of 1613-14), and some eight vignettes. He collaborated with Erasmus Quellin to 'invent' five title-page designs and one portrait.
6. As far as the present author knows, the influence and diffusion of Rubens's title-pages have not yet been systematically studied.

over the Western world, he decisively influenced this aspect of the Baroque book. Until 1637 Rubens did the drawings,¹ but the rheumatic pains which made his latter years a torment forced him to look for a collaborator. From 1637 to 1640 Rubens continued to produce the *inventio*, but his pupil Erasmus Quellin was responsible for transferring the design to paper.² Rubens's first drawings were engraved by Theodoor Galle. Karel de Mallery and an engraver of the school of Rubens, the talented Lucas Vorsterman, also cut a number of copperplates. But from 1614 onwards it was principally Cornelis Galle, Theodoor's son, who was responsible for executing Rubens's designs. Cornelis was not among the most brilliant engravers of the Antwerp school of that time, but he knew his craft and never let Rubens down. In 1636 he settled in Brussels and thereafter worked only intermittently for the Plantin press. His son, Cornelis II Galle, who returned to Antwerp, took over his father's task and, among other works, engraved Erasmus Quellin's drawings of Rubens's designs.

Men able to cut wood-blocks appeared once more in the vital artistic centre that Antwerp had remained, so that Balthasar I, more fortunate than his father, was able to engage such specialists locally. Woodcuts, indeed, were not completely finished. They remained in use for tailpieces, initials, and other ornaments - where it was practically impossible to replace them by copperplates. Like the illustrations themselves, they had to be adapted to changing public tastes and therefore needed regular renewal and augmentation. But Balthasar I and his successor Balthasar II did not restrict the use of wood-blocks to minor ornaments. In fact, in a period when the woodcut had all but been superseded for illustrations, as opposed to ornaments, they found it desirable to use this technique, now thought old-fashioned, to illustrate some of their publications. This was not so strange in the case of the two-colour portraits of emperors intended

1. A few designs were painted in oil on panel: one of these grisailles is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.
2. This co-operation is indicated on the copperplates: 'E. Quellinus delineavit. Pet. Paul. Rubenius invenit.'



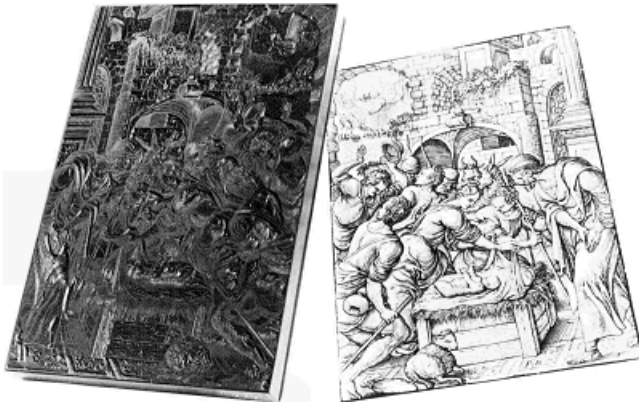
(33) Vesalius & Valverde, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani*, 1566: title-page engraved in copper by Pieter Huys to a design of Lambert van Noort. The *Vivae imagines*, with its title-page and 42 plates, was one of the first books illustrated with copper engravings to be published in the Netherlands. The medallion and cartouche with engraved title and printer's address were later excised to enable the title and printer's address of the 1568 Dutch edition to be set in letterpress. The mutilated copperplate is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.



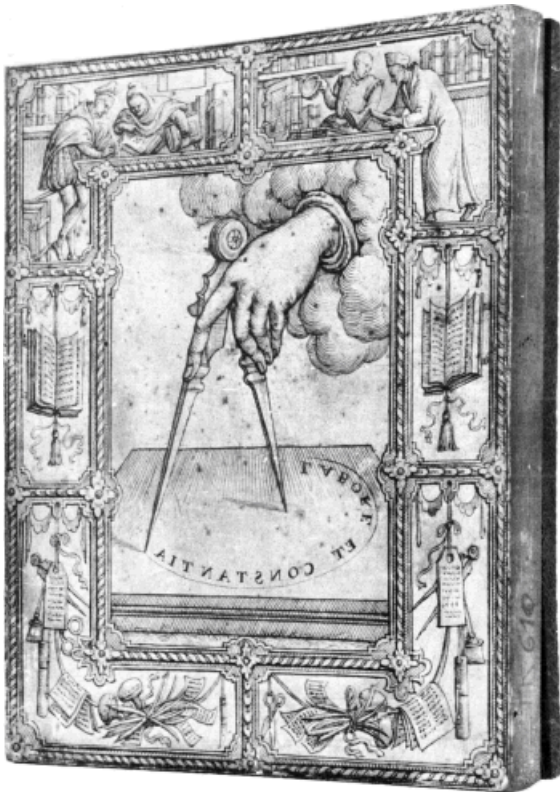
(34) Title-page of the *Psalterium*, 1571: Woodcut depicting the choir of Malines Cathedral. The coats of arms of the Archbishop of Malines and the six bishops of the archdiocese were cut on separate blocks. For new editions these blocks could if necessary be lifted out and replaced by new designs without damaging the main block. Cut by Antoon van Leest to a design of Pieter van der Borch.



(35) Title-page of the *Antiphonarium*, 1573. This monumental work in two parts was issued without a title-page at first, drawing protests from customers. Plantin felt himself obliged to print a title-page in great haste. The wood-block from the 1571 *Psalterium* was used but as the legend was longer a piece had to be cut out of the block, which in its mutilated state is kept in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.



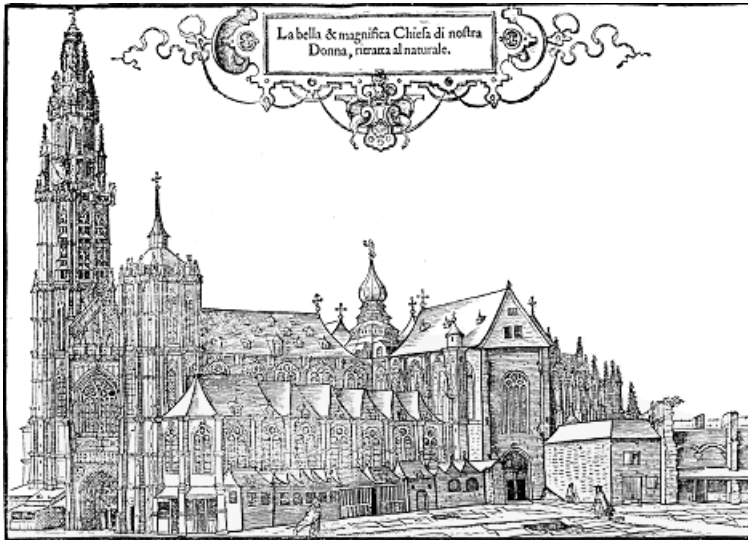
(36) *Top*: *The Adoration of the Shepherds*: wood-block for the folio missal of 1575, cut by Gerard Janssen van Kampen to a design by Pieter van der Borcht.



(37) *Left*: Plantin's printer's mark: pen and ink drawing on a wood-block prepared with a white ground, ready for cutting. For some reason the work was not carried out.



(38) *Right*: Maarten de Vos: *The Last Judgment*. Drawing in pen and bistre, signed and dated bottom left 'M.D. Vos F. 1582'. From a series of eight, drawings to illustrate a folio missal (two dated 1582, a third 1588). The outlines of the drawing were gone over probably by the engraver to make transference to the plate easier. The work may not have been executed. There are no Plantinian service books known with copperplates engraved to these designs.



(39) Antwerp Cathedral: illustration in woodcut from L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, published by Willem Silvius, Antwerp 1567. When preparing his own edition of Guicciardini, Plantin made Silvius an offer, in 1580, for these wood-blocks-not with the idea of utilizing them himself but rather to compensate Silvius to some extent while at the same time preventing him from spoiling the market with a similar edition. Silvius, then at Leiden, seems to have refused, but in 1583 his widow proved more amenable and sold her woodcuts to Plantin. Designer and engraver are unknown.



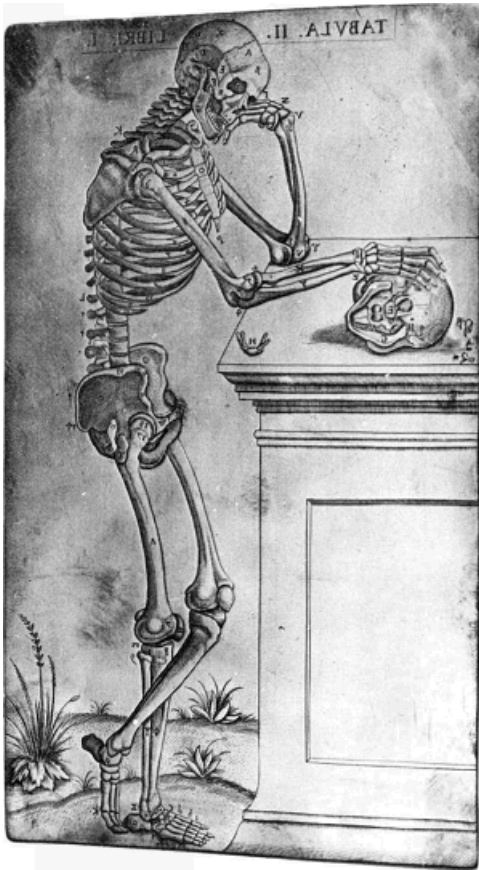
(40) Antwerp Cathedral: copperplate illustration (etching) from Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, published by Plantin in 1581, 1582, and 1588. The work contains about 80 maps of principalities and cities, and views of Antwerp specially produced for this edition. The engraver of this picture—probably Van der Borcht—based his work on the illustration in the Silvius edition. Note, however the difference in execution



(41) Drawing by Peter Paul Rubens: title-page design from the *Poemata* of Maphaeus Barberini (Pope Urban VIII), 1634. Samson discovers a swarm of bees in the carcass of a lion-an allusion to Urban VIII's coat of arms, which shows bees, and to the sweetness of his poems.



(42) Title-page of Maphaeus Barberini, *Poemata*, 1634, in quarto; copper engraving by Cornelis Galle to Rubens's design (see also plate 41).



(43) *Left*: Anatomical illustration: copperplate used in Vesalius & Valverde, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani*, 1566. One of the 42 plates engraved by Pieter and Frans Huys (see also plate 33).



(44) *Right*: Title-page of Goltzius, *Romanae et Graecae antiquitatis monumenta e priscis monumentis eruta*, first part of the *Opera Huberti Goltzii*, 1645. Engraved in copper in 1632 by Theodoor Galle

to a design of Rubens. The allegorical and symbolical significance was set out in an 'explication' in the preliminary matter of the book (Gaspar Gevaerts, an officer of the City of Antwerp and a humanist scholar, probably wrote it). The composition represents the Renaissance of Antiquity. In the top right is Time, symbolized by an old man with wings and a scythe. Next to him is Death. Both throw into the abyss of time the symbols of the empires of Rome (a goddess with a small figure in her left hand representing victory and a broken lance in her right), Macedonia (Alexander with helmet and cuirass, and lightning in his right hand), Persia (Darius with diadem, shattered by Alexander); and of the Medes (a prince with turban, bow, and quiver). On the other side of the abyss is Mercury with a spade in one hand with which he has uncovered the busts of Romans and Greeks. With his other hand he lifts the statue of a Roman emperor out of the abyss. A little above this, Hercules, wrapped in his lion skin, receives a basket full of antique coins from a slave. Athene, helmeted, illuminates the objects with her torch. In the centre is a bust with the symbol of Antiquity. On its head is the phoenix, representing resurrection and eternity.

to replace the lost sixteenth-century wood-blocks in a new edition of a work by Hubertus Goltzius,¹ or for the technical and scientific illustrations of a series of books aimed at a rather learned market.² But what was remarkable was the fact that Balthasar I not only went on using the wood-blocks inherited from his grandfather in certain editions of his breviaries and missals, but even felt himself justified in modernizing in this direction and replacing the old blocks, made by Van Leest after the designs of Pieter van der Borcht, by Rubens-inspired new ones. He probably decided on this course not for reasons of personal preference or taste, but because of the potential sales of lavishly illustrated but fairly cheap books in the Spanish market that was once again opening for the Plantin press. The experiment did not last long, however.

Balthasar I, and to a lesser extent Balthasar II, thus needed woodcutters. One of them was Cristoffel van Sichem. This outstanding Dutch engraver lived in Antwerp for some time and executed a number of commissions for the *officina* from 1616 until 1620, when he left the city. A few years later Balthasar I acquired the services of the man considered to be the greatest of seventeenth-century practitioners, Christoffel Jegher (Jegherendorf). He undertook work for the Golden Compasses from 1625 to 1643, and was actually on the pay-roll as a regular employee from 1625 to 1640. After his death his son Jan Christoffel succeeded him and executed woodcuts for the House until 1655. It was Christoffel Jegher who adapted the ornaments and decorations to the new Baroque fashion, who cut the emperor portraits and many of the scientific illustrations and executed the full-page illustrations for the breviaries and missals. It should be said that these last were not particularly brilliant - clumsy efforts that compare unfavourably with his many inspired interpretations of Rubens's works and his masterly emperor portraits.³

1. Goltzius, *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*, ..., part V of the *Opera Omnia Huberti Goltzii*, 1645. For this work see, *inter alia*, L. Voet in *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens. Bibliothèque nationale (Paris). Catalogue de l'exposition*, 1954, p. 212.
2. Such as J.E. Nierembergus, *Historia naturae*, 1641.
3. This may be because in this case he had to draw the outlines on the wood himself, instead of an artist doing it for him - as, for example, in his splendid woodcuts after Rubens. Nevertheless, the emperor portraits were masterfully executed and jegher is known to have done the drawings for at least twelve of these himself (portraits for which Goltzius had not supplied models; see p. 235, note 2). Cf. p. 217 concerning drawing on blocks.

After the death of Rubens the fame of the Antwerp school of painters and engravers soon passed away. The epigones of Rubens were succeeded by the epigones of the epigones - and their numbers were dwindling. By the end of the seventeenth century Antwerp was of no more than regional importance as an artistic centre. This general decline affected the *Officina Plantiniana*. In the second half of that century it had specialized in the production of missals and breviaries. Its book illustrations thenceforth were exclusively religious. Many such plates had been engraved in the first half of the seventeenth century and the later Moretuses could, and to a large extent did, continue to draw on the collection assembled by their forebears. However, the plates could not be used indefinitely. They had to be re-cut in due season and the ornaments had regularly to be adapted to changes in public taste. The later Moretuses had to maintain contact with the requisite draughtsmen, woodcutters and copper engravers, something that grew more and more difficult with the passing years, and by the eighteenth century it had become a serious problem.

Finding artists who could draw usable models seems to have been the easiest aspect of the matter and the standard of designs remained reasonable until quite late in the eighteenth century. Cornelis Jozef d'Heur, the 'official' draughtsman for the house from about 1740 to 1762, was no genius but he knew his trade. His significance in those autumnal years of Antwerp art is shown by what happened after his death in 1762. After unsuccessfully trying out a number of artists, including the Parisian Jean Beugnet, the Moretuses had to give up the unequal struggle. After 1765 there were practically no more original designs.

However, the attempts to find designers were as child's play compared

with the pathetic efforts of the later Moretuses to track down competent craftsmen who could transfer the designs to wood or copper. From about 1733 they had to start looking outside Antwerp. The tribulations of Joannes Jacobus and Franciscus Joannes Moretus with Paris craftsmen - the woodcutters J.M. Papillon, N. Le Sueur, N. Caron (contacted while he was in prison), and the copper engravers P.L. Auvray, Hendelot, R. Bichet - would fill a poignant book. Attempts to find suitable practitioners in their own country - at Bruges, Malines, and Brussels - were totally abortive. Happily they were able to call on the services of the Antwerp engraver Lodewijk Fruytiers from 1757 to 1778. His was a mediocre talent, but at least he was fairly consistently productive and did not have to be set to work via agents and letters. His plates marked virtually the end of the Moretuses' efforts to bring out new illustrations. Their subsequent books were illustrated with plates inherited from a more glorious past, in so far as these had not already been worn out and replaced with feeble copies. In the nineteenth century steel engravings¹ and lithographs² were commissioned from specialist firms, but not many of these seem to have been delivered.

The archives of the Plantin house that allow the evolution of its book illustration to be traced also yield details of the lives of many of the artists, both important ones and lesser figures, who worked for its masters. In a number of cases it is only these archives that enable flesh and blood to be added to the bare bones of birth and death dates or dates of registration as masters of the Antwerp guild of St. Luke.

Of the illustrators of Plantin's time only Van der Borcht and Van den Broeck seem to have been numbered among his personal friends. In October 1565 Plantin was unable to give Van der Borcht's name in his journal and had to describe him as the 'Malines painter', but within a few years he was an intimate of the great printer. It was to the Golden Compasses that Van der Borcht brought his wife and children

1. In 1825, by the 'Calcographie royale de J. Goubaud', Brussels. Cf. p. 195, note 2.
2. In 1831: cf. p. 195, note 2.

when the sacking of his home town by Alva's soldiers on 2 October 1572 had reduced him to penury. Plantin enabled him to start life again in Antwerp. Through Plantin, Van der Borcht and Van den Broeck became friendly with Arias Montanus. The letters exchanged between Plantin and Jan I Moretus and the humanist after his return to Spain often contained references to the two artists, with biographical details of some interest.¹ Plantin's woodcutters and copper engravers on the other hand do not seem to have been included in his circle of friends, but he did record particulars that illuminate their private circumstances: the dissolute life of the Wiericx brothers who virtually had to be locked up in their client's house to ensure delivery of their copperplates; the straitened means of certain aged artists (such as Arnold Nicolai) and so on.² The letters between the Moretuses and their Parisian agents in the eighteenth century provide an interesting glimpse of the character of one of the foremost French woodcut craftsmen of the time, J.M. Papillon.

However, the technical details of book illustration in the past that can be gleaned from the Plantinian records are of more pertinence to this work. Artists entrusted with illustrating a book have of course always been limited by having to fit their pictures to a text. In the first half of the sixteenth century it was not unusual for illustrations to be rather loosely and, to put it mildly, fancifully related to the text. Publishers illustrated people and events quite arbitrarily, according to the material available. The same wood-block might represent Julius Caesar or the Emperor Charles V. A picture of a battle might be captioned as Samson's defeat of the Philistines or as the Battle of Pavia. This imaginative but imprecise mode still lingered on in Plantin's time, but was increasingly relegated to popular romances and similar cheap literature. Serious printer-publishers, Plantin and his successors

1. Telling him, for example, of the arrival of Pieter van der Borcht and his family after the sack of Malines: 'Petrus noster cum uxore ambo morbo correpti et prolibus nudi ad nos venerunt.' (*Corr.*, III, no. 421, Plantin to Arias Montanus, 1st Nov. 1572).
2. See for example Plantin's letters referred to on p. 205, note 4; and on Arnold Nicolai the texts quoted by Delen in 'Les artistes collaborateurs', p. 113.

among them, saw to it that their illustrations were not only of some artistic merit but were also historically or scientifically matched to the subject.

Joannes Rethius, the Jesuit who supervised the text of Hillessemius's *Sacrarum Antiquitatum Monumenta* (1577) for the heirs of the deceased author, asked Plantin to send the illustrations for his approval before publication and in any case to warn the artist beforehand against 'obscene representations'.¹ This is one of the few pieces of evidence of this nature in Plantin's correspondence, but it suggests that the authors, in so far as they were directly involved in a publication, normally wished to see and approve illustrators' work themselves after giving instructions about what should be illustrated and, if necessary, where models or inspiration might be sought. This was particularly the case when scholarly or scientific works were being published. The authors might refer to illustrations in already published books,² paintings,³ the object itself,⁴ or they might offer sketches for the artist to work up.⁵ For the maps of the towns in the Netherlands in

1. *Corr.*, IV, no. 536 (Rethius to Plantin, 14th June 1574).
2. The illustrations in Vesalius-Valverde, *Vivae Imagines*, 1566, were copied from those of the Roman edition of a few years before. See also *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1224 (Plantin to Clusius, 12th March 1587, concerning the publication of a Latin translation by the latter of the works of Belon de Mans. Plantin had already had wood-blocks cut for his 1556 publication of the French text: '[je n'ay encores sceu...] recouvrer les figures des observations qu'un personnage de ceste ville m'avoit promis faire vendre par celuy qui les achapta à la vendue qui fat faicte de mes biens a la licorne [in 1562], ce que voyant j'ay bailié vostre copie françoise a Peeter vander Borcht pour les pourtraire de rechef...')
3. For example, an engraving was made of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows by Hieronymus Wiericx at the request of Abbot Mofflin. The model was an existing painting, Crispijn van den Broeck drawing a copy of it for the engraver (see *Corr.*, VIII-IX, nos. 1170 and 1191). The bust of Seneca that appeared in the Lipsius edition of 1605 was copied from a portrait the scholar had received from Rome. Later it seemed to him that the portrait was not altogether faithful: Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, p. 135.
4. Like the Classical vase belonging to Cardinal Granvelle depicted in the work by his librarian, Stephanus Winandus Pighius, *Themis Dea*, 1567.
5. See for example *Corr.*, VII, no. 1094 (Plantin to J. Sarrazin, abbot of St. Vedast's, 30th April 1586: 'Quant a l'histoire de Malchus il serait expedient que V. Rev^{me} S^e fist designer ou pourtraire simplement de crayon ou charbon legerement les figures ainsi qu'il luy plairoit, après quoy nous les ferions mectre icy au nect et faire comme les autres...'). Presumably the title-pages 'designed' for the first volume of the Polyglot Bible by Don Luis Manrique, Grand Almoner of Spain (Rooses, *Musée*, p. 104), were also rough sketches and notes.

his editions of Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* Plantin spared neither effort nor time. At his own expense he had local artists draw plans of some of the towns. In a few instances the town councils were prepared to bear the cost themselves; other towns sent sketches that Plantin's Antwerp draughtsmen could use as models. Nevertheless a number of maps had to be copied from prototypes in existing publications.¹ In March 1604, in the time of Jan I Moretus, the painter Rousandt was sent to Halle to make a drawing 'ad vivum' of the Lady Chapel there for Lipsius's *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, which appeared in that same year.² With religious subjects there was another problem. Representation, characteristics, attitudes, and so on had to be in accord with current theological ideas if the illustrations were not to run the risk of being branded heretical.³

There is relatively little information extant about the kind of instructions Plantin and Jan I Moretus gave their illustrators. This is understandable. Instructions of this nature, and authors' requests, were most easily given by word of mouth or by means of rough sketches, and most of the artists working for Plantin could be contacted personally.⁴ For the seventeenth century the correspondence concerning Rubens's work for the *Officina Plantiniana* provides rather more detail, particularly - and for obvious reasons - where foreign clients were involved. There was, too, a new factor - at least as far

1. J. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*, I, pp. 148-150.
2. Arch. 124, p. 323: 'Aenden schilder expres van Brussel op Halle ghesonden int beghinsel van maart 1604 om ad vivum te doen affteekenen de Cappelle van onser Liever Vrouwe mette de stadt van Halle etc.' [To sending the painter from Brussels to Halle at the beginning of March 1604 expressly to draw the Chapel of Our Lady *ad vivum*, with the town of Halle etc.]. This meant two journeys and a stay of six days; a fee of 18 fl. was paid.
3. Even an illustration provided by Arias Montanus did not escape sharp criticism from a censor and had to be 'reworked': see p. 261. Cf. also *Corr.*, IV, no. 510 (Plantin to P. Canisius, 23rd Jan. 1574, about the representation of the Holy Trinity).
4. Either at Antwerp or, in the years 1564-67 and in the case of G. Ballain, during Plantin's many visits to Paris. Typically, Plantin's letter of 5th Aug. 1567 to Ballain (*Corr.*, I, no. 76) only gives instructions about the order in which the blocks should be done, not about the pictures themselves.

as title-page designs were concerned - that made more detailed instruction and discussion necessary. Whereas in the previous century the function of these designs had been purely decorative and only very generally related to the contents of the book, with the advent of the Baroque they had acquired an allegorical significance. Title-page designs were now expected to bring out the content and purpose of the book through an involved interplay of symbol and allegory. Rubens was a master at this. Each of his title-pages was truly a rebus for the adequate interpretation of which a lengthy exposition was usually necessary. To spare the readers this cerebral game, or at least to make it easier, an explanatory note was often included in the preliminary matter.¹

Such complex title-page designs meant more detailed discussions among publishers, authors, and illustrators and these found their way into their letters more often than in Plantin's time, affording an interesting glimpse of how artists set about illustrating books. Right at the beginning of Rubens's career as a designer for the house, Balthasar I Moretus deemed it necessary to set out in detail what exactly was required of him. For the title-page of the *Breviarium Romanum*, published in 1614, he sketched the lay-out of the page and described in his fine humanist handwriting, in Latin, the figures that should appear and the attributes they should display.² This was not out of any lack of confidence in Rubens's capabilities. There can be no doubt that this was one of the first attempts in the Netherlands, and possibly in Europe, to create a title-page in the new spirit of the Baroque. The credit for this must be given to Balthasar I Moretus

1. So in Aguilonius, *Opticorum libri sex*, 1613 (Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-132); L. Blosius, *Opera*, 1632 (*ibid.*, p. 139); H. Goltzius, *Romanae et Graecae antiquitatis monumenta*, 1645 (text probably compiled by the humanist G. Gevartius; *ibid.*, pp. 147-148; cf. plate 44); F. de Marselaer, *Legatus*, 1666 (exposition by Rubens himself; *ibid.*, pp. 150-152). Rubens provided an interpretation, in his own handwriting, on the underlying significance of the drawings he made for the title-pages of B. Bausius and B. Cabillavus, *Epigrammata*, 1634, and I. Bidermanus, *Heroum epistolae*, 1634 (*ibid.*, pp. 140-141).
2. Arch. 118, f^{os} 437 and 439; Arch. 1150, f^o 73. Documents reproduced and commented on in Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, figures 31 and 32; Hellinga, *Copy and Print*, figures 64, 65, 66.

himself, a cultivated humanist and Latin scholar, and pupil of Justus Lipsius. The fact that the design was among the first of its kind explains why he felt he should put his ideas down on paper for his friend. Rubens was more than quick to understand what was wanted. He was himself a representative practitioner of the new style and completely at home in its allegorical modes. After this one pioneering model, Rubens let himself be guided solely by his own inspiration, becoming in the course of time considerably more imaginative and subtle than his client. But this did not prevent a meeting of minds with each new commission. B. de los Rios himself set the general theme for the title-page of his *De Hierarchia Mariana* (1641), but neither he nor Balthasar I was happy with a certain detail of the final design, so a piece of paper with their amendment was pasted over the offending part. It should be pointed out that Erasmus Quellin did the drawing, working to one of Rubens's designs.¹ The master himself was usually much less accommodating in these matters and rejected every alteration, even when a scandalized monk insisted that Truth should be more comprehensively clad² or when a theologian pointed to some error of interpretation.³ Authors sometimes sent portraits from life to make the engraver's, if not the designer's task easier.⁴ For the title-page of a book by Boyvin about the siege and relief of Dôle, Rubens chose as the main theme the offering of a crown of honour to the hero, but had to ask who this should be. Philippe Chifflet, acting on behalf of Boyvin, supplied the information required and enclosed in his letter a drawing of the arms and motto of the town of Dôle.⁵

As the task of the engravers was executive, not creative, there was no need to give them instructions except about size. Balthasar I's

1. Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 and 147.
2. The title-page of B. Corderius, *Catena sexaginta quinque Graecorum Patrum in S. Lucam*, 1628. Balthasar Moretus had to write to Corderius to inform him 'Rubens is of the opinion that Truth, which [originally] he had depicted naked, is [now] sufficiently clothed': *ibid.*, p. 138.
3. Namely A. de Winghe, editor of L. Blosius, *Opera*, 1632: *ibid.*, p. 139.
4. See the correspondence between Balthasar I Moretus and Corderius about the sending of a portrait of King Ferdinand III: *ibid.*, pp. 85-90.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

account-books show that Rubens occasionally retouched the proofs of his illustrations.¹ It is possible that other designers checked and where necessary corrected the engravers' work, but details are lacking.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries designers usually did their drawings for woodcuts directly on the wood-blocks. Not only is there evidence for this in the account-books,² but a number of such drawings have been preserved because they were never cut. The series of sixteen wood-blocks for J.B. Houwaert's *Pegasides Pleyne* were laid aside because at the last moment it was decided to replace them with copper engravings.³ In other instances wood-blocks split at an early stage;⁴ drawings proved not to be accurate enough;⁵ it was discovered before the engraver set to work that a similar block had already been cut;⁶ or quite simply a project might be scrapped.⁷ In some cases the engraver must have worked from models that had not been drawn on the block. There is evidence for this for the eighteenth century.⁸ However, in the preceding two centuries the normal procedure was for the designer, or in exceptional circumstances the woodcutter,⁹ to draw the illustration on the block.

This method could not of course be applied to copperplates. The models for these were drawn on loose sheets of paper.¹⁰ It was possible to trace the outlines of the drawing lightly on to the plate

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 60 and 63; reproduction of one of these page proofs corrected by Rubens: Hellinga, *Copy and print*, figure 69.
2. Arch. 123, f^o 10 (Theodoor Galle, 15th March 1603: 'drew the "Annunciation" on wood with pen...').
3. Drawings of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Inv. nos. 594-609.
4. Drawings, Inv. no. 126 (Emblemata drawing by Pieter van der Borcht).
5. Drawings, Inv. nos. 664-667 (drawings of plants by Van der Borcht).
6. Drawings, Inv. no 129 (coat-of-arms for the Sambucus *Emblemata*).
7. Drawings, Inv. nos. 610 (printer's mark, sixteenth century; see plate 37) and 614-663 (alphabet by R. van Orley).
8. Van den Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen', I, pp. 233 sqq.
9. Christoffel Jegher did his own drawings for the (new) emperor portraits he cut for the Goltzius *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*. The author is of the opinion that he also did the designs for the wood-blocks on religious subjects he cut in the 1620s (cf. p. 209 note 3).
10. Occasionally painted on panel or canvas (grisailles), as for example the title-page for the M.C. Sarbievius *Lycorum libri IV* by Rubens, and the portrait of Balthasar I Moretus by Erasmus Quellin (cf. Vol. I, pp. 331 and 330).

with a needle and many drawings in the Museum show that engravers were glad enough to avail themselves of this method.

The picture engraved on a wood-block or copperplate appears reversed so that a plate that literally copied a drawing would print as a mirror image. In woodcuts the designers were responsible for getting this right. Sometimes they forgot: a few wood-blocks with Plantin's printer's mark have the 'Labore et Constantia' the wrong way round. With copperplates it was possible for the engraver to make the necessary adjustments. This is what Van der Horst thought of at all events. Underneath his drawing of Maria de' Medici's entry into the palace at Brussels¹ he scribbled a note asking the engraver to cut the plate in reverse.² The engraver complied and this is the only instance known to the author of an original drawing and the print being identical. In another instance - the portrait of Balthasar I Moretus, who was paralysed in the right arm - the designer, Erasmus Quellin, retained the initiative. In his grisaille he made the subject's left arm the affected one, thus ensuring correctness in the print.

In the eighteenth century publishers succeeded in producing polychrome copperplate engravings. This was technically difficult. Before this time - and quite often afterwards - engravings had been simply coloured by hand. The production of coloured woodcuts was somewhat easier as their lines are simpler and bolder and it was possible to superimpose the various blocks needed with greater precision. As with modern colour reproductions, one block had to be made for each colour. In practice printers confined themselves to two colours, usually black and red. Experiments in the Plantinian house were restricted to this simplest form of colour printing. They were not numerous: the title-page of P. Heyns's alphabet book, 1568; a few alphabets,³ some decorative borders; and in the seventeenth century

1. Drawings of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Inv. no. 371.
2. Translation of Dutch text: 'This must be printed as it is drawn, for otherwise the palace will come to the front; so you must look through the paper [by holding it up to the light] or soak it with oil [so that the drawing becomes visible on the reverse side] for they must print it that way round.'
3. Including the one reproduced in M. Rooses, *Index Characterum*, 1905, no. 19, and *Musée*, pp. 296-297 (cut about 1570 and used in the *Antiphonarium* and *Graduale*).

the series of emperor portraits for volume v of H. Goltzius's collected works, published in 1645 but prepared in 1631-34. In this last case, Balthasar I's hand was forced. He had managed to buy up a stock of the first four volumes, in De Bie's reprint of 1617-20 (but printed with the original wood-blocks). The original two-tone plates of volume v had been lost and in order to be able to bring out a new edition of the complete works, the publisher was obliged to have a series of identical replacements cut (plus a few additional ones).¹

Wood-blocks have certain drawbacks. They are difficult to alter or refurnish. Small corrections are possible - but even these leave tell-tale traces.² Large alterations can only be made by cutting away portions of the block.³ Renovation of a much-used block was virtually impossible and nothing could be done about warping or splitting. Copperplates were less of a problem in these respects. Big alterations meant drastic treatment,⁴ but small amendments to legend or picture could be done simply with a burin in an expert hand,⁵ as could touching up and renovating. The accounts of the

1. See plates 45-47.
2. Among the wood-blocks Plantin bought from the widow of the Antwerp printer J. van Loe was the title-page border of Dodoens's Herbal. In the first edition of 1554 this border had included Charles V's coat of arms. Van Loe later had the Herbal translated into French and English in the hope of selling it abroad. Charles V was not popular in France and England at that time. The 1557 French edition still bore the imperial device on the title-page, but in the English version of the same year it was replaced by an inoffensive vase. This was skilfully done, but the traces are nevertheless visible. The altered wood-block is in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.
3. The fine wood-block showing the choir of St. Rombout's Cathedral, Malines, which had served as title-page for the 1571 psalter, was adapted for the *Antiphonarium* of 1572 by having a groove cut in it in which a typographical text was placed. Cf. plates 34 and 35.
4. The whole of the central medallion was later excised from the frontispiece of Vesalius-Valverde, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani*, 1566. This had contained an engraved text of bibliographical references. A completely different text was needed for the 1567 Dutch translation and instead of erasing the Latin text and engraving the new one, the quicker but more radical method was chosen of simply cutting out the medallion from the plate. Cf. plate 33. The new text was set in the space left. The same thing was done with the medallion in Rubens's title-page design for H. Hugo, *Obsidio Bredana*, 1626, when subsequent translations required completely new titles.
5. The 1614 edition of the *Breviarium Romanum* had a title-page cut to a Rubens design with a central panel containing the address of Balthasar I and Jan II Moretus, the date 1614, and, at the bottom, the arms of Pope Paul V. In the 1628 edition these had been erased and replaced by a new imprint, engraved with the date 1628, in the name of Balthasar Moretus, the widow of Jan II Moretus, and Jan Meursius; the papal arms were those of the new pope, Urbanus VIII. Cf. Hellinga, *Copy and print*, figures 70 and 71.

Galle workshop show that these jobs were done quite often and cost the masters of the Golden Compasses a fair amount over the years.¹

Not all copperplates were equally easy to renovate. It depended on whether they had been engraved with a burin or etched with acid. The burin demanded the trained hand of a craftsman; etching a lesser degree of skill. This explains why painters who ventured into the medium were particularly attracted to the latter technique. It was neither by chance nor by a whim that Van der Borcht, when he began to work for Plantin as an engraver, produced only etchings. However, etchings have certain disadvantages compared with burin-engraved plates. The lines are relatively shallow and broad, giving a less sharp picture. For the same reason it is difficult to re-cut the lines to renovate the plate and this reduces the number of copies of the picture than can be printed. For moderate runs the technical inferiority of etchings was not so important: Van der Borcht produced a goodly number for Plantin and in the seventeenth century the Moretuses were still illustrating a few of their works with etchings.² But in that same century the *officina* began to specialize in service books in large runs, which meant heavy use of plates for illustrations. Etching was out and henceforth engravings with the burin held sway. Occasionally, subsequent masters of the Golden Compasses set down their thoughts on the matter in some detail, and these records are important to the study of the question.³

1. In the second half of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth, there were even engravers who did only retouching for the firm. See p. 241.
2. Including J. Boenerus, *Delineatio historica fratrum minorum occisorum*, 1635, illustrated by Adriaan Pauwels.
3. Letter from J.J. Moretus to N. Heylbroeck, May 1754 (Arch. 283, f^o 160^{vo}; quoted by Van den Wijngaert in 'De late Moretussen', I, p. 207): the publisher asked 'that these plates must be engraved by you entirely with a burin and not etched or engraved with spirits or by any other means'; for, he continued, 'my copperplate pressman is very experienced in printing so that he prints more than 4,000 copies before the plates have to be retouched'; he was therefore reckoning on the fact that 'the plates that you are going to engrave for me will be of the same durability'. A letter by F.J. Moretus, early in 1763, about engravings done by Hendelot (quoted by Van den Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen', II, p. 163), is clearer and more precise. The publisher found Hendelot's production only 'passably good'. Too much of the surface was etched away and for two reasons he wanted all future work to be engraved with the burin. First and chiefly, because an engraving had to be imposed on the reverse side of a printed sheet: the lines had to be deep enough to give a full-bodied reproduction that would prevent the text from showing through. Secondly this kind of engraving was longer-lasting and the copperplate easier to retouch: etched lines became blurred after being printed a number of times.

No explicit details have been discovered of the production rate of the copperplate engravers who worked for the Plantin press, but there are a few indications of the time in which woodcutters were expected to have their wood-blocks ready.¹ Norms of this kind were probably more theoretical than real. Whenever engravers are mentioned in Plantin's correspondence it is almost always because they had not been able to deliver their work on time.²

Wood-blocks can be printed in conjunction with the text and on the same presses. Copper engraving is a form of intaglio printing and therefore requires a special press. For a few months, from 5th March 1571 to 21st June 1572, Plantin entered the 'coperdrucker' (copper printer) Jacob van der Houven in his *livre des ouvriers*.³ Whether the man worked in the press or at home cannot be said with any certainty, but an intaglio press was listed in the inventory of Plantin's estate.⁴ This press must, however, have stood idle for the greater part of the time: before and after the dates quoted Plantin

1. Arch. 31, f^o 50^{vo} (Arnold Nicolai, 17th Nov. 1563: 'faict marché avec luy quil me taille les 150 fig[ures] des Emblemes de Sambucus à 7 st. la pièce et quil men livrera 3 pour chacun jour à commencer le 22 jour de ce present mois'); Arch. 31, f^o 64^{vo} (Cornelis Muller, 1st Jan. 1564: 'Et faict marché avec luy quil me livrera p[our] chaicunne semaine 9 fig[ures] desd[icts] [J. Sambucus, *Emblemata*] à peine qu'il prendra [perdra?] 3 st. pour chaicun jour quil aura failli à en tailler et livrer à l'équipolent d'une fig[ure] et demye p[our] chaicun iour...'). Jegher in 1631-33 delivered an average of two emperor portraits per week (Rooses, *Musée*, p. 301).
2. Much information on this is in Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs'.
3. Arch. 31, f^o 180^{vo} and Arch. 32, f^o 27^{ro}. (He earned an average of 7 st. per day, very regularly: he probably received a daily wage, not piece rates.)
4. In the second version of the detailed valuation of the typographical collections at Antwerp, an intaglio press is mentioned. With some other material, it was not separately estimated: 'sans conter une presse pour imprimer en cuivre...' (Arch. 99, p. 19).

entrusted the printing of the copperplates to those who prepared them¹ or specialized in the print trade.² Conversely he often set and printed texts for the albums of prints which such firms produced.³

The Moretuses followed the same policy at first, having their plates printed exclusively by the Galle workshop. But at the end of the seventeenth century this firm closed down. Activity in the graphic arts in Antwerp was then nearing its lowest point and it became as difficult to have copperplates printed there as to have them engraved. Balthasar IV tackled the problem resolutely by having an intaglio press made in Holland in 1714 and smuggled into Antwerp⁴ - not, as would nowadays be the case, so as to escape import duties but to avoid difficulties with the Antwerp carpenters, who would have immediately protested against 'unfair' Dutch competition.⁵ Balthasar IV set up a small workshop for intaglio printing in his house and engaged specialist pressmen.⁶ The workshop remained in use until the end of the eighteenth century. A few notes from the middle years of that century give some interesting particulars of its equipment⁷ and of the amount of material the pressman used a year.⁸

1. Such as Pieter Huys.
2. Such as Mijnen Liefrinck.
3. Particularly Philip Galle (cf. p. 10; see also Rooses, *Musée*, p. 190).
4. M. Sabbe, 'Ysbrand Vincent en zijn Antwerpsche vrienden', *De Moretussen en hun kring*, 1928, pp. 200-202. When ordering, through this Amsterdam paper merchant and associate of the firm, Balthasar Moretus let himself be guided by A. Bosse's work, *Traité des manières de graver en taille douce sur lairain par le moyen des eaues fortes et des vernix durs et mols; ensemble de la façon d'en imprimer les planches et d'en construire la presse*, Paris, 1645. Thus informed, he required 'une presse de la dernière perfection pour imprimer oeuvres avec deux rouleaux, avec du bois de Guajac; des langes pour mettre dessus les planches et quelque fois dessous en les imprimant; quatre tampons ou balles pour encre les planches, des meilleures faites; le vaisseau ou marmite pour faire cuire l'huile avec sa couverture; le marbre et la mollette pour broyer le nois; la poisle [poêle] et le gril pour chauffer la planche'. On 17th Dec. 1714 the press arrived in Antwerp. From a letter of 17th Jan. 1715 it appears that it cost, with all appurtenances, 217 fl. See plate 22.
5. '... to avoid all difficulties with the [Antwerp] carpenters' guild'.
6. From February 1717 two intaglio printers were entered in the wages accounts (Arch. 793).
7. Arch. 697, no. 55 (Inventory with the values of the pieces of equipment that were the personal property of the intaglio printer Gaspar Courtoy).
8. Arch. 697, no 101, f^o 9^{ro}: see L. Voet, 'Een aantekenboek van Franciscus Joannes Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 44, 1966, p. 234.

Drawings, wood-blocks, and copperplates, and their printing, had to be paid for. Over the years the prices followed the general trend of decline in the purchasing power of money and at the same time were adjusted to the difficulty and size of the illustration to be drawn, cut, or engraved. The absolute figures are of less importance than the comparisons they make possible - among themselves and with the rest of the production costs of a book. Sample figures are to be found in the table on pp. 224-225.

The first fact that emerges is that of the three specialists the designer was virtually always the least well paid. This applied even to someone like Rubens. However, this master realized that the price paid for drawing an illustration formed only a fraction of the total investment in a publication, and had to be kept as low as possible. He also knew to the last *stuiver* what a day's work in his studio brought him in - and that was much more than he could ask from a publisher or an author. He therefore drew his designs in the solitude of his room on Sundays and feast days when he could not paint in his studio.¹ He was thus able to ask prices that were relatively low, considering his standing. In doing this Rubens implicitly acknowledged that in book illustration the creative work of the artist had to be less well remunerated than its technical execution.

A second obvious point is that the woodcut specialist had to be content with much less for his work than the copperplate engraver. The reason did not lie in preference for the engraving, but in a simple fact that also explains why the artist received less for his designs than the craftsman who executed them: payment was directly proportionate to the speed with which the work could be done, and a reasonable daily wage thereby earned. In principle the draughtsman could

1. Letter from Balthasar I Moretus to B. Corderius, 13th Sept. 1630 (Arch. 144, pp. 124 sqq.; given in Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, *op. cit.*, p. 85, note 1): 'Theses Theologicas accepi, quas eleganter et cito excusas curabo. At de imaginibus laboro qui absolvantur. Rubenius delineare eas recusat, nisi ad trimestre delineatio differri possit. Et solet fere a me praemoneri sex mensibus, ut titulum aliquem meditetur, et describat cum plenissimo otio, et diebus fere sacris: nam profanos operi tali haud impendit; aut centum florenos pro unica delineatione exigeret. Itaque per alium delineari curabo...'

Sample figures of the costs of drawings, wood-blocks, and copperplates¹

	<i>Drawings</i>	<i>Wood-blocks</i>	<i>Copperplates</i>
<i>1563-67</i>			
Borders		3 fl.(A. Nicolai)	
Emblemata, octavo	10 st. (Ballain; d'Heere) 7 st. (Huys)	9, 10, 12, 15 st.	
Nicander, quarto	7 st. (Ballain)	14 st. (Gourmont)	
Reynard the Fox, octavo	30 fl. for 72 drawings	54 fl. for 72 wood-blocks	
Vesalius-Valverda, Vivae imagines, folio	3½ fl. (title-page design; L. van Noort)		11 fl. (Huys)
<i>1570-76</i>			
Missal, folio	3 fl. for 7 drawings (Van der Borch)	7 to 10 fl. (Van Leest)	12 fl. (Dufour)
Title-page for Psalter, folio		18 fl. (Van Leest)	
Title-pages for Polyglot Bible, folio			43 fl.
<i>1585</i>			
Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows (engraving 43 × 29 cm)	6 fl. (Van den Broeck)		96 fl. (Wiericx) + 6 fl. (for copper)

1. Taken from Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', for Plantin's period; from Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, for the period 1610-40. For the Justus Lipsius *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, data from Arch. 124, p. 323.

Sample figures of the costs of drawings, wood-blocks, and copperplates

	<i>Drawings</i>	<i>Wood-blocks</i>	<i>Copperplates</i>
<i>1604</i>			
J. Lipsius, Diva Virgo Hallensis, quarto	10 fl. for 3 drawings (Rousandt) ¹		110 fl. for 3 plates (C. Galle & A. Collaert)
<i>1610-40</i>			
Designs by Rubens			
folio	20 fl.		75-100 fl.
quarto	12 fl.		30-40 fl.
octavo	8 fl.		25 fl.
24mo	5 fl.		25 fl.
Emperor portraits (two colours)	2 fl. and 2 fl. 12 st. (outlines; Jegher); 6 st. (light effects; Er. Quellin) ²	6 fl. for the blocks with outlines (Jegher); 2 fl. 8 st. for the blocks with light effects (Jegher)	

complete his task the quickest and the woodcutter was only a little slower. The engraver had to spend much longer over his copperplate.

It is usually hard to determine whether the cost of the wood-block or the copperplate was included in the prices charged. In the years 1563-67, at the beginning of his career, Plantin seems himself to have ordered the softwood blocks ('bois de buis') for woodcuts from Antwerp carpenters.³ They did not cost much each, and even in the quantities he had to buy this was not a large item of expenditure.

1. Rousandt received a further 18 fl. for his journey to Halle (see p. 214, note 2).
2. Jegher received 2 fl. 12 st. for the portrait of Charles V and 2 fl. each for nine other portraits; Erasmus Quellin 3 fl. 'for the lighting [i.e., light effects] of 10 emperors'. Jegher and Erasmus Quellin must have executed two other portraits. The rest were copied from the earlier Hubertus Goltzius edition. See Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.
3. For example, Arch. 3, f^o 3^{ro} (4th Nov. 1563: 'Jay fait faire à Gilles Gevele des bois de buis à faire tailler figures demblesmes pour Sambucus dont il men a livré 11 de grandes pour metre in 8^o de travers comprenant 12 lignes de median en hauteur dont iay payé 1 st. de la pièce. Plus men a fait 25 petits bois de grandeur à metre de travers en 16^o. Item 7 escarreures de mesme bois où entrent les[dicts] autres 25 petites pièces de forme en 16^o dont iay payé pour la pièce ½ st.: 1 fl. 13½ st. '); f^o 9^{ro} (1st April 1564: 'Jay payé ... à Gilles Heville faiseur d'espinettes pour 3 bois à faire commencements de livres in 16^o, pour 3 in 8^o, pour 3 pièces de bois à repourtraire aucuns Emblemes de Sambucus, pour 20 listes ou carrés à metre les fig[ures] dedans à 3 st. pièce et pour 60 bois carrés à faire pourtraire des Emblemes d'Adrianus Junius et pour 26 bois à pourtraire les médailles des Emblemes de Sambucus: 10 fl. 5 st. '); f^o 23^{ro} (10th April 1565: '... à Gilles Heville pour 60 bois à pourtraire les figures des petites heures et pour les bois faicts à metre au lieu des vignettes des heures 8^o et pour

The author has not discovered a single piece of evidence for the later years that would show that the publisher continued this practice and it must be assumed that either the artist or the woodcutter provided the blocks and allowed for this in his price. Copperplates were much more expensive. Sometimes the printer bought these too.¹ In other instances the artist supplied the plate but charged for it separately.² However, it may be assumed that in the majority of cases the plates were included in the price of the finished work.³

It has been seen that the wood-blocks were printed in the house, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries specialist firms printed copperplates for the Plantinian press and these too had to be paid. In 1566 P. Huys asked 1 fl. per hundred sheets for printing the copperplates for the Vesalius-Valverde *Vivae Imagines*. There was a run of 600 copies and 42 plates per copy. This meant 13,500 sheets for which Plantin paid 132 fl.⁴ In 1570 Mijnen Liefreynck charged 10 st. per

10 pièces de formats: 2 fl. 14 st. '); f^o 30 (23rd June 1565: 'pour 65 bois à les pourtraire [illustrations for the *Commentaria in Ptolemaeum*; to Heville]: 2 fl. '); f^o 41 (29th Dec. 1565: 'Les bois desd[ic]ts figures [Fables de Faerne] à Gilles van Heville: 7 fl. 15 st. ').

1. Cf. a number of receipts signed by Pieter van der Borcht for plates of copper: Arch. 734, p. 2 (15th Sept. [?]: 3½ lb. of copper already cleaned, at 19 st. per lb.: 2 fl. 19 st.); p. 3 (16th Sept. [?]: 3 lb. of beaten copper, not cleaned, at 15 st. per lb.: 2 fl. 5 st. 'I shall have the woman clean it'); p. 4 (4th Aug. 1597: 10½ lb. copper, cleaned, at 6 st. per lb.: 3 fl. 3 st.).
2. For example, P. van der Heyden, about 1569 (Arch. 757, p. 370: 'P. Van der Heyden doibt avoir pour le cuivre de la deuxième plate est à scavoir de la Terre Sainte, pesante 5 lb. à 8 st. la lb. et 20 st. schoonmaken [Dutch for "to clean"]: 3 fl....; Item pour les derniers plates ascavoir pour les nettoyer et sur le cuivre: 2 fl. '). Plantin was charged 6 fl. for the plate with the picture of Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows (cf. p. 224). Theodoor Galle also charged separately for the copper sometimes. Cf. Arch. 123, f^o 13 (5th Feb. 1605: to copper used for 2 borders in the missal: 2 fl. 16 st.); f^o 14 (26th Nov. 1605: 'The copper done for the [view of the] town of Louvain with beating: 8 fl. 15 st. ').
3. Shown for example by Theodoor Galle's accounts, where there is an occasional note to the effect that the price for an engraved plate included 'copper and everything together'.
4. Cf. p. 384.

hundred sheets for printing the C. Perret calligraphic album¹ and in 1574 an average of 8 st. per 100 sheets.² In 1571-85 Philip Galle received an average of 15 st. per 100 sheets.³ Theodoor Galle's accounts for the early years of the seventeenth century show a great variation in price according to the format, but always reckoned per 100 sheets: 10 st., 12 st., 16 st., 18 st., 1 fl., 1 fl. 16 st.⁴

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, illustrating a book, even modestly, meant investing quite a lot of money. In the section of this work dealing with costing concrete examples are given which show that the pictures accounted for a considerable part of the capital investment necessary to publish an illustrated book; sometimes it was more than 75 per cent.⁵ In this section it is simply the cost of illustrations compared with the total expenditure of the press that will be looked at. The percentage varied from year to year according to the number of illustrated books published and to the percentage of the annual production these represented. Plantin's list of illustrated titles seems impressive but it was relatively small compared with other works. However high the expenditure might run in individual cases, the money paid for pictures was generally rather lost in Plantin's budget for any given year. In 1566, for example, illustrations accounted for 137 fl. 14 st. out of total running costs of 13,041 fl.: less than one per cent.⁶ This percentage increased in the time of the Moretuses, when they started turning out liturgical and devotional books in large quantities. Between 1600 and 1610 Jan I Moretus paid his son-in-law, Theodoor Galle, 13,530 fl. Of this 6,179 fl. was for engraving copperplates (this included re-engraving, retouching, and a few drawings) and 7,341 fl. for printing them.⁷ This was not the sum total of Jan Moretus's spending on illustrations; there were also payments for designs, for a few engravings made at other studios, and for

1. Arch. 16, f^o 136.

2. Arch. 18, f^o 82.

3. Arch. 18, f^o 143.

4. Arch. 123. For example, f^o 1 (1600: for a folio edition, 16 st. per hundred; for a book of hours in 12mo and for the F. Costerus *Meditations* in 16mo, 10 st.); f^o 10 (1603: for the large plates in the 'Triumphs' [Entry of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella into Antwerp], 1 fl. 16 st. per hundred).

5. Cf. pp. 381 sqq.

6. Cf. Appendix I.

7. Compiled from Arch. 123.

wood-blocks. His account-books for 1600-10 record an expenditure of 57,885 fl. for compositors' and pressmen's wages.¹ Expenditure on illustrations was therefore 25 per cent of that on wages in the period, compared with 2.5 per cent half a century before in 1566 (137 fl. 14 st. on illustrations and 4,141 fl. 3½ st. on wages).

As so much capital went into illustrating books the materials, at least the wood-blocks and copperplates, were carefully preserved. Drawings were rather indifferently treated. Of this material commissioned and collected through the centuries by the masters of the Golden Compasses, 13,791 wood-blocks and 2,846 copperplates are preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, but only about 500 drawings. This is partly due to the fact that the drawings for woodcuts were actually traced through on to the blocks and the bulk of them consequently destroyed in the process. But even in the case of the drawings for the copper engravings, only a fraction has remained in the house.² Probably they were either lost in the engravers' studios or became so dirty or torn that they were thrown away.³ It was not until about the middle of the eighteenth century that the Moretuses began to take more care of the drawings they commissioned; they mounted some of them, but more as collectors' pieces than out of practical considerations.⁴ Whereas inventories were regularly made of the wood-blocks and copperplates, even the later Moretuses neglected to do this for their drawings.

1. Cf. p. 386.
2. Rubens, for example, must have done over 50 drawings for the firm. Only five of these, and a grisaille, are in the Plantin-Moretus Museum; ten or so are in the collections of foreign museums or libraries; the rest are lost. In 1754 some of these drawings were disposed of at an auction (Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, *op. cit.*, p. 69, note 3, and p. 153).
3. There is actual evidence of drawings being lost in this way in the eighteenth century. Franciscus Joannes Moretus wanted to retrieve for his personal collection some drawings entrusted to Parisian studios for engraving. The French bookseller acting as agent managed to collect the greater number, but some had already been lost (Van den Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen', I, p. 230). In some cases drawings may have been handed over to the author or to the institution meeting the costs of publication or illustration, as was probably the case with a part of Rubens's work.
4. See Van den Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen', I, pp. 230 and 233.

This attitude is understandable. The drawings were only a means to an end and of no further use once the design had been transferred to wood or copper. Wood-blocks and copperplates were a valuable part of a printer's material and were therefore meticulously stored, inventoried, specified when estates were divided up, and could be sold or purchased from other printers. When Plantin began to specialize to some extent in herbals he not only had a goodly number of wood-blocks cut depicting plants, but also bought quantities of existing blocks. In 1580, for example, he bought 250 blocks from the London printer Purfoot, and in April 1581 one thousand from the widow Jan van Loe, who for a long time had been Dodoens's printer and publisher.¹ In other instances he bought up copperplates and wood-blocks of a particular work, not because he intended to use them, but in order to prevent a colleague from bringing out a new edition that might compete with a projected Plantin book. There were, for example, the illustrations used by Willem Silvius for his 1567 edition of Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*. Plantin wrote to Silvius telling him quite openly what were his intentions,² but the transaction did not go through until after Silvius's death.³ On this occasion Plantin acquired other wood-blocks for which he could have had even less use.⁴ The Moretuses embarked on similar transactions. Balthasar I and Jan II Moretus spent 12,114 fl. in April 1612 on several hundred copperplates included in the estate of J.B. Vrients, a printer and engraver.⁵

1. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 221 and 223; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 80.
2. *Corr.*, VI, no. 864 (16th Feb. 1580: '... Et d'autant que c'est chose arrestée et resoluë qu'il me convient poursuivre en diligence les choses susdictes je n'ay voulu pour l'ancienneté, congnoissance et familiarité de vous en advertir et offrir le payement de telles figures que pouvés avoir soit en bois soit en cuivre (encores que je ne m'en veuille servir veu que je fays faire le tout en cuivre en autres grandeurs que les vostres) et pareillement de tous pourtraicts, versions et autres despenses que voudrés presentement delivrer').
3. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 224.
4. Such as the wood-blocks of the *Spelen van Sinnen*, published by Silvius in 1561.
5. Among them the Ortelius copperplates - 135 from the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 40 from the *Parergon* and 40 from the *Epitome* - which Vrients had bought from the cartographer's heirs, together with a whole series of plates that he made himself or commissioned. These were listed in the 'Inventaire des planches etc. achaptées en l'auktion de la vefve de J. Bapt^e Vriendts' (Arch. 101, f^o 29). Cf. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*, II, pp. 89-90 and 266.

At the same time the Moretuses did not hesitate to get rid of items from their own collection when an attractive enough offer seemed likely. In 1659 Balthasar II started negotiations for the sale of the 3,180 botanical wood-blocks he then possessed to Pieter van Waesberghe, the great Amsterdam printer and publisher.¹ Fortunately the sale did not go through and these blocks still form a numerically important part of the Museum's collection. Other negotiations were more successful: this is how most of the Ortelius plates must have left the Plantin house.² The 144 emperor portraits that Balthasar I commissioned between 1631 and 1634 for Goltzius's *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum* (volume V of the complete works, published in 1645) were handed over to the Verdussens for their 1708 edition. By a happy chance, Max Rooses was able to buy back the whole collection for the Museum.³

1. Letter from Balthasar II Moretus to P. van Waesberghe: Arch. 299, f^{os} 733 sqq. Cf. Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 83.
2. Only a few of these plates were preserved: Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers*, II, p. 90. It has not been possible to discover how the rest were alienated.
3. Charging for the use of plates was another means of making money from them. For the loan of his wood-blocks of plants for the re-issue at Leiden of the Dodoens Herbal, Jan I Moretus asked the younger Frans Raphelengius for 100 copies of the new edition. Raphelengius thought this too much, observing that he had been charged only 50 thalers for a larger number of wood-blocks he had borrowed at Frankfurt; he suggested that his uncle should receive 50 copies (M. Sabbe, 'Een en ander over Dodoens' Cruydboek-uitgaven van 1608 and 1618...', *De Gulden Passer*, 15, 1937, pp. 94-95). See also a letter from the younger Frans Raphelengius to Balthasar I Moretus, 23rd May 1623 (Arch. 92, p. 219): a good friend had asked him to find out Moretus's terms for the use of his copperplates from the Vesalius-Valverde anatomical treatise in a planned Dutch edition. Judocus Hondius, the famous Amsterdam type-cutter and cartographical publisher, twice obtained the use of some of Balthasar I Moretus's copperplates in 1618. In the first case the plates were sent to Amsterdam; what Balthasar expected in return is not precisely stated: presumably a number of copies of the Hondius edition (Arch. 228, f^o 93, 13th June 1618, 8 plates of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* 'desquelles il demande imprimer en son Ptolomeus Mercatoris 800 ou 600 copies dont sommes attendants... [left blank]'). In the second case 3,200 prints of maps from Ortelius's *Parergon* were sent to Hondius, who had to pay the cost of printing and carriage (Arch. 228, f^o 175, 24th Oct. 1618).

The worst losses from Plantin's original collection were caused by two other events. When the young printer's possessions were auctioned in April 1562, the by no means small stock he had already built up was dispersed.¹ The distribution of his estate had even worse consequences.² At his death he had 7,530 wood-blocks and 2,391 copperplates.³ The wood-blocks were valued at 10 st. each, making a total of 3,716 fl. The old copperplates were valued at averages of 1 fl. 8 st. for the plates at Leiden and 1 fl. 10 st. for those at Antwerp. The new ones, intended for works not yet published, were priced higher, nearer their actual value.⁴ The total value of the copperplates was put at 4,384 fl. 14 st. These amounts represent only a fraction of cost, but on the other hand, many of the plates and blocks were of little further use because there was no point in reissuing the relevant works. But even after this low evaluation, these blocks and plates added up to an appreciable percentage of the typographical material Plantin left his heirs.⁵ Like the rest of this material it was divided between Jan Moretus at Antwerp and Frans Raphelengius at Leiden. The 461 copperplates, estimated at 637 fl., and the 1,578 wood-blocks valued at 750 fl.⁶ which were already at Leiden remained there. To Jan Moretus passed 1,930 copperplates valued at 3,747 fl. 14 st. and 5,952 wood-blocks, valued at 2,976 fl.⁷ At the

1. Arch. 27, f^{os} 15^{ro}, 15^{vo}, 32^{ro}, 35^{ro}, 35^{vo}, 36^{ro}, 38^{ro}, 38^{vo}, 39^{ro} - a total value of 372 fl. 6 st.; all were wood-blocks except for 'three copperplates of Anathomia' [intended for the Vesalius-Valverde *Vivae imagines*, eventually published in 1566] and 'the plates and figures of the funeral of [the] emperor' [the copperplates for the *Magnifique et Sumptueuse Pompe funèbre de Charles Cinquième*, 1559, sold for 129 fl.]
2. See Vol. I, pp. 165-166. Pieter van der Borcht, Ortelius, and Philip Galle were the valuers (Arch. 99, p. 15). Inventory of the collection at Antwerp: Arch. 98, pp. 513-514 and 523-524; Arch. 99, pp. 14-15; Arch. 124, p. 321. Inventory of the collection at Leiden: Arch. 99, p. 33-34.
3. Viz. 5,952 wood-blocks at Antwerp and 1,578 at Leiden; 1,930 copperplates at Antwerp and 461 at Leiden.
4. Only those at Antwerp (319 etched and 73 engraved plates): Arch. 124, p. 321.
5. 8,110 fl. 14 st. out of a total of 22,607 fl. (18,000 fl. for the typographical material at Antwerp, 4,607 fl. for that at Leiden); the cast type was put at 9,600 fl. and the punches, matrices, and moulds at 5,821 fl. 10 st. (see p. 124, note 2).
6. 1,387 fl. altogether out of a total for the Leiden printing office of 4,607 fl.
7. Altogether 6,723 fl. 14 st. out of a total of 18,000 fl. for the Antwerp printing office.

closing down of the Leiden firm in 1619 the Moretuses succeeded in buying back from their relatives a considerable number of wood-blocks,¹ but the larger part of the copperplates went astray at Leiden.²

Experts drew up the inventory of Plantin's estate. Philip Galle, Abraham Ortelius, and Pieter van der Borch dealt with the wood-blocks and copperplates. Their list forms an interesting record of what Plantin possessed in this line, at least in so far as it was preserved at Antwerp.³ After 1589 the Plantinian collection was never again divided up in this way, but from time to time the Moretuses thought it advisable to compile an inventory of their wood-blocks and copperplates. Their stock-taking enables posterity to trace the development of the collection, what had been acquired and what disappeared.⁴

1. When the Leiden branch closed down in June 1619, the younger Frans Raphelengius sent to Antwerp eight boxes of wood-blocks (including those used for works by Clusius and Belon de Mans, the Alciatus emblem books, and Plantinian printer's marks) and unspecified copperplates (Arch. 92, p. 195, letter from F. Raphelengius, 27th June 1619). See also Raphelengius's letters of 22nd Oct. 1618 (Arch. 95, p. 48) and 20th Nov. 1618 (Arch. 92, p. 187 - advising his cousin to take all the wood-blocks for 1,000 fl.; Balthasar Moretus had already taken 1,286 at 13 st. each, worth 835 fl. 18 st.; for just a little more he could have had all the Leiden wood-blocks).
2. See for example the letter from the younger Raphelengius to Jan Moretus, 12th May 1602 (Arch. 92, p. 141), concerning the possible closing down of the press: 'Mais les figures de cuivre ie les veux vendre, soit que je demeure ou non; car il me semble que cela ne peut tourner à deshonneur, pour raisons. Je ne pense pas aussi que vous les voudriez avoir; toutesfois si les voulez mandez le moy. Ce sont les figures de vander Borcht languets et quarrez, les prophetes de Hildesemius, et celles de Usu et Abusu. Le reste est usé of uytgeslepen [Dutch for "or worn out"]. Les Icones Medicorum je les ay accordé à Cornelis Claesz. à condition qu'il imprimera les 300 exemplaires pour moy.'
3. Cf. p. 231, note 2
4. Including a very detailed inventory by Balthasar II Moretus, June 1653 (Arch. 354, pp. 85-100) and a series of inventories of the collection of copperplates assembled in Arch. 124: 1642 (pp. 7-30), 1653 (p. 32: only the plates of Ortelius), 1673 (pp. 35-56; pp. 67-113), 1704 (pp. 205-218).



(45) Print from the outline block of the portrait of Charles v. The portrait (shown in complete form in plate 47) was conceived in two colours, black and ochre. This necessitated the use of two different blocks, one for the outlines to be printed in black, shown here, and one for the light effects to be printed in ochre, shown in plate 46 overleaf.



(46) Print from the light-effect block in ochre of the portait of Charles v (cf. plates 45 and 47).



(47) Portrait of Charles v in complete form. This two-colour woodcut appears in Hubert Goltzius's *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum...*, volume V of *Opera Huberti Goltzii*, 1645. For this volume Balthasar I Moretus had 144 'emperor portraits' cut by Christoffel Jegher between 1631 and 1634. For most of the portraits Jegher could use those in the 1557 edition as models, but he drew the above portrait himself. The blocks were sold in 1708 to the Antwerp printers Verdussen, but in 1876 they were reacquired by the Plantin-Moretus Museum. The reproductions in plates 45-47 were slightly reduced.

*44



(48) Copy of Valerius, *Argonauticon libri VIII*, 1566, in 16mo (OB 1.9) bound with four gilt *fleurons* in the corners and Plantin's printer's mark. The signature on the title-page shows that the book belonged to Abraham Ortelius, the cartographer, and was presumably given to him by Plantin.

List of the graphic artists who worked for the Plantin house

1. Draughtsmen and designers¹.

Hieronymus Cock (c. 1510-70)	1559 ² .
Geoffroy Ballain (Paris)	1563-67 ³ .
Pieter Huys (1519-81?)	1563-65 ⁴ .
Lucas d'Heere (Ghent; 1534-84)	1563-64 ⁵ .
*Pieter van der Borcht (Malines to 1572; Antwerp from 1572; c. 1540-1608)	1565-1608 ⁶ .
Lambert van Noort (1520-70)	1566 ⁷ .
*Crispin van den Broeck (1524-91)	1566-c. 1591 ⁸ .
Clement Perret (Brussels)	1569 ⁹ .

1. Drawings by the artists marked with an asterisk are in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. Valuable information on these artists and their productions preserved in the Museum is given in *Catalogus van de tekeningen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus* by F. van den Wijngaert (in manuscript; this can be consulted at the Museum).
2. Did the drawings of *La Magnifique et Sumptueuse Pompe funèbre de Charles Cinquième*, 1559, probably on commission from the herald who paid for the edition. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 24; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', pp. 107-108; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 118.
3. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 180-181; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', pp. 87-90; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 106-108, 130-131, 133, 136; Delen, 'Les illustrateurs français', pp. 64-74, 175-178.
4. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 181-182; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', pp. 102-105; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 84-86, 107, 112-115, 134.
5. He was contacted by Sambucus to do the drawings for his *Emblemata*; a large number of these drawings were rejected by Plantin and redrawn by P. Huys: cf. p. 198; Rooses, *Musée*, p. 181; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', p. 110.
6. The most eminent of Plantin's draughtsmen; Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 177-180, 263, 265, 268; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', pp. 90-99; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 79-98. Cf. also the introduction by M. Rooses to the reissue of the Plantin edition of J. Sambucus, *Icones medicorum*, 1574 (Antwerp, 1901).
7. He drew the frontispiece for Vesalius-Valverde, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani*, 1566: Rooses, *Musée*, p. 182; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', p. 110.
8. Together with Van der Borcht and De Vos Plantin's most important designer: Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 180, 188, 263; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', pp. 100-102.
9. He published a calligraphic album under Plantin's imprint in 1569 engraved from his drawings. On the title-page it is stated that he was from Brussels and only eighteen years old. He was not actually a draughtsman of Plantin but rather an author who had his drawings published by him. Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', pp. 105-107. Cf. also: P. Bergmans, 'Clement Perret, calligraphe bruxellois du XVI^e siècle', *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique*, 1902; C. Clair, 'Clement Perret, calligrapher', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 11, 1956, pp. 50-52; C. Clair, 'Clement Perret, calligrapher: an addendum', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 13, 1958, pp. 127-128.

Jan Wiericx	1573 ¹ .
Melchior Lorck (1526/27 - d. after 1583)	1573-74 ² .
Bernardinus Passarus (Passerus) (Italy; c. 1540-90)	1577 ³ .
*Maarten de Vos (1532-1603)	1581-88 ⁴ .
Cornelis III Floris (c. 1551-1615)	1595 ⁵ .
*Joos de Momper (1564-1635)	1595; 1602 ⁶ .
Theodoor Galle (1571-1633)	from 1600 ⁷ .
Rousandt (Brussels?)	1604 ⁸ .
*Adam van Noort (1562-1641)	1608-1630 ⁹ .
*Pieter I de Jode (1570-1634)	1608-09; 1631 ¹⁰ .
*Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640)	1608; 1612-37 ¹¹ .

1. An engraver; sometimes sketched the drawings for his own engravings. This was the case in or about 1573 with a number of plates for an octavo breviary: M. Rooses, *De platen van den brevier in-8^o gesneden door Jan Wiericx*, s.d. On J. Wiericx, cf. p. 238, note 1.
2. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 104-105, suggests that the drawings for five woodcuts in the folio missal of 1575, which bore the monogram F ML, might be attributed to Don Luis Manrique, Grand Almoner of Spain. They should in fact be accredited to the Danish artist Melchior Lorck. For this artist and his stay in Antwerp in the years 1573-74, see E. Fischer, *Melchior Lorck, Drawings from the Evelyn collection at Stonor Park, England and from the Department of Prints and Drawings, The Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen*, 1962.
3. An Italian artist whose name was mentioned as designer in the frontispiece of L. Gambara, *Rerum sacrarum liber*, 1577. The 'invention' of the bulk of the remaining 55 copperplates which illustrate the work is probably also to be attributed to him. The plates were probably executed in Italy and sent to Plantin by the author of the work.
4. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 181; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs,' pp. 108-110. Cf. also p. 239, note 4.
5. He did, together with Josse de Momper, the drawings for the Entry of Archduke Ernest into Antwerp, published by the *Officina Plantiniana* in 1595; Rooses, *Musée*, p. 363.
6. He did, together with Cornelis Floris, the drawings for the Entry of Archduke Ernest (cf. preceding note) and the drawings for the Entry of Archdukes Albert and Isabella into Antwerp in 1600, published by the *Officina Plantiniana* in 1602: Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 265 and 363.
7. He may have done some of the drawings from which he made his engravings: cf. p. 239, note 6.
8. In 1604 he made the drawings for the three engravings in J. Lipsius, *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, 1604: Arch. 124, p. 123.
9. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 334.
10. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 264; Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*, p. 83.
11. Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, *op. cit.*, 1941. See also: M. Rooses, *Titels en portretten gesneden naar P.P. Rubens voor de Plantijnsche drukkerij. Titres et portraits gravés d'après P.P. Rubens pour l'imprimerie plantinienne*, 1901.

*Schelte a Bolswert (c. 1586-1659)	1617 ¹ .
Christoffel Jegher (1596-1653)	[1625-43] ² .
*Abraham van Diepenbeeck (1596-1675)	1627; 1648-50 ³ .
*Karel de Mallery (1571-after 1638)	1630-34 ⁴ .
*Nicolaas van der Horst (Brussels; 1587 or 1589-1646)	1631; 1639 ⁵ .
*Erasmus II Quellin (1607-78)	1636; 1637-45 ⁶ .
Filips Fruytiers (1610-66)	1640 ⁷ .
*Jacob van Werden	1645-58 ⁸ .
*Jan van Bockhorst (1605-68)	1648-54; 1664 ⁹ .
*Van Loeybos	1683 ¹⁰ .
*Jan Erasmus Quellin (1643-1715)	1687 ¹¹ .
*Godfried Maes (1649-1700)	1694-96 ¹² .
Gonzales van Heylen (1661-1730?)	1694; 1703-07 ¹³ .
*Jan Claudius de Cock (1668-1736)	1704 ¹⁴ .
*Richard van Orley (1663-1732)	1709 ¹⁵ .
*Cornelis Jozef d'Heur (1707-62)	c. 1740-62 ¹⁶ .
*Filips Jozef Tassaert (Brussels; 1732-1803)	1762 ¹⁷ .

1. He may have drawn some of the originals from which he made his engravings. Cf. p. 240, note 3.
2. He may have done some of the drawings from which he made his engravings: among them twelve 'new' portraits of emperors (Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, pp. 93-94).
3. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 299; Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, pp. 64-65, 80.
4. He may have done some of the drawings from which he engraved. Cf. p. 240, note 1.
5. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 293, 310, 311; Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, p. 107.
6. Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, pp. 92, 94, 103, 106, 108, 110; cf. also for a commission discharged in 1636: Rooses, *Musée*, p. 299.
7. He drew the frontispiece of *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu*, 1640, as appears from the inscription on the plate.
8. Notable for his drawings for the illustrations to the work of Jean-Jacques and Jean Chifflet, probably as a commission from the authors; in any case he was not paid by the *Officina Plantiniana*: Van den Wijngaert, *Catalogus Tekeningen*.
9. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 299; Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, pp. 55-56.
10. Van den Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen en de boekillustratie,' I, p. 196.
11. *Ibid*, I, pp. 194-196.
12. *Ibid*, I, p. 197.
13. He probably did some of the drawings for his engravings himself: *ibid*, I, pp. 203-204.
14. *Ibid*, I, p. 198.
15. *Ibid*, I, pp. 198-200, 202-204.
16. *Ibid*, I, pp. 205-206, 233-239; II, pp. 192-193.
17. *Ibid*, II, pp. 159-160.

*Andreas-Cornelis Lens (1739-1822) 1762-64¹⁸.

18. *Ibid*, II, pp. 160-161.

- *Jean Beugnet (Paris; died 1803) 1763-64¹.
 *Theodoor de Bruyn (died 1804) 1765².

2. *Woodcutters*

- Arnold Nicolai (master 1550; died 1585) 1555-c. 68³.
 Cornelis Muller 1564-72⁴.
 Gerard Janssen van Kampen (Breda; master 1560) 1564-83⁵.
 Willem van Parijs (died 1587) 1564-65⁶.
 Jean de Gourmont (Paris) 1565⁷.
 Antoon van Leest (master 1566; died c. 1592) 1566-84⁸.
 Marc Duchesne 1568⁹.
 Jan Cressone (master 1570) 1570¹⁰.
 Dierick van Hoochstraete 1570¹¹.
 Gilles Claes (master 1590; died 1631) 1589¹².
 Virgilius Solis (Frankfurt) 1592-93¹³.

1. *Ibid*, II, pp. 166-180, 192.
2. *Ibid*, II, pp. 161-162.
3. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 182-183; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', pp. 111-113; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 86, 98-112.
4. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 184-185; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', p. 115; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 85, 119-123.
5. Also a bookseller in Breda; related to Egidius Beys. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 184; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', pp. 114-115; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 124-128.
6. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 185; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', p. 115; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 123-124; Delen, 'Les illustrateurs français', pp. 179-180.
7. For the most part executed the drawings of his fellow townsman, Ballain: Rooses, *Musée*, p. 185; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', p. 115; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 131; Delen, 'Les illustrateurs français', p. 178.
8. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 183-184; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', pp. 113-114; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 85-87, 134-140.
9. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 185; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 131; Delen, 'Les illustrateurs français', p. 178.
10. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 185; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', pp. 115-116; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 131-133; Delen, 'Les illustrateurs français', pp. 178-179.
11. In 1570 he cut a few initials for Plantin: Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 168.
12. In 1589 he made a few woodcuts for Plantin: Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 169-170.
13. In 1592-93 he cut a few wood-blocks with illustrations of plants for a Clusius edition: M. Sabbe, 'Uit de briefwisseling van Clusius met Chr. Plantin en J. Moretus', *Uit het Plantijnsche huis*, 1924, pp. 63-64.

Egidius (& Willem?) Claessens

1612-13¹⁴.

14. They did the scientific illustrations for Aguilonius, *Opticorum libri sex*, 1613: Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, p. 60.

Christoffel van Sichem (c. 1546-1624)	1616-20 ¹ .
Christoffel Jegher (1596-1653)	1625-43 ² .
Judocus de Weerdt	1626 ³ .
Jan Christoffel Jegher (1618-66/67)	1644-55 ⁴ .
Mathurin Vernoeil	1687 ⁵ .
Gonzales van Heylen (1661-1730?)	1694; 1703-15 ⁶ .
M. Graet	1732 ⁷ .
Jean-Michel Papillon (Paris; 1698-1776)	1733-35; 1750; 1757-63 ⁸ .
Nicolas Le Sueur (Paris; 1691-1762)	1750-51; 1762 ⁹ .
Nicolas Caron (Paris; 1719-68)	1760-61 ¹⁰ .
Jean-Guillaume Mack (Brussels)	1762 ¹¹ .
Pierre Antoine Boury (Brussels)	1764-65 ¹² .

3. Copperplate engravers

Jan & Lucas Duotecum (Doetecum)	1559; 1584-85 ¹³ .
Frans Huys (1522-62)	1561-62 ¹⁴ .
Pieter Huys (1519-81?)	1562; 1566-74 ¹⁵ .

1. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 299; Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, p. 99.
2. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 276, 281, 295, 299-301; Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, pp. 67-68, 92-94, 99-103. Cf. also M. Rooses, 'De Jegher's, vader en zoon', *De Vlaamsche School*, 35, 1889, pp. 41-44, 53-58; M.L. Myers, 'Rubens and the Woodcuts of Christoffel Jegher,' *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 1966, pp. 7-23.
3. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 299.
4. Son of Christopher: Rooses, *Musée*, p. 301; Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, pp. 102-103. Cf. note 2.
5. Van den Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen,' I, p. 203.
6. *Ibidem*, I, pp. 202-204.
7. *Ibidem*, I, p. 209.
8. *Ibidem*, I, pp. 208-212, 214-231.
9. *Ibidem*, I, pp. 210-212, 214, 225, 229, 231.
10. *Ibidem*, I, pp. 220-226.
11. *Ibidem*, I, pp. 232-233.
12. *Ibidem*, I, pp. 231-232.
13. They executed the copperplates for the *Magnifique et sumptueuse Pompe Funèbre de Charles Cinquième, 1559*: Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 118. Also the maps in the Marine Atlas by Waghenauer which appeared under Plantin's imprint in Leiden in 1584-85.
14. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 181; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', pp. 102-105; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 114. Cf. also I. de Ramaix, 'Frans Huys. Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé', *Le livre et l'Estampe*, 55-56, 1968, pp. 258-293; 57-58, 1969, pp. 23-54.
15. Cf. p. 233, note 4.

Pieter van der Heyden (a Meriga) (1530-76)	1569 ¹⁶ .
Cornelis d'Hooghe (died 1583)	1569 ¹⁷ .

16. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 189-190; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', pp. 119-120; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 163-164.
17. 'Sculptor literarum' for Cl. Perret, *Exercitatio alphabetica*, 1569, probably at the author's request: Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 142-143.

Jan Wiericx (c. 1549-after 1615)	1569-c. 1600 ¹ .
Hieronymus Wiericx (1553-1620)	1570-c. 1600; 1616 ² .
Abraham de Bruyn (c. 1540-85)	1570-83 ³ .
Pieter Dufour (Furnius) (Liège; c. 1545-c. 1626)	1574 ⁴ .
Pieter van der Borcht (died 1608)	1574-1608 ⁵ .
Jan Collaert the Elder (c. 1545-c. 1581)	c. 1576; 1589 ⁶ .
Jules Goltzius (c. 1550-after 1595)	1577; 1586 ⁷ .
Marcus Gheeraerts (c. 1530-c. 1600)	1579 ⁸ .
Jan de Sadeleer or Sadeler (1550-1610)	1579(?); 1609(?) ⁹ .
Philip Galle (1537-1612)	1580; 1589 ¹⁰ .
Adriaan Huybrechts (Huberti)	1580; 1589 ¹¹ .

1. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 186-189; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', pp. 116-119; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 84-87, 144-157. On the brothers Wiericx and the Plantin house, see M. Rooses, 'Les frères Wiericx à l'imprimerie plantinienne', *Bulletijn van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, I, 1882, pp. 225-248. An edition of offprints of a series of plates drawn and engraved by J. Wiericx, but not published by the *Officina Plantiniana*, with an introduction by M. Rooses: *De platen van den brevier in-8^o, gesneden door Jan Wiericx*, s.d. Also with French introductory text: *Les planches du bréviaire in-8^o, gravés par Jean Wiericx*, s.d. On the brothers' production generally, see L. Alvin, *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre des trois frères Jean, Jérôme et Antoine Wiericx*, 1866; L. Alvin, *Catalogue raisonné des portraits gravés par les trois frères Wiericx*, 1867.
2. Brother of the foregoing. Cf. note 1. See also Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 263-264.
3. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 189, 263; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', p. 119; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 85-86, 159-162.
4. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 190; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', p. 121; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 164-165.
5. Cf. p. 233, note 6.
6. Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 165.
7. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 190; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', p. 120; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 165-166.
8. A number of etched plates used in the work of A. Freytag, *Mythologia Ethica*, which was published by Plantin for Galle and appeared in 1579, was taken over from *Les Fables des animaux* illustrated by M. Gheeraerts and published at Bruges in 1576. It is possible that the artist also etched the remaining plates in 1579: Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 140-141.
9. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 189, 263-264; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', p. 120; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 162-163.
10. Though the most important Netherlands engraver in the second half of the sixteenth century and an intimate friend of Plantin, Philip Galle only had a few unimportant engravings prepared for Plantin in his studio and these were in part *retouches*; Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 186-187, 190; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 157-153. Cf. also above, p. 205. On the Galle family, see J.J.P. van den Bemden, *De familie Galle, plaetsnijders van het laetst der XVI^e en de eerste helft der XVII^e eeuw*, 1863.
11. His work presumably comprised only the letter-engraving in plates produced by other artists: see Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 168; *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1378, p. 402. Cf. p. 196, note 2.

Frans Hogenberg (before 1540-after 1588)	1581 ¹
Bartholomeus Weerts (Leiden)	1581 ²
Hendrik Rijcker (Haarlem)	1585 ³
Crispin [van] de Passe the Elder (c. 1565-1637)	1588-89 ⁴
Hendrik Goltzius (Haarlem; 1558-1617)	1589 ⁵

The Galle Workshop

- Theodoor Galle (1571-1633)	1600-33 ⁶
- Jan Galle (1600-76)	1633-76 ⁷
- Norbertus Galle (1648-94)	1676-94 ⁸
Cornelis I Galle (1576-1650)	c. 1608-50 ⁹
Adriaan Collaert (born 1560)	1608 ¹⁰

1. He engraved a few maps and plans of towns for the 1581 Plantin edition of L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, I, p. 158; Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers*, I, pp. 281-282.
2. In 1581 he engraved, for Plantin, the seal of the university of Leiden: Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 168.
3. He engraved the maps of A. Hayen, *Amstelredamsche zeevaarten*, published at Leiden in 1585 under the Plantin imprint.
4. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 190; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', p. 121; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 169. An edition of offprints of a series of copperplates engraved by C. van de Passe from drawings by M. de Vos, but not published by the *Officina Plantiniana*, with introduction by M. Rooses: *De platen van het getijdenboek gegraveerd door Crispijn van de Passe*, s.d. On this artist, see also D. Franken, *L'oeuvre gravé des Van de Passe*, 1881.
5. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 190; Delen, 'Artistes collaborateurs', p. 120; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 151-154, 168-170. The only work which he can be proved to have done for the *Officina Plantiniana* is the portrait of Plantin, published in the memorial album of 1590 (cf. also O. Hirschmann, *Verzeichnis des graphischen Werks von Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617*, 1921, p. 94). After 1585 Plantin made strenuous endeavours to get the engraver to move from Haarlem to Antwerp: cf. above, p.
6. Son of Philip Galle and son-in-law of Jan I Moretus from 1598. From 1600 onwards his studio produced copper engravings for books published by the Moretuses; Theodoor Galle also personally cut plates now and then (apart from making the drawings for them) for the *Officina Plantiniana*: Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 264, 267, 281, 287, 288, 290; Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, pp. 170-171; Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, pp. 59, 61, 63, 69-71, 74-75.
7. Son of the foregoing; carried on his father's studio: Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, p. 71.
8. Son of Jan Galle; carried on his father's studio: Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, pp. 71-72.
9. Son of Philip Galle and brother of Theodoor Galle: Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 268, 277, 283, 289, 295, 297, 301, 310; Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, pp. 57, 63, 72-73, 75-82, 92, 96-98, 103-106.
10. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 264.

Karel de Mallery (1571-after 1638)	1609; 1633 ¹ .
Jan Collaert the Younger (1566-1628)	1616 ² .
Schelte a Bolswert (c. 1586-1659)	1617 ³ .
Lucas Vorsterman (1595-1675)	1623 ⁴ .
Abraham van Merlen (1579-1659)	1624 ⁵ .
Adriaan Pauwels (1600-39)	1628-35 ⁶ .
Jacob Neeffs (c. 1610-after 1680)	1639 ⁷ .
Cornelis II Galle (1615-78)	1640-78 ⁸ .
Pieter II de Jode (born 1606)	1646 ⁹ .
Conrad Lauwers	1653 ¹⁰ .
Gaspar Huybrechts (1619-84)	1657-58 ¹¹ .
Richard Collin (1627-97)	1657-58; 1665(?) ¹² .
Cornelis III Galle (1642-78)	c. 1660-78 ¹³ .
Martinus Bouché (1645-89)	1683; 1687 ¹⁴ .
Jan-Antoon de Pooter (born 1660)	1689-1712 ¹⁵ .
Martinus Causé	1730-33 ¹⁶ .
Pieter-Balthasar Bouttats (1672-1756)	1732-55 ¹⁷ .
Jan-Baptist Jonghelinckx (born 1689)	1732-36 ¹⁸ .
Jan-Hendrik Schauwberg (Schouwenberg) (1717-60)	1733 ¹⁹ .

1. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 264, 297; Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, p. 73.
2. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 362.
3. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 290; Van den Wijngaert, *Catalogue Tekeningen*.
4. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 288; Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, p. 72.
5. He engraved the plate in *De vita et miraculis... Joannae Valesiae*, 1624.
6. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 293, 297, 301.
7. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 298; Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, pp. 82-83.
8. Son of Cornelis I Galle: Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 277, 298, 311; Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert pp. 65, 67, 103-106, 108-110.
9. He engraved the frontispiece of B. Corderius, *Expositio patrum graecorum in psalmos*, 1646.
10. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 363.
11. Van den Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen,' I, pp. 192-193.
12. *Ibidem*, I, pp. 192-193.
13. Son of Cornelis II Galle. It is practically impossible to distinguish the work of Cornelis II from that of Cornelis III: Bouchery & Van den Wijngaert, pp. 111-112.
14. Van den Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen,' I, p. 196.
15. *Ibid.*, I, p. 197.
16. *Ibid.*, I, p. 206.
17. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 206-207.
18. *Ibid.*, I, p. 206.
19. *Ibid.*, I, p. 206.

Norbertus Heylbrouck (Bruges)	1755 ¹ .
Lodewijk Fruytiers (1713-82)	1757-78 ² .
A.J. Defehrt (1723-74)	1760 ³ .
Pierre-Laurent Auvray (Paris, Antwerp) (born 1736)	1762-63 ⁴ .
Hendelot (Paris)	1762-69 ⁵ .
Egidius Verhelst the Younger (Mannheim) (born 1733)	1784(?) ⁶ .
W. Kok (1761-1806) (?)	1793 ⁷ .
Jozef Hunin (1770-1851)	1799 ⁸ .
J. Goubaud workshop (Brussels)	1825 ⁹ .

4. *Copying and retouching*

Under Balthasar II Moretus (1641-74)¹⁰.

- Melchior Drumon

- Alexander II Voet (1637-93)

- Pieter de Loos

- Jan-Frans Desruelles

Under Balthasar III Moretus (1674-96)¹¹.

- Cornelis-Martinus Vermeulen
(1664-1709)

In the eighteenth century¹².

- Franciscus Bouché (born 1673) 1704-37

- H.F. Diamer (born 1685) 1717-19

- Robert Brichet (Paris, Antwerp) 1765

1. Van den Wijngaert, 'De late Moretussen,' I, pp. 207-208; II, pp. 150-151.

2. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 150, 192-193.

3. He engraved the title vignette for the *Rituale* of 1760.

4. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 156, 163-164.

5. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 158-159, 162-164, 166-180, 184-191, 195-198.

6. *Ibid.*, II, p. 200.

7. *Ibid.*, II, p. 200.

8. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 201-202.

9. Steel engravings supplied by the 'Calcographie Royale' of J. Goubaud at Brussels for *Diurnale*, 1825 (*Ibid.*, II, p. 203).

10. *Ibid.*, I, p. 196.

11. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 196-197.

12. Bouché & Diamer: *ibid.*, I, p. 201; Brichet: *ibid.*, II, pp. 182-184.

Colouring of illustrations

Illustrations were sometimes coloured by hand. It was mainly maps that were treated in this way, both large wall-maps and smaller ones for atlases. Plantin issued many of these *mappae pictae*, coloured for him in the workshops of dealers specializing in producing and selling cartographical material: Pieter Draeckx at Malines, Bernard van de Putte and Mijnen Liefrinck at Antwerp. Abraham Ortelius did maps of this sort for his friend Plantin: it was actually as ‘Abraham, peintre de cartes’ that he first appeared in the firm's accounts in 1558.¹

Those who liked their maps coloured had to pay substantial amounts for their predilection. Plantin paid 1 fl. 10 st. (it was 2 fl. at first) for Mercator's map of Europe of 1554; for the colouring of these same maps he paid amounts varying between 1 fl. 5 st. and 1 fl. 10 st., and as much as 3 fl. for a few copies. He paid an average of 1 fl. 10 st. to 1 fl. 15 st. to have Mercator's map of the world of 1569 coloured (the map itself had cost 2 fl. 8 st. at first, later 2 fl.) Between 1566 and 1576 Plantin had no less than 135 Mercator wall-maps coloured and this cost him altogether 177 fl. 10 st.²

The situation was the same for atlases. In 1572 Ortelius supplied Plantin with copies of his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, ‘grand papier en blanc’ (i.e., unbound) at 7 fl. 10 st. each and charged 15 fl. 10 st. for one coloured copy.³ Mijnen Liefrinck's scale of prices was similar. For colouring two copies of the Italian edition of Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (with 78 maps and town plans) she charged 12 fl. in 1588. The book itself cost 7 fl.⁴

Less interest in colour was shown for other illustrated works, although their pictures too were occasionally coloured. In November

1. Data to be found in the chapters devoted to these various figures in J. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*. For the Mercator maps which Plantin had coloured, see L. Voet, ‘Les relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et la Maison Plantinienne à Anvers’, *Duisburger Forschungen*, 1962, pp. 217-218.
2. Of these 56 were coloured by M. Liefrinck, 42 by Draeckx, 32 by A. Ortelius, 5 by B. van de Putte.
3. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers*, II, p. 171.
4. *Ibid.*, I, p. 114.

1579 Pierre Porret wrote to Jan Moretus asking him to have an Antwerp publication with illustrations of costumes coloured and varnished for him and, if possible, pasted on linen.¹ On 16th May 1582 Plantin paid Abraham de Bruyn 4 fl. 8 st. for ‘painting’ two copies of the Joyous Entry of Francis, Duke of Anjou into Antwerp (with a title-page design and 21 copper engravings),² and on 18th August 1573 the sum of 13 fl. 10 st. was entered to the account of George Kesselaer for colouring the pictures in three copies of the last volume of the Polyglot Bible.³

Severinus Gobelius, physician to the Duke of Prussia, who was presumably acting on his master's behalf, was prepared to pay a great deal to get a coloured copy of a herbal: the *Plantarum seu stirpium icones*, published by Plantin in 1581 and actually dedicated to Gobelius. But on 11th October 1581 the printer had to write to Gobelius and say that he had no coloured copy available and that it would take at least three months for the plants depicted in the *Icones* to be painted from life. However, ‘with great difficulty and at considerable cost’ he had had coloured three copies of Lobelius's herbal, also published in 1581 and lavishly illustrated, but with a Dutch explanatory text. Plantin would send the doctor one of these.⁴ This he did, for in the ledger for that year there is the entry against Gobelius's name: ‘Adi pour 1 Herb. Lobelii pictum ad vivum’; the work contained 2,100 illustrations, coloured at 1 st. each which came to 105 fl., with 8 fl. ‘pour le livre blancq’ (unbound).⁵ This makes this coloured copy of the herbal one of the most expensive books ever sold by the officina.⁶

1. *Corr.*, VI, no. 849.

2. Delen, *Graveurs-illustrateurs*, p. 161.

3. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 85.

4. *Corr.*, VI, no. 954. Another of these three coloured examples has remained in the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

5. Arch. 18, f^o 442. Cf. *Corr.*, VI, p. 316.

6. The Polyglot Bible cost 60 fl. when on ordinary paper; the copies on Italian paper cost up to 200 fl.

Chapter 9

Binding

For Plantin's printing office the production of a book normally ended with the collating of the printed sheets. Most copies of his publications were sold in loose sheets (*in albis, en blancq*, as it was usually expressed). Customers could then take the books they bought in this form to a binder of their own choice. Many of them did this, but there were some who wanted to save themselves this trouble and preferred to buy their books ready bound. Plantin was willing to meet such requirements, but like the processes discussed in the final section of this chapter, binding was mostly done by specialists outside the house.

Plantin himself began his career in Antwerp as a bookbinder and worker in leather, making cases for combs, mirrors, etc. In fact a number of inlaid bindings in French style have come down from this period that can almost certainly be ascribed to the young craftsman.¹ In 1555 Plantin changed his trade and became a printer. According to his own statement, later adopted by his descendants, he had to give up bookbinding after he had been attacked on the Meirbrug in Antwerp and stabbed in the shoulder, which thereafter made any heavy physical work impossible for him. It has been pointed out in another context that Plantin's explanation of this turning point in his

1. Cf. the bibliographical data in Vol. I, p. 15, note 3. To be added is the highly interesting study by Georges Colin & Howard M. Nixon, 'La question des reliures de Plantin,' *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey*, 1966, pp. 56-89.

career is not entirely satisfactory.¹ At all events Plantin was not so severely handicapped physically as to be unable to continue binding books after 1555,² partly for an exclusive clientele of rich bibliophiles,³ partly for sale to Antwerp colleagues of his.⁴ This work included his own publications and those of other publishers at home and abroad. The technical details noted in the account-books are few and far between,⁵ but the prices speak eloquently enough,⁶ for these were luxury bindings.

1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 17 sqq.
2. Besides deliveries of books and books with bindings, Arch. 38 mentions a series of deliveries between August 1555 and 1559 of bindings alone, which, to judge from the price, must have been regarded as rather valuable. It can be assumed that Plantin himself prepared the bindings. Perhaps some of the items were made by 'Jan Petit dict de Paris relieur en Lombard de Vest [Lombaardvest]' at Antwerp, mentioned in Arch. 38, f^o 40, but Petit's deliveries to Plantin were very small in number and value and were in total less than 10 fl. It is also possible that some of the bindings had been made at Paris through the agency of Plantin (cf. p. 247, note 5), but a considerable percentage must have been prepared by Plantin himself, as witness such expressions as 'pour avoir relié' (Arch. 38, f^{os} 2 and 5) and 'refaict un grand et relié un petit' (Arch. 38, f^o 50), 'reliés ceans' (Arch. 38, f^o 59). Cf. in the same sense Colin & Nixon, pp. 59-60.
3. Including Henry Philipson, an Englishman (Arch. 38, f^o 50); Antonio Davalos (f^o 81); Christoval Haro (f^o 83); Randolphe Billot (f^o 85); de Çayas, secretary to Philip II (f^o 88); Gonzales Perez (f^o 89); the Marquis de las Navas (f^o 91); P. de Coudenberg, apothecary (f^o 92); the brother-in-law of the postmaster de Tassis (f^o 98); Don Loys de Ayala (f^o 98); François Basanne (f^o 99); Jan de Renialme, the nephew of Cornelis van Bomberghen (f^o 103); Stephanus Winandus Pighius, Librarian to Cardinal Granvelle (f^o 111); Nuccio Sirigatti (f^o 112); Viglius d'Aytta (f^o 119); Marcus Perez (f^o 119). Plantin also supplied 'miroirs [de broderie]' to Gerard Grammay (f^o 87), G. Boirman (f^o 104), Piperari (f^o 105), and to S. Carre and E. Moneste (f^o 114). Cf. the list in Colin & Nixon, pp. 60-64.
4. Among others, Jan Steelsius (Arch. 38, f^{os} 2, 3, 55, 56, 59), Martinus Nutius (f^o 5), Jan Bellart (f^o 6) and Birkman (f^o 10). Cf. Colin & Nixon, pp. 60-64.
5. Some instances where details are given: Arch. 38, f^o 2 (Pour la reliure de deux heures en marroquin: 1 fl. 4 st.; Pour avoir relié 1 Bostan etc. 1 Fray Loys de Granada toutz dorez et rehaussez: 1 fl. 10 st.); f^o 5 (5 Flores de Seneca reliées en parchemin avec esguillettes de soye l'une: 1 fl. 7½ st.; Relié 1 los Imperadores avec filletz dor et armoiries: 1 fl.); f^o 59 (3 Flaminius en veau reliés ceans: 18 st.; 4 Secrets 2 en basanne, 2 en veau 8^o: 1 fl.); f^o 89 (Relié Ep [isto] las ad Atticum Aldi in 8^o parchemin dorées sur trenche: 5 st.).
6. Some of the bindings supplied by Plantin are charged at prices approximately the same as those asked by the bookbinders who executed volumes in series for the printer (cf. below, pp. 249-250). But in most instances the prices were a great deal higher: for example, where the bookbinders usually asked 7 st. for binding a folio volume, Plantin charged 18 st. in 1557 (Arch. 38, f^o 99). Bindings costing 1 fl. and more per copy were no exception (approximately a score). One volume was charged at 2 fl. 10 st. (Arch. 38, f^o 5: 12th October 1555 'un Josepho de las Antiquido rehaussé') and another one for 3 fl. (Arch. 38, f^o 98: 20th March 1559 'R. De bello sacro en marroquin'), and one even for 12 fl. (cf. note 3). See also the list of Colin & Nixon, pp. 60-64.

Between 1555 and 1559 Plantin delivered rather more than 173 bindings,¹ and presumably he did a large percentage himself. He received 103 fl. 17 st. for these.² The entries practically cease after 1559.³ Plantin had got himself established as a printer and the firm henceforth demanded all his time and attention. He kept his bookbinding materials, but these were sold with the rest of his possessions in the Vrijdagmarkt in April 1562.⁴ When he set up his business again at the end of 1563 Plantin nevertheless deemed it necessary to fit himself out once more with bookbinder's tools.⁵ On 1st May 1564 he entered under the heading 'ustensiles de relieure' the purchase of '1 grande press à presser des fers, 3 fl. 10 st.; 2 pollisseurs et réglés, 6 st.; 1 roulette à dorer et 2 coings, 1 fl. 5 st.'⁶ A few months before, on 13th December 1563, he had already bought 'ovalle grandelette avec ses deux quartiers, 4 fl.; 30 petits fers différents à 3 st. pièce,

1. A few figures were not filled in. But it should be stressed that here were withheld only those bookbindings which were delivered as such: it may be assumed that among the bindings Plantin sold in those years *with* books, there was a number he had made himself.
2. One or two amounts were likewise not filled in.
3. There are only three more entries after 22nd June 1559 which seem to refer to bindings executed by Plantin himself: on 31st March 1561 for Christoval Haro ('Relié une tabelature de quiterne en parchemin'; Arch. 38, f^o 83); another, about August 1561, for Mgr. de Masle ('la relieure du grand livre f^o des figures: 12 fl. '; Arch. 35, f^o 147^{vo}); and finally one for the town recorder Polytes on 14th October 1561 (Arch. 36, f^o 15^{vo}: 'La relieure de 5 vollumes de musique escrite à la main en veau rouge avec des fillets d'or et le nom escrit au millieu 10 st. pièce: 2 fl. 10 st.'). These three customers were people of great influence and this may explain why Plantin agreed to do their bindings personally.
4. Arch. 27, f^o 48^{vo}: mention of four presses, of which the first is specifically described as a 'bookbinder's press' (worth 3¼ st.). The prices of the three other presses that are not further specified are sizeably higher (2 fl. 15½ st.; 1 fl. 19 st.; 1 fl. 4 St.), but much lower again than those of printing presses (cf. above, p. 153). Thus we can assume that these three items were also bookbinder's presses. Also a 'cassen om te vergulden' (case for gilding) was sold. Cf. Colin & Nixon, p. 65.
5. On the acquisition of these materials see also Colin & Nixon, p. 64.
6. Arch. 36, p. 73.

4 fl. 10 st.; 2 quartiers accordants pour coings, 16 st. - à dorer sur le cuir;¹ and by 29th January 1564 he was the owner of ‘4 marques au compas de cuivre pour mectre sur le cuir avec le dicton Lab[ore] et Const[antia]’:² four Plantin printer's marks for embossing on bindings. A few such bindings with Plantin's mark have been preserved.³ One of them, in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, has Ortelius's signature on the title-page.⁴ Presumably Plantin gave the book, with its binding, to the cartographer as a mark of esteem and friendship. After 1564, even if he was not actually binding books himself, Plantin was stamping bound books with his mark and probably giving most of them as presents to friends or influential persons. Bindings for the general public were done outside the house, however.

On several occasions Plantin had books bound by Parisian craftsmen, including volumes for Cardinal Granvelle's library.⁵ The other bindings done there were undoubtedly also intended for eminent men in the Netherlands or Spain who were prepared to pay high prices. However, the greater part of the orders were placed in Antwerp itself. These orders were important: in 1566-67 no less than 12,546 bindings were supplied⁶ by twelve binders (but two of them accounting for

1. Arch. 36, p. 66.
2. Arch. 36, p. 69.
3. Five of these volumes (of which two are in the Plantin-Moretus Museum) were described by P. Verheyden, ‘Plantijnsche bandmerken’, *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 8, 1910, pp. 263-265 (in this contribution the texts discussed in the three previous notes are reproduced). A sixth volume, in the University Library at Uppsala was described by P. Högberg, ‘Reliures belges à l'université d'Upsal’, *De Gulden Passer*, 5, 1927, pp. 1-9.
4. A copy of C. Valerius Flaccus, *Argonauticon lib. VIII*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1566. It was purchased for the Museum in the G. van Havre auction. Cf. plate 48.
5. On 18th August 1558 Martin Le Jeune, bookseller in Paris, wrote to Plantin that the ‘Heures, Brévières et Diurnaux que m'avés envoieé, après estre adverti qu'en vouliés faire relier, j'é incontinant porté de l'ung et de l'autre chez le laveur pour la ver et rigler, et quand j'en ay porté d'autres chez le relieur pour commencer à en relier ainsy que le désires; mais il faut qu'entendiés qu'il n'y a guères de relieurs quilz veulent faire de ceste besongne, parquoy aurés patience...’ (*Corr.*, I, no. 2). At the request of M. Morillon, Granvelle's representative, who had expressed the wish that the Polyglot Bibles should specifically be ‘washed, prepared, and bound in the Paris fashion’ (‘fussent lavees, reglees et reliees a ce mode de Paris’) for the prelate, Plantin had forwarded these copies to Paris (Plantin to Morillon, 23rd February 1574: *Corr.*, IV, no. 515; cf. the text quoted on p. 251, note 1).
6. Noted in the *livre des relieurs* for 1566-1569: Arch. 756.

about one third each of the total¹). Plantin paid out 1,349 fl. 2½ st. for this work. The amount spent on bindings rose to 2,238 fl. 12 st. in 1568-69.² The 1566 figures may be used to relate this item of expenditure to the Plantinian budget:³ 5,102 books were bound, for which Plantin paid 433 fl. 16¼ st. - roughly 3.3% of a total expenditure of 13,041 fl. This was almost four times as much as he then paid for book illustrations, and not much less than what was spent on casting type.

The books Plantin had bound by Antwerp craftsmen included both his own and those of other Netherlands and foreign publishers. The criteria by which Plantin was guided in making his choice - in so far as there were any - are not clear. Sometimes he must have had particular books bound because he expected them to sell well in that form. Sometimes he was simply complying with the wishes of customers, whether private or in the trade.

Plantin had a few very sumptuous bindings done at Paris because both he and his clients appreciated the artistry and skill of the craftsmen there. But the Antwerp binders knew their trade too, and their work was recognized and esteemed beyond the confines of the city: Plantin received many orders from other towns in the Low Countries, where - as at Tournai for example - there were no bookbinders,⁴ or from countries like Spain where the work of the local practitioners was not acceptable to connoisseurs.⁵ At the request of colleagues in

1. Joos de Hertoch: 4,653 volumes (worth 426 fl. 4¾ st.), Gommer: 4,039 (146 fl. 2¾ st.); further, Jan du Molin: 1,262 (243 fl. 5½ st.); Rhemi: 938 (127 fl. 2½ st.); Laurents Cecile: 619 (115 fl. 4¼ st.); Hubert Serrurier: 565 (84 fl. 19 st.); Goris: 155 (83 fl. 4¼ st.); Peter Vincke: 130 (4 fl. 18 st.); Cornelis Bouck: 75 (45 fl. 14½ st.); Hans Moerlants: 40 (14 fl.); Jan Schuef: 34 (29 fl. 14½ st.); Melchior: 21 (14 fl. 6 st.); Philippe Fournier: 15 (14 fl. 6½ st.).
2. Divided among sixteen bookbinders. Joos de Hertoch still stood first on the list with 690 fl. 2½ st.
3. Cf. Appendix 1.
4. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1004 (letter from J. Hamel, apothecary at Tournai to Jan Moretus, 20th August 1583: 'Et le tout relyé fort bien. Car nous n'avons icy nuls relyeurs pour le present: par ce que Jan Laurent et sa femme sont mors de la peste, depuis un mois ou 5 semaines en ça.')
5. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1011, p. 109 (Arias Montanus to Plantin, 22nd September 1583: 'Compacta cuperem nam in hac regione Hispalim usque nulli compactores. Sunt Hispalenses adeo difficiles ut non audeam illis vel in membrana compingendum libellum tradere. Quamobrem quicumque ad meum usum mittentur compingendi erunt atque compacturae precium meis ascribenda rationibus, hoc semel Moretum nostrum admonebis.')

Spain, Plantin also sent *fermoirs* or clasps when these were difficult to obtain there.¹ Even Lyons booksellers had books bound in Antwerp, through the intermediary of Plantin,² although these were probably intended for Spain.³ In later years the Moretuses too had quite a lot of books bound for institutions⁴ and private customers.⁵

The prices Plantin paid the bookbinders naturally varied according to format and the nature of the order. A comparison with the prices Plantin charged for his own work makes it clear that the great majority of these bindings were run-of-the-mill work, the ‘standard’ bindings of today. In the Plantinian account-books bindings are entered under three categories according to the material used: *basane* (basan or sheepskin), *veau* (calf) and *parchemin* (parchment) - the last being subdivided into *parchemin de veau* and *parchemin de mouton*. Prices differed slightly from group to group. In the table on p. 250 Joos de Hertoch's average charges in 1566-67 are given as an example.

Additional ornament had to be paid for. A 16mo Petrarch, bound in parchment, with silk ribbons (‘esquil de soie’), was priced at 2½ st. compared with the normal 1½ st.⁶ However, the addition of silk ribbon made no difference in the case of some octavo Flemish psalters: the four copies with and the two without the ribbons all cost 2 st. each.⁷ A folio Flemish Bible ‘à 1 fillet dor esq[uil] de soye verd

1. *Corr.*, IV, no. 589 (Bias de Robles, bookseller in Madrid, to Plantin, 5th December 1574: asked to buy 2,000 pairs of *fermoirs* for him); *Corr.*, IV, no. 641 (Blas de Robles to Plantin, 29th July 1575).
2. Among others Clement Baldin, bookseller in Lyons, is inscribed in the *journal*, 15th June 1566, on account of his having made 47 bindings, for the sum of 23 fl. 9 st. (Arch. 44, f^o 80^{vo}).
3. Bales of books were frequently purchased in those years by Lyons traders - by C. Baldin, among others - and forwarded to Spain (Arch. 3, f^o 58^{vo}: 25th October 1566; C. Baldin was charged 1 fl. 1½ st. ‘pour la tolle et conduite de 1 balle icy par luy delaissée pour envoyer en Espagne’).
4. Thus in 1617 for the dean of Soignies, 17 books at a total cost of 30 fl. 2 st. (Arch. 224, f^o 11^{ro}).
5. Thus in 1617 P.P. Rubens was charged 1 fl. for ‘1 ligature d'Antonius Augustinus’ (Arch. 224, f^o 133^{ro}).
6. Arch. 756, f^o 2^{ro}.
7. Arch. 756, f^o 8^{ro}.

	<i>basan</i>	<i>calf</i>	<i>parchment</i>
16mo	1 st.	1½ st.	(calf) 1½ st.
12mo	½ st.	1½ st.	
8vo	1¼ st.	2 st.	(calf) 2 st. (sheepskin) 1 st.
quarto	2 st.	5 st.	
folio		7 st.	

sur la trencé' cost 11 st.,¹ 24 French Testaments in 16mo 'à fermans' were 2½ st. each, and 26 copies of the same work *en ais de papier* were quoted at 1½ st.² Two octavo Flemish psalters in basan, normally 1¼ st., went up to 2 st. each when clasps were included.³

Prices were of course much higher for large folio volumes, with or without special ornamentation. 'La ligature d'un antiphonaire en deux vollumes lié avecq noppes et cuier au dos et riemes' was billed at 2 fl. 2 st. per volume for the Tournai bookseller Laurent Marchand in November 1573.⁴ In 1574 the 16 volumes of two copies of the Polyglot Bible cost 20 fl. 16 st., that is to say 1 fl. 6 st. per volume.⁵ Sums of 2 fl. per volume for a Polyglot Bible⁶ and 3 fl. per volume for an antiphonary⁷ were also noted. To the best of the author's knowledge the record is held by the eight volumes of the Polyglot on Italian paper,⁸ sent to Frankfurt in February 1573; at 8 fl. each they came to 64 fl.⁹

1. Arch. 756, f^o 2^{vo}.

2. Arch. 756, f^o 10^{vo}.

3. Arch. 756, f^o 8^{ro}.

4. Arch. 51, f^o 176^{ro}.

5. Arch. 52, f^o 7.

6. *Corr.*, III, no. 424, p. 204 (Plantin to de Çayas, 4th November 1572: 'Les relieures coustent selon qu'on y veut employer, mais pour les relier honnestement en tables de bois rouges sur la trenche en beau cuir de veau noir et quelques fillets d'or sur le diet cuir avec aussi le nombre de chaicun tome escrit en lectres d'or sur le dos, nous payons ordinairement quarante patars [i.e., *stuivers*] pour la relieure de chaicun volume et des autres sortes soyent dorées sur trenche ou autrement de chaicun a l'equipolent du plus ou moins d'ouvrage et doreure').

7. *Corr.*, III, no. 465 (Plantin to the Bishop of Tournai, 10th March 1573).

8. This by itself cost the inordinate sum of 200 fl. 'en blancq' (i.e., unbound).

9. Arch. 51, f^o 13^{vo}: 'Item pour la ligature de ladicté bible laquelle est relliée en 8 voll. avec l'apparatus dorée sur trenche, cuir rouge en bois à fermens doubles, le nom des livres noté au doz avec coings de fer et coings dor et une rolle dor et cinq testes petites de lyon pour les contregarder et lavé etc. val[ent] à [8 fl.] la pièce de la ligature: 64 fl.' On the prices and workmanship of these bindings see also Rooses, *Musée*, p. 168.

Minor processes

To meet the requirements of bibliophile customers a book would sometimes undergo two additional stages of treatment: washing and the enclosing of the text area with ruled lines, drawn by hand in ink or pencil. The two operations seem often to have gone together and are so coupled in three of the four letters from Plantin's correspondence that mention them.¹ The fourth letter refers only to washing.² In all four cases these processes preceded binding and were intended to enhance the beauty of what as far as can be discovered were costly and luxuriously bound books for rich connoisseurs.

In the case of the works mentioned in the first two letters - service books and copies of the Polyglot Bible respectively - the ruling of the text areas was done in Paris. However, when the Polyglot Bible was ready, or nearly so, Plantin found it more practical and economical to invite a French expert to Antwerp instead of sending the copies to Paris for ruling: 'Jacques Pons de Aix en Provence, regleur de livres,... est parti de Paris pour me venir servir en ceste ville à regler des livres' and had been working somewhere in Plantin's vicinity for some months in the first half of 1572.³ In March and early April Pons was given some service books to do, and then put to work on copies of the Polyglot Bible that had been completed in the meantime. He was

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 2 (Martin Le Jeune to Plantin, 3rd July 1558: 'Quand aux Heures, Brévières et Diurnaux que m'avés envoié, après estre adverti qu'en vouliés faire relier, j'é incontinant porté de l'ung et de l'autre chez le laveur pour laver et rigler...'); *Corr.*, IV, no. 515 (Plantin to M. Morillon, representative of Cardinal Granvelle, 23rd February 1574: Il y a plus d'un an passé que V. Rev. S^e estant en nostre maison et visitant les Bibles Royales et les diverses sortes de papiers sur quoy les avions imprimees me dist la troisieme sorte luy estre la plus agreable et qu'icelle desireroit qu'elles fussent lavees, reglees et reliees a ce mode de Paris. Par quoy je ne voulu faillir des lors d'en envoyer de toutes lesdictes sortes de papier en ladite ville de Paris et ordonner qu'elles y fussent lavees, reglees et reliees...); *Corr.*, IV, no. 616 (de Çayas to Plantin, 15th April 1575: the secretary of Philip II will keep for himself 'un Breviario in 4^o de buen papel, lavado y lineado').
2. *Corr.*, III, no. 443 (Plantin to the Abbot of Marchiennes, 4th December 1572: 'Suivant les lectres que nous avoit escrites Monsieur Harlemius... nous avons ja baillé les grandes Bibles Royales a laver et ayant receu les lectres de V.R.S. avons faict aussi laver les deux Antiphonaires et le Psautier et puis le tout faict relier à la manière déclarée èsdictes lectres').
3. Arch. 32, f^o 65.

paid a piece rate. As the books differed in format and number of pages, the payments varied accordingly. On 16th March 1572 he received 2 fl. 10 st. for ruling lines in five missals (four on parchment and one on paper). For two breviaries in 16mo he was paid at 3 st. a volume, and for two diurnals in 24mo, 2 st. each. On 30th March he was paid 10 st. each for three missals (presumably folio) and 5 st. each for three octavo breviaries. On 29th April he was paid 24 fl. for three Polyglot Bibles ‘grand papier’: each copy comprised 1,602 sheets which, at 10 st. per 100, came to 8 fl. A further 24 fl. was paid for three Polyglot Bibles on 30th May 1572 ‘Lesquels ie luy ay payé net parquoy il me doibt achever de regler tous les Dictionaires Grecs [glossaries included in the last volume of the work], qui restoyent pas encores imprimés.’ After this Jacques Pons disappears from the Plantinian accounts and is heard of no more.

Publishing

Chapter 10

Censorship and Privileges¹

Before a manuscript could be entrusted to the compositors, certain important statutory requirements had to be fulfilled. The text had to be submitted to the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, who tested the religious and political orthodoxy of its contents - both of these being judged, of course, from the point of view of whoever was in power at the moment.

The system worked as follows. The manuscript first went to a *librorum censor* or *visitateur*, a cleric who examined its religious content. If this censor was satisfied, he issued a certificate; today this is usually known as an *imprimatur*, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the terms *approbatio*, *licentia*, or *censura* were used. Thus attested, the manuscript was passed to the secular authorities who satisfied themselves as to its political colour. If their findings were favourable, a privilege or patent was granted which not only permitted the printer

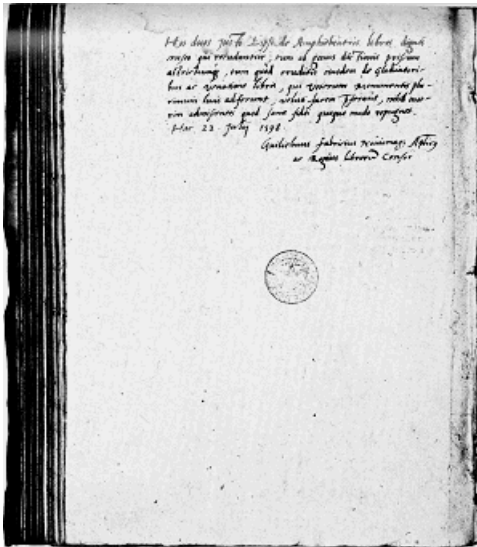
1. Interesting information about patents for printers and privileges in the Netherlands in P. Verheyden, 'Drukkersoctrooien in de 16de eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 8, 1910, pp. 203-226, 269-286; M. Baelde, 'De toekenning van drukkeroctrooien door de Geheime Raad in de zestiende eeuw', *De Gulden Passer*, 40, 1962, pp. 19-58. For censorship, see F. Remy, 'De boekencensuur. Historisch overzicht', *De Gulden Passer*, 20, 1942, pp. 1-21 (with a useful bibliography on pp. 20-21). For general legislation governing printing and the book trade in the Netherlands, see J.T. Bodel Nyenhuis, *De wetgeving op drukpers en boekhandel in de Nederlanden tot in het begin der XIXde eeuw*, 1892. For the situation in France see D.T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime 1500-1791*, 1958, pp. 54 sqq.; for the Holy Roman Empire, K. Schottenloher, 'Die Druckprivilegien des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1933, pp. 89-110.

or publisher - or author - to issue the book, but also assured him of a monopoly of publication and sale for a fixed number of years. This remarkable process, which began with political and religious ‘vetting’ and ended with the granting of a sales monopoly, is explained by the interaction of a number of different factors.

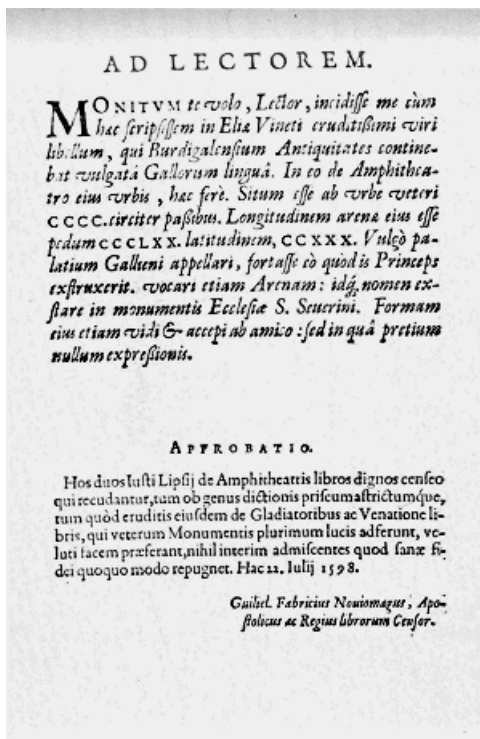
Ecclesiastical censorship is almost as old as the Christian church itself, but it only became a major problem after the spread of printing. In the Netherlands, as in most of the neighbouring countries, it was not organized to any effect as a preventive supervision of printed books until after Rome had officially denounced Luther and his teaching. From 1520 onwards it was developed into a weapon for use in the struggle against Protestantism. It should be pointed out, however, that the Catholic church was only able to make its wishes known in this matter because censorship was organized by the secular authorities; the mode of operation in the Low Countries was established not by the decretals of the church, but by the edicts of the Emperor Charles V and his son Philip II. It was they too who provided for the compilation and publication of that great aid to censorship and inquisition, the Index of Prohibited Books.¹

Political aspects of censorship were less important at first. It was not until the Iconoclasm, the *Beeldenstorm*, broke out in the Netherlands in 1566 that religious aspirations began to be expressed in terms of political opposition. Pamphleteering - at least in the Southern Netherlands - did not get under way until 1576 and the temporary eclipse of Spanish authority; it ended abruptly in 1585 with the recapture of Antwerp. In the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century world of printing and publishing political subversion was less to be feared than religious controversy. It is very probable that political censorship, except in periods of extreme tension, would never have

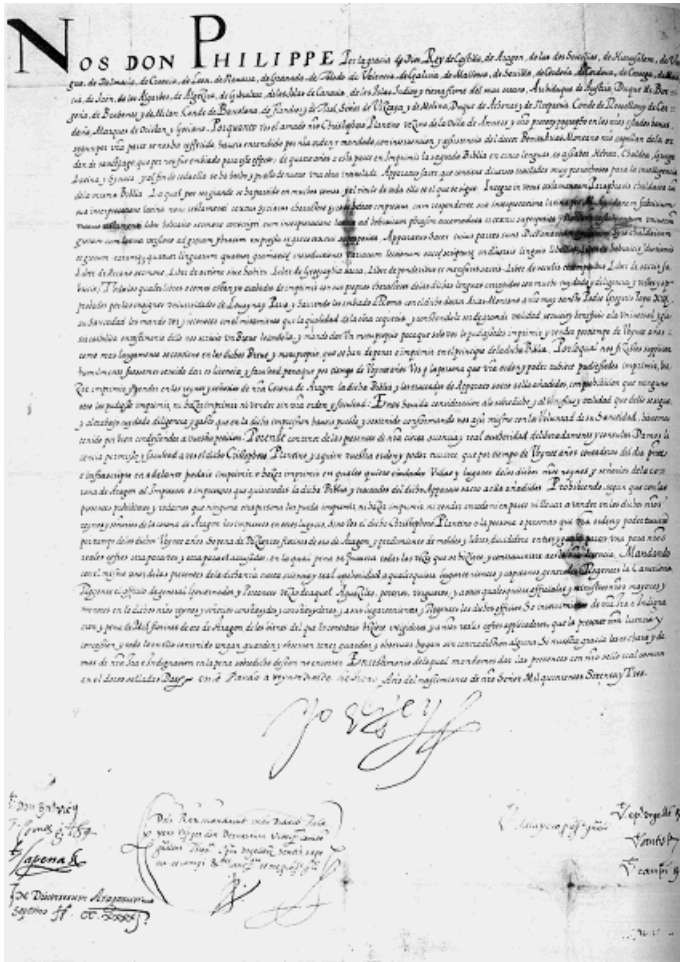
1. Plantin printed several of these Indexes. See Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 137-139. Standard works for the Indexes, with interesting details about those produced by Plantin, are: F.H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Literaturgeschichte*, 2 vols, 1883-1885; F.H. Reusch, *Die 'Indices librorum prohibitorum' des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, gesammelt und herausgegeben*, 1886, Cf. also C. de Clercq, ‘Les éditions bibliques, liturgiques et canoniques de Plantin’, *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, pp. 314-315.



(49) *Left: Approbatio* for Justus Lipsius, *De amphitheatro liber*, dated 22 July 1598 (A. 1573). The censor, G. Fabricius, wrote his *approbatio* on the copy of the 1585 edition (see also plate 69) which Lipsius had corrected and added to in preparation for the reissue of 1598.



(50) *Right: Fabricius's approbatio* for Justus Lipsius, *De amphitheatro liber*, 1598 (see plate 49), as it was printed in the edition.



(51) *Opposite*: Privilege (signed with the traditional formula of the Spanish monarchs: *Yo el Rey*, ‘I, the King’) granted by Philip II as king of Aragon to Plantin for the Polyglot Bible, 22 February 1573 (Arch. 1179, n^o 154). (Considerably reduced.) Most privileges for Plantin's books were granted by the Privy Council or the Council of Brabant at Brussels and were much simpler. The first privilege received by Plantin (Privy Council, 5 April 1555) is reproduced in *The Golden Compasses*, Vol. I, plate 8.

been coherently organized if another factor had not arisen: the wish of the printers themselves to protect their books from competition. The granting of privileges in fact preceded organized political and religious censorship. The earliest known instance in the Netherlands - and quite probably the actual first case - is the patent issued by the Council of Brabant on 5th January 1512 to the Antwerp printer Claes de Graeve. It permitted him to print new works for six years in the Duchy of Brabant. In this case the initiative had come from the printer. His object was clearly set out in the petition he submitted to the council: a monopoly that would protect his publications from unauthorized reprinting for a specified number of years.¹

In the beginning the privilege was something that was voluntarily sought by the printer and applied to all *new* works he printed. The government soon realized that the privilege could be a valuable aid in the struggle against the subversive forces of Protestantism, and so it was made obligatory. Every publication had to have an imprimatur from the authorities which offered the printer-publisher certain economic advantages, but at the same time obliged him to submit his texts for official examination.

So it was that this system of preventative religious and political censorship was built up under the pressure of circumstance during the first half of the sixteenth century. It was already fully developed when Plantin settled in the Netherlands. It remained in existence in the southern half of the Low Countries without fundamental change until the French Revolution - except, that is, for the period 1577-85, when Calvinism was able to exist for a while in the Southern Netherlands alongside and in opposition to the old religion.

About 800 privileges and *approbationes*² relating to works published

1. Cf. Baelde, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21. The petition quoted the examples of Paris, Venice, and Lyons, where according to De Graeve, such privileges were already being granted. The earliest known instance is a privilege issued in Milan in 1481: Febvre & Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, pp. 366-367.
2. Arch. 1179 (786 items, inventoried in the hand-written 'Catalogus van de privileges' by J. Denucé, kept in the Plantin-Moretus Museum). There are also a few privileges and *approbationes* in other archives volumes (Arch. 116, for example).

by the Plantinian press are preserved in the archives.¹ Some 260 of them date from Plantin's time, all but a few of the documents being privileges. *Approbationes* are better represented in the seventeenth century, but here too privileges predominate. This is understandable. From the printer's point of view the *approbatio* was of secondary importance: something to reassure a secular official in Brussels that all was well theologically and to protect the printer from unwelcome difficulties. Very often the censor wrote his *approbatio* directly on the manuscript or on the copy of a revised printed book.² In other cases it was left in the records of the government office concerned along with the original petition and other pertinent documents.

This helps to explain another point. Quite often Plantin made no mention in the books he printed of the privilege, or else contented himself with a minimal 'cum privilegio' on the title-page or in the colophon. The general rule, however, was to include in the preliminary matter or at the end of the book a fairly lengthy extract from the document, with the date and the signature of the issuing official. This practice was followed far less frequently with the *approbatio*, although an extract with the censor's name might be printed - mostly in books with an obviously religious content, as might be expected.

The many ordinances of Charles V and Philip II dealing with religious censorship make it appear as if this was regulated down to the smallest detail. In practice the procedures were cursory and illdefined. There was no actual central body responsible for directing operations, only a number of more or less officially appointed *censores librorum*. These were doctors of theology or other suitably qualified persons who acted as censors when called upon to do so. It is in

1. The Museum also has 147 privileges (Arch. 1180) relating to other Antwerp printers. These were not part of the original archives, but were presented to the Museum by Mr. Cuyllits, a former Antwerp alderman.
2. On corrected editions - one example is the copy in the Museum library of Lipsius's *De amphitheatro liber*, 1585. Cf. plates 49 and 50. On manuscripts - these include Denucé, *Manuscripts*, nos. 39, 43, 54, 112, 113, 157, 300, 301, 317, 318, 319, 320, 458; also Arch. 116, f^o 57 (text of a topical article, with the *approbatio* of an official of Antwerp Cathedral, 1565).

fact quite clear from Plantin's correspondence that printers to a large extent were able to choose their own censors, and the censors were themselves free to accept or refuse the task. Plantin mentions the theologians of Louvain university a few times,¹ but he only seems to have approached these learned gentlemen when dealing with major theological or scriptural texts which might give rise to dangerous controversy: such as the Polyglot Bible, the *Summa S. Thomae*,² Benoist's French Bible translation,³ and other similarly important editions.⁴

For routine publications Plantin turned at first mainly to the dean of St. Gudule in Brussels. In a letter of November 1561 the printer speaks of him as being the official censor of the Council of Brabant.⁵ Understandably enough, the printers of the duchy, even though they were perhaps not nominally obliged to, preferred to approach the dean, knowing that this gave them something of an advantage when it came to applying for a privilege. As a result the dean was no doubt inundated with manuscripts so that neither he nor his subordinates of the chapter could have kept up with the work. Plantin consequently made some use of the dean and chapter in the following years,⁶ but at least from 1564 or 1565 he began to turn increasingly to

1. Cf. *Corr.*, I, no. 34, p. 92 (Plantin to J. de Molina, 7th June 1567): '...je n'ay pas délibéré de imprimer ne vendre rien ... qui ne soit doresnavant approuvé par messieurs de la faculté de Louvain ou leurs commis à ce députés, suivant l'ordonnance de nostre Roy catholique'.
2. Cf. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 47 (Plantin to Granvelle, 29th November 1567).
3. Cf. C. de Clercq, 'La Bible française de René Benoist,' *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1957, pp. 168-174.
4. Cf. Arch. 3, f^o 17^{ro} (9th September 1564; 'J'ay esté à Louvain pour parler et solliciter l'avancement et proffict de limprimerie et ay payé à maistre André Balenus qui a visité la Bible en hebrieu 5 fl. 5 st. et au curé 4 fl. 12 st. '); Arch. 3, f^o 7^{vo} (11th March 1564: 'J'ay esté à Louvain avec M. Jehan Isaac pour faire visiter sa grammaire en Hebrieu et le Thesaurus linguae sanctes Pagnini ... A Monsieur Augustinus Hunaeus Docteur en Theologie qui m'a adressé et recomandé aussi ... Au professeur en Hebrieu qui a attesté le Thesaurus linguae sanctae Pagnigni et Concordantiae Hebraicae estre catholiques etc...').
5. *Corr.*, I, no. 12 ('... Bruxellas totum opus ad parochum divae Gudulae, cui librorum examinandorum demandata est a D. Cancellario provincia, misi, ut illo a se subsignato et approbato nobis privilegium, quod aiunt, imprimendi ab ipso Cancellario procuret.')
6. Cf. *Corr.*, II, no. 180 (Plantin to Granvelle, 27th August 1569: manuscript of Laurentius Gambaras's *Poemata* 'que j'ay incontinent les avoir receus et entendu la volonté de V. III^{me} et R^{me} S. portés à Bruxelles et délivrés a monsignr. le Doyen de Ste Gudule Metsius, pour les lire et soussigner, afin d'obtenir le consent de les imprimer'; the context suggests that in this instance Plantin was complying with Granvelle's explicit request that he should submit the manuscript to the dean of St. Gudule).

the church authorities in Antwerp¹ and if necessary elsewhere in the duchy.² After 1585 practically all the *approbationes* for Plantinian editions were granted by Antwerp clergy.³ The few exceptions mainly occurred when clerical authors who were having their books printed by the house obtained *approbationes* from their superiors in parish or order.⁴ In such cases the Antwerp censors generally examined both the text and their colleagues' attestations before adding their own observations in a second *approbatio*, which might also appear somewhere in the printed work.

Plantin had difficulties with the censors from time to time. On one occasion the actual contents of two books were the cause of the trouble, the *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas* and *De optimo imperio* published in 1583 and written by Plantin's old friend Arias Montanus.

1. Arch. 116, f^o 57 (text of a topical article of 1565 with the *approbatio* of an official of Antwerp Cathedral). Other examples: *Corr.* I, no. 37 (Plantin to J. Raevardus, 21st June 1567); II, no. 155, p. 13 (Plantin to Granvelle, 22nd October 1568); II, no. 202 (Plantin to Granvelle, 28th January 1570); III, no. 354 (Plantin to A. Masius, 17th March 1568). Cf. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1464 (Plantin to C. Schultingius, 24th May 1589: 'Censores qui hie sunt librorum, canonici sunt, Theologiae aut doctores aut licentiati: eorum haec nomina quae occurrunt: D. Pardo, Dungaeus, Breugelius, etc.').
2. Including in 1564 the parish priest of St. Peter's, Louvain (Arch. 3, f^o 7^{vo}).
3. The bishopric of Antwerp had been founded in May 1559. It was, however, not until 1st May 1570 that Bishop Franciscus Sonnius was able to take up residence in Antwerp. His death on 29th June 1576 practically coincided with the outbreak of the troubles that were to bring the city into the Calvinist camp for a while. And it was not until 7th January 1587 that his successor, Plantin's friend Livinus Torrentius (Van der Beke), was able to make his entry into Antwerp.
4. To this category belong most of the *approbationes* kept in the Plantinian archives: for example Arch. 1179, nos. 336 (Douai, 19th March 1602), 347 (St.-Omer, 12th October 1605), 401 (Fulda, 17th August 1611), 480 (Douai, 28th July 1628). The Polyglot Bible was an exceptional case. To protect himself in this delicate and potentially dangerous scriptural project, Plantin applied personally to the theologians of the Sorbonne for an *approbatio* (*Corr.*, II, no. 315). He was successful and it appeared in the preliminary matter of volume I of the Polyglot.

The trouble, however, started as late as 1586, after the capitulation of Antwerp, when an eager theologian - the Louvain professor Henry Gravius - began examining works published during the Calvinist régime in Antwerp. Arias Montanus, who in the Netherlands in 1568 had seemed an unswervingly orthodox theologian, had undergone a considerable evolution through the years and had even been influenced by the ideas of the heterodox leader Barrefelt.¹ These ideas must have been too evident in the book. Plantin kept his head, pointing out to the censor as courteously as he could that Montanus would not wish there to be anything in his writings that might be taken to conflict with orthodoxy. The printer was most willing to incorporate such alterations as the censor saw fit to annotate. The *Tabella Mosis*, an engraving added to the work, would also be modified according to the censor's instructions.² Gravius does not seem to have insisted and the case was shelved.

In the majority of cases difficulties arose merely out of the delays caused by the passage of works through censorship. On a few occasions Plantin wrote to impatient authors promising them that he would try to prise their manuscripts out of the censors' hands. In September or October 1588 he had to inform the prolific Jesuit author Costerus that the censor Pardo, having kept his manuscript for a very long time, was so overwhelmed with work that he was going to have to return it unread, which would cause further delay.³ The angry de Pimpont of Paris was told that one of the reasons for his Virgil manuscript having remained so long unprinted was the inadequate scholarship of the censors 'lesquels, pour n'estre tous assés versés au grec, le tindrent longuement avant que le me rendre approuvé'.⁴

1. Cf. Vol. I, p. 100.

2. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1105 (Plantin to H. Gravius, 22nd May 1586). Cf. also *Corr.*, VII, nos. 1091 and 1103. In a letter to T. Ruhdiger, 18th September 1565 (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 10), Clusius anticipated that the censor 'ob locos quosdam' might not allow publication of the manuscript of Clenardus's letters he had brought from Spain. The censor apparently raised no objections and the letters appeared in 1566.

3. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1406.

4. Letter of July 1571: *Corr.*, II, no. 280.

Lack of censorship could also give rise to irritating incidents. To a Spanish bookseller, who had complained of quotations from Luther in one of the works sent him by Plantin, a rather bewildered Jan Moretus had replied that at that moment (June 1583, during the Calvinist regime) there were no censors in Antwerp: ‘Quien haveria gia mas pensado que en uno libro que trata de numeros se haveria de haser alguna palabra de Luther?’ [Who would have thought to find sayings of Luther in a book about numeration?] The book in question was M. Hostius' *De numeratione*.¹

In the matter of the granting of privileges, Charles V and Philip II allowed a certain ambiguity to persist. Privileges for the Duchy of Brabant, which included Antwerp, could be granted both by the Council of Brabant and by the Privy Council at Brussels.² The latter was an organ of the central government with authority over the whole of the Netherlands, including the Duchy of Brabant. The authority of the Council of Brabant, and therefore the validity of the privileges it issued, was restricted to the duchy itself. In theory it was better to apply to the body which could provide the more extensive privileges. The Council of Brabant, however, constituted a sovereign body and the councillors were touchy about their prerogatives, brooking no serious interference by the central government in their jurisdiction.³ It was probably to spare the feelings of these powerful local administrators that Charles V and Philip II let the vagueness of the demarcation between the two bodies continue, rather than concentrate authority for the whole procedure in the central government. This meant that privileges granted by the Privy Council could be contested in the Duchy, or neutralized by others issued by the Council of Brabant. And it was in Brabant, more especially in the cities of

1. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1001.

2. On these councils see M. Baelde, *De collaterale raden onder Karel V en Filips II (1531-1578) Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de centrale instellingen in de zestiende eeuw*, 1965; A. Gaillard, *Le Conseil de Brabant*, 3 vols, 1898-1902.

3. The councils in the other Netherlands principalities (even in the County of Flanders) had less judicial power. Only in Brabant was the regional council able to act in quasi-independence of the Privy Council.

Antwerp and Louvain, that Netherlands printing and publishing had concentrated in the sixteenth century. The power and influence of the Council of Brabant varied with the political situation of the moment¹ and the personalities of the councillors, but duality of authority persisted in the duchy throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Sometimes this allowed printers to choose between the two bodies concerned, at other times it obliged them to apply to both - or it might permit them to play off one council against the other.²

1. It went on insisting on its rights and privileges until 1566-67, when the Iconoclasm broke out and was followed by Alva's repression: after the 'Council of Blood' had been set up, the councillors proved for a time more amenable to the wishes of the central authority.
2. *Corr.*, II, no. 153 (Plantin to Granvelle, 21st August 1568): 'Quant au Lactance et Caesar... j'ay envoyé à Bruxelles pour en obtenir le Privilège, ce que je n'ay peu encores, à cause des autres affaires plus urgentes et l'absence du privé conseil, d'autant que Monsigneur le chancelier [of the Brabant council] faict difficulté d'admectre l'impression d'aucun livre que le congé n'en ait premièrement été donné audict conseil privé.' This shows that in principle the Council of Brabant then granted its privileges subject to the Privy Council's approval. But theory and practice sometimes differed, as Plantin makes clear in the same letter: 'Ce qui me faict moins croire ce que un mien amy libraire... m'a rescrit hier, c'est que Bogard, libraire à Louvain, luy auroit monstré un Bréviaire du nouvel usage de Rome, de l'impression de Manutius, duquel il venoit, par le moyen d'un Seigneur espagnol... d'impétrer le privilège de la Cour de Brabant, adjouxtant qu'il sçavoit bien que, par la faveur de V. III^{me} et R^{me} S^{ie}, j'avois obtenu le privilege de Sa Sainteté et le congé de Manutius et du peuple Romain, mais que, nonobstant cela, il l'aloit imprimer...' Bogard was only talking; it was another publisher who acted. Plantin had his agreement with Paul Manutius confirmed by the Privy Council, but an Antwerp competitor, Emmanuel Philip Trognésius, also with powerful connexions, was able to obtain a similar privilege from the Council of Brabant for the sale of breviaries in the Netherlands. A lawsuit ensued. Plantin eventually won, more by reason of the fact that his patrons were more influential than those of Trognésius, than because his case was better founded. Reluctantly the Council of Brabant had to comply with the wish of the Privy Council (cf. Vol. I, p. 66). The *Horae* also occasioned litigation, but the legal position was different. Plantin's competitors were before him in obtaining a privilege from Brussels, but the Pope had reserved for himself the disposal of the monopoly for the publication of the new service books. Plantin was able to produce a papal brief at Brussels giving him the monopoly 'for all countries' - obviously including the Netherlands. In the end a compromise was worked out whereby the two parties got permission to publish simultaneously (cf. Vol. I, p. 67).

The first privilege Plantin was granted by the Privy Council.¹ In the following years the printer divided his attention and his petitions between the two bodies, without there being any very obvious reason for his preference at any given point. For relatively important works, or for works that promised to sell well and arouse the envy of competitors, Plantin took care to obtain a privilege from each body.² His successors also did this on occasion. In a petition addressed to the Privy Council in 1592, Jan I Moretus justified his prior approach to the Council of Brabant with the argument that he had done this to expedite the publication of the work ('Et pour haster louvraige ledict suppliant, comme resident en Brabant, at obtenu de Vostre Majesté en son conseil de Brabant octroy de pouvoir seul imprimer pour le terme de six ans ledict tiers livre'). He stated that he was troubling the Privy Council for an identical privilege so as to secure monopoly of sale in all of the Spanish Netherlands ('...et comme pour aulcunement avoir support et recompense plus grande pour les grandz fraiz quil devra supporter et payer pour lesdictz impressions, il desireroit bien avoir ledict octroy pour luy servir universelement par toutes les provinces de Vostre Majesté de pardeça').³

Usually it was the printer-publisher who took the necessary steps to acquire a privilege. Occasionally, however, an author would undertake this task, and have the privilege registered in his own name.⁴

1. Arch. 1179, no. 1, reproduced in Vol. I, plate 8.
2. As he did with breviaries and missals. Less important but profitable publications were often covered by both - for example, the various French and Dutch editions of the popular scientific textbook *Les Secrets* by Alexis Piemontois in 1558-61.
3. Text quoted by Baelde, 'De toekenning van drukkersoctrooien...', p. 27.
4. For example, the Antwerp schoolmaster Gabriel Meurier, for schoolbooks in French. The privilege is in the Museum archives (Arch. 1179, no. 4; 24th Sept. 1556). So is the privilege granted by the Council of Brabant on 6th July 1565 to Dodoens for his *Historia frumentorum*, printed by Plantin, 1566 (Arch. 81, f^o 373; cf. *Corr.*, III, no. 334) and the Imperial one he was given on 11th August 1580 (Arch. 1179, no. 207). Garibay brought with him from Spain an *approbatio* and a privilege for printing his History of Spain, which he personally had confirmed by the Privy Council, 16th June 1570, and the Council of Brabant, 19th June 1570: E. Gossart, 'Le chroniqueur Garibay chez Plantin', *Le Bibliophile belge*, 11, 1876, p. 283. There are two privileges for France in the archives for Plantin's edition of C. le Jeune, *Livre de Mélanges*, 1585, one for the author, one for Plantin (28th Jan. 1582 and 5th Aug. 1582, respectively). Both documents are reproduced in J.A. Stellfeld, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*, 1949, pp. 83-86. *Les premières oeuvres françoises*, by J. de la Jessée, published by Plantin, 1583, has reproduced in its prelims two privileges granted the author, one in Paris (26th July 1578), the other in Antwerp (5th May 1582), and the author's permission for Plantin to print, 25th Dec. 1582.

Several times Plantin purchased privileges from authors of works he was particularly anxious to publish.¹

As has already been indicated, privileges were granted for a specified period. When fixing this period² the official usually took into account the scope of the work and the costs borne by its publisher: the larger the amount of money invested in it, the longer the duration of the privilege. Works of a definitely topical character were given privileges only for a limited period. In the case of almanacs it was obviously restricted to one year. The most common period was six years; there were occasional instances of ten-year periods, hardly any of longer grants. The Polyglot Bible, which was protected against reprinting for twenty years, was a unique case. It was possible, however, to ask for an extension when the appointed term had expired.³

Such was the theory. In practice there seem to have been many cases of printers managing to obtain *de facto* monopolies of unlimited duration for particular works - monopolies which they were even able to pass on to their heirs. When Plantin became the official printer to

1. E.g., from Pierre Savonne for his *Instruction et maniere de tenir livres de raison*, 1567 (Arch. 4, f^o 113^{vo}: Par achapt de la copie et privilège du Roy de France iay payé aud[ict] Savonne: 4 fl. 5 st.; Pour le contract iay payé 1 fl.); and from the English author John Joliffe for his *Responsio venerabilium sacerdotum*, 1564 (Arch. 4, f^o 61^{ro}: 'Or ay ie baillé 100 exemplaires desd[icts] livres à M. Jehan Joliffe Anglois pour la copie et privilège de 6 ans.' Cf. Arch. 116, pp. 7, 11: contract of 7th Dec. 1563 whereby Joliffe transferred his privilege to Plantin, receiving 100 copies in exchange. The printer promised to wait a month after the transfer before starting to sell the book).
2. In their petitions the publishing printers themselves suggested a period, which the Council considered and confirmed or modified - in the latter case nearly always reducing it. Cf. the chronological list of privileges granted by the Privy Council in Baelde, pp. 40 sqq.
3. Cf. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1151 (S. de Grimaldi, secretary to the Privy Council, to Plantin: 'Si apres iceulx six ans avez encoires de ces livres point venduz pourrez demander continuation dudict octroy et je ne doubtte il vous serat accordé...').

the States-General and to the City of Antwerp¹ he acquired this sort of privilege, being granted sole rights of printing ordinances and other documents issued by these bodies.² But even for more common works the masters of the Golden Compasses were sometimes able to obtain a high degree of monopoly. In the course of his career Plantin had acquired privileges for the publication of breviaries, missals, and other service books. As far as can be established from extant papers, these were normal privileges of limited duration. After Plantin's death, Jan I Moretus petitioned the Privy Council and the Council of Brabant for sole rights in the Netherlands for printing service books, Bibles in various languages, and also Classical authors ('tous les bibles en diverses langues, heures de Nostre Dame, tant en latin qu'en latin et franchoys, les breviaires, missels et diverses susd. et aultres semblables, comme aussi des auteurs anciens'). He was in fact granted this extraordinary measure of privilege by both councils on the same terms as his father-in-law before him ('en conformité de nos précédentes lettres d'octroy et suyvant le privilège que respectivement feu son beau père Christoffle Plantin a obtenu de nous').³ These *privilegia generalia* were regularly renewed for the benefit of succeeding heirs to the *Officina Plantiniana*,⁴ which thus enjoyed an effective monopoly in a large number of chiefly liturgical publications in the Southern Netherlands until the end of the *Ancien Régime*.

The Moretuses did not cling particularly tenaciously to all the benefits granted them by the law. They agreed - or turned a blind eye - to the printing by other houses of works for which they possessed the monopoly, but in which they were not greatly interested.⁵ How-

1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 95-96.
2. In books he produced for the States-General, Plantin always printed an extract from the patent appointing him printer to that body as evidence of privilege.
3. Arch. 1179, no. 270 (Privy Council, 6th May 1591) and 271 (Council of Brabant, 8th Aug. 1591).
4. Cf. for example Arch. 1179, nos. 393 (Council of Brabant, 9th Dec. 1610) and 396 (Privy Council, 17th Jan. 1611) in which the same general privilege was granted Balthasar I and Jan II Moretus, as the successors of Jan I.
5. Egidius Beys took his brother-in-law Jan I Moretus to court over Plantinian privileges, in which he demanded a share. He lost his case (partly on the ground of the privilege of 6th May 1591, quoted on p. 266, note 3), but Jan Moretus harboured no resentment. On 28th Aug. 1592 the two publishers signed a document drawn up by a notary in which Beys undertook not to use the Plantinian compasses as his imprint, but received permission to publish 11 service and 82 other books covered by the privilege Jan Moretus had inherited from Plantin (Rooses, *Musée*, p. 257). Other Antwerp houses after 1591 published many of the works covered by the general privilege without this apparently provoking any reaction from the Moretuses.

ever, they were prepared to go to law over books which they thought it worth their while to publish, and as a matter of fact regularly won their cases.¹

To be effective a law must be backed by sanctions. Remarkably enough, the first provisions for penalties for infringements of privileges did not appear until quite late in the day - in 1550. Punishment usually consisted of confiscation of the pirated copies, with the possible addition of a fine (for example, 1 fl.) for each illegally printed book, which was divided between the state and the plaintiff.² In practice the courts sometimes showed considerable flexibility. In 1598 the Council of Brabant found that Jan van Keerbergen and Martin Nutius had infringed the rights of Jan Moretus by issuing a missal and a breviary, but nevertheless they were allowed to print a further 1,200 copies because of the expenses they had already paid ('uit consideratie van het begonnen werk').³

Although in principle each work to be printed required a privilege, the one document often listed and protected several works. The first privilege granted to Plantin, in 1555, mentioned three titles.⁴ One issued in 1564 named eleven,⁵ but this is the highest number discovered for the Plantinian press, except the *privilegia generalia*.

To move a council to any desired action, a written petition had to be submitted in which the applicant made known his wishes and provided the necessary details. Privileges were obtained in the same

1. Cf. those involving Jan van Keerbergen and Martin Nutius below.
2. Baelde, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.
3. Cf. the judgment of the Council of Brabant, 4th Dec. 1598 (Arch. 1179, no. 324).
4. J.M. Bruto, *La institutione di una fanciulla nata nobilmente; Flores de L. Anneo Seneca*; L. Ariosto, *Le premier livre de Roland furieux* (Arch. 1179, no. 1).
5. Arch. 1179, no. 30 (12th March 1564).

way.¹ Sometimes the author himself made the application,² but usually it was the printer.³ The young Plantin seems sometimes to have enlisted the services of a lawyer,⁴ but it may be surmised that usually he went in person to the legal officials concerned and gave them the pertinent facts - together with a suitable reimbursement - and let them draw up the petition.⁵ Later in his career he conducted such business by letter. As he explained to an author who had asked him how a request for a privilege should be worded, he simply sent the *libri approbati* to the appropriate official in Brussels who composed the text as he thought fit - and sent the bill.⁶

One of Plantin's guiding rules was to stay on good terms with the Brussels bureaucracy,⁷ paying to do so when necessary. This policy

1. Cf. Baelde, *op. cit.* An example of a petition to the Privy Council, written by the author - Charles de Navières applying on behalf of his French translation of the book of Psalms - with in the margin the permission dated 7th Nov. 1578 and underneath the signature of the official responsible: Arch. 116, p. 433. For some reason (perhaps because it was returned to the author) the petition was not kept in the Council's archives and ended up with Plantin - Navières had approached him to publish the work. The privilege in which Plantin was actually given permission to print this and three other works is also preserved in the Museum (Arch. 1179, no. 199; 13th Dec. 1578). Cf. also notes 2, 3 and 4.
2. It was Arias Montanus, not Plantin, who petitioned the Privy Council for the Polyglot Bible, 4th Jan. 1572 (*Corr.*, II, nos. 302, 307). Many of the privileges Plantin obtained for France and Germany were probably requested by the authors, even when put in his name.
3. A few of the petitions are reproduced in *Corr.*, II, no. 246 (c. 1570, for four works), and V, no. 655 (Oct. 1575 for the *Opera S. Augustini*).
4. Arch. 3, f^o 8^{fo} (18th March 1564: '...pour la requeste à ladvocat: 12 st. '); f^o 8^{vo} (25th March 1564: 'A Mons. maistre Guillaume de Vienne avocat pour la requeste: 2 fl.').
5. In the years 1563 to 1565 Plantin did often go in person to the junior officials of the Privy and Brabant Councils to pay the sums due (cf. Arch. 3, f^{os} 7^{vo}, 8^{fo}, 8^{vo}, 17^{fo}, 26^{vo}). From early 1566 (Arch. 3, f^o 46^{vo}) payments were made through Pierre de la Tombe, a Brussels bookseller, who had contacts with the court and government and was a good customer of Plantin. Possibly it was he who subsequently handed in the petitions.
6. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1411 (Plantin to N. Oudaert, 4th Nov. 1588: 'Ego libros pro quibus privilegium impetrare cupio approbatos solui mittere ad D. Jacobum de Witte [secretary to the Privy Council] qui libellum supplicem ipse scribit pro suo arbitrio et quod mihi praescribit pretium persolvo. Tu itaque nisi commodiorem modum nosti poteris illi negotium committere'). Cf. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1408 (Plantin to the Abbot of Park, Sept.-Oct. 1588).
7. Cf. *Corr.*, I, no. 46 (Plantin to P. Daniel, 22nd June 1567: 'j'auray facilement le privilège de la cour pour la faveur des amis que j'y ay...').

had its rewards, as is clear from an incident which also serves to show that there could be differences between the precepts and the practice of the law. On 25th June 1577 Joachim de Buschere, secretary to the Council of Brabant, wrote to Jan Moretus (who had been acting on behalf of his father-in-law) to say that he was returning two works ‘with the deed of privilege pertaining thereto. And though Pighius's book had not been examined, the same had been inserted so that you should not suffer any prejudice thereby. The *visitateurs* here would need to spend another two or three months over it.’¹ Although Pighius's work had not been passed by the censor appointed by the council (more likely an official of the council who had to verify the political content, and not an ecclesiastical authority), the secretary had obligingly made out the privilege himself.

Plantin was very well aware of what could be politically dangerous. During his long career he was never rebuked for having submitted a work that could not pass the government standards. Only once does a manuscript he submitted seem to have been altered by the Brussels bureaucrats - and that only from sheer enthusiasm for Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, which they were pleased to embellish with fresh details.² This does not mean, however, that Plantin's relations with the officials of the Council of Brabant and of the Privy Council were always untroubled. On 22nd October 1570 he had to write to Granvelle to say that the Privy Council had managed to lose the manuscript of *De bonis ecclesiasticis* - and this after Plantin, to speed matters as much as possible, had purposely sent them the work via Morillon, the Cardinal's vicar-general.³ In 1586 Plantin, despite

1. *Corr.*, V, no. 767. Dutch text: ‘Ende alsoo den boeck van Pighius nyet en was gevisiteert hebbe ts[elven] darin geinsereert om dat U.L. erghen prejuditie daerinne en soude lyden generlyck. Die visitateurs alhier denselven wel souden 2 of 3 maent willen over hebben.’
2. Letter of Grimaldi to Plantin, 26th March 1587 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1234): ‘...ferois mon devoir de faire despescher et accorder l'acte, pour pouvoir imprimer le livre du Sr Ludovico Guicciardini et que comme l'oeuvre estoit si beau et recommandé, on trouvoit bon que l'on le visitasse et adjauçasse pour le dresser pertinement en aulcunes choses, touchant ces consaulx dont il n'a pas eu bonne information de ceulx qui luy ont administré aulcunes particularitez...’
3. *Corr.*, II, no. 245. Another example of delay in *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1405 (Plantin to H. Gravius, Sept.-Oct. 1588).

all his insistent pleas and influential connexions, was not at first able to obtain a privilege for the publication of works by Justus Lipsius.¹ The ecclesiastical censors had given their approval, but neither the Council of Brabant nor the Privy Council would give theirs for political reasons - the great humanist was then living in Calvinist Leiden.² Plantin's perseverance must have been rewarded after a time. For most of the editions of Lipsius's works issued by Frans Raphelengius at Leiden between 1586 and 1591, the year in which the scholar returned to the Southern Netherlands, there are copies in existence with Plantin's Antwerp imprint.

Although Plantin never expressed an opinion about the system of censorship and privilege in his letters,³ he occasionally complained, albeit in passing, about the loss of time which it involved.⁴

1. In fact, Plantin asked to be allowed to replace Raphelengius's title-pages with his own (and the formula 'apud Christophorum Plantinum') in a few copies printed in the Leiden *Officina Plantiniana*.
2. *Corr.*, VII, nos. 1092 (Plantin to Brughel, a member of the Council of Brabant, 15th April 1586) and 1096 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, 3rd May 1586).
3. Although in some letters exchanged with the learned Haarlem lawyer Dirk Volckertszoon Coornhert Plantin did suggest that the government should be concerned in church affairs and thereby exercise censorship: B. Becker, 'Coornhert et Plantin', *De Gulden Passer*, I, 1923, pp. 97-123.
4. *Corr.*, IV, no. 579 (Plantin to L. Charondas, 31st Oct. 1574: 'Car notés qu'il nous est tousjours besoing d'estre resolu de tout cela que voulons imprimer pardeça quelque six semaines ou deux mois au paravant que d'y pouvoir commencer: et ce a cause que ne pouvons rien imprimer qu'il n'ait prealablement esté examiné et approuvé par les censeurs ou commissaires a ce ordonnés et puis apres qu'il ne nous soit permis de ce faire par le Conseil du Roy a quoy se passent ordinairement quelques six semaines aux choses les plus faciles et quelques mois a celles qui peuvent estre aucunement douteuses voire bien ay-je quelque fois sollicité année entiere avant que d'avoir obtenu expedition de telles affaires'). Cf. also IV, no. 576 (Plantin to Pimpont, 28th-31st Oct. 1574). Not only could the granting of privileges be delayed, but also the dispatch of the document. On 28th Feb. 1587 Plantin asked Jacques de Witte, secretary to the Council of Brabant, most urgently for the certificate of privilege for a work by Costerus to be sent him, or at least to be told the date of the deed and the exact amount of the fine to be paid by trespassers. Plantin had learnt on 29th Jan. that the privilege had been granted - and he had printed the work as far as the last half page where the particulars of the privilege had to be placed. On 4th March Plantin was able to inform De Witte that the privilege had arrived (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1215). The fault did not always lie with censors and central government officials. Authors often neglected to hand over parts of a text (especially forewords, dedications, tables of contents, indexes), and the officials required a full text before making their pronouncement: *Corr.*, I, no. 8 (Plantin to G. Symons, 15th Oct. 1561); no. 11 (Plantin to H. Cruserius, 22nd Oct. 1561); VIII-IX, no. 1255 (Plantin to an unknown correspondent, 15th May 1587).

Applying for privileges cost money as well as time.¹ The two councils demanded stamp duty and fees for drawing up the documents, and the rates kept pace with rises in the cost of living.² But even allowing for this factor, a perusal of the Plantinian accounts reveals a surprising variation in the amounts paid for privileges.³ This is partly due to the fact that sometimes the total cost - the actual stamp

1. Baelde, *op. cit.*, provides no information about the Privy Council in this respect. Presumably the stamp duties and other payments were roughly similar to those asked by the Council of Brabant. According to Verheyden, 'Drukkersoctrooien in de 16^e eeuw', p. 208, in about 1550 the duty for a patent from the Council of Brabant of the 'double tail' type was 2 fl. The duty rose to 10 fl. 4 st. in 1569 and to 15 fl. 6 st. in 1590. The patents for which these dues were paid were actually those licensing printers to practise their craft. Much less must have been paid for privileges covering the publication of particular books for a limited period and in a defined area. The amounts entered in Plantin's accounts are generally lower and it seems from a letter of 7th Oct. 1586 that there were privileges of various kinds, variously priced (cf. the text immediately following).
2. In 1566 Plantin was paying an average of about 2 fl. for a privilege, excluding legal fees, and in 1573 this rose to about 6 fl. (see next note). See also Verheyden's figures, quoted in the previous footnote.
3. Examples: Arch 3, f^o 8^{ro} (18th Mar. 1564: 'J'ay payé a Mons. Fabri secrétaire au conseil de Brabant pour le privilege de Tomus primus Comment[arior]um in Gal[ieni] Opera, Emblem[ata] Sambuci et Comm[entaria] in Artem poeticum Horatii: pour le seau, 2 fl. 15 st.; pour le secrétaire, 2 fl. 10 st.; pour la requeste à ladvocat, 12 st. '); f^o 26^{vo} (11th March 1565: 'pour les privilèges du Dictionarium G[raec]um, etc.: 11 fl. 3 st.; pour privilège de la Maison rustique, Georgius Fabricius, de poetica, 2 tomus Adagiorum, Emblemata Sambuci: 7 fl. 19 st. '); f^o 46^{vo} (18th March 1566: 'J'ay payé à Pierre de la Tombe pour les privilèges des livres ici spécifiés: ... qui sont 13 actes tant du conseil privé que de la chancellerie: 26 fl. 14 st. '); Arch. 32, f^o 153^{ro} ('Christofle Plantin doit à me. Jehan Fabri, 11 avril 1572: pour une requeste: 12 st.; pour ung acte de deux livrets: 2 fl. 5 st.; pour ung octroy de Theodore de Croonenberg: 5 fl. 18 st.; au messenger: 2 st. '); 23rd May 1572: 'pour loctroy de Henry Wauters et requeste: 5 fl. 16 st. ... '); Arch. 51, f^o 72^{vo} (27th May 1573: A Pierre de la Tombe: Pour loctroy de Sylvanus, etc.: 6 fl.; pour loctroy de Joos de Herteyn: 6 fl.; pour l'acte de Ian de Hassardt: 1 fl. 4 st.; pour loctroy de Virgilius Pimpontien: 6 fl.; pour loctroy de la Bible de Rob. Estienne chez Vande Aa: 6 fl.; pour 3 octroyes de la Bible Roberti Stephani, Concilium Tridentinum, Virgilius, Quadragesima Augustini Hunei, Leven der maeghden, etc.: 16 fl. 10 st.; ... pour ung acte au secrétaire Bourgeois: 2 fl. 12 st.; ... Loctroy des Sermons d'Aras chez de Witte: 5 fl. 8 st. ...; pour les 2 octroyes de la Bible in 4^o de Pis (?) avec aultres livres: 12 fl. 10 st.).

duty, the fees for composing the petition and the document itself, and the gratuity paid to the officials concerned - was given under the single heading 'octroy' or 'privilege', while sometimes the items were listed separately. However, from a letter written by Simon de Grimaldi, secretary to the Privy Council, to Jan Moretus on 7th October 1586, it appears that the council issued different types of privilege at different prices, and that the officials sought out the cheapest kind for Plantin, so long as it was sufficiently efficacious.¹

Approbationes seem to have been issued free; at all events the accounts contain no specific mention of fees.² Nevertheless the censors spiritual did appreciate presents. Nor were officials high and low of the various councils above such things. Not all were as blunt as Simon de Grimaldi who, in the letter referred to above, wrote that the councillors expected one copy each of the works listed in the privilege and that within a few days he would give Jan Moretus the number of these gentlemen then present.³ Other officials might be rather less brazen, but they were no less expectant of some consideration for their efforts on behalf of the masters of the *Gulden Passer*, and this they regularly received. In the account-books of the house there are many entries for such 'liberalitez'. Censors and higher officials mostly had presents of books, lower officials cash.⁴ Exceptions to this rule were the

1. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1151: 'Ayant icij esté présent que l'on traictoit sur les octrois que demandez par moyen de Monsig[neu]r d'Assonleville vous estre accordé quant a la permission d'imprimer le livre de la Moscovia de Messr. Anthonie Possevin avec les aultres trois livres jointcz, ce que fut différé premiers parceque le vous accordant par privilege a quelques années coutreroit assez grande somme sicomme de six florins chacun octroy en y mectant le seel pour la deffence generale ij requize. Je y ay tenu la bonne main que messeigneurs sont esté advertyz que ne le desiriés toutesfois sinon avec interdiction a tous aultres a la peine accoustumee. Et que partant j'avois trouvé formes pour faire ledict octroy par actes et que ensuyveroy icelluy que ne cousteroit quatre florins et demy pour chacun livre.'
2. There were entries of sums paid to 'visitateurs' though these were probably gratuities rather than actual fees. Though recorded as cash they may have been paid in books. Cf. this page, note 4.
3. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1151: 'M'ayant ausurplus messeigneurs du conseil expressement enchargé de vous advertir, que leur intention est de donner a chacun ung desdicts quatre volumes dont vous prie avoir souvenance et par aultre melleur loisir vous advertiray le nombre des Srs qu'il y a par icy.'
4. Arch. 3, f^o 7^{vo} (11th March 1564: 'Au professeur en Hebrieu [de Louvain] qui a attesté le Thesaurus linguae Sanctae Pagnigni et Concordantiae Hebraicae estre catholiques etc.: 2 fl. 1 st.; A maistre Adrian [name left blank] qui a aidé au curé de Nostre Pierre [de Louvain] à lire les Annotations d'Isaac sur Thes[aurus] linguae Sanctae: 2 fl. 1 st.; Au curé qui a soussigné lesd[icts] livres de Gramm[atica] et Thesaurus: 4 fl. 2 st.; ... A Mons. le conseiller Vand[er] Stege Carta Pighii, Virgilius, Terentius, Sambuci ars poetica, Responsio ad artic[ulos] Anglicos R[elié] couste en argent: 1 fl. 15 st. Au secrétaire Fabri et à ladvoat Vienne à chaicun un desd[icts] livres: 1 fl. 10 st. '); f^o 8^{vo} (25th March 1564: 'J'ay Payé à monsieur le Secrétaire Fabri tant pour ses droits que de libéralité: 6 fl. 6 st.; Item donné un fromage [fromage] dauvergne: 1 fl. 2 st. '); f^o 14^{vo} (5th July 1564: 'M. Fabri Secrétaire à Brusselles a eu 2 Com[mentarii] in Galenum f^o, 2 Cyrilli catecheses, 1 Salustius, et 1 Adagia Erasmi'); f^o 17^{to} (9th Sept. 1564: 'J'ay esté a Louvain ... et ay payé à maistre André Balenus qui a visité la Bible en Hebrieu 5 fl. 5 st. et au curé 4 fl. 12 st.; ... Au curé de Ste Gudule qui m'a soussigné Diction[arium] Hebraiensis et Martirologium Bedae: 3 fl.; A mons. le Secrétaire Fabri: 3 fl. 10 st.; A son fils qui luy sert de clerc: 1 fl. 15 st.; Au curé de St. Nicolas qui a soussigné les pseumes 9 Emblematata [sic] Sambuci reliés dorés etc. à 3½ st. la reliure. Au chancelier, à Fabri, à Vander Steghen, au curé de Ste Gudule, au curé de St. Nicolas, à ladvoat Vienne,

Auvergne cheeses and baskets of fruits with which Plantin expressed his gratitude to influential churchmen and administrators in 1564-65.¹

In the course of the years Plantin and his successors paid out sizeable amounts in the manner described above, but when the number of their publications is taken into account the cost per book of obtaining privileges was not very high and certainly never represented a major item in the budget.² A much more serious consideration was the

à M. Hopperus, à M. le Président Viglius, à son clerc en relieures: 1 fl. 11½ st.; 7 Adagiorum Erasmi epit[ome] aux 2 curés, à Fabri, Hopperus, Dennetieres secrétaire de mons. le président, à Van der Steghen, à Vienne: 1 fl. 7 st.); Arch. 44 f^o 53^{ro} (1st May 1566: 'Au conseil de Brabant par P[ierre] de la Tombe dono: 2 Anatomie f^o bl[anc] 5 fl., 2 Instit[utions] Juris civilis 8 st., 2 Instit[utions] Juris canonici 9 st., 2 Epist[olae] Clenardi 8^o 5 st., 2 Psalmen Buchananani 5 st., 2 Poemata Scorelii 1½ st.: 6 fl. 8½ st. '; cf. also Arch. 37, f^o 62); f^o 99^{vo} (25th July 1566: 'A Pierre de la Tombe pour donner aus conseillers de Bruxelles: 4 Revardus de auctor. prudent. 8^o bl[anc]: 8 st.; 2 Conciones Topiarii 8^o bl[anc]: 1 fl. '); f^o 154^{ro} (21st Nov. 1566: 'A Pierre de la Tombe... avec une carte de fasciculis temporum pour le curé Schellinck picta et deux livres en droit de Jurisdictione omnium Judicum Laberii Danri pour faire visiter'). See also the text (Arch. 3, fo 26^{vo}: 11th Mar. 1565), published by Rooses, *Musée*, p. 158.

1. Arch. 3, f^o 26^{vo} (11th Mar. 1565; text published by Rooses, *Musée*, p. 158); f^o 8^{vo} (25th March 1564, quoted in previous note); f^o 7^{vo} (11th March 1564: 'J'ay fait présent à Louvain au curé de St. Pierre dun fromage [fromage] dauvergne et 6 petits paniers de pruneaux, coustant le tout: 2 fl. 3 st.; A monsieur Augustinus Hunaeus Docteur en theologie qui m'a adressé et recommandé aussi: 1 fromage dauvergne et 6 paniers pruneaux: 2 fl. 3 st. ... A mons. le chancelier faict p[résen]t 2 fromages et 10 paniers pruneaux: 3 fl. 19 st.').
2. Cf. Appendix 1. In 1566 about 47 fl. 11 st. out of total running costs of 13,041 fl.

fact that the privileges only applied to a limited area; Brabant in the case of those issued by the council of the Duchy, the Netherlands (with the exception of the autonomous bishopric of Liège) in the case of the Privy Council.¹ Printers outside the Low Countries were at liberty to reprint any of the publications of their Netherlands colleagues - and by doing just that they have indeed caused Plantin much harm.²

The only way of counteracting, or at least of minimizing the effects of unfair competition was to apply for privileges in the neighbouring territories as well as the home country. On 21st February 1565 Plantin succeeded in obtaining a privilege from the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian. This not only afforded protection within the Empire for the eight works mentioned by name on the document, but also for the new and revised editions Plantin was planning to issue there.³ The printer always reproduced this *caesareum generale privilegium* in the preliminary matter of any book that he hoped would sell in reasonable numbers in Germany. In 1580-81 he tried to obtain an identical privilege from Maximilian's successor, Rudolph II,⁴ but whether he was successful is not known.⁵ Plantin also attempted to protect his publications against unauthorized reprinting in France, the country of his birth. At first he contented himself with protecting those works that were particularly likely to whet the appetites of his competitors;⁶ sometimes French authors themselves took the necessary

1. The whole of the Netherlands before their division; thereafter the South, reconquered by Spain.
2. Cf. 290 sqq.
3. Original document in Arch. 1179, no. 42.
4. As Ortelius related in a letter of 10th May 1581 to Crato (*Suppl. Corr.*, no. 158), explaining that Plantin's books were being 'waylaid' in Germany ('Is [Plantin] nisi molestum esset, cuperet privilegium, illi ab imperatore Maximiliano concessum, ab Rudolpho imperatore instaurari: tua in ea opera lubenter utetur. In Germania enim suis libris insidiari conqueritur').
5. The document is not in Arch. 1179 at all events.
6. In 1567 Plantin instructed his representative in Paris, Egidius Beys, to apply for a privilege there for a work of Aegidius Topiarius; difficulties were feared with M. Sonnius, the Paris publisher, who had issued a similar work by this author and was already trying to acquire for himself this new edition from Antonius Tilens, the Antwerp printer who was collaborating with Plantin in its production (*Corr.*, I, no. 98).

steps on behalf of their publisher.¹ About 1582, however, Plantin was able to obtain a *privilegium generale* for France as well.² These general privileges did not prejudice the issue of special ones to cover particular works or authors, both in France and the Empire, but in most of such cases it is probable that the initiative came from the authors rather than the printer.³ In one instance, on the other hand, Plantin had a privilege made out in his name in order to protect a foreign author-publisher from being pirated in the Netherlands. This was Gerard Mercator and the publication was his map of Europe of 1572. Why Mercator himself did not make the application, as he had done for his world map of 1569, remains an unanswered question.⁴

Only for one Plantinian publication were privileges solicited for the whole of Western and Central Europe. The book in question was the Polyglot Bible, and the business of obtaining the covering *octroys* was mostly conducted by Arias Montanus, the director and guiding spirit of the enterprise. Covered by privilege in the Netherlands (with the authority both of the Council of Brabant and of the Privy Council), France, Germany, Aragon, Castile, the Two Sicilies (Naples), the Papal States, and Venice, the Polyglot Bible had the distinction of being one of the best protected books of modern times.⁵

1. It was undoubtedly through the agency of de Pimpont that the privilege of 9th December 1574 for the publication of the Virgil edited by the powerful councillor was obtained from Henry III (Arch. 116, f^{os} 292-293).
2. The document has not survived, but in the records of the city of Antwerp for 1582 is Plantin's affidavit of 1st September authorizing Michel Sonnius and Pierre Porret to uphold in Paris the privilege the printer had obtained from the king on 5th August 1582, which prohibited the reprinting of any new Plantinian book by anyone within that monarch's jurisdiction for a period of 6 years (*Corr.*, VII, no. 977, p. 38).
3. As for example may be assumed for Arch. 1179, no. 290 (1594, Holy Roman Empire: E. de Sa) and no. 343 (1605, Holy Roman Empire: L. Lessius). Arch. 1179, nos. 207 (1580, Holy Roman Empire: Dodoens) and 345 (1605, France: J. Lipsius) are in fact privileges in the authors' names. Cf. also p. 265, note 1.
4. L. Voet, 'Les relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et la Maison Plantinienne à Anvers', *Duisburger Forschungen*, 6, 1962, pp. 173-174.
5. All these privileges were reproduced as part of the preliminary matter of volume I of the Polyglot. Arch. 1179 contains the actual documents for the Holy Roman Empire (no. 140), France (no. 144), the Kingdom of Naples (no. 151) and Aragon (no. 154).

Even when a book had been passed by the censor and a privilege granted, its safety was still not guaranteed. A work that had been duly approved in all points prescribed by law could still be ordered out of sale by the government and all copies publicly burnt. This not only meant a financial blow for the printer but could also land him in trouble with the courts. This experience befell Plantin. A letter from Margaret of Parma to Philip II dated 30th November 1564 affords an excellent illustration of this sort of occurrence and gives an interesting glimpse of censorship at work in the period. The work in question was the *Psaumes de David*, a French translation of the psalms by de Bèze and Marot, printed by Plantin in 1564.¹ The edition contained nothing that in any way conflicted with Catholic teaching and it had been given an *approbatio* by the parish priest of St. Nicholas, Brussels, and a privilege by the Council of Brabant. However, this psalter was chiefly used by the Calvinists, and it was this which aroused Margaret's indignation: 'I summoned the Chancellor of Brabant forthwith and explained this error [i.e., the publication of the *Psaumes de David*] to him and commanded him to start an investigation into how it had happened, it being contrary to the ordinances of Your Majesty.' The chancellor excused himself, stating that he had not been personally concerned in the matter; one of the councillors had granted a patent after seeing the *approbatio*. After Margaret had again remonstrated with him that the work should be prohibited, the chancellor summoned Plantin and not only forbade him to print or sell any more of the psalters but ordered his officers to burn all copies they could lay their hands on. As the parish priest of St. Nicholas still maintained that there was no heresy in the translation, one copy was sent to the faculty of theology at Louvain with the instruction that they should examine it.²

1. See H. Slenk, 'Christophe Plantin and the Genevan Psalter', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 1967, pp. 226-248.
2. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 9: '... Trouvant... que l'on avoit imprimé, en Anvers, en l'officine de Christoffle Plantin, ung livret contenant l'interprétation des psaulmes de David en langue wallonne, ensemble le chant et notes sur chascun psaulme à la mode comme les ont accoustumé chanter les sectaires, et veant qu'il estoit imprimé par permission de ceulx du conseil en Brabant, signée de l'ung de leurs secrétaires et visité par le curé de St. Nicolas de ceste ville, j'ay incontinent mandé le chancellier de Brabant et luy déclairé ceste faulte et qu'il se deust enquerir comment cecy estoit passé, et que c'estoit chose tant répugnante aux ordonnances de Vostre Majesté; lequel s'en est excusé, disant ceste permission n'avoir esté faite avec sa participation, ains seulement par aucuns des conseillers dudict conseil commis aux requestes, lesquels l'avoient ainsi passé sur la visitation dudict curé. Mais luy aiant fait la remonstrance que c'estoit chose défendue expressément, mesme dois que premièrement à Tournay et Valenchiennes l'ont avoit commencé de user desdictes chanteries, par quoy il a incontinent mandé vers luy ledict Plantin, nonseulement lui défendant expressément ladict impression et distribution desdicts livretz, mais aussi de faire brusler tous exemplaires qu'il en pourroit encoires avoir envoyé et distribué. Et encoires que ledict curé de St. Nicolas veuille dire n'avoir en ladict traduction chose d'hérésie, si est-ce que je l'ay fait envoyer visiter par ceulx de la faculté de la théologie à Louvain; et combien qu'il n'y eust du mal en icelle, si ne convient-il que l'on use en ce du chant et notes des sectaires...'

When Arias Montanus compiled an *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* in 1569 at the Duke of Alva's behest, its printer - Plantin - had the dubious pleasure of finding in it some of his own publications. These had to be taken out of sale and existing stocks destroyed. Plantin must have carried out the order scrupulously: his *Reynaert de Vos* [Reynard the Fox], for example, disappeared completely from his sales registers and inventories after 1570. The library of the Plantin house does not possess a copy of this edition, of which in fact only two are known.

On the other hand it should be pointed out that when Plantin wanted to publish a book for which he could not expect to obtain official approval, he did not bother about an *approbatio* or protective privilege and simply issued the work anonymously or under a false imprint. This is how he published the heretical writings of his own spiritual mentors - Hendrik Niclaes in 1555-66 and Hendrik Janssen Barrefelt in 1579-80¹ - as well as some pamphlets with political impact in the same period.² More remarkable, and typical of the subterfuges to which printers had recourse in those times, is the story of the French edition of the *Theologia Germanica*, a highly orthodox mystical treatise of German origin that had been written quite a long time before the Reformation. It was, however, published by Luther in 1516, and Sebastian Castellio (who was disposed to-

1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 22-23, 100-101.

2. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 98-99.

wards the Reformed faith, but was disliked by the Calvinists) translated it into Latin in 1557. This meant that the work was rather suspect to both Catholics and Protestants; later, in 1621, it was even put on the official Catholic index. In the heterodox sect known as the Family of Love, and later among the Barrefeltists, the work enjoyed great popularity.¹ It was presumably to please Hendrik Niclaes that Plantin brought out a Latin edition in 1558, for which a privilege had been granted on 6th October 1557. A French translation came out in the same year, covered by the same privilege - at least, that is how it appears at first sight. However, closer inspection of the types and ornaments used, together with certain allusions in one of Plantin's letters of 1580, proved beyond all doubt that he published this French edition not in 1558, but as late as 1579 or 1580.² It was presumably the religious situation in the latter period that led Plantin to secure himself against possible repercussions by antedating the publication of this sensitive work by more than twenty years.

1. As is affirmed in Saravia's letter of 20th Oct. 1608 to the Archbishop of Canterbury: H. van Crombruggen, 'Een brief van Adriaan Saravia over Lipsius en "Het Huis der Liefde",' *De Gulden Passer*, 28, 1950, p. 117.
2. As shown by H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana. I, Ter inleiding: de studie van het zestiende-eeuwse letterbeeld en het geval van "La théologie Germanicque" (Plantin, 1558),' *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 170-178.

Chapter 11

*Manuscripts and Authors*¹

The text to be set could sometimes be a work that had already been printed and was to be republished, either unaltered or with modifications. If these alterations were not too numerous or extensive, it was the corrected *printed* text that was handed over to the compositor. In the library of the Plantin-Moretus Museum there are a number of such texts with corrections made by the author or a reviser with a view to republication.² Usually, however, the compositor worked from a manuscript. The Museum library has a considerable number of manuscripts which were intended for printing.³ Most of them are works which for one reason or another were

1. In this chapter only the relations of Plantin with the authors of his time are considered. The fact that the Moretuses' correspondence has not been published makes it practically impossible to give a general picture of the later period.
2. A complete list has not yet been compiled. Examples are: (1) *Le tiers volume de l'Histoire et Cronique de Jehan Froissart* (Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1560), collated with a fifteenth-century manuscript by A. Madoets and A. Tiron (cf. p. 286, note 3); Plantin did not go through with its publication (cf. M.G. Raynaud, 'Une édition de Froissart projetée par Christophe Plantin (1563-1565),' *Mélanges Julien Havet*, 1895, pp. 515-519). (2) A.G. Busbequius, *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum*, 1581, corrected for the second edition of 1582 - probably by one of Plantin's proof-readers, not the author. (3) Ausonius, *Opera*, 1568, edited by T. Pulmannus, who revised it for a new issue. (4) S. Verepaeus, *Epitomes novae grammatices Despauterianae liber quintus*, 1578, revised probably by the author. (5) J. Lipsius, *De amphitheatro liber*, 1585, revised by the author. (6) C. Kilianus, *Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum*, 1588, revised by the author for republication in 1599. (7) F. Schottus, *Itinerarii Italii rerumque Romanorum libri tres*, 1600, revised by the author. Cf. plates 63-66, 69-70.
3. For example, J. Denucé, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Musée Plantin-Moretus*, nos. 10, 14, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24 (A. Ortelius, *Thesaurus geographicus*, ms. bought in 1875 for the Antwerp Municipal Archives and later handed over to the Museum), 33, 39, 43, 54, 92, 104, 112, 113, 114, 116, 119, 121, 124, 138, 139, 157, 197, 198, 199, 219, 220, 264, 300, 301, 308, 313, 315, 317-322, 325, 332, 389, 435, 439, 440, 458, 473, 474, 476, 477, 482, 485.

never published.¹ What happened to the manuscripts of works which did reach the press is a matter for surmise. Some may have been returned to their authors,² although this may not have been normal practice.³ The majority of manuscripts were probably thrown away once they were of no further use; most of them would have been decidedly well-thumbed by the time the composers had finished with them.

The extant manuscripts often make great demands on the palaeo-graphic skills of the present-day expert. The composers of the time were naturally more familiar with the handwriting of their contemporaries, but even they often found it hard to make sense of some of the scrawls with which they were confronted, or of additions and corrections scribbled in margins or between the lines. In the case of

1. Exceptions (i.e., manuscripts that were printed): nos. 22 (series of City of Antwerp decrees and bye-laws, 1623-1704; originals and corrected proofs), 24, 33, 104, 114, 139, 219, 220, 264, 308, 321, 322, 435, 439(?), 440, 473, 474, 482.
2. For example Esteban de Garibay took the manuscript of his History of Spain (1571) back to the Peninsula with him. This was because in this case the author had to submit one copy of his printed work together with the original to the Spanish Council of State, who would check that no alterations had been made to the approved text during printing. See E. Gossart, 'Le chroniqueur Garibay chez Plantin', *Le Bibliophile belge*, 11, 1876, p. 286.
3. Cf. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1041, letter from Plantin to Livinus Torrentius, 28th October 1585. On his return to Antwerp (from Leiden, where he had been for two years) Plantin had not been able to put his hands on the printed sheets nor on the manuscript of a work by Torrentius. Apparently the latter had been taken away *contrary to established practice* by the audientiarium of the Council of Brabant, who was present when the printing of the book began. As far as can be made out from the context this official, on behalf of the authorities during the siege of Antwerp (1584-85), either checked the working of the firm or the publication of particular books: 'Unde factum ut non tam cito haec folia invenire potuerim, quae fuerunt impressa praesente et corrigente ex praelo nostro Domino Potelberghe tunc temporis Brabantini Consilii audientiarium (quod aiunt) supremo, qui dictis foliis impressis secum praeter morem antiquum exemplar manuscriptum retulit. Qui mos novus ab omnibus fere observatus postea fuit ab illis qui tempore illo tumultuose jussi sunt a suis dominis aliquid nobis adferre ad imprimendum qua de re (sed frustra) saepe conquesti sumus, major si quidem vis tunc praevalerat.' Most authors took care to have a copy of their manuscript made: see pp. 282-283.

the *Promptuarium Latinae linguae*, 1564, Plantin had to pay his compositors the appreciable bonus of 3 fl. for the trouble they had had ‘because of the words added to the copy’.¹ On another occasion it was Plantin himself who complained to Arias Montanus about a medical treatise, in Spanish, which the latter had passed on to him, a work by the physician Simon a Tovar, and so badly written that Plantin was afraid he would have to call in other doctors to clear up certain points - all of which would mean extra work and expense.² In this manuscript it was the medical terms which presented the most difficulty, but for any text in a language and handwriting unfamiliar to the compositors and proof-readers it was advisable to provide a clearly written transcript to work from, otherwise progress was slow and faults numerous, even in non-technical contexts. The *Officina Plantiniana* seems to have encountered these difficulties particularly with Spanish texts. Esteban de Garibay, the Spanish chronicler who came in person to Antwerp to supervise the printing of his *Compendio historial... de todos los reinos de España*, noted in his memoirs that, when he discovered that Flemish compositors were more familiar with French than with Spanish styles of handwriting, he had immediately engaged four copyists to rewrite his manuscript ‘in a French hand’³ in order to facilitate the work and ensure greater accuracy. In July 1587 Plantin wrote to the friar Vincentius, who was translating Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* into Spanish for him, urging him to take great care over the handwriting so that *u* should not be confused with *n*, or *e* with *c*, *t* with *r*, ‘et sic de aliis legi possint maxime in dictionibus nobis ambiguis vel incognitis’.⁴

When a text was especially important and had to be reproduced with the greatest precision - if for no other reason than to avoid difficulties with the authorities or influential customers - then Plantin did not hesitate to have a manuscript rewritten, at his own expense if

1. Arch. 4, f^o 60^{vo}: ‘Item pour liberalité promise aux compositeurs se plaignants de labeur à cause des mots adiouxés à la copie: 3 fl.’
2. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1074 (letter of 6th February 1586).
3. E. Gossart, ‘Le chroniqueur Garibay chez Plantin’. *Le Bibliophile belge*, 11, 1876, p. 283.
4. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1275.

necessary. This is what happened with the text of the *Antiphonarium* of 1571.¹ He often entrusted such tasks to his own proof-readers who were able to earn a few extra guilders in this way, or to ‘freelance’ workers.²

Many manuscripts sent in by authors for printing were not in fact in their own handwriting, but were the work of professional scribes.³ The idea behind this was not so much to supply the publisher with a clearly written text, as to provide the author with a copy in case the manuscript went astray. This could happen *en route* to the publisher, while awaiting the granting of an *approbatio* and privilege,⁴ or in the press itself. The last of these eventualities was not unknown: in June 1589 Jan Moretus had to write in some embarrassment to John Sanderson explaining that because of the illness of Plantin he had not been able to find the mislaid index of Sanderson's *Dialectica*. If the author insisted on publishing this index he would have to send another

1. Letter from Plantin to Gilbert d'Oignies, Bishop of Tournai, July-August 1571 (*Corr.*, II, no. 282): ‘Vray est qu'après avoir receu ledict exemplaire des mains dudict Sr. chantre ou du maistre des cérémonies de Malines, je le fay, pour plus grande seureté de nos ouvriers et pour éviter au danger de perdre rien, transcrire, à mes grands despens, au net par ung certain religieux de ceste ville qui n'y change ni adjouste aucune autre chose sinon que là, où la quantité des sillabes (chose qui expressément m'est enchargée de Rome) ne peut souffrir nombre de plusieurs notes, il les transports où est de besoing, sans rien oster ni changer du chant.’
2. For example, Arch. 3, f^o 27^{ro} (21st April 1565: J'ay payé ou donné a Me François Ravelinghen qui a copié ledict livre [Aristenetus] en grec 3 escus au soleil de 42 pattars pièce); Arch. 3, f^o 45^{vo} (9th March 1566, Dialogues françois pour les ieunes enfans: J'ay payé à Me Martin pour avoir copié la traduction de M. Corn. de Bom[berghen] en flameng desd. colloques... [not completed].) Other examples in H.D.L. Vervliet, ‘Une instruction plantinienne à l'intention des correcteurs’, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1959, pp. 99-103.
3. One instance of this is the extant manuscript of Justus Lipsius's *Diva Virgo Hallensis* (Denucé, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, no. 139).
4. *Corr.*, II, no. 245 (Plantin to Cardinal Granvelle, 22nd October 1570: manuscript lost while with the Privy Council; cf. p. 269); *Corr.*, VII, no. 1012, p. 117 (Livinus Torrentius to Plantin, 10th October 1583: ‘Ac si forte Horatio meo roges, scito rescribi, ne si quod unicum habeo autographum mittam, et in itinere pereat, una omnis perierit labor’); *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 10 (C. Clusius to T. Rehdiger, 18th September 1565: ‘Sin forte visitator, ob locos quosdam, earum epistolarum [i.e., of Clenardus] publicationem permittere nolit, exemplarum apud se retineat, autographum quod apud me habeo, nobis erit visui, ut alio descripto exemplari, aut in Gallia, aut in Germania, id excudi curemus’).

copy.¹ In the letter to Bishop d'Oignies quoted above, Plantin in fact explained that, with regard to the *Antiphonarium*, it was not only the desire to have a clearer text that caused him to have the work transcribed, but also the fear that the precious manuscript might be lost.²

A publishing printer is not a philanthropist. He decides what texts he can print on the basis of their potential sales. If a work seems likely to reward his efforts, he himself may initiate negotiations to obtain it. In other instances it is the authors who take the initiative while the publisher adopts a more passive role, weighing up all the pros and cons of a proposed publication. This question, whether the publisher or the author takes the initiative, is very important to a proper understanding of the financial relationship between them.³

It is often maintained that authors' fees were unheard-of in the Renaissance, writers then thinking it beneath their dignity to accept money for their works. Not until the seventeenth century are they supposed to have overcome their diffidence and started to bargain with publishers. It is true that Erasmus and Luther expressed themselves to this effect: Otto Braunfeld found it necessary to come to the defence of Ulrich von Hutten when Erasmus accused that author-knight of having accepted payment from his printer. After the middle of the sixteenth century, however, no more of such apologies were heard. In any case, even in the first half of that century Erasmus himself⁴ and others did earn money with their writings, although it was not their publishers who paid them, at least not directly. The dedications to influential persons and institutions - especially if they were wealthy and known to be generous - which

1. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1473.

2. Cf. the quotation on p. 282, note 1,

3. Cf. Febvre & Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, pp. 244 sqq. (with data concerning Plantin, taken from Rooses, *Musée*); W. Krieg, *Materialien zu einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der Bücher-Preise und des Autoren-Honorars vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, 1953.

4. Cf. J. Hoyoux, 'Les moyens d'existence d'Erasmus', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 6, 1944, pp. 7-59.

appeared in the prefaces of books were written with rich rewards in mind, and many an author gave bitter vent to his disappointment when his expectations were not fulfilled. Many, like Erasmus, also did a brisk trade in the free copies they received from the publishers. Others found it by no means beneath their dignity to pen the praises of individuals, institutions, and events in return for cash payments - and no one seems to have thought any the worse of them for this. And there is no disputing the fact that even in the first half of the sixteenth century there are instances in Germany and elsewhere of the payment of actual authors' fees, although the occasions were few and the amounts small. The infrequency of the practice was due not to any qualms on the part of writers, but to the disinclination of the publishers to pay them. Abraham Ortelius himself in his letter of 17th November 1586¹ to his nephew Emmanuel van Meteren made it clear enough that he was not averse to financial rewards. Van Meteren had asked his uncle what fee he should solicit for his history of the revolt of the Netherlands which had caused something of a sensation. Ortelius's letter throws a great deal of light on the question of authors' fees in the Renaissance period, and the cartographer's connexion with the Plantin house makes his comments all the more interesting:

It seems to me that, as far as I have been able to find out in our own days, authors seldom receive money for their books, for they are usually given to the printers, the authors receiving some copies if they are printed. They [the authors] also have some expectation from the dedication through the generosity of a Maecenas or patron, in which they are often and indeed, I believe, mostly disappointed. I have also been present when Plantin had one hundred daelders from an author who wanted to have his book printed. This was Adolphus Occo with his book of medallions. It may be that the printer gave him to understand that the work would not sell well. Then again, when books are costly, as when many pictures have to be made for them, this is commonly charged to the author. Sambucus paid for all the figures in his *Emblemata*. Plantin has recently accepted a little book that will bring him in 200 guilders. Although it seems to me that authors seldom

1. *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 199.

receive money from the printers, as I have said, they do receive some copies. The greatest number I have heard of (and that was after prior agreement) was 100. When Plantin had printed my *Synonymia* he sent twenty-five [copies] to my house, for which I thanked him very much. What he will do with my *Thesaurus* (which he is now printing), time will show. Some authors, having seen that their work was beautifully printed, have presented him with a silver bowl. All this having been said, it may be that your opinion will be otherwise, and you will say with truth that none of this is appropriate to your case. For these have all written for their own sakes, and for the indulgence of their minds, and this for a variety of reasons, whether for honour, or the winning of friends or the payment by a patron, or to acquire fame (for which many fools are writing books today). This is not so for you, yours being a work commissioned by others, and is therefore worthy of payment.¹

1. Original Dutch text: ‘My dunckt so veele als ick in onsen tyt bevonden hebbe, so hebben de aucteuren seldom geldt van haer boecken, want meest wordense den druckeren gesconcken, dan sy hebben wel gemeynlycken wat exemplaren alse gedruckt syn, ende dan oock wachtese gemeynlycken wat vande dedicatie, idque pro moecenatis aut patroni liberalite, die dicwils ende oock meest (geloove ick) hem mist. Ick hebber oock by geweest dat Plantyn 100 daelders toe creech vanden auteur, om dat hij syn boeck drucken soude willen, ende dat was Adolphus Occo, tot syn medaliboeck, ende dat is, om dat mogelyck de Typographus hem liet voorstaen dattet nyt wel vercocht en soude worden. Dan anders, tot boecken daer groote cost toe gaen moet, als van veel figueren te moeten laeten daer toe maecken, dat moet den auteur gemeynlycken costen. Sambucus becostichde alle de figueren van syn Emblemata. Plantyn heeft nu corts noch een boexken aengenomen daer hy 200 gulden toe sal hebben. Also dat my dunckt dat aucteuren seldom gelt van den druckeren ontfangen, dan gelyck ick geseyt hebbe altewat somijge exemplaeren. Het grootste getal hiervan dat ick gehoort (ende dat met besproken conditie) was 100. Doen Plantyn myn *Synonymia* gedruckt hadde, doen sondt hyer mij 25 thuys, ick bedankte hem seer. Wat hij doen sal van mynen *Thesaurus* (die hy nu op syn persse heeft) sal de tyt leeren. Somijge alse sagen dat haer werck fray ende heerlyck gedruckt was, hebben hem met een silveren schale besconcken. Maer dat nu al geseyt hebbende sal mogelyck v.l. wederseggen, ende seggen, soot is, warachtelyck, dat dit voorsyde v al nyt aen en gaet. Want dese hebben alle proprio motu, et sibimet, aut suo genio indulgentes geschreven, idque varias ob causas, aut honoris, aut parandi amici, aut remunerationis a moecenati, vel ad nomen parandum (daer veel sotten boecken om schryven hedendaechs). Dan dit alle en is by v.l. niet, maer is een stuck wercks dat ex aliorum motu v aenbesteedt is, ende daerom met redene loon verdient heeft ende weerdich is...’

Ortelius makes it clear that sixteenth-century publishers, like those of today, were prepared to pay up when they saw potential profit in a particular book. The story has already been told in Volume 1 of how in order to obtain the sole rights of printing and sale in the Netherlands of the revised missals and breviaries, Plantin contracted to pay the Roman monopolists a royalty of 10 per cent, and how eventually he was able to divest himself of this burden.¹ In 1558, at the beginning of his career, he made an agreement with two Ghent printers, Hendrik van den Keere and Cornelis Manilius, whereby he undertook to supply them with a number of free copies of almanacs, on condition that they refrained from issuing any similar publication.²

When Plantin judged it desirable to publish a particular work, he did not shrink from the expense and effort involved, and set his own specialists to work³ or recruited learned men for the task.⁴ If he

1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 65-68.
2. Arch. 35, f^o 8^{ro} ('ie doibs bailler 100 Almanachs franc[ois] et 100 Almanachs en flamant audit Hemic et Cornelis a ce quilz cessent dimprimer lesd[icts] Almanachs'). Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 23.
3. For example he had his own proof-readers compile the dictionary of the Dutch language which, after years of preparation, appeared in 1573 under the title *Thesaurus Theutonicae Linguae* (cf. M. Rooses, 'Hoe de woordenboeken van Plantijn en Kilianus to stand kwamen', *Nederlandsch Museum*, 1, 1880, pp. 190-208; Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 120 sqq.). The proof-reader A. Madoets received a bonus of 4 fl. 10 st. for collating a Lyons edition of Froissart's Chronicles with a fifteenth-century manuscript, in preparation for a new edition that for some reason was never realized (Arch. 4, f^o 63^{vo} - see p. 279, note 1). Cf. also the discussion on proof-readers, pp. 175 and 188.
4. Joannes Isaac Levita of Cologne, who undertook to edit Sanctes Pagnini's *Thesaurus linguae sanctae* for Plantin, was given board and lodging by the printer from 10th November 1563 to 21st October 1564, as well as about 70 fl. in cash and books (Arch. 3, f^{os} 8, 13; 4, f^o 66; 31, f^o 51; 36, f^o 70. See Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 64, 72, 73, 123, 154). - *Thesaurus linguae Crispini* (Arch. 3, f^o 8^{ro}, 15th March 1564: 'jay marchandé à Clebitio (?) de noter ce qui est nécessaire destre imprimé aud[ict] livre pour en imprimer un dictionnaire in 4^o et luy ay accordé demi patt[ar] pour cha[cun]ne feillet dud[ict] livre et pourtant quil avoit quasi achevé le cahier de e marqué a la dernière page du nombre 60 ie luy ay payé patt[ars] 15'). - *Biblia* in 8^o (Arch. 3, f^o 20^{ro}, 6th December 1564: 'J'ay payé à Maistre Estienne deWallencourt 30 fl. pour avoir mis les nombres des versets sur les marges de la copie in 8^o et les avoir conféré scavoir sils accordoyens bien ou venoyens iustement estre'). - *Dutch Bible* (Arch. 3, f^o 23^{vo}, 10th April 1565: 'J'ay payé à Maistre Estienne de Wallencourt à diverses fois pour avoir mis les nombres des versets et des marges à la Bible en flameng: 48 fl.'). - *Institutiones Iuris Canonici Lanceloti*, 1566 (Arch. 4, f^o 102^{vo}: 'J'ay payé à M. Hierosme Elbius (?) qui a fait les annotations et reveu le livre de Lanceloti: 12 fl.'). - For the Caesar edition, several scholars were contacted, the entire work being entrusted to Obertus Gifanius (*Corr.*, I, no. 99, Plantin to Granvelle, end of December 1567: 'Je n'ay point imprimé Commentaria Caesaris. Vray est que, passé 3 ans, j'avois prié plusieurs personnages doctes de me donner leurs observations sur ledict aucteur et avois obtenu quelques corrections et aussi quelques exemplaires écrits à la main et le tout livré à un jeune homme docte nommé Obertus Gifanius ... pour conferer le tout et le mettre en ordre pour l'imprimer [but Gifanius left Antwerp for France and Italy. From Venice...] il me rescrit du 19 novembre, s'estre remis a besongner audict Caesar... Mais voiant telles longueurs, jel'ay commencé en la forme dont j'envoyeici 4 cahiers pour monstre. Nonobstant quoy, je ne laisserois à rimprimer in 8^o, lorsque j'auray receu autre meilleure copie'). - Cf. also Arch. 777, 16th August 1608 ('A Dm. Backx chappelain de Nostre Dame

thought a text suitable, he would pay the author considerable fees in money or in kind to secure it: thirty printed copies for the manuscript of the *Summa D. Thomae*;¹ 45 fl. in money and 100 copies ‘par achapt de la copie et privilège du roy de France’ to Pierre Savonne for his *Instruction et manière de tenir livres de raison*, 1567;² fifty copies and 81 fl. 6½ st. in other books to Guicciardini on the publication in 1581 of the revised and enlarged reprint of his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, and another 150 fl. and a number of copies on the publication of the new Italian edition of 1588.³ Among the expenses incurred in the publication of the *Nomenclator Hadriani Junii*, 1567, was the item, ‘To Master Hadr. Junius, 3 nights' lodging, 4 meals and 6 Flemish ells of velvet.’⁴ In 1572 Molanus received the sum of 20 fl. for the amended text of the *Horae B. Mariae Virginis*, which he had also supplied to Plantin's rival P. Bellerus.⁵ The scholars who collaborated on the Polyglot

[at Antwerp] pour avoir conféré le psalterium et officium avec la copie de Rome pour nostre impression: 20 fl.’).

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 24 (Plantin to Claude Pesnot, 1567).
2. Arch. 4, f^o 113^{vo}.
3. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 154. In 1581 according to J. Denucé in *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*, I, pp. 152-153 (who refers to Arch. 18, f^o 403) 50 presentation copies, worth 356 fl., and another 40 fl. in books.
4. Arch. 4, f^o 69 (27th May 1564: ‘Donné au Sign. Had. Junius estant par trois nuits logé céans et y ayant prins 4 repas, donné disie 6 aul[n]es veloux fin: [27 fl.]’). Cf. Arch. 3, f^o 12 (27th May 1564: ‘J'ay achapté 6 aul[n]es de veloux pour donner aud[ict] Junius pour la copie de son Nomenclator quil m'a promis pour le veloux d'un saye...: 27 fl.’)
5. *Corr.*, III, no. 403 (Plantin to L. Villaviciencius, 17th July 1572: ‘... effeci ut D. Molanus... phrasuum emendationem ad nos mitteret quas et ipse Petro Belleri tradidi imprimendas atque sum pollicitus me ei daturum id quod justum et aequum erit pro labore et impensis’, namely 20 fl.)

Bible received presents paid for partly by Philip II, partly by Plantin.¹ Considerable amounts were also paid out for the *Opera S. Augustini*.² Sometimes authors' expenses were wholly or partially made good.³ On other occasions, as in the case of Ortelius quoted above, Plantin paid only in kind, giving authors fairly large quantities of their books - which of course they were able to sell.⁴ As already seen earlier Abraham Ortelius was very grateful to his publisher for the twenty-five copies of his *Synonymia*. In 1566 A. Hunnaeus received 200 copies of his *Dialectica*; John Joliffe in 1563 had 100 copies 'pour la copie et privilège de 6 ans' of his *Responsio ad articulos Anglorum*; Dodonaeus was given 50 copies of his *Frumentorum historia* of 1565; Lobelius in 1581 was paid with 80 copies of his herbal.⁵ Scholars who edited or prepared commentaries on Classical authors were occasionally remembered with books or small sums 'en reconnaissance de ses labours'.⁶ These remunerations, however, were restricted to works where Plantin, confident of a market, had himself initiated publication.

1. For example Joannes Harlemius received 242 fl. 5¼ st., Augustinus Hunnaeus 422 fl. 9¼ st., Guilielmus Canterus 86 fl. 15 St., and Joannes Molanus 12 fl. (cf. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 83-84).
2. These included 163 fl. to Thomas Gozaeus, 360 fl. to the theologians who collated the mss., 216 fl. to the nine doctors of theology who corrected them, further sums to various assistants (cf. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 216-217).
3. Plantin declared himself willing to pay the copyist who worked for Canisius as he knew that this author could not meet all the expenses of publishing his book. Cf. *Corr.*, III, no. 463 (Plantin to Canisius, 14th-21st February 1573: 'Velim autem scire quid amanuensibus sit persolvendum. Nolim siquidem te neque aliquem tuorum sumptus eos ferre quos omnino impressio ferre debet. Rogo itaque ut hoc mihi significare digneris et qua inregratificari tibi possim').
4. This was nowhere explicitly stated, but in his agreement of 7th December 1563 with Joliffe, Plantin - besides contracting to give the Englishman 100 copies of his book - promised not to begin sales until one month after these had been delivered (cf. p. 265 note 1). This must mean that the author was given a month's start in which to sell his presentation copies.
5. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 154 (Hunnaeus, Arch. 4, f^o 97^{vo}; Joliffe, Arch. 4, f^o 61^{ro}; Dodonaeus, Arch. 44, f^o 5; Lobelius, Arch. 58, f^o 57). Cf. also Arch. 44, f^o 49 ('A Guillaume Menelis à Louvain p[our] Scorelis: 20 poemata Scorelii 16^o pour la copie'); *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1157 (Plantin to J. Latomus, 17th October 1586. The scholar received 25 copies of his *Davidis psalmi* 'donanda quibus voles, si plura cupias indica, mittam perlibenter').
6. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 65-66 (Theodoor Poelman), p. 66 (Victor Giselinus). Other example: Arch. 4, f^o 76^{vo} (Lucretius, 1565: 'p[ou]r présent donné à Mre. Robert, chez mons. Charles de Bomb[ergen]: 20 fl.').

Al Ilustre Señor, el Señor Licenciado Don Jeronimo
de Roda, del consejo de su Magestad.

Ilustre Señor.

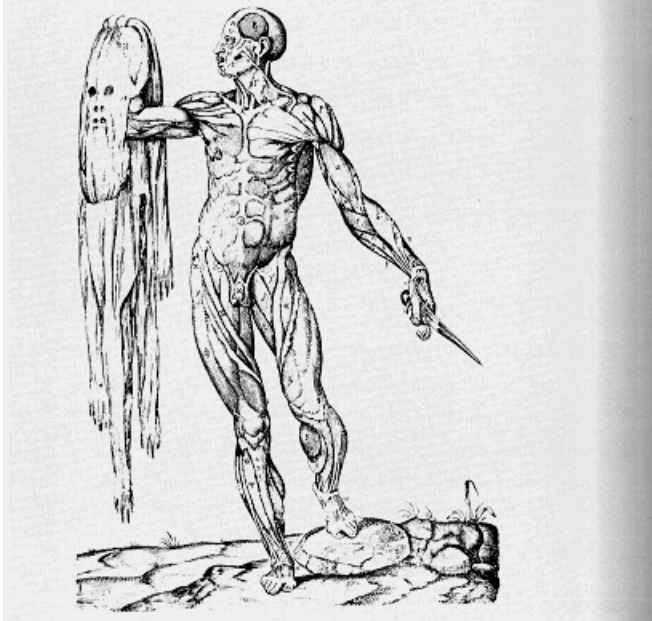
Ben conosco, que fuera razón, que atendiera más
a servir las mercedes, que de V. mrd e. recibido, que
a importunarle, suplicándole agora por otras mayores;
pero el bien publico y la patria comun me obli-
gou, a que yo, en nombre de todos, lo que deste
mi trabajo ovieren de hacer algun provecho, suplique
a V. mrd, sea servido de ver este libro, que por
su doctrina de Vesalio y de Valverde, los dos mas
exeritados autores, que a auido en la profession
anatomica, e puesto en lengua vulgar, en ruego
de Plantina. V. si V. mrd lo juzgare por tan util, como
a mi se me representa, y le pareciere, que esta en tales
terminos, que se pueda leer, permita, se imprima dirigido a
V. mrd, como yo, con toda voluntad y affiion de servirle,
solo dirijo: para que la Nation Española goze del amparado
y honrado con el favor de V. mrd, que no podra llevar
ningun mayor testimonio de su aprouacion. Suplico a
V. mrd, me haga esta mrd, que sera para mi muy cre-
cida.

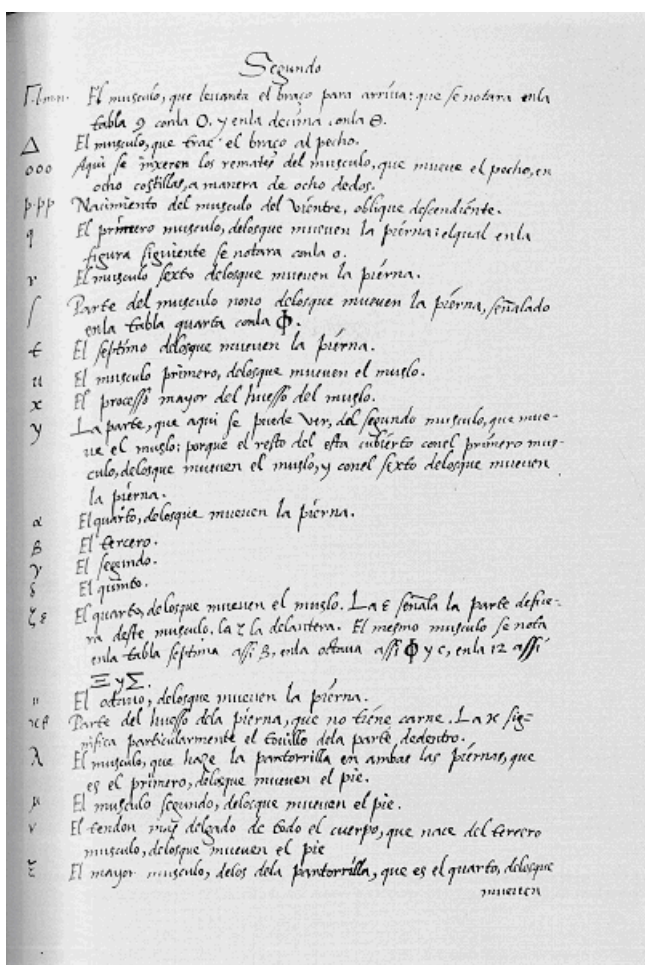
2) Page from the manuscript of *Vivas figuras del pso humano* with the dedication to Jeronimo de Roda. his dedication was crossed out-quite understandably. Antwerp, where he had continued to work for the restoration of Philip II's authority. He bore most responsibility for the ensuing Spanish Fury and as such was one of the most hated persons in Antwerp(cf. plate 53).

Libro

- El musculo delantero, deloque doblan el codo.
- f El musculo alto, deloque mueven el facel menor para baxo.
- g El musculo alto, deloque doblan la muñeca.
- h El musculo, que produce el tendon ancho dela palma.
- i El musculo, que ocupa la parte convexa dela espalda, y trae el brazo al rededor, por la parte defuera.
- k Con este musculo se trae el brazo para tras, y sube un poco hacia agra la parte alta delas espaldas.

Tabla .i. del libro II.






(53) *Vivas figuras del cuerpo humano*, a series of 42 anatomical plates with explanatory text, by Vesalius and a concise medical exposition by Jacques Grevin. In fact it was an adaptation in Spanish of the Vesalius-Valverde *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani*, published by Plantin in 1566. At the end of the manuscript comes the handwritten *approbatio* of the Antwerp censor Silvester Pardo, dated 28 April 1576. It was not printed, no doubt because of the disturbances during the Spanish Fury of 4 November 1576.

AD LECTOREM.

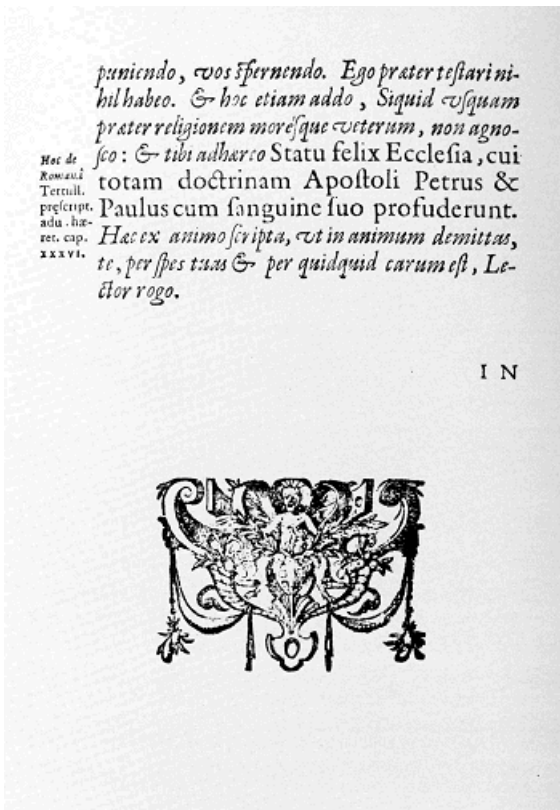
*I*nter Lectores que de Cruce scriptissimus, sed germana. Antea atque alibi que edita (Credes hoc nobis) non sunt nostrae? Quid ergo! non illa Lutetiam? Fortasse. sed, o imperitiam, quasi edendi illi. sine. Reuerentior portretatis suo: et aliud se esse Schedia, aliud opera; nec fabricaria haec nostra dedicanda in Memoriae templo. Quid, quae alij grauius etiam peccant: qui excipiunt aut interceptunt dicta aut orationum nostras, et in contumeliam mei Luulgant. Aliter non accipio. Eum haec ut multis delictis fubulam, ita perulantie et licentiae laxat: et quod auct. praeacissimus quisque, id etiam audeat. Ego semel et serio testor, audeat qui in Europ. NIHL MEVM EST, AVT ERIT, QVOD NON DE AVTOGRAPHO MEO, ET ME VOLENTE, SIT EXPRESSVM. Quicumque aliter, mihi iniuriam facit, vobis facit. Deus bone, haec monenda publice esse! Ecce in bona opusque exteras ius est non vno mihi solum sed mortuo, et solatium fati est voluntas terra futurum: mortis animi et ingenij vero boni non idem erit. Reprimite Principes qui poteritis, et vos lectores qua poteritis: illi puniendo, vos spernendo. Ego preter testari, nihil habeo. et haec etiam addo, Siquid vquam preter resolutionem morisque veterum, non. *Her de Romanij agnosce. et tibi adhaere. Spatu, felix. Ecclesie, cui ~~nonnullam~~ doctrinam.* Petrus et Paulus cum sanguine suo profuderant. Haec ex animo scripta, et in animum demeris et, per spiritus tuos et per quidquid carum est, Lector, rogo.

(54) Handwritten foreword to Justus Lipsius's treatise, *De cruce libri tres* (Arch. 1150 a, f^o 21). A copyist wrote out this text in a clear hand for the printer. Lipsius corrected it and made a few alterations (see also plates 55 & 56).

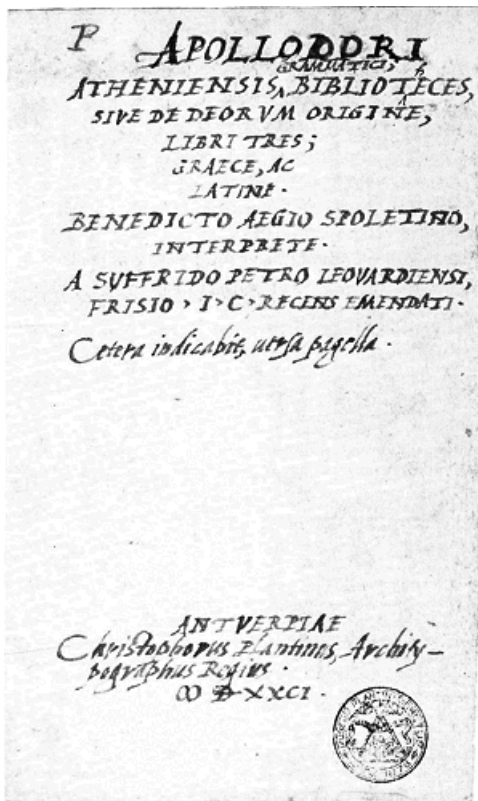
AD LECTOREM.


HABES Lector qua de Cruce scri-
 ptissimus, sed germana. Antea atque
 alibi qua edita (credes hoc nobis)
 non sunt nostra. Quid ergo? non
 illa dictauimus? Fortasse, sed o im-
 peritiam! quasi edendi illo fine. Reuerentior po-
 sterioris sum: & aliud scio esse Schedia, aliud
 Opera; nec subitanea hac nostra dedicanda in
 Memoria templo. Quid, quod alij grauius etiam
 peccant? qui excipiunt aut interceptiunt dicta aut
 oratiunculas nostras, & in contumeliam mei
 diuulgant. Aliter non accipio. Acuum hoc ut
 multis delictis fibulam, ita petulantia & licentia
 laxat: & quod auct procacissimus quisque, id
 etiam audet. Ego semel & serio testor, audite
 qui in Europa. NIHIL MEVM EST, AVT
 ERIT, QVOD NON DE AVTOGRAPHO
 MEO, ET ME VOLENTE, SIT EXPRES-
 SVM. Quicumque aliter, mihi iniuriam facit,
 vobis facum. Deus bone, hac monenda publice es-
 se? Ecce in bona opesque externas ius est non vi-
 uo mihi solum sed mortuo, & solatium fati est
 voluntas ultra fatum: in istis animi & inge-
 nij verè bonis non idem erit? Reprimite Princi-
 pes qui potestis, & vos lectores qua potestis: illi
 punien-

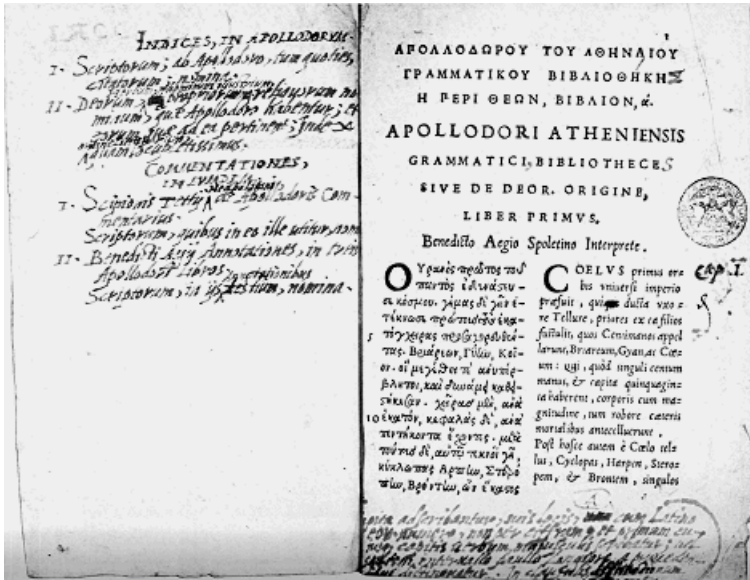
(55) Text of the foreword to Lipsius's *De cruce libri tres* (cf. plate 54) as printed in the first edition, 1594. See also plate 56 overleaf.



(56) Conclusion of the foreword to *De cruce libri tres* as it was printed. See also plates 55 & 54.



(57) Title-page design for an edition of Apollodorus of Athens (Greek text with Latin translation), 1581 (R. 19.36). The work was not printed. See also plate 58.



(58) *Opposite*: First page of the projected edition of Apollodorus of Athens, 1581. The text used as a basis was an earlier printed edition (Rome, Antonius Bladus, 1555) with a few slight revisions. On the left is the handwritten contents table; right, the first page of the text with a few amendments and a note at the bottom to the compositors. The work was not published by Plantin: it is quite likely that he did not take the initiative in the matter but received the manuscript, including title-page, ready for press from the scholar responsible. One indication of this may be the unusual address (cf. plate 51): Plantin was no longer using the title ‘architypographus regius’ in 1581 because of the political circumstances.

Plantin approved, he would consider giving a present of some kind or copies of the printed work in return for the manuscript.¹ In the majority of cases, however, translations were commissioned by Plantin. Translation is a relatively mechanical process, but in comparison with a great deal of more original work, reasonable fees have to be paid for it. Plantin and his contemporaries had to be prepared to spend their money if they wanted to publish a translated work.² A letter from Jan Moretus to someone who was offering his services as a translator shows that fees were reckoned on the basis of the number of quires to be translated and the size of the type used.³

Another item which publishers sometimes had to arrange and pay for was the compilation of tables and indexes; this work might be

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 150 (Plantin to J. Martius, 31st August 1568, in connexion with the Latin translation of J. Grévin's *Deux livres des Venins*, offered by Martius: 'Proinde non est quod a me quid pro remuneratione laboris hujus expectes, praeter 12 aut 20 exemplaria, amicis tuis abs te, si velis, donanda').
2. Martin Everaert received 15 fl. on 26th April 1565 for his Dutch translation of J.B. Porta's *Magia Naturalis* (Arch. 3, f^o 21), 25 fl. 7 st. on 2nd May 1564 for his Dutch translation of Charles Estienne's *Agriculture et maison rustique* (Arch. 35, f^o 83), 24 fl. on 12th May 1566 for his Dutch translation of Vesalius-Valverde's *Vivae Imagines* (Arch. 3, f^o 50). Marcus Antonius van Diest translated the *Emblemata* of John Sambucus into Dutch and received 27 fl. 18 st. (Arch. 3, f^{os} 17^{vo}, 43^{vo}; Arch. 4, f^o 85^{vo}). Pieter Kerkhovius was paid 8 fl. for his Dutch translation of the *Flores Ciceronis*, 1567 (Arch. 3, f^o 68 and Arch. 31, f^o 91), 3 fl. 10 st. for part of the *Dialogues françois*, 1567 (Arch. 31, f^o 91 and Arch. 4, f^o 95). Jacques Grévin, the French physician and humanist, was responsible for the translation into French of the *Emblemata* of Sambucus and Junius, receiving 36 fl. (1564: Arch. 3, f^o 20 and Arch. 4, f^o 86) and 7 fl. 10 st. (1565: Arch. 4, f^o 94). In 1564 A. Tyron was paid 8 fl. 9 st. for his French translation of the Pictorius *Dialogues* (Arch. 3, f^o 23^{vo}) and 15 fl. translating J.B. Porta's *Magia naturalis*, also into French (Arch. 31, f^o 84). Later the works of F. Costerus were translated into French. Chappuis received 69 fl. in 1587 for the *Meditation van de Passie* (Arch. 19, f^o 201) and Pierre Porret 45 fl. for the *Boecxken der Broederschap* (Arch. 19, f^o 201). The Spanish monk Balthasar Vincentius, who translated Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* into his mother tongue for Plantin, was paid 100 fl. in 1587 (Arch. 20, f^o 284). Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 154-157.
3. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1474 (J. Moretus to C. de Rosenburg, 15th-23rd June 1589): 'Le livre d'Ave Maria Stella contient en blancq six feilles entieres imprimées (?), desquelles en la sorte comme nostre pere est acoustumé de bailler pour la translation ladicte feille imprimée 20, 25 ou 30 sols que ladicte impression est grande ou petite.'

done either by the *officina*'s own proof-readers for extra money, or outside the house.¹ Here again Plantin only went to this expense for books the publication of which he had himself initiated, or in which he was greatly interested in some way. In other cases the authors had to see to indexes and tables themselves.²

Although it is clear that fees for authors, editors, and others who collaborated on texts for publication, were not entirely unknown in the second half of the sixteenth century, for such a large concern as the *Officina Plantiniana* the list of payments is neither long nor impressive.³ One of the reasons for this was of course the fact that publishers, then as now, tried to keep their costs as low as possible; and in those days large editions with their correspondingly big returns were not known. But there was another and more compelling reason for this apparent cupidity on the part of publishers, namely the ease and impunity with which works could be and were pirated.

As already described in more detail,⁴ printers (or authors) were obliged to ask the authorities for a 'privilege' which gave them a monopoly of sale of a particular work. However, these privileges were of short duration (generally six years) and were valid only for a limited area: in Plantin's case the Netherlands. There was nothing at all to stop a publisher outside the area from reprinting a work as soon as it appeared and thus playing havoc with the market.⁵ In his later

1. Alexis Piemontois, *Secrets*, 1564 (Arch. 4, f^o 64^{vo}: 'Pour la faceon à Mre Estienne [deWallencourt] 4 fl. 10 st.>'); Cyrillus, *Catechesis*, 1564 (Arch. 4, f^o 65^{vo}: 'Item pour la faceon de la table: 2 fl. 2 st.>'); Nonius Marcellus, ed. Hadrianus Junius, 1565 (Arch. 4, f^o 76^{vo}: 'pour l'index à Me Quentin Stenh[artsius]: 10 fl. 7½ st.>'); *Ciceronis officia*, 1565 (Arch. 4, f^o 78^{vo}: 'pour l'index à Mre Quentin [Stenhartsius]: 5 fl.>'); Lucretius, 1565 (Arch. 4, f^o 76^{vo}: pour l'écriture de l'index à Me. Antoine Tyron et Me. Estienne: 6 fl.; Arch. 3, f^o 23^{vo}: 'à me. Antoine Tyron pour avoir escrit l'Index Roberti Gifani in Lucretium: 4 fl. 10 st.>'); R. Dodonaeus, *Fruentiarum historia*, 1566 (Arch. 4, f^o 88^{vo}: 'pour l'index à Mre Quentin: 3 fl. 10 st.').
2. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1473 (J. Moretus to John Sanderson, 15th-23rd June 1589): the index of Sanderson's *Institutionum Dialecticarum libri quatuor* had been lost in the press; if the author wanted it included, then he must send a new copy.
3. 172 fl. 5½ st. paid out in 1566 compared with a total expenditure of 13,041 fl. 1¼ st. Cf. Appendix 1.
4. Cf. chapter 10.
5. Even in the country of publication privileges were not always a guarantee against pirating by competitors of a successful book. Cf. P. Simpson, 'Literary piracy in the Elizabethan Age', *Publications of the Oxford Bibliographical Society*, New Series, I, 1, 1947, pp. 1-23.

years Plantin frequently complained about these unethical practices and was at pains to point out that he only issued reprints with the permission of the author and the first printer.¹ In fact Plantin in his early years had been guilty of what the older Plantin condemned.² A large proportion of his early publications were reprints of books recently issued in Paris or Lyons, which he then sold mainly in France. As late as 1565, Guillaume de Roville (or Rouillé) asked Plantin most emphatically not to reprint L. Roussart's *Corpus juris civilis*, which had been published by de Roville at Lyons, as an improved edition was in preparation: 'Si vous me faictes ce plaisir, je vous en pouveray faire ung autre quelque autrefois.' However, Plantin's reprint was already under way and was issued a few months later; by an agreement dated 10th October 1565 one of de Roville's competitors at Lyons had contracted to take 625 copies of the Plantinian version.³

In these cases of legitimate or pirate reprints, the only extra costs for the second printer lay in the purchase of a few copies of the work in question. Examples are the three copies for 12 fl. of the Roman

1. For such authorized reprints see: *Corr.*, V, no. 728 (to Hercules Ciofanus, 8th June 1576); VI, no. 829 (to S. Cuypres and P. Heyns, 1st June 1579); VIII-IX, no. 1200 (to P. Pantin, 26th January 1587), no. 1277 (to P. Hassard, 3rd July 1587), no. 1298 (to J. Hayus, 3rd September 1587). Letters containing complaints about the damage caused by pirated editions: *Corr.*, VI, no. 830 (to Aldus Manutius, 25th January 1579); VIII-IX, no. 1119 (to N. Oudaert, 18th July 1586). Actual instances in which the offenders are named include: *Corr.*, II, no. 269 (fragment of a letter from Plantin to Hendrik van den Hove, Liège bookseller, early April 1571: 'Combien que de long temps j'aye asses entendu les menasses de vos aliés de faire contrefaire à Liège les sortes dont j'ay ou auray privilège par deça, et que je sceusse cela estre de longtemps proietté et commencé, si est ce que po...'); VIII-IX, no. 1251 (J. Poelman to J. Moretus, 3rd May 1587). Highly important for this topic: *Corr.*, V, no. 676 (22nd November 1575). Plantin had published a new edition of Pagnini's Hebrew dictionary when A. Gryphius, the Lyons printer, was intending to issue one. In answer to Gryphius's complaints, Plantin had suggested a compromise. This proposal was rejected. In answering a further angry letter from Gryphius, Plantin once again explained his position point by point.
2. As Plantin himself acknowledged in his letter to Gryphius, 1575: '... ni avoir imprimé pour moy ou a mes despens aucun livre premierement imprimé par autruy excepté quelques sortes en françois à mon commencement et le Cours civil in 8^o [see next note], encores n'y avois-je que le tiers en tous'.
3. *Corr.*, I, no. 19 (26th December 1565).

edition which served as a model for Plantin's 1566 publication of the *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani* by Vesalius and Valverde;¹ two copies, at 2 fl. 14 st., of the Manutius edition of the *Opera Ovidii* - 'et en a esté rompu un pour la composition et 1 baillé à Mre. Victor';² four copies at 1 fl. 6 st. of the *Colloquia Erasmi*;³ two copies at 2 fl. 2 st. of a Latin Bible.⁴ For a careful publisher like Plantin there might also be the cost of correcting or partially re-editing the text.⁵

Faced with unfair practices such as these, publishers naturally played safe and did not invest large sums of money in books from which others could reap the financial benefits. This not only meant that authors' interests and desires were subordinated to financial considerations, but that publishers themselves thought twice before putting money into the production of new works, however worthwhile. A study of the list of books in which Plantin invested fairly substantial amounts of money in the form of fees and other extra expenses conveys the impression that in many instances he had taken the problem of pirating into account. Many of these works were aimed at a regional market where Plantin's monopoly could be guaranteed by a privilege.⁶ Others were so extensive,⁷ required such specialized equipment,⁸ or were so lavishly illustrated,⁹ that very few publishers would have been capable of issuing anything comparable.

While Plantin published many works on his own initiative, even more manuscripts were offered to him by authors. The number chosen was of necessity small. To Jacobus Strada, an Italian resident in Vienna who had put a whole library of propositions before him, Plantin explained that he had to turn down half of what was offered

1. Arch. 4, f^o 80^{vo} (1565, 'Pour les exemplaires ou livres imprimés à Rome, 3 copies: 12 fl.').
2. Arch. 4, f^o 110^{ro} (1566).
3. Arch. 4, f^o 69^{vo} (1564).
4. Arch. 4, f^o 70^{vo} (1564).
5. Cf. p. 286, note 4, and p. 288, note 6.
6. Such as the various Dutch dictionaries and the Italian and French editions of Guicciardini's Description of the Netherlands.
7. The *Opera S. Augustini*, for example.
8. Hebrew books, for example.
9. As were the various herbals.

him.¹ The percentage rejected must in fact have been much greater. A considerable proportion of the letters from Plantin and his successors to authors consisted of carefully worded refusals of manuscripts.²

Plantin could afford to be fastidious when so many texts were offered him. Sometimes, however, his attitude was determined by other than purely commercial factors. Living in troubled times, he had to give influential patrons their due. In a letter to d'Assonleville, president of the Privy Council at Brussels, Plantin hints plainly enough that he had only printed and published a small work by the younger d'Assonleville in order to oblige his powerful father.³ Granvelle's influence had much to do with the fact that Plantin published many books and commentaries by Italian writers, such as Orsini and Viperano, especially in the years 1567-76. These editions were generally profitable - Granvelle had a discerning eye in these matters - but it is unlikely that Plantin would of his own accord have burdened himself with the endless negotiations and misunderstandings which the long and difficult lines of communication with Italy then entailed. It is equally clear that Plantin was not in a position to risk offending his partner Goropius Becanus when the latter wanted to have his *Origines Antwerpianae* printed on the firm's presses, although Plantin had little enthusiasm for the project.⁴ Generally speaking, however, Plantin seldom had to take any but strictly financial arguments into consideration when deciding whether or not to print a work that had been offered him.

If authors were willing to pay all the costs of printing and publishing

1. *Corr.*, VI, no. 813 (October 1578).
2. Concerning the refusal of the *officina* to print a work of Janus Lernutius, and the subsequent correspondence between that author and Balthasar I Moretus, see H. van Crombruggen, *Janus Lernutius*, pp. 83-84.
3. Letter of 18th January 1589 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1431).
4. Cf. *Corr.*, II, no. 160 (Plantin to de Çayas, 13th December 1568: '[a copy of the *Origines* dispatched] V.S. trouvera, peut estre (aussi que prime face il a fait à plusieurs gens doctes et grands personnages de diverses contrees) d'argument et fondement fort estrange. Mais j'espère que, comme il en est aussi advenu à plusieurs personnages bien expérimentés et de bon jugement, qu'en la fin elle y trouvera de merueilleusement bonnes raisons et mieux fondées que de première entrée il n'a semblé').

their work, then of course few objections, if any, were raised. Plantin simply produced a written estimate of costs and on this basis a contract might be signed.¹ In such cases the authors usually demanded their full pound of flesh, namely the whole printing. Plantin complained that Garibay left him not a single copy of his *Compendio*.² He made a similar remark about Navarrus's treatise *Enchiridion sive manuale confessoriorum*.³ Garibay's history of Spain was not in fact printed in the *Gulden Passer*: Plantin's own presses were fully taken up with breviaries and missals for Philip II. However, as Garibay appeared willing to pay the entire cost of publication, Plantin subcontracted the work to another printer.

He became very careful only when he himself had to finance the affair, either wholly or in part. In a politely worded letter of 28th April 1589, Plantin informed Cornelis Schultingius that, as this author had not asked for a fee (a 'merces pecuniaria') for his work, he, Plantin, would find someone to advance the necessary money for its publication.⁴ For reasons that have not been established, the work did not appear, but Plantin had obviously approved of it and that is why he had personally undertaken to obtain a loan. The agreement would probably have included a number of free copies for the author.

Very few authors received such favourable treatment. Mostly they had to be ready to spend a good deal of money if they wanted to see their books printed and published by Plantin's press. Details of the agreements varied from book to book, but all were based on the same principle: authors had to contract to take a certain number of copies of the printed work at trade price. Often they were requested

1. As in the case of Garibay, who paid 1,692 fl. to have his History of Spain printed (cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 225).
2. *Corr.*, VI, no. 941 (Plantin to Calvete Stella, 12th September 1581).
3. *Corr.*, IV, no. 597 (Plantin to Buyssetius, 1st January 1575: 'Dns. Navarrus Manuale suum voluit me imprimi suis impensis proinde nullum exemplar mihi praeter ea que ex Edicto regio servare debeo restabit'). Cf. *Corr.*, V, no. 665 (Plantin to Buyssetius, 17th December 1575: the printer was sending a few copies of the *Manuale* he had bought back from Navarrus's agents).
4. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1460.

to pay for these in advance. In this way Plantin not only safeguarded himself against poor sales but also obtained money to buy paper and pay his workmen.

Thus it was that Plantin told the Italian Valverdius that he was prepared to publish his work provided he took 300 copies, to be paid for in advance.¹ One hundred copies were sufficient in the case of the 'Poesies' (*Laudes illustrissimae Hieronymae Columnae*) of Adriaan Burchius; in his letter of 22nd January 1582 to this author, Plantin explains somewhat apologetically that he had had to make the same kind of arrangement with Ranzovius, Livinus Torrentius, Sambucus 'and some others'.² In a letter of 18th July 1586 to the Polish ambassador, who had been acting on behalf of the Jesuit theologian Laurentius Arturus Faunteus of Posen, the figure of 500 copies is quoted together with a down payment of 150 fl. The balance was to be paid as soon as the printing was completed.³

Plantin's accounts afford many other examples. Even his revered friend Arias Montanus had to contribute towards the publication of several of his works; he paid the sum of 200 fl. for the *Elucidationes in omnia Sanctorum Apostolorum scripta* of 1588, receiving fifty copies of the book. The influential and powerful Elbertus Leoninus had to pay half the cost of printing his *Centuria Consiliorum*, 1584 (600 fl.) and received 360 copies. Serranus paid 200 fl. and received 186 copies of a total edition of 300 of his *Commentaria in Levitici librum*, 1572, which had cost Plantin 240 fl. 18 st. Mameranus had to take 400 out of a printing of 500 copies of his *Epithalamia Alexandri Farnesi et Mariae a Portugallia*, 1566. Aitzinger contributed 100 fl. towards his *Pentapulus regnorum mundi*, 1579, and A. Occo 150 fl. for his *Imperatorum Romanorum numismata*, 1579.⁴

1. *Corr.*, VI, no. 901 (1st January 1581).

2. *Corr.*, VII, no. 976.

3. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1118.

4. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 153. In 1572 Plantin also printed *OEconomia methodica Concordantiarum Scripturae Sanctae*, the major work by the English theologian G. Bullock, the author bearing the larger part of the costs. Out of a run of 625 copies, 550 went to the author. Bullock died a few months after completion of the work and Plantin repurchased the 550 copies from his heirs for 1,818 fl. However, it seems to the present author that Granvelle's vicar-general, M. Morillon, virtually ordered Plantin to do this: cf. *Corr.*, III, nos. 446, 453.

Occasionally the procedure was varied. On 14th July 1583 Plantin concluded an agreement with Godescalculus Stewechius in which the printer stated that he had received ‘quatorze doubles ducats d’Espagne et ung escu au soleil’, the equivalent of 100 fl. 7 st., ‘pour aide de l’impression de Vegece avec ses Commentaires et figures’ (Flavius Vegetius, *De re militari*, 1585). Plantin undertook to pay this amount all back when the copies of the book in question had been sold. The sum could if necessary be covered by Stewechius taking copies at trade price (‘au prix qu’ils se vendront aux libraires’).¹

Practically all the composers who had their music published by Plantin had to contract to take a considerable proportion of the edition. However, when it came to settling their accounts, this class of client was not always scrupulous in fulfilling obligations.²

Authors did not always negotiate in person. In his will, Ludovicus Hillessemius stipulated that his *Sacrarum antiquitatum monumenta* should be printed by Plantin. His heirs complied and started negotiations with the printer which led to an agreement whereby they took 150 copies of the edition.³ The heirs of Becanus took 50 copies of their kinsman’s posthumously published *Opera omnia*.⁴

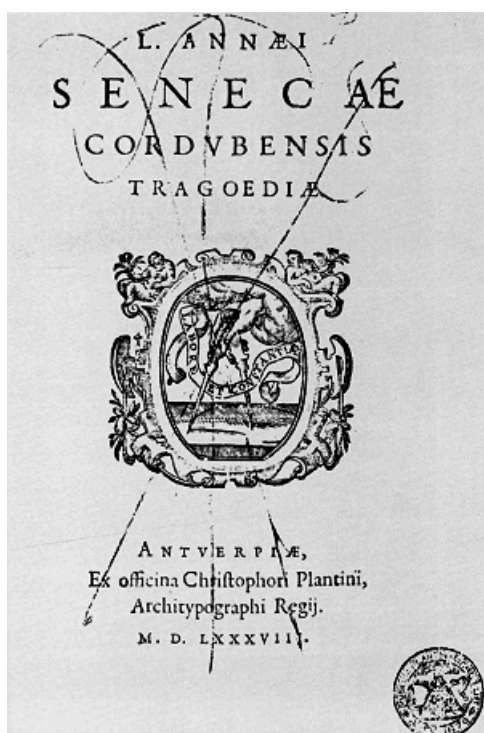
There were occasions when Plantin had to employ more subtle procedures. He might want to publish a certain work that was going to be too costly for him to finance by himself, while there was no question of enlisting the aid of the author, either because the latter was not willing to pay, or because there was no author in the ordinary

1. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1002.

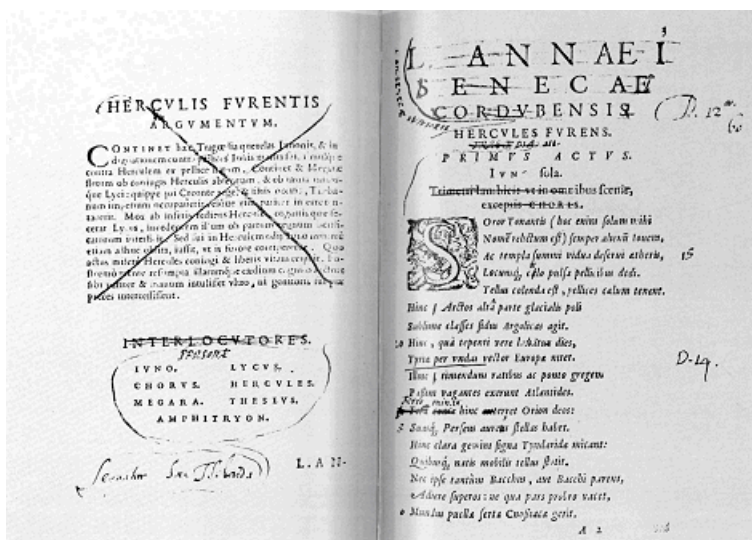
2. De La Hèle contracted on 21st August 1578 to take 40 copies of his *Octo Missae* of that year; but he only took and paid for 4. S. Cornet, who had agreed to take 100 copies of his *Cantiones musicae*, 1581, also failed to do so. J. de Brouck, however, paid 34 fl. for 162 copies of his *Cantiones sacrae*, 1579, in accordance with his contract of 8th July 1579. Plantin’s difficulties with these composers-authors are examined in J.A. Stellfeld, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*, 1949.

3. *Corr.*, V, no. 738 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, 1st-4th September 1576). Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 228.

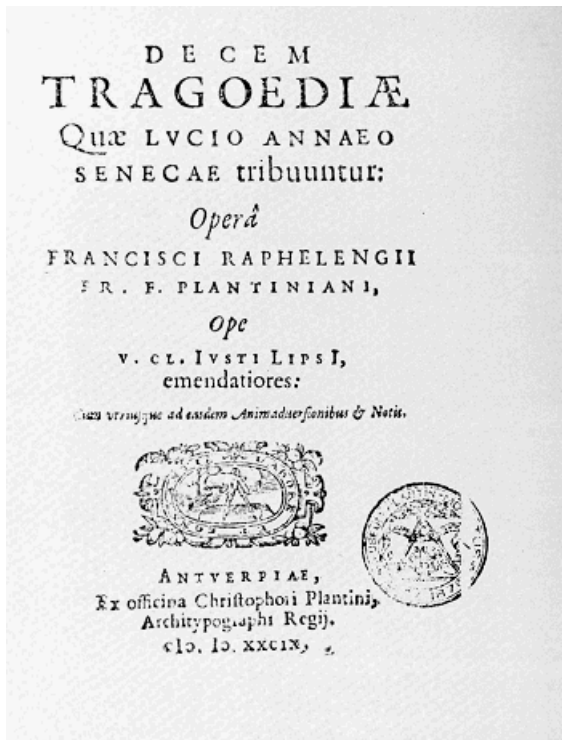
4. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 153.



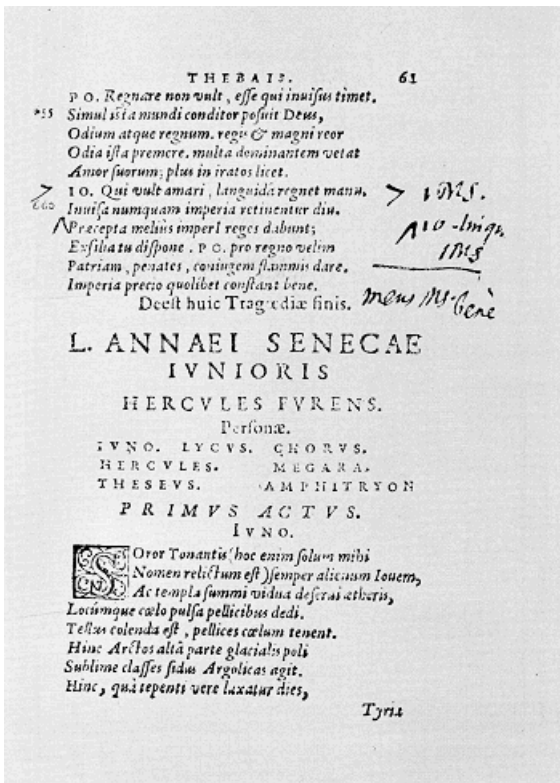
(59) Seneca's *Tragoediae* prepared for press (R.19.35) with a title-page already set and printed, but crossed out as it was finally substituted for another (cf. plate 61).



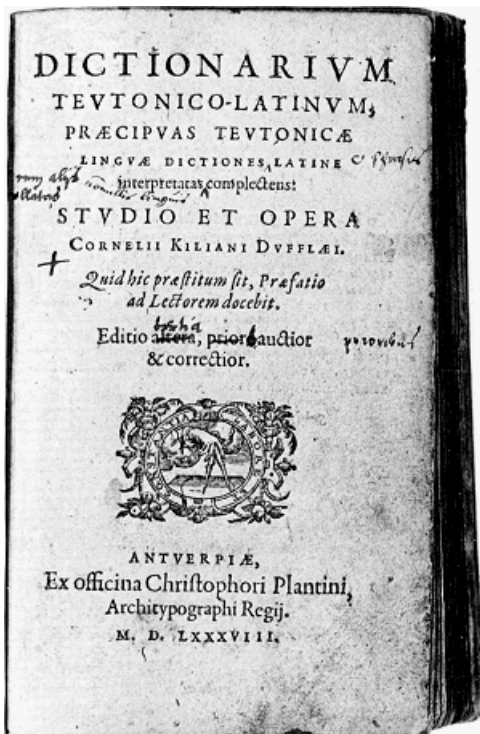
(60) Seneca's *Tragoediae*, pages 2 and 3 prepared for press. Page 2 (verso of the title-page) certainly printed in the Plantin press, but page 3 and the following pages belong to the French or Italian edition that must have served as model. The corrections are in the hand of the editor, Frans Raphelengius the Younger, grandson of Plantin. The last printed page (455), with the *privilege* in Plantin's name, was also printed in the Officina Plantiniana. The title-page (plate 59) is dated 1588. The work appeared only a year later, in 1589, and differs entirely in arrangement from the 1588 'paste-up'.



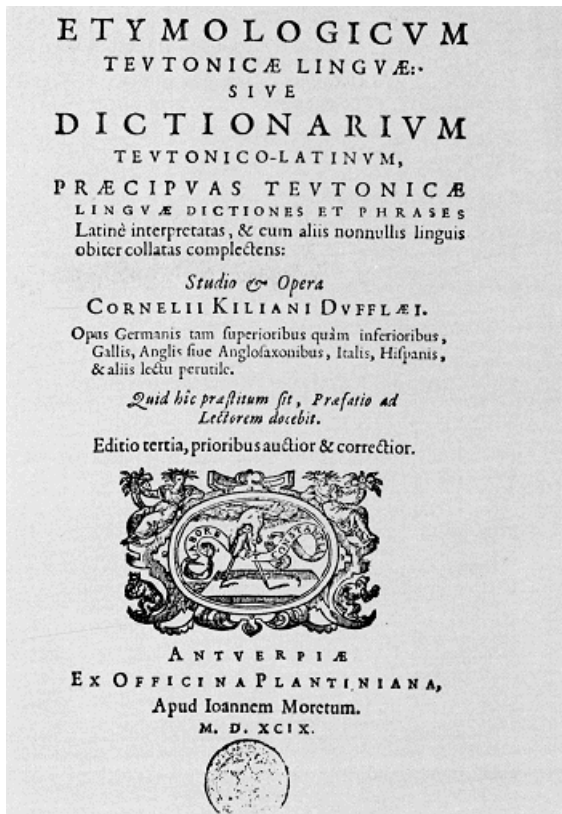
(61) Title-page of the *Decem Tragoediae* attributed to Seneca, published by Plantin in 1589 (R. 4.37). The title-page designed in 1588 was completely altered and the format changed from octavo to 16mo.



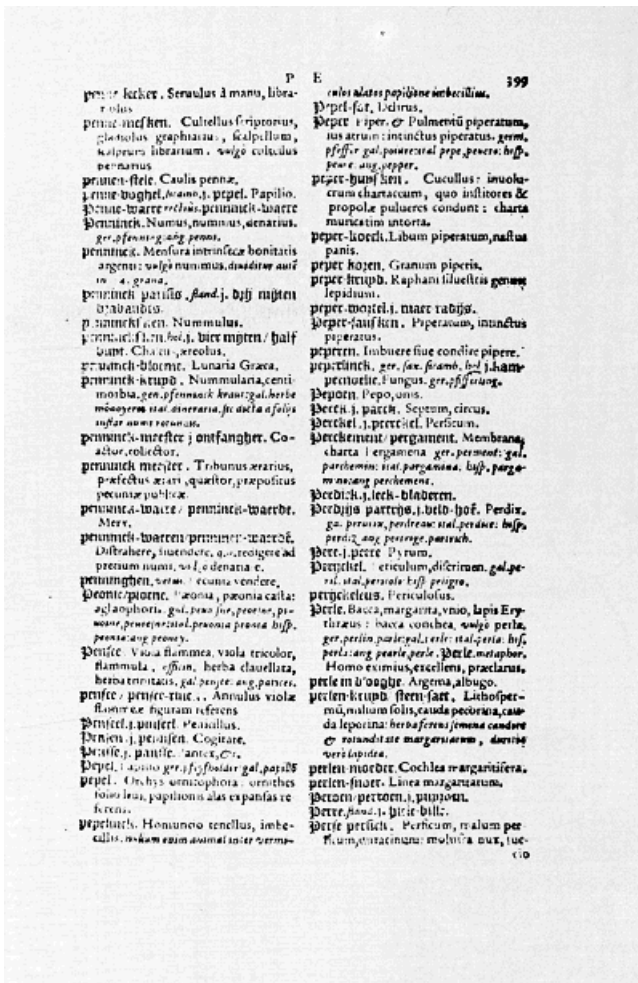
(62) Page from the *Decem Tragoediae*, 1589. Comparison with the projected layout of 1588 (plate 60) shows that the corrections and changes made there were incorporated, but the order of the plays was altered. *Hercules furens*, the first piece in the 1588 arrangement, was moved to third place after *Medea* and *Thebais*.



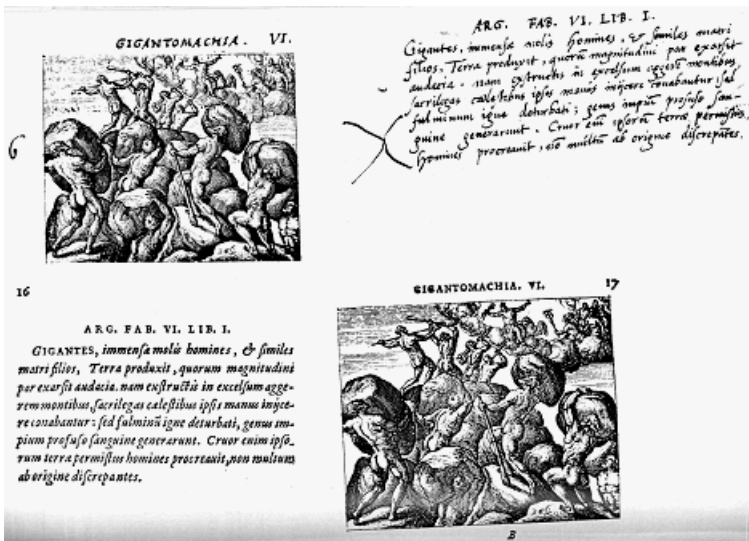
(63) Title-page of Cornelis Kiliaan, *Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum*, 1588, prepared for the 1599 edition (R. 55.13). The emendations are in Kiliaan's own handwriting.



(64) Title-page of Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicæ Lingvæ sive Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum*, 1599 (A. 835). This was an augmented and revised edition of the *Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum*, the second edition of which appeared in 1588. Kiliaan's sketch (see plate 63) was largely followed, but with a few additions, including alteration of the title itself.



(66) Page from Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicæ Linguae*, 1599 (see plate 64). The additions and corrections Kiliaan marked in a copy of the 1588 edition (see plate 65) were largely incorporated in the new edition.



(67) *Top*: Manuscript prepared for press (M. 257); page with illustration and text for an edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The illustrations were pasted into the appropriate pages. See also plate 68.

(68) *Bottom*: Page from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* of 1591 (R. 5.34). This corresponds with the laid-out manuscript page shown in plate 67, but text and illustration have been transposed.



(69) Justus Lipsius, *De amphitheatro liber*, Antwerp (actually printed at Leiden), Plantin, 1585 (A. 1573) The author's corrections and additions are on the interleaved pages of this copy, in preparation for the reprint that appeared in 1598.s



(70) Simon Verepæus, *Epitomes novae Grammatices Despauterianae liber quintus*, 1578 (R. 13.29). Spread with a foreword to the reader. Revisions made by the author for the new edition of 1590.

sense. In these circumstances, Plantin sometimes entered into agreements with other printers,¹ but often he ventured out alone, trying to prise subsidies from individuals or groups who were favourably disposed to the publication of the work. Plantin's masterpiece, the Polyglot Bible, came into being in this way. So did other extensive works: Plantin's last large-scale publication, his reprint of the *Martyrologium Romanum*, 1589, which he issued with the permission of its author, Cardinal Baronius, was made possible by money advanced by church authorities in the Southern Netherlands.² Nearly twenty years earlier Plantin had managed to persuade Gilbert d'Oignies, bishop of Tournai, to subsidize his publication of two very large works, the *Psalterium* of 1571 and the *Antiphonarium* of 1572.³ Another grandiose plan, the publication of an equally enormous *Graduale*, would have required even greater financial assistance. At the synod of Louvain on 14th November 1574, Plantin's proposals were put forward, presumably through the intermediary of Maximilian Morillon, who was vicar-general in the Netherlands of Cardinal Granvelle, archbishop of Marines. The plan was that the abbots of the archdiocese should each subscribe to a fund for the publication of the *Graduale*. The abbot of Averbode would contribute 500 fl., his colleague at Perk 400 fl., the abbot of St. Peter's, Ghent, 1,000 fl., and so on. As security for the repayment Plantin offered to pledge books to each subscriber to the value of his contribution, or to guarantee the total sum invested with the estimated 15,000 fl. worth of books he had stored at the Carmelite monastery in Antwerp.⁴ The abbots, however, do not seem to have favoured the scheme and it was not even started.

For the rest, the relationships between Plantin and his authors were characterized by the usual troubles and muddles that have plagued the

1. Cf. p. 12.

2. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 241; C. de Clercq, 'Les éditions bibliques, liturgiques et canoniques de Plantin,' *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, p. 303.

3. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 108; C. de Clercq, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

4. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 113; C. de Clercq, 'Deux épisodes plantiniens', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1958, pp. 160-161.

publishing world through the centuries. There were arguments about size of editions, choice of type, design of title-pages, and related problems.¹ Fastidious clients sometimes gave very detailed instructions about the placing of the various elements of their texts or of the illustrations.² Authors often complained bitterly about the number of faults that appeared in their books, to which the printer would retort that they themselves were to blame, their manuscripts being so careless. Plantin replied in this vein to Jacobus Cruquius,³ to Jacobus Pamelius,⁴ and to Latomus.⁵ P. Serranus even received a long letter in which all the mistakes and ambiguities in his manuscript were listed one by one.⁶ On another occasion Plantin expressed himself rather more carefully. In writing to the mighty bishop of Arras, F. Richardot, Plantin magnanimously divided responsibility for errors between the shortcomings of the manuscript and those of his own workpeople ('soit par nous soit par l'exemplaire') and humbly promised to have a separate page of errata printed: 's'il luy plaist me les [i.e., the errors] faire sçavoir, je les imprimeray très volontiers en quelque feillet pour les concoudre aux livres imprimés'.⁷ Plantin chose his words with equal care in letters to Granvelle concerning mistakes in manuscripts submitted by protégés of the cardinal.⁸

1. Cf. e.g. pp. 164 (format), 169 (size of run), 213 sqq. (illustration).
2. As did Stewechius for his edition of Flavius Vegetius, 1585: letter to Plantin with detailed instructions, 1st August 1584 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1024). He also gave comprehensive instructions to the compositors who were to set his Apuleius edition (Arch. 117, f^o 1). Cf. also Plantin's letter of 21st June 1567 (*Corr.*, I, no. 38) to J. Pamelius, a reply to a warning from the author about a technical matter.
3. Letter of 21st June 1567 (*Corr.*, I, no. 39).
4. Letter of 19th July 1567 (*Corr.*, I, no. 58).
5. Letter of 17th October 1586 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1157): 'Ride vero paulisper interea acceptis litteris tuis objurgavi meos correctores quod illos praeterierint tot errata. Illi vero ut sunt animosi; tacendo errata omnia cum ipso exemplari et mihi hoc scriptum attulerunt probaruntque ab ipsius collatione deque diphtongorum erratis responderunt se mora nostra typographiae sequitos esse orthographiam Aldinam quae in nonnullis discrepat a vulgo.'
6. Letter of 9th December 1571 (*Corr.*, II, no. 297).
7. Letter of 21st March 1572 (*Corr.*, II, no. 323).
8. *Corr.*, II, no. 202 (28th January 1570: manuscript of Lactantius from M. Thomasius); and III, no. 342 (8th August 1567: Seripandus manuscript).

Corrections and alterations were sent in at the last minute.¹ Parts of texts such as prefaces and tables arrived late,² which caused printing to be postponed as the censors and other officials concerned with the issuing of privileges needed to have the full text before pronouncing their verdicts - and these setbacks would in turn move authors to sarcasm.³

Most of the disputes between publisher and authors in fact had their origin in delays and postponements of this sort. Every writer, then as now, expected his manuscript to be printed immediately and offered without delay to the waiting world. Sometimes the publisher had quite different problems on his mind - although it could sometimes happen that he himself was at fault through sheer forgetfulness. In a letter of 7th July 1567 Plantin asked Pierre Porret in Paris to offer his 'recommendations et excuses' to the writer and physician Jacques Grévin because publication of his *Deux livres des venins* had been so long delayed 'faute de papier, dont grâces à Dieu j'espère dooresnavent avoir assés'.⁴ Grévin must have accepted the delay philosophically, for there is no trace of any protest on his part. *Monsieur Monsieur de Pimpont, conseiller du Roy à Paris* proved more choleric, although it must be said that he had some reason to be angry. In a letter dated July 1571 Plantin itemized the long series of setbacks that had held up publication of that learned jurist's commentaries on Virgil: it had taken a long time to obtain the *approbatio* and privilege and there had been difficulties in obtaining suitable paper; when at last it was possible to make a start the compositor had died of the plague ('de la maladie hastive') and Plantin had not been able to get permission from the

1. Cf. *Corr.*, III, no. 351 (letter from Pighius, 19th January 1568); IV, no. 489 (Plantin to P. Canisius, 27th September 1573); IV, no. 640 (letter from C. Valerius, 17th July 1575).
2. Plantin once even had to send one of his men to Liège specially to fetch a preface. This must have been exceptional and is explained by the fact that its author was one of Plantin's partners, Goropius Becanus: 'Le 14 aoust 1565 (?) à Nicolas Sterck pour avoir esté à Liege querir les préfaces du livre de Becanus, pour despens et prime: 5 fl. (?)' (Arch. 36, f^o 119).
3. A typical instance: Plantin's letter to H. Crusenius, 22nd October 1561 (*Corr.*, I, no. 11). Cf. also *Corr.*, IV, no. 565 (Plantin to A. Cope, 9th October 1574); *Corr.*, VI, no. 901 (Plantin to B. Valverdius, 1st January 1581).
4. *Corr.*, I, no. 52.

royal supervisors to replace him with another man who was working on the service books for Philip II.¹ Whether this catalogue of disasters corresponded exactly with reality is another matter. At all events Plantin forgot to mention another factor of delay. For lack of transport, Egidius Beys, his representative in Paris, had been very tardy in dispatching the manuscript to Antwerp.² De Pimpont demanded his manuscript back and became even more irate when its return was delayed through a combination of circumstances which were also carefully set out in Plantin's letter of July 1571. De Pimpont's wrath eventually subsided. Possibly he suffered even worse things with Parisian printers. Three years later, in 1574, the manuscript was once more entrusted to Plantin and finally appeared in print in the following year.

Only one important difference emerges from a comparison of author-publisher relations in the sixteenth century and today: in Plantin's time authors seldom corrected the proofs themselves.³ This task was normally allotted to proof-readers in the house.⁴ It was not that Plantin did not trust writers with this work, nor that the latter were loth to do it. It was simply the printing technique of the time which forbade it: books were printed sheet after sheet and the type immediately distributed to be used again. Only if an author lived in Antwerp, or was temporarily present in the city, was it sometimes possible for him to correct the proofs in person.⁵ Precise scholars

1. *Corr.*, II, no. 280.

2. *Corr.*, II, no. 222.

3. The Spaniard Garibay, who went to Antwerp specially to have his History of Spain printed by Plantin, looked at the proofs himself, but in conjunction with the house proof-readers (E. Gossart, 'Le chroniqueur Garibay chez Plantin', *Le Bibliophile belge*, 11, 1876, p. 284); the author being in Antwerp, this entailed no delay. In the seventeenth century Mathieu de Morgues seems personally to have checked some of his writings on behalf of Maria de' Medici (P. Henrard, *Mathieu de Morgues et la Maison Plantin*, 1880, p. 15). By way of comparison, see P. Simpson, 'Proof-reading by English authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society*, II, 1, 1927, pp. 1-24; D.T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime, 1500-1791*, 1958, p. 51.

4. Cf. pp. 174 sqq.

5. In two letters from Bruges to Crato in April 1567 (*Suppl. Corr.*, 110s. 22 and 25) Clusius states that he had had an opportunity to read the set text of his *Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum...*, but because he and Plantin had been away, errors had been left in, the most important of which were corrected in an appended list. - In J. Dousa's *Odorum Britannicarum liber*, published by F. Raphelengius in 1586 at Leiden, the errata were introduced with the words 'Omissa per auctoris absentiam', implying that had the author not been absent from Leiden he would have checked the work himself. - Mathieu de Morgues revised some of his own texts: see note 3.

were even known to journey to Antwerp especially for this purpose.¹ However, sheets were sent to authors or others concerned as soon as printed so that errata lists could be compiled when necessary.²

1. As did Garibay: see note 3. - In 1581 Dodonaeus had announced his intention of travelling from Cologne to Antwerp so as to be present when his *Stirpium historiae pemptades sex* appeared in galley ('Dodonaeus iam saepe Colonia nobis scripsit, se huc venturum ut adsit impressioni sui herbarii latini cuius exemplar dicit se paratum habere'; *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 157: Plantin to Camerarius, 22nd April 1581). This must mean that Dodonaeus was going to read the proofs himself. It is not known whether he in fact did this. The work itself came out in 1583.
2. Cf. *Corr.*, I, no. 38 (Plantin to Pamelius, 21st June 1567, promising to send a 'specimen operis'); II, no. 297 (Plantin to Serranus, 9th December 1571, expressing surprise that so many mistakes had been left in the first two quires he had sent the author and stressing that most of them were due to inaccuracies in the manuscript); II, no. 323 (Plantin to F. Richardot, Bishop of Arras, 21st March 1572, promising to append a list of errata); *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 48 (Granvelle to Plantin, 2nd January 1568: the cardinal had received the first quires of the *Summa S. Thomae* and had made comments, mainly about changing the title). A special case was the one concerning proofs for Latomus. On 30th October 1586 Plantin sent Jacobus Latomus, the Louvain canon, some sheets of one of his works, asking him to read them and promising not to go to press until any corrections had been received ('...cujus seriam impressionem differemus donec errata per te indicata receperimus in illo addenda'; *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1186). Plantin's accommodating attitude is explained by the fact that many errors had been left uncorrected in earlier quires of the work because of a misunderstanding on the part of Plantin's proof-readers (see p. 298, note 5). This, however, may mean in fact that Plantin was going to wait until Latomus had given him all the errata in the work and then print them in a special list.

Chapter 12

Production Times

The speed with which a text could be set, printed, and published naturally depended directly on its length, and to a lesser degree, on the number of copies to be printed. A small text, such as a broadsheet, could if necessary be delivered in one day. One example was the notice put out by the Duke of Alva informing the citizens of the Netherlands that the sacking of Marines by his troops on 2nd-4th October 1572 had been right, proper, and justifiable.¹ Customers had to wait much longer for more considerable texts. For de Çayas Plantin calculated on 12th January 1573 that, working with one press, no printer could complete 2,000 octavo breviaries in less than 14 to 15 months; for 2,000 folio breviaries the absolute minimum was thirty months. For missals the schedules would be eighteen months for folio editions and nine months for quartos.²

1. *Corr.*, III, no. 417: letter from secretary Bertin to Plantin, 5th October 1572, with a request from Alva for 2 'escriptz', the one in French, the other in Dutch, to be printed at once to the number of 200 copies, most of them in Dutch, and to be posted to the Spanish camp. In the margin Plantin indicated that 'Ayant receu la lecture à neuf heures au matin, avons l'aprèsdisnée délivré ung paquet au Sr. Taxis [the postmaster] avec 150 exemplaires en flamand et 100 en françois a ¼ de path, pièce.' Another example: the printing of 'passeports en langue Almande [allemande]... que des l'heure mesmes (qui fut environ les 11 heures du matin) que je receu ladicte forme de passeports soussignée de vostre main, je commencé a y besongner de telle diligence que j'en monstray l'espreuve preste a imprimer a deux bons Signeurs qui me vindrent voir sur les quatre heures après midi du mesmes jour et leur promis qu'ils seroyent imprimés le soir mesmes ce secs le lendemain au matin comme ils furent.' (*Corr.*, V, no. 777: Plantin to C. Wullemans, 19th September 1577).
2. *Corr.*, III, no. 451.

A letter of 1st August 1572 shows how Plantin tried to shorten the production time of a large assignment - in this case Luis de Granada's *Conciones*. The 102 quires represented 1,616 pages; these were being printed on two presses; to expedite the work Plantin a month before had had extra type cast so as to be able to bring two more presses into operation.¹ Plantin set out the problem very clearly in this letter, but his explanation needs a certain amount of interpreting. The speed at which a piece of work could be done did depend on the number of presses engaged, but these presses had to be fed by compositors so that ultimately the rate depended on the number of these who could be assigned to a job, their capacity for work, and the supply of cast type available to them. When Plantin stated that he was going to bring two more presses into operation and was having new type cast, what he meant was that he was going to start two or four more compositors on the work and that this would oblige him to increase the quantity of cast type available for the *Conciones*.

When the need arose a considerable number of presses and thus of compositors could be put into action on a given job. Plantin did so in the case of the *Conciones* and also on numerous other occasions.² Normally, however, one or two compositors were assigned to a text. At the beginning of his career, and again in 1563-64, Plantin usually assigned two men on a manuscript - one compositor setting the text for one side of the sheets, the other for the reverse. From about 1564 or 1565, with his business expanding, and with a greater number of presses in operation and more pressmen and compositors at work on a larger number of books, Plantin found it more logical to entrust a complete text to a single compositor.³ This meant that it was not always possible to run off one sheet daily, or even every other day, but as a number of texts were being printed concurrently, there was no need for the presses to be idle for a moment. Cornelius Muelener set

1. *Corr.*, III, no. 408.

2. Plantin's letter to Aguilar, 29th June 1573 (*Corr.*, III, no. 477), explaining that he could print 1,500 folio breviaries in ten months by using three presses. See p. 328, note 2.

3. Cf. p. 313.

the entire text of the octavo Valerius Maximus by himself. He was paid for the first three sheets on 29th September 1566. On 1st February 1567 he received his wages for the final sheets. This meant that in a little over four months he had set the 35 quires of this quite extensive work of 560 pages and it was ready for publication.¹

For printing editions in uncommonly large runs a special technique existed, the so-called imposition by half-sheet (*impression par demifeuilles*) which, though not speeding-up the actual process of printing, permitted to limit the number of compositors engaged on (and the amount of cast type tied up in) a given job. The system was not much applied in the Plantinian press though it was for the 24mo *Pseaumes de David* of 1564, printed in 3,000 copies.² Instead of formes of 24 outer and 24 inner pages, two formes of 12 pages each were made, placed side to side, and printed on one side of the paper; then the sheet was inverted and turned end-to-end, and the same pages printed on the blank side of it. Thus each sheet contained two identical quires of 24 pages, instead of one of 48 pages.³ For the 3,000 copies of the *Pseaumes de David* the pressmen needed some 2½ days per press and per sheet (at 1,250 copies per day). In the ordinary way two compositors were needed to feed one press. When imposition by half-sheets was employed, one compositor could easily handle the work. If two compositors were put to work, two presses could be kept running; so with a limited amount only of cast type production was twice as fast.

Production times of illustrated books could be much prolonged by the additional complication of having wood-blocks or copperplates made, sometimes preceded by the drawing of the models from which the engravers worked. At the end of 1564 Plantin took the first step towards his publication of Reynard the Fox by engaging the Paris artist G. Ballain to draw the illustrations. In April 1565 he paid

1. Arch. 4, f^o 112 and Arch. 31, f^o 53.
2. Cf. H. Slenk, 'Christophe Plantin and the Genevan Psalter,' *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 1967, p. 231.
3. See for details of imposition and printing techniques Appendix 8. Cf. also plates 27-29.

Ballain his fee for the 72 drawings and at the same time settled with J. de Gourmont, also a Parisian, for delivery of the first six woodcuts.¹ It was some months, however, before Gourmont was ready with the rest of the series. The text was not long, and once the illustrations were in the house the work could be ready in a few weeks. On 25th May 1566, the compositor Claes Amen was paid for the first sheet, and on 29th June 1566 for the tenth and last.² Three days before, Plantin had in fact handed over the first copies to a customer.³ The Vesalius-Valverde *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani*, illustrated with 42 copper engravings, dragged on even longer. The first plate was delivered on 7th July 1564, the last not until 23rd January 1566, but with the plates came the prints taken from them in the engraving studio.⁴ Once this stage had been reached, work on the text could soon be completed. At least two compositors were assigned to it. The first quire was printed by 1st February 1566, the last came off the press at the beginning of March.⁵ On 27th March Plantin was able to record the sales of the first copies.⁶ When in his letter of 12th January 1573⁷ he had quoted de Çayas production times of 14 to 15 months and more, he had not been thinking simply of the actual setting and printing, but of all the preparatory and supplementary tasks - ordering paper, casting type, making illustrations - that could prolong the process. On the other hand, to bring on the market an average edition, without illustrations or additional complications, the Plantinian press did not need more than a few months, provided the cast type was available.

1. Arch. 4, f^o 80^{vo}.

2. Arch. 31, f^o 15.

3. Arch. 44, f^o 87^{ro}.

4. Arch. 4, f^o 80^{vo} and Arch. 31, f^o 63^{vo}.

5. Arch. 31, f^{os} 14, 29, 48, and Arch. 4, f^o 80^{vo}.

6. Arch. 44, f^o 37^{ro}.

7. Cf. p. 302, note 2.

Working conditions and industrial relations

Chapter 13

*The Printing Press and its Staff*¹

Having dealt with all the material and technical aspects of the Plantin house attention should now be given to the people who did the actual work. The compositors and the pressmen, the two principal categories of workmen, have already been encountered. The tasks they had to carry out have been outlined in the words of the *Dialogues françois et flamands*, in those of Joseph Moxon in his *Mechanick Exercises* - more precisely and in greater detail - and in the fairly full descriptions in the *Encyclopédie française* and similar works of reference. All these sources have been quoted from rather extensively and the author feels no compulsion to do so again. However, the social and working conditions of the little world of the Plantinian press should be looked at, and also the relationships of the masters of the Golden Compasses to that world.

The chief sources are the wages accounts and the house rulings that were drawn up from time to time, together with the documents relating to the working of the firm's 'chapel' or 'union'.

The wages accounts were divided into the *livres des ouvriers* and the *semaines des ouvriers*. In the *livres*² the work accomplished by each man

1. For comparison: P. Chauvet, *Les ouvriers du livre en France des origines à la Révolution de 1789*, 1959 (also gives details of the Plantinian press taken from Rooses and from Sabbe's study, *Dans les ateliers de Plantin*, cited in the following note); D.T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime 1500-1791*, pp. 242 sqq.
2. Cf. plate 71.

was noted and the wages paid for it entered. In the *semaines* the weekly wages of the various workmen were entered up each week, without further specification of the work done. The first series runs from 1563 to 1684. The second series was not started until 1583 but it continued until the end of the eighteenth century. This means that there are only *livres des ouvriers* for the period to 1583; both series for 1583 to 1684; and *semaines des ouvriers* from 1684 on only. The *livres des ouvriers* are by far the most important for working conditions in the firm, and these are available for the whole of Plantin's time.

The ordinances, which began in 1555 and ended in the eighteenth century, and the documents of the Plantinian workpeople's association¹ are not only of extreme importance to the subject under discussion but are unique for the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Knowledge of industrial conditions in Western Europe in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries is mainly based on fragmentary and usually very one-sided information, derived from central or local authorities who intervened to pronounce judgment or arbitrate in disputes. So far as the author knows, the records of the *Officina Plantiniana* are the only ones that allow the relationships within a large capitalist enterprise to be studied *from the inside*, and this for a period of two whole centuries.

1. The ordinances and associated documents concerning the Plantin chapel and sick fund (all in Dutch) were published with a commentary by M. Sabbe, 'De Plantijnsche werkstede. Arbeidsregeling, tucht en maatschappelijke voorzorg in de oude Antwerpsche drukkerij,' *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1935 pp. 597-694 (also appeared separately). The commentary (without the documents) was also published in French translation: M. Sabbe, 'Dans les ateliers de Plantin. Règlement du travail, discipline et prévoyance sociale,' *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1937, pp. 174-192. There is a detailed summary in English by P.J. Turner, 'Working Conditions in the Printing Office of Christopher Plantin and the Plantin Chapel,' *Printing Review*, 20, no. 75, 1959. A 1672 regulation concerning the use of fire and light in the firm was published separately by M. Sabbe, 'In de Plantijnsche werkstede. Ordonnantie op het gebruik van vuur en licht,' *De Gulden Passer*, 14, 1936, pp. 145-151. Sabbe did not give the chronology and development of the ordinances and rulings sufficient attention. This was given more detailed study by L. Voet, 'The Printers' Chapel in the Plantinian House,' *The Library*, Fifth Series, 16, 1961, pp. 1-14. As these ordinances are cited continually in the following pages, it is useful to list them here with their dates; in square brackets the dates as proposed by Voet, in ordinary parentheses those given in the documents. The numbers and pages refer to Sabbe, 'De Plantijnsche werkstede.' - Ordinance A, pp. 637-642 [1563]; Ordinance B, pp. 643-644 [presumably 1567-1568]; Ordinance C, pp. 644-646 [c. 1570]; Ordinance D, pp. 646-649 [1570-1572]; Ordinance E, pp. 649-650 (1642); Ordinance F, pp. 651-653 (concerns the shop, not the press; seventeenth century); Ordinance G, pp. 654-656 [1555-1556]; Ordinance H, pp. 656-657 (1751); Ordinance I, pp. 657-661 (1715); Ordinance J, pp. 661-667 (Ordinance for the compositor in the typeroom of Plantin's printing works; seventeenth century?); Ordinance K, pp. 666-667 (Ordinance for the compositors and pressmen with regard to the type-room and the compositor there; seventeenth century?); Ordinance L, pp. 667-688 (series of regulations from 1609 to 1700); Ordinance M, pp. 688-694 (statutes of the sick fund, 1653, with addenda in 1681 and 1706). For reasons that cannot be ascertained, M. Sabbe only partly published Ordinance L: he did not take it beyond 1700 although the original document (Arch. 334) continues to 1757. For the regulations drawn up by the workers themselves, united in their chapel (Ordinance L), there is a more detailed version for the years 1609-52 than the one given by M. Sabbe (Arch. 478). Arch. 334 also contains documents which Sabbe seems not to have known, or at least did not make use of. Reproduction of Ord. A, plate 72.

The compositors

The compositors' work consisted of setting texts. They arranged the lead type into lines in their composing sticks and assembled these into pages on the galleys. When a number of pages were ready these were assembled in a forme.

Paper was printed on both sides ('work and turn' or 'sheetwise forme' as it is called) so that two formes were needed for each sheet of paper. The number of pages in the formes depended on the format chosen. The sheet was folded in two for a folio volume, the two formes each having two pages of set type. A quarto volume meant folding the sheet in four, four pages to each forme - and so on through the various formats discussed in Chapter 6. Positioning the pages in the formes (the 'imposition') was and is an art. Page two of a text cannot be placed beside page one, for when printed and bound, page two has to be over the page from page one. They have therefore to be placed in different formes. But even the pages of work and turn do not follow each other in consecutive order. Their sequence depends on the number of times the sheet is to be folded and

in what way, and this is determined of course by format. Each format therefore has its own mode of imposition.¹

Besides this task of assemblage there was one of taking apart. The set text, after it had been printed, had to be distributed ('dissed') by the type-setters, that is to say the type put back in the appropriate compartments of the type-cases. Between setting and distribution there came the work of correcting any errors spotted by the proof-readers.

The ordinances give relatively few specific details of the compositors' tasks. One aspect - the prompt delivery of the formes - will be discussed later, as it also involved the pressmen.² Exhortations to handle materials carefully and to put them back after use were included in every ordinance,³ an incessant campaign being waged against negligence. The rules of 1555-56 instructed the compositors to gather up any dropped type before leaving work on Saturdays. By 1563 they were being told to do this twice a day (at twelve noon and again before finishing for the day). Anyone who left more than six pieces lying around was fined. In the 1715 rules it was thought sufficient to order this to be done once a day, before going home for the midday meal. The same 1715 set of rules admonished the compositors to distribute type after printing that might soon be needed for new work 'for otherwise one piece will become old (worn) while the other remains new'.

Rather more interesting is the remark made in the 1563 rules that the compositor who was the last to finish his part of the work must carry 'both' proofs to the reader. This must mean that at that time two compositors worked on one text, one making up the forme for the recto side of the sheet, the other being responsible for the verso. The wages accounts of the period generally support this: exceptions⁴

1. Examples of impositions in: Moxon; *Encyclopédie française*; and McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography*. See also Appendix 8 and plates 27-29.
2. Cf. pp. 342-343.
3. Fairly detailed in Ordinances G (1555-1556), A (1563), I (1715), and H (1751).
4. For example, Arch. 31, f^o 7^{vo} (Cornelis Mulener: 'Le 6 febvrier [1564] pour la retiration de C et D entier; le 13 febvrier pour la feille de E entière; le 20 febvrier pour F entiere en Promptuariolum; le 27 febvrier pour G entière'. Thereafter Mulener was again to do one forme per sheet: 'Le 12 mars pour 3 formes en Prompt. H.I.K.; le 19 mars pour sa part de L.M. en Promptuariolum').

did occur, but the rule was that one type-setter did only one forme per sheet.¹

It was normal in small and medium-sized firms for two compositors to operate in this way on a continuous text. The pressmen printed work and turn immediately after each other and usually on the same day. To make correction possible under this arrangement, the proof-reader had to be able to look through front and back pages together. To feed the press the inner and outer formes had to be handed over virtually at the same time. This presupposes that another tricky matter was attended to first, namely the accurate indication of the pagination on the copy from which the compositors worked.² It can be assumed that it was the compositors themselves who marked up a text in this way.³

One of the reasons why the house rules have nothing to say about pagination is probably that it soon ceased to be a very important or difficult part of the routine. As soon as his business began to expand Plantin was able to rationalize the process. The wages accounts show that from about 1565 onwards each compositor regularly made up the two formes for a sheet and often worked straight through a whole series of sheets. Naturally this reduced the chances of overlapping to a minimum. This kind of solution was a council of perfection for all but large concerns such as the *Officina Plantiniana* had become, where the number of presses and of staff enabled the work to be shared out in this more rational way. It is clear from Moxon that smaller firms continued in the old way with two compositors to one sheet. Never-

1. For example, Arch. 3, f^o 3^{ro} (7th November 1563: ‘J’ay payé aux deux imprimeurs pour avoir imprimé 2½ feille de Virgile à 2500... et aux deux compositeurs à chaicun.’ That is to say that two compositors had each produced half of the formes used for 2½ sheets of the Virgil; which can only mean the formes for the work and back. Similar reference, also in connexion with the Virgil, in Arch. 3, f^o 3^{vo} (14th November 1563). Cf. also preceding note.
2. As detailed by Moxon, *op. cit.*, pp. 239 sqq.
3. Cf. p. 346, note 4 (Fine to be paid by the compositor J. Roche à cause de deux pages mal comptées). See also p. 314.

theless even after this simplification, problems of pagination and general arrangement of work still arose in the Plantin press, so that copy had to be carefully looked through and marked up where necessary. At all events in the eighteenth century the compositors received a substantial bonus, which practically doubled the rates paid for setting, for the 'voorbladers' - the first sheets of a new edition, which probably meant the composing of specimen pages for the new book and perhaps also the marking up of the copy: either manuscript or an already printed text.¹

There is another technical matter on which the ordinances have nothing to record, namely the 'black-and-red' or liturgical editions. It should be pointed out, however, that at first this was more the concern of the pressmen and therefore belongs to the discussion of their tasks.² It was not until the end of the seventeenth century that the compositors became involved through the introduction of 'high' and 'low' type.

Plantinian compositors were paid piece rates, based on the number of formes that they completed. The rates presumably allowed for the distributing of type after printing, although the author has found no specific mention of this; probably because it was taken for granted. The compositors' work could vary greatly from forme to forme. Many more hours were required to set the twenty-four pages of the forme for a 24mo book in very small nonpareille than the two pages of the forme for a folio in a large ascendonica. A Greek or Hebrew text demanded much more time and concentration than one of similar length in a roman or italic. Indexes, marginalia, and interlinear matter also took much more time than ordinary continuous text.

These factors were taken into account in fixing piece rates, so wages varied considerably; they were also adjusted through the years to the rising cost of living. Extra pay for other reasons was sometimes recorded. The 1563 rules stipulate that there would be extra money for corrections of more than three words and six letters not included in the original copy. In one instance a bonus was paid to the men

1. Cf. p. 317.

2. Cf. pp. 322-324.

who had had to set from a barely legible manuscript.¹ Bonuses were also offered as incentives to the speedy execution of urgent work.² The table on pp. 316-317 contains information on this subject.

This raises the question of how long it took a compositor to complete a forme. The fact that the payments per forme fluctuated so greatly shows plainly that the hours bestowed on the task varied accordingly. It is therefore impossible to give averages for this category of worker, only an approximation of the rate based on a few actual instances. In 1563 Corneille Muller made up an average of 2½ formes of a 16mo Virgil in a week of six working days. On one occasion he managed three.³ This means that he required a little over two days for one forme. He was paid 1 fl. 10 st. and 1 fl. 16 st. a week for his work: 5 to 6 stuivers per day. This would have been a rather low rate. In 1569 Jean Strien completed 22 formes of Lipsius's *Variae Lectiones* in quarto in five weeks (30 working days - 4 formes in the first week, 6 in the second and 12 during the following 3 weeks).⁴ At 8 st. per forme he was paid a wage of 8 fl. 16 st., rather less than 6 st. per day. This too was a fairly low rate of pay. In 1571 Hans Han did three formes of the *Lexicon Syrochaldaicum* in one week: one forme in two days.⁵ This was a particularly difficult piece of work, paid at a rate of 1 fl. 6 st. per forme, so for that week the compositor received a wage of 3 fl. 18 st., or 13 st. per day - good money for the time. In February 1565 Plantin concluded an agreement with Laurent Soter: 'Accordé avec ledit qu'il fera tous les 3 jours une forme en Hebrieu de la Bible in - 4°.' He was paid 1 fl. 15 st. per forme and from 10th March until 26th August of that year he earned the respectable sum of 3 fl. a week.⁶

1. Cf. p. 281.

2. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1336 (Plantin to V. de Zeelandre, 26th December 1587: 'J'ay incontinent ordonné a tant d'ouvriers que possible a esté pour y besongner nuict et jour à doubles gages.' These workmen were compositors as well as printers.) An instance of this is possibly Arch. 31, f^o 30^{ro}: '[Hendrik Meyer, 3rd March 1571] il a composé outre sa tache ordinaire dix pages de Biblia Panigni à 22 st. la page: 11 fl.'

3. Arch. 31, f^o 7^{vo}.

4. Arch. 31, f^o 99^{ro}.

5. Arch. 32, f^o 14.

6. Arch. 31, f^o 33^{vo}.

Wages paid to composers per forme¹

1558	Diurnale	10 st. and 12 st. ²
	‘Journal’, 24mo (in nonpareille)	15 st. ³
1563-65	Virgil, 16mo	12 st. ⁴
	Hebrew Bible, quarto	1 fl. 15 st. ⁵
1568-69 ⁶	H. Junius, Emblemata, octavo	6 st.
	G. Lindanus, Apologeticum, quarto (foreword)	6 st.
	G. Lindanus, Apologeticum, quarto (text)	7 st.
	J. Sambucus, Emblemata, 16mo	8 st.
	J. Lipsius, <i>Variae Lectiones</i> , octavo	8 st.
	C. Gemma, <i>Cyclognomina</i> , quarto	12 st.
	Breviarium Romanum, octavo	18 st.

1. It is not always easy to derive precise data from the mostly brief information given in the wages accounts. The author has confined himself to a number of samples, using only those about which there can be no doubt.
2. Arch. 35, f^o 160^{vo}: ‘A Cornelis [Kiliaan] pour 3 formes du Diurnale: 1 fl. 10 st.; A Pierre dela Porte pour 3 formes Diurnale: 1 fl. 16 st.’
3. Arch. 3, f^o 16: on 5th February 1558 P. de la Porte and Cornelis diet Special [i.e., Kiliaan] were paid ‘pour 24 pages composees du journal en 24 lectre non pareille: 18 fl.’ ‘Page’ is here probably the same as forme. So for this work Plantin paid 15 st. per forme.
4. Arch. 3, f^o 2^{vo}: ‘Corneille Mullener de marché faict avec luy aura pour chacunne forme de telle lectre in 16^o comme est le Virgile sans autres additions que de tels chiffres qui sont sur la marge dud[ict] livre qui est par luy commencé aura 12 st. pour chacunne forme entière et si ie luy bailie ouvraige pareille et de telle sorte de lectre où il y ait additions il en aura 7½ st. pour la demye fourme qui seroit 15 st. pour la forme entière preste à imprimer.’ Arch. 31, f^o 7^{vo} has a more condensed form of this agreement (‘...doibt avoir pour telle ouvrage que le Virgile commencé 12 st. pour chacunne forme et si ie luy bailie ouvrage où il y ait additions il aura 15 st. pour la forme’). That is to say 12 st. a forme, but when the work was complicated by additions etc., 15 st. a forme. In November 1563 Plantin regularly paid 12 st. a forme to the two composers who worked on the Virgil (Arch. 3, f^{os} 3^{ro} and 3^{vo}).
5. Arch. 31, f^o 33^{vo} (1565: Laurent Soter).
6. Arch. 31, f^o 16; cf. also f^o 124 (Lindanus, *Apologeticum*), f^o 99 (Justus Lipsius, *Variae Lectiones*).

1571-72	Parts of Polyglot Bible, folio: Lexicon Syrochaldaicum	1 fl. 6 st. ⁷
	Novum Testamentum Graecum-Latinum	1 fl. 18 sr. ⁸
	Biblia Pagnini	1 fl. 2 st. ⁹

7. Arch. 32, f^o 14.

8. Arch. 32, f^o 2.

9. Arch. 31, f^o 30.

1582-83 ¹	Pontus Heuterus, Burgundica, folio	9½ st.
	Ovid, quarto	1 fl. 2 st.
	Biblia Hebraica, quarto	1 fl. 12 st.
	Biblia Latina, octavo (nonpareille)	2 fl. 14 st.
	Concordantiae, quarto	3 fl.
Eighteenth century ²		
	Missale Romanum, folio maximo	1 fl. 6 st.
	Missale Romanum, folio parvo	1 fl. 6 st. (2 fl. 12 st.)
	Missale Romanum, quarto	2 fl. 15 st. (5 fl. 10 st.)
	Missale Romanum, octavo	4 fl. 10 st. (9 fl.)
	Breviarium Romanum, folio	2 fl. 8 st.
	Breviarium Romanum, quarto (1 vol.)	3 fl. 15 st. (7 fl. 10 st.)
	Breviarium Romanum, quarto (2 vols.)	2 fl. 15 st.
	Breviarium Romanum, quarto (4 vols.)	2 fl. 10 st. (5 fl.)
	Breviarium Romanum, octavo (1 vol.)	7 fl. (14 fl.)
	Breviarium Romanum, octavo (2 vols.)	5 fl. 10 st. (11 fl.)
	Breviarium Romanum, octavo (4 vols.)	5fl. (10 fl.)
	Breviarium Romanum, 12mo (1 vol.)	11 fl. 3 st. (14 fl. 3 st.)
	Breviarium Romanum, 12mo (4 vols.)	7 fl. (14 fl.)
	Breviarium Romanum, 18mo (4 vols.)	12 fl. 5 st.

1. Arch. 788, f^o 3.

2. Arch. 697, no. 192. In brackets, the amount paid for the 'voorbladers' (first pages).

These figures confirm what can be deduced from a comparison of the wages of the composers and pressmen. It will be seen below that the latter earned an average of 7 st. per day. The figures for annual pay show that the composers usually received more than

this.¹ As the rate for normal formes was 6 to 8 st. it would seem that with a text of average difficulty a compositor could complete one forme per day.

The pressmen

With the words ‘The forme made up in this way is handed over to the two printers who operate the press’ the writer of the *Dialogues françois et flamands* turned his attention from setting to printing. A press was normally worked by two men in Plantin's establishment and in all the other printing offices of Europe during the period under discussion. It could happen that one man had to operate a press by himself for some considerable time, in which case it was regarded for accounting purposes as half a press.² Usually, however, a journeyman was only left to work a press by himself during the temporary absence of his mate.

The two men divided the work between them. One saw to the inking of the formes; this included getting the ink ready in the container, applying the ink to the ink balls and ‘striking’ (as Moxon termed it) the ink balls on the forme. His mate did the actual printing, placing the sheets of paper, sliding in the coffin, working the lever, pulling out the coffin, lifting off the printed sheets, and laying them on the pile. Before the actual printing the paper had to be moistened (preferably the day before), the ink balls had to be prepared (these were stuffed with wool and covered with leather), and the formes had to be locked up. After printing the formes were unlocked and washed in warm lye. When starting on a new book it might be necessary for the frisket to be trimmed to size.

1. Cf. pp. 336-338. Which is not to say that in certain circumstances (e.g., service books or larger runs) the pressmen could not have earned more than the compositors. In November 1563 for the printing of 2½ sheets of the Virgil (in a run of 2,500 copies) the two pressmen received respectively 2 fl. and 1 fl. 17½ st., and the two compositors 1 fl. 15 st. each (12 st. for each forme).
2. This is clear from the payment by the masters of the *Gulden Passer* of bonuses due to the ‘compagnie des imprimeurs’ (the chapel) and which were reckoned per working press (cf. pp. 365-366): in this connexion there is regular mention of a half press.

Instructions and advice for these tasks were given in the various ordinances. In 1555 this was still in fairly general terms: the men should not discard any leather from the ink balls that was still in good condition; they should not waste ink; they should cover the ink container on leaving work on Saturday evenings. The 1563 rules said that spaces and quadrats should be pressed down carefully, burring and dirt should be avoided, and in all respects clean work should be the aim. On one point the instructions were more particular. If type was displaced or broken during printing, the journeyman printer was to replace it himself, unless he could get the compositor to do it for him.¹

The regulations of 1715 were the most detailed of all and were probably compiled to remedy specific bad practices.² They laid down that formes should be unlocked after printing proofs when corrections had to be made;³ they recommended that paper should not be made too wet;⁴ advice was given about washing formes in the warm lye;⁵ the use of ink,⁶ the operating of the lever,⁷ the covering of the tympan with linen,⁸ and making the ink balls;⁹ the men were instructed to

1. In this case it was assumed that the pressman, who was in default through negligence or carelessness, or who had some setback, must perform a task which was normally reserved for the compositor - unless he could persuade his workmate to help him out.
2. As was more strongly emphasized in the 1751 ordinance.
3. As further specified in the article (no. 5) the formes could not be kept locked because otherwise force would have been necessary to push in the projecting type.
4. 'But reasonably, according to the demands of time and the nature of the paper.' As the water should be given time to soak the paper, the wet heaps of paper could not be turned too quickly: not until the following day or at least after some time had elapsed (Art. 6).
5. Each of the pressmen had to stoke the furnace in turn and in good time, so that the lye would be boiling properly when the 'red' or 'black' formes were put in to be washed. The formes had to soak in the hot lye long enough to make washing quicker and easier. It was forbidden to try to scrub the formes clean with a brush; this was ineffective and damaged the type (Art. 7).
6. Art. 8 (cf. p. 49, note 2).
7. With the hand on the end of the lever, not in the middle (Art. 8).
8. To achieve clean work it was stipulated that no forme should be imposed when backing up without stretching the linen cloths on the tympan, and these cloths had to be washed when dirty (Art. 8).
9. To allow the ink to spread evenly, the ink balls must not be made too big; the wool in the ink balls must be properly fluffed up (Art. 10). For the other stipulations concerning ink balls cf. p. 320, note 3.

clean the presses every Saturday, especially the platen and spindle, and to keep the rest of the equipment clean.¹

According to Moxon it was the rule for the man who did the inking partially to undo the leather on the ink balls and leave it to soak in a bowl of water during his midday break.² The section dealing with ink balls in the 1715 rules shows there was a similar practice in the *Officina Plantiniana* - or at least that the master expected this to be done.³

Between making up the formes and printing came the intricate operation of correction which required the co-operation of pressmen and compositors, as well as the efforts of the proof-reader. Nowadays proofs are usually pulled on a special proof press and corrected on the galleys. In the period under discussion here, the general practice was to correct in the forme. This was more difficult, because the forme was locked up for each proof and unlocked for every correction - a tricky and time-consuming task. All the same this was better than the risk of making a hash of laboriously set lead type: composed matter consisting of loose sorts is unpleasantly liable to fall apart at the least provocation. Correcting on the galley presumably did not come in until the nineteenth century, with the advent of mechanical presses.⁴

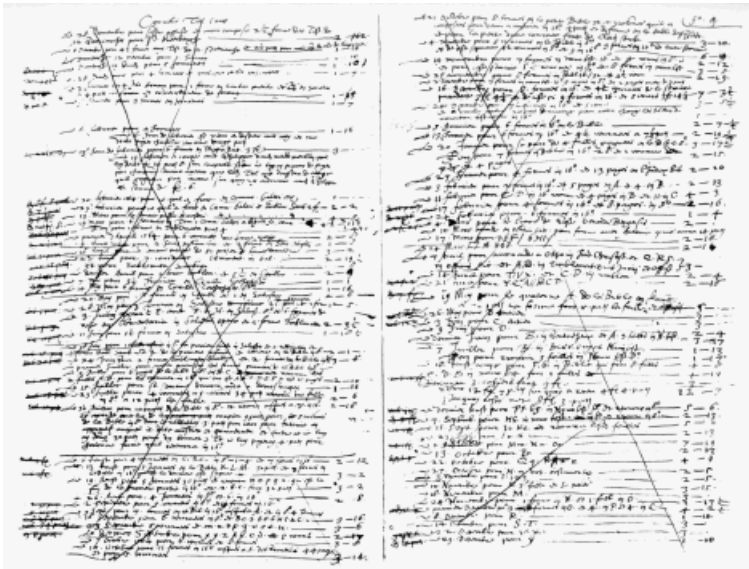
In this period proofs were printed on an ordinary press. The procedure seems to have been for the compositor to hand over the locked-up forme to the pressmen who pulled a proof. The forme was returned and placed on the imposing stone for any corrections.

1. Art. 10.

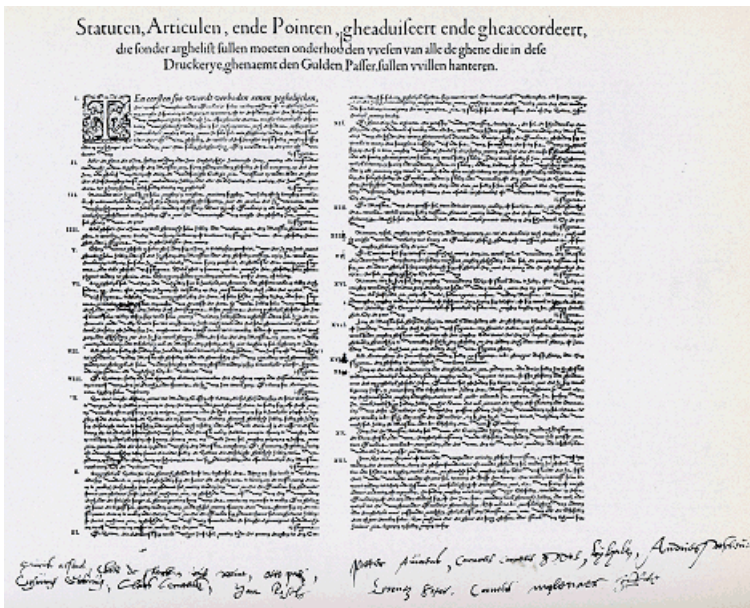
2. *Mechanick Exercises*, p. 309.

3. Those who 'worked in large numbers' (i.e., those printing large runs), had to fluff up the wool halfway through the job and renew the ink balls; they also had to do this every time that the leather covers began to get dry (Art. 10).

4. In 1837 in France correcting proofs in galley was noted as a very recent innovation: D.T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime 1500-1797*, pp. 52-53.



(71) *Opposite*: Page from the 'livre des ouvriers', 1563-67, with the amounts of work done by and the wages paid to the compositor Cornelis Tol from the end of 1563 to the end of 1565. The 'livres des ouvriers' are not only interesting for revealing the work rates of the Plantinian compositors and pressmen, but also for particulars of how the various books were dealt with. However, the often abbreviated entries make interpretation difficult.



(72) (72) *Opposite*: One of the ordinances of the Plantin press (Folio Varia 9: R. 63.8) drawn up to ensure orderliness and smooth running. It was printed in civilité type at the end of 1563. This copy was signed by all the compositors and pressmen then working in the Officina.

After correcting the forme was handed back to the pressman for another proof and so on until the work was deemed ready for the pressman to lock up for the definitive printing. This meant that the press in question was immobilized for a considerable time, which reduced the rate of production. According to Moxon, in many printing shops one press was specially reserved for the pulling of proofs.¹

A similar mode of working may be assumed for the Plantin press. In the various ordinances it was always the journeymen printers who were responsible for proofs.² It has been seen that in the 1715 rules they were advised to unlock the formes for this operation.³ The inventory of 1745⁴ mentions correction stones.⁵ There was a proof press in the Plantinian printing office at least from 1621, for in that year it was decreed that anyone who borrowed the lye-brush from the proof press should return it immediately after use.⁶ Presumably this press was used exclusively for this particular function.⁷

A sheet of paper is printed on both sides. This ‘work and turn’ has already been mentioned in connexion with the compositors. The art was to obtain a perfect register when backing up, so that the pages on one side of the sheet corresponded exactly with those on the other. This meant that the tympan and frisket had to be as near true as possible, that the forme for the back had to be placed down in exactly the same place as that for the front and that the sheets of

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

2. As was specified in the regulations of 1555-56, 1563 (Art. 13) and 1751 (Art. 3).

3. Cf. p. 319, note 3.

4. Cf. p. 147.

5. Correction stones, however, are not mentioned in the detailed accounts of 1563-67.

6. Ord. L., Art. 30.

7. And not a press which happened not to be in use. In 1639 Balthasar I Moretus ordered that none of the men should despoil a ‘hoogstaande’ press of its component parts or alter it so that it could not be used for pulling proofs, and this carried a fine of 24 st. (Ord. L., Art. 57). What ‘hoogstaand’ means exactly in this context is not clear; possibly the same as a ‘klaarstaande’ [standing ready] press. In the same year it was laid down that no one should dismantle a ‘leegstaande’ [standing empty] press, but the fines threatening offenders were much less than in the preceding case, namely 6 st. (Ord. L., Art. 58 and 59). The ‘leegstaande’ presses must have been ones that happened to be idle.

paper had to be fastened on the same pins. But the shrinking of the paper as it dried introduced another factor which could not be allowed for by mathematical or mechanical means; the pressman had to have an instinct for it.

‘Work and turn’ for an ordinary edition was child's play compared with printing a black-and-red service book. There were various methods which could be employed. According to McKerrow¹ the most usual procedure in the sixteenth century, at least in England, was as follows: a frisket was cut so that the sorts that had to print red were left exposed. These were then inked and the whole run printed. After this the red letters were removed and replaced by quads and the sheets laid on the press again to take the black text. In practice the frisket did not always prevent the black text from being smeared with red ink. In 1683-84 Moxon described a somewhat improved method. In this the black was printed first, the red sorts being removed and replaced by quads. The entire run was printed and the red sorts were put back in the forme on pieces of paper or card so that they protruded slightly. The red text was printed and in this method too the frisket was cut so that only the red sorts were exposed.² In his commentary on this procedure McKerrow remarks: ‘Substantially the difference in the processes is no more than the underlaying of the red and the printing of black first. Why they should not have underlayed the red at once and printed it first, thus saving themselves the trouble of inserting it a second time, I do not understand but they seem not to have done so.’ They did in fact, at least on the Continent. The *Encyclopédie française* in 1767 describes the same method as Moxon, except that the red was printed first. While dealing with the use of pieces of paper to raise the red sorts, the author notes in passing, ‘Dans les imprimeries où l'on fait souvent des livres d'église, et autres où cette impression est plus usitée, il y a des caractères plus hauts destinés à cet usage.’

This raises the question of the method or methods used in the

1. *An Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 329 sqq.
2. *Mechanick Exercises*, p. 336.

Plantinian printing office. Examination of a number of service books has led the present author to conclude that from the beginning the red parts of text were printed first. The procedure described by Moxon and criticized by McKerrow seems never to have been practised in the Plantin press.¹ Whether the fairly primitive method outlined by McKerrow or the improved process of the *Encyclopédie française* was followed in the early days cannot be established. The quality of the work and the fact that red smudges or streaks hardly ever appear suggest that the practice of using underlays must have been the rule quite early on, in Plantin's time.

Then in about 1680, or possibly a little earlier, a further refinement - that mentioned in passing in the *Encyclopédie française* and described, above in Chapter 4 was introduced: 'high' type for the red text and 'low' type for the black.² In their printing techniques the Low Countries give the impression of having been well ahead of their neighbours in this period.

The nineteenth century must have brought another change. A memorandum written in 1828 mentions 26 packets of newly cast 'high' sorts 'but not used for this because of the new manner of printing red'.³ It has not been possible to discover what this new method was. Later Moretus editions would seem to indicate that the black was now printed first, with far less squabbled type than formerly and a truly remarkable regularity and accuracy.

However, whatever method was adopted for printing service books, every sheet went on to the press four times: twice for the front, twice for the back. Special care had to be taken even in ordinary editions to get the two sides of the sheet in register; service books required

1. Hellinga, *Copy and Print*, p. 153 - referring to figures 52 and 53 in his work - asserts that in Plantin's *officina* first the black and then the red text was printed. A close examination of the 1572 *Missale*, which Hellinga used as an example, and other liturgical works printed by Plantin in these years, brought the author to the opposite conclusion. In fact, Hellinga himself later states, in his comments on figure 52, that the red text was printed before the black.
2. Cf. p. 94.
3. Arch. 819, f^o 14^{vo}.

twice and three times as much trouble. They were the most difficult kind of printing then known to the trade - and from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, they were practically the only works issued by the *Officina Plantiniana*.

It is necessary now to consider the relationship of the two pressmen - the one who inked and the one who operated the press - to each other and to their work. Moxon describes the division of their labours thus:¹ 'The one they distinguish by the name of *First*, the other his *Second*... The first is he that has wrought longest at that Press... Generally the Master Printer reposes the greatest trust upon his care and curiosity for good Work; although both are equally liable to perform it.' The two journeymen printers had to know how to perform all the operations and to take their turn at them, but one was a little higher in status and responsible for the press.

This was also the arrangement in the Plantinian printing office from its foundation, with a 'premier' or 'master' and a 'second' to each press. In the early years the second usually earned only ½ st. less per day than his mate.² This implies that the second had to be familiar with all operations and - as Moxon implies - able to carry them out skilfully, but the ordinances stipulated that the 'master of the press' was responsible for the press and should also carry out the more delicate tasks.³

Like the compositors the pressmen did piece work, being paid for according to the number of sheets they printed per day. In contrast with setting, printing was not conditioned by the size or

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 292.

2. Cf. p. 327.

3. Ord. A. (1563), Art. 12: 'De ghene die het regiment der perssen van den Meester bevolen is, die sal den schoondruck op draghen, ende den wederdruck af trecken: ende alle het werck van synder perssen verantwoorden' (whoever is appointed by the Master to have charge of the press shall put up the first sheets and print the turn sheets: and shall answer for all the work of his press). In Art. 15 the 'master of the press' is made responsible for pulling proofs. In Ord. C (1570-71), Art. 6, the 'premier of the press' is instructed to be present at 5 o'clock in summer and at 6 in winter 'so as to prepare everything with diligence', while the others (the seconds and possibly the compositors) had to be there as the occasion demanded.

variety of type. A forme set in a very small type or in Greek or Hebrew could be printed just as quickly as a folio sheet in a large roman type. Only service books with their black and red were a different proposition: it has been seen that every forme had to go under the press twice and needed to be printed with great care. However, the number of sheets printed from each forme varied, depending on the number of copies the printer-publisher wanted to issue of a particular work: the *run* as it is termed was the main criterion for fixing the wages of the pressmen.¹ Within this delimitation there was little variation, as may be seen in the table on pp. 327-328.

It was almost impossible to convert the work done by the compositors into average daily wages. The piece rates paid the pressmen on the contrary could be calculated on the basis of a daily norm, because of the greater regularity and uniformity of their work. That norm was *1,250 feuilles, sans les imperfections*, that is to say, usable sheets, excluding wastage.² In the text from which this is quoted, Plantin originally wrote '2,500' but crossed this out: a small mistake that he made no doubt through thinking of the number of formes, or the two sides to every sheet. Whereas compositors were paid per forme, the pressmen were paid per sheet, i.e., two formes³ - always remembering of course that there were two men to be paid, not one. If the edition was of fewer than 1,250 copies, less was paid per sheet, but the men

1. Some more attention, however, had to be paid to the publications set in small type - and according to Plantin's note, quoted on p. 326, note 2, for such work in small type a little extra was paid. This attitude of valuing the pressmen's achievements seems to have remained unchanged in the *Officina Plantiniana* throughout the centuries. In other printing offices this problem used to be approached from a different point of view: the printing of large formes in small type was usually far better paid for than the printing of small formes in large type. According to a communication from Mr. Philip Gaskell, the pressmen at Cambridge University Press around the year 1700 - when they were paid an hourly rate - received a supplement of 50 per cent on their wages for printing a duodecimo set in Long Primer as compared to a quarto set in English (Augustyn).
2. Arch. 31, f^o 45^{vo}: 'Guerard Guerlins s'est accordé avec moy de besongner à la presse... et sera payé comme un compagnon franc de ce qu'il imprimera outre la journée accoustumée qui est de 2,500 [altered to 1,250] sans les feilles imperfections.' The date of this note is difficult to ascertain; possibly 1565-67.
3. Except for the service books in red and black, where the payment was often reckoned per forme. For example, Arch. 32, f^o 3 (Missale Romanum, 1571). Cf. also p. 327, note 6 and 7.

were able to make this up by printing off more than one run per day.¹ As far as possible the piece rates for printing the varying runs of different works were reduced to a highest common factor that ensured average daily earnings on the basis of 1,250 sheets per day.² If the daily norm was exceeded, a higher wage was paid on a pro rata basis.³

The two pressmen at each press were thus expected to produce 1,250 sheets each day, printed on both sides. In twelve working hours⁴ this meant an average of three to four sheets a minute. It must be remembered that this daily average had to include all the attendant activities, which could take up quite a lot of time: wetting the paper, preparing ink, getting ink balls ready, locking up and unlocking the formes and washing the formes in lye. To keep their earnings up to the daily average, the pressmen had to work at a feverish pace, straining nerve and sinew in veritably stakhanovite fashion - even if the term had not been thought of then. Good pressmen were even able to exceed the norm and thereby earn welcome extra stuivers.⁵

6.

1. Arch. 31, f^o 4^{vo}: on 19th March 1564 Benedict Wertlaw, 'premier', was paid the sum of 2 fl. 5 st. 'pour 6 iournées en Tomus I. Com[mentarii] Galeni 9 feilles.' On 22nd April followed payment 'pour 21 formes en Comment, in Gal. qui font 7 iournées' of an unspecified sum; however, comparison with other amounts received by Wertlaw and the money paid to the 'second' for the work done on 22nd April (L. Hallin, Arch. 31, f^o 32^{vo}: 2 fl. 9 st.), puts it at 2 fl. 12½ st. In both cases the rate of work came to 1½ sheets (or 3 formes) per day. The *Commentarii in Galeni Opera* had a run of 800 copies. The amount paid per sheet was then only 5 st., but by imposing 1½ sheets per day the 'premier' and his 'second' could manage to print at a rate of 1,200 per day and so get a day's wages of respectively 7½ st. and 7 st. This can be taken as the normal daily rate in this period (cf. note 2).
2. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 162-163 gives a 'note d'un des registres de Plantin' which the author has not been able to locate in the archives, but which is important to the question: 'Les imprimeurs gagnent ordinairement pour leur salaire comme suit: formes in -12^o, in -8^o, in -folio, de papier commun jusques au petit bastard, et ledit bastard aussi, à 1250, avec la main pour les imperfections, 7 patars [= st.] par jour et s'entend aussi de lettres grosses et menues jusques au colineus, car aultrement estant de nonpareille Bréviaire, et coronel ils ont quelque chose davantage selon la besogne et l'accord.'
3. As clearly indicated in the entry about the contract with the apprentice printer Gerard Guerlins, reproduced in p. 325, note 2: 'et sera payé comme un compagnon franc de ce qu'il imprimera outre la iournée accoustumée'.
4. Cf. p. 343.
5. Cf. M. Pollak, 'The performance of the wooden printing press', *The Library Quarterly*, 42, 1972, pp. 218-264.
6. As appears from the wages per annum: cf. pp. 336-338.

Wages paid to the pressmen, per sheet (i.e. two formes)¹

1563	Virgil, 16mo, 1,000 copies 6½ st. (second 6 st.) ² 2,500 copies 16 st. (second 15½ st.)
1564	Horace, 16mo, 1,250 copies 8 st. (second 7½ st.) ³ Thomas a Veiga, <i>Commentarii in Galeni Opera</i> , folio, 800 copies 5 st. ⁴
1566	J. Sambucus, <i>Emblemata</i> , octavo, 800 copies 8 st. ⁵
1569	<i>Breviarium Romanum</i> , octavo, 1,250 copies 1 fl. 4 st. ⁶
1571	Antiphonary, folio, 500 copies 8½ st. ⁷ Lexicon Pagnini, folio, 1,500 copies 12 st. ⁸
1582-83 ⁹	 Biblia Hebraica, quarto, 1,250 copies 9 st. Pontus Heuterus, <i>Burgundica</i> , folio, 1,250 copies 9 st. Ovid, 16mo, 1,500 copies 12 st.

1. Cf. p. 325, note 3.

2. Arch. 3, f^o 1^{vo}: ‘Nicolas Sterck imprimeur de marché faict avec luy imprimera 2 rames de papier tel quest le Virgile in -16^o par nous commencé pour 6½ st. et est premier cest a dire gouverneur de la presse... Martin Gilles imprimeur pour second à la presse avec led[ict] Nicolas et imprimera aussi de marché faict avec luy 2 rames pour 6 st., soit avec additions ou non’. The agreement between Plantin and the two journeymen printers consequently stated that, for a job in the nature of the Virgil, reckoned on the basis of a run of 1,000, the ‘premier’ would receive 6½ st. and the ‘second’ 6 st. In fact 2,500 copies of the Virgil were printed bringing the men respectively 16 st. and 15½ st. (Arch. 3, f^{os} 3^{ro} and 3^{vo}). Cf. also Arch. 31, f^o 27^{vo}.

3. Arch. 3, f^o 5^{vo}.

4. Arch. 31, f^o 4^{vo} (Benedict Wertlaw, ‘premier’).

5. Arch. 31, f^o 28^{vo} (Nicolas Sterck, ‘premier’). Difficult job because of the illustrations.

6. Liturgical work in red and black: reckoned per forme (i.e., 12 st. for the premier) (Arch. 31, f^o 160^{vo}).

7. Liturgical work in red and black: to the ‘premier’ (working with an apprentice), reckoned per forme (Arch. 32, f^o 4).

8. To the ‘premier’: Arch. 32, f^o 4.

9. Arch. 788, f^o 4.

Biblia Latina, octavo [nonpareille], 2,500
copies 1 fl. 6 st.

Concordantiae, quarto, 2,500 copies 1 fl.
14 st.

Eighteenth century:¹⁰

Missale Romanum, folio maximo, 1,530
copies 7 fl.

Missale Romanum, folio parvo, 3,075
copies 11 fl. (12 fl.)

Missale Romanum, quarto, 3,075 copies
13 fl. 10 st. (14 fl. 10 st.)
2,050 copies 9 fl. 10 st. (10 fl. 10 st.)

Missale Romanum, octavo, 2,050 copies
10 fl. (11 fl.)

Breviarium Romanum, folio, 2,050 copies
10 fl. 10 st. (11 fl. 10 st.)

Breviarium Romanum, quarto (1 vol.),
2,050 copies 9 fl. 10 st. (10 fl. 10 st.)

10. Arch. 697, no. 192. In brackets the amounts paid for the 'voorbladers' (first pages).

Breviarium Romanum, quarto (2 vols.2,
2,050 copies 8 fl. (9 fl.)

Breviarium Romanum, quarto (4 vols.2,
2,050 copies 8 fl. (9 fl.)

Breviarium Romanum, octavo (1 vol.),
3,075 copies 16 fl.
4,100 copies 20 fl.

These figures do not apply to the black-and-red service books. For these the daily average for work done was lower and the piece rate higher. This did not mean that conditions were vastly different for men working on these editions. In a couple of letters Plantin quotes the figure of 1,000 as the average daily rate for service books.¹ The wages accounts show that this meant 1,000 sides, not sheets.² However, as each side had to be printed twice, this was the equivalent of 1,000 sheets in an ordinary edition: 250 sheets a day less than for the latter category, but the lower rate of production was more than offset by the much greater care that had to be taken over the work. Piece rates for service books were, consequently, often expressed in formes rather than sheets.

The collators

When the sheets had been printed and arranged in piles, a new figure took over. He was called an *assembleur* in French and a *vergaerder* in Dutch. The collator was only occasionally mentioned in the ordinances, and then only in connexion with his hours of work.³ He is only once referred to in the rules drawn up by the Plantinian chapel, and from these it appears that he was responsible for sweeping up the

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 34 (Plantin to Molina, 7th June 1567: ‘... n'eust esté que pour fournir vostre nombre demandé [of a *Horae Beatissimae Virgimis Marine*] de 1250 ou de 1500, il m'a faillu faire double journée, à cause que nos imprimeurs me veulent faire pour jour que 1000 de rouge et noir’). See also in this context the letter to Cardinal Granvelle, 26th March 1569, quoted in p. 169, note 7.
2. Cf. also the letter of Plantin to Aguilar, 29th June 1573 (*Corr.*, III, no. 477, p. 337) where he explains that with three presses he would print 1500 sheets a day of the breviary in folio, thus inferring an output of 500 sheets per press and per day (‘1500 Bréviaires in f^o d'Espagne j'estime à 300 feilles et à trois presses seroit 30 feilles par mois qui seroit dix mois soubz la presse faisant 1500 pour jour’).
3. Ord. I, Art. 13 (cf. p. 343).

printing shop.¹ He was a lowly member of the staff and had no place in their chapel. His work was less difficult than that of his colleagues, but still required a measure of care and deftness.

After the pressmen had finished their work, the sheets from which the book was to be made up were stacked neatly in piles, but these piles consisted of identical sheets. The task of the collator, besides a number of odd jobs he had to perform, was to fold these sheets and arrange them in the right order (gather them) to make up the requisite number of complete copies.

The first entry for a collator in the *livres des ouvriers* was on 17th July 1568, when Henri Parent started work at the Plantin press.² Thereafter, this category of workman appears fairly regularly in the wages accounts, although there are periods without any entries for them. This does not mean that there were no ‘regular’ collators³ at work in the Plantin press before 1568, or that the firm managed without them for varying intervals after that date, but simply that it was not always thought necessary to enter the amounts paid them in the ordinary accounts. This also happened with the bookshop assistants, possibly for the same reason: their wages were much more regular than those of the compositors and pressmen and were paid directly out of the till.⁴

The collators' task required little training: they were regarded, and paid, as unskilled labour. Henri Parent earned an average of 3 to 3½ st. per day, roughly half the rate for a compositor or pressman. On 12th November 1569 Plantin agreed to take on Henri's son Michel in the same capacity, paying him 3 st. a day, and 3½ st. from the following Christmas until after Lent. Plantin also agreed to accept the lad as an apprentice should there be an opening, in which case

1. Ord. L, Art. 99 (under 1688).

2. Arch. 31, f^o 124^{vo}.

3. As opposed to extra hands hired to do a certain amount of collating. See text, immediately below.

4. For the wages that Plantin paid out in 1566 to the collators see Appendix 1. These amounts were not recorded in the wages accounts.

he would receive 4 st. a day 'according to our custom'.¹ This meant that a collator was paid less than an apprentice printer.

The collator's pay was fairly steady and amounted almost to a fixed wage. In 1580-81 Pieter Berten was receiving 3½ st. per day, more or less the same as Henri Parent and his son in 1569.² However, it is possible that the collators daily wage could also be regarded as a piece rate that had become standardized in the course of time and that, to earn their money, these workers had to collate a certain number of sheets as well as carry out their various other small tasks.³

This, in any event, was the case with some workmen hired in 1565 for doing this particular job on a temporary basis - though without receiving the qualification of 'collator'.⁴ In January of that year Louis Elsevier⁵ and two others were paid ½ st. for every ream they arranged in order. In one week the three managed to collate 52, 53, and 54 reams respectively, earning therefore 1 fl. 6 st., 1 fl. 6½ st., and 1 fl. 7 st. From the end of the month onwards, Plantin merely entered Louis Elsevier's name - the others were not mentioned again - with a daily wage of 4½ st., that is to say 1 fl. 7 st. a week. This money would have been ensured by what must then have been the average rate: 54 reams per week.⁶

Henri Parent, Pieter Berten, and others of this category of workman who appeared later, usually received less, so presumably they did not get through so much work, either because they were less experienced or because they were not urged to increase their tempo. Extra hands could always be hired when necessary, who generally earned more by

1. Arch. 31, f^o 152^{vo}.

2. Arch. 33, f^o 36.

3. Such as sweeping the workshop (cf. p. 329).

4. Arch. 31, f^o 100^{vo}, under the heading 'ouvriers divers', workers who, in temporary employment, had done odd jobs (including, besides collating, crushing vermilion).

5. Possibly the son of Hans van Loeven Helsvir (from 1567 employed as a journeyman printer in the Plantin house), who afterwards went to Holland and there founded the famous printing dynasty.

6. For the period 1563-67 the author has found only one other reference to the collators and their earnings (apart from the entries bearing on Louis Elsevier and his colleagues and on the apprentice pressman de Villenfagne [see p. 331, note 2]) but the job itself was not specified: Arch. 3, f^o 51^{vo}, 8th June 1566: 'Laurent Sebastian pour 12 semaines à 25 st. semaine: 15 fl.; A Paul de Vos qui devoit estre apprentif pour aussi 10 semaines à 20 st. par semaine: 10 fl.'

their exertions than the regulars.¹ From time to time apprentices, or even regular journeymen, were also roped in for this task,² whilst the shop assistants were supposed to assist the collators in their spare time.³

Worthy of note is the fact that in 1583 to 1584 the collator Merten Gilles was assisted by this daughter.⁴ This is the only instance the author has come across of a woman in the essentially masculine world of the Plantinian printing shop during the three centuries of its operation.

The 'gouverneur'

In the ordinance of 1715 another category of workman appears, designated as the *gouverneur*. The duty assigned him was not as impressive as his title might suggest, and consisted of inspecting the compositors' type-cases once a month.⁵ This was also specified as one of the tasks in the undated 'Rule for the type-setter in the type-room of the Plantinian press'.⁶ The *gouverneur* and the 'type-setter in the type-room' were one and the same, and identical with the 'gouverneur des caractères fondus' entered in the wages sheets from 1571 onwards.

1. As was the case with the 'ouvriers divers' to whom L. Elsevier belonged. A similar temporary collator was Cornelis Hercules, employed from 7th December [1569?] until 9th February [1570?] (Arch. 31, f^o 58^{ro}); he drew weekly wages, usually more than 1 fl. and reckoned on the basis of the amount of work done; thus on 15th December he earned 1 fl. 4½ st. for collating 49 reams (30 reams *Concordantiae*, 10 reams *Breviarium*, 9 reams *in Leviticum*), on 22nd December, 19½ st. for 39 reams (20 reams *Concordantiae*, 9 reams *Missale*, 10 reams *Montanus*), on 9th February, 1 fl. 3 st. for 46 reams (18 reams *Missale*, 10 reams *Concordantiae*, 18 reams *Biblia*).
2. In 1566 G. de Villenfagne, apprentice printer, occasionally alternated his work at the press with collating: on 20th July he was paid 6 st. 'pour assembler' during 1½ days, and on 9th August 10 st. for 2½ days (Arch. 31, f^o 41^{ro}). The pressman Abraham van Arendonck received on 21st May 1569 'pour 4 iournées d'assembler' 1 fl., i.e., 5 st. per day (Arch. 31, f^o 36).
3. Cf. p. 394, note 1.
4. Arch. 788 (*Semaines des ouvriers*, 1583-89): this daughter, whose name was not given, is mentioned practically every week from nth June 1583 until 13th October 1584; after that again on 26th January 1585. In contrast to her father, who received a fairly regular weekly wage (3 fl. until April 1584, after that 3 fl. 12 st.), the daughter was paid for carefully defined jobs. Her work is not indicated in the *Livre des ouvriers* for this period (Arch. 33).
5. Ord. I., Art. 11.
6. Ord. J.

He was a compositor who according to the 1715 rules was specially charged with taking care of types and wood-blocks. He had to issue materials to the other compositors and if necessary to the printers, and check and store them when returned. If he had any time left, he was to set texts ‘always in the type-room and not in the printing shop’.¹ Part of his responsibility for the founts of type consisted of seeing that the other compositors handled their expensive material with due care, ‘dissembled’ the type promptly, kept the type-cases clean, and so on. All this, however, was incidental to his main function, for the *gouverneur* was not a foreman, nor was he the *prote* so familiar from the French literature, the master's right-hand man and deputy. In fact he was the chief storeman.

The compositor Jan Pasch was the first to be given the title, in 1571, although he had probably been doing the job for some time previously. He had entered Plantin's service as a compositor on 30th January 1564.² Until the beginning of October 1567 he was paid piece rates for setting texts.³ On 18th October of that year he received 2 fl. ‘pour 4 journées à racoustrer les lectres’. From then on he was paid a fixed wage, beginning at 10 st. per day (3 fl. per six-day week). This was raised on 30th October 1568 to 3 fl. 5 st. per week, and again in July 1569 to 4 fl.⁴ When Plantin started a new *livre des ouvriers* in 1571 the first entry was Jan Pasch, now designated as ‘gouverneur des caracteres fondues’⁵ so that the title simply confirmed a situation that had existed since October 1567.⁶ His pay remained at 4 fl. a week. Adriaan van de Velde, who succeeded Pasch on 9th May 1572, received the same rate at first, but from 8th November 1572 his wage was reduced to 3 fl. a week.⁷

1. Ord. J., Art. 3. This type-room was then in the ‘little house over the canal’ (cf. Vol. I, p. 293).
2. Arch. 31, f^o 21^{vo}.
3. Arch. 31, f^{os} 21^{vo} 23^{ro}.
4. Arch. 31, f^{os} 23^{ro} and 118^{vo}-120^{ro}.
5. Arch. 32, f^o 1.
6. And possibly even earlier: in 1558 Cornelis Kiliaan was charged with the care of the type material (cf. p. 176, note 3).
7. Arch. 32, f^o 78.

A good compositor at this time could earn 3 fl. and sometimes even 4 fl. a week. Jan Pasch himself achieved 3 fl. 4 st. in some weeks in 1565 and even reached 4 fl. 6 st. a few times. Such peaks, however, alternated with weeks in which his earnings were very much lower. In the period 1565-67 Pasch was among the highest paid workmen in the firm, but even in his best year, 1565, his total wage was only 159 fl. 11 st., and in 1566 and 1567 the totals were 131 fl. and 137 fl. 7½ st. respectively. His income for 1568 cannot be calculated with any certainty. In 1569 (in the first half he was earning 3 fl. 5 st. per week; 4 fl. weekly in the second half) his total for the year rose to 182 fl. and in 1570 it increased to 200 fl. 5 st. These are the highest figures the author has discovered for the period and they show that the *gouverneur* with his rates of between 10 st. and 13½ st. per day was the best-paid workman in the press. Although he was not actually in charge of his workmates, his responsibility and his wages were greater; he was in fact first among equals.¹

The relationship between compositors and pressmen

The activities of the compositors and pressmen in the *Officina Plantiniana* have been discussed and it is now necessary to consider the relationship of the two categories one to the other, first with regard to their numbers. The total number of men employed obviously depended on how busy the press was - it was naturally bigger in 1574-75, when Plantin had fifteen presses working, than in leaner years. The ratio of pressmen to compositors, however, was determined by the productivity of the latter. The number of formes that they could get ready in a given time varied greatly according to the nature of the work in hand, but it seems reasonable to assume that for fairly straightforward assignments the tempo would have been one forme per day. In normal circumstances (that is to say a run of 1,250 copies of a non-liturgical edition) printing one of these formes would have taken half a day. In theory, two compositors were therefore needed to keep one press supplied with work. As there

1. For the annual wages of 'ordinary' compositors, see pp. 336-338.

were two pressmen to each press the numbers of the two types of workmen were generally equal,¹ but with a slight preponderance of compositors when viewed over the whole period. The ratio was different for liturgical books, the rate of printing being reduced by more than half.² This meant that a single compositor could then feed a press operated by two pressmen. Thus the ratio of compositors to pressmen fluctuated according to the extent to which production was concentrated on liturgical or ordinary editions, as shown in the table on p. 335.

The figures confirm that in Plantin's early years, when the firm was producing mostly ordinary works, compositors slightly outnumbered pressmen. But from 1568 onwards, when service books began to preponderate, the relative number of compositors began to fall and by 1576 they represented not much more than half that of the pressmen. After 1576 Plantin returned to non-liturgical editions and the relative number of compositors rose again. From 1585 the importance of black-and-red editions increased once more and in the second half of the seventeenth century specialization in service books caused the ratio of compositors to sink again to that of the late 1560s and 1570s.

The compositors' work required deftness and a certain amount of mental effort. The pressmen had to be similarly skilful with their hands, but intense physical effort was the chief requirement of their task. This raises the question of how the two activities were compared with each other when it came to wages. Both groups were paid piece rates, which makes comparison difficult. In both there were good and less good workers, their earnings above or below the norm for their own or the other group. In the case of the pressmen, the 'premier' and the 'second' were entered separately in the wages accounts until 1580. In that year the latter category disappeared and

1. On 7th November and 14th November 1563, for example, Plantin paid wages to two pressmen and two compositors for completing 5 sheets of the 16mo Virgil (Arch. 3, f^{OS} 3^{ro} and 3^{vo}).
2. Cf. p. 328: on average 500 sheets for the liturgical works as compared to 1,250 sheets for the ordinary editions.

Pressmen and compositors in the Officina Plantiniana, 1564-89¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of presses</i>	<i>Pressmen</i>	<i>Compositors</i>
1564	2	4	5
1565	5	9	11
1566	7	14	16
1567	5	8	9
1568	6	10	9
1569	10	16	12
1570	9	18	16
1571	11	20	17
1572	13	23	23
1573	12	24	17
1574	16	32	20
1575	15	27	20
1576	15	30	19
1577	3	6	4
1578	6	9	10
1579	5	9	9
1580	7	12	13
1581	8	14	10
1582	7	12	14
1583	10	17	15
1584	6	11	13
1585	6	9	7
1586	3	6	4
1587	6	10	7
1588	6	11	9
1589	4	7	7

the wages entered for the ‘premier’ practically doubled:² even if the number-one man at each press did not actually receive the double wage-packet, this is how it was

1. After the table in R. de Roover, ‘The business organisation of the Plantin Press in the setting of sixteenth-century Antwerp’, *Gedenkboek der Plantindagen*, 1956, p. 239. The table gives the proportions at the beginning of each year (January).
2. Cf. R. de Roover, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-244.

shown in the books. Henceforth in the accounts it is only possible to find out approximately the pressmen's wages by dividing by two, without being able to determine

the slight difference in earnings between ‘premier’ and ‘second’. This mode of accounting was retained by the Moretuses.

A comparison of yearly wages earned by compositors and pressmen between 1564 and 1587 is given on pp. 336-338.

A few bachelors among the workmen found it more convenient to lodge with their employer: the author has found just four names for Plantin's time. There were two kinds of arrangement. In one, the workmen paid about 50 fl. per year for board and lodging and received a normal wage.¹ In the other case the employer paid for the board and lodging and then gave the employees a wage that can be taken as the difference between his costs and their earnings.²

Annual wages of pressmen and compositors in the Plantinian press³

<i>Year</i>	<i>‘Gouverneur’</i>	<i>Compositors</i>	<i>Pressmen</i>
1564	-	-	N. Sterck (premier) 96 fl. 14 st.
1565	-	J. Pasch 159 fl. 11 st.	N. Sterck (premier) 124 fl. 16 st.
		H. Alsens 68 fl. 13 st.	L. Hallin (second) 111 fl. 8¾ st.
1566	-	J. Pasch 131 fl.	N. Sterck 142 fl. 2½ st.
		H. Alsens 80 fl. 19 st.	L. Hallin 76 fl. 3 st. ⁴

1. Cornelis Tol, compositor, working for Plantin since 28th November 1564, ‘est venu [on 6th February 1565] à despens avec moy et me doibt payer chaicunne semaine 20 st.’ (Arch. 31, f^o 8^{vo}); Josse Mersman, compositor ‘est venu [on 1st October 1576] demeurer à despens avec nous à 50 fl. par an’ (Arch. 32, f^o 248).
2. Jacques Roche, compositor: on 1st November 1563 ‘faict marché avec luy de le nourrir et coucher et luy donner 15 st. par chacunne semaine’ (Arch. 31, f^o 20^{vo}); Louis Soter, compositor, working for Plantin since 22nd April 1564; on 10th November: ‘de compte faict il a demeuré ceans 3 semaines et ie luy ay accordé avec ses despens de luy donner 2 fl. 8 st.; le 25 Novembre luy ay presté sur ladvenir 2 fl. 2 st.; le 16 Decembre 20 st.; le 5 Janvier payé 6 fl. à condition quil me demandera plus dargent devant Pasques’ (Arch. 31, f^o 33^{vo}).
3. Compiled from the ‘livres des ouvriers’: Arch. 31 (1563-1574), 32 (1571-1579), 33 (1580-1590).
4. He left the *officina* on 30th August to become a ‘soudard’ (mercenary); on 29th September he was back at work.

<i>Year</i>	<i>'Gouverneur'</i>	<i>Compositors</i>	<i>Pressmen</i>
1567	-	J. Pasch 137 fl. 7½ st.	-
1569	J. Pasch 182 fl.	-	-
1570	J. Pasch 200 fl. 5 st.	-	-
1571	-	J. de Meersman 119 fl. 17 st. C. Tol 122 fl. 4 st.	J. van Horen 157 fl. 18 st. ¹ C. van Linschoten 157 fl. 3 st.
1573	-	-	G. Rivière 150 fl. 6 st.
1574	-	-	G. Rivière 157 fl. 10½ st.
1575	-	-	G. Rivière 145 fl. 5¾ st.
1576	-	H. Coismans 146 fl. 6 st.	G. Rivière 136 fl. 8 st.
1577	-	H. Coismans 113 fl. 13 st.	G. Rivière 117 fl. 3½ st.
1578	-	H. Coismans 106 fl. 17 st.	G. Rivière 118 fl. 15¼ st.
1579	-	H. Coismans 114 fl. 19 st.	G. Rivière 177 fl. 19 ½ st./2 = approx. 88 fl. 19¾ st.
1580	-	H. Coismans 162 fl. Ph. Groux 170 fl. 14 st.	G. Rivière 254 fl. 2 ½ st./2 = approx. 127 fl.
1581	-	H. Coismans 153 fl. 10 st. Ph. Groux 138 fl. 10 st.	G. Riviere 267 fl./2 = approx. 133 fl. 10 st.

1. Became a 'premier' on 10th March.

<i>Year</i>	<i>'Gouverneur'</i>	<i>Compositors</i>	<i>Pressmen</i>
1582	-	H. Coismans 186 fl. 2 st.	G. Rivière 283 fl./2 = approx. 141 fl. 10 st.
		Ph. Groux 198 fl. 7 st.	
1583	-	H. Coismans 164 fl. 12 st.	-
		Ph. Groux 182 fl. 6 st.	
1584	-	H. Coismans 168 fl. 11½ st. [until 17th Nov.]	-
1585	-	-	G. Rivière 382 fl. 17½ st./2 = approx. 191 fl.
1586	-	H. Coismans 172 fl. 13 st.	G. Rivière 442 fl./2 = approx. 221 fl.
1587	H. van Millo 282 fl. 8 st.	H. Coismans 284 fl. 13 st.	G. Rivière 552 fl. 3 st./2 = approx. 276 fl.
		A. Faber 237 fl. 16 st.	
		A. van de Velde 165 fl. 1 st.	N. Sterck 381 fl. 2½ st./2 = approx. 190 fl. 11 st.
			H. Stroishier 317 fl. 8 st./2 = approx. 157 fl.
			C. van Linschoten 282 fl. 10 st./2 = approx. 141 fl.

It is difficult to draw useful and relevant conclusions from these divergent figures. They give the impression that until about 1580 the average annual wages of the pressmen were a little higher than those of their rather more mentally developed but physically less extended workmates, but that after 1580 the position was reversed in favour of the compositors. The marked fluctuations in the figures also make it hard to apply the upward spiral of wages in the sixteenth century, observable in Antwerp, to conditions in the Plantinian press with any precision.

The stages of the contest between rising prices and adjustments of wages in sixteenth-century Antwerp have been reconstructed along general lines.¹ The great rises in prices of the first half of the century were only made good by increases in wages after relatively long intervals; the most marked took place in 1543, 1547, and 1557-62. The last of these, precipitated by the bad harvest of 1556-57, was the most important of the three and benefited the skilled workers in particular. In 1566-67 wages fell a little as a result of the political and religious troubles and the associated economic regression, but without dropping below the level of before 1557. The inflationary years 1572-74 made new adjustments in wages necessary in 1576-77. In 1577 Antwerp went over to the rebels. The Calvinists, who came to power shortly afterwards, were largely supported by the working class. They forced wage increases which were not aimed simply at compensating for the reduced purchasing power of money but had a more political character. In the years 1580-83 working men in Antwerp achieved the highest standard of living they were to experience in the sixteenth century. The capture of the city by Alexander Farnese in 1585, like the arrival of Alva twenty years earlier, brought a steep decline. Falling wages and rising prices reduced many workers to below subsistence level in 1586. But from 1587 there began to be readjustments which, while they did not catch up with prices, at least went some way towards restoring the balance.

1. E. Scholliers, *Loonarbeid en honger. De levensstandaard in de XVe en XVIe eeuw te Antwerpen*, 1960, pp. 123 sqq.

The attempts by the Antwerp authorities to hold down wages were in fact offset by large-scale emigration. This so affected the labour market that the principle of supply and demand very soon caused wages to begin to rise again. The levels reached in about 1600 were maintained with remarkable stability until well into the eighteenth century.

In 1558, when the Plantinian wages accounts began, earnings were already at a high level and almost twice those of the first half of the century. The fall in wages in 1566-67 cannot be verified for the *officina*. The figures for that period and for the following years give the impression that the fluctuations that occurred within the firm were the result not so much of changes in the general state of the Netherlands economy as of the alternating periods of expansion and contraction that the press underwent in these years. More work meant higher productivity and better wages; less work meant lower wages, even for the men who were kept on. If there were adjustments, these were bound to benefit the pressmen more than anyone else.

There is no disputing one fact: in the period 1568-72 there were social tensions within the firm that may have given rise to strikes, and at all events to friction between employer and employees.¹ The years 1576-78, which brought certain improvements for the Antwerp working class as a whole, saw a sharp decline in wages in the Plantinian press. Again it was the difficulties which Plantin himself was having in keeping the press going rather than the general economic situation which determined the wages of his workmen. But from 1579 onwards, with a Calvinist regime in Antwerp, and Plantin's stabilization of his business, wages began to rise. This time it was the compositors who gained most. The siege of Antwerp (1584-85) crippled the *officina*, but when activities were resumed wages were not only on the high side but appear to have risen in comparison with 1580-83, and in 1587 they started on a new and pronounced upwards trend.

Thus the regression of 1585-86 seems not to have been reflected

1. Cf. pp. 359-361.

within the firm. The wage increases of the following years appear to have been carried through earlier and more intensively there than in other Antwerp concerns. Nevertheless, Plantin's financial position was far from ideal in those years, when 'de nostril imprimerie jadis florissante et ores flaitrissante' was how he headed many of his letters.¹ But the printer intended to stay in business. For this he needed workers - and skilled men were hard to come by in post-1585 Antwerp.

Ideas about the living standards of the workers in Antwerp after the surrender have to be somewhat revised in the light of Plantin's wage-sheets. The situation was undoubtedly catastrophic for unskilled labourers. Firms, however, that were dependent on craftsmen and wanted to stay in business had to try to counter the massive flight from Antwerp with higher wages. This probably explains why the compositors seem to have been at an advantage at this time. The differing demands made on compositors and pressmen have already been discussed and it is easy to see why it was more convenient as well as quicker to train unskilled workmen to be pressmen than compositors. This meant that the latter were relatively more valuable after the disruption of the labour market following the surrender of Antwerp in 1585.

The piece-rate system and the great fluctuations in annual pay make it also difficult to compare wages in the Plantinian firm with general Antwerp standards. However, it can be stated with some certainty that Plantin's better workmen ranked among the aristocrats of the Antwerp labour force. Their wages approached and often even exceeded those of the master masons.² It may also be assumed that this remained true in the following centuries.

The question now arises of the relations of compositors and pressmen in the workshop itself. It has been seen that the compositors determined the rate of work to some extent. If they did not have formes ready on time the pressmen could not start work nor achieve

1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 113 sqq.

2. Cf. the data in E. Scholliers, 'Prijzen en lonen te Antwerpen (15^e en 16^e eeuw)', *Dokumenten voor de geschiedenis van prijzen en lonen in Vlaanderen en Brabant (XVe-XVIIIe eeuw)*, 1959.

their usual norm - and wages. Ultimately production, and the good humour of the pressmen, depended on the compositors. A great deal of attention was paid to this aspect in the ordinances. The compositors were exhorted over and over again to have their formes ready in good time. Hours were set out carefully in the earliest regulations.¹ When production began to rise and the number of men to increase, it was no longer felt so necessary to give exact hours and times. The firm became so complex that it was possible to find a stand-in or a replacement for any worker who left or was absent. All that remained was the general stipulation that the compositors should hand over their formes ‘in time and at the appointed hour’.² But often this was easier said than done. Delay on the part of the compositors through pressure of work - or slackness - was one of the main sources

1. Ord. C. (1555-56): ‘Item, dat de setters hun formen sullen leveren ghereet snoenens ten XII hueren, ende alst root en swart is ten XI hueren, oft daer na, op de verbeurte van een cruycxken te betalen.’ (Item, that the type-setters should deliver their formes ready at twelve noon, and if it be ‘red and black’ at eleven o'clock, or [soon] thereafter, on penalty of a jug [of beer]); Ord. A. (1565), Art. 10: ‘En yeghelijk setter... sal ghehouden sijn de forme alle daghen over te leveren, om de eerste proeve daer op te maken (die sdaechs daer na ghedruct sal moeten worden) een ure na dat de Drucker sijn ghedructe forme over ghelevert heeft: dwelck nochtans niet en gheschiedt voor elf uren van den voorgaenden dach, ende die selvighe forme al ghecorrigeert ten seven ure des avonts om een revisie te maken. Des ghelijcx de forme die begost sal moeten worden op den middach, sal moeten 'tsavonts daer voor ghereet sijn om de eerste proeve daer op te maken; ende dat, een ure na dat de Drucker sijn gedruete forme sal overghelevert hebben: so dattet nochtans niet en gheschiede voor vijf uren tsavonts: ende de selvighe al gecorrigeert tsanderdaechs ten twelf uren om een revisie te maken. Op de pene van 3 stuyvers.’ (And every type-setter... shall be required to hand over the forme every day for the first proof to be pulled [which shall be printed on the day after that] one hour after the pressman has delivered his printed forme: which does not take place before eleven o'clock on the previous day, and that same forme [is to be] wholly corrected by seven o'clock in the evening for the printing of a new proof. Likewise the forme that is to be printed at midday must be ready the evening before for the first proof to be pulled; and this one hour after the pressman has delivered his printed forme: which will not be before five o'clock in the evening: and the same wholly corrected on the day afterwards by twelve o'clock for a new proof. On penalty of 3 stuivers.)
2. Ord. C. (1570-71), Art. 5: ‘De setters... sijn schuldich den Proeven in tijts, ende op een ghesette ure te leveren, op verbeurte van eenen stuyver, ende te moeten verbeteren.’ (The compositors... are responsible for handing over the proofs in time and at the appointed hour, on penalty of one stuiver, and for correcting them.)

of the disputes which disturbed the peace of the printing shop. The 1715 rules make this clear enough.¹ There was a remedy for slackness: fines were imposed and compensation was paid to the injured party; but this introduces the next topic, general conditions of work in the *Officina Plantiniana*.

General working conditions

The ordinance of 1715 gives details of working hours in the firm.² Compositors and pressmen had to be at work at six o'clock in the morning, but not earlier 'so that any devout man may go to Mass'. Twelve noon to 1 o'clock they had off for the midday meal. From 1st April to 30th September they were allowed to work as long as it was light, but not later than 8 o'clock. From 1st October to 31st March they could work by candle-light, but knocking-off time remained at 8 o'clock. Working hours for the copperplate printers and the collators differed slightly from these. The former were free from 12 noon to half past one, while the latter also had the longer midday break and were not supposed to begin their work before 7 o'clock in the morning. This meant a 13-hour day for the compositors and pressmen, 12½ hours for the copperplate printers and 11½ hours for the collators. Work could be broken off to take a drink or have a meal. A regulation of 1642 deals with this in detail.³

It may be assumed that in general these working hours applied in Plantin's time. The only difference was that work for some at least

1. Ord. I, Art. 12: 'Ende om te voorkomen den twist ende tweedracht tusschen de Lettersetters en Druckers, uyt redene dat den Letter-setter door zijne swaere copye met sijne vorme somtijts niet en can bycomen...' (And to prevent discord between the compositors and pressmen, because the compositor sometimes cannot be on time with his forme because of difficult copy...)
2. Ord. I, Art. 13. For comparison: details of French practice (generally from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m.) in Febvre & Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, p. 198.
3. Ord. E. This lays down (1) that the journeymen, so long as they did it singly, could eat and drink whenever they were hungry or thirsty; (2) that they could join together in groups of not more than three or four men, from 8 to 9 a.m. and from 4 to 5 p.m., each man being allowed to drink one pot of beer; (3) that all of them were allowed to eat and drink together on certain feast-days; (4) that those who stayed in the press during the midday break could join together from noon till 1 p.m. and each drink a mug of beer. Other regulations in this ordinance provide for visits by friends and how they should be entertained; what should be done when strangers came to see the printing office in the hours when sitting together was permitted; the methods for a general distribution of beer (for a *bienvenue*, for example).

of the men began at 5 o'clock in the morning. The 1563 ordinance stipulated that the pressmen had to be in the shop between 5 and 6 o'clock so as to begin work at the latter hour.¹ The addendum of 1570-71 further stated that from 1st May to 1st September the 'premier' had to be in the printing shop at 5 o'clock 'so as to prepare everything with diligence'.² A later reference, to be discussed below, asserts that it was 'the old custom' to begin work at 5 o'clock.

In practice the masters of the Golden Compasses attached no great importance to the actual number of hours a day their men worked. The piece-rate system meant that it was in the workers interest to work as long as they were able and thus increase their norms. If the masters intervened, it was usually to establish a maximum number of working hours, or even to reduce them. The real purpose of the 1715 regulations was to ensure that the men did not start work before 6 o'clock, so that those who wanted to attend Mass were not at a disadvantage compared with their less pious mates, and to insist that the *officina* had to be emptied by 8 o'clock. When the workpeople expressed themselves on the subject it was not to protest against the long working hours, but to ask if they could do a little more. An undated petition from the journeymen urged that the caretaker should be allowed to let them in at 4.30, so that they could begin work punctually at five 'for as you well know that those who work in red [i.e., on liturgical books] have to lose half a day if they by chance are quarter of an hour late getting everything ready'.³ To curb the enthusiasm of some of the men it was laid down that no one should come to work on Mondays when Fairs were held, Shrove Tuesday, or Plough Monday, the penalty being 6 st.⁴

1. Ord. A, Art. 12.

2. Ord. C, Art. 6. See also p. 324, note 3.

3. Arch. 120, p. 291. Text reproduced by Sabbe in 'De Plantijnsche werkstede,' p. 620.

4. Ord. L., Art 112 (under 1699)

The ordinance issued on 1st March 1703 by Anna Maria de Neuf, widow of Balthasar III Moretus, is most revealing for the views of employers and employed on the subject.¹ A drastic reduction of working hours was recommended. The midday break of one hour was retained, but work was not to be started before 7 o'clock, nor continued past 7 p.m. The aim was to keep the business going, but at a reduced tempo 'considering the situation in these times' - namely the economic crisis caused by the War of Spanish Succession. Anna Maria de Neuf could have sacked some of the pressmen and compositors, but for humanitarian reasons she chose to reduce the hours, and therefore the wages of everyone. She was prudent enough to provide sanctions: the threat of a 6 st. fine for any workman who might start too early or finish too late. In the regulations she was insistent that 'this was more in the interests of the journeymen than of herself.'

Pressmen depended on compositors; pairs of journeymen had to work at each press together; the master had to supply pressmen and compositors with material. There had to be a general interdependence if the men were to achieve their desired working hours and wages, and the master his profits. It followed that those who through negligence or lack of skill held up the work to the detriment of others should lose all or some of their pay. A system of penalties and compensation was worked out, involving both master and men. For the master, too, had to accept responsibility for any failure or negligence on his part. The 1555-56 ordinance laid just as much emphasis on the duties and obligations of the employer² as on those of the workers.³

1. Arch. 334, f^{os} 77-78.
2. Ord. G; thus it was stipulated that the master 'on penalty of a jug of beer' should provide the journeymen with the leather, the lye, and other equipment that pressmen and compositors needed, especially for red-and-black service books, and should maintain all the customs of the printing office (i.e., the regular payment of all the bonuses to which the journeymen had claim). On 'penalty of compensating whoever experienced loss therefrom' he had to read proofs in good time, or have them read, so that the pressmen were not kept waiting.
3. There were penalties for compositors who left printer's pie about over a Sunday or feastday, who did not hand over their formes punctually, who did not store everything away carefully when 'dissing', who did not collect up type when leaving on Saturday; for the pressmen who did not impose the formes in good time (presumably for proof-pulling), who removed leather (from ink-balls) when it could still be used, who wasted ink or left the container uncovered on Saturday evening. Apart from the prompt handing over and imposing of formes, these regulations were concerned only with prevention of waste, not with liability to pay compensation.

The 1563 rules again stressed the principle of managerial responsibility,¹ but the sanctions governing the employees' obligations were more carefully defined.² The addendum of 1570-71 took this aspect further.³ Among other things it laid down that if a pressman caused the loss of a working day, he should be liable to a fine of 1 fl., to be paid to the master, and should pay compensation of 10 st. to his mate. However, he could take one day off per week so long as he gave the master 24 hours' notice. This passage should not be interpreted as granting holidays with pay: the man lost his pay, but in this case he did not have to pay the fine or the compensation. The wages accounts show that these precepts were applied from time to time, but it seems to the author that there was a fair amount of flexibility in practice.⁴

1. Ord. A, Art. 17: 'Item de Meester sal ghehouden sijn int werck te onderhouden alle de ghesellen op behoorlijcke werckdagen: oft haerlieden voor elcken dach te gheven vijf stuyvers: ten gheviel datter eenich dinck brake, daervan het werck soude moghen gestaect worden twee oft drie daghen. Ende waert dat den tijt langher gevele om de ghebroken ghereetschap te vermaken, so sal hij den ghesellen na den derden dach ander werck gheven, oft haerlieden van elcke dachhuere na de derden dach vier stuyvers gheven.' (Item the Master is required to provide all the journeymen with work for the proper days or give them five stuivers each day when work has to be stopped for two or three days because something has been broken. And if it takes longer for the broken gear to be repaired, then he shall give the journeymen other work after the third day, or give them four stuivers every day after the third.)
2. Art. 6: 'Everyone must carry out and complete his task each day on penalty of 5 st. to be paid to each man who has suffered detriment thereby and 6 st. to the master for a press that is stopped one whole day, and 3 stuivers for half a day.'
3. Ord. C, Art. 5 (compositors had to hand over their proofs punctually on penalty of 1 St., and to correct them); Art. 6 (pressmen - see text following).
4. Examples: (1) Error by a compositor effecting a pressman, Arch. 35, f^o 160^{ro}, 19th February 1558, 'A Jan Roche pour une feille du Journal et la faute que fait Pierre de la Porte à ne livrer sa forme qui a esté faite de demye journée que j'ay payé ce nonobstant... A Pierre de La Porte payé 4 jours combien quil ne luy en faut que 3 et encore doit payer 6 st. pour les imprimeurs sil ne leur fait faire demye journée'; (2) Idem, Arch. 31, f^o 9^{vo}: Claude Pain, pressman, 12th Dec. 1563, 'pour 4 journées au Virgile dont en y a demye iournée sur Corneille Meulener compositeur pour faute d'avoir composé lune forme pour lautre' (Under Cornelis Mulener - Arch. 31, f^o 7^{vo} - is entered for 12th Dec. simply 'payé pour tout 1 fl. 4 st.', this being 6 st. less than the week before, and on 19th Dec. 1563 'pour 5½ journées dont yen une ½ journée de perte faute de navoir livré leur forme au commencement du livre de Respon. ad Articulos etc. '); (3) Idem, Arch. 31, f^o 20^{vo}: Jacques Roche, compositor, 9th Nov. 1563, '2 st. [advanced by Plantin] pour payer 2 pots de bière en satisfaction de demye heure du temps perdue par les imprimeurs à cause de deux pages mal comptées par luy quil refist etc.'; (4) Pressman absent through drunkenness, Arch. 32, f^o 165 (a misplaced pasted-in sheet: it belongs with f^o 248 and relates to Josse Smesman); memorandum by Martina Plantin, 7th June [1557?]: 'Item si au cas Josse falle [faillie] quelque iournée par ifrongerie [ivrognerie] quel [qu'il] faudra quel paie toutte les journées quel a perdu et perdra au double mais si au cas quel ajeve [achève] son année sans perdre journée nulle mon père luy pradonne [pardonne] tout; sur cela luy ayge [ai-je] donné 20 fl. le 7 Juien'; (5) Negligence by the master, Arch. 32, f^o 13^{ro}: Reinier Aertsen, pressman, 11th Aug. 1571, 'Et payé par faute qu'il n'a eu formes assés: 10½ st.'

Penalties were imposed for other reasons too. Good order was maintained in the workshop by fines. Such penalties were for the benefit of the employees' community and will therefore be discussed in the section devoted to the Plantinian chapel. The master was also supposed to earn the good will and encourage the zeal of his work-people by paying bonuses. These too were paid not to individuals but to the representative chapel, and will also be considered below.

Only one instance has been discovered of bonuses paid in kind. In the years 1583 to 1585 sums of money paid for fish and meat were entered regularly in the *memorial pour les semaines des ouvriers*.¹ These were probably extra rations bought specially for distribution among the men during the siege of Antwerp.² Very occasionally Plantin paid a man who worked particularly hard, or promised to do so, in beer or wine.³

The nature of the work in the printing office could vary considerably according to the job in hand. For the compositors in particular, each new book brought some change in their routine. In principle therefore, rates were negotiated between employer and employee, not only when a man started work with the firm, but each time work on a new book was begun.⁴ Moxon in 1683-84 was still advising compositors

1. Arch. 788 (journeymen's weekly wages, 1583-89).
2. It is, however, nowhere explicitly stated that these were actually shared out; they could, in fact, have been purchased for Plantin's family.
3. Arch. 33, f^o 5: Claes van Linschoten, pressman, May 1573, 'Accordé à 50 st. la feille et luy donner pour ung pot de vin à la fin dudict Breviaire'; Arch. 33, f^o 128: Hans van Millo, compositor, 24th July 1587, 'pour ung pot de vin auls messes, 4 fl. 10 st.'
4. See especially Arch. 3 and Arch. 31.

to look carefully at every new assignment they accepted.¹ Bargaining like this was appropriate in small concerns with a few journeymen, but not in larger firms employing several dozens of men and where there was a continuous flow of orders. In 1563 and 1564, when Plantin was slowly getting his reorganized business going again, he continued for some time with the tried but time-consuming methods he had followed from 1555 to 1562. But all the indications are that it was not long before he established rationalized patterns of working and standardized rates of pay. However, where particular problems arose, special discussions were still held. The decisions thus reached² often served as precedents for a while.³ At the same time it was quite common for workmen - in practice it was always compositors - to leave the firm rather than carry out some new task on the conditions laid down by the employer.⁴

Inherent in this kind of bargaining was the principle that the master was free to give particular workmen preferential treatment. Plantin himself stated this quite emphatically in ordinance D.⁵ However, this

1. *Mechanick Exercises*, p. 203.
2. Cf. Arch. 32, f^o 15 (H. van Mello, compositor), 40 (F. Conraets, compositor), 106 (M. van de Broeck, pressman), 107 (H. Claes, pressman).
3. E.g., Arch. 697, no. 192. Wages paid to compositors and pressmen, eighteenth century; a note was inserted concerning the rates for the compositors working on the folio maximo Missale Romanum: 'Vermits in grooter formaat ende letter en door doverloopen en andere moijelijckheden is door mijnheer saliger toegestaan 1 fl. 15 st. p[er] blad met conditie dat als wanneer naemaels sal herdrukt worden den loon eenigermate sal gemodereert worden vermits het setten alsdan soo moyelijck niet sal wesen.' (As it is in larger format and type-size and because of the turn-over and other difficulties the late master has allowed 1 fl. 15. st. per sheet on condition that if the work be later reprinted the wages shall be a little modified since setting will not then be so difficult.)
4. Arch. 31, f^o 95^{vo} (Otto Pasch; 'Et sen est alé [allé] le 20 Novembre [1566] pour navoir voulu achever de composer Magia Nat. 16^o à 20 st. la forme comme de coustume, in Epist. Cic. ad Atticum pour 14'; he later returned); Arch. 32, f^o 118 (Hans Vrints; 'Le 22 May [1573] il sen est alé à cause quil ne vouloit pas estre content de besongner au petit missal in 4^{to} pour le prix accordé avec ceux qui y avoient besongné...'); Arch. 32, f^o 160 (Nicolas Horsver, 27th April 1575: 'Il sen est alé pour navoir pas voulu besongner in Operibus S. Augustini à 10 st. la forme.')
5. 'The master shall negotiate the wages for a work with each journeyman separately: without comment or reproach from anyone that one man might have less or more for a task than the others.'

particular regulation must be regarded as a sharp response on the part of the employer to the organized action of his workmen and Plantin was simply reminding them of something he had reserved the right to do. It is possible that he did on occasion exercise this right. The author is of the opinion that Guillaume Rivière, nephew of Plantin's wife and a journeyman printer in the *officina* from 1573 to 1588, was favoured above his workmates to some extent. Despite this instance it is probable that in practice the employer seldom exercised his prerogative in these matters and that generally the uniformity necessary to the good running of a large business prevailed. All the same, the men remained suspicious and inquisitive. In 1622 it was laid down that anyone caught eavesdropping at the door or window of the office where the master paid out the wages should incur a fine of 3 st.¹

Problems posed by resignation or dismissal were also reflected in the ordinances. In 1563 it was laid down that both had to be preceded by a month's notice on the part of employee or employer respectively.² The 1570 rules contain a similar stipulation.³ Ordinance D, the work of an angry employer, referred to above, was much sharper in tenor. First of all it stated that the master would keep back each week one quarter of the wages of each journeyman until he held a sum of 10 to 12 fl. for each man. This measure was not altogether new. The 1563 regulation laid down that within one month each man had to deposit with the master one day's pay.⁴ But the amount of the deposit had now been increased to almost one month's wages. The measure was formulated as if to provide a sum of money to be held as security against the payment of any fines or damages the men might incur. It is clear from the circumstances, however, that it was intended rather to give the employer some guarantee against the too sudden departure of his men and a weapon to use against unruly elements.

1. Ord. L., Art. 31.

2. Ord. A, Art. 6. What provision was made for non-observance by the master of this rule is not specified. On at least one occasion compensation was paid to the workman concerned: Arch. 31, f^o 41^{vo} (Jehan de Wilde, pressman, 17th March 1565: 'Je luy ay donné congé et donné 2 fl. ascavoir 15 st. quil me devoit et 25 st. en argent contant à cause que ie luy donne congé sans luy avoir adverti par avant.')

3. Ord. C, Art. 11.

4. Ord. A, Art. 19.

Later in the text Plantin reserved for himself the right to sack refractory workers without prior notice (now reduced to two weeks on either side for normal cases) and to recover any loss or damage he might thereby incur from the deposited sum. The wages accounts show that Plantin had some reason to take this measure. Workmen often simply walked out, not only without giving notice or completing their tasks, but also without paying back money that Plantin had advanced them.¹ Plantin at first seems not to have made too much of such breaches of the rules or of the financial losses he incurred. He would probably have gone on putting up with these practices if considerable social tensions had not begun to be felt in the firm about 1570, leading to strikes, or at least protest action.² It was then that he devised this measure to make strikes and unheralded departure more difficult, and instant dismissal a real and financially palpable threat to the rebellious. In 1573 and 1574 the printer does seem to have stuck to this rule and retained parts of the wages - though seemingly much less than provided for in ordinance D.³ Later, with some lowering of the tension, the provision must have lapsed. In the wages accounts

1. For example Arch. 31, f^o 1^{vo} (Andries Verscaut, compositor, 9th Sept. 1564: 'Il sen est alé sans me payer nonobstant qui ie luy aye refusé dattendre de mon payement et me doibt 28 st. de compte faict avec luy', but on 20th March 1565 Verscaut was again in service); f^o 4^{vo} (Benedict Wertlaw, compositor, 26th May 1564: '... et luy disant à ma coustume que ie voulois avoir bonne besongne et me disant quil ne pouvoit mieux et quil nen scavoit faire autre chose il sen est parti de mon logis et me doibt pour 5 st. de biere'); f^o 9^{vo} (Claude Pain, pressman, 15th July 1564: Il sen est alé sans men avoir adverti autrement quen venant quérir son argent, quil ma dict avoir trouvé maistre et lavoir caché [de] peur de demeurer entre deux selles le cul à terre etc. et si me doibt dargent presté iusques ce iourdhuy 9 fl. 5¼ St.); f^o 17^{ro} (Henri Smesman, pressman, 11th Jan. 1567: 'Il s'en est alé sans mavoit adverti nullement... encore a il laissé une retiration à faire de la Bible Hebraicque in -16^o que Louys a achevé 3 iours après son partement et si me doibt 25 st. '); f^o 34^{ro} (Laurent Soter, compositor, 11th Jan. 1566: 'Il sen est alé sans mavoit adverti que deux iours devant. Toutefois ie ne men suis gueres malcontente').
2. Cf. pp. 359-361.
3. Cf. Arch. 32, f^o 129 (Henri van Martens, pressman, 22nd April 1574: 'payé les 23 st. quon luy avoit rabbatus depuis quil estoit venu besongner ceans [11th July 1573] et dautant quil faisoit coustume de laisser la besongne sans men advertir après les avoir reprins plusieurs fois et adverti de se retirer de ceans ie len ay envoyé led[ict] iour'; on 8th May 1574 back at work, until 11th July 1574); f^o 155^{vo} (Marc Mettes, pressman, in service from 3rd March 1574; on 7th July 1574 'payé net cela quon luy avoit retins qui estoit 13½ st. Item 1½ iour de 13½ st. rouge et noir ensemble 27 st. que ie luy ay payés net et luy avois donné congé passé long temps à cause qu'il ne me pouvoit faire bonne besongne car il faisoit moins et pastes comme on dict et ne pouvoit tirer assés ferme la presse').

from the earliest period, Plantin regularly commented on the reasons for his workers' departures and the manner of their going. They afford interesting glimpses of the characters and mentalities of workers of that time - at least of the more troublesome among them.¹

The ordinances illumine certain other aspects of work and conditions in the *officina*. In winter, work was started and concluded by candlelight and there always had to be a fire for heating the lye. Fire was therefore a constant danger. The precautions that had to be taken were set out in a special rule and backed up by the necessary sanctions.² But not even the best preventative measures could always ward off calamity. So as to be prepared for all eventualities, a fire-pump was procured. It is not certain if it was ever used, but in 1685 detailed instructions for its operation were given.³ The cost of heating the printing shop seems to have been borne by the workpeople until well into the seventeenth century, but this expense was met out of the bonuses the master paid to the chapel.⁴

The apprentices

Training was required before a boy could become a pressman or compositor and to get this he served as an apprentice in an *officina*. The ordinances give little more than a few generalities about the apprentices and their articles, only achieving precision on the subject of the dues they owed the Plantinian chapel, of which they themselves

1. Cf. p. 350, note 1 and 3. Other examples: Arch. 31, f^o 25^{vo} (Michel Mayer, compositor, 11th June 1564: 'Ledict Michel est allé aus bordeaux et sy est tenu frequentant iceux le dimenche, lundi, mardi et mercredi, puis le ieudi matin sen est venu coucher sur un coffre en la chambre où il couchoit ordinairement et Corneille Tol et Gilles et Antoine estant levés il a faict son paquet et sen est allé sans dire adieu à nulluy de ceans'; he was back in service on 1st Dec. 1565); Arch. 32, f^o 127^{ro} (Hans van Leuven Elzevier, pressman, 20th May 1574: 'il sen est alé par mon congé à cause qu'il ne sestoit pas gouverné selon nostre ordonnance de limprimerie et ce principalement en besongner continuellement aux iours ouvrables esquels il sest souvent debauché à boire et enjurer par quoy ie lay envoyé hors de mon logis').
2. Published separately by Sabbe: cf. p. 310, note 1.
3. Ord. L, Art. 96.
4. Cf. pp. 152-153.

were not formally members.¹ The wages accounts give a rather clearer picture of these pressmen and compositors to be.

There were not many of them in Plantin's time. The author has discovered twenty-three names altogether,² although it is possible that there were some who were not entered in the books. It should be pointed out that a goodly percentage of those recorded disappeared altogether from the accounts within a matter of days, weeks, or months either of their own accord because they found the work too difficult, or because they had been dismissed by a dissatisfied employer.³ Of those who served their apprenticeship, hardly any stayed on as journeymen.⁴ Of the twenty-three recorded apprentices, only five wanted to be trained as compositors, the rest being 'apprentif a la presse'.

The records are not always very detailed or clear. When in the earlier period any information is given about the length of the apprenticeship, this seems always to be restricted to two or three years both for pressmen and compositors⁵ - which is short compared with other crafts. Most apprentice pressmen drew a daily wage from the day they signed on. It amounted to slightly over half that paid to a trained workman, and exceeded that of the collator. If the press

1. Ord. G (1555-56): the apprentice must wait on the journeymen if there is no one else there; he must sweep the printing shop every Sunday; he must not be disrespectful to the journeymen. The use of the singular in the three rules indicates that there was then only one apprentice; he was available on Sundays and therefore boarded with the master. Ord. A (1563), Art. 18 (payments of *bienvenues*). Ord. B (1567), Art. 20 (conferring of freedom on apprentices).
2. For the period 1563-69 (some of them in service from before 1563 until, or after, 1570), 7; 1570-80, 15; 1581-89, 3. Details in Arch. 31, f^{os} 41, 46, 47, 62, 114, 147, 153, 162; Arch. 32, f^{os} 40, 84, 90, 94, 126, 130, 206, 228, 268; Arch. 33, f^{os} 1, 8, 13, 39, 156. In one case (Jean Ranchart), noted by Rooses, *Musée*, p. 163, the author has not been able to find the archives reference.
3. E.g., Arch. 31, f^o 61^{vo} (Paulus de Vos entered service 11th May [?]; last payment 25th May [?] and note: 'Je lay envoyé hors du logis parce quil estoit plain [plein] de mauvaises et vilaines paroles et gluant de mains').
4. One exception was Pierre van Craesbeeck (Arch. 33, f^o 1) discussed in the text immediately following.
5. Cf. Arch. 31, f^{os} 41 (3 years), 46 (2 years), 114 (2 years), 147 (2 years), 162 (3 years); Arch. 32, f^o 94 (2 years; last entry of this kind: 1572).

they were working at exceeded the daily average output, then their pay increased accordingly.¹

In the case of the apprentice compositor Antoine Avians Plantin entered in the accounts only a few sums of money he had advanced him and the fact that the lad ‘s'en est alé et hors d'aprentissage et men avoit adverti par avant et estparti à mon contentement fort superbe’.² However, under the name of Cornelis Tol Plantin noted that he had entered into an agreement on 30th July 1564 with this workman to pay him 9 st. per forme for a particular book ‘dont ie rabbatray 3 st. par iour pour Antoine apprentif auquel il doit monstrer et gouverner’.³ Like the other apprentices, Avians was entitled to a daily amount. This was deducted from Tol's wages but not actually given to Avians, so it must have been kept by Plantin in payment for the boy's board and lodging. This entry implies that the other apprentices did not live in.

Four detailed contracts have come down from Plantin's later years. Three concern apprentice compositors who boarded with Plantin. The fourth, a rather unusual one, was drawn up on 22nd May 1579 and concerned an apprentice pressman, Abraham Smesman, son of one of Plantin's workmen.⁴ It appears that the young Smesman had already served six years as an apprentice with the firm. Now his father was binding him for a further two years, during which he was to live in. He was to receive more money than the ordinary apprentices: an annual wage of 30 fl. in addition to the cost of his board and lodging in the first year, and 50 fl. in the second year. These exceptional provisions may have been connected with the family circumstances of the Smesmans, or with the young man's behaviour. The stipulation ‘sans qu'il puisse aler hors de la maison sans mon congé’ may point to some sort of disciplinary measure

1. Cf. the text quoted on p. 325, note 2. Slightly differently formulated in the agreement of 21st June 1572 with Hart Motten, who was to receive 5 st. ‘pour 2500 [sheets] qui est 1 st. pour les 500 et ainsi à l'advenant.’ His usual weekly wage in 1572 was 1 fl. 10 st. (Arch. 32, f^o 90).
2. Arch. 31, f^o 47.
3. Arch. 31, f^o 8^{vo}.
4. Arch. 33, f^o 8.

suggested by the father. It is worthy of note that Smesman senior cannot have been an easy gentleman to get along with: years before he had himself left the firm after a quarrel.¹

The subject of another contract, drawn up on 1st September 1578, was Robert Bruneau, son of Jacques Bruneau, choirmaster of St. Bavo's, Ghent.² He was to receive board and lodging, but no wages. His father was to pay for his clothing. The apprenticeship was fixed at five years. If Bruneau broke the contract and left the *officina* before this term was up, he was to reimburse Plantin for the expenses incurred (presumably for board and lodging) at the rate of 60 fl. for the first two, and 40 fl. for the subsequent years.

The two other contracts are roughly similar. Jan Ranchart was bound apprentice pressman for four years, starting from the Feast of St. John, 1579. He was to receive board and lodging, but if he left his master before the end of his apprenticeship he must pay back the money spent on his keep, with an additional 100 fl.³ Pierre van Craesbeeck entered the Plantin house as a boarding apprentice compositor a little later than the others (probably about 1583). His apprenticeship was fixed at six years. For the first three years he received only his keep. In his fourth year he was given an additional 6 fl., then 9 fl. in his fifth, and 12 fl. in his last year.⁴

The contract entered into by Jacques, or Jack Strong, son of the type-founder Thomas Strong, for a six-year apprenticeship in 1615, set out similar arrangements to the preceding ones.⁵ It differed only in that, at his parents' request - and, reading between the lines, as a special favour - he was to receive 10 fl. a year in addition to his keep to pay for his clothes. On 9th March 1617 Balthasar I and Jan II Moretus agreed to Thomas Strong's request that his son's apprenticeship should be extended by one more year and that the clothing

1. In Jan. 1567: Arch. 31, f^o 17^{ro}. Cf. p. 350, note 1.
2. Arch. 33, f^o 13.
3. According to Rooses, *Musée*, p. 163. The author has not been able to trace the relevant document in the archives.
4. Arch. 33, f^o 1. His date of entry into service is not recorded, but he was paid as a compositor from 27th Oct. 1589 onwards.
5. Arch. 130, f^o 40.

allowance should be increased to 20 fl. However, the contract was cancelled shortly after this: 'Depuis est fuis de la maison en Hollande, et estant de retour par commun advis de mon frère n'avons volu derechef recevoir.'¹

The contracts from 1578 and 1579 show a rather different tendency from the earlier ones, and this new tendency was to persist in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The pay made to the apprentices for their work decreased somewhat, though not by very much.² The biggest change lay in the fact that the period of apprenticeship was increased and the lads were more strictly and formally bound to their masters, who in turn accepted greater responsibility for their welfare and education. There were no more non-resident apprentices: lodging with the master was henceforth an invariable part of the articles of apprenticeship.

The older crafts had long had articles of this kind. From the Middle Ages they had sought to limit entry to their trades - and thereby their practice - by all manner of restrictions, calculated among other things to let in no more than a few apprentices. The new printing industry, which for a long time had managed to stay outside the guild system, had not bothered much at first about these kinds of regulations. It has been seen that the apprentices of Plantin's early years were in effect young, unskilled labour. They were immediately involved in the work of the firm and thereby learnt the tricks of the trade - not much attention was given to their training, but on the other hand they earned quite good money for their age. If the Plantinian press can be taken as typical, then it was around 1578 to 1580 that the tendency towards the more traditional guild system with its stricter rules about apprenticeship began to be apparent among Antwerp printers. This may be connected with the fact that

1. *Ibid.* Later Strong worked as a type-founder for the firm, like his father. After a time he absconded, leaving a large debt unpaid (cf. p. 109).
2. Antoine Avians, an apprentice compositor in 1564-65, and the only one then living in, had received no cash payments, Plantin retaining the lad's contractual wages to pay for his keep (cf. above, p. 353). In this respect there was little or no difference in conditions between the boarding apprentices of the early and later years of Plantin's career.

at that time there were too many men looking for jobs and typographic output had fallen. It may also be that the Calvinist party, that took power in 1577 and leaned strongly on the members of the craft and trade guilds, had something to do with it.

Chapter 14

An Unruly Republic

Plantin did not often have much to say about his workmen.¹ In the New Year's greeting for 1576 to his father-in-law, Jan Moretus commented in humorous vein on the capacities - and incapacities - of the firm's workers.² Plantin's entries in the wages accounts about the departure or dismissal of pressmen and compositors give actual instances of the men's behaviour and attitudes.³ The most informative of all, however, are the ordinances, with their codification of the most common offences and their prescribed fines for them, and the 'complaints books' in which the men could commit their woes to paper; these show that reality sometimes exceeded the anticipations of those who drafted the rules of the *officina*.⁴ Most of the ordinances preserved, and all the complaints books, date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Things were as turbulent under the Moretuses as in the time of Plantin.

The ordinance of 1555-56 gives a fairly complete picture of the

1. See for example his letter to Bishop d'Oignies of Tournai, July-Aug. 1571 (*Corr.*, II, no. 282): 'Et quant est du dernier point de m'obliger de donner ledict Antiphonaire achevé aux Advents, je le ferois bien volontiers si la nonchallance, yvrongnerie et malice de mes ouvriers pouvoit estre par quelques loix, raisons, ou conditions réprimée et réduite à quelques certaines journées de besongner.'
2. Text in Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 163-164.
3. Cf. p. 350, note 1 and 3, p. 351, note 1.
4. Complaints books - called *breuckboeck* [penalty book] - preserved for 1625-41 (Arch. 697, f^{os} 1-59), 1678-89 (Arch. 340), and 1713-69 (Arch. 264).

most prevalent offences. Wrongdoing was atoned for with jugs of ale, or occasionally by payment of fines; for certain offences a slipper was applied to the transgressor's backside.¹ In 1563, at the beginning of the second phase of his printing career, Plantin was much more experienced. In the rules for that year all fines were expressed in terms of money, and corporal punishment and jugs of ale disappeared. The use of beer and other alcoholic drinks in the shop was henceforth strictly regulated.² Another sort of experience finds expression in the rule: 'First, it is forbidden for anyone who wishes to work or daily spend time in our aforesaid printing office to engage in disputation either in opposing or defending any matter concerning religion.' How important the master thought it to avoid such arguments is shown by the penalty of 6 st. (only a little less than an average day's earnings) he imposed for breach of this rule. Calvinism was then making its presence felt in the Netherlands, provoking sharp reactions from the authorities. Plantin had had personal experience of what the consequences could be; when he drew up this rule he had only been back a few months from exile in Paris. Disorder and brawling carried a penalty of only 3 st.

The 1567 ordinance (Ord. B) repeated word for word the provisions for order and discipline in the workshop laid down in 1563. The 1570-71 ordinance (Ord. C), really an addendum to that of 1567, introduced new provisions mainly intended to increase all penalties for misbehaviour, because of the rising cost of living, to 6 St., except for the fine for being drunk on the premises which went up to 10 st. There was no more mention of religious arguments: Alva's reign of terror had stilled all disputatious tongues.

There is not much in the way of clauses concerning discipline and order in the later ordinances of the Moretuses, except that sometimes, in 1715 for example, arguments and wagers on religious or political

1. It was mainly the apprentices and other youngsters (probably the shop hands) who were given corporal punishment. It was only prescribed for an adult in the case of a compositor who did not gather up dropped type before leaving on Saturday; he could avoid this humiliation by paying a fine.
2. Ord. A, Art. 16.

topics are singled out again.¹ It was no longer necessary to include detailed provisions in the regulations issued by the master and governing the working of the *officina*: the men themselves has assumed responsibility for these matters² and dealt with them in their own ordinances as need arose.³ Although interesting in themselves, all these ordinances and regulations are essentially general and legalistic. For a better idea of what everyday life in the firm was really like, what the questions were on which those concerned with keeping the peace had to give judgments, it is necessary to look at the complaints books. The entries scrawled by unlettered workmen are often difficult to decipher, but they make entertaining reading.⁴

The Plantin-Moretus Museum today has that sort of sober tranquillity that makes visitors involuntarily lower their voices. But it was not always like this. In the time of Plantin and the Moretuses it was a place where men worked, grumbled, quarrelled and swore hard, and sometimes even fought; a turbulent, vital place. On occasion these unruly workers were in open conflict with the masters of the Golden Compasses, at least with its founder. In a couple of letters written in November 1572 to de Çayas, secretary to Philip II, Plantin related that his men, seeing he was busy with orders for the king and eager for a share of the profits, had risen against him.⁵ He had responded by turning them out and pretending to close down his business for good, which brought the ringleaders back in a humbler frame of mind.

This incident is often quoted as an example of strike and lock-out in

1. Ord. I, Art. 4: 'Gheene disputatien te allegeren, te opponeren ofte te defenderen die ghecroonde Hoofden ofte Religien souden moghen raecken: nochte oock gheene weddinghen op alsulcke materie, 't zij van Oorlogh oft nieuwe tijdinghe te moghen doen, waer door meermael twist ende woorden comen uyt te spruyten.' (To engage in no dispute, neither in opposition nor in defence, which might concern crowned heads or religion: nor in wagers on such matters, whether pertaining to war or news, whence often strife and dispute proceed.)
2. Cf. pp. 367-368.
3. Ord. L was in fact one such series of minor rules and decisions by the workmen (from 1609).
4. Cf. Sabbe, 'De Plantijnsche werkstede', pp. 598-599.
5. *Corr.*, III, no. 424, pp. 207-209 (in Latin and very long), no. 432, pp. 224-225 (in French and briefer).

the Renaissance period.¹ It was not actually a strike: Plantin only stated that his men had combined against him² and sabotaged the work through their unruliness, not that they had downed tools and walked out, or sat down. However, Plantin's response did amount to what would now be called a lock-out. Strikes did occur in the sixteenth century and there are plenty of instances that can be quoted for Antwerp.³ Lock-outs by employers were much rarer and Plantin's action could be taken as one of the first - always assuming that this was in fact what he did. The author, however, believes that Plantin was trying to pull the wool over de Çayas's eyes.⁴ The facts of the matter were not as they were told to de Çayas. Plantin had dismissed his workmen for the reason that he intended to close down because of the political situation and his own financial difficulties. Being bound by contract to Philip II to supply missals and breviaries, such an action would have been tantamount to high treason in Spanish eyes. When Plantin, the worst of the danger having passed, decided to stay in business, he had to be careful to conceal what had really been taking place. So the story of his men's 'rebellion' and the lock-out of summer and autumn of 1572 were no more than a camouflage. However, in his first letter to de Çayas, Plantin referred to similar troubles that had arisen during the printing of the Polyglot Bible and cited Arias Montanus as a witness. This episode in the relations between master and men appears more likely to have been true; it seems reasonable to suppose that this was Plantin's inspiration when he found he had to concoct an explanation for the closing down of the press in 1572.

1. For example, in H. Pirenne, 'L'importance économique et morale d'Anvers à l'époque de Plantin', *Fêtes données en 1920... à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de la naissance de Chr. Plantin*, 1920, p. 23.
2. In the short French account: 's'estoyent bendés contre moy'.
3. See Scholliers, 'De handarbeiders. II. De 16de eeuw', *Flandria Nostra*, Vol. 1 (1957), pp. 261 sqq. Cf. of the same author 'Vrije en onvrije arbeiders voornamelijk te Antwerpen in de XVIe eeuw', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 11, 1956, pp. 285-322. The printing trade in Paris and Lyons also experienced violent conflicts between employers and employees in the sixteenth century: Febvre & Martin, *l'apparition du livre*, pp. 203-204; D.T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime, 1500-1791*, pp. 262 sqq.
4. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 78-80.

Plantin's phrasing of his account of the earlier dispute is very careful. He implies that when the labour troubles arose in 1572 he thought of applying the same remedy as on the previous occasion, implying that he had then too resorted to the lock-out. But there is something rather forced in his manner of presentation.¹ If when the Polyglot Bible was being printed actual conflicts had arisen between Plantin and his workmen, then this would have led to protests on their part and possibly sabotage, which Plantin would have countered with the help of Arias Montanus and the law in the shape of the Antwerp magistrates, who at that time regularly supported employers against the workers. But that the men would have gone on strike and the master of the Golden Compasses retaliated with a lock-out is no more likely at the time of the Polyglot Bible period than in 1572. What can be accepted is that the social peace in the firm in those years was seriously disturbed by the demands of the men, organized in their chapel, a kind of trade union.

The chapel²

The guild system outlasted the Middle Ages. In the Netherlands of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, capital and labour were still formally united in the 'ambachten'. But there was a difference now: capital had gained the upper hand and the masters saw to it that their sons were specially favoured. Ever greater obstacles were placed in the path of ordinary journeymen seeking to rise to mastership, and it was the masters who had the last word in the guilds. However, in theory at least, masters and journeymen stayed together in the same companies in these centuries. But there were

1. Only in the Latin text: 'Cumque hujus certe maliciae nullum finem viderem venit tandem nobis in mentem idem remedium huic malo adhibendum quod olim Ill. viro Domino Benedicto Ariae Montano (dum Bibliorum Regiorum absolutionem toto etiam conamine urgere eodemque modo ut nunc mihi repugnabant et insultabant) praesente teste nomine regio et hujus urbis Magistratus illis juvante, neque quicquam promovente adhibueram. Illos itaque domo nostra omnes ejeci...'
2. See especially L. Voet, 'The Printers' Chapel in the Plantinian House'. Cf. also bibliographical details on p. 310, note 1.

exceptions, particularly in the new capitalist industries, among them printing and publishing.

The situation was not everywhere the same. In Germany medieval tradition leavened the new printing industry and master printers and journeymen sat round the same tables with their *Steine* in the same *Gesellschaften*. In England, in 1557, by royal decree, the Stationers' Company was set up. It was rather in the nature of a club for the master printers, but journeymen were represented and could on occasion make their opinions heard. Things were quite different in France and the Netherlands, where the guild system was not extended to the printing trade until quite late, and then only partially and in a few centres. In France the Parisian booksellers and printers did not form themselves into a guild until 1608. It took even longer in the Netherlands - with the exception of Antwerp. Individual Antwerp printers had already been entering the guild of St. Luke, to which the practitioners of the other artistic professions belonged. In 1557 registration in this guild was made compulsory for all Antwerp printers and booksellers. They objected, but had to comply.

It is significant that this happened in the same year as the Stationers' Company was established in England: Philip II was perhaps influenced by the example of his wife, Mary Tudor, or it may have been the other way about. In both cases the aim was clearly better government supervision of printing and book production. The resistance of the Antwerp printers and the negative attitude of their fellows in other Netherlands and French centres is understandable. One of the chief aims and in practice the only real advantage of the guilds and companies was the fact that they could control entry to the crafts, and therefore their practice, in favour of the established masters and their successors. The printers' guilds could not offer any such advantage at first. In the Netherlands and France a man became a printer or bookseller by royal patent. An agency of the central government and not a local association decided who could enter the profession and on what conditions. To them membership of a guild meant paying out a lot of money to no real advantage. Later, however, in the seventeenth century, when the economic situation became more difficult, French

and Netherlands printers and booksellers began to form themselves into guilds for mutual assistance and protection against other corporations, and were able to persuade the authorities to make royal patents dependent on membership of a guild. The Antwerp printers who had rebelled in 1557 became in the course of time the most zealous defenders of the guild of St. Luke. When in the second half of the eighteenth century, during the reign of Maria Theresia, attempts were made to free the artistic crafts from the strait-jacket of the guild system, the Antwerp printers resisted to the utmost of their capacity. They remained loyal to the guild of St. Luke until the end of its existence and the arrival of the French revolutionary armies.¹

Plantin and all his successors until the end of the eighteenth century were entered in the ledgers of the guild. However, in the Antwerp guild of St. Luke, as in the other printers' guilds in the Low Countries, the journeymen were excluded from the start from what was a preserve of the masters. The journeymen formed their own associations, but their right to negotiate with other parties was never recognized in law and their territorial basis was not the town but the workshop. They existed only through the goodwill of their employers.

Moxon in his *Mechanick Exercises* (1683-84) was the first to discuss in any detail these associations of journeymen, which he referred to as chapels, asserting that they had existed for many years in England. In France the *chapelles* were not mentioned until the eighteenth century, and then the references are not very informative.² For the Netherlands there is only one known source: the documents of the Plantinian house. These are extensive and enable the working of the institution to be traced in detail. The series of papers starts in 1555-56, more than a century before Moxon's work. The file on the Plantinian chapel consequently has a far more than local significance and scope, and makes a most important contribution to the social

1. For printers and the Antwerp guild of St. Luke in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see L. Voet, 'Boeken en drukkers', *Antwerpen in de XVIIIde eeuw*, 1952, pp. 331-334.
2. See the bibliographical references in L. Voet, 'The Printers' Chapel in the Plantinian House', pp. 1-2.

history of the book trade of Western Europe, particularly in the Netherlands, France and England.

It has been seen that the ordinance of 1555-56 (Ord. G) laid down very general guide-lines for the relationship of master, compositors, pressmen, and apprentices and prescribed penalties for breaches of the rules: the slipper and pints of beer. One of the clauses stated that the compositor who did not pick up any type he had dropped should receive a beating with a slipper, or could be exempted from this corporal punishment on payment of 1 st. 'for the benefit of the chapel'. Another provision in the same ordinance laid down that the master, on penalty of a jug of beer, should maintain all the customs of the press 'for the benefit of the chapel'. These clauses clearly imply that there had been a chapel of journeymen in the Plantinian house right from its beginning. This chapel received the fines paid by transgressors and the bonuses and other extras paid by the master on certain feast- days and other special occasions, as established by custom.¹ Later entry to the Plantinian chapel was dependent on payment of a fee. The 1555-56 rules did not state this explicitly, but they decreed that any newcomer to the firm, even if he were a proof-reader or shop boy and not directly involved in the printing craft, must pay a *bienvenue*. If these people had to pay up, then it may be assumed that the journeymen had to do as well. In this ordinance, some of the provisions are justified by reference to practice elsewhere. For example, the apprentices had to wait on the journeymen or else be beaten 'as is the custom in all other countries'. Shop boys and proof readers had to pay their *bienvenues* 'as is everywhere the custom'. This means that the chapel in its 1555-56 form was not something invented by Plantin, nor had it been forced on a young inexperienced employer by the men, but was an institution already in existence in other places. The name had probably been taken over along with the list of quite carefully defined 'customs'. It is worthy of note that

1. 'Item, that the master shall maintain all the customs of the press, such as payment for completed editions, Wayzgoose, Plough Monday, Maundy Thursday, Shrove Tuesday, and fees for discarded ink-ball leathers for the benefit of the chapel...'

whereas Plantin always referred to the ‘*compagnie des imprimeurs*’ in his wages accounts, the ordinances compiled for the men only used the term ‘chapel’. This must have been the current term, used by Plantin's men and their fellows in the other printing offices of Western Europe.

Although the 1555-56 ordinance was the first to mention the journeymen's association, it gives no clue to the origin of the name. Various technical terms used then and later in the Plantinian chapel were French (*bienvenue, proficiat*) and these and other French words were current in the English chapels. This may mean that the institution originated in France. The author believes that there was a connexion with the *confrérie* of the Paris journeymen printers, which in those years had gone to ground in a chapel of St.-Jean-de-Latran in the university quarter, and which, disguised as a religious confraternity, carried on a fierce struggle with the masters for better wages. This *confrérie* was at the time the only organized and effective trade union in the West European printing trade and its example must have evoked a response far and wide.¹ Whatever the real position may have been in Paris, the Plantinian chapel was certainly not a religious brotherhood and the only connexion with religion consisted -later - of decorating the statue of the Virgin in the printing press and obligatory attendance at the annual Mass in honour of St. Luke, patron of the Antwerp printers.

In 1563, when he started printing again after his return from Paris, Plantin prepared a new ordinance (Ord. A). This time the term chapel is not used, but a well-organized *compagnie des imprimeurs* can be discerned between the lines. Thus disputes were to be dealt with by the master and three or four ‘delegated journeymen’.² This can only mean journeymen chosen by their mates to lead the chapel. The various extras and bonuses set out in 1555-56 were beginning to get on Plantin's nerves. They were so multifarious that he could not help forgetting one or another of them, in which case a jug of beer

1. Cf. Voet, ‘The Printers' Chapel...’, pp. 6-7.

2. Ord. A: in Art. I ‘the master and three or four journeymen’; in Art. 2 ‘the master with his delegated journeymen’.

was demanded of him. He therefore decided that they should be replaced by a statutory sum to be paid at stipulated times: 2 fl. per working press every three months. The practice of having a new member pay an entry fee was now stated explicitly and - probably because of arguments - carefully defined. The newcomer paid this fee in two stages: a modest *bienvenue* on arrival, comprising a *drinkgeld* (money for drinks) of 8 st. for the journeymen and 2 st. for the poor box. After a month, if the master and his workmates found him acceptable and reliable, he had to dig deeper into his pockets for what was termed the *proficiat*: 30 st. for the poor box and 5 st. for each journeyman. The same ordinance divided fines and bonuses from the master between the poor box and a box for gratuities.

A new set of regulations, probably issued in 1567 (Ord. B), repeated the text of the preceding almost in its entirety, except for a few changes concerning the chapel (the term was in use once more) and its operation. The staff had greatly increased. The men were leaving their presses and type-cases too often for round-table conferences. Plantin ordered that no more such assemblies were to be held without his prior knowledge, and meetings of the whole staff were absolutely forbidden, except for the election of stewards or 'judges' responsible for the application of the rules. The 'delegated journeymen' of 1563 had now acquired an official name. Plantin also stressed that all the journeymen must obey their elected leaders.

An addendum to these regulations (Ord.C) was compiled a few years later. It itemized a number of offences not included in previous regulations, together with the appropriate fines. The opportunity was taken to legislate for another matter of direct concern to the chapel. Each month, or at least every three months, a 'receiver' must be chosen to take care of the contents of the gratuity and poor boxes. As in the case of the stewards it may be assumed that the office of treasurer had existed before this, but his office was now more carefully defined, perhaps because there had been differences of opinion within the chapel.

This addendum was followed by a new ordinance, the last and the most remarkable of Plantin's time (Ord. D). At first sight it seems

the work of a young and very green employer: general guide-lines concerning standards of conduct in the workshop without any sanctions to back up all this wise counsel. Closer reading, however, shows these regulations to be an offensive against the chapel. Time and time again Plantin emphasizes that he and he alone (or his deputy) will settle disputes and pass judgment in cases of breaches of the rules. The men received an increase in bonuses: the 2 fl. per working press paid every three months was augmented by 6 st. per journeyman paid on particular feast days (Wayzgoose, Shrove Tuesday, and Plough Monday) and the price of one copy of each work printed. However, these patronal bonuses went into the sick fund, and this box the master kept in his office. The journeymen could have the key of the box or make a record of income and expenditure, but they could not get at the money itself without knocking on their employer's door. There was no further mention of the gratuity box. It seems to have gone, and so do the stewards and the receiver.

These regulations were compiled in the years 1570 to 1572, when the journeymen of the *Officina Plantiniana* 'combined' against their master.¹ Without formally abolishing the chapel, Plantin simply ignored it, setting aside its privileges. Henceforth the master was again in complete control. How long Plantin maintained this position cannot be said. The political troubles that threatened the existence of the press itself in the succeeding years pushed the struggle for better pay and the other social conflicts rather into the background.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, and probably during the later years of Plantin's life, the chapel re-emerged, once more in possession of the sick fund and of the gratuity money, and with more rights and privileges than in Plantin's earlier years. At least from the beginning of the seventeenth century, pressmen and compositors associated in the chapel formed a truly self-governing body in which the employer seldom figured, except to pay his dues. He retained the right of supervision and if he found particular abuses too reprehensible

1. Cf. pp. 359-361.

(particularly if they were likely to jeopardize the quality of the work done), he still intervened by drafting a general ordinance.¹ But for all practical purposes it was the chapel itself that, at least from 1609 on, exercised all legislative powers.²

Thus from the beginning the journeymen of the Plantin press were organized in a sort of trade union, formally recognized by the master. Every journeyman was obliged to join and this form of closed shop was similarly recognized, at least until the break in the years 1570-72. Plantin and his workmen were not originators in this: they copied existing models. Many details of government and organization, rates of fines and bonuses may have varied, but chapels operating on these same general lines must have been quite normal phenomena, if not in all printing shops, then in the medium-sized and large ones in the Netherlands, France, and England.

These chapels could be dangerous, as Plantin himself discovered. Yet they must have offered the employers some real advantages, important enough for Plantin to set up one along with his first printing presses. This he supported with his authority until the conflict of 1570-72. After that the chapel was revived, more powerful than before. The importance of the chapel lay in the working conditions of the time. The workers were a troublesome breed and the operation of the piece-rate system and the exaggerated tempo of work, forced up by this, did nothing to make them more amenable. To maintain order and tranquillity and ensure good work, regulations had to be framed and sanctioned by penalties. Drafting them presented no special difficulties, only their application. Employers could be like policemen, keeping a watchful eye for trouble and arbitrating in disputes. This is undoubtedly what they did in smaller firms, but in large enterprises like the *Officina Plantiniana* the master did not have the time to do this. The chapel provided a solution. The unpleasant

1. Such as Ord. I (1715) and H (1751).
2. Ord. L, that begins in 1609 and ends in 1757 (but which Sabbe published only as far as 1700), came from the men themselves (see p. 359 note 3); so apparently did Ord. E (meal-breaks and the consumption of beer, 1642).

task of maintaining and applying the rules was delegated to the association of journeymen, who were induced to accept this responsibility by the money from the fines. The chapel applied the rules and investigated breaches of them much more zealously than the employer because it was to their financial advantage to do so.

Thanks to the records kept by the chapel itself, much more detailed information is available about its internal structure and operation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than is vouchsafed by the general ordinances of Plantin's period. The chapel appears to have consisted of all 'free' journeymen, that is to say all the workmen except the apprentices and the journeymen not yet free. The latter were newly recruited hands who had not yet worked in the press for one year and six weeks. After that period they were declared free in a quaint ceremony at which the beer flowed copiously (naturally at the expense of those being made free). A special song was sung - it has been preserved in printed form.¹ The newly free journeyman was then beaten with a slipper and half drowned in a baptismal ceremony. Every newcomer was obliged to go through this process or else leave the press. Once free and a member of the chapel, he had nothing further to pay, except in special cases of a family nature,² but when the bonuses, fines and entry fees were shared out, he could draw his portion like his associates in cash or beer.³ This initiation ceremony was in fact a development of the *proficiat* of Plantin's time. The period had been increased from one month to one year and six weeks. Financially it had become much more of an imposition: it entailed a fee of 18 fl. and an expenditure of 12 st. on beer and 2 st. on bread before the ceremony, and 3 fl. on beer afterwards.⁴

1. Text reproduced in Sabbe, 'De Plantijnsche werkstede,' p. 603.
2. Introduction to Ord. L: a 'death duty' of 3 fl. 10 st. on the decease of a workman or his wife; 3 fl. 10 st. for beer and a gift of 15 st. in the box for weddings. The custom already existed in Plantin's time: Ord. B (1567), Art. 23, refers to gratuities in the form of 'bride- groom's money' and to 'newly born and recently deceased children'.
3. In Ord. B (1567), Art. 23, it was stipulated that the money should be distributed every quarter, except for 2 fl. retained for unforeseen expenditure.
4. Ord. L, preamble.

Understandably, newcomers did not think much of this ceremony, but they had to submit to it or leave the firm. One seventeenth-century newcomer thought he had found a means of avoiding the *proficiat*. The exact circumstances are not very clear as only one relevant document has been found: the free journeymen's petition to the master in which they strenuously opposed the claims of the man in question, one G. Spierinck.¹ This petition seems to imply that being made free of the Plantinian chapel also guaranteed membership of chapels in Germany, Holland, Spain, and elsewhere. Spierinck reversed this premise, arguing that as he had already been 'freed' in Spain, he should be regarded as free of the Plantinian chapel. The free journeymen contested this in arguments that sound fairly convincing. When Spierinck had joined the firm he had acknowledged that he was not free and agreed to do the traditional probationary year. Moreover, the journeymen continued, everybody knew that there was no such 'freedom' for printers' journeymen in Spain. The petition enlarged on this point and then considered the possibility of reaching, through the good offices of the master, an agreement with the Spanish printers. It is hard to say what exactly these statements about international 'freedom' imply. They may be part of the folk-lore of the Plantinian chapel, but they might also point to some sort of international freemasonry among printers' journeymen. The decision in this case has not been preserved, but G. Spierinck was entered in the wages accounts from 27th February 1638 until 29th November 1642.² Presumably he had to yield and find the money for the expensive ceremony.

Every association has to have a committee; in those days it was called the *wet* (the law) in the Netherlands. The 'law' in Plantin's time consisted of three or four stewards and one treasurer.³ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it became much larger,⁴ comprising the prince or captain (or chairman as he would now be called),

1. Arch. 117, pp. 477-479.

2. Arch. 774 and 775.

3. Cf. pp. 365-366.

4. Further details and references for the organization and working of the chapel in these centuries in Sabbe, 'De Plantijnsche werkstede'.

seven ‘aldermen’ (equivalent to the stewards of Plantin's day), two proctors who kept order, one secretary, and one or two treasurers. This was a total of twelve or thirteen men, roughly a third of the staff. The committee was elected every year. As the members could not be re-elected in the year following their year of office, this meant that every free journeyman found himself on the committee every second or third year willy nilly. He could be exempted, but had to pay for this.¹ The new committee was installed on the last day of April; it cannot have been coincidental that the equivalent ceremony for the Antwerp City Council took place on the same day. The jugs of beer had their usual honoured place in the accompanying solemnities. To avoid complications, the wives of the electors or those elected were strictly forbidden to attend the meeting; only for the most urgent of reasons were they allowed to speak to their lords and masters - outside, at the door.

The committee was parliament, police, and tribunal within its small world. In its parliamentary capacity it prepared new regulations or amended old ones. As police force it received complaints. The secretary wrote these down in the complaints books already mentioned. As a tribunal, the committee judged complaints and offences. This normally took place at the regular three-monthly meetings. Anyone considering himself to have been injured or insulted could ask for an emergency meeting, but he had to be very sure of his case. If he was found to be in the wrong or his case rejected, then he had to pay the costs of the meeting: the jug of beer and the cake to which the committee members were entitled for every sitting. Also in their function as tribunal the committee imposed fines and penalties. It was the duty of the secretary formally to announce judgments on the following day. Stepping into the middle of the workshop he would order ‘All presses still’, after which he would read out the list of offenders and the punishment awarded them. There was no escape.

1. Those who did not wish to discharge this office paid 1 fl. 5 st. per quarter (Ord. L, Art. 51; 1632). It was later decided that anyone who could not read should be permanently excused from the secretaryship, for a payment of 1 fl. 10 st. (Ord. L, Art. 93; 1676).

If the fine could not be met out of the offender's share of the general fund, then the master was asked to deduct the amount from the man's weekly wage.

The Plantinian press ceased to function as a large-scale enterprise in about 1765. After that it did little more than stagnate with a much reduced staff. Probably this also meant the end of the chapel. Documentary evidence for it ceases in 1757.¹

The sick fund²

Illness or incapacity to work were the worst calamities that could befall the workers of those days. To counter this danger funds were set up in many of the craft guilds, intended to ameliorate the hardship of members in need.³ The printing trade was not included in the guild system at first, so the workers had to make their own arrangements within each *officina*. This is what the Plantinian men did. The sick fund they organized appeared for the first time in the 1563 rules. Article 21 stated that one sixth of the fines money was to go to the 'poor box' for the assistance of sick or disabled journeymen, or even to 'itinerant poor'.⁴ This article was not repeated in the revised rules of 1567. Probably the income from fines was not great enough to

1. End of the ordinances drawn up by the workmen (Arch. 334).
2. The main documents have been published with a commentary by Sabbe, 'De Plantijnsche werkstede'.
3. Cf. E. Scholliers, 'De handarbeiders. II. De 16de eeuw', and J. Craeybeckx, 'De Handarbeiders. III. De 17de en de 18de eeuw', *Flandria Nostra*, Vol. 1 (1957), pp. 261 sqq.
4. '...des welcken incoemst sal bewaert worden tot behulp ende bijstant der nootsakelijcheyt oft dwinghenden noot, als van siecten, oft eenighe andere accidenten, oft ongevallen, die souden moghen overcomen eenige vrye Ghesellen, werckende in deser Druckeryen, oft die arm ende ellendich sijn, oft die hier ses maenden lanck ghewrocht hebben ende wel ende eerlijck wt de voorghenomde Druckerije ghetrocken sijn: Oft oock tot de nootsakelijcheyt van anderen ende dierghelijcke arme passerende menschen, ghelyck alst den Meester met raet van alle de Ghesellen daer af goet duncken sal.' (... which income shall be kept for help and relief in time of necessity or dire need, such as sickness, or any other accident or mishap that may befall any free journeyman working in this Press, or who may be poor and wretched, or who may have worked six months in the said press well and honestly and then departed: also it shall be for the need of other itinerant poor of this kind, as the master with the council of all the journeymen may deem fit.)

guarantee regular payments of sick money. The system of assistance was accordingly reorganized. Henceforward each journeyman was obliged to contribute one Brabant *oortje* ($\frac{1}{3}$ st.) a week to the ‘general fund of the chapel to attend as needful to any unforeseen matters that might arise and also to help and support any foreign journeymen in so far as they may desire this of us’.¹ The penalty for not complying was 1 st.

The money went into the general chapel fund, but was probably earmarked for these contingencies. It has been seen that this sick fund was mentioned in the 1570-72 rules, and was retained, whereas the box for the gratuities disappeared with Plantin's virtual abolition of the chapel at this time. Plantin promised to increase the contributions to this fund, presumably to compensate for his drastic action.² It has also been seen that the cash-box itself was kept in the master's office under lock and key and that the journeymen could have the key or, if they chose, keep a record of incomes and outgoings. Employer and employees together decided on expenditure: besides the help to journeymen or former journeymen of the firm, assistance to travelling journeymen also was considered.

Probably at the end of Plantin's time, and at least from 1609, concord between master and journeymen had been achieved. The chapel again assumed responsibility for law and order in the printing shop and got its gratuity box back. However, in 1653 the sick fund seems still to have been kept in the master's office. The 1567 ordinance, establishing compulsory weekly contributions, supplemented by the rules of 1570-72, presumably governed the sick benefit system until 1653.

That year brought another important reorganization. The relevant regulation is headed ‘Establishment and fund for the solace and assistance of journeymen of the Plantinian press’.³ Henceforth it was

1. Ord. B, Art. 23.

2. Cf. p. 367.

3. Arch. 432. Published by Sabbe, *De Plantijnsche werkstede* (under M, together with the addenda of 1661 and 1706). He did not publish or discuss an ‘ordinance for the great fund’ of 1667 (Arch. 334, f^o 32) nor an instruction for the treasurers (Arch. 334, f^o 33).

called the 'great fund', and distinguished from the 'little fund' which probably corresponded with the earlier gratuity fund. Although this 'great fund' was not new, its rules had now been systematized and a scale of payments had been carefully worked out.¹ The basic principle remained as in Plantin's day - the journeymen had to make a regular contribution to the treasurer, now fixed at 4 st. per month. It was also stated that the proof-readers, type-founders, and collators might join. This put the sick fund on to an autonomous footing like the chapel - but still governed by the 'law' of the chapel. In 1570-72 Plantin had allotted the sick fund a series of irregular payments. The master was to continue to make his contribution to the great fund, but it was now standardized at 1 fl. 10 st. per working press per quarter.² Occasionally the master put in something extra.³ In one of the documents concerning the sick fund Balthasar II Moretus was lauded as the 'praiseworthy author and founder of this fund', so he had either initiated the reorganization or enthusiastically supported the enterprise of his workmen. The fund apparently enjoyed further benevolence on his part: 24 fl. in 1662 'with which he favoured the fund when he regained his health after a long sickness'; 7 fl. 4 st. in 1663 on the occasion of his safe return from a journey to Paris; 25 fl. in 1665 'in gratitude for the happy conclusion of the journey made by his son in Italy'; 30 fl. in 1668 when his son Joannes Jacobus left for Malines to begin his noviciate with the Jesuits; 30 fl. in 1672 'for a favour on the occasion of Susanna Clara, his eldest daughter's becoming a nun'; 30 fl. in 1673 'as a favour when his eldest son was married'. When he died in 1674 he left the fund a legacy of 150 fl., a fact that was entered in the books with the appropriate emotion.

To be able to benefit from the fund, journeymen must have contributed for at least one year. If one of them was very ill, so

1. Receipts and outgoings were now carefully recorded too: Arch. 432 (1653-96) and Arch. 433 (1696-1776). Cf. also Arch. 666.
2. Not to be confused with the contribution of 3 fl. paid on the same basis, but which went into the small fund as gratuities for the men.
3. Sabbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 612-616, has additional information and references concerning these gifts and the further working of the sick fund after 1653.

that he had to have medicines or stay in bed, he was paid 30 st. per week for as long as the illness lasted and until he was able to go out and about again. The assistance was reduced to 15 st. if the man was able to go out but was not yet able to resume work. If the 30 st. was insufficient this could be increased if a majority of the contributors so voted. In the case of epidemics that compelled the sick man and his whole family to stay indoors, the amount was raised to 3 fl. If a journeyman died the fund gave his family 10 fl. towards the costs of the funeral. In addition the fund paid for a mass to be sung and all journeymen had to be present, with a 3 st. penalty for non-attendance. In 1681 these scales were adjusted slightly. There was by this time enough money in the fund for the seriously sick to be paid 48 st. instead of 30 st., and 24 st. instead of 10 st. to sufferers from gout or calculus. However, an increase in the number of sick, and years of supporting a few gouty journeymen compelled the committee to return to the old scales in 1706.

The sick fund survived the disappearance of the chapel about the middle of the 18th century, when the Plantinian press ceased to function as a large-scale concern. The work of the fund can be traced until 1808.¹

1. The extant accounts end in 1776, but the list of free journeymen in the sick fund continues in Arch. 334, f^{os} 46-62, until 1808.

Sales and finances

Chapter 15

Costing

In the foregoing sections an attempt has been made to throw light on all aspects of book production in the *Officina Plantiniana*. In this part of the study it is necessary to consider how the masters of the Golden Compasses calculated the cost price of their books; which of the many items of expenditure detailed in the preceding sections were taken into account when arriving at this figure - which in turn determined the selling price.

Many of the books Plantin printed were commissioned. For a number of these there are records in his accounts or correspondence of the prices quoted to the clients. These prices were usually expressed per ream of printed paper.¹ Sometimes it was specified how much of the figure represented the cost of paper, how much the pressmen's and compositors' wages;² and naturally the prices varied according to

1. Arch. 38, f^o 103 bis^{fo}: printing of C. Sainctes, *Reformation de la confession de foy*, 1562, for the Bishop of Arras [Granvelle]: '...accordé du prix payer 51 st. de la rame imprimée et en veult avoir deux milles et tient ledit livre imprimé 4 feuilles et demi, sont 18 rames imprimées: 45 fl. 18 st.'
2. Though exceptionally so. But it is thus in, for example, Arch. 38, f^o 103^{vo} (specification on behalf of Polytes, town clerk of the city of Antwerp, of the charges for an edition prepared for Philip II; author and title of the book are not given, but in French and Latin editions, 1562: statement of the prices of the different sorts of paper used, of the cost of printing, the collating of the sheets, and the packing). Another example: Arch. 38, f^o 91 (for the Marquis de las Navas, 2nd August 1558: 'Psalterium in 16^o contenant 13 feilles rouge et noir dont pour l'impression de chacun feille faut 2 fl.: 26 fl.; pour le papier de aoo exemplaires 48 mains et couste au prix de 45 st. la rame: 3 fl. 10 st.').

the size of the run and the technical difficulty of the order.¹ However, these particular figures are of only relative usefulness; they include Plantin's profit margin, which is not usually specified, so there is no means of determining the actual cost prices.

In the years 1563-67, however, during his partnership with the Van Bomberghen family, Plantin kept careful records of how much was spent on the production of each book and how these costs were subdivided:² one of the earliest examples of industrial costing.³ Two items always appear in these records: the price of the paper and the wages paid to compositors and pressmen. In many cases this is the only expenditure noted. Occasionally there are records of other costs, such as authors' fees or the amounts spent on purchasing copies of books for reprinting; fees for translations, the compiling of indexes, and similar work; the cost of privileges, and so on. Compared with paper and wages these other expenses were always relatively small.

The relationship between the two chief items fluctuated from book to book and depended on the quality of the paper used and the number of copies printed. Wages formed a larger percentage of costs when paper quality was low and the run small, but even then paper practically always cost more than wages. Some figures are given on pp. 382-384.

1. Other examples of the printing of works for customers with record of the price per ream: Arch. 44, f^o 28^{vo} (14th March 1566, for the bookseller Jean Bourgeois of Arras: *Coustumes d'Artois*); Arch. 45, f^o 63^{vo} (12th May 1567, for the bookseller Maternus Cholinus of Cologne: the *Parvus catechismus* by Canisius); Arch. 45, f^o 90^{to} (8th July 1567, for the Archbishop of Cambrai: *Interpretation des sacrements en flameng pour le Manuel de Cambray*); Arch. 45, f^o 181^{vo} (25th November 1567, for the bookseller A. Pissard of Mons: a French grammar); Arch. 46, f^o 40^{vo} (27th February 1568, for the bookseller Simon Pauwels of Delft: *Officium Missae* by Opmeer); Arch. 47, f^o 110^{vo} (14th July 1569, for the bookseller Jacques Boschartd of Douai: a catechism); Arch. 49, f^o 118^{vo} (30th August 1571, for the government: *Index expurgationis*).
2. Arch. 4.
3. Cf. F. Edler, 'Cost accounting in the Sixteenth Century,' *The Accounting Review*, 12, 1937, pp. 226-227. See also p. 4.

Although illustrations were relatively costly, their expense could often be spread over various editions. For example, a Dutch translation of the Latin Vesalius-Valverde was issued in 1567, illustrated with the same plates. The *Sambucus Emblemata* was a best-seller that went through numerous editions. Plantin must have foreseen this: in calculating the cost of the first edition of 1564 he indicated that the illustration costs need only be entered once in the accounts as the wood-blocks would henceforth be available for future editions.¹

But even when costs could be spread in this way, illustrated works remained expensive for both publisher and buyer. Plantin sold his 1581 edition of Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* both with plates (81 engraved maps of towns and provinces, together with some representation of Antwerp monuments) and without. Customers who simply wanted the text paid only 2 fl. 10 st.; those who wanted the plates as well had to pay 7 fl.²

It is not without interest to note what the customer had to pay in the few cases - in practice nearly always breviaries and missals - where he had the choice between an edition with woodcuts and one with copper engravings. The quarto breviary of 1575, for example, with eight large illustrations, was priced at 3 fl. for the copies with woodcuts (in fact seven woodcuts and one copper engraving) whereas the copies with eight intaglio prints cost 4 fl. For the quarto breviary of 1587, with ten illustrations, the prices were 5 fl. and 6 fl.³

When costing Plantin always included paper, compositors' and pressmen's wages, illustrations and, where appropriate, author's or translator's fees, etc. in his calculations, as indicated in the examples given below. He did not include the wages of proof-readers, collators, and his sales staff; the purchase and making of typographical material and equipment (presses, punches, matrices, cast type), and the use of the workshop; ink and vermilion; leather for ink-balls; candles for lighting; the charcoal for heating and for the furnace.

1. Arch. 4, f^o 63^{ro} '...nous trouvons que lesd[icts] Emblemata Sambuci coustent [372 fl. 5½ st.] qui est la pièce environ 6 st. en comptant les figures avec. Lesquelles figures demeureroyent p[ar] ainsi pour proffict.'
2. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers*, I, p. 152.
3. Arch. M 296, f^o 2 (where other examples are to be found). Cf. also p. 203, note 1.

ABC avec la civilité puerile, in ?, 1564¹
(250 copies; 5½ quires - very cheap paper)

- paper: 14 reams, at 12½ st. per ream	8 fl. 5 st.
- wages	7 fl. 4 st.
	—————
Total	15 fl. 9 st.

Cost price per copy: ¼ st.

Horatius, 16mo, 1564²
(1,250 copies; 11 quires - medium quality paper)

- paper: 25 reams, at 1 fl. 3½ st. per ream	32 fl. 18 st.
- wages	21 fl. 4½ st.
	—————
Total	54 fl. 2½ st.

Cost price per copy: just under 7⁄8 st.

Hadrianus Junius, *Nomenclator*, octavo, 1567³
(1,550 copies; 44 quires - medium quality paper)

- paper: 141 reams, at 1 fl. 8 st. per ream	197 fl. 8 st.
- wages	132 fl. 9 st.
- author's fee	27 fl.
- preparation of ms. ⁴	42 fl. 6 st.
	—————
Total	399 fl. 3 st.

Cost price per copy: just over 5¼ st.

J.B. Porta, *Magia Naturalis*. (Dutch edition), octavo, 1565⁵.

1. Arch. 4, f^o 61.

2. Arch. 4, f^o 61.

3. Arch. 4, f^o 69.

4. Comprising 28 fl. 6 st. 'pour l'escritture dud[ict] livre à Mre P. Kerkhovius' and 14 fl. 'pour la faceon de la table à Kerkhovius'.

5. Arch. 4, f^o 85.

(1,250 copies, 19 quires - medium quality paper).

- paper: 48 reams 10 quires, at 1 fl. 1 st. 50 fl. 18 st.
per ream

- wages 33 fl. 15 st.

- translation 15 fl.

Total

 99 fl. 13 st.

Cost price per copy: just over 1½ st.

Pierre Savonne, *Instruction et manière de tenir livres de raison*, quarto, 1567¹
(800 copies, 40 quires - good quality paper)

- paper: 70 reams ² , at 2 fl. 10 st. per ream	175 fl.
- wages	57 fl. 16 st.
- author's fee ³	47 fl.
- additional expenditure ⁴	7 fl. 10 st.

Total	287 fl. 6 st.

Cost price per copy (calculated for a run of 700):⁵ just under 8¼ st.

Valerius Flaccus, 16mo, 1565⁶
(1,000 copies, 6½ quires - medium quality paper)

- paper: 19 reams, at 1 fl. 8 st. per ream	26 fl. 12 st.
- wages	22 fl. 10 st.

Total	49 fl. 2 st.

Cost price per copy: just under 1 st.

Wages exceeded cost of paper in exceptional cases only, as in the following examples:

Index librorum Officinae Plantiniana, octavo, 1566⁷
(300 copies - poor quality paper)

- paper	18 st.
- wages	1 fl.

Total	1 fl. 18 st.

1. Arch. 4, f^o 114.

2. In fact only 64 reams were necessary, but because of 'une feuille refaite' and 'imperfections' a further six reams were included.

3. Comprising 'Par achapt de la copie et privilège du roy de France... aud[ict] Savonne' 45 fl. and 'pour le contrat' 2 fl.

4. For the purchase of 'reglettes de cuivre' 3 fl. 15 st. and of 'reglettes de bois' another 3 fl. 15 st.

5. Plantin had to give Savonne a further 100 copies of the work 'pour sa copie'.

6. Arch. 4, f^o 85.

7. Arch. 4, f^o 92.

Index seu specimen characterum Plantini, quarto, 1567¹
(200 copies, 16 folios - good quality paper)

- paper: 16 quires, at 2 fl. 10 st. per ream	2 fl.
- wages ²	10 fl.

Total	12 fl.

Cost price per copy: 1¼ st.

The above figures are for non-illustrated books. In editions that included woodcuts or copper engravings, illustrations became the costliest item.

J. Sambucus, *Emblemata*, octavo, 1564³
(1,250 copies, 16 quires, 139 woodcuts - good quality paper)

- paper: 44 reams, at 2 fl. per ream	88 fl. 8 st.
- wages	23 fl. 14 st.
- woodcuts (drawing and cutting)	260 fl. 3½ st.

Total	372 fl. 5½ st.

Cost price per copy: just under 6 st.

Vesalius-Valverde, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani*, folio, 1566⁴
(600 copies, 25½ quires, 42 copper engravings - very good quality paper)

- paper: 32 reams, at 3 fl. per ream	96 fl.
- wages	45 fl. 8 st.
- making of copperplates	474 fl.
- printing of copperplates	132 fl.
- translation	35 fl.
- purchase of 3 copies of the Rome edition after which the Plantinian was printed	6 fl.

1. Arch. 4, f^o 114.

2. The task was comparatively difficult in that a text had to be set in every fount then at Plantin's disposal.

3. Arch. 4, f^o 63.

4. Arch. 4, f^o 81.

Total 788 fl. 8 st.

Cost price per copy: approx. 1 fl. 6½ st.

It would have been difficult for Plantin to allocate such costs with any accuracy to the various books that came off his presses and he never attempted to account for them by entering up estimated figures or percentages. In so far as these items, difficult to assess but quite considerable, are omitted, Plantin's costing system was incomplete and deficient, but he certainly allowed for these unrecorded general expenses (they amounted to roughly 20 to 25 per cent of the specified costs) when fixing his selling prices.¹ They must be borne in mind when comparing the costs entered in the accounts and the price to customers. Plantin's profit margin was always appreciably less than people are wont to deduce from the figures.

Wages as part of the running costs

In an earlier chapter the basis on which wages were calculated for the 'gouverneurs', compositors, pressmen, and collators was discussed. What these workers received on average per day, week, and year was subsequently dealt with. It is now necessary to look at this aspect from the point of view of the employer. In the press the authors' manuscripts were turned into printed pages; this primary activity directly engaged most of the staff, and so the wages paid to these men represented the larger part of all the wages paid out by the masters of the Golden Compasses. This raises the question of what percentage of total running costs these wages represented.

It is possible to reconstruct Plantin's expenditure and income for the year 1566.² The compositors' and pressmen's wages amounted to 4,141 fl. 3½ st., that of the collators to 99 fl. 9 st., while the bonuses, mostly paid to the compositors and pressmen, came to 55 fl. 17 st. Compared with this the proof-readers received only 294 fl. 10 st. and the shop assistants 225 fl. This sum of 4,296 fl. 9½ st. paid to the compositors, pressmen, and collators made up roughly one third of the total expenditure for that year. Only one item is in any way comparable - the money spent on paper, which slightly exceeded

1. Cf. p. 391.
2. Cf. Appendix I.

the wages. All other items are as nothing compared with these two: the making of punches and matrices, the casting of type, the equipping of the press, book illustration, authors' honorariums, the privileges, and so on. Of course expenditure varied from year to year. Items that were relatively insignificant in 1566 rose considerably in other years. In the time of Jan I Moretus, for example, book illustration used up a lot of money and represented an increased percentage of the expenditure total. Nevertheless in the eleven years of the period 1600 to 1610 inclusive, Jan I Moretus spent only 13,530 fl. 8½ st. on this item,¹ compared with 57,885 fl. 4½ st. for compositors' and pressmen's wages.² For both Plantin and the Moretuses it was the journeymen's wages and the cost of paper that largely determined the cost of manufacture and therefore the selling prices of their books.

1. Cf. p. 227.

2. Compiled from Arch. 777 and 779.

Chapter 16

Sales¹

The masters of the Golden Compasses did not print for the pleasure of it. The money they invested had to be got back through the sale of their products, preferably with a reasonable profit.

Sometimes they printed to the order of official bodies, or other publishers, or private individuals. In such cases, where they were merely acting as printers, all they had to do was to deliver the printed copies to the client and give him the bill. Usually, however, to get their money back, they had to market their products themselves.²

1. Of all aspects relating to the Plantin printing shop the problem of sales has up to now been least dealt with. There are a few details in Rooses, *Musée*, and in Clair, *Christopher Plantin*. A very thorough study on the transactions with England and Scotland: C. Clair, 'Christopher Plantin's Trade Connections with England and Scotland' *The Library*, Fifth Series, 14, 1959, pp. 28-45. On Plantin's trade in prints cf. A.J.J. Delen, 'Christoffel Plantin als prentenhandelaar', *De Gulden Passer*, 10, 1932, pp. 1-24. On the map trade there are interesting details in J. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers*. On the buying and selling on the part of Plantin of maps and books by G. Mercator, cf. L. Voet, 'Les relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et la Maison Plantinienne à Anvers', *Duisburger Forschungen*, 1962, pp. 171-232. J.A. Stellfeld was one of the first to draw attention to Plantin's book-keeping for the question of the distribution of specific works: 'Het muziekhistorisch belang der catalogi en inventarissen van het Plantinsch archief', *Vlaamsch Jaarboek voor Muziekgeschiedenis*, 2-3, 1940-41, pp. 5-50. The sale and distribution of Plantinian musical editions are studied in J.A. Stellfeld, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*, 1949. On sixteenth-century trade in general and the technical problems connected with this, valuable data and bibliographical references can be found in W. Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16de eeuw*, 1959; E. Coornaert, *Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers, fin du XVe-XVIe siècle*, 1961, 2 vols.
2. Or part of it: subsidies given by authors were mostly settled in copies of the work, sale of which the author had to arrange himself. In yet other instances the edition was shared with other publisher-printers.

To increase their market and their profits they also sold books of other publishers, both Netherlands and foreign.

Selling prices

The first task in selling has to be the fixing of a price. The selling price of Plantinian publications was not decided on arbitrarily, but was a function of the cost price. For a number of works issued between 1563 and 1567, the relationship of the cost price (as calculated by Plantin) to the selling price can be determined. Normally the latter was twice the former. In some instances the selling price went up to three and even four and five times as much as the cost price, but general conclusions should not be drawn from such cases, as Max Rooses did.¹ They were confined in fact to books, the sales of which would obviously be extremely slow and in which very large sums of money had generally been invested. Some figures are given on p. 389.²

Rooses and other experts who have dealt with the subject have found the profit margins excessive and have implied that Plantin was too grasping. But in fact the great printer, as has already been shown,³ habitually omitted a number of expenses when calculating his selling prices which sometimes added considerably to the actual cost of production. Moreover, profits of 100, 200, or 300 % did not necessarily mean that Plantin got his money back plus these percentages. A number of copies of any printing usually remained unsold; many clients 'forgot' to settle their accounts; booksellers had to be allowed a discount, and so on. All these factors could erode Plantin's profits; he actually made a loss on some editions. The whole question of profitability needs to be studied with reference to the general expenditure and sales figures over a given period.

1. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 169: 'Plantin gagnait de 300 à 400 pour cent sur les livres qu'il imprimait et éditait.'
2. Compiled on the basis of Arch. 4 and the *journals* for 1566 (Arch. 44), 1567 (Arch. 45) and 1568 (Arch. 46).
3. Cf. pp. 381 and 385.

<i>Profit margin of Year of 150% or less. Publication</i>	<i>Run</i>	<i>Cost price</i>	<i>Selling price¹</i>
Lucanus, 16mo 1564	1,250	7/8 st.	1 3/4 st.
<i>Promptuarium</i> 1564 <i>latinae linguae,</i> 8vo	1,250	3 st.	7 st.
Virgil, 16mo 1564	2,500	1 1/2 st.	3 st.
Diogenes Laertius, 8vo	1,500	2 1/2 st. (approx.)	6 st.
A. Hunnaeus, 1566 <i>Dialectica</i> , 8vo	1,500 ²	3 st.	5 1/2 st.
Lancelotus, 1566 <i>Institutiones</i> <i>juris canonici,</i> 8vo	1,250	2 1/2 st.	4 1/2 st.
Reynard the Fox, 8vo	1,600	3/4 st.	1 1/2 st.
K. Stevens, <i>De</i> 1566 <i>lantwinnige,</i> 8vo	1,600	1 3/4 st.	3 1/2 st.
Valerius Flaccus, 16mo	1,000	1 st. (approx.)	1 1/2 st.
Vesalius-Valverde, 1566 <i>Vivae imagines</i> <i>partium</i> <i>corporis</i> <i>humani</i> , folio	600	1 fl. 6 1/2 st.	2 fl. 10 st.
Erasmus, <i>Colloquia,</i> 16mo	1,250	2 1/4 st.	4 1/2 st.
H. Junius, <i>Nomenclator,</i> 8vo	1,550	5 1/2 st.	12 st.
B. Porta, <i>Magia</i> 1567 <i>Naturalis,</i> 16mo	1,250	3/4 st.	2 st
New Testament 1567 (French), 16mo	1,250	4 st.	7 st.

1. Selling price of unbound copies to the booksellers.

2. Of which 200 copies were given to the author, leaving 1,300 copies for sale.

C. Valerius, <i>Physica</i> , 12mo	1567	900	¾ st.	1¼ st.
Valerius Maximus, 8vo	1567	1,250	3½ st.	7½ st.
<i>Profit margin of 150% or less.</i>	<i>Year of Publication</i>	<i>Run</i>	<i>Cost price</i>	<i>Selling price¹</i>
Isaac, <i>Grammatica Hebraica</i> , quarto	1564	1,250	1.8 st.	5 st.
Biblia Hebraica, quarto, 8vo, 16mo	1567	5,200	12 st.	2 fl. 5 st.
Biblia Latina (nonpareille), 8vo	1567	1,250	5½ st.	18 st.
G. ab Horto, <i>Aromatum ... historia</i> , 8vo	1567	1,250	1½ st. (approx.)	4 st.
Pindarus (Greek & Latin), 16mo	1567	1,250	2 st. (approx.)	6 st.
P. Savonne, <i>Instruction et manière de tenir livres de raison</i> quarto,	1567	700	8¼ st. (approx.)	1 fl. 10 st.

1. Selling price of unbound copies to the booksellers.

Analysis of a financial year

In the years when Plantin was working simply for himself he did not always keep his accounts very carefully. Sales and other receipts of money were fairly accurately noted in the journals and ledgers. Particular outgoings - the compositors' and pressmen's wages, purchases of paper, type, bindings, etc. - were also entered up with some care, albeit sometimes in a number of different registers which does not make for easy analysis. But other expenses were not booked (including, for example, travel expenses and the shop assistants' wages) or were recorded only irregularly and incompletely (postage, freight charges, and packing). The many loans that Plantin had to obtain to keep his head above water and the burdensome interests he had to pay on them must remain a matter for guesswork. However, in the period 1563-67 Plantin took care to note all his expenditure and incomes so as to be able to justify his management to his partners and calculate the distribution of the profits and losses among them. It is therefore possible to draw up the Plantinian balance sheet for these years with reasonable accuracy. A reconstruction has been attempted for the year 1566¹ and the result appears in Appendix 1.²

When working out the cost price of a particular book, Plantin, as has been suggested, only took account of expenditure that could definitely be ascribed to that work (compositor's and pressmen's wages, paper, illustrations, and - although with considerable lapses - authors' fees, and payments for translations and privileges, etc.). In 1566 these items accounted for 9,028 fl. 12½ st. out of a total of 13,041 fl.,³ or about 70 per cent. Certain classes of the expenditures

1. Reconstruction is possible for the period from about 1st October 1563 to the middle of 1567, which is to say, for the complete years 1564, 1565, and 1566. One element is missing both for 1564 and 1565: the *journal* with detailed figures for sales and purchases, which is only preserved from 1566. Also missing for 1564 are the exact figures for sales in the bookshop which are only preserved from 1565. This means therefore that a complete reconstruction is possible only for 1566.
2. See also L. Voet, 'Production and Sales Figures of the Plantin Press in 1566,' *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey*, 1966, pp. 418-436.
3. Subdivided thus: wages of workpeople in the printing shop: 4,141 fl. 3½ st.; paper: 4,529 fl. 18½ st.; material for illustrations: 137 fl. 14 st.; privileges: 47 fl. 11 st.; fees to authors, editors, and translators: 172 fl. 5½ st.

were charged separately to customers' accounts (bindings, transport),¹ but others, as has been seen, affected production costs without ever appearing in Plantin's costing. In 1566 this category amounted to 2,921 fl. 19¾ st., about approximately 22 per cent of the total.² The percentage naturally varied from year to year, but probably within narrow limits. This means that for any given book an average of 20 to 25 per cent for general expenditure should be added to the production cost as normally calculated by Plantin.

A second important conclusion is that in 1566 Plantin's expenditure considerably exceeded his income and purely in book-keeping terms the result was a heavy deficit. This was only partly due to the religious and political upheavals (the Iconoclasm and the Calvinist rebellion) of what in the history of the Netherlands is often called the 'year of wonders'. The deficit was due rather to the great leap forward that the *Officina Plantiniana* had taken. It was a time of full expansion and Plantin was investing a great deal of money that would only later yield a return. He was having to borrow money left, right, and centre, literally banking on his future - and this money had to be paid back with interest. Almost 50 per cent of the income recorded for 1566 consisted of such capital loans, while 10 per cent of expenditure went into paying off earlier loans. As soon as there was a recession Plantin found it difficult in the extreme to keep the business going.

The third conclusion is connected with the foregoing one. In 1566 Plantin sold 16,340 fl. worth of books, a considerable sum then, yet his cash receipts were only 5,523 fl. 13¼ st. and part of this was for deliveries made in the previous year. There was profit to be made in the book trade, but the entrepreneur had to be able to wait while

1. In 1566 - bookbindings: 433 fl. 16¼ st.; transport: 612 fl. 10¾ st.
2. Subdivided thus: (1) Wages apart from those of workpeople in the printing shop: Plantin's remuneration: 400 fl.; proof-readers: 294 fl. 10 st.; shop assistants: 225 fl.; collators: 99 fl. 9 st.; bonuses to the workpeople: 55 fl. 17 st. Total: 1,074 fl. 16 st. (2) Material: equipment for the printing shop: 127 fl. 14½ st.; type: 613 fl. 14½ st.; ink: 170 fl. 4½ st.; leather and parchment: 238 fl. 6½ st.; string, nails, and wool: 19 fl. 9¾ st. Total: 1,169 fl. 9¾ st. (3) Administrative charges: rent of dwelling-house: 400 fl.; lighting: 112 fl. 4½ st.; sundry cleaning materials: 50 fl. Total: 562 fl. 4½ st. (4) Operational costs: expenses for travelling and accommodation: 115 fl. 9½ st.

the invested money came trickling back bringing its earnings with it - and in the meantime he had to pay the workers' wages and meet his bills.

A fourth fact that emerges is that Plantin sold not only his own editions, but bought quantities of his colleagues' publications for retailing. In the sixteenth century (and in the seventeenth too) the retail activities of the firm were largely based on a brisk trade in the products of other publishing houses.

These are the principal general conclusions to be drawn from an examination of Plantin's accounts for 1566. They also point to the general business trends for the Plantin House - the various facets of which must now be looked at more closely.

The markets

The masters of the Golden Compasses had a number of outlets for their own books or those they bought from other publishers for resale: the retail trade in their 'bouticle' at Antwerp,¹ naturally restricted to a local, or at least locally resident, clientele; retail sales through delivery direct² to institutions or private individuals, mostly in the Netherlands;³ sales to other publishers at home and abroad. In terms of percentage of the trade the three outlets varied considerably through the years, but one fact remained constant: direct deliveries to individuals and sales in the Antwerp shop were always subordinate to sales to booksellers, who took the bulk of the Plantinian merchandise. It should be pointed out, however, that the line of demarcation between booksellers and some private customers was not always very distinct. Antwerp merchants sold Plantinian Bibles in Morocco in 1566-67,⁴

1. In the period 1583-85 also in the shop at Leiden.
2. Perhaps called for by those concerned or by their servants at the 'bouticle' in the *Officina Plantiniana*, but not paid in cash.
3. Exception now and then would be made for members of the family living abroad (such as Theodoor Moretus, the learned Jesuit father, living at Prague and Breslau [Wroclaw], who regularly ordered works through Balthasar I and Balthasar II Moretus), and personal friends (such as Arias Montanus, in the time of Plantin and Jan I Moretus).
4. *Corr.*, I, no. 74 (Plantin to H. Niclaes, 2nd August 1567): J. Rademaker has sold 200 *Biblia Hebraica* in 4^o with great profit in *Barbarie* 'à commune risque', that is to say, Plantin received 1 fl. 15 st. per copy for 100 Bibles (i.e., in all 175 fl.) and the cost of printing with some of the profit on the sale of the remaining 100 Bibles (mentioned by Plantin as amounting to 300 fl.). Gaspar van Zurich, one of Plantin's moneylenders, heard about this success. He had also taken a quantity of Bibles and now ordered the printer to deliver no more copies, no matter to whom, until he - Gaspar van Zurich - had sold his own stock through his agent (it too had been dispatched to Morocco). This placed Plantin in a rather difficult situation: another prominent Antwerp merchant, Gilles Hooftman, attracted by Rademaker's successful sales campaign, had approached Plantin with the request to sell him 400 to 500 of the said Hebrew Bibles against regular payment.

and others later helped to sell the Polyglot;¹ an Italian dealer bought all the copies of Plantin's 1588 edition of Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*;² in 1609 and again in 1650 purchases by Antwerp general merchants exceeded those of the Antwerp booksellers - and the large sums involved and the composition of the orders make it obvious that the books were not intended for the private libraries of the merchants. Many merchants dealt in books in the same way as they did in sugar, copper, salt, pepper, or other commodities, but in the Plantinian accounts careful distinction was always made between these occasional purveyors of books and the professional booksellers. The former will therefore be treated as private customers, except for one client - the Hieronymite monastery in the Escorial - that belonged to neither category.

Although the retail shop did not have the greatest share of the retail trade, it had an importance that far surpassed its intrinsic value as an outlet. Sales across the counter were for cash. No credit or deferred payments here, but a ready supply, albeit in modest amounts, of the cash the masters needed so badly. Still more important was the shop's role as the office for the whole of the retail side of the business: the shop assistants made up the consignments for dispatch, unpacked incoming boxes and checked their contents, and kept a record of what was received and what was sent out. It was in the shop and the adjoining rooms that the foreign merchants were received and entertained with the wine and beer kept for this purpose.³

1. Among others L. Perez: Rooses, *Musée*, p. 172.

2. Amounting to 410 copies: Rooses, *Musée*, p. 224.

3. Cf. Vol. I, p. 396.

Through the years the shop was just as vital a nerve centre of the business as the printing office itself.

This makes it all the more regrettable that information about the shop and its personnel is so sparse: their status and conditions of work are referred to only in one seventeenth-century regulation.¹ There are several large gaps in the records of sales in the shop.² In the years 1563-67 Plantin appears to have had two shop assistants, namely his two future sons-in-law, Jan Moretus and Egidius Beys,

1. Drawn up in 1643 by Balthasar II Moretus (Ord. F; cf. p. 310, note 1). Subdivided into three parts. The first part related to the 'algemene regelen' (general rules): the shop assistants (who seem to have lived in the master's house) had to get up at 5.30 a.m. in order to be dressed by 6 o'clock, and then go to Mass to begin work by 7 o'clock. They would breakfast at 8.30 (for a maximum of half an hour); if any urgent work had to be done breakfast was to be postponed. On fast days, they did not breakfast until 11 o'clock. From 12 till 1, if there was no urgent work to be done the assistants could have some 'honest pastime': they could learn to write, or to study Latin, Spanish, or Italian, or to count, and so on, on condition that they did not leave the house. At 1 o'clock there was lunch. The master ate apart with the senior assistant (J. Ottens); they were served before all the rest. Directly after eating everyone had to return to the shop. At 4.30 the assistants were allowed a quarter of an hour to eat their bread and cheese. When work was over for the day at 8 o'clock they could again, before supper, have an 'honest pastime': reading or conversing with each other on some topic. After eating, as soon as the master had gone to bed, they had to do so too. It was forbidden to remain talking downstairs. On Sundays and feast days the youngest assistant had to go first to Mass and to ensure that he was back at 9 o'clock in order to allow the older assistants in their turn to go to church. These had to be back before noon. Unless they were given special permission by the master all had to remain at home till vespers. It was part of their task to pack and unpack the books, to oblige the customers, to write out or copy accounts and letters; and whenever there was any time left over to assist the collators. The second part was for the 'particular rules' applying to the senior assistant, J. Ottens: he had to keep the books, both for the Antwerp shop and for the Frankfurt Fair; he had to write out the accounts and conduct the correspondence within the country and with France, Holland, and Germany; he saw the merchants and supervised the other assistants. The third part, finally, had to do with the 'special rules' concerning the assistant Balthasar van Cam: he was charged with the maintenance of the catalogues (one for the books in stock, one classified by bookseller suppliers, one of missing books, one of defective books, and so on); he had also to copy the letters of which the draft was supplied by J. Ottens or the master, he had to collate incoming books and note the prices of them, and so on.
2. Preserved for the years: 1565-69 (Arch. 43^{iv}), 1569-76 (Arch. 43ⁱⁱⁱ), 1576-80 (Arch. 261), 1581-88 (Arch. 491), 1589-92 (Arch. 495), 1593-95 (Arch. 493), 1604-09 (Arch. 1074), 1647-63 (Arch. 262), 1663-81 (Arch. 260), 1681-1704 (Arch. 259; also the miscellaneous book for 1691-97: Arch. 326), 1742-57 (Arch. 501).

with probably four other employees to help with the manual work.¹ For subsequent years the composition of the shop staff can only be guessed at,² largely because unlike most of the workpeople of the *Officina Plantiniana*, they received not piece-rates but a fixed wage,³ probably paid out of the till; there was no need for a meticulous record of the work they did or the money they earned.

One of the great difficulties of business life in so tumultuous a period as the sixteenth century was contact with customers. This could be made and sustained by correspondence or through couriers:⁴ repeatedly in the firm's journals the words 'suivant sa lecture' or 'par le messagier' appear in the firm's journals beside the record of an order dispatched. Other booksellers often undertook delivery of a parcel, and Plantin performed similar services for his colleagues. But whenever orders were large and valuable, personal negotiation was desirable. Plantin's shop was the obvious place for such conversations, and many are the notes of consignments in the journals where next to the name

1. In 1566 (Arch. 3), among the general running costs expenses were inscribed on 18th March, 24th June, 25th October, and 31st December, having reference to persons mentioned only by their Christian names and, with one exception, without indication of their function. They were arranged in three groups. One group comprised 'me, François et Corneille' to be identified with the two proof-readers, Frans Raphelengius and Cornelis Kilianus. The second group was made up of 'Gilles et Jehan', more exactly described on 25th October as 'bouticliers' (shopkeepers): to be identified with Egidius Beys and Jan Moretus. The third group was composed of Ascanius, Mathias, Pierre, and Guillaume. The pay recorded for them is lower than that noted for Beys and Moretus. These persons belonged to the permanent staff but cannot be identified with workpeople or assistants active in the printing shop (such as the collators, who are mentioned separately): it may be assumed that they were engaged in the shop.
2. The only other thing we know is that Juan Poelman, the later associate of Jan Moretus, had been active in Plantin's *taberna libraria* for approximately fourteen years. This was explicitly noted by the printer in the letter of recommendation dated 17th December 1581, which he gave his former assistant for his first journey to Spain (*Corr.*, VII, no. 965). Cf. also p. 396, note 4.
3. In so far as they were not simply recompensed with board and lodging: whereas in 1566 (cf. note 1) 'despens' and 'gages' were noted for the two proof-readers separately, only 'despens' is entered for the others. For the three months these amounted for Egidius Beys and Jan Moretus to 13½ fl. each and for the four others to 9 fl. each.
4. On these couriers and their work, see E. Coornaert, *Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers*, II, pp. 91-95.

of the bookseller is the statement ‘estant présent à Anvers’. These are mainly names of Netherlands booksellers, but Englishmen, Italians, and Frenchmen from the Lyons region also appear.

Parisian and German booksellers were far less frequently mentioned: Plantin was wont to meet these at other places. In the sixteenth century the Frankfurt Fairs grew into Christendom's foremost book mart.¹ Bookmen from the Netherlands had been making their way to that city for some time before Plantin's establishment in Antwerp, so that he was following a trail already blazed.² He was to make Frankfurt one of the cornerstones of his enterprise, sending a great many books each year to both fairs.³ And, almost as regularly, either he himself or Jan Moretus or a trusted employee⁴ accompanied the parcels and boxes to Frankfurt to negotiate in person with the printers, publishers, and booksellers from all Germany and Switzerland, and even from Italy and eastern France, who gathered there.

1. On the Frankfurt Fairs, cf. A. Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, part III, 1921; A. Dietz, *Zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Büchermesse, 1462/1792*, 1921; F. Kapp, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels bis in das 17. Jahrhundert*, 1886; B. Recke, *Die Frankfurter Büchermesse*, [1951]. There is a concise but valuable summary in A. Ruppel, ‘Die Bücherwelt des 16. Jahrhunderts und die Frankfurter Büchermessen’, *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen*, 1956, pp. 156-164. The great French printer Henri Estienne published in 1574 an interesting panegyric - in Latin - on the fairs at Frankfurt: *Francofordiense Emporium, sive Francofordienses Nundinae*, which appeared many times in translation: published by J. Liseux with French translation, Paris, 1875; by J.W. Thompson with English translation, 1911; by J. Ziehen with German translation, Frankfurt, 1919. A facsimile reprint of the original edition, with a reproduction of the translations of Liseux, Thompson, and Ziehen, appeared in 1968. On the catalogues of the fairs and the bibliography dealing with this, see p. 423.
2. And he is supposed regularly to have seen Antwerp colleagues operating beside him at Frankfurt. In 1579 these were John and Peter Bellerus, Philip Nutius, and James Henricius: W. Brückner, ‘Eine Messbuchhändlerliste von 1579 und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bücher-kommission’, *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 3, 1960, col. 1634-1635.
3. In the sixteenth century the first fair (*Fastenmesse*) began in the middle of Lent and the second (*Herbstmesse*) fourteen days after 24th August. The present-day international fair is held around 1st October.
4. In 1579-80 - a very insecure period - Peter van Tongheren made the trip alone (cf. p. 435, note 2). Van Tongheren at that time was probably one of Plantin's shop assistants. In 1580 he married a sister of Jan Moretus and was entered as a bookseller in the ledger of the St. Luke Guild in 1591. After 1585 Plantin engaged Jan Dresseler (cf. pp. 404-405) for his dealings at the Frankfurt book fairs.

The road to Frankfurt led through what was then the principal German metropolis - Cologne, as important a book market as Antwerp.¹ Plantin and Jan Moretus seem regularly to have broken their journeys to talk business with Cologne booksellers over a drink.²

Paris also drew Plantin, but it is doubtful if the same could be said of the other Antwerp men in the book trade: the associations formed there in his younger years seem to have given Plantin much more of a southerly orientation than most of his colleagues. In all probability French capital helped the young bookbinder to set up as a printer and his first books were intended entirely for the French market. Later, too, when his production had taken on a more international character, he maintained the closest commercial contacts with the land of his birth, and especially with Paris. Right from the start Paris was an important outlet for Plantinian production - all the more important to the printer as he had less competition to fear there from his Antwerp rivals than along the Antwerp-Cologne-Frankfurt axis.³ Unlike Frankfurt, however, there was no organized fair at Paris to enable regular personal contact with people in the trade from the whole French hinterland, no few hectic weeks in which contracts for the whole year could be finalized. The Paris market required a continual travelling back and forth throughout the year, and negotiations with numerous contacts and customers without the benefits of a fixed venue

1. On Cologne as a book market, cf. W. Reuter, 'Zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Buchdruckgewerbes in Rheinland bis 1800', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 1, 1958, col. 642-736.
2. *Corr.*, I, no. 104 (Plantin to A. Birckman, 13th February 1568: 'Ceste sera pour vous supplier qu'il vous plaise vous recorder comment, passant par Cologne pour aler à Francfort, le quaresme passé, je m'adressay vers vous, en vostre logis, là où nous pourmenant en un petit poelle bas, après plusieurs et divers propos touchant l'impression et vente de livres etc., nous vinsmes finalement a parler de nos comptes passés en ceste ville entre vostre frere M. Geoffroy et moy...').
3. A somewhat obscure passage in a letter from Plantin to E. Beys, dated 31st July 1567 (*Corr.*, I, no. 71), seems to suggest, however, that in 1567 the Antwerp printer W. Silvius entered into competition with Plantin at Paris, which was taken amiss by E. Beys: 'Et faut davantage qu'entendies que je ne puis pas honnestement ne commodément esconduire ou nier nos livres à ceux de qui nous en prenons, ainsi comme avons fait dudict Sylvius. Parquoy faut porter patiemment ce qu'ils font de nosdicts livres qu'ils prennent en payement.'

and warehousing for books. Plantin soon found a remedy. From the end of 1566 he began to use the house of his old friend Pierre Porret as a storage place and distribution centre. At the beginning of 1567 he sent his assistant Egidius Beys to Paris to help Porret and to put the sales there on a more intensive and businesslike footing. The house in the rue Saint-Jacques became a branch of the parent firm in Antwerp in the full sense of the word.¹

These then were the features of the firm's sales organization in the early years of Plantin's printing career: the shop at the *officina* which acted as an office for the Netherlands, and for foreign clients (from England, Italy, and eastern France) who could not normally be reached through one of the other centres; the Frankfurt warehouse-bookshop,² where contact was made with German sellers during the Spring and September fairs; and the Paris book market, where contacts were systematized by the setting up of a Plantinian bookshop in 1566-67. Antwerp was a 'passive' centre, where Plantin or his representatives functioned as hosts. Frankfurt and Paris required an active role on the part of the firm, with much travelling. Plantin and his representatives made use of the opportunities afforded by these journeys to call on colleagues or clients, sometimes going out of their way to do so. It has already been noted that Cologne was an important stopping place on the long journey to Frankfurt. In 1568, on his way back from Frankfurt, Plantin made a detour so as to discuss business matters with Mercator at Duisburg.³ Two years before, on the return journey from Paris, Jan Moretus had gone round a number of booksellers in Louvain collecting money owed to Plantin.⁴

The relative importance in 1566 of these three centres and the

1. H. Stein, 'La succursale plantinienne de Paris', *Bibliographie moderne*, 1920-21, pp. 34-57.
2. Certainly located in the *Haus zum Frass* from 1583 onwards. Cf. G. Richter, 'Christian Egenolffs Erben 1555-1667', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 7, 1966, col. 552 sqq.
3. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers*, II, p. 310: 'Item. Le maistre luy a payé, je dis à Gérard Mercator, en revenant de la foire de Augst 1568 pour reste de cartes...' Cf. L. Voet, 'Les relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et la Maison Plantinienne à Anvers', *Duisburger Forschungen*, 1962, p. 179.
4. Arch. 44, f^o 165^{ro} (13th December 1566).

markets they served was as follows.¹ In that year Plantin sold books worth 7,485 fl. 14½ st. in the Netherlands and 8,854 fl. 12¼ st. abroad.² The latter total comprised: to Germany, 4,042 fl. 12¾ st.; to France, 3,480 fl. 11¼ st.; to England, 1,067 fl. 12¼ st.; to Italy, 263 fl. 16 st. Of sales in France the lion's share went to Paris: 2,855 fl. 7¼ st.; 1,367 fl. worth of these being simply marked 'Paris' - intended for sale in the bookshop newly set up in Porret's house. The only other French towns represented were Lyons, with 607 fl., and Metz, with a paltry 18 fl. Sales in Germany were mainly handled at Frankfurt, to a total value of 3,565 fl., but, as has been intimated, some of the consignments were dropped off at Cologne (worth 303 fl.). A few booksellers from other German and Swiss towns contacted Plantin directly, outside of the fairs, during 1566, but only 150 fl. was involved in these dealings. Transactions with sellers from England, Italy, Germany, and France, conducted in the Antwerp shop, amounted to 2,106 fl. 8¼ st., which means that in 1566 a total of 9,592 fl. 2¾ st. worth of books was sold there.³

These figures and the percentages they represent varied from year to year. Political events in a particular area could affect sales considerably.⁴ Dealings with foreign booksellers, mainly the English, the Italians, and the Lyonnais, these being outside the three main centres where the *Officina Plantiniana* was permanently represented, were of a very personal character, in the sense that whether or not a particular seller put in an appearance could totally alter the percentages for a given year.⁵ Nevertheless the author is of the opinion that in general

1. See Appendix 2.
2. With the qualification that the books destined for Frankfurt (3,565 fl. 12¼ st.) and the Plantin bookshop in Paris (1,367 fl. 4¼ st.), were sent for sale in those places, although they were not necessarily sold during 1566.
3. I.e., 7,485 fl. 14½ st. worth to Netherlands, 263 fl. 16 st. to Italian, and 1,067 fl. 12¼ st. worth to English customers; 625 fl. worth to customers from Lyons and Metz and approx. 150 fl. worth to buyers from various places in Germany.
4. It may thus be assumed, that, in 1566, because of the political and religious troubles, sales in the Netherlands were lower than in previous years.
5. This is, for example, very typical for dealings with England: cf. C. Clair, 'Christopher Plantin's Trade Connexions with England and Scotland'.

outline at least the situation as seen in 1566 appertained for the whole period 1555 to 1567/68.

One region is conspicuously absent from the list of countries mentioned in 1566, namely the Iberian peninsula. In the following year Plantin made contact with Spanish and Portuguese booksellers. He sent them a number of works,¹ and even printed an edition for Juan de Molina of Lisbon.² But in his letter of 5th June 1567 to Molina, Plantin's reluctance to increase his business with the Peninsula, except where a cash-and-carry arrangement was possible, or where meaningful guarantees could be offered, emerges quite plainly.³ And probably there were few among the none-too-affluent booksellers beyond the Pyrenees who could fulfil such conditions. In 1570 Alonso de Vera Cruz held out prospects of great profits for Plantin from trade with the Indies; Plantin's reply was that such ventures were hazardous and the profit slow in coming in. He preferred to entrust his books to financially powerful individuals who would be able to make big profits thereby but who would also bear the risk.⁴ No doubt there were such speculators, both then and later.⁵ There were also foreign dealers with regular contacts with Spain who exported

1. Cf. Appendix 7.

2. *Horae Beatissimae Virginis Mariae*, in 16^o, which appeared in 1568.

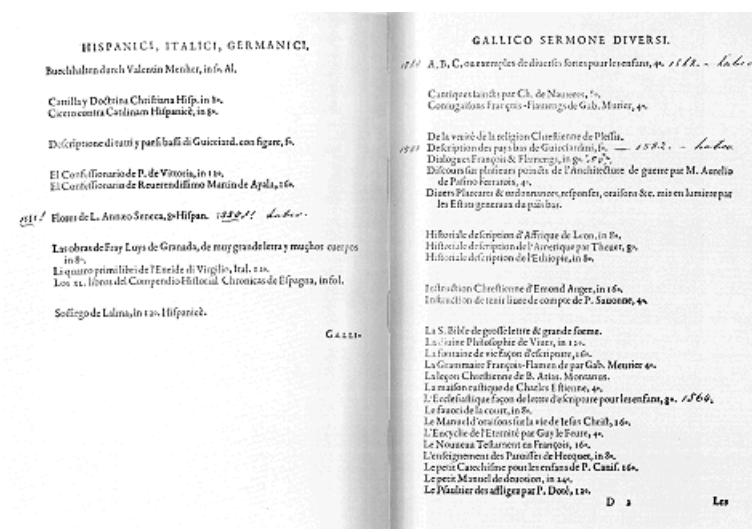
3. *Corr.*, I, no. 34: '...Mais, si preniés quantité à terme d'un an, je voudrois avoir assurance par deça de quelqu'un que me paiast ici en cas qu'il pleust à Dieu (ce que je luy prie qu'il n'advienne) vous appeller de vie à trespas. Car, quand est de vostre personne, j'en ay si bonne relation que je suis prest de vous fier tout mon bien durant sa vie. Mais j'ay desja esté tant de fois intéressé par le trespas de plusieurs, qui durant leur vie m'avoyent fort bien payé, que je crains de m'y remettre. Car il advient fort souvent que les héritiers ou exécuteurs des testaments ne font pas leur devoir et ne prennent pas la peine de satisfaire à la volonté de l'âme des trespasés. Voylà le seul point qui me faict demander assurance en cas de mort.' A similar idea was expressed in pretty much the same terms in the letter to M. Gast, bookseller at Salamanca, who had contacted Plantin for the purchase of a large quantity of books on 22nd June 1567 (*Corr.*, I, no. 44).

4. *Corr.*, II, no. 256: 'Quod autem D.T. libros a nobis impressos offerat per suos in Indias mittendos, gratias habeo maximas. Libentissime quidem libros nostros bono pretio dabo ei qui eos illuc vel alio cuperet suo commodo vel incommodo mittere; meae facultates vero non tantae sunt (ingenue fateor) ut possim tempus missionis et venditionis expectare.'

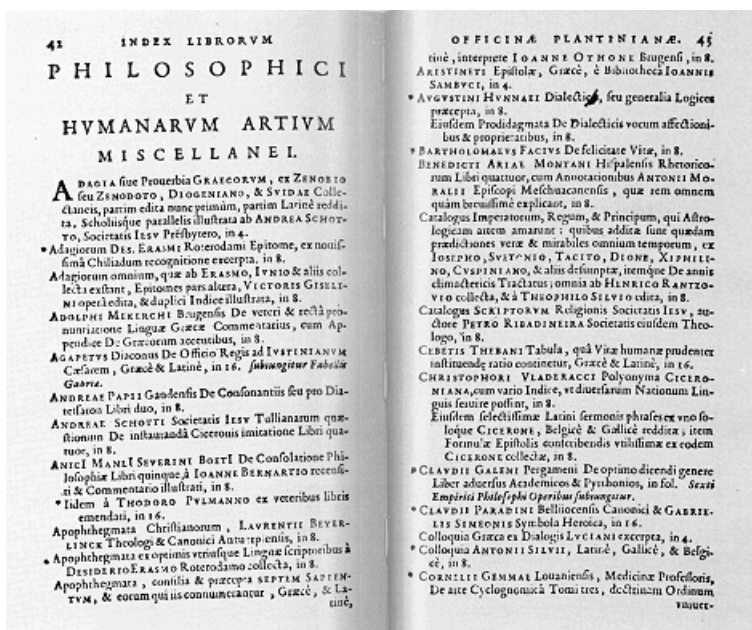
5. Later including L. Perez, who took over Polyglot Bibles from Plantin to sell them in Spain (cf. p. 393, note 1).



(73) *Opposite:* The bookshop (Room 4).



(74) Spread from the *Catalogus librorum qui ex typographia Christophori Plantini prodierunt*, 1584 (R. 55.20): on the left-hand page a summary of the books published by the Officina Plantiniana in Spanish, Italian, and German; on the right-hand page works in French.

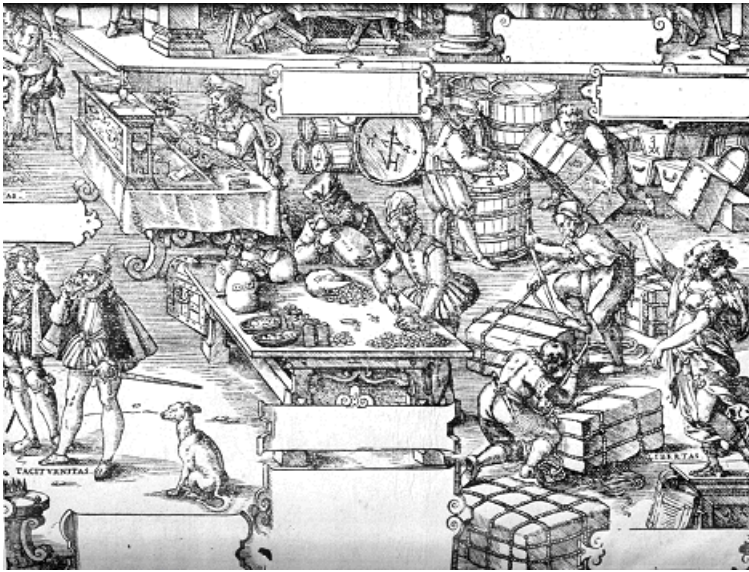


(75) Spread from the *Index librorum qui ex typographia Plantiniana prodierunt*, 1615 (A. 1058). This catalogue, compiled either by Balthasar I Moretus himself or under direction, differ from the usual sales catalogue in that it also lists earlier publications the Plantin press that were no longer obtainable (indicated by an asterisk).

*74-*75



(76)Catalogus Librorum Typographiae Plantini, 1579: catalogue of books printed and offered for sale by Plantin, in the form of a poster (the only known copy is in Österreichische Staatsarchiv. Abteilung Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv Vienna).



(77) Handling of money and the packing of goods in the sixteenth century: detail of a woodcut by Jobst Amman, *Aigentliche abbildung deß gantzen gewerbe der Kauffmanscafft...*, Augsburg, 1585. This woodcut shows clearly the bales, barrels, and boxes in which freight, including Plantin's books, was packed and shipped at this time.

books they had bought from Plantin to the Peninsula.¹ But from 1555 to 1567/68, direct contacts between the firm and Spain were few and in some years practically non-existent. This changed when Plantin managed to interest Philip II in his Polyglot Bible, thereby bringing his firm to the attention of that monarch. The printer succeeded in obtaining the monopoly in the supply of certain service books to the Spanish market. These he sold directly to Philip who controlled the retail sales in his domains. Between 1571 and 1576 Plantin dispatched books worth about 100,000 fl. to Spain.² By 1573 trade with Philip II already exceeded the total turnover for 1566. At the same time Plantin was able through the intermediary of Arias Montanus to supply the royal library in Madrid, and various eminent Spaniards, with books, maps, globes, and even astronomers' and geographers' apparatus, orders which also brought in a considerable amount.³ Almost overnight Spain had become the chief customer of the Plantinian press, and it was this trade that brought about the firm's spectacular expansion in these years.

The Spanish Fury of 4th November 1576 drove Antwerp into the rebel camp. Trade with Spain ceased. Plantin was thrown back on his former customers, served via the same centres as before 1566: his own shop at Antwerp, the Frankfurt Fairs, and Paris. There was, however, one important change: to obtain ready cash, Plantin had had to sell his Paris bookshop in 1577. He sold the stocks to the Parisian bookseller Michel Sonnius, who asked for and obtained the monopoly of sales of Plantinian editions in his city.⁴ At least until

1. This seems to have been the case with various Lyons booksellers, among them Cl. Baldin in 1566 and Ch. Pesnot in 1568.
2. According to Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 107-108, a total of 97,318 fl. 10½ st. This breaks down as follows: 9,389 fl. in 1571 and 1572, 21,287 fl. 17 st. in 1573, 40,293 fl. 8½ st. in 1574, 20,630 fl. 7 st. in 1575, 5,717 fl. 10 st. in the beginning of 1576. Kingdon, 'The Plantin breviaries; a case study in the sixteenth-century business operations of a publishing house', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 22, 1960, pp. 134-150, gives somewhat different figures (based on his examination of Arch. 19 and 22), reaching a total value of 110,136 fl. 14½ st. Cf. also Vol. I, pp. 80-81.
3. In 1568 already Plantin had sent books to a value of 321 fl. to Philip II's chaplain L. Royas (Arch. 46, f^o 178; 2nd September 1568).
4. This led to difficulties between Plantin and his son-in-law Egidius Beys, head of the branch in Paris. Cf. Vol. I, p. 159.

Plantin's death the larger part, if not all, of the *officina's* business with Paris was conducted through Sonnius.¹

Antwerp surrendered in 1585 and rejoined the Spanish side in the Eighty Years War, but this did not mean a return for the Plantinian press to its prosperity of 1570-75. Philip II had other things on his mind than retailing breviaries and missals. Plantin himself was not anxious to renew with the Spanish king the relations which, while they may have brought him much profit, had also occasioned him a great deal of tribulation.² In fact, even if the king and his printer had reached a new agreement, it would have been difficult to put it into effect on the same scale as in 1570-76.

Although Spain had reconquered the Southern Netherlands, the North had gained its freedom and set up the United Provinces, the Dutch Republic. At sea the new republic reigned unchallenged, the men of Holland and Zeeland blockading the sea-lanes with Spain. The blockade was not completely effective, however, and could sometimes be evaded via French harbours. Plantin in fact managed to get a consignment to Spain from time to time,³ but communications were too uncertain and hazardous to make extensive or regular trade possible. Nevertheless it was in these years that there occurred the episode of the Salamanca 'branch'.⁴ This was really a means of cancelling a debt, allowing the debtor - Jan Poelman, son of Plantin's old friend and collaborator Theodoor Poelman and a former shop assistant of Plantin himself - to go into business again. On 1st August 1586 Jan Moretus (and not Plantin) entered into partnership with Jan Poelman for a period of

1. When in June 1589 Magdalena Plantin, Beys's wife, complained to her father of her need from Paris, he answered that he had asked M. Sonnius to help her (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1477). Transactions between Plantin and M. Sonnius were in any case considerable: they are detailed for the period 1577-89 in Arch. 17, 19, and 110.
2. Cf. Vol. I, p. 89.
3. Including books and even seeds and plants for Arias Montanus; also copies of the Spanish edition of A. Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1588, which the printer had specially produced for the Spanish market and was dedicated to the Spanish heir to the throne. On deliveries to J. Poelman, see the text immediately following.
4. Cf. also Vol. I, p. 119.

five years.¹ Under this agreement Poelman put up 1,000 fl., Moretus 4,313 fl. 2 st. 'arising from the books, debts, and household effects which he left in the hands of Jan Poelman and which arose out of the winding up of another partnership between Jan Poelman and Martin Peres de Varron'.² Poelman undertook to settle in Salamanca and run the business there. Profits were to be shared on the basis of two-thirds to Moretus, one third to Poelman. The contract also stipulated that the latter should maintain 'bonne correspondance' with his partner. This he did conscientiously,³ but it did not help the business very much: Poelman's sales of books at Salamanca, including what the Plantin press sent him, remained limited.⁴ Poelman's account with Moretus was closed in 1602, leaving an outstanding debt of 2,737 fl. 5 st.⁵

Plantin's son-in-law inherited a heavy burden in 1589. Trade with the Peninsula had fallen off. The civil war in France had ruined the market there in the closing years of Plantin's life. The political storm beyond the southern frontier soon passed, but Jan Moretus seems to have neglected to rebuild a trade that had formerly been quite brisk - largely, as has already been seen, because of Plantin's personal efforts to maintain the business contacts he had established in

1. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1123.
2. '...procedants liquidement des livres debtes, et mesnageries, lesquels il a laissés et laisse entre les mains dudit Jan Pulman provenans d'un certain arrest d'aultre compagnie d'entre ledit Jan Pulman et le Sr. Martin Peres de Varron conclu au dernier de Juillet de ceste presente année suivant la specification dudit compte...' Martin de Varron was the son-in-law of L. Perez, Plantin's good friend and creditor. It is possible that the capital mentioned here goes back to the claim of 3,600 fl. which Plantin owed L. Perez, passed on by this latter to M. de Varron in 1582 (Arch. 19, f^o 112).
3. Some 300 letters have been preserved of which only a few have been published: cf. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1123, p. 17, note 3.
4. Arch. 19, f^o 162: 4,458 fl. 15½ st. worth in 1586-87 (inclusive of quite heavy charges for transport and packing). As far as can be made out no further books were sent after this: Arch. 126, f^o 28 deals with repayments by J. Poelman (1590-1602).
5. Arch. 126, f^o 28: the account was closed with 'Nota que par ses dernières du 24 de decembre 1602 mande d'avoir payé les 40 fl. au P. Luys Dominicain, et que à cause de plusieurs debtes de peu d'espoir, livres imparfaits et aultres de refus prétend d'avoir entièrement payé, voires davantages quil ne devoit, et pourtant pour soulder icy doit avoir 2,737 fl. 5 st.'

Paris in his earlier years. In fact the trade with Paris, if it was to be profitable, required that the head of the firm should participate very actively, going there whenever the need arose rather than according to a fixed schedule. Jan Moretus appears not to have had the time for this. When Egidius Beys, his difficult brother-in-law who had returned to Antwerp and begun to make life miserable for him, began to pine for the French capital, Moretus encouraged him in that direction by granting him the effective monopoly of sales of Plantinian books there. It is not certain whether this was simply a neat way of getting rid of Beys or whether Moretus actually hoped to increase his exports to France. The unexpected death of Beys in 1595 ended this collaboration between the brothers-in-law.¹ The other relatives who were active in the trade in Paris - members of the Beys and Périer families - tried to get hold of Egidius's monopoly for themselves,² but Moretus remained neutral in the matter, simply supplying his various kinsmen with the books they wanted. For a few years the two families continued to rank among the chief customers in Paris of the Plantin House, although their orders were generally small.³ The business conducted with Paris via the Frankfurt Fairs was also relatively unimportant.⁴ Paris was never again a vital link in the Plantinian distribution network.

There was one direction in which Jan Moretus could keep to familiar paths. Every year, as regularly as in the past, the packages and crates marked with the Plantinian signs were unloaded in the warehouse at Frankfurt. Plantin had made his successor's task easier here, for after his return from Leiden he had engaged an agent, a certain Jan Dresseler, to look after his affairs at Frankfurt for

1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 180-181.
2. For these family complications and Moretus's attitude towards the Paris family: cf. Vol. I, pp. 181 sqq.
3. In 1609 Adrian Beys took books from Jan Moretus valued at 992 fl. 2 st. This made him the principal customer in Paris (total turnover: 2,310 fl. 15 st.; in total six booksellers). Cf. Appendix 3.
4. See the figures for 1609 in Appendix 6: total deliveries by the *Officina Plantiniana* to the value of 541 fl. 5½ st., and deliveries to the *Officina* to the value of 459 fl. 15 st.

commission.¹ Dresseler also worked for Jan Moretus for a time. How the Frankfurt business was conducted after Dresseler's death is not known for certain. Jan II Moretus seems to have gone there occasionally to attend to the firm's affairs.²

Except for the period of intensive trading with Philip II, the emphasis under Plantin had been on sales in the Netherlands. Under Jan I Moretus there was even more concentration on the Low Countries, especially the southern part, now under Spanish control once more. There was considerably less contact with Paris and Lyons, England, Italy, and Spain. The Northern Netherlands, not among the leading customers even in Plantin's time, did not increase their buying from his firm. Only in Germany, mainly via Cologne and Frankfurt, did the firm continue to reach an important foreign market. On the other hand there were a number of Antwerp-based merchants who bought books on a fairly large scale and distributed them abroad at their own risk and via their own channels. The analysis of the firm's turnover in 1609 allows the relative size of the various markets on the eve of the death of Plantin's son-in-law to be expressed in figures and percentages:³

1. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1207 (contract between Plantin and J. Dresseler, 5th February 1587): Plantin sold Dresseler a stock of books valued at 2,409 fl. for 1,800 fl. Dresseler bound himself to sell Plantin's books for a period of three years at the Frankfurt Fairs and to concern himself with Plantin's interests there *as he was accustomed to do* (i.e., he had already acted as Plantin's agent); he was not allowed to carry on business for firms other than the *Officina Plantiniana* unless with the explicit agreement of Plantin; he was to pay no rent for the use of the warehouse and shop at Frankfurt, and his travelling and lodging expenses were also paid; for the books which Dresseler ordered on his own account for Frankfurt, he had to pay the charges for transport and the like himself; transport and risks for dispatch of the other books were a charge on Plantin; for the books purchased on his own account and in so far as they were printed by Plantin Dresseler obtained a rebate of 30% 'provided he paid in ready money'; were Dresseler to fall into the hands of hostile soldiers *en route* from or to Frankfurt, then Plantin was supposed to pay half of the ransom. This final clause was inspired by an actual event, for in March 1586 Dresseler, on the way to Frankfurt, was taken prisoner between Brussels and Namur by soldiers of the army of the States-General and released only after payment of ransom: *Corr.*, VII, no. 1081 (Plantin to de Çayas, 21st March 1586), no. 1083 (Plantin to Hopperus, 24th March 1586), no. 1086 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, 1st April 1586).
2. For example in about 1613: cf. Vol. I, p. 207.
3. Cf. Appendix 3.

Southern Netherlands	49,606 fl. ¹	
Northern Netherlands	3,219 fl.	5½ st.
Germany	11,657 fl.	4¾ st.
France	3,813 fl.	15 st.
Italy	2,221 fl.	
Spain and Portugal	1,954 fl.	6½ st.
	—————	
	72,471 fl.	11¾ st.

When the conflict between Spain and the United Provinces had died down, and a truce had been agreed on in 1609 that was to last for twelve years, it became possible to renew trade with the Peninsula. Before Jan I Moretus died the Hieronymites of the Escorial were in touch with him about the supply of breviaries and missals.² Private dealers were also putting out feelers.³ But it was left to Balthasar I and Jan II to make Spain the firm's biggest foreign customer again.⁴ Their role too was rather passive, the Hieronymite monks making the approach. From 1615 the two brothers were able to send huge quantities of liturgical books each year to the Escorial or to the monastery's subsidiary house at Seville, to a total value, for the years 1615-25, of 163,607 fl. 8 st.⁵ The Hieronymites did not, however, possess an absolute monopoly of the Plantinian imports into Spain.⁶

1. Antwerp merchants acting as occasional booksellers accounted for 9,870 fl. 15 st. of this.
2. Cf. Vol. I, p. 214.
3. Such as Diodat and J. Hertroy, who as early as 1609 had purchased books to a value of 1,931 fl. 17½ st. (cf. Appendix 3). Hertroy appears later (in 1615 for example) to act at times as an agent of the Hieronymite fathers, but he also bought on his own account (cf. p. 407, note 1). It may also be assumed that many books bought by the 'independent booksellers' at Antwerp were destined for the Iberian market.
4. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 214-215.
5. In 1615: 10,511 fl. 19½ st., in 1616: 27,746 fl. 1 st.; in 1617: 8,117 fl.; in 1618: 9,742 fl. 5 st.; in 1619: 13,318 fl. 15 st.; in 1620: 14,834 fl. 1 st.; in 1621: 18,912 fl. 11 st.; in 1622: 15,219 fl. 2 st.; in 1623: 12,383 fl. 13 st.; in 1624: 26,443 fl. 6 st.; in 1625: 6,378 fl. 15 st. Compiled from the *journals* of 1615 (Arch. 222), 1616 (Arch. 223), 1617 (Arch. 224), 1618 (Arch. 225), 1619 (Arch. 226), 1620 (Arch. 227), 1621 (Arch. 228), 1622 (Arch. 229), 1623 (Arch. 230), 1624 (Arch. 231), 1625 (Arch. 232).
6. The relationship between them and the firm's other Spanish customers is difficult to establish. The correspondence and other documents give the impression that the Hieronymite fathers had the complete monopoly for the sale of service books in Spain. The Plantinian account-books, however, indicate that a number of other Spanish traders obtained their supplies of these books directly from Antwerp. On relations between the Hieronymites and the Plantin House after 1625, cf. Vol. I, pp. 230 sqq., 243 sqq.

Spanish booksellers were active, and merchants handling occasional consignments of books notably so. There were even other Spanish monastic orders and clergy involved. These other importers sometimes took quite large quantities,¹ but their orders were less specialized, less preponderantly liturgical. (Ordinary Plantinian editions, on the contrary, were practically absent from the consignments dispatched to the Escorial.) Netherlands-based dealers too attempted to market Plantinian books in Spain, at their own risk and through their own channels. It is more difficult to give accurate figures for this part of the trade.² Virtually within a year or two the Iberian peninsula had once again become one of the principal markets for the Plantin press. It had surpassed all other foreign areas by 1615, and at that time and in the succeeding years it must have approached the basic market, the Southern Netherlands.³

This growth of the Spanish market came just in time to compensate for the shrinking of that traditional market of the *officina*, Germany.

1. Thus in 1615. Hertroy - who then acted as the agent for the Hieronymite fathers - also bought 'pour son compte particulier' books to the value of 1,003 fl. 19 st. (Arch. 222, f^o 41). Various Spanish and Portuguese traders and ecclesiastics bought books to the value of 6,914 fl. 4 st. in 1616 (Arch. 223), 4,619 fl. 3 st. worth in 1617 (Arch. 224), and 10,300 fl. 17½ st. worth in 1618 (Arch. 225).
2. Markings on bales and packing-cases sometimes give a clue. Consignments of a particular size and consisting of various bales or packing-cases were usually marked, numbered, and mostly also provided with the reference 'libri' or 'libros'. These annotations were copied into the *journals*. *Libros* constantly recurs on consignments marked for Spain and Portugal; one may then also assume that on consignments where the destination was not stated the term *libros* also indicates the Iberian peninsula. The numerous bales marked *libros* delivered to occasional dealers must also have been sent south while the bales and cases marked *libri* and delivered to the same merchants were shipped elsewhere: to the United Provinces, England, Germany, and France.
3. Thus in 1616 the value of the books shipped to Spain amounted to 34,687 fl. (not counting books sent there by Antwerp dealers), whilst in 1609 the sale in the Netherlands amounted to 49,597 fl. (including the 9,870 fl. 15 st. worth of books taken by the occasional dealers and in fact also destined for export).

This decline was in fact the decline of the Frankfurt Fairs. To a greater extent than Plantin had done, Jan I Moretus and his sons maintained direct contacts with German booksellers, outside the fairs, but the *Messen* remained the cornerstone of trade with the Empire.¹ But then the Thirty Years War (1618-48) disrupted even this venerable institution. The Frankfurt Fairs survived the war, but were mere shadows of what they had formerly been. The Moretuses continued to send books to Frankfurt, but the volume and the relative importance of the consignments were much reduced. As the war drew to its close, Balthasar II Moretus had tried to pick up the threads again. In 1644 he went to Frankfurt in person, but his memories of the perilous journey were far from pleasant and its result not too promising.² He tried again in 1656,³ but seemingly with as little success as before. The fairs had to be written off as a venue for meeting German booksellers,⁴ and this meant that many customers who had been accustomed to buy their books there were thenceforth lost to the firm.⁵ Only with Cologne did trade remain fairly brisk,⁶ while financially powerful German dealers began - or continued -

1. Cf. Appendix 3 for 1609. To a total of 11,657 fl. 4¾ st.: of this 9,406 fl. 19 st. to the Frankfurt Fairs and 2,150 fl. 5¾ st. sold directly to booksellers in Cologne, Danzig, and Emmerich. It would appear that in the following years the direct transactions increased sharply.
2. Balthasar II Moretus's detailed account of this journey was commented on by M. Sabbe, 'Balthasar Moretus II naar de Vasten-Messe te Francfort in 1644', *Jaarboek van Antwerpen's Oudheidkundige Kring*, 8, 1932, pp. 31-53. There is a summary in: M. Sabbe, *De Meesters van den Gulden Passer*, 1937, pp. 95-98.
3. In the memorial (Arch. 213) in which Balthasar II Moretus noted the outstanding events in his life, we hear only twice of a journey to Frankfurt: in 1644 (cf. previous note) and in 1656 (about which nothing further is known).
4. In 1650 books were sent to Frankfurt to the very small total of 1,739 fl. 14 st. (out of a total for Germany of 5,811 fl. 6½ st.) (cf. Appendix 4).
5. The series of the *cahiers de Francfort*, which give a detailed picture of the transactions of the *Officina Plantiniana* at the Frankfurt Fairs, stops in 1639; that of the *carnets de Francfort (bilans)* in 1644. However, this does not mean that the accounts were neglected after 1644. Probably some of the later *cahiers* and *carnets* were lost (perhaps left behind in the Frankfurt shop?).
6. In 1650 books were sent to Cologne to the value of 1,183 fl. 13¾ st. (out of a total for Germany of 5,811 fl. 6½ st.) (cf. Appendix 4). On relationships in the seventeenth century with Demen, the Cologne booksellers and publishers: I. Heitjan, 'Die Kölner Buchhändler und Verleger Demen im 17. Jahrhundert', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1962, pp. 294-302.

to get their supplies directly from Antwerp. Germany remained a fairly important market, but the traditional structure of trade with that country was destroyed and its relative importance compared with the firm's total turnover declined.

These changes in the Plantinian markets are clearly shown by the sales figures for 1650:¹

Southern Netherlands	44,255 fl. 13¼ st.
Northern Netherlands	11,996 fl. 15 st.
Spain	50,388 fl. 7 st. ²
Germany	5,811 fl. 6½ st.
France	1,523 fl. 13¾ st.
England	675 fl. 11¾ st.
	—
Total	114,651 fl. 7¼ st.

By 1650 Spain had replaced the Southern Netherlands as the principal market, the Hieronymites being the main customers. Almost a third of the firm's sales were to their monastery at the Escorial and their Seville house. As the cultural life of the Southern Netherlands declined and the *Officina Plantiniana* increasingly specialized in the production of service books, the pre-eminence of the Spanish market, and particularly of the Hieronymites, became more and more emphasized.³ That the firm was able to go on and build up quite a good trade in the eighteenth century was due to these monks. When in about 1765 the firm's privileges in the Peninsula were withdrawn and the market there closed to it, its trading collapsed and thereafter the old Plantin house merely stagnated.⁴

1. Cf. Appendix 4.

2. The Hieronymites: 30,280 fl.

3. Between 1716 and 1730 the firm made deliveries to the Fathers in Madrid and Seville amounting to the impressive sum of 1,097,040 fl. Cf. L. Michielsen, 'Nota's over den rijkdom en den boekhandel der Moretussen in de XVIIIe eeuw,' *De Gulden Passer*, 14, 1936, pp. 53-60. See also Vol. I, p. 244.

4. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 245 sqq.

The markets reached by Plantin and his successors embraced the whole of Western and Central Europe. For France, England, Italy, and Spain the system was fairly simple: with the exception of the period of the Paris bookshop, 1566-77, the books were mainly distributed via a relatively small number of large booksellers, merchants of considerable resources, or - in the case of Spain - a monastic order of still greater financial power. In the Netherlands and Germany the channels through which the books were distributed and sold were more complex.

In the Netherlands this arose from the fact that the masters of the Golden Compasses were able there to sell to both retailers and private individuals, relatively small quantities being sold to a large number of customers. The retail trade here exceeded the wholesale. However, a certain evolution is apparent in these operations.

Sales figures for the Netherlands, 1566¹

Booksellers

Antwerp	2,150 fl. 18¾ st.	(25 retailers)
Rest of S. Netherlands	2,258 fl. 10¼ st.	(37 retailers in 16 towns)
N. Netherlands	685 fl. ¼ st.	(17 retailers in 9 towns)
Own bookshop	1,491 fl. ¾ st.	
Sales to private persons	903 fl. 3 st.	
	—————	
	7,488 fl. 13 st.	

Proceeds from the shop were quite high in that year (about 20%), but direct sales to private customers were rather less favourable. There is a striking negative fact about these customers: few of the clergy or the monastic houses ordered books. It should be pointed out that 1566 was the year of the so-called Hedge-preaches and the outbreak of the Calvinist Iconoclasm. The Catholic clergy had other things to think about than buying books. But even when this factor had been taken into account, the percentage of direct purchases by this group is so low as to suggest that even in normal years they did not buy very many books. The booksellers, 79 of them altogether

1. Cf. Appendix 2.

distributed over 26 towns, took most.¹ Antwerp naturally took first place, but more because of the large number of colleagues Plantin could do business with in person there than because of the size of their individual orders. Only the firm of Birckman (the *Poule Grasse*) placed quite big orders, but this Antwerp branch of a Cologne house was as internationally orientated as the *Officina Plantiniana* itself and a considerable proportion of the books supplied to them must have been intended for ultimate sale abroad. Among the other Netherlands towns, only Louvain and Brussels were in any way above average. The Northern Netherlands were a rather poor customer: Louvain took more books than the whole of the North put together. The comparative importance of Breda, however, is rather extra-ordinary and is perhaps to be explained by the fact that the principal customer there, Gerard Janssen van Kampen, was also one of Plantin's chief woodcut artists and as such may have been given more favourable trading terms.

Sales figures for the Netherlands, 1609²

Southern Netherlands

Booksellers

Antwerp	3,834 fl. 3½ st.	(13 retailers)
Rest of S. Netherlands	10,153 fl. 16¼ st.	(58 retailers in 22 towns)

Own bookshop 10,193 fl. 3¼ st.

Private customers³ 15,554 fl. 2 st.

Occasional merchants at
Antwerp 9,870 fl. 15 st. (14 retailers)

—————
49,606 fl.

Northern Netherlands

Booksellers 3,219 fl. 5½ st. (15 retailers in
7 towns)

1. In the account-books of Plantin and Jan I Moretus are the names of altogether 241 booksellers from the area of the Southern Netherlands (present-day Belgium): 95 of these bookseller-printers are known only from this source. Cf. M. Lefèvre, 'Libraires belges en relations commerciales avec Christophe Plantin et Jean Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 41, 1963, pp. 1-46.
2. Cf. Appendix 3.
3. Of this sum, clergy accounted for 9,124 fl. 17 st.

The figures show that the trade picture had changed considerably in 1609. The firm's own bookshop still accounted for about 20 % of sales, but the Antwerp booksellers had greatly decreased in importance as customers. There was, however, greater concentration: a few only of the bookshops then operating in Antwerp were listed as customers. Of those that were, Jan van Keerbergen (2,093 fl.) and Martin Nutius (603 fl.) together accounted for three-quarters of total purchases. What is even more striking is the large number of merchants who did not regularly deal in books but who made what were often impressive purchases for sale on their own account, especially abroad. This category of 'Antwerp' sales could be regarded as an indirect Plantinian export. Bookshops in other Netherlands towns had become rather more numerous and their purchases more considerable, but because other categories of customers had increased at a greater rate, the percentage they represented of the total sales had actually diminished. The Louvain booksellers still had first place, but the new university town of Douai had displaced Brussels from second and was even catching up on Louvain. In fact, several other small provincial towns had also surpassed the capital. Comparison with 1566, however, shows that the greatest leap forward had been made by private customers. It has already been pointed out that 1566 was not a good year as far as such sales were concerned, and this slightly distorts the comparison with 1609. Nevertheless the impression remains that at the beginning of the seventeenth century the delight in collecting and reading books had increased among the better-off classes in the Southern Netherlands - sufficiently for such customers to have their often large purchases of books delivered to them, instead of going in person to the Plantinian bookshop as in the past, or, if they lived outside Antwerp, to their local booksellers. The Catholic clergy were now well represented among these customers and practically every one of the monasteries then liberally scattered through the Southern Netherlands figures at least once in connexion with a sale or a payment in the firm's 1609 journal.

Sales figure for the Netherlands, 1650¹

Southern Netherlands

Booksellers

Antwerp	9,265 fl. 18½ st.	(17 retailers)
Rest of S. Netherlands	6,040 fl. 17½ st.	(26 retailers in 11 towns)
Other dealers in Antwerp	16,475 fl. 19½ st.	
Private customers	8,032 fl. 9 st. ²	
Own bookshop	4,440 fl. 8¾ st.	
	—————	
	44,255 fl. 13¼ st.	

Northern Netherlands

Booksellers	7,191 fl. 10½ st.	(23 retailers in 11 towns)
Occasional merchants	4,805 fl. 5 st.	(3 retailers in 2 towns)
	—————	
	11,996 fl. 15½ st.	

In 1650, private customers had decreased sharply, both in figures and as a percentage. The cultural flames fanned by the Counter-Reformation were dying down. The chief customers were again the booksellers and occasional dealers. In 1650 purchases by the latter group had even exceeded those of the regular booksellers. Among the booksellers, the Antwerp colleagues of Balthasar II Moretus had regained the leading position; in fact it was just one retailer, Jan van Meurs, who had tipped the balance with his vast purchases. Of the other Southern Netherlands towns, Louvain and Douai had dropped back and Brussels now held the lead. This was probably due not so much to cultural decline in the two university towns as to the specialization of the Plantin House in the production of service books.

In 1609, as in 1566, the Northern Netherlands had been a relatively minor market. This can partly be attributed to the circumstances of the war, partly to the fact that Antwerp-based merchants - possibly because of the uncertainty of the times - effected a considerable proportion of the *officina's* sales in the North. In 1650 the United

1. Cf. Appendix 4.

2. Of this sum, clergy accounted for 5,435 fl. 8¾ st.

Provinces were better represented in the firm's accounts; partly by booksellers in the commercial city of Amsterdam, followed at a

distance by the university town of Leiden; partly by merchants who, although smaller in number, accounted for more than one third of the book imports from the Southern Netherlands.

Sales in Germany also show a rather complicated picture. Unlike the Netherlands, there were practically no private customers. Whereas in France, England, Spain, and Italy business was chiefly conducted with wholesalers, in Germany many more retailers were supplied - or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that sales were made to more booksellers on a retail basis. This trade was concentrated at a particular place and in a limited period: the Frankfurt Lent and September Fairs. In the spring of 1579, for example, Jan I Moretus recorded the sale of 3,343 fl. worth of books and the purchase of 1,270 fl. worth, involving 80 dealers from 27 places.¹ The biggest transaction amounted to 275 fl.; most involved less than 50 fl. Reference has already been made to the fact that at the Frankfurt Fairs contact was also made with dealers from outside the territories of the German Empire, notably eastern France and Italy. It is interesting to see that in 1609 the number of non-German and non-Swiss merchants who did business with the *Officina Plantiniana* by this means, and the extent of their orders, was appreciably greater than in 1579.² This was especially true of Lyons, but several Paris booksellers seem to have preferred the long detour via Frankfurt to the direct route to Antwerp.³

Sales can also be looked at from the point of view of how a particular book was marketed. Books of general interest and printed in a universal language such as Latin the Plantin Press distributed over the whole of Christendom.⁴ A few selected samples show that sales of such works corresponded closely to the general tendencies that may

1. Cf. Appendix 5.
2. Cf. Appendix 6.
3. Though it must be noted straight away that some of them - such as A. Beys and A. Périer - also carried on business directly with Antwerp: their presence at Frankfurt can have resulted in the settling of a few minor transactions.
4. Cf. Appendix 7.

be observed for the sales of Plantinian publications in the relevant period.¹

Works on the narrower kind of political or religious topic were practically restricted in sale to the region where the text or illustrations would be likely to be of interest in certain specialized circles. Such texts would include eulogies or obituaries of princes and statesmen, accounts of military successes, royal visits, and so on. Books of topical content had to be on the market very quickly or else run the risk of gathering dust on shelves when public interest had waned. Pierre Porret once drew Plantin's attention to this fact most succinctly.² However, the printer was only too familiar with the problem, as is shown by his letter of fifteen years before to Egidius Beys, his representative in Paris.³ The piles of copies of such works that were sometimes kept in stock for decades in anticipation of a possible, but increasingly unlikely clientele⁴ is further evidence that for the masters of the

1. From several letters from the younger Frans Raphelengius to members of his family in Antwerp it appears that certain new publications were often sent automatically to other booksellers: 'Quant vous imprimés des devotions nouvelles en françois ne nous envoyez que deux ou trois pour sorte, mais des devotions nouvelles en flamand tousjours 25.' (Letter dated 17th January, 1591: Arch. 92, p. 89.) In 1595 Raphelengius lost his temper because the new publication of Justus Lipsius, *De militia romana*, was supplied to other booksellers before him: 'car nous sommes mocqués de ceux qui en ont veu auprès de plusieurs de ce que vous nous tenez en mespris servants les estrangers devant nous.' (Letter of 18th July 1595: Arch. 95, p. 45.)
2. *Corr.*, VII, no. 989 (Porret to J. Moretus, 18th September 1582): 'Vous m'avés aussi envoyé demi cent des poesies la Flandre a Monseigneur [Jean de la Jessée, *La Flandre à Monseigneur*, 1582] qui sont livres dequoy on ne tient conte, mays de quelque chose touchant les fascicules comme les lectres interceptés [*Lettres interceptées du cardinal de Granvelle et aultres*, 1582] et le discours de l'entreprinse contre Mons^r si on en avoit au commencement cela se vendroit, mays toutes telles choses ne se doibvent mettre en tonneaulx qui sont ordinairement deux moys sur chemin et estant arrivés il fault faire enveloppes et maculatures de telz livres.'
3. *Corr.*, I, no. 98 (probably 1567: 'Giles, J'ay receu vos lettres et les 100 Oraisons funèbres de feu Monsr. le Connestable. Et nottés que, si vous eussies envoyé autant de chaicunne sorte des nouveaux édits qu'ils eussent esté moyen de recouvrer le peu de perte qui est sur lesdictes Oraisons qu'il [ne] m'a esté possible de vendre a plus de demy braspenning la pièce, encores a il faillu prier Waesberghe et Keerberghe et tels qu'ils les voulussent faire porter à la bourse par leurs garçons, encores quelque 20').
4. In 1642 there were still 303 copies in stock of the *Vredehandel van Ceulen*, printed in 1580. This topical work on the Cologne peace conference (1579-80) between delegates of Philip II and the States General was by no means the only Plantin impression of which copies lay stacked up somewhere in an attic of the Golden Compasses. Cf. p. 459, note 1.

Golden Compasses topical literature could be a difficult commodity to handle.

Language also played a part in determining sales. Works in French had a certain sale in the Dutch-speaking part of the Low Countries, but it might be supposed that the sale of a book in Dutch would be limited mainly to the region where that language was spoken. This is shown, for example, by the distribution of the popular book Reynard the Fox (*Reynaert de Vos*) in Dutch and French, Plantin's edition of which appeared in 1566.¹ Sales were indeed virtually restricted to the Dutch-speaking part of the Netherlands. Surprisingly enough, however, some copies were actually ordered by booksellers in the French-speaking area of the Southern Netherlands,² and seventeen copies found their way to Germany, eleven going to a Cologne schoolmaster and the other six to a Heidelberg bookseller. For the same reasons publications in Italian, Spanish, and Hebrew had a sharply defined market in the linguistic if not the geographical sense.³

Special factors sometimes helped or hindered the distribution of a particular book. For example, the breviaries that Plantin printed under license from Paul Manutius could only be distributed in the Netherlands.⁴ Books printed in Spanish outside the Peninsula could not be imported into Spain, at least in Plantin's later years.⁵ He

1. Cf. Appendix 7.
2. Viz., Liège, Tournai, Cambrai, Douai, Lille (together making 44 copies of the total of 652 copies sold). The hinterland covered by various of these towns was, however, in part Dutch-speaking (Liège and Tournai, for instance).
3. The Hebrew editions were in part designed for the Christian scholars and theologians who understood this language, but the impressions of religious works in Hebrew (especially the books of the Old Testament) were mainly intended for the Jewish communities in Europe and beyond. Part of Plantin's 1566 Hebrew Bible was even sold in Morocco (cf. p. 392).
4. *Corr.*, II, no. 216 (Plantin to Manutius, 25th February 1570): Plantin emphasizes that he had sent no breviaries to Spain (except four copies to the king at the latter's request) and Portugal, and that neither he had sent any to his shop in Paris; they were only sold in the Antwerp shop; Plantin had not even sold any to Portuguese merchants who had asked him for them.
5. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1274 (Plantin to de Çayas, 1st July 1587): the printer had received the manuscript - from the context this had been sent by de Çayas and composed in the Spanish language - and would have set it up on his presses, but he only expected a small sale, among other things because he could not send any copies to Spain: 'prima quod vetitum esse intelligam ne libri Hispanica lingua extra Hispanias impressi in ea regna mittantur').

seems also to have experienced trouble with some of his colleagues who wanted to keep him out of their spheres of influence.¹

*Trade in other publishers' books*²

The masters of the Golden Compasses not only sold their own publications but also bought books from other houses for retail.³ In 1566 Plantin disposed of 16,340 fl. worth of books; purchases recorded in his accounts came to 6,109 fl., but this probably falls short of the real amount by some sum no longer exactly calculable.⁴ This purchase and re-sale of other publishers' work was therefore important to Plantin's trading activities in his earlier years, representing more than a third of total sales. Later, under Jan I Moretus, and possibly even towards the end of Plantin's life, the *officina* was able, or obliged, to concentrate more on the sale of its own books. In the early seventeenth century the percentage of other firms' books sold dropped to barely 12 %. By 1650 it had decreased still further.

Plantin made his purchases more or less everywhere, with the exception of England and Spain - one point that was noticeable both in his day and in subsequent periods was that trade with these two countries was always one-way.⁵ It should be noted that in 1566 some

1. *Corr.*, V, no. 765 (Plantin to Buyssetius, 15th June 1577): after the death of Father Villalva, who supervised, in the name of Philip II, the service books Plantin sent to Spain, his successor combined with some Spanish printers to try and have Plantin's deliveries to the Peninsula stopped.
2. For the figures in detail for 1566 see Appendix 2, for 1609 Appendix 3, for 1650 Appendix 4, and for data regarding the Frankfurt Fairs in 1579 and 1609 see Appendixes 5 and 6.
3. Whereas sales to private individuals and non-specialist dealers were very considerable; practically all the Plantinian purchases were made exclusively from publishers and booksellers. Only exceptionally was purchase of a work from a non-professional noted (cf. Appendixes 2, 3, and 4).
4. The purchases noted for Frankfurt are probably incomplete.
5. In 1609 Jan I Moretus purchased works at the Frankfurt Fair from two English merchants for the sum of 84 fl. 12 st. (cf. Appendix 6), but it is very unlikely that these were English publications. In the correspondence with J. Poelman there is one mention of the dispatch of bales of books from Spain to Antwerp, but the consignment arrived in very bad condition (cf. p. 432, note 4) and the experiment does not seem to have been repeated.

places were more important than others within that comprehensive ‘everywhere’: in the Netherlands it was Antwerp, Plantin's place of residence, followed by Louvain. Hendrik Goltzius at Bruges and a few cartographical publishers at Malines also warrant mention. Typographers in other Netherlands towns can be virtually discounted. Abroad, Paris, Lyons, and Venice were important sources of supply. Paris booksellers and publishers dispatched almost as many books to the Golden Compasses as Plantin's Antwerp colleagues, and two firms in Lyons practically equalled the combined Antwerp and Paris contribution. Only one German dealer is known by name: Gerard Mercator, the renowned Duisburg cartographer, who supplied 319 fl. worth of maps and globes that year. Who the men were who sold Plantin the 681 fl. worth of books entered under the heading ‘Frankfurt Fairs’ cannot be discovered. More details are available for the Lent Fair of 1579: many small batches from German and Swiss printers; less numerous but more valuable consignments from printers in Lyons and Venice.

In 1609 the proportions were not very different: the *Officina Plantiniana* continued to obtain the books it wanted to sell from Antwerp itself, Paris, Lyons, Cologne, and at Frankfurt, from a host of German and Swiss publishers. But whereas cratesful of books were sent from Antwerp to Venice and Rome, no books were imported directly from Italy. However, the *cahiers de Francfort* reveal that appreciable purchases were made from Italian dealers that year via the fairs; and publishers from Lyons and even Paris also made worthwhile sales to the Plantin House through the same channel.

In 1650 it was still the Antwerp printers and publishers who, together with several in Lyons and Cologne, supplied the larger part of the books Balthasar II Moretus sold. The loss of the Frankfurt accounts makes it impossible to determine whether advantage was still being

taken of the fairs to contact Italians or Germans other than those named in the journal. What the journal does reveal is the identity of a new group of suppliers. During the preceding half century, the Northern Netherlands had taken over the position the South formerly held in the world of printing and publishing. The North had become an international book market and the Moretuses now placed quite valuable orders with the leading Amsterdam and Leiden firms that had emerged. In 1642 the ‘foreign assortment’ (‘vreemde sorteringe’ or ‘buiten sorteringe’, i.e., books not printed in the *Officina Plantiniana*) in stock was worth 12,527 fl. 10 st., out of a total stock valued at 133,643 fl. 17 st. In 1651 the figures were 12,155 fl. and 185,157 fl. 19 st. respectively.¹

The masters of the Golden Compasses found themselves obliged on a number of occasions to accept books that they did not especially want as payment. Smaller printers in particular would sometimes settle up in this way.² In other instances barter was resorted to, the exchange being fairly carefully balanced. The firm would supply books to a certain value against promise of receipt of books to the same value from the other party.³ Very occasionally the transaction might be expressed not in terms of money but in the number of printed sheets the two parties agreed to barter.⁴ Equally exceptional was the sale-or-return arrangement whereby a publisher's works were held in stock for possible retail, but were returnable if unsold.⁵

1. According to the data in Arch. 354.
2. Thus in 1566 deliveries from a number of small booksellers outside Antwerp - such as M. Hamont and N. Torsi (Brussels), J. Duvivier and G. Salenson (Ghent), J. Boschard (Douai), H. Schinckel (Utrecht), L. Scrapen (Maastricht) - could be so interpreted. Cf. Appendix 2.
3. See, for example, in Appendixes 2, 3, and 4 how very frequently deliveries to and from a particular bookseller-publisher approximately balance each other. Cf. also C. Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, p. 212 (letter from A. Dupont, a French bookseller established at Medina del Campo, November 1587: lists a series of works that he has in Lyons and asks what titles J. Moretus has to offer in exchange at Frankfurt). Once Plantin settled an account by rendering some of the books delivered by a colleague: ‘G. Sylvius doit... pour 751 livres de son impression quon luy a rendus pour faire conclusion de nostre compte... 45 fl. 12½ st.’ (29th June 1566: Arch. 44, f^o 88^{vo}).
4. The transactions with the Paris bookseller and publisher Billaine in 1650 were on this basis. Cf. Appendix 4.
5. The only case known to the author was Hubert Goltzius, the famous Bruges humanist, who was an engraver and printer and publisher: on 11th August 1558 Plantin received 44 *Vivae Imperatorum imagines* ‘pour porter à Francfort... accord fait que ie luy payeray 55 st. pour chacun livre ou les luy rendray’ (Arch. 38, f^o 104); in 1566 the transactions with Goltzius took place in the same way (Arch. 3, f^o 53^{ro}: 23rd June ‘pour autant délivré à Abraham Ortelius au compte dud[ict] Golts. en déduction des livres de Jules Caesar que ie tiens en commission du[dict] Goltz.’; Arch. 3, f^o 54^{vo}; 14th July, 174 *Fasti Romanorum* ‘de payer 3 fl. 10 st. pour chaicunne pièce que ie voudray payer à chaicun retour de la foire de Francfort’.)

It seems likely, however, that the masters of the *Officina Plantiniana* purchased the books they wanted or needed, without paying too much attention to how their balance of trade with the other party stood at a given moment. The purchases Christophe Plantin and his successors made were determined in the long run by what they were able to sell.

Through the centuries the *Officina Plantiniana* produced serious works, and it was largely scholarly and scientific works that were purchased from other publishers for sale in its retail shop. Nevertheless, the picture of a more popularly orientated bookshop can also be reconstructed from the Plantinian accounts. During 1576 Plantin established his son-in-law Frans Raphelengius as an independent bookseller 'near the north door of Antwerp Cathedral'. To stock the new shop, Plantin bought a vast number of cheap editions from his Antwerp colleagues, all carefully noted in the journal for 1576.¹ Besides a certain number of humanist works and dictionaries, there were almanacs, prayer-books, popular romances, schoolbooks, songbooks, and books of riddles, in Dutch and French - all cheap and popular editions such as were nowhere else mentioned in the firm's accounts. The Spanish Fury (4th November 1576) temporarily interrupted these purchases, but within a few days they had been resumed - now with a high percentage of cheap Spanish romances and similar works 'in the Castilian tongue', no doubt meant for the mercenaries who for several weeks more were to lord it over the city they had just visited with fire and sword.

Plantin's bookshop in Antwerp had an important share in the trade in books from other publishing houses. Nearly two thirds of the books sold there in the first half of 1566 were in this category.² But

1. Arch. 54, f^{os} 29 sqq.

2. In the register of sales in the shop for this period the amounts coming in from the sale of Plantin impressions, non-Plantin impressions, and paper, were carefully noted separately for each month. The ratio was - for the period January-June 1566 and for a total of 565 fl. 16 st. - as follows: Plantin impressions, 191 fl. 4½ st.; non-Plantin impressions, 331 fl. 7¼ st.; paper, 43 fl. 4¼ st. (Arch. 43^{IV}).

not all sales were effected through the shop. All other things being equal it would be reasonable to assume that books from other Antwerp houses were more likely to be meant for customers outside the city, or even outside the country, rather than for sale in the shop. Conversely the books obtained from Frankfurt or from dealers in Paris, Lyons, or Venice were meant for the local Netherlands market and were only re-exported to countries, England and Spain for example, with which these dealers did not have regular contact. A few random tests support these premises. From 1566 to 1576 Plantin bought a large number of wall-maps and globes from Gerard Mercator for retailing. He sent some of them to Frankfurt, but for the larger part only after their market value had been increased by being coloured by experts in Antwerp or Malines. This explains the apparent and exceptional anomaly of re-exporting Mercator's maps to his principal area of direct distribution. For the rest Plantin sold Mercator maps in the Netherlands, where his principal customers were the specialist bookshops. Almost as many were sent to Paris and small quantities found their way to England, Spain, and Italy.¹ Sales of another of Mercator's works, the *Chronologia*, published in 1568 by the Cologne firm of Birckman, were totally different. Between 1568 and 1576 Plantin ordered 61 copies from the Antwerp branch, the *Poule Grasse*. Only 15 copies were sold to booksellers and private persons in the Netherlands; the rest went to bookshops and private customers in France, Spain, and even Poland.² Not a single copy was sold to Antwerp

1. Of the 686 copies of various maps by Mercator sold between 1566 and 1576, 44 were disposed of in the Antwerp shop; 205 to booksellers specializing in cartographical productions (Antwerp and Malines); 14 to ordinary booksellers in the Netherlands; 49 to private customers in the Netherlands; 247 in France (of which 237 were sent to Plantin's shop in Paris); 51 in Germany; 30 in England; 24 in Spain; 22 in Italy. Cf. the detailed table in L. Voet, 'Les relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et la Maison Plantinienne à Anvers,' *Duisburger Forschungen*, 1962, pp. 215-217.
2. Out of a total of 61 copies 2 went to private individuals in Antwerp; 8 to private individuals in the Netherlands outside Antwerp; 5 to booksellers in the Netherlands outside Antwerp; 37 to France (of which 33 were sent to Plantin's shop in Paris; 2 to Toulouse; 2 to Bordeaux); 8 to Spain; 1 to Poland (to a private individual). Cf. the detailed table in L. Voet, 'Relations commerciales', pp. 219-220.

booksellers (who could, like Plantin, get their supplies directly from the *Poule Grasse*), nor of course were any re-exported to Germany, where the parent house controlled sales.

Publicity

Plantin used certain forms of publicity to promote sales. Judged by today's standards these may seem almost laughable, but at the time they must have appeared modern and progressive. However, the great printer was not an innovator in this matter.

There is just one source of information about one of these advertising methods. On 28th February 1570, Egidius Beys, Plantin's representative in Paris, wrote, 'When you send me new books, always send me posters and preliminaries, for display, because this makes the books sell well.'¹ His idea was to use the posters, or title-pages serving as such, to advertise new publications. Whether this method represented Parisian practice,² or whether Plantin also employed it at Frankfurt and Antwerp, must remain debatable, further details being lacking.³

Posterity is much better informed about another publicity medium, the catalogues. In 1541 Aldus Manutius the Younger issued a catalogue of the publications of his printing office at Venice. His example was followed by Simon de Colines (Paris, 1546), Christoph Froschouer (Zürich, 1548), Sébastien Gryphius (Lyons, 1549), Johann Froben (Basle, 1549), and Robert Estienne (Geneva, 1552 and 1559).⁴ These

1. *Corr.*, II, no. 219: 'Quant vous m'envoyerez quelques livres nouveaux, envoyez moy tousjours des affiges et commencements, pour affiger, car cela faict bien vendre les livres davantage.'
2. Plantin and Beys were by no means the only publishers to draw attention to themselves in Paris with such 'affiches': 'La saturnalia Lipsii a esté imprimé en ceste ville avec un commentaire et feust hyer affigé; si le messenger le veult porter a quelque honneste pris vous en aurés la veue...' as wrote P. Porret to Plantin on 11th February 1585 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1031).
3. It should be stressed that Plantin in 1579 had published a catalogue in the form of a broadsheet poster, probably designed for the Frankfurt Fairs.
4. Ch. Mortet, *Le format des livres*, 1925, pp. 48-49.

were the years in which the Frankfurt Fairs grew into one of the principal book marts of Christendom. Many new publications were first offered for sale there and booksellers, bibliophiles, and all those interested in the trade wanted to have notice of what was going to be put on display.¹ An Augsburg bookseller, Georg Willer, met their demands and started to publish lists of new books in 1564. Probably Willer's initiative was simply a more systematic and regular continuation of similar efforts by his forerunners.²

So it was that, when Plantin set himself up as a printer and bookseller, publishers' lists and book fair catalogues were already known. He began quite early working with these Frankfurt catalogues: one had been enclosed with his letter of October 1561 to the humanist F. Fabricius.³ Through the years he continued sending them to his patrons and associates.⁴ One such catalogue, which may or may not have been sent out by Plantin, held up the work on one of his Latin Bible editions. Theologians at Louvain engaged in collating the texts learnt from the catalogue that an edition of the Scriptures had been issued at Venice, examined and approved by Rome. They refused to continue their work until they had consulted this edition. Plantin found himself obliged to order a copy from Venice post-haste.⁵

When he brought out the first printed catalogue of his own works

1. On the catalogues for the Frankfurt Fairs, see G. Schwetschke, *Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis; Meß-Jahrbücher des deutschen Buchhandels von dem Erscheinen des ersten Meß-Kataloges im Jahre 1564 bis zu der Gründung des ersten Buchhändler-Vereins im Jahre 1765*, 1850.
2. Plantin had in fact sent a catalogue like this in 1561 to a few business contacts (cf. notes 4 and 5). It is, however, possible that this consisted of handwritten private notes.
3. *Corr.*, I, no. 5 ('quae nova his nundinis prodierint hoc sequenti catalogo accipe').
4. *Corr.*, I, no. 6 (Plantin to Stephanus Winandus Pighius, 10th October 1561: 'Catalogum librorum novorum, quos Francofordia adduximus, mitto missurus quos volueris'); II, no. 224 (Plantin to Bishop G. d'Oignies, 1570); no. 330 (Plantin to M. de Malen, Abbot of Ninove, 28th April 1572); V, no. 704 (Plantin to Girgos, 18th February 1576), no. 719 (Plantin to Girgos, 19th May 1576), no. 738 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, 1-4th September 1576), no. 757 (idem, 3rd May 1577); VII, no. 1004 (Hamel, apothecary in Tournai, to J. Moretus, 20th August 1583); VIII-IX, no. 1304 (Plantin to Oudartius, 13th October 1587), no. 1422 (Plantin to Soarez d'Albergia, 23rd December 1588). For the Lent fair of 1579 the purchase of 25 fair catalogues is noted among the general expenses: see p. 506, note 2.
5. *Corr.*, III, no. 395 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, June-July 1572).

in 1566, Plantin was probably influenced more by the Frankfurt catalogues than by the publisher's lists of Aldus Manutius and the rest. A second edition was out by 1567. Others followed in 1568, 1575, 1579, and 1584. His successors continued the tradition with their catalogues of 1596, 1615, 1642, and 1656.¹

The masters of the Golden Compasses never specified what criteria they followed when compiling their lists. They did not list all their publications and probably the deciding factor was which books were actually in stock in their storerooms at Antwerp (and possibly at Frankfurt). Only the 1615 catalogue does not conform to this rule, for it listed older works that could no longer be supplied, marking them with an asterisk. This catalogue therefore was more than a purely utilitarian book-list, and on the way to being a bibliography. It discloses the hand of that scholarly master of the firm, Balthasar I Moretus.

The publishers' lists were essentially for publicity purposes, but the application could vary somewhat. In one instance - the 1579 catalogue - the list was printed on a large single sheet, as a poster to advertise Plantin's latest books, either in the bookshop at Antwerp or at the Frankfurt Fair, where it would be plainly visible to the passer-by. In all other cases the lists were published in the form of a small book. The usefulness of these catalogues in this form is repeatedly mentioned in Plantin's correspondence. Like the Frankfurt catalogues, they were sent to booksellers² and eminent customers³ so that they could make their choice from afar. Prices were some-

1. Cf. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 172-173. See also plates 74-76.

2. *Corr.*, I, no. 44 (Plantin to M. Gast, Salamanca: 22nd June 1567).

3. *Corr.*, I, no. 25 (Plantin to de Çayas, March 1567); II, no. 161 (Plantin to Hopperus, 14th December 1568); III, no. 333 (Plantin to Masius, 26th February 1565); no. 346 (Plantin to S. Winandus Pighius, 16th October 1567); no. 398 (Plantin to Viglius, 16th July 1572); no. 405 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, July 1572); IV, no. 595 (Plantin to de Geneville, 1st January 1575); no. 612 (idem, March 1575), no. 626 (Plantin to Vendius, 10th May 1575); V, no. 705 (Plantin to de Çayas, February-March 1576); VI, no. 940 (idem, 5th September 1581); VIII-IX, no. 1295 (Plantin to Schottus, 26th August 1587), no. 1514 (Jan Moretus to de Çayas, 24th December 1589); *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 19 (Plantin to Camerarius, 2nd February 1567), no. 21 (Plantin to de Çayas, 10th March 1567).

times given in the margins,¹ and often customers replied by returning the catalogue with a mark against the titles they wanted.²

Storage, packing, and transport

Books quickly pile up into unmanageable heaps. Through the years the masters of the Golden Compasses wrestled with the problem of where to store the stocks of their own and other publishers' books. Before he moved to the Vrijdagmarkt in 1576 Plantin had to make use of every spare square inch of space. In addition to his printing press and shop in the Kammenstraat he had to rent several houses in the district and a loft in the Carmelite monastery as storage space.³ The move brought relief and the stocks could be divided up between the old premises in the Kammenstraat and the new patrician residence in the Vrijdagmarkt. After Balthasar I Moretus had carried out his rebuilding schemes and the former Golden Compasses in the Kammenstraat had been relinquished, the whole stock was stored on the first floor and attics of the big house. Large stocks of books were also kept in the warehouse Plantin rented at Frankfurt.

Through the centuries these stocks of books formed an impressive capital asset and the most important part of the estates bequeathed by Plantin⁴ and his successors.⁵ But it was of course an asset that could not be left lying about for rats and mice to gnaw - it had to be sold. This meant that there had to be some sort of record of comings and

1. Cf. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1514; *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 19.
2. Cf. *Corr.*, II, no. 161; IV, no. 612.
3. Cf. Vol. I, p. 262.
4. Plantin's estate was estimated at 47,830 fl. in money (or what was reckoned as such) and at 175,775 fl. in books. Books were reckoned at half their nominal value, making 87,887 fl. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 166-167.
5. The value of the books noted in the inventory of the end of June 1602 (Arch. 490) came to 32,883 fl. 15½ st. for those at Antwerp; 9,976 fl. 7½ st. for those at Frankfurt; 42,851 fl. 3 st. altogether. For the 1642 and 1651 inventories, cf. p. 461. The inventories of the property of Balthasar II Moretus for 1658 and 1662 gave totals of 297,000 fl. and 341,000 fl., respectively, of which the stock of 'red-and-black' (i.e., service books) was worth 85,000 and 89,000 fl. and of 'black' books 96,000 and 90,000 fl.; that is 181,000 fl. in books for 1658 and 179,000 fl. in books for 1662: cf. Vol. I, p. 222, note 4.

goings and inventories were regularly compiled to record what was in stock on a particular date.¹

The books the firm sold had to be delivered to the customer, and books purchased had to be got from the supplier. This posed no special problem in Antwerp itself, where books could be sold over the counter and business with other booksellers and publishers consisted of sending a man out when need arose to fetch copies of books from colleagues who obtained their copies of Plantinian works in the same way.² It was comparatively rare for transactions in Antwerp itself to involve large quantities,³ but even in these instances it is not likely that the books required special packing or transport: there is not a single item in the Plantinian accounts to suggest this.

It was when business was done with people outside Antwerp that questions of packaging and transport arose. The principle of payment was simple: the recipient bore the cost of these items. They are not consistently recorded, especially where small deliveries over short distances were concerned. Possibly they were not booked separately in such cases, or were included in the retail price of the books.⁴ In

1. The oldest inventories preserved data from about 1589 (Arch. 116, pp. 617 sqq.), 1591 (Arch. 748: only 'other publishers' books') and 1602 (Arch. 490: own impressions and other publishers' books at Antwerp and Frankfurt). Also to be noted are the inventories of the beginning of the seventeenth century (Arch. 795), 1636 (Arch. 796; only other publishers' books), 1642 (Arch. 801), 1643 (Arch. 758), 1644 (Arch. 747), 1651 (Arch. 726, no. 59), 1655 (Arch. 726, nos. 87, 88, 90), 1657 (Arch. 824), c. 1660 (Arch. 726, no. 89).
2. In the *journals* three and occasionally even more transactions with a single Antwerp bookseller are recorded on the same day. The deliveries in 1566 to W. Silvius, to a total value of 231 fl. 14 st., are distributed over 76 consignments; most of these were limited to one or two books worth a few stuivers (in one case even $\frac{1}{4}$ st.). For J. Trognesium (total value of the deliveries by Plantin 54 fl. $1\frac{1}{2}$ st.) there were 73 consignments; for Van Keerberghen (total value: 63 fl. $19\frac{1}{2}$ st.) 62 consignments, and so on. Cf. also the following note.
3. Among the 76 deliveries to W. Silvius in 1566 there was only one important one (for the sum of 94 fl. $2\frac{1}{2}$ st.). The 'Poule Grasse' (Birckman) was Plantin's most important customer in Antwerp in 1566: 77 deliveries by Plantin to a total value of 616 fl. $9\frac{3}{4}$ st., but only sixteen of the deliveries exceeded 10 fl.-in the order of their appearance in the *journal*, to a value of respectively 12 fl. 13 st., 25 fl. 9 st., 16 fl. $\frac{1}{2}$ st., 14 fl. $2\frac{1}{2}$ st., 97 fl. $10\frac{1}{4}$ st., 12 fl. 12 st. (for London), 17 fl. 7 st. (for London), 16 fl. 15 st., 12 fl. 8 st., 33 fl. 6 st., 27 fl. 12 st., 24 fl. 7 st., 14 fl. $10\frac{1}{2}$ st., 22 fl. $14\frac{1}{2}$ st., 64 fl. 15 st., 51 fl. 8 st.
4. Plantin did not have to pay the carriage costs for Mercator's maps and globes: these were conveyed to him, from 1558 to 1572, by Mercator's agent, Louis de Dieu. Cf. L. Voet, 'Relations commerciales', pp. 179-180.

other and quite numerous instances the words ‘estant présent à Anvers’ appear alongside the name of a non-Antwerp buyer. Netherlands booksellers and foreign dealers would make use of a stay in Antwerp - or would travel there specially - to see to large orders in person. Even if this did not save them packaging and transport costs, they could at least decide themselves on the best means of getting their purchases home intact. Sometimes Plantin and his successors had to bear these costs for books that they were selling, particularly in the case of consignments to Frankfurt, and of those to Plantin's Parisian bookshop in the period 1566-77.¹

These exceptions do not alter the general rule that the buyer paid for packaging and transport. There were various types of packaging. Letters and account-books mention barrels, boxes, chests, caskets (*cassettes*), baskets, and bales. The first three were mainly for large deliveries dispatched on long or difficult journeys where great demands were placed on the packing (notably transport overland in waggons). The *cassettes* were smaller and used for carrying less bulky but valuable consignments, such as copies of the Polyglot Bible.² Baskets were often used for transport by water. Bales were simply packing material wrapped round the freight which might be either boxed³ or loose.

This last method was the cheapest and quickest - baskets, boxes and other containers had to be specially made. Costs of barrels and chests were roughly the same,⁴ while baskets were considerably

1. But also sometimes to the advantage of booksellers with whom important transactions were carried out, such as M. Sonnius at Paris. This can be gathered from the indignant letter written by P. Porret to J. Moretus, 30th September 1584 (*Corr.*, VII, no. 1026): ‘Je seroys bien d'avis que vous escripiés, ou mon frere, a Sonnius que vous n'estes pas d'avis de plus rien azarder a luy envoyer livres s'il ne veult les prendre a toute risque veu le danger du chemin et payer tous les frais. Ce n'est pas la raison qu'il aye tout le proffit sans perte. Je trouve que c'est honte de faire telz marchez qui sont entierement a son advantaige de sorte qu'il tond les brebis et vous tondés les pourceaulx.’
2. *Corr.*, III, no. 465 (Plantin to the bishop of Tournai, 10th March 1573, in connexion with the despatch of a luxury edition of the Polyglot Bible: ‘J'ay payé davantage pour la cassette où elle est empaquée, les cordes, serpillures et emballages 26 st.’).
3. Cf. Arch. 51, f^o 146^{vo} (28th September 1573): ‘2 balles de 2 coffres chascune’.
4. Examples for chests: at 2 fl. 12¾ st. (Arch. 3, f^o 49^{vo}: 1st May 1566 ‘pour 1 caisse de bois faite pour envoyer livres à Paris’), 14 st. (Arch. 45, f^o 73^{vo}; 6th June 1567) and 1 fl. 2 st. (Arch. 51, f^o 13^{vo}: 3rd February 1573); for barrels: at 15 st. (Arch. 45, f^o 108^{vo}: 6th August 1567), 1 fl. 6 st. (Arch. 49, f^o 151^{vo}: 17th November 1571), 1 fl. 15 st. (but including ‘le tonneau et l'enveloppe [wrappings]’; Arch. 49, f^o 131^{vo}: 30th October 1571).

cheaper.¹ Dearest of all were the boxes.² Sometimes they were works of art that customers were apt to sell in order to cover the cost of transport and possibly make a small profit.³

The chests and barrels were filled and the bales wrapped with mats, straw, ‘serpellièrè’ (a kind of woollen cloth), and similar material.⁴ Cowhide was sometimes used⁵ and this, like the boxes, could be sold at the place of delivery for a profit.⁶ Packing was done possibly in the *officina* itself, but by outside specialists.⁷ Packaging methods and

1. Examples at 5 st. (Arch. 3, f^o 49^{vo}: 1st May 1566), 6 st. (Arch. 46, f^o 154^{ro}: 28th July 1568) and 8 st. (but including cords and other packing materials: Arch. 44, f^o 37^{vo}: 27th March 1566).
2. The fourteen boxes, in which on 10th January 1572 a consignment of breviaries for Philip II were despatched cost 8 fl. each (Arch. 50, f^o 5^{ro}).
3. Noted on 5th April 1571 (Arch. 49, f^o 46^{vo}) for despatch to Paris of a consignment of books ‘pacqué en un coffre peint à histoire d’Ester de 7 bendes addressée à mre. Pierre Porret par Jehan Willebroch de Termonde. Le coffre couste 24 fl.’ There is probably an allusion to a similar box by Ch. Pesnot, bookseller at Lyons, in the letter dated 28th May 1579 to Plantin (*Corr.*, VI, no. 828: Je croy qu’ils [a consignment of books] viendront mieulx conditionés en toneaulx ou bien vous playra les metre dans ung coffre ou deulx qui soint beaulx affinque on en puyse retyrer le port).
4. For example, Arch. 45, f^o 73^{vo} (6th June 1567, box for Juan de Molino, Lisbon: ‘pour la casse 14 st.; 3 mattes: 3 st.; 3 lb. de cordes: 4½ st.; 5½ aunes canefas: 8 st.; pour la faceon: 3 st. - Total: 1 fl. 12½ st.’); Arch. 46, f^o 154^{ro} (28th July 1568, basket for J Desserans, London: ‘pour la mande: 6 st.; pour paille: 2 st.; pour cordes: 16½ st.; pour facon: 5 st.’); Arch. 49, f^o 41^{vo} (27th March 1571: bale for C. Talignano, Genoa: ‘3½ aunes canefas: 11¼ st.; 3 matten: 3 st.; 2 lb. cordes: 3 st.; pour facon: 3 st. - Total: 1 fl. ¼ st.’); Arch. 49, f^o 46^{vo} (box for Paris, 5th April 1571: ‘une peau de vache: 14 st.; six mattes: 5 st.; canefas 8 aunes: 16 st.; 4 livres cordes: 6 st.; le travail: 5 st.’); Arch. 49, f^o 131^{vo} (30th October 1571, bale for cardinal Granvelle, Naples: ‘mattes et pailles: 4 st.; 2 cuirs de vache gras: 5 fl. 8 st.; 4 aunes canefas: 6 st.; 3½ lb. cordes: 5½ st.; faceon: 6 st. - Total: 7 fl. 9½ st.’); Arch. 49, f^o 151^{vo} (17th November 1571, barrel for G. Willer, Augsburg: ‘pour le tonneau: 1 fl. 6 st.; paille: 1 st.; 4 lb. de cordes: 6 st.; 9 aunes de serpellièrè: 13½ st.; pour facon: 4 st. -Total: 1 fl. 4½ st.’); Arch. 51, f^o 13^{vo} (3rd February 1573, box for Frankfurt: ‘caisse de bois blanc: 1 fl. 2 st.; toille cirée: 1 fl. 10 st.; 6½ aunes canefas: 13 st.; cordes: 7 st.; paille: 1½ st.; facon: 5 st.’). Interesting details on the packaging of the shipments for Spain in the years 1571-75 are to be found in Arch. 22.
5. Cf., *inter alia*, previous note.
6. *Corr.*, IV, no. 555 (Plantin to Dr. Navarrus, 3rd September 1574).
7. Cf. *inter alia* Arch. 51, f^o 146^{vo} (28th September 1573: ‘payé à Keyser lemballeur...’); Arch. 228, f^o 18 (30th January 1618: ‘Payé aux emballeurs pour leur compte de l’année 1617: 177 fl. 11½ st.’). Detailed note on packing and cost of packing by a firm of specialists about 1760 in Arch. 697, no. 101, f^o 23^{vo}.

the prices charged cannot always have been to the customers' satisfaction. The Lyons merchant Roville (Rouillé) expressed himself trenchantly on the subject to Plantin in 1565,¹ although this is the only explicit complaint in this connexion that has been discovered in all of Plantin's extensive correspondence.

Once packed, bales, barrels, baskets etc. were provided with an identifying mark (usually Plantin's monogram, sometimes accompanied by the word 'libri' or 'libros'),² and if the consignment comprised more than one container, these were numbered.³

Small packages, like letters, could be entrusted to the post⁴ or the town messengers (*messagiers*).⁵ Larger loads were given to carriers

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 19: 'Quant a l'ambalaige, vous metez 5 fl. 12 sols. Je me suys fort estonné de tel embalaige, il semble que vostre homme aye faict cella à plaisir. Le plus cher embalaige que j'ay receu en ma vye d'Anvers ny de Francfort ne passa à ung escu; le plus cher que je vous aye envoyé, ny a autre, n'a passé 30 sols de France. Outre la cherté, vous y avez mys, ou vostre homme, certaines mattes qui ne servent de rien, synon pour faire pourir les livres, cas advenant que la balle se mouillasse, jamais cella ne sécheroit que les livres ne fussent tous pouris, et couste beaucoup de port. C'estoit assez de paille, de toille et de cordes et me renvoyer l'embalaige mesme que je vous avoys envoyé.' For his part Plantin himself had once notified a French paper supplier that he was not prepared to spend more on the packing than a definite maximum which is precisely the amount mentioned by the Lyonese bookseller, namely 30 French sous: *Corr.*, V, no. 689 (Plantin to J. Moreau, 28th December 1575: 'Vous advisant aussi derechef que je ne veux pas payer les serpillieres ni les cordes autrement qu'est la coustume de ceux qui ont accoustence de recevoir icy des fardeaux qui est 30 s. pour chaicun fardeau').
2. On the boxes for Philip II was his coat-of-arms: '14 coffres tout signés des Armoiries de Sa Majesté' (Arch. 50, f^o 5^{ro}: 10th January 1572).
3. These descriptions are usually carefully noted in the *journals* and the monograms or other signs copied. Cf. the reproduction of some Antwerp printers' marks (also Plantin's) placed on 4 barrels and 2 bales of books and copied in an Antwerp city deed of 29th April 1567: *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 232.
4. *Corr.*, I, no. 148 (Plantin to Cardinal Granvelle, 24th July 1568: '... pour ne charger trop les premieres postes, j'en ay mis 142 feilles en une des basles...'); *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 43 (Plantin to de Çayas, 2nd November 1567: 'Encores qu'en la faveur de V.R.S. monsieur le maistre des postes m'ait, a chaicunne fois quil ma veu, offert de faire plaisir, si est ce que ie n'ay pas osé, maintenant que ientends la difficulté des passages, le charger du reste des feilles des livres envoyés par cy devant a Vostredicte Signeurie... J'ay aussi, des le premier du mois d'octobre dernier passé, delivré a monsieur le maistre des postes des livres demandes par V.R.S...').
5. There are numerous references in the *journals*.

who specialized in transport by land (*voituriers, conducteurs, chartiers*), by waterway (*mariniers*) or sea. Obviously the means of transport might have to change *en route* according to destination.

Charges were of course directly related to weight and volume, distance travelled, and means of transport.¹ Overland transport was normally the most expensive. Comparisons are hard to make as weights and distances were not usually accurately recorded.² Tariffs varied considerably even within a single year.³ They went up immediately when it looked as if changes in the political situation were going to make the roads less safe.⁴ If the carrier suffered harm, the party who had engaged him was normally considered responsible for his compensation, wholly or in part.⁵ On the other hand, compensation was stipulated if the goods arrived damaged, although only if the carrier could be held responsible in law:⁶ attacks

1. Interesting information about transport, its formalities and organization, duration, prices, and comparison between land and water transport in Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw*, 1959, pp. 408 sqq.
2. A few examples, however: Arch. 3, f^o 48^{vo} (1st May 1566, journey from Antwerp to Frankfurt: 'payé pour le tonneau no. 7 au voiturier ... pesant 920 poix d'Anvers qui sont 8 centeniers et 82 lb. a 3 fl. le cent qui sont 26½ fl. [de Francfort = 35 fl. 15 st. monnoye de Brabant]'); Arch. 51, f^o 132^{ro} (29th August 1573: 'Payé... 23 fl. pour la voiture du tonneau n^o 12 venu de Paris à 3 lb. 10 st. [= livres tournois] le cent ayant poisé aud[ict] lieu de Paris 790 lb.'). Cf. also the data for the transport of paper (p. 43, note 1): e.g. the price of paper brought from Frankfurt and Mainz had to be increased by between 10 and 25 % to cover transport costs. There is interesting comparative material for the period 1589-94 in Brulez, *op. cit.*, pp. 416-417.
3. *Corr.*, IV, no. 553 (Aguilon, representative of Philip II, at Paris, to Plantin, 30th August 1574: 'J'en ay depuis receu trente quatre [bales de livres] venans de Bruge dont ay payé pour le port a raison de quatorze sols de groz monnoye de flandres pour cent que revient a cinc livres tournois et ung peu davantage, suyvant la lettre que dudict Bruges m'a esté escripte et maintenant ay receu les douze balles que vous m'avez envoyé a meilleur marche a scavoit a trois livres quinze sols tournois le cent').
4. *Corr.*, VI, no. 905 (Plantin to Valverdius, 13th January 1581).
5. Thus Plantin was expected to make good the loss of the horses stolen by Spanish soldiers from the carrier who had transported books for him to the Frankfurt Lent Fair of 1579: cf. p. 506, note 2.
6. Arch. 47, f^o 144^{ro} (30th August 1569, transport of paper from Paris to Antwerp, first by wagon and then by barge): 'et y avoit de mouillé le nombre de 36 rames lequel papier mouillé à la despense du chartier comme il appert par la lectre de voiture dud[ict] marinier'. To cover this 5 fl. were withheld from the cost of transport [which amounted to 23 fl. 11½ st.]. Arch. 51, f^o 132^{ro} (29th August 1573): 'pour la voiture du tonneau no 12 venu de Paris... [23 fl.] et dautant quil y avoit des livres mouillés ie luy ay rabbatu 3 fl.'

by bandits or marauding soldiers, shipwreck etc. were risks that had to be borne by the sender. The actual freight charges, especially for transport overseas to foreign countries, could be pushed up by a whole series of additional dues that were individually minor, but collectively considerable: road tolls, shipment and transshipment charges, customs, and permits. The list was long in Plantin's time;¹ the seventeenth century brought no simplification.²

Transport costs incurred by the *Officina Plantiniana* added up to a considerable item of its general expenditure. In 1566, for example, Plantin had to pay 51 fl. 6 st. for having books sent to his shop in Paris, 230 fl. 15¾ st. for the bales to and from Frankfurt, 223 fl. 17½ st. for consignments received from Lyons and 41 fl. for those from Venice. If the 65 fl. 11½ st. for letters and smaller packages is included, this

1. Some examples for transport overseas: Arch. 3, f^o 54^{vo} (14th July 1566: charges made to H. Goltzius, bookseller at Bruges, for a consignment of books sent overseas from Bruges to Antwerp: 'pour la tolle de Zeelande de deux mandes et ung balot: 14 st.; pour le port des mariniens de Bruges ici: 1 fl. 14 st.; pour les brouettiers qui ont amené lesd[icts] pièces tiré du navire: 10 st.'). Arch. 44, f^o 37^{vo} (27th March 1566; consignment to J. Desserans of London to a value of 105 fl. 9¾ st., in one basket: 'pour la tolle de laditte mande: 10 st.; pour la faire mener sur l'eau: 2½ st.'). Arch. 46, f^o 154^{ro} (28th July 1568: consignment to J. Desserans of London in one basket: 'pour mener au navire: 3 st.; pour la tolle de Zeelande: 6 st.; pour la tolle de Brabant: 6 st.'). Arch. 45, f^o 73^{vo} (6th June 1567: consignment to J. de Molina, Lisbon, in a chest: 'pour la mener de la mayson à la navire pour Zeelande: 2 st.; pour les deux tolles: 6 st.; pour port à Zeelandt: 4 st.; pour le [?] en Zeeland: 4st.'). Arch. 46, f^o 177 (2nd September 1568: for consignment of 7 boxes from Plantin and 2 boxes from H. Curiel from Antwerp to Middelburg, and from there to Spain: 'Les 2 tolles de Zélande...et de Brabant: 2 fl. 14 st. [at 3 st. per chest per toll]; pour le port [from Antwerp to Middelburg]: 1 fl. 16 st. [at 4 st. per chest]; pour apporter lesd[icts] coffres de chez Sr. Curiel à nostre logis à 1 st.:7 st.'). Extra expenses et Frankfurt: Arch. 3, f^o 48^{vo} (1st May 1566: 'pour les tolles de faire sortir de Francfort 3 tonnes et 3 basles de papier à la porte: 4½ st.; pour les faire mener aux bateaux: 6 st....; pour droict de grue ou kraenegelt des tonneaux et dringgelt aux ouvriers: 17½ st.'). Interesting information on the shipments for Spain during the years 1571-75 in Arch. 22. Brulez, *De firma della Faille...* p. 420, calculated that for transport of textile products from Antwerp to Venice in 1589-94 the cost of packing, weighing, and bringing to their destination amounted to an average 1.8 per cent of the purchase value and overall transport costs from Antwerp to Venice of the goods concerned.
2. Cf. for example, a couple of eloquent texts in Arch. 398, f^o 10 (March 1683).

makes a total of 612 fl. 10³/₄ st.:¹ approximately 5 % of the expenditure for that year of 13,041 fl.²

These expenses and costs were included in one way or another in the selling prices of the books.³ However, there were risks and losses involved in transport which could not simply be passed on to the customer. In the correspondence of Plantin and the Moretuses there is repeated reference to 'spoilt' consignments, damage which - to judge by the tone of the letters - was not chargeable to the carrier, but had to be borne by the recipient, and on occasion by the sender.⁴ Bales

1. Cf. Appendix 1.
2. The transport of the textile products of the firm of della Faille to Venice in the period 1589-94 amounted on an average to 7.37 % of the value; it being understood that the percentage was higher - and sometimes considerably higher - for cheaper than for dearer goods (for example 3.5 % for the expensive cambric linens as against 18.5 % for the cheapest linens). Cf. W. Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw*, 1959, pp. 419-420.
3. Plantin used a very simple method for the publications he sold at the Frankfurt Fairs: the prices calculated at Antwerp were adhered to, but were converted from Carolus guilders into the heavier German guilders: *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 19 (Plantin to Camerarius, 2nd February 1567: 'Indicem a me impressorum librorum mitto cum pretio quo hic in officina mea vendo bibliopolis. Francofordice vero eundem pretium adpono sed maiori moneta nempe Germanica, hoc est quod hic floreno Brabantico vendo illic floreno Francofordiensi propter vecturas et alios sumptis addici neque minoris dare possum'). For the books bought from France the 'dodge' was equally simple: the prices expressed in the lighter 'sols de France' were considered as of the same value as prices expressed in the somewhat heavier Brabant *stuivers*: *Corr.*, I, no. 78 (agreement between Plantin and J. Dessersans, August 1567: 'Et pour éviter facherie de comptes desdictes voitures et autres menus frais d'emballage etc., je mettray toujours les livres de France rendus en ceste ville à monnoye pour monnoye, à scavoir ce qui couste ung souls de France à ung patar de Brabant, qui est la manière comme nous en faisons ordinairement en ceste ville les uns vers les autres'). On the ratio of Netherlands coinage to those of Germany and France, cf. p. 445. On 7th August 1618 the younger Frans Raphelengius wrote to Balthasar I Moretus that he was going to put the price of the Dodoens Herbal published by him at Leiden at 11 fl. for the ordinary and 16 fl. for the better copies. He added that his nephew Balthasar might make his own selling price 12 fl. for the ordinary copies at Antwerp, taking into account the costs of transport and licensing: M. Sabbe, 'Een en ander over Dodoens' Cruydboeck-uitgaven van 1608 en 1618 en de Van Ravelingen's', *De Gulden Passer*, 15, 1937, p. 99.
4. *Corr.*, IV, no. 524 (Plantin to H. de Virbiesca, 26th April 1574) and 538 (Plantin to F. de Villalva, 4th July 1574): a number of bales of books for Philip II had fallen into the water at Calais harbour or had otherwise become wet; Plantin sent four men from Bruges to take the necessary steps; on 4th July 1574 he had to announce that of the 39 bales, five were a complete write-off. To judge from the tone of Plantin's letters, this loss was to be borne by the Spanish king. *Corr.*, IV, no. 589 (Blas de Robles to Plantin, 5th December 1574: the bales forwarded by Plantin arrived at Madrid but in very damaged condition); *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1446 (J. Moretus to J. Boyer, bookseller at Medina del Campo, 14th March 1589: '... mesmes n'aj receu une balle que Jan Pulman envoya avec quelque assortissement, laquelle après avoir esté ung an en chemin est venu de luy gastee et a si grands frais que n'est possible d'en retirer la moictié de ce que coustent...'). In the same letter, J. Moretus declared that he had practically suspended his consignments abroad '... car combien qu'il est plus que raysonnable que celluy qui demande la marchandise porte les risques lesquelles peulvent survenir de la perte des marchandises etc, toutefois je aij tousjours senti plus de douleur, quand j'ay entendu que la marchandise que j'ai envoyée a aultruy a esté prinse, perdue etc. que je n'ay esté de la mienne propre'. See also the following note.

and barrels of books often went astray.¹ Other consignments arrived in reasonable condition but took an unconscionable time on the way - which was not conducive to brisk sales.² A load sometimes took nine months to reach Rome;³ consignments to and from Spain could be a year or more in transit:⁴ one letter sent from Madrid was not received in Antwerp until 21 months later.⁵ As far as the author has been able to discover, the record for the *officina* was a consignment of service books that left Antwerp in January 1625 and did not reach its

1. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1420 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, 7th December 1588-7th January 1589: 'Miror utinam astrolabium, sphaera, horologium et alia haereant et alia etiam missa sed pericula indies et jacturas experimur et ferimus etiam in proximis locis adeo ut his duobus annis elapsis jacturam tulerimus sex ad minimum vasorum libris rectorum variis vicibus neque vix aliquid sine damno Francfurto, Parisiis et aliunde recipimus'). A number of copies of Garibay's History of Spain went astray on the journey to Spain, because English privateers captured the French ship in which part of the edition was being transported (E. Gossart, 'Le chroniqueur Garibay chez Plantin,' *Le Bibliophile belge*, 11, 1876; p. 286). See also the previous note and note 4.
2. Cf. Porret's letter to Plantin quoted on p. 415, note 2.
3. *Corr.*, IV, no. 599 (Plantin to J. Gravius, 1st January 1575: 'Sarcinas siquidem aliquando nono etiam mense postea quam hinc sunt missas vix Romam pervenire expertus sum. Sarcinam in qua sunt libri tui impositi nondum Romam pervenisse non miror').
4. Cf. the text quoted on p. 432, note 4. See also *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1349 (J. Moretus to Arias Montanus, 18th February 1588: the printer is astonished that the books for Dr. Tovar had not yet arrived. A first consignment had been handed over to the carrier's agent on 23rd May 1586, and a second consignment on 3rd June 1587).
5. Written on 11th April 1579, received on 10th December 1580 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 895: Plantin to J.F. Nunos, 10th December 1580).

Spanish destination until May 1630.¹ Small mistakes made when handling the loads could lead to much time-consuming shunting back and forth.² Over-meticulous interpretation of rules and regulations by carriers or merchants could also cause delay.³ The financial difficulties with which the city of Antwerp had to contend in the sixteenth century sometimes brought serious disruption to the trade of its citizens.⁴

1. Arch. 743, f^o 3.
2. *Corr.*, no. 36: an angry letter from Plantin to J. Mareschal, the Heidelberg bookseller, 21st June 1567, expressing surprise that the Heidelberg merchant should have loaded the wrong barrel with books at Frankfurt and should have left the barrel for him where it was. ('...Je vous ay assés adverti par cy-devant que je m'esbahissois assés, comment aviés prins le tonneau des Bibles hébraïques qui estoit derrière ma boutique à Francfort, veu que cestuy-là estoit de mon costé et marqué No. 7, là où je vous avois dès le commencement de la foire, dict et montré l'autre plain de Cours [Jus civile by L. Russardus] estre du costé de Frobene et marqué No. 4, et me semble bien que j'avois esté assés longtemps à Francfort pour venir prendre vostre tonneau en ma présence, sans y toucher après que j'estois party, puisque n'en aviés a faire.')
3. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1478 (Plantin to B. de Spinoza, merchant at Rouen, 28th June 1589): 'J'ay entendu par lectres receues du Sr. Antoine Beaghel le Jeusne, comment que deux balles des livres lesquels il avait chargés en une barque espagnolle ont esté (faits) déchargés par vous après avoir esté quelque temps chargés. Dont aij esté fort esmerveillé principalement pour entendre que (pour faire charger vostredicte marchandise) auriés allégué que craignez (a cause que c'estoyent livres) que vostre marchandise fust venue a souffrir quelque dommage. J'estime bien que n'ignorés pas que de jour en jour sont encores envoyés livres vers Espagne et seroyent davantage si ce ne fust a cause de ces guerres et qu'il y a peu de moyen de pouvoir envoyer, et que oultre cela pouvés aussi cognoistre que les livres lesquels sont envoyés ne sont pas aultres que pour escoliers et tels qu'ils peuvent aller partout sans aucune offense voire la moindre que puisse estre.' It was, then forbidden to import into Spain works printed abroad in the Spanish language (cf. p. 416, note 5): probably this regulation was in Spinoza's mind when he had the bales from Plantin brought back from the Spanish ship on to *terra firma*.
4. *Corr.*, III, no. 364 (Plantin to Masius, 22nd October 1570: 'Or, n'ay je (esté) à Francfort qu'un jour seulement. Car entendant qu'on arrestoit les bourgeois d'Anvers pour certaines rentes se montants à la somme de quelque 30,000 florins et craignant de venir au nombre d'iceux, je me retiray incontinent dont je fis fort bien. Car ceux qui furent arrestés y sont encores maintenant et ne scay quant ils seront délivrés, veu que je voy ici faire bien peu de diligence pour les délivrer de leur arrest...'); *Corr.*, III, no. 368 (Plantin to A. Masius, 18th March 1571: '... Car je n'oserois aler ni envoyer aucun de mes gendres ou fiables serviteurs à Francfort craignant les arrests qui se font et à ce que j'entends se feront doresnavant davantage de jour à autre des bourgeois habitans d'Anvers pour les debtes de ceste ville, à quoy je ne voy pas de fin, mesmes que les bourgeois arrestés aud. Francfort à la foire de Septembre s'en sont eschappés et venus sans dire à dieu, ce qui empirera le marché comme je crains'). Cf. F. Prims, *Antwerpse stadsschulden in Duitsland in de XVIde eeuw*, 1948.

The political and religious disorders that afflicted the whole of Western Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century did not make transport problems any easier. The delays and losses mentioned above were mostly directly or indirectly due to the chronic anarchy that prevailed. In September 1568 Plantin had to leave the main road and make long detours on the way to and from Frankfurt because of ‘les agents des ennemis du repos public’ - presumably a reference to the rebels led by William of Orange. His goods were also delayed.¹ Later, during Lent 1586, Dresseler, Plantin's agent at Frankfurt, was captured on his way to the fair, between Brussels and Namur, by marauding soldiers of the States General army and only released after payment of a ransom to which Plantin had to contribute.²

Travel and the transport of goods became a very risky business in the Netherlands of that period. The sharp rise in charges and the increased incidence of damage, loss, and delay greatly depressed economic activity in general, and of the Plantin House in particular.³

1. *Corr.*, II, no. 155 (Plantin to Cardinal Granvelle, 22nd October 1568) and no. 161 (Plantin to J. Hopperus, 14th December 1568).
2. *Corr.*, VII, no. 1081 (Plantin to de Çayas, 21st March 1586: ‘... nostre facteur qui aloit a ceste foire de Francfort a esté mené prisonnier avec toutes nos instructions, memoires et obligations de nos débiteurs en ladicté foire qui est aggravation grande et arriement de nos affaires domesticques veu qu'outre la ranson qu'il nous faudra payer nous perdrons les commodités de la dicte foire ou je doibs payer bonnes sommes d'argent prins icy a change qui me seront renvoyées avec protestations et dommages...’). On the arrest of Dresseler, see also above, p. 405, note 1. In a letter to Arias Montanus dated 1st July 1580 (*Corr.*, VI, no. 882, p. 171) Plantin noted in passing that Jan Moretus, on account of the dangers of the journey, had not gone to Frankfurt during ‘three fairs’, but a substitute had been able to deal with matters in a satisfactory way (‘Johannes noster Moretus jam superioribus tribus nundinis domi meo jussu mansit propter itinerum pericula. Petrum van Tongheren solum eo misimus qui res nostras feliciter satis curabit’).
3. Apart from the various texts already cited, cf. also *Corr.*, VI, no. 867 (Plantin to B. Valverdius, 7th March 1580: ‘Itinera siquidem omnia nobis et mercibus nostris intercluduntur a grassantibus passim militibus, adeo ut nec papyrus huc jam avehi queat neque libri hinc evehi alio modo quam mari...’); *Suppl. Corr.*, no. 214 (Plantin to Clusius, 19th November 1588: ‘Dresseler est arrivé en santé [from Frankfurt]... mais nous n'avons encores receu aucune marchandise. Je ne scay quand ce sera, aussi la perdismes souvent par les voleurs et pillards qui voyant qu'elle ne leur duist la bruslent, jetent en l'eau ou au vent ou par despit la foulent aux pieds’).

But by one means or another, people continued to travel and to dispatch freight in the Low Countries. It was the connexions with Spain that, from 1572 onwards, were most affected. On 1st April of that year Holland and Zealand rose against the rule of Philip II and by 21st June Plantin was having to write to Arias Montanus to tell him that the men of Flushing were making the sea-route to Spain unsafe. Antwerp merchants were obliged to send their wares overland to Rouen and forward them to Spain from there.¹ Henceforth a large part of the trade with the Iberian peninsula was syphoned off by Rouen and Nantes.² Other consignments went by way of the harbours of Flanders and Artois, still in Spanish hands, particularly Calais and Dunkirk.³ Communications by sea between Antwerp and Spain were almost completely broken in the period 1577 to 1585. Such contact as remained continued by way of France, and occasionally via Portugal. In 1585 Antwerp was brought back into the Spanish sphere of influence, but the triumphant rebels in the North kept the Scheldt blockaded. Sea trade had to continue via Dunkirk and Calais, and more particularly by way of Rouen.⁴

The command of the sea by Holland and Zealand also reduced the trade of Dunkirk and Calais. The civil war that broke out in France in 1587 disrupted the remaining route to the South.⁵ On 24th December 1589 Jan Moretus found himself constrained to inform Arias Montanus that all routes to Spain were closed.⁶ But within a few years the worst of the war in France was over and southbound

1. *Corr.*, III, no. 391, p. 121.

2. *Corr.*, IV, no. 553 (Aguilon to Plantin, 30th August 1574).

3. *Corr.*, IV, nos. 524 and 538. Cf. above, p. 432, note 4.

4. *See inter alia Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1478 (28th June 1589). Cf. p. 434, note 3. Also *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1349 (J. Moretus to Arias Montanus, 18th February 1588: in 1587 books were sent to Spain partly via Rouen and partly via Dunkirk. The ships setting out from Dunkirk were 'arrested' [further details were not supplied]).

5. Cf. *inter alia Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1320 (Plantin to Arias Montanus, 19th November 1587); no. 1446 (J. Moretus to J. Boyer, 14th March 1589).

6. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1513.

trade could be resumed. The mariners of Dunkirk and, after the recapture of the town, Ostend, went privateering on their own account, challenging the men of Holland and Zeeland in their own element. Once again goods could be sent to Spain via the two ports thus reopened.¹ In the meantime relations with the North had been stabilized. Although the blockade of the Scheldt continued, there were ways through. By 1590 goods were again reaching Antwerp and the Plantin house by way of Flushing, in Dutch ships;² if Antwerp merchants were prepared to pay the dues demanded, their wares could be exported through the territorial waters of Holland and Zeeland.

So it was that in the course of the seventeenth century there was a normalization of international relations, and therefore of international trade. This does not mean that political tensions did not occasionally disrupt trade as in the past, to the detriment of the *Officina Plantiniana*. In 1616 a ship with a load of Plantinian books destined for the Hieronymites of the Escorial was intercepted by a French privateer and escorted to the island of Saint Martin, near La Rochelle.³ In 1633-34 Balthasar I Moretus had to wait seven months for eight bales of paper from France because on the way the carriers had been pressed into military service and had had to cart gunpowder for the French royal army.⁴ The Thirty Years War often hampered traffic to and from Frankfurt.⁵ The impression remains, however, that the political situation in the seventeenth century generally had a less adverse effect on the transport of the firm's products than the crises that Plantin had had to face.

1. This comes out very clearly in the notes of consignments in the *journals*.
2. The letters written by Raphelengius at Leiden to his family at Antwerp (Arch. 92) indicate that at least from 1590 onwards books and other goods were sent from North to South by barge via Flushing or Middelburg.
3. Arch. 223, f^o 182. It was also noted that a certain Charles Lenfant was to travel to La Rochelle to try to recover the goods, for a consideration.
4. Cf. p. 32, note 2.
5. Cf. p. 408.

In the sixteenth century the habit of insuring against loss of goods in transit began to be established in the Antwerp business world, but with the limitation that only the risks entailed in carriage by sea were covered.¹ Plantin and his successors followed this custom, insuring their books regularly against maritime hazard, but never, as far as can be discovered, against loss on land.

In the case of the Plantin house it was principally the consignments sent to Spain which were guaranteed in this way. In Plantin's time this insurance was probably urged on him by Philip II's ambassadors and the expense borne by that monarch.² As far as can be determined, the Moretuses only insured consignments intended for the Hieronymites. Here too the premiums were undoubtedly paid directly or indirectly by the monks. When transactions were between parties in the book trade, the two sides would generally be reluctant to take out insurance, preferring the risks to the extra expense of the premiums. Jan Moretus and Jan Poelman, for example, agreed in their contract of 1586 not to insure any goods they sent each other.³ Premiums were quite high; they also could vary a lot, probably in direct relation to the state of the political barometer. There are only a couple of

1. Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw*, 1959, pp. 171-177; E. Coornaert, *Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers, fin du XVe- XVI^e siècle*, II, pp. 234-241. Cf. also C. Verlinden. 'De zeeverzekeringen der Spaanse kooplui in de Nederlanden gedurende de XVIe eeuw', *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 2, 1948, pp. 191-216.
2. The only times such insurance occurs in Plantin's book-keeping, they are entered to the account of the Spanish monarch (cf. *inter alia* Arch. 46, f^o 177 [2nd Sept. 1568] and Arch. 22, f^o 9^{ro} [Feb. 1572] where it is explicitly stated that the insurance had been taken and that it was entered to the king's account at the formal order of Arias Montanus); in most cases the policies were probably paid directly by the king's agents. Cf. also *Corr.*, V, no. 712 (Plantin to Virbiesca, 19th April 1576): he regrets the loss of 432 breviaries in 4^o [for Philip II], of which, in his view, the insurers must make good the value to H. de Soto, the king's agent; no. 713 (Plantin to Blas de Robles, 19th April 1576): text to the same effect as the previous one.
3. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1123 (1st August 1586: 'En outre est conclu et pourparlé que toutes les marchandises lesquelles seront envoyées soit d'aller ou de venir seront envoyés au risicque de ceulx de ceste compaignie sans asseurer chose aulcune si ce ne fust qu'ils trouvassent avec le temps aultrement convenir').

instances available for the sixteenth century,¹ but for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there is rather more information.²

In the beginning insurance was one of many investments or speculations into which capitalists were tempted. Usually the risks were spread over a number of contracting parties who were independent of each other. Until the eighteenth century the cargo of a single ship would be divided among a number of Antwerp merchants who each underwrote a percentage of the value - usually to a maximum of 300 Flemish pounds.³ It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that organized insurance companies appeared. In 1754 the *Chambre impériale et royale d'assurances d'Anvers* was set up that from its inception was to play an important part in the economic life of Antwerp,⁴ and also became the principal insurance agent for the Moretuses' Spanish cargoes.⁵

1. Arch. 46, f^o 177 (1568: 18 fl. premium to cover a sum of 400 fl., that is to say, 4½%); Arch. 22, f^o 9^{ro} (1572: a premium of 200 fl. 12 st. to cover a shipment of 30 chests worth 2,355 fl. 7 st.); Arch. 19, f^o 57^{ro} (1574: 11¼%).
2. In 1646-50 the premiums for the consignments to the Hieronymites in the Escorial amounted uniformly to 10 % of the value: Arch. 743, f^o 112. For other examples from the seventeenth century: see next note and from the eighteenth century: note 5 on this page.
3. In Arch. 1142 a number of policies with printed formula have been preserved: the names of the insurers and of the insured and further particulars were filled in by hand; apart from the policy of 1692 (Amsterdam), all were made out to and guaranteed by Antwerp merchants. In the same collection there is also a group of three handwritten contracts (1679, 1682, and 1683): these come from one single insurer, whereas the printed policies were nearly always signed by more. In only a few cases was the premium not filled in. These premiums varied appreciably even in one particular year: 1656 (3 policies: 1 of 6 %; 2 of 8 %); 1661 (2: 4½%); 1664 (1: 4 %); 1665 (2: 5½% and 7 %); 1667 (2: 6 % and 10 %); 1670 (1: 3 %); 1671 (2: 3 %); 1672 (2: 5 %); 1673 (6: 1 of 4½%; 2 of 5 %; 1 of 6 %; 1 of 7 %; 1 not filled in); 1674 (4: 3 of 5 %; 1 of 6 %); 1675 (1 not filled in); 1676 (5: 1 at 5½%; 1 at 6 %; 2 at 7 %; 1 at 9½%); 1677 (5: 1 at 4½%; 4 at 6 %); 1678 (1: 5 %); 1679 (1: 3½%); 1680 (5: 1 at 3 %; 2 at 3½%; 2 at 4 %); 1681 (2: 3 %); 1683 (3: 3 %); 1684 (1: 3 %); 1685 (3: 2 at 3 %; 1 at 3½%); 1686 (1: 3 %); 1687 (5: 4 at 3 %; 1 not filled in); 1688 (3: 2 at 3 %; 1 not filled in); 1689 (4: 1 at 7 %; 3 not filled in); 1692 (1: 10 %).
4. On this insurance company, cf. F. Donnet, *Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire financière d'Anvers au cours des siècles*, 1927, pp. 227 sqq.
5. A number of this company's policies for the years 1781-86 are preserved in Arch. 1145. The premiums calculated were: for 1781 four policies: one of 3 %, two of 5 %, one of 8 %; for 1782 two: 3 %; for 1783 one of 2 %; for 1784 two: one of 5½ %, and one of 5¾ %; for 1786 two: one of 1½ % and one of 2 %.

Chapter 17

Computations and Payments

In the trade today booksellers are allowed a reduction on the nominal price of a book which enables them to sell to their customers and make a profit without exceeding the recommended retail price. This principle obtained in Plantin's time but its application seems to have been far from standardized. Plantin often referred in his letters to the 'juste prix' of books intended for the retail shops. Consequently, besides this price, whether 'juste' or not, there must have been another - that charged to private customers. In fact it is clear that these were often charged more, the difference being proportionate to the price of the book: a few *stuivers* or even a fraction of a *stuiver* for the cheaper editions,¹ up to 10 fl. for something monumental like the Polyglot Bible.² But it could equally happen that the private customer who came to the Plantinian shop or had a book sent to him had no more to pay than the bookseller. The records give the impression that a newly issued book cost the private customer a little extra but that

1. According to Rooses, 'Eene bladzijde uit de geschiedenis van den boekhandel over driehonderd jaar', *Bulletijn van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, 1, 1882, p. 78, the 8^o Virgil was sold to the booksellers for 6 st. and to private individuals for 7½ st.; the Horace in calf leather to the booksellers for 4 st. and to private individuals for 5½ st. But it will be seen that in reality the differences between the prices for the booksellers and those for private individuals fluctuated more widely: cf. p. 441, note 1.
2. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 169. Other examples given there: Topiarius (1 fl. 4 st. for the booksellers; 1 fl. 10 st. for private customers); Flemish Bible of 1566 (1 fl. 6 st. as against 1 fl. 15 st.); *Missale* in folio (4 fl. as against 4½ fl.); *Antiphonarium* (15 fl. as against 17 fl.). Cf., however, the following note.

after a time, when the large initial demand had died down, the price dropped to the ‘juste’ one asked of the booksellers. There is every indication that the whole matter was decided rather arbitrarily.¹

Private customers or institutions of some importance may today enjoy some measure of price reduction. Something of the sort was quite common in the time of Plantin and the Moretuses. Sometimes the price the private customer actually paid was lower than that originally quoted. This would have been an accommodation on the part of the masters of the Golden Compasses.

Besides the ‘juste prix’ for the bookseller and the small reductions for certain private customers there was another possibility, indicated in the accounts as the *rabat* (discount). Most booksellers who did regular business with the *Officina Plantiniana* bought on credit, and the masters of the Golden Compasses similarly asked for terms when

1. It is difficult to compare the relative prices asked of booksellers and private customers as the fact that the books were ‘en blancq’ (unbound) was not always stated, and sometimes purchases were totalled without the individual prices being given. It has, however, been possible to compare some prices of works for which the sales are detailed in Appendix 7. These are explicitly stated or can be taken to have been sold unbound as in the following cases. - (1) Vesalius-Valverde, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani*, selling price to booksellers: an invariable 2 fl. 10 st.; but in four instances where the books were sent to a particular customer, the latter had to pay 3 fl. (27th March 1566, Hadrianus Junius), 3 fl. (29th March 1566, Maximus Aqualinus), 2 fl. 15 st. (12th June 1566, Count Egmont), 2 fl. 10 st. (20th February 1568, J. Mofflin, chaplain to Philip II, staying in Spain); in eight instances the book was sold in the shop at the following prices: 2 fl. 15 st. (8th April 1566), 2 fl. 14 st. (1st May 1566), 2 fl. 15 st. (12th May 1566), 2 fl. 15 st. (24th May 1566), 2 fl. 10 st. (9th June 1566), 2 fl. 10 st. (8th September 1566), 2 fl. 10 st. (21st May 1568), 2 fl. 10 st. (7th November 1568). On 24th February 1568 a parchment-bound copy was sold in the shop for 2 fl. 10 st. - (2) Valerius Flaccus, in 16^o: selling price to booksellers amounted almost uniformly to 1½ st.; but it was sold in the shop to private individuals for 1¾ st. (11th February 1567) and 2 st. (3rd May 1567). - (3) Reynaert de Vos: selling price to booksellers always 1½ st.; also the schoolmasters P. Heyns at Antwerp and G. Duvivier at Cologne paid 1½ st., and in the shop the work was also sold mostly at 1½ st. (29th June, 20th July, 2nd August, 26th August 1566; on 22nd September 1566 a copy was sold for 1¾ st., but possibly it was a somewhat more sumptuous one [on blue paper]; in 1567 six copies were sold on 29th December at 1½ st. each, and two others, on 3rd May 1567, at 2 st.; in 1568 the price remained 1½ st.; on 22nd February one copy and on 8th March two copies were sold for that sum; sale in the shop of 25 copies at one time on 14th February of that year was recorded at 1 fl. 16 st., where the selling price - at 1½ st. per copy - must have amounted to 1 fl. 17½ st.; thus a rebate of 1½ st. was granted here).

making large purchases of books and paper. These terms could be on the basis of six months, one year, or even longer.¹ At Frankfurt accounts were settled - if not paid in cash - at the following fair. In practice, except at Frankfurt, the terms of deferred payments were not always rigidly adhered to: the arrival of a bookseller in Antwerp, the fortuitous meeting of Plantin or Jan Moretus with a business associate at Cologne, Paris, or elsewhere was often the occasion for the settling of accounts that might have run for years. In such instances there is hardly ever any mention in the account-books of discount: this type of reduction was only made when the dealers paid cash on delivery. For small orders paid in cash Plantin allowed a discount of 5 to 10 %.² For more important transactions it might be much greater.³ In the seventeenth century a fairly uniform rate was arrived at: 20 % for the 'black-and-red' service books, 25 % for ordinary editions.⁴

Foreign merchants sometimes tried to get a discount for orders not paid for in cash, but Plantin declined such requests as far as he could.⁵

1. For deliveries of paper: cf. p. 44.
2. Cf. for 1566 and with reference to traders in the Netherlands: Arch. 40, f^o 11 (S. Pauwelsen: 'payé comptant 24 fl. 10 st. et 2 fl. 16½ st. qu'il rabat'); f^o 12 (S. Pauwelsen: payment of 52 fl. 13½ st. 'tant que en rabattant pour chascun florin 2 st. luy viendroyent bon 5 fl. 4 st. '); f^o 14 (G. Salenson: payment of 12 fl. 10 st. 'pour rabat de la somme et pour solder ceste partie 7¼ st. '); f^o 16 (G. Salenson: to balance of an old account of 7 fl. and a new account of 21 fl. 5¼ st. 'par accord avec le maistre rabat 1 fl. 17¾ st. ').
3. Cf. *Corr.*, I, no. 34 (Plantin to J. de Molina, Lisbon, 7th June 1567: 'Quant au rabat, je n'en scaurois rien abattre, s'il me convenoit attendre un an le paiement, a cause des relieures qu'il faudroit avancer. Mais si vous voulés avoir des livres en blanc et les paier comptant je vous rabatray de six ung, c'est a dire que de 120 fl. n'en payerés que cent à l'argent comptant, et à terme d'un an je vous rabbateray 10 pour cent'). P. Landry of Lyons seems to have obtained a rebate of 40 %; at any rate as far as can be made out from the letter from his nephew A. Duport, established at Medina del Campo, to J. Moretus, November 1587 (cited by C. Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, p. 212); but he may have obtained this favour for a special reason: see p. 443, note 3.
4. At least for consignments abroad: cf. *inter alia* Arch. 226 (*Journal* 1619), f^o 178^{ro} (consignment for Lisbon). For deliveries inland the rebate may well have been somewhat lower and it amounted, for example, in 1634, for purchases by a Liège bookseller, to 15 % for liturgical works and 25 % for 'livres noirs' (ordinary editions) (Arch. 242, f^o 19).
5. *Corr.*, IV, no. 496 (Plantin to Blas de Robles, Madrid, November 1573: Plantin cannot allow a year's credit to the Spanish dealer, but is prepared to give him a rebate of 10 to 12 % for cash payment but only for the non-liturgical publications and in so far as these did not include any copperplate illustrations). But Plantin had been willing, in June 1567, to grant the Lisbon bookseller de Molina a 'rabat' of 10 % for orders paid after one year (cf. note 3).

He was not able to refuse in all circumstances: foreign dealers might merit this favour because they controlled a certain sector or could stimulate sales there;¹ could exert pressure;² conducted an important barter trade with the Plantin House (it was reciprocal in these cases, as Plantin received a discount on his purchases in turn);³ or had eased money transactions at some time.⁴ Usually this meant a lot of bargaining and letter-writing and sometimes the signing of a contract. Favoured customers of this kind were, for example, the Frenchmen J. Dupuis of Lyons,⁵ J. Dessserans,⁶ and Ascanius de Renialme⁷ who operated in London; also A. Birckman of Cologne⁸ and Michel

1. As was the case with B. Dupuis, J. Dessserans, and Ascanius de Renialme for the English market, and with de Molina for the Portuguese market.
2. As was the case with M. Sonnius, who, after buying Plantin's Paris branch in 1577, more or less monopolized the firm's trade with the French capital.
3. As with Birckman, M. Sonnius, and J. Dupuis. In these instances of mutual barter the rebate may have been considerably increased: possibly as high as 25 to 40 %. This was probably also why Landry of Lyons had obtained a rebate of 40 % (cf. p. 442, note 3; the letters from his nephew A. Duport also rather suggest this).
4. As, for example, A. Birckman in 1567-68 (cf. note 8 on this page).
5. *Corr.*, I, no. 73 (Plantin to P. Dupuis, 2nd August 1567: P. Dupuis, who operated in London, had asked for the same favour as was accorded to his uncle, J. Dupuis, of Lyons. Plantin answered: 'Et pour responce à icelles, sachés que jamais je n'ay voulu faire accord avec vostre dit oncle, en faceon quelquonques, sinon pour la pareille, c'est à scavoir que s'il vouloit avoir de mes livres, à quatre lb. la rame, que je vouillois qu'il me baillast aussi les semblables sortes de formats et lettres des livres de Paris au mesme prix. Et que s'il vouloit avoir de mesmes livres à 25 ou à 30 pour cent, qu'il s'obligeast aussi de me faire prendre par qui bon me sembleroit ainsy...').
6. *Corr.*, I, nos. 77, 78, 79 (August 1567). Project of a contract in no. 78: J. Dessserans obtained a rebate of a penny on every sixpence on the Plantinian editions (i.e., a rebate of 16⅔%), Plantin was at the same time to supply him with works from other publishers, in which transactions the profits were to be shared equally.
7. A. de Renialme received a rebate of 20 % in October 1578 (Arch. 19, f^o 114). Cf. C. Clair, 'Christopher Plantin's Trade-Connections with England and Scotland,' *The Library*, Fifth Series, 1959, p. 41.
8. *Corr.*, I, no. 104 (Plantin to A. Birckman, 13th February 1568: 'Et depuis encores, estant à Francfort, à la mesme foire, je vous demanderay encores la mesme chose laquelle aussi vous m'accordastes [viz., that he should buy books at Frankfurt on Birckman's account]. Suivant lesquels propos et accord, je prins aussi les livres dont, à la fin de la foire, nous accordasmes ensemble, et, après la conclusion de nosdicts comptes, j'escrivis dedans mon livre de ladite foire nostre conclusion, adjouxtant que je vous devois bailer en paiement tels livres de mon impression qu'il vous plairoit prendre ou faire prendre, en vous rabattant vingt pour cent').

Sonnius of Paris,¹ and of course Philip II when operating as a part-time bookseller.² Merchants who occasionally exported books abroad were also able to obtain a discount.³ There is only one explicit reference in the correspondence to discount allowed on credit purchases to Netherlands dealers; it concerns an Antwerp bookseller.⁴ But this was probably not an exceptional case: the principal Antwerp and Netherlands booksellers with whom Plantin did regular business would certainly have been able to obtain a discount on credit accounts, at least in special circumstances.⁵

1. *Corr.*, V, no. 774 (contract between Plantin and Sonnius, 22nd August 1577: 'Et au bout de l'an promettons de compter par ensemble de tout l'envoy que aurons fait l'un à l'autre, et celluy qui restera debiteur payera la somme qu'il debvra de reste a son compagnon dedans ung mois après ledict compte fait et conclu, en rabattant vingt et cinq pour cent'); *Corr.*, VI, no. 803 (Making up a contract with Sonnius, 30th July 1578: for purchase of books in folio to a total of 50 copies, and of books in other formats to a total of 100 copies, the rebate was raised to 40 %).
2. The discount granted to Philip II is not explicitly stated in Plantin's accounts, but, for example, the king was charged 4 fl. 10 st. for copies on 'papier commun' of the 1573 folio breviary, and 5 fl. 10 st. for copies on 'grand papier' (Arch. 22). Normally these books sold at 6 fl. 10 st. and 8 fl., respectively (Arch. 296, f^o 2).
3. Thus on 9th June 1578 it was agreed as between Plantin and Louis Perez that the Spanish merchant was to get 40 % rebate on Plantin publications and 20 % on publications delivered by Plantin but other than his own, which Perez sent to Spain (Rooses, *Musée*, p. 172).
4. P. Bellerus. However, he must have asked for more than was originally agreed, to Plantin's annoyance: cf. *Corr.*, VI, no. 934 (June 1581). This text is a note intended for Plantin: 'Je viens de compter avec le sire P. Bellere de la partie des livres qu'il devoit payer contanti montoit 317 fl. 1 st. desquels rabattant (qu'il dist luy venir a cause que luy avez accordé 15 pour 8 mois), restent 253 fl. 13 st. qui font 42 lb. 5s. 6d. de gros. Il m'a payé 40 lb. et 9s. de gros, pour tout a condition toutesfois que vous soyez content.' This is probably to be interpreted as follows: Bellerus had received a rebate of 15 % for payment within eight months from Plantin, either for this transaction or as a general rule (the first hypothesis seems the more likely); considering that he paid cash he claimed a rebate of 20 %, as well as another smaller rebate (a payment of 40 pond 9 schellingen instead of 42 pond 5 schellingen 6 penningen). Plantin wrote in the margin: 'Je ne me puis assés esmerveiller de tant de ruses a faire comptes et a dire et demander choses impertinentes contre les pourparlers et accords. Si est-ce que je ne veux plus disputer du passé: mais bien Dieu aidant me garder pour l'advenir.'
5. Especially firms with whom an exchange of publications was arranged; for example, Birkman's 'Poule Grasse' (cf. Arch. 17, f^o 331: closing of the account in May 1571; on both sides for deliveries of *livres estrangers* [not published by either house] a discount of 10 % and for deliveries of their own publications a discount of 20 % was allowed). This explains why Plantin went on to sell at cost price books which he had had from the firm of Birkman - including Mercator's *Chronologia* (L. Voet, 'Les relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et la Maison Plantinienne à Anvers', *Duisburger Forschungen*, 1962, pp. 219-220); Plantin's profit was contained in the 20 % rebate which was later deducted.

The profit made from all these transactions had to be expressed in money terms. In the sixteenth century in the Netherlands the unit mostly used for reckoning sums of money was the Flemish pound. It appears as a money of account in the Plantinian ledgers, but consistently only in the years 1563-67, at the special request of Cornelis van Bomberghen who supervised the book-keeping. After that it was only very occasionally used.¹ Besides the Flemish pound the Brabant pound was in use in the Duchy of Brabant, but there is no certain instance of its use in the firm's accounts. As far as Plantin was concerned, the unit of *monnoye de Brabant* was equal to the (Carolus) guilder (*florin*) of 20 *stuivers* (or *patars*).² Plantin used it throughout the whole of his printing career, and his successors remained faithful to it.

The neighbouring countries also had their own monies of account which occasionally appeared in the journals, ledgers, and accounts of the firm in connexion with deliveries to or from dealers resident there. Notable were the German guilder (in which all Frankfurt transactions were reckoned and recorded in the *carnets de Francfort*)³ and the French *livre tournois*.⁴

Reckoning with these monies of account was simple enough. Difficulties arose when it came to actual payments. The monies of account had originally been actual coins in circulation (just as the

1. More, particularly, in accounts with paper merchants.
2. The ratio was 1 Flemish pound = £ 1 10 s. Brabant; 1 Brabant pound = 4 Carolus guilders. So 1 Flemish pound equalled 6 Carolus guilders. The Flemish and Brabant pounds were divided into twenty shillings (*schellingen*), and each shilling into twelve pennies (*penningen*) or *denarii* (*d*). The Carolus guilder was divided into twenty *stuivers* or *patars*.
3. The rate in Plantin's day was: 26 st. [1 fl. 6] Carolus guilder = 20 st. [1 fl.] German guilder.
4. In 1577 the rate was (*Corr.*, V, no. 774: contract between Plantin and Sonnius): 20 st. [1 fl.] Carolus guilder = 24 *sols* or *sous* (1 *lb.* 4 *sous*) *livre tournois*.

British guinea once was) which for one reason or another had been adopted in their new role. The Carolus guilder, which Plantin regarded as pre-eminently the Brabant coin, e.g. was introduced into the Netherlands by Charles v as a gold piece in 1517 and as a silver coin in 1543. After a time they generally disappeared as an actual coin,¹ and even when further issues were struck, they were just one of many types of coin then in circulation. The problem was to fix the correct rate of exchange of all these coins in relation to money of account. In September 1566 Jan Moretus brought back from Frankfurt a sum of money recorded as 395 fl. 19 st. It consisted of 93½ *Philippes dalders* (163 fl. 12½ st.), 19 *escus soleil* (39 fl. 18 st.), 9 *pistolets* (18 fl.), 3 *crusats de Portugal* (6 fl. 9 st.), 1 gold florin (1 fl. 13 st.), 73½ silver *thalers* (106 fl. 11½ st.), 3 silver Frankfurt florins (3 fl. 18 st.), [?] *pièce de 3 basses et 2 des 2½ basses* (23 fl. 8 st.), and *various pièces données de Gymnicus* (32 fl. 9 st.),² In 1589 when his father-in-law died Jan Moretus closed the cash register and noted 600 *Felipes dallers* (1,500 fl.), 225¼ ten-*patar* pieces (450 fl. 10 st.), 315 *realles* and five-*patar* pieces (315 fl.), 45 three-florin pieces (135 fl.), 4 *demi realles dor* (10 fl.), ‘various small coins’ (36 fl. 16 st.), making a total of 2,477 fl. 6 st.³ These were by no means exceptional cases.⁴ Even unminted precious metal was once mentioned.⁵ This vast number of denominations in

1. The Flemish pound and the Brabant pound no longer represented an actual coin in Plantin's day; the Carolus guilder was replaced in 1559 by the ‘Philip's taler’ or *Philippusdaalder* of Philip II.
2. Arch. 36, p. 110.
3. Arch. 30, f^o 1.
4. E.g., Arch. 50, f^o 1^{ro} (1st January 1572; received from Alexander Alard, bookseller at Saint-Omer: 4 ‘daalders’ at 30 st. [6 fl.], 9½ ‘daalders’ at 31 st. [14 fl. 14½ st.], 1 ‘daalder’ at 17½ st., 3 ‘daalders’ at 32 st. [4 fl. 16 st.]; total: 26 fl. 8 st.); Arch. 52, f^o 140^{ro} (13th September 1574, received by order of Dr. Navarrus: 21 ‘escus’ at 46 st. [48 fl. 6 st.], 8 ‘doubles pistolets’ at 4 fl. 10 st. [36 fl.], 8 ‘demy reaux d'or’ at 37 st. [7 fl. 4 st.], 3 Portuguese ducats at 48 st. [7 fl. 4 st.], 3 ‘pistolets’ at 45 st. [6 fl. 15 st.], 2 ‘carolus d'or’ at 24 st. [2 fl. 8 st.], 64 ‘Philippes d'argent’ at 36 st. [115 fl. 4 st.]; total: 231 fl.). Other typical examples in Arch. 49, f^{os} 21^{ro}, 46^{ro}, 157^{vo} (1571); Arch. 51, f^{os} 81^{ro}, 108^{ro}, 174^{ro}, 198^{vo} (1573); Arch. 53, f^{os} 82^{vo}, 130^{ro}, 224^{vo} (1575). See also p. 447, note 4.
5. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1170 (J. Mofflin to Plantin, 4th November 1586; the nature of the metal was not specified; it was presumably silver).

circulation not only made calculation complicated¹ but also gave rise to many errors - deliberate or otherwise.²

The coins had an intrinsic value through the weight of silver or gold they contained or were supposed to contain. Complaints and disputes about coins 'devaluated' by too little weight frequently occur in the correspondence³ and the accounts.⁴ Counterfeit money was also mentioned occasionally.⁵

The political troubles and the inflationary trends that characterized the sixteenth century brought great fluctuation in the comparative values of the coins in circulation and between these and the monies of account, the variations being observable both in time and space.

1. *Corr.*, I, no. 79 (Plantin to J. Desserans, c. 1567; in connexion with the settling of accounts): 'Quand au florin d'Allemagne, je vous en ay rescrit ce qui en est à la vérité, et adverti que la coustume a tousjours esté de la compter à 30 sols de France; mais il ne se trouve monnaye aulcune en laquelle je le peusse payer à 31½. Car l'escu de 52 sols p[arisis] en France ne s'expose aulcun a plus de 24 basses, qui sont audit compte 48 sols p[arisis]; le pistolet a 23 sols qui font 46 sols et il vault 53 sols de France, et ainsi de toutes aultres espèces, à quoy se peust voir qu'il n'est pas possible de revenir au compte.'
2. Arch. 51, f^o 123^{ro} (19th August 1573: the account to be settled [from Spain] amounted to 5,314 fl. 13 st.; Plantin, however, only received 850 Flemish pounds [5,100 fl.]; the difference of 214 fl. 13 st. was attributable to the fact that the exchange of *escus* into pounds had been miscalculated).
3. *Corr.*, I, no. 219 (E. Beys to Plantin, 28th February 1570: 'Je n'ay sceu mettre la portugaloise à plus hault que 27 lb. tournois, pour ce qu'elle estoit trop légère'). *Corr.*, IV, no. 547 (J. Maes to Plantin, 12th August 1574: the Louvain printer complains that of the gold pieces received from Plantin, the 4 *penningen* of 25 st. were much too light and that also the three French *écus* did not have full weight. As it was difficult to obtain money in those bad times he was not going to send the pieces back, but he asked Plantin in future not to send any more money that was too light.)
4. Arch. 53, f^o 77^{ro} (16th April 1575: received 'la somme de 50 reales à 3½ st. en espèce de 4 pistolets trop légers: 8 fl. 15 st.'). Arch. 216, f^o 148 (7th September 1609: received from J. Valentin, bookseller at Namur, a sum of 30 fl. 5½ st. represented by 1 'double ducat' [7 fl. 18 st.], 1 'demi-ducat' [3 fl. 19 st.], 2 'noble Henricus' [15 fl. 16 st.], 1 'demialbertus' [2 fl. 12½ st.]: 'Nota que le demi ducat estoit léger de 5 aes et que le demi Albertus estoit léger de 2 aes et puis qu'il envoyoit les nobles Henricus à tel prix que les doubles ducats 7 fl. 18 st. ne vallants que 7 fl. 10 st.').
5. *Corr.*, VII, no. 997 (P. Porret to J. Moretus, 23rd March 1583: 'Car notés il court tant de faulce monnoye en France que je ne scauroys recepvoir cent escus que je n'aye tousjours pour un escu de pieces faulces'). Cf. also *Corr.*, VII, no. 987 (P. Porret to J. Moretus, 12th June 1582). Arch. 242, f^o 12 (21st January 1634: 'renvoyé [to Anna Hovius, bookseller at Liège] dix fl. lesquels sont mauvais pattars').

A shrewd dealer, Plantin always tried to obtain the most favourable rates of exchange, although sometimes without success. In 1574 he sent gold Philippe *thalers* to Louvain in the belief that they would fetch a higher price there than in Antwerp, but his correspondent had to disappoint him.¹ Often he had to take substantial losses on this account.² Fluctuations in value were sometimes provided for in contracts concluded with others in the book trade. In an agreement with Desserans in London it was stipulated that both parties must be ready to accept any losses or gains that arose out of subsequent changes in the rates of exchange.³

Payment naturally implied the transference of cash. This was simple enough in the bookshop and there were no special difficulties for transactions within Antwerp itself. Problems only arose when long distances separated the parties concerned or, as at Frankfurt, money changed hands far from home. Payment then was a matter of transporting the money. This could be done in all the ways used for the transport of goods: by post⁴ and messenger, by carrier, by inland waterway or by sea. Money could be sent separately⁵ or with other freight.⁶ The money could be given to agents or employees of the receiving party,⁷ entrusted to reliable travellers,⁸ or the persons involved could convey it themselves.⁹

1. *Corr.*, IV, no. 527 (J. Maes to Plantin, 2nd May 1574).
2. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1164 (Plantin to Th. de Foli, 24th October 1586): of a payment of 200 fl. Plantin received only 172 fl. 'tanta est differentia inter valorem monetarum'.
3. *Corr.*, I, no. 78, p. 170 (August 1567).
4. *Corr.*, IV, no. 547 (J. Maes to Plantin, 12th August 1574: have received letter with money).
5. For example the barrels with bullion sent by J. Mofflin in 1586 (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1170).
6. Such as was the case with the 10 fl. of bad coins (patars) sent back to Anna Hovius at Liège in 1634 (Arch. 242, f^o 12). The balance from Frankfurt was probably brought to Antwerp packed in the barrels containing the books purchased at the fair: cf. p. 506, note 3. The 100 *philippesdalders* Plantin sent to Pierre Porret on 25th February 1570 were also stowed away in a barrel filled with books (Arch. 36, p. 140). The 313 fl. 10 st. in different monies sent some days earlier, on 31st January 1570, to his 'brother' in Paris were hidden in a 'pacquet de lingerie' (Arch. 36, p. 139).
7. As, for example, to Louis de Dieu, who from 1558 to 1572 was the intermediary between Mercator and Plantin (cf. L. Voet, 'Relations commerciales...').
8. As, for example, the 8 fl. 15 st. paid by Gregorio Perez to Plantin was delivered by a Spanish soldier (Arch. 53, f^o 77^{ro}; 16th April 1575).
9. Jan Moretus brought with him the money which in 1566, on his return from Paris, he collected at Louvain from customers in arrears (cf. p. 398). In 1568 Plantin, returning from Frankfurt, made a detour in order to settle personally debts with Mercator at Duisburg (cf. p. 398).

Carrying money always entailed great risks. To avoid these, to get round any obstacles that the authorities might have placed in the way of the export of currency, and to facilitate financial dealings in general, merchants in the sixteenth and following centuries made use of that most handy device, the bill of exchange. In the Plantinian records it is usually referred to as a *lettre de change*, sometimes as a *lettre de crédit*.¹ A payer holding credit or money at a particular place would give instructions for the required amount to be placed at the disposal of the payee. The payee might choose to take not the cash but the authorizing note and use the amount that this represented in his own transactions. In the sixteenth century the bill of exchange became a much used means of transferring large sums of money, or rather credit, over long distances with relative ease. The repeated references to bills of exchange in the correspondence and the accounts show that Plantin and his successors made grateful use of it.² Sometimes IOUS or bonds (*obligations* or *cedulles* in Plantinian sources) served as bills of exchange, being disposed of to, or paid by, third parties.³

1. On the bill of exchange in the Netherlands: L. Mertens, *Les changes et fonds publics à Anvers depuis le 16e siècle à 1792, 1894*; W. Brulez, *De firma della Faille en de internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16e eeuw*, 1959, pp. 394 sqq.; E. Coornaert, *Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers, fin du XV^e-XVI^e siècle*, II, pp. 166 sqq. A notable general study is: R. de Roover, *L'évolution de la lettre de change (XIV^{me}-XVIII^{me} siècle)*, 1953.
2. Cf. e.g., *Corr.*, II, nos. 179 and 182 (cf. p. 450, note 1); VI, no. 828 (Ch. Pesnot to Plantin, 28th May 1579); VII, no. 987 (P. Porret to J. Moretus, 18th September 1582); VII, no. 992 (*idem*, 31st Oct. 1582); VII, no. 997 (*idem*, 23rd March 1583); VIII-IX, no. 1142 (cf. p. 450, note 2); VIII-IX, no. 1251 (J. Poelman to J. Moretus, 3rd May 1587).
3. Cf. Arch. 16, f^o 116 (sum of 225 fl. paid to Paulus Manutius in Rome 'par lettres de change du Sr. Jaspar van Surich adressées à Rome au Sr. Georg[es] Peeters marchand de Flandres à payer à lettre veue et sans aultres frais ou dommage', 18th Feb. 1570); Arch. 36, p. 139 (2nd Jan. 1570), p. 165 (28th March 1572), p. 168 (13th March and 28th April 1573); Arch. 51, f^o 123^{ro} (1571); Arch. 224, f^o 114^{vo} (1617); Arch. 225, f^o 30 (1618); Arch. 226, f^{os} 78^{vo} and 98^{vo} (1619). A very special case is the one mentioned in Jan Moretus's letter to J. Mofflin, November 1576 (*Corr.*, V, no. 746): Jan Moretus sent to the abbot, who was staying at the Spanish royal court, the bond of a certain Juan Osorio for the sum of 100 *escus*, which had fallen due in October, requesting him to have this sum disbursed immediately either to de Çayas or to Mofflin himself and to have it sent on directly to Paris or Antwerp in view of the critical condition of the business. This was perhaps an acknowledgement of debt in the name of Philip II, signified by a royal official.

The system presupposed a large measure of mutual trust - and good will and solvency on the part of the intermediaries. Sometimes these attributes were lacking. In 1569 Plantin was obliged to take one such agent, acting for G. de Portinariis, a bookseller in Lyons and Salamanca, to court because of his failure to pay amounts due.¹ In 1586 the printer was greatly angered because B. Dupuis of London had refused to accept his bill of exchange, thus casting doubt on his credit-worthiness.² Generally, however, there is little evidence of incidents of this kind.³

The intensive use which the masters of the Golden Compasses made of this efficient device meant a good deal of effort on their part to calculate the most favourable rates of exchange and to have their money in the right place. But far more trouble was caused the firm through the years by customers who did not pay their bills. This

1. *Corr.*, II, nos. 179 (G. de Portinariis to Plantin, 17th July 1569) and 182 (Plantin to G. de Portinariis, 7th September 1569). The account was finally settled but with a substantial delay on the terms agreed upon (Arch. 17, f^o 53).
2. *Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1142 (Plantin to H. François, bookseller in London, 26th September 1586): 'Seigneur François, ce peu de mots est pour vous advertir que le 24 du present j'ay fort bien senti l'aspre soufflet et deshonneur en la diminution de nostre credit que le Seigneur Baptiste du Puis [bookseller in London and a partner of H. François] a faicte que m'ayés donné par le refus qu'avés trop incivilement faict de nostre lectre de change... Puis en cas que ladicte lectre de change retourne comme desja le proteste m'en a esté monsté, auquel j'ay promis de satisfaire comme de raison aux despends dudict Sr. du Puis par l'ordonnance et commandement duquel ledict argent a esté prins et ladicte lectre de change baillee...'
3. *Inter alia* in 1650 when Gerrit Verduyn, an Amsterdam merchant, was in default (Arch. 258, f^o 118^{vo}; 18th November 1650): 'Gerrit Verduyn... debet... pour aultant qu'il n'a pas satisfait mes lettres de change tirées sur luy le 1 septembre à payer... à Gisberto, Emberto et Jan Tholincx; lesquelles lettres Henry Barentsens a satisfait par honneur de lettre...' Cf. also *Corr.*, V, no. 770 (letter from a certain Ch. Martens from Ghent to Plantin, 9th July 1577): Martens was worried because Thomas Guerin, a Basle printer, had not repaid to him the sum of 100 *escus* loaned to him. Seeing that it was Plantin who had been paying the interest of 8 *escus* per year for Guerin, Martens then asked the printer for further information about Guerin.

was particularly prevalent among the smaller booksellers, but private customers too were often neglectful.¹

The masters of the Plantin House had a fairly effective method of limiting their losses on this account: normally they only made a new delivery when the previous one had been paid for, at least in part.² But if customers did not wish to place further orders then it might be a long time before outstanding accounts were settled, if at all. When a new ledger was started the unpaid accounts from the previous one were carried over and summarized on the first pages. A debtor was *rapporé débiteur* until he either settled his account or was finally written off as a bad debt.³

Naturally the masters of the firm tried to keep these bad debts to a minimum. On their many journeys through Western Europe, Plantin and his representative, Jan Moretus, regularly called on tardy settlers.⁴ At the beginning of the seventeenth century Jan Moretus

1. A typical case: on 12th December 1571 Plantin, on receipt of a catalogue with titles marked by the Bishop of Cuença, despatched the works requested to the value of 48 fl. 13½ st. Five years later, on 16th September 1576, he received the works back. They had been returned on the pretext that they had not been ordered by the Bishop. It ought to be said that shortly after the order had been placed, the Bishop of Cuença in question had moved to Cordoba - which perhaps explains the return of the books by his successor (Cf. *Corr.*, II, no. 295; Arch. 49, f^o 163^{vo} and 17, f^o 40).
2. In the *journals* there are often entries on the same day of deliveries to a bookseller *estant présent à Anvers*, followed by payment by the same bookseller of sums of money intended as settlement of a previous delivery.
3. To facilitate supervision and control the masters of the Golden Compasses sometimes compiled registers of the defaulters. Such a register for Plantin's day is Arch. 1083 (1569-79); for the period of Jan I Moretus: Arch. 1127 (1588-1612), 190 (1602), 192 (c. 1588-c. 1612); for period of Balthasar I Moretus: Arch. 507.
4. Jan I Moretus's detour via Louvain on his return journey in 1566 from Paris may be regarded as a dunning expedition to customers who were behind with their payments (cf. p. 398). P. Laroche, 'Discours de réception', *Mémoires de la Société d'Arras*, 18, 1886, p. 42 (p. 16 of the offprint) speaks of Jan I Moretus leaving in 1579 for Arras with his accounts under his arms in order to dun defaulters there but 'sans espoir de retirer'. Actually this scholar has misunderstood the text of Arch. 110, f^o 28: in connexion with an account of Claude Buyens, bookseller at Arras, of January 1579, Jan I Moretus remarks 'prins sur moy avec aultres sans espoir de retirer', which means that, upon the division of Plantin's estate in 1590, he had taken over this debt without any hope of seeing it discharged.

sent out an agent specially for a systematic visitation of all of them in a particular area.¹ Most of those visited had a more or less valid reason for their default, or at least tried to think of one. Successors or inheritors often refused to accept their predecessors' debts. A dramatic case was that of Herman Schinkel, a Delft bookseller whose widow would not pay because he had been executed during the Duke of Alva's rule. Eventually part of this debt was paid off.² Other debtors obstinately asserted that they had already paid.³

These attempts to retrieve debts through personal contact were only partly successful and the list of those whose names ended up in the bad debt column was quite long. The amounts per person were not usually very large, but the sheer number involved made the loss considerable. Less numerous, but larger per head, were the losses incurred through bankruptcies of bigger booksellers, and especially of the merchants who occasionally dealt in books.⁴ The wills and inventories⁵ made by the Masters of the Plantin house clearly show

1. On 6th June 1607, the man called Jan Kingkes (who was probably a shop assistant of Moretus), made a report to his master about the difficulties he encountered at Ghent, Courtrai, and Ypres (Arch. 86, f^o 83).
2. Arch. 110, f^o 9: in January 1579 there remained a demand for payment of 44 fl. 11¼ st. outstanding. Jan Moretus noted that 'Herman de Scinckel ayant été exécuté au temps du duc d'Alve, la vesve n'a rien voulu payer'. When Plantin called at Delft in 1582, he was able to reach a settlement with the widow (who had meantime remarried another bookseller, A. Heyndrixsen): he took back books to the value of 24 fl. 13 st. and deleted the rest from the claim for payment. Cf. C. Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, p. 222.
3. There is an example in P. Laroche: G. Bauduyn, a bookseller in Arras, asserted that he had not received any books; when confronted with the letters in which he had requested them to be sent, he would confirm with a false oath that he had already paid for them; but later he came to a better way of thinking. Cf. also the case of J. Poelman (see p. 403).
4. Arch. 224, f^o 114^{vo} (20th July 1617): agreement with M.F. Carillo ['pour estre failli de credit'] by the *Officina Plantiniana* and the other creditors, that one quarter of the claim should be annulled and the remaining three quarters should be paid back by fixed instalments.
5. When Plantin's estate was divided in 1590 Jan I Moretus took over the outstanding claims for payment to the value of 16,350 fl. for a sum of 10,000 fl.; on the same occasion the stocks of books at Antwerp, Leiden, and Frankfurt were estimated at half their nominal value (cf. Vol. I, p. 167). In the 1658 inventory made up by Balthasar II Moretus, the outstanding debts in Spain and Portugal to the value of 111, 841 fl. 8 st. were recorded at 100,000 fl., and those outside the Iberian peninsula to the value of 35,615 fl. 16 st. were reckoned at 24,000 fl. For 1662 the figures were respectively for debts in Spain and Portugal: 117,420 fl. at 105,000 fl., and for debts outside the Iberian peninsula: 47,945 fl. at 32,000 fl. (Arch. 108). On the division of the estate following the death of Maria de Sweert in 1655, Balthasar II calculated the stocks of 'libri rubro-nigro' (i.e., service books) at 45% and 42½% of the current prices; for 'libri nigri' (i.e., ordinary publications) this ratio fell to 30% (Arch. 107, f^o 93).

that they were not unmindful of the burden constituted by the fact that a fair proportion of the books they delivered were never paid for.

Chapter 18

*Loans*¹

There was another problem that occasioned the masters of the Golden Compasses much worry, bringing Plantin in particular many a sleepless night and hanging over him like an enduring sword of Damocles.

This problem was the slowness with which invested capital yielded a return. Books published might or might not make a profit, but it was months and sometimes years before the money came back. In the meantime staff and suppliers had to be paid, and sometimes further resources might have to be committed to buy new material and finance new projects. A large concern like the *Officina Plantiniana* required a large and continual investment of capital, especially in the critical period of its foundation and first expansion. The Moretuses were not unaffected by this problem,² but they did not need to invest so much money in new plant and they had the personal resources to be able to absorb minor expansions and recessions, and cope with the matter of equipment, without too much difficulty. When loans were

1. A sound and interesting though not exhaustive study: R.M. Kingdon, 'Christopher Plantin and his backers, 1575-90. A study in the problems of financing business during war', *Mélanges d'Histoire économique et sociale en Hommage au Professeur Antony Babel*, 1963, pp. 303-316. Data in Rooses, *Musée*, p. 210.
2. In 1642 the firm was encumbered with loans at interest to a total of 68,335 fl. 3 st.; in 1651 this sum was reduced to 34,995 fl. 15 st. In these 9½ years 33,339 fl. 8 st. were thus discharged and the firm was relieved of a burden of 1,667 fl. interest per year. Cf. p. 462. In 1658 and 1662, however, these loans had once more risen to 87,907 fl. and 107,628 fl. (cf. Vol. I, p. 222, note 4). In the second half of the seventeenth century the Moretuses occasionally borrowed money from their workmen's sick fund (cf. M. Sabbe, 'De Plantijnsche werkstede', p. 614).

necessary they were able to support the interest charges easily and pay back the capital.¹ The problem was most noticeable when the estate came to be bequeathed,² but the well-conceived testaments of the successive masters and the intelligent family sense of succeeding generations of Moretuses made possible arrangements that satisfied individual heirs without imperilling the financial structure of the *officina*.³ It was on Plantin that the problem of the supply of capital bore most heavily.

It was undoubtedly borrowed capital that enabled the poor bookbinder to set himself up as a printer in 1555, and in the following years he had to borrow money ceaselessly. Of all the aspects of Plantin's activities this is the hardest to trace. Loans were only occasionally recorded in the regular accounts, as these were concerned with production costs and sales.⁴ Only in the period of the partnership (1563-67) did Plantin deem it necessary to keep careful if summarized record of the inflow of capital and the amortizing of debts.⁵ There are few references, direct or indirect, to this sort of transaction in the correspondence, but what is most regrettable is the fact that the main sources of information were systematically destroyed, except for a very few documents. For every loan there was a written IOU signed by Plantin - the *cedulle* or *obligation* - occasionally used as a bill of exchange. When the debt had been paid the IOU was destroyed or cancelled. By chance a few of these papers, with the name of the debtor - Plantin - scored out, have been preserved.⁶

1. As is clear from the ease with which in 1641-51 the considerable sum of 33,339 fl. was paid off.
2. The considerable loans noted in 1642 and in 1658-62 are probably connected with repayments to heirs and with other transactions subsequent to the deaths of Balthasar I Moretus and Maria de Sweert.
3. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 202-203.
4. In the ledgers about transactions with private individuals or non-professional booksellers, loans and their conditions were only occasionally recorded. An exception is found in Arch. 19 (Ledger of non-booksellers, 1572-89). Rooses's exposition in *Musée*, p. 210, is based on the data contained in this ledger. Occasional references in Arch. 36, e.g., pp. 139, 140, 141, 163, 167, 168 (1570-73).
5. In Arch. 3. Cf. Appendix 1.
6. And are mainly gathered together in Arch. 98. Kingdon's exposition is principally supported by these documents; also some in Arch. 116.

Enough information is available, however, to give an idea of the extent and significance of the transactions. Before 1563 and after 1567, Plantin had to obtain the finance he needed purely by his own efforts. In the intervening years he was in partnership with influential financiers who largely provided the necessary capital, either from their own resources or by persuading other backers to invest in the enterprise. The period 1563-67, about which there is most information, can be taken as the least representative of Plantin's tribulations in the money market.

After 1567 Plantin's former partners repeatedly came to the assistance of their ex-associate.¹ The printer also appealed for financial help to members of his family (Jan Moretus), friends and acquaintances,² colleagues in the trade,³ and his own employees.⁴ From time to time he managed to persuade such financiers as Gaspar van Zurich, and later Louis Perez,⁵ to lend him money. It cannot have been mere coincidence that many of these backers belonged to the sect called the Family of Love or to the Barrefeltists, religious affinity obviously drawing them closer together financially.⁶ Plantin also sought finance in other foreign parts, finding it in Paris, Rouen,⁷ Liège,⁸ and

1. Among others Goropius Becanus and Charles 'Van den Berghen' (Karel van Bomberghen: Jan Moretus has first recorded him in the ledger [Arch. 19] under his real name, but later - probably in 1585, at the capitulation of Antwerp to Alexander Farnese - had erased this and turned it into 'Van den Berghen'. Plantin's former partner and creditor was not greatly esteemed by the Spanish authorities, being a Calvinist leader.)
2. Among others Abraham Ortelius: Rooses, *Musée*, p. 210.
3. Including Jean Laurent, bookseller at Tournai, who in 1572 lent 500 fl. and in 1573 another 432 fl. (Arch. 19, f^o 8). Ferdinand Ximenez from Cologne, who lent a quite considerable amount of capital, was perhaps also a bookseller: Kingdon, *op. cit.*, p. 312.
4. Namely Cornelis Kiliaan, who in 1579 lent his employer 200 fl. (Arch. 19, f^o 123).
5. And others, such as Ferdinando de Sevilla and P. van der Goes: Rooses, *Musée*, p. 210.
6. As was thoroughly dealt with and emphasized, with reasons, by Kingdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-315. However, the present author believes that this tendency should not be exaggerated: it should not be thought that there was a sort of monetary power (and money market) organized on a religious basis. Plantin found it easier to get money out of these people because both parties had come to know and to trust each other. Moreover, the Van Bomberghens themselves were not members of the Family of Love but convinced Calvinists.
7. In 1572; cf. Vol. I, p. 77.
8. In 1576-77; cf. Vol. I, p. 87.

at Frankfurt. In the last of these places Plantin pledged typographical material to secure a loan.¹

Interest had to be paid on these loans. It could vary greatly. For large amounts advanced by financiers for a period of years the rate was usually 6¼%.² Smaller lenders might charge more³ - or less.⁴ For the Frankfurt loan, with punches and matrices deposited as security, the rate was only 4 %. With good reason Professor Kingdon has expressed surprise at the relative ease with which Plantin was able to obtain large loans at comparatively low interest rates in so troubled a period as the second half of the sixteenth century. All the same they had to be repaid. The precise extent of the transactions cannot be determined, but the figures for 1563-67⁵ and the partial data for 1572-89⁶ convey some impression of the colossal sums, for the time, that Plantin had to raise, and the fearful burden that their amortization must have placed on his shoulders.⁷ Little wonder that in a time of recession and a moment of despair the great printer wrote: 'Car l'imprimerie est ung vray abisme ou goufre auquel par ung labour assidu et une constance ferme et assurée il convient perpétuellement entendre luy jecter en la gueule et fournir tout ce qu'il est nécessaire

1. Cf. p. 89.
2. Rooses, *Musée*, p. 210 (who generalizes far too much and presupposes payment of an interest of 6¼ % for all the loans entered into by Plantin); Kingdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-307.
3. In 1559 Antonio d'Antonio Vincent asked 10 % for a loan of 200 fl. (Arch. 38, f^o 53); in 1572 J. Laurent asked 10 % and 8 % in 1573 (Arch. 19, f^o 8; cf. also Kingdon, *op. cit.* p. 301, who only knew of the 1573 transaction [he places it erroneously in 1579]). Claude le Prestre contented himself with 7¼% in February 1572 (Arch. 36, p. 167). C. Kiliaan obtained 7½ % in 1579 (Arch. 19, f^o 123).
4. Bonaventura Boudeckers asked only 5 % for a loan of 380 fl. in March 1573 (Arch. 36, p. 168).
5. In 1566 receipts of liquid money consisted of drawings on capital to more than fifty per cent; in the same year Plantin had to pay off 1,516 fl. 13 st. in old debts. Cf. Appendix 1.
6. Plantin borrowed from Gaspar van Zurich 13,872 fl. in 1572, from Luis Perez 12,000 fl. in 1576; after the Spanish Fury (November 1576) to this was added a loan of 2,876 fl. 8 st. In 1578 he borrowed 1,815 fl. 18 st. and in 1582 a further 3,600 fl. from Perez. The total of the sums borrowed and still owed by Plantin in and about 1583 amounted to 20,326 fl. 4½ st. For these and other examples see Rooses, *Musée*, p. 210.
7. Cf. also, p. 391.

ou autrement il dévore et engloutist son maistre mesmes et tous ceux qui s'en meslent avec luy.¹ And in his letters of later years the need for ready money and the difficulty of finding working capital were stressed over and over again, like a sad refrain endlessly repeated.

1. *Corr.* III, no. 438 (Plantin to de Çayas, 22nd November 1572).

Chapter 19

Difficulties of the Business

Plantin and the Moretuses allowed quite high profit margins when computing the selling prices of their books, yet there was a whole series of costs that they did not include in their calculations. These reduced the profit margin considerably and may be estimated as equivalent to 20 to 25 % of the factors that were taken into account. The risks in publishing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were many and great. Only seldom was an impression sold out and there were quite a few instances of no more than a few copies being disposed of.¹ In two out of the three cases investigated by the author, costs had not been covered by sales after three years, and in the third

1. On the question of unsold copies which sometimes lay for decades in the attic storerooms, there is interesting information and examples drawn from the firm's musical publications in J.A. Stellfeld, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*, 1949. In October 1586 Plantin wrote to N. Oudartius that he still had numerous copies remaining of the Statutes of the synode of Malines from years before (*Corr.*, VIII-IX, no. 1165: 'Nunc autem tibi mitto tria exemplaria Synodi Machliniensis magna forma [in 4^o, 1570] ex quo nobis adhuc restant 70. Mitto totidem in 8^o [which also appeared in 1570] e quibus nobis restant 200. Addidi totidem Antverpiensia [probably the Antwerp synode statutes of 1576] e quibus nobis restant 300...'). In the inventory of the stock for 1642 (Arch. 801) the following Plantin impressions are named (in the sequence and with bibliographical description as given in the inventory): Alani Copi Dialogi, 1573 (30 copies); Brechtani Syntaxi, 1568 (500); Chansons de Cornet, 1581 (26); Chroniques de Flandres d'Oudegherst, 1571 (23); Despauterii ars versificatoria, 1568 (287); Dialogues Francois Flamends, 1567 (81); Fulvii Ursini notae in Ciceronem, 1581 (100); Goropii Becani opera, 1580 (11); Hesychius de Vitis et Philosophorum, 1572 (50); Homilien van Macarii, 1580 (194); Joliffi Responsio ad Hopperum, 1564 (38); Justiniani Institutiones Triboniani, 1575 (15); Manuel de Ludolph, 1588 (129); Nomina Hebraica Explicata, 16^o, 1565 (238); Nomina Hebraica, 8^o, 1565 (82); Novum Testamentum Syrraicum, 16^o, 1575 (176); Novum Testamentum Syrracum, 8^o, 1575 (85); OEuvres de Jessée, 1584 (58); Polybius de legationibus, 1582 (407); Porta Magia Naturalis, 1585 (100); Sermones Leinartij sive Ambrosii homilia, 1575 (140); Stobei ecloga, 1575 (188); Veldii in Cassionem, 1570 (118); Veldii quadragesimale, 1570 (93); Virgilio libro quarto Aeneidi, 1568 (58); Vredehandel van Ceulen, 1580(303).

instance only a small profit had been made.¹ Stocks of books depreciated in value with the passing of time.² Transport entailed high costs and often heavy losses which could not always be passed on to the customers. Rates at which currency had to be exchanged often brought unpleasant surprises. Discounts and reductions to booksellers and private customers also lowered profit margins. Many customers failed to pay their bills. The running costs of the press and slow sales demanded a goodly supply of capital, which had to be borrowed at heavy interest rates.

Building the *Officina Plantiniana* up into a great capitalist enterprise cannot have been an unalloyed pleasure and it impaired Plantin's health prematurely. But all things considered, he did not do so badly. Once a poor journeyman bookbinder, at his death he was able to bequeath his family what for the time was a large fortune: 136,000 fl.³ In spite of subsequent divisions of the estate, his successors did equally well and increased the family fortune still further.⁴ Despite all the difficulties and risks inherent in the book trade, the *Officina Plantiniana* remained through the centuries a very profitable business.

It seems fitting to close this final chapter of the present volume with the observations of Balthasar II Moretus who, with a superabundance of facts and figures, gave an illuminating survey of the profit made by the house in the years 1642 to 1651.⁵

1. Cf. Appendix 7.
2. When Balthasar II Moretus bought out his fellow-heirs in 1655, on the death of his mother, Maria de Sweert, he noted a stock of service books to the value of 77,012 fl. 16 st.: 'In regard to the danger of their perishing from rats, mice, decay, moisture, and of imperfect books' the figure was rounded off downwards to 70,000 fl. Balthasar II emphasizes in this that no arbitrary procedure was involved here but one which had been applied in earlier distributions of estates (Arch. 107, f^o 93).
3. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 162 sqq.
4. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 203-204, 222 sqq., 241-242.
5. Arch. 354. The commentary accompanying the data is a summary or a reproduction of Balthasar II's text.

Statement of current assets

	<i>1642 (30th June)</i>		<i>1651 (31st December)</i>	
Service books in stock	14,851 fl.	5 st.	42,834 fl.	4 st.
Ordinary editions	74,961 fl.	2 st.	105,249 fl.	6 st.
Printed sheets at press	29,314 fl. ¹		24,918 fl.	19 st. ²
Defects	990 fl.		-	
Stands for books	1,000 fl.		-	
Other publishers' books	12,527 fl.	10 st.	12,155 fl.	
Sub-total	133,643 fl.	17 st.	185,157 fl.	9 st.
Stock of paper	8,996 fl.		26,546 fl.	15 st.
Outstanding debtors:				
- Spain	49,251 fl.	15 st.	59,174 fl.	16 st.
- Antwerp booksellers	3,285 fl.		6,900 fl.	
- Booksellers elsewhere	21,962 fl.		17,244 fl.	
- Frankfurt	5,567 fl.		4,930 fl.	
- Merchants-dealers	7,080 fl.	10 st.	6,949 fl.	
Press with material and equipment	24,000 fl.		24,000 fl.	
Parchment (for friskets etc.)	2,250 fl.		2,625 fl.	
Cash in hand	1,182 fl.		8,086 fl.	

2. Of which 18,757 fl. 19 st. service books.

1. Of which 8,940 fl. service books.

Total assets	257,218 fl.	2 st.	341,613 fl.	
Total creditors	98,060 fl.	2 st.	81,665 fl.	10 st.
Remains	<u>159,158 fl.</u>		259,947 fl.	10 st.

Calculation of profit 1st july 1642-31st december 1651 (9½ years)

Current assets, 31st December 1651	259,947 fl.	10 st.
Drawings by widow of Jan II Moretus (1642-51)	41,865 fl.	
Drawings by Balthasar II Moretus (1642-51)	65,347 fl.	
Total	<u>367,159 fl.</u>	10 st.
Less: capital invested at 30th June 1642	159,158 fl.	
Profit, 30th June 1642 - 31st December 1651	<u>208,001 fl.</u>	10 st.
i.e., an average profit in 9½ years, per year	21,894 fl.	1½ st.

Further observations on profit made

1.	Stock of books, 1642	133,643 fl. 17 st.
	1651 inventory shows books in stock printed before 30th June 1642 as follows:	
	- service books	1,250 fl.
	- ordinary editions	70,941 fl. 5 st.
	- other publishers'	8,000 fl.

	Total	80,191 fl. 5 st.

Consequently, 53,452 fl. 12 st.
pre-1642 books sold
in period 1642-51

Of this sum the
profit (at a liberal
estimate of
two-thirds of
capital) was 35,635
fl. 2 st.

Total profit 1642-51 208,001 fl. 10 st.

Profit on pre-1642 35,635 fl. 2 st.
books (estimated)

Remaining profit 172,366 fl. 8 st.

This profit must have come from books printed during the 9½ years.

2.	Service books	
	- In stock, 1642	14,851 fl. 5 st.
	- At press, 1642	8,940 fl.

	Total 1642	23,791 fl. 5 st.

- In stock 1651	42,834 fl. 4 st.
- At press 1651	18,757 fl. 19 st.
	—————
Total 1651	61,592 fl. 3 st.

Therefore the stocks of service books, the most profitable sort, was increased during the 9½ years by 37,800 fl. 18 st.

3.	Outstanding loans	
	- at 30th June 1642	68,335 fl. 3 st.
	- at 31st Dec. 1651	38,595 fl. 15 st.
	since repaid	3,600 fl.
		—————
		34,995 fl. 15 st.
		—————
	Hence borrowed	33,339 fl. 8 st.
	money repaid in the	
	period	

This released the firm of an estimated 1,667 fl. interest per year.

4.	Calculation to show that Balthasar II Moretus's mother earned more by keeping her money in the firm than by investing outside at 5 %	
	- her capital in 1642	83,338 fl. 7 st. ¹
	- interest 1642-51 (9½ years; 5 % yield = 4,167 fl. per annum)	39,586 fl. 10 st.

	Capital with interest 1651	122,924 fl. 17 st.
	Drawings by mother, 1642-51	44,644 fl. 3½ st. ²

	Capital in 1651 could thus only have been	78,280 fl. 13½ st.

However, the lady did not invest outside, but remained in partnership with her son.

- As such she possessed in 1651 140,127 fl. 12¼ st.³
(excluding drawings 1642-51)
- From this the theoretical capital must 78,280 fl. 13½ st.
be deducted

1. In 1642 the firm's capital amounted to 159,158 fl. At the time of drawing up his balance Balthasar had had more from the common account than his mother, the difference being 7,518 fl. 14 st. So there remained 151,639 fl. 6 st., to be shared equally between the partners, Balthasar II and his mother, each of them being entitled to 75,819 fl. 13 st. But the sum of 7,518 fl. 14 st. Balthasar had had more than his mother had to be added to her share which hence amounted to 83,338 fl. 7 st.
2. The difference between the amounts given as drawn by his mother in the 'Calculation of profit' (41,865 fl.) and here (44,644 fl. 3½ st.) is probably the result of an error made by Balthasar. In Arch. 354, p. 59 he specifies the amounts drawn by his mother between 1st July 1641 and 31st December 1651 by half-yearly instalments, to a total of 49,004 fl. The amount of 44,644 fl. 3½ st. is arrived at through subtracting the sums Balthasar's mother drew between 1st July 1641 and 1st July 1642 (the date on which he started his calculation), totalling 4,359 fl. 16½ st., leaving indeed 44,644 fl. 3½ st. But in his 'Calculation of profit' Balthasar also subtracted (probably by mistake) the sum of 2,799 fl. 11½ st. drawn by his mother in the second half of 1642. With an approximation of 8 st. the difference between the two statements is so explained.
3. In 1651 the total capital of the firm amounted to 259,947 fl. 10 st. As in 1642 Balthasar once more had drawn more than his mother, the difference being 20,307 fl. 14½ st. The remainder, 239,639 fl. 15½ st., equally shared between the partners, works out at 119,819 fl. 17¾ st. for each. Added to this must be Balthasar's drawing of 20,307 fl. 14½ st., thus making for a total capital owned by Balthasar's mother of 140,127 fl. 12¼ st.

- Hence additional earnings through
keeping the money in the firm

61,846 fl. 18¾ st.

Appendixes

Appendix 1
Balance-sheet of the Firm's Activities
in the Year 1566¹

I. Expenses

1.	<i>Wages</i>		
	a. Compensation to Plantin	400 fl.	
	b. Journeymen	4,141 fl. 3½ st.	
	c. Proof-readers	294 fl. 10 st.	
	d. Shop assistants	225 fl.	
	e. Collators	99 fl. 9 st.	
	f. Premiums to journeymen	55 fl. 17 st.	
		—————	5,215 fl. 19½ st.
2.	<i>Material</i>		
	a. Equipment printing office	127 fl. 14½ st.	
	b. Type	613 fl. 14½ st.	
	c. Book illustrations	137 fl. 14 st.	
	d. Paper	4,529 fl. 18½ st.	
	e. Bindings ²	433 fl. 16¼ st.	
	f. Ink	170 fl. 4¼ st.	
	g. Leather and vellum	238 fl. 6½ st.	
	h. Cord, nails, wool	19 fl. 9¾ st.	
		—————	6,270 fl. 18½ st.
			—————
	To be brought forward	11,486 fl. 18 st.	

1. Compiled on the basis of Arch. 3 (journal des affaires), 44 (journal), 36 (a few random transactions), 43^{iv} (shop sales). Cf. also the commentary on pp. 390-392.
2. In total 5,102 volumes. Cf. p. 248.

Brought forward	11,486 fl. 18 st.	
3.	<i>Business expenses</i>	
	a. Rent house	400 fl.
	b. Light	112 fl. 4½ st.
	c. Sundries connected with washing of formes etc. ¹	50 fl.
	d. Sustenance house	44 fl. 2 st.
		—————
		606 fl. 6½ st.
4.	<i>Operational expenses</i>	
	a. Privileges	47 fl. 11 st.
	b. Fees to authors, translators, and editors	172 fl. 5½ st.
	c. Carriage ²	612 fl. 10¾ st.
	d. Travelling expenses ³	115 fl. 9½ st.
		—————
		947 fl. 16¾ st.

1. Fixed amount due to Plantin as his 'wages' as manager.
2. Subdivided thus: consignments to and from Frankfurt: 230 fl. 15¾ st.; from Lyons: 223 fl. 17½ st.; from and to Paris: 51 fl. 6 st.; from Venice: 41 fl.; smaller transport charges (mostly postage on letters): 65 fl. 11½ st.
3. (1) Journey by Jan Moretus to Paris: 12 fl. 10½ st. ('tant de bouche que de chariot, d'Anvers à Paris: 6 fl. 11½ st.'; 'au retour tant de bouche que de chariot: 5 fl. 19 st.'). Jan Moretus had obtained 18 fl. to take with him as money for the journey. - (2) Journey by Plantin and Jan Moretus to and from Frankfurt in Lent 1566: 62 fl. 19 st. ('Pour mes despens d'Anvers à Cologne: 3 fl.; pour le chariot jusques Cologne: 4 fl. 10 st.; pour le bateau de Cologne à Francfort et despenses: 3 fl. 15 st.; pour les despens aux soupers et logis: 1 fl. 11 st.; pour les despens de Jehan daller à Francfort à pied: 5 fl. 15 st.; pour mes despens au retour ensemble au batteau iusques à Cologne et par led[ict] batteau: 3 fl. 15 st.; pour nos despens aux logis jusques à Cologne: 1 fl. 19 st.; pour nos despens à pied iusques à Mastricht: 1 fl. 18 st.; pour nos despens de Mastricht à Anvers 2 fl. 15 st.; pour le charriot de Mastricht à Anvers pour nous deux: 2 fl. 2 st. Total [in Carolus guilders]: 35 fl. 6 st. - Pour nos despens durant la foire à Francfort: 11 fl. 2 st.; pour le louage de la boutique: 10 fl. Total [in Carolus guilders]: 27 fl. 13 st.'). - (3) Journey by Jan Moretus to and from Frankfurt in September 1566: lump sum payment of 40 fl. ('40 fl. pour autant baillé a Jehan Moerentorf pour faire les affaires aud[ict] voyage'). It is possible that the actual expenses were lower.

To be brought
forward

13,041 fl. 1¼ st.

Brought forward 13,041 fl. 1¼ st.

5. *Payments*

a. Books bought 474 fl. 14¼ st.
(actually paid for)

b. Debts paid off¹. 1,516 fl. 13 st.

c. Payments for 137 fl. 18¼ st.
third parties
(carriage, tolls, etc.)

2,129 fl. 5½ st.

Total expenses **15,170 fl. 6¾ st.**

II. Receipts

1. *Books sold* (actually received) 5,523 fl. 13¼ st.

2. *Capital received from*

a. Karel van 3,624 fl. 6½ st.
Bomberghen

b. Cornelis van 260 fl. 10 st.
Bomberghen

c. Goropius 130 fl. 15 st.
Becanus

d. Fernand Bernuy 300 fl.

e. Gaspar van 1,528 fl. 13¼ st.
Zurich

5,844 fl. 4¾ st.

1. '25 octobre. Divers débiteurs. Payé sur mes vieilles debtes à divers créditeurs le premier payement escheut à la Saint Jehan dernier ce qui s'ensuit: à Tinneken Schots: 21 fl.; à Jehan Kemacher: 97 fl. 17½ st.; à Maeyken van Halle: 17 fl. 10 st.; à Guillaume Bael: 57 fl. 15 st.; à Michel Wolfart pour Guerard Boon: 65 fl. 18 st.; à Jacques Langagne: 58 fl. 11½ st.; à Tanneken Hertsen: 98 fl. 1 st.; à Monsieur le receveur Taffin: 1,000 fl.; à la vefve de Vosberghe: 100 fl.'

Total receipts

11,367 fl. 18 st.

III. Books bought and sold²

- | | | |
|----|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | <i>Sales</i> | 16,343 fl. 5¼ st. |
| 2. | <i>Purchases</i> | 6,109 fl. 8¾ st. |

2. Cf. Appendix 2.

Appendix 2

Books Bought and Sold in the Year 1566¹

1. Summary

<i>Netherlands</i>	Delivered by Plantin	
Antwerp (bookshop)	1,491 fl.	$\frac{3}{4}$ st.
Antwerp (booksellers)	2,150 fl.	$18\frac{3}{4}$ st.
Southern Netherlands (present-day Belgium)(booksellers)	2,007 fl.	$12\frac{1}{4}$ st.
Southern Netherlands (present-day Northern France) (booksellers)	250 fl.	18 st.
Northern Netherlands (present-day Netherlands) (booksellers)	685 fl.	$\frac{1}{4}$ st.
Private customers (mainly in the Netherlands)	903 fl.	3 st.
Miscellaneous	-	
	—————	
		7,488 fl. 13 st.
 <i>Foreign countries</i>		
France	3,480 fl.	$11\frac{1}{4}$ st.
Italy	263 fl.	16 st.
Germany	4,042 fl.	$12\frac{3}{4}$ st.
England	1,067 fl.	$12\frac{1}{4}$ st.
	—————	
Total foreign countries		8,854 fl. $12\frac{1}{4}$ st.
		—————
Grand total		16,343 fl. $5\frac{1}{4}$ st.

1. Compiled with the help of Arch. 44, 43^{IV}, and subsidiarily Arch. 3.

Delivered to Plantin	Payments made to Plantin	Payments made by Plantin
-	1,491 fl. $\frac{3}{4}$ st.	-
940 fl. $6\frac{3}{4}$ st.	339 fl. $1\frac{1}{2}$ st.	26 fl. $1\frac{1}{4}$ st.
564 fl. $19\frac{3}{4}$ st.	951 fl. $1\frac{1}{4}$ st.	136 fl. 17 st.
7 fl. 10 st.	139 fl. $15\frac{1}{2}$ st.	-
22 fl. 6 st.	390 fl. $19\frac{1}{4}$ st.	-
39 fl. $2\frac{1}{2}$ st.	519 fl. $18\frac{1}{4}$ st.	-
453 fl. 17 st. ²	200 fl. ³	148 fl. 19 st. ⁴
-----	-----	-----
2,028 fl. 2 st.	4,031 fl. $16\frac{1}{2}$ st.	311 fl. $17\frac{1}{4}$ st.
2,603 fl. $10\frac{3}{4}$ st.	237 fl. $16\frac{1}{4}$ st.	-
459 fl. $19\frac{1}{2}$ st.	-	-
1,017 fl. $16\frac{1}{2}$ st.	568 fl. 7 st.	162 fl. 17 st.
-	685 fl. $13\frac{1}{2}$ st.	-
-----	-----	-----
4,081 fl. $6\frac{3}{4}$ st.	1,491 fl. $16\frac{3}{4}$ st.	162 fl. 17 st.
-----	-----	-----
6,109 fl. $8\frac{3}{4}$ st.	5,523 fl. $13\frac{1}{4}$ st.	474 fl. $14\frac{1}{4}$ st.

4. Payments to persons not further specified (in part 'acheté contant').

3. Paid by one Peter Deventer called Antesignanus; the reason for the payment was not specified.

2. Deliveries by persons unnamed or 'acheté contant' without specification of the sellers.

2. Dealings with booksellers: the Netherlands

Antwerp	Delivered by Plantin	Delivered to Plantin	Paid to Plantin	Paid by Plantin
Bellerus	74 fl. 1 st.	54 fl. 17 ³ / ₄ st.	60 fl.	-
Birckman (Poule Grasse)	616 fl. 9 ³ / ₄ st.	352 fl. 2 ³ / ₄ st.	-	-
J. Bourgean	20 fl. 19 st.	27 fl. 5 st.	5 fl. 5 st.	-
H. Cock	6 fl.	2 fl. 14 st.	-	-
A. van Diest	4 fl. 4 ¹ / ₄ st.	-	-	-
J. Fowler	16 ¹ / ₂ st.	-	1 ¹ / ₂ st.	-
J. van Ghelen	1 fl. 7 ¹ / ₂ st.	3 fl. 8 ¹ / ₂ st.	2 fl. 12 st.	3 fl. 14 st.
R. Granjon ¹	50 fl. 13 ³ / ₄ st.	29 fl. 15 st.	-	-
P. van Heuren	3 fl. 15 ¹ / ₂ st.	-	4 fl. 15 st.	-
Van Keerbergen	63 fl. 19 ¹ / ₂ st.	33 fl. 19 ¹ / ₂ st.	94 fl. 6 ¹ / ₂ st.	-
Latus	13 fl. 4 ¹ / ₄ st.	14 fl. 3 st.	-	-
H. Lieftrinck	13 fl.	-	-	-
Loeus	41 fl. 15 ³ / ₄ st.	36 fl. 2 ³ / ₄ st.	-	-
A. Nicolai	5 st.	10 st.	-	-
Nutius	169 fl. 16 ³ / ₄ st.	54 fl. 16 ¹ / ₄ st.	-	-
A. Ortelius	22 fl. 6 st.	39 fl. 9 st.	-	14 fl.
J. Richard	132 fl. 7 ³ / ₄ st.	7 fl. 16 st.	77 fl. 11 st.	-
G. Silvius	231 fl. 14 st.	87 fl. 3 st.	62 fl.	-
Steelsius	228 fl. 10 st.	54 fl. 6 ³ / ₄ st.	32 fl. 10 ¹ / ₂ st.	-
G. Symons	11 fl. 15 ³ / ₄ st.	18 ³ / ₄ st.	-	-
A. Tielens	301 fl. 19 ¹ / ₂ st.	27 fl. 15 ³ / ₄ st.	-	-
J. Trognesium	54 fl. 1 ¹ / ₂ st.	9 fl. 7 ³ / ₄ st.	-	-
D. Vervliet	4 fl. 2 ³ / ₄ st.	9 fl. 15 ³ / ₄ st.	-	6 fl. 6 st.
Van Waesberghen	77 fl. 17 ³ / ₄ st.	68 fl. 10 ¹ / ₄ st.	-	-
Withagen	5 fl. 15 ¹ / ₄ st.	17 fl. 13 ³ / ₄ st.	-	1 ¹ / ₂ st.
C. Clypeus	-	3 fl. 15 st.	-	-
G. de Jode	-	1 fl. 5 st.	-	-

1. It is not entirely clear whether Robert Granjon was regarded as resident in Antwerp, Lyons, or Paris. At all events he was staying in Antwerp at the time.

J. Mollijns	-	7 st.	-	-
J. Roeland	-	1½ st.	-	-
Am. Tavernier	-	1 fl. 11 st.	-	1 fl. 19¾ st.
J. Bellart (Bellerus?)	-	16 st.	-	-
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	2,150 fl. 18¾	940 fl. 6¾ st.	339 fl. 1½ st.	26 fl. 1¼ st.
	st.			

Present-day Belgium (outside Antwerp)	Delivered by Plantin	Delivered to Plantin	Paid to Plantin	Paid by Plantin
<i>Bruges</i>				
H. Goltzius	8 fl. 6 st.	118 fl. 11 st.	-	108 fl. 10 st.
J. Plantius	156 fl. ¼ st.	-	54 fl. 10 st.	-
J. Veldius	2 fl. 16 st.	-	-	-
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	<i>167 fl. 2¼ st.</i>	<i>118 fl. 11 st.</i>	<i>54 fl. 10 st.</i>	<i>108 fl. 10 st.</i>
<i>Brussels</i>				
M. van Hamont	36 fl. 6 st.	1 fl. 11¼ st.	36 fl. 10 st.	-
P. de la Tombe	294 fl. 7½ st.	-	162 fl. ½ st.	-
N. Torsi	10 fl. 1 st.	1 fl. 11¼ st.	14 fl.	-
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	<i>340 fl. 14½ st.</i>	<i>3 fl. 2½ st.</i>	<i>212 fl. 10½ st.</i>	-
<i>Dinant</i>				
François le libraire	2½ st.	-	-	-
<i>Ghent</i>				
J. Duvivier	50 fl. 3½ st.	7 fl. 9 st.	63 fl. ½ st.	-
G. Salenson	112 fl. 9¾ st.	10 fl. 12 st.	107 fl. 6¾ st.	-
N. van der Steen	21 fl. 9 st.	-	19 fl. 1 st.	-
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	<i>184 fl. 2¼ st.</i>	<i>18 fl. 1 st.</i>	<i>189 fl. 8¼ st.</i>	-
<i>Liège</i>				
P. de Beaufux	103 fl. 7½ st.	-	90 fl. 10½ st.	-
H. van den Hoven	13 fl. 6½ st.	-	-	-
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	<i>116 fl. 14 st.</i>	-	<i>90 fl. 10½ st.</i>	-
<i>Louvain</i>				
J. Bogardt	51 fl. 1¼ st.	16 fl. 2 st.	21 fl. 9 st.	-

A. Copus	77 fl. $\frac{3}{4}$ st.	200 fl.	-	27 fl.
B. Gravius	51 fl. $19\frac{1}{2}$ st.	49 fl. $17\frac{1}{4}$ st.	-	-
P. Joos	-	-	6 fl.	-
P. Phalesius	18 fl. $16\frac{1}{2}$ st.	-	4 fl. 4 st.	-
S. Sassenus	452 fl. 10 st.	-	-	-
R. Velpius	8 fl. 5 st.	-	8 fl. 15 st.	-
M. Verhasselt	49 fl. $4\frac{1}{2}$ st.	56 fl. 8 st.	-	-
H. Wellens	67 fl. $18\frac{1}{2}$ st.	7 fl. 16 st.	10 fl. 4 st.	-
P. Zangrius	47 fl. $18\frac{1}{4}$ st.	41 fl. 2 st.	110 fl. 10 st.	-
	-----	-----	-----	-----
	<i>824 fl. $14\frac{1}{4}$ st.</i>	<i>371 fl. $5\frac{1}{4}$ st.</i>	<i>161 fl. 2 st.</i>	<i>27 fl.</i>

Malines

P. Draeckx	47 fl. $1\frac{1}{2}$ st.	22 fl. 10 st.	5 fl.	-
J. van den Poel	32 fl. 8 st.	23 fl. 7 st.	-	-
B. van de Putte	6 fl. 8 st.	8 fl. 3 st.	-	1 fl. 7 st.
	-----	-----	-----	-----
	<i>85 fl. $17\frac{1}{2}$ st.</i>	<i>54 fl.</i>	<i>5 fl.</i>	<i>1 fl. 7 st.</i>

To be brought forward *1,719 fl. $7\frac{1}{4}$ st.* *564 fl. $19\frac{3}{4}$ st.* *713 fl. $1\frac{1}{4}$ st.* *136 fl. 17 st.*

	Delivered by Plantin	Delivered to Plantin	Paid to Plantin	Paid by Plantin
Brought forward	<i>1,719 fl. 7¼ st.</i>	<i>564 fl. 19¾ st.</i>	<i>713 fl. 1¼ st.</i>	<i>136 fl. 17 st.</i>
<i>Mons</i>				
A. Pissart	29 fl. 2 st.	-	48 fl. 4 st.	-
J. Vivarier	61 fl. 12 st.	-	72 fl. 17 st.	-
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	<i>90 fl. 14 st.</i>	-	<i>121 fl. 1 st.</i>	-
<i>Namur</i>				
M. Furle	<i>8 fl. 11 st.</i>	-	<i>2 fl. 19 st.</i>	-
<i>Tournai</i>				
J. Laurent	<i>173 fl. ¼ st.</i>	-	<i>102 fl.</i>	-
<i>Ypres</i>				
A. van Velden	<i>15 fl. 19¾ st.</i>	-	<i>12 fl.</i>	-
Total present-day				
	_____	_____	_____	_____
Belgium	2,007 fl. 12¼ st.	564 fl. 19¾ st.	951 fl. 1¼ st.	136 fl. 17 st.

Present-day Northern France	Delivered by Plantin	Delivered to Plantin	Paid to Plantin	Paid by Plantin
<i>Armentières</i>				
P. Hoybaert	<i>11 fl. 5½ st.</i>	-	<i>8 fl. 7 st.</i>	-
<i>Arras</i>				
J. Bourgeois	123 fl. 14½ st.	-	49 fl.	-
Cl. de Buieu	5 fl. 14½ st.	-	-	-
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	<i>129 fl. 9 st.</i>	-	<i>49 fl.</i>	-
<i>Cambrai</i>				
V. Robot	<i>78 fl. 6½ st.</i>	-	<i>73 fl. 10 st.</i>	-
<i>Douai</i>				

J. Boschard	19 fl. 12 st.	7 fl. 10 st.	-	-
D. de Rieu	11 fl. 8 st.	-	8 fl. 18½ st.	-
	_____	_____	_____	
	<i>31 fl.</i>	<i>7 fl. 10 st.</i>	<i>8 fl. 18½ st.</i>	-
<i>Lille</i>				
W. Commin	<i>17 st.</i>	-	-	-
Total present-day				
	_____	_____	_____	
Northern France	250 fl. 18 st.	7 fl. 10 st.	139 fl. 15½ st.	-

Present-day Netherlands	Delivered by Plantin	Delivered to Plantin	Paid to Plantin	Paid by Plantin
<i>Amsterdam</i>				
H. Albertsen	33 fl. 4 st.	-	17 fl. 10 st.	-
P. Heyndricx	18 fl. 1½ st.	-	6 fl. 13 st.	-
P. Swertkens (or Peetersen)	82 fl. 12½ st.	-	70 fl. 5 st.	-
	_____		_____	
	<i>133 fl. 18 st.</i>	-	<i>94 fl. 8 st.</i>	-
<i>Bois-le-Duc</i>				
F. van Loven	16 fl. 5¼ st.	-	6 fl.	-
J. Scheffer	28 fl. 2 st.	-	16 fl.	-
L. Willems	23 fl. 4½ st.	-	2 fl. 7 st.	-
	_____		_____	
	<i>67 fl. 11¾ st.</i>	-	<i>24 fl. 7 st.</i>	-
<i>Breda</i>				
P. van Gelder	51 fl. 9 st.	-	85 fl. 13¾ st.	-
G. Janssen van Kampen	151 fl. 7¾ st.	18 fl. 10½ st.	88 fl. 11 st.	-
	_____	_____	_____	
	<i>202 fl. 16¾ st.</i>	<i>18 fl. 10½ st.</i>	<i>174 fl. 4¾ st.</i>	-
<i>Delft</i>				
S. Pauwels	47 fl. 6½ st.	-	24 fl. 10 st.	-
H. Schinkel	67 fl. 2¾ st.	2 fl. 5½ st.	17 fl. 2 st.	-
	_____	_____	_____	
	<i>114 fl. 9¼ st.</i>	<i>2 fl. 5½ st.</i>	<i>41 fl. 12 st.</i>	-
<i>Deventer</i>				
S. Steenberghen	<i>36 fl. 19¾ st.</i>	-	-	-
<i>Haarlem</i>				
G. Symons	<i>48 fl. 8¼ st.</i>	-	<i>14 fl. 8½ st.</i>	-
<i>Maastricht</i>				
J. Rogier	24 fl. ½ st.	-	-	-
L. Scrapen	20 fl. 8 st.	1 fl. 10 st.	19 fl. 10 st.	-

	_____	_____	_____	
	<i>44 fl. 8½ st.</i>	<i>1 fl. 10 st.</i>	<i>19 fl. 10 st.</i>	-
<i>Nymegen</i>				
D. Andriessen	<i>1 fl. 19 st.</i>	-	-	-
<i>Utrecht</i>				
H. Borculo	20 fl. 19 st.	-	14 fl.	-
J. Mattheeus	13 fl. 10 st.	-	8 fl. 9 st.	-
	_____	_____	_____	
	<i>34 fl. 9 st.</i>	-	<i>22 fl. 9 st.</i>	-
Total present-day				
	_____	_____	_____	
Netherlands	685 fl. ¼ st.	22 fl. 6 st.	390 fl. 19¼ st.	-

3. Dealings with booksellers: foreign countries

France	Delivered by Plantin	Delivered to Plantin	Paid to Plantin	Paid by Plantin
<i>Lyons</i>				
Cl. Baldin	227 fl. 18 st.	-	101 fl. ½ st.	-
J. Marischal	-	1,113 fl. 2 st.	-	-
Cl. de Ravet	379 fl. 4½ st.	549 fl. 3 st.	-	-
	-----	-----	-----	
	607 fl. 2½ st.	1,662 fl. 5 st.	101 fl. ½ st.	-
<i>Metz</i>				
L. Jossen	18 fl. 1½ st.	11 fl. 12 st.	-	-
<i>Paris</i>				
L. Brayer	105 fl. 15 st.	-	41 fl. 18 st.	-
N. Chesneau	47 fl. 5½ st.	-	-	-
Widow G. Desbois	49 fl. 10 st.	-	-	-
P. Haultin	132 fl. 2½ st.	-	-	-
P. l'Huilier	280 fl. 12 st.	27 fl.	-	-
M. le Jeune	531 fl. 15 st.	207 fl. 7¼ st.	94 fl. 17¾ st.	-
H. de Marnef	17 fl. 1 st.	-	-	-
H. de Marnef & G. Cavelat	42 fl. 3 st.	-	-	-
O. Petit	8 fl. 12½ st.	-	-	-
J. le Royer	-	93 fl. 15 st.	-	-
J. Ruille	137 fl. 11 st.	-	-	-
M. Sonnius	78 fl. 5½ st.	157 fl. 19½ st.	-	-
A. Wechel	57 fl. 10 st.	-	-	-
Plantinian shop, Paris	1,367 fl. 4¼ st. ¹	443 fl. 12 st.	-	-
	-----	-----	-----	
	2,855 fl. 7¼ st.	929 fl. 13¾ st.	136 fl. 15¾ st.	-

1. Value of the books sent to Paris; the figures of the actual sale have not been preserved.

Total France	3,480 fl. 11¼ st.	2,603 fl. 10¾ st.	237 fl. 16¼ st.	-
--------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	------------------------	---

Italy	Delivered by Plantin	Delivered to Plantin	Paid to Plantin	Paid by Plantin
--------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------	------------------------	------------------------

Venice

G. de Gara	156 fl. 7½ st.	-	-	-
------------	----------------	---	---	---

A. Giunti	107 fl. 8½ st.	459 fl. 19½ st.	-	-
-----------	----------------	-----------------	---	---

Total Italy	263 fl. 16 st.	459 fl. 19½ st.	-	-
-------------	-----------------------	------------------------	---	---

Germany and Switzerland	Delivered by Plantin	Delivered to Plantin	Paid to Plantin	Paid by Plantin
<i>Augsburg</i>				
G. Willer	53 fl. 10½ st.	-	-	-
<i>Basle</i>				
P. Perna	4 fl. 8 st.	-	-	-
<i>Cologne</i>				
Th. Baum	8 fl. 8 st.	-	-	-
J. Birckman	18 fl. 10½ st.	-	-	-
M. Cholinus	83 fl. 6 st.	-	-	-
J. Gymnicus	23 fl. ¼ st.	5½ st.	-	3 fl. 7 st.
P. Horst	27 fl. 19¼ st.	17 fl. 11 st.	-	-
F. Ximenes	142 fl. 7½ st.	-	120 fl.	-
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	303 fl. 11½ st.	17 fl. 16½ st.	120 fl.	3 fl. 7 st.
<i>Duisburg</i>				
G. Mercator	21 fl. 12 st.	319 fl.	-	159 fl. 10 st.
<i>Emmerich</i>				
M. van Amersfoort	93 fl. 18½ st.	-	52 fl. 8 st.	-
<i>Frankfurt</i>				
Messe	3,565 fl. 12¼ st. ¹	681 fl.	395 fl. 19 st.	-
	_____	_____	_____	_____
Total Germany and Switzerland	4,042 fl. 12¾ st.	1,017 fl. 16½ st.	568 fl. 7 st.	162 fl. 17 st.
England				
<i>London</i>				
J. Desserans	366 fl. 7¾ st.	-	20 fl. 12½ st.	-
N. England	132 fl. ¾ st.	-	98 fl. 1 st.	-
H. Toy and J. Desserans	40 fl.	-	-	-

1. Value of the books sent to Frankfurt; the figures of the actual sale have not been preserved.

H. Toy and N. England	313 fl. 6 st. -	267 fl. -
J. du Puis	215 fl. 17 ³ / ₄ st. -	300 fl. -
Total England	<hr/> 1,067 fl. 12 ¹ / ₄ st. -	<hr/> 685 fl. 13 ¹ / ₂ st. -

4. Sales to private customers

	Delivered by Plantin	Paid to Plantin
Almaras, chanoine	4½ st.	-
Markgrave d'Anvers	2 fl. 10 st.	-
M. Aquilino	42 fl. 17 st.	27 fl. 15 st.
G. Backx, pasteur de Notre Dame (Anvers)	6½ st.	-
Veuve de Mons. de Basal	4 fl. 1 st.	-
G. Becanus ¹	59 fl. 11 st.	[23 fl. 17 st.] ²
F. Bernuy ³	50 fl. 16½ st.	-
Charles van Bomberghen ⁴	28 fl. 8 st.	9 fl. 4 st.
Corneille van Bomberghen ⁵	25 fl. 6½ st.	-
Fr. van Bomberghen	2 fl. 15½ st.	-
Ph. Brasseur	-	14 st.
Monsieur Brevoille	18 st.	-
Madame Brevoille	3¾ st.	-
Ant. Brichan (Baichan?)	7 st.	-
Joos Calaleas Brurier	-	12½ st.
Claude de Bruyne	-	5 fl. 14½ st.
A. Busschius de Woustoy, licencié en droit	6 fl. 10 st.	-
L. Carion (Louvain)	10 st.	-
R. Caron	4 fl. 8 st.	-
Signor Alodo de Casares	6 fl. 10½ st.	-
De Cayas	16 fl.	-
N. Cibo	24 fl.	24 fl.
Rob. Clayssonius, Jésuite	4 fl. 15 st.	6 fl. 14 st.
Clemens Anglus	3 fl. 10 st.	-
Le proviseur du duc de Cleves	1 fl. 1½ st.	-

2. Delivery of books to the value of 23 fl. 17 st.

1. A partner of Plantin's.

3. A partner of Plantin's.

4. A partner of Plantin's.

5. A partner of Plantin's.

C. Clusius	25 fl. $\frac{3}{4}$ st.	-
Mons. J. de Cordes	26 fl.	-
F. Costerus, Jésuite	2 fl. 10 st.	2 fl. 13 st.
J. Curiel, Espagnol	15 st.	-
Jaspar van Cuyck	6 st.	-
	_____	_____
To be brought forward	340 fl. 2 st.	77 fl. 7 st.

	Delivered by Plantin	Paid to Plantin
Brought forward	340 fl. 2 st.	77 fl. 7 st.
Damianus, superior ordinis predicatorum	2 fl. 4 st.	17½ st.
Dionysius Jesuita	21 fl. 16½ st.	22 fl. 18 st.
Rembert Dodoens	10 fl.	-
H. Dungeus, chanoine	2 fl. 3½ st.	-
G. Duvivier, maistre d'école à Cologne	3 fl. 19 st.	16¼ st.
Gualtherus Eganis (?), maistre d'école à Geel	3 fl. 18 st.	3 fl. 17 st.
Comte d'Egmont	11 fl. 15 st.	-
Fr. Fabritius, rector scholae, Dusseldorf	2 fl. 2¾ st.	-
Mons. J. Flamens	14 fl. 8 st.	-
Me. J. Fleurs	3 st.	-
Mess. les Fouquers (= Fuggers) ¹	15 fl.	-
Stephanus Gentilis	10 st.	12 fl. 13 st.
Obertus Giffanius, Paris	1 fl. 16 st.	-
Victor Giselinus	16 fl. 19¾ st.	-
Daniel de Gomale	1 fl. 19 st.	12 st.
Abraham Grapheus	9 fl. 10 st.	13 fl. 17½ st.
Fr. Grimaldi Genovese	10 st.	1 fl. 15 st.
Grisolle de Neufville, messenger	6 fl.	-
Victor Guelins (Grelinck?)	4 fl. 8½ st.	-
Mons. Gusius (Malines)	7 st.	-
Gaspar Habetius, Alleman	-	17 fl.
J. van Halle	1 fl. 8½ st.	-
Ant. Helens	3 st.	-
Theobaldus Helius, maistre d'école à Lier	21 fl. 7 st.	48 fl. 19 st.

1. The well-known South-German bankers' family, members of which resided in Antwerp.

		[+ 2 fl. 19½ st.] ²
A.D.J. Hessels, Louvain	11 fl. 17½ st.	-
P. Heyns	15 fl. 17½ st.	3 fl. 12 st.
J. Hiersel, medicus	4 fl. 18½ st.	3 fl. 13½ st.
Mons. le cousin de G. Hofman	5½ st.	-
A. Huneus	52 fl. 1 st.	-
Monsieur le Jésuite	18 st.	129 fl. 10 st.
A. Junius	20 fl. 13 st.	-
	_____	_____
To be brought forward	599 fl. 1½ st.	337 fl. 7¾ st.

2. Also supplied books to the value of 2 fl. 19½ st.

	Delivered by Plantin	Paid to Plantin
Brought forward	599 fl. 1½ st.	337 fl. 7¾ st.
P. Kauwenberghe, apothicaire	12 fl. 10¾ st.	3 fl. 5 st.
Me Special (= Kiliaan) ¹	2 st.	-
J. Kirland	-	9 fl. 16 st.
Dom. Lampsonius	1 fl. 6½ st.	-
Car. Langius, Liège	24 fl. 3 st.	24 fl. 13 st.
M. Joos Laurent	5 fl. 15¼ st.	1 fl. 10 st.
Gentilhomme de Mre J. Laurent	13 st.	-
G. Leopard, médecin à Namur (à Liège)	17 st.	-
Messagier de Liège	-	15 st.
G. Lindanus	16 fl. 12½ st.	-
Oliv. Luithier	-	21 fl.
A. Madoets	9 st.	-
Corn. van de Maire	4 fl. 14 st.	-
Mr. Malpas	1 fl. 14 st.	1 fl. 14 st.
D. Mameranus	21 fl. 4 st.	22 fl. 17 st.
Me. Martin	10½ st.	-
G. Martinii, greffier de la ville [d'Anvers]	2 fl. 2 st.	11 fl. 17 st.
A. Masius	1 fl. 9 st.	-
Joannes Metelles, Cologne	8 fl. 10 st.	-
Lecteur de St. Michel	4 fl. 14 st.	9 fl. 10 st.
Jacques Mignodie, Gand	4 st.	-
Jacques Miroul	-	3 fl. 17 st.
J. Mouton, apothicaire à Tournai	9 fl. 3 st.	9 fl. 3 st.
Ch. Munck	1 fl. 4 st.	-
Mons. le jésuite français, père Nicolas	2 fl.	-

1. 'Me. Special' is to be identified with the proof-reader C. Kiliaan.

Mons. Van der Oultre	2 fl. 6 st.	-
Me. Paludanus, maistre d'école à Mons	2 fl.	-
J. Pamelius	2 fl. 7½ st.	-
J. Pasquetti	1 fl. 12 st.	-
Marc Perez	18 fl. 9 st.	-
J. Philippi, messenger de Namur	16¾ st.	-
Stephanus Winandus Pighius	1 fl. 18 st.	-
Poelman	4 fl. 8¾ st.	-
Frater Joannes Prothesius, Cordellier	2 fl.	-
To be brought forward	_____	_____
	754 fl. 17 st.	447 fl. 4¾ st.

	Delivered by Plantin	Paid to Plantin
Brought forward	754 fl. 17 st.	447 fl. 4¾ st.
J. Rademaker (Rotarius)	15 fl. 16 st.	(12 fl. 6 st.) ¹
Franciscus Raphelengius	2 fl. 2¼ st.	-
Mons. de Rebriviette (Rebrevillers), Gand	12 fl. 1 st.	1 fl. 12 st.
David Regius apud Bogardos	1 fl. ½ st.	19½ st.
Corn. Retius	6 fl. 14¾ st.	-
J. Revardus	2 fl.	-
Mons. de Risbourg	16 fl. 18 st.	-
Pater Joannes le Roy	1 fl. 1 st.	-
Adr. Scholasticus	1 fl. 7 st.	-
D.M.J. Scholasticus	1¾ st.	-
H. Schor, ludimagister	12 st.	-
J. Soteaux, à Louvain, présentement à Ath	1 fl. 9 st.	-
J. Stadius, Louvain	2 fl.	-
Jac. Susi, Malines	3 fl. 19 st.	-
Me. Antoine de Tassi, maistre des postes	11 st.	-
Carolus van den Taye	4½ st.	-
Mons. Jehan Torins	3 fl. 19½ st.	-
Sr. Michel Turlan, Espagnol	12 fl. 5½ st.	11 fl. 10 st.
Charles d'Uytenhove	2 fl. 5 st.	-
Corn. Valerius	1 fl. 7 st.	-
J. Verwichius, medicus	3 fl. 14 st.	-
Viglius	31 fl. 16½ st.	28 fl.
Estienne de Walcourt	14 fl. 1 st.	16 fl.
Zegher, écrivain sur la maison de ville [Anvers]	8 st.	-
Gaspar von Zurich	10 fl. 3¾ st.	-

1. Supplied books to the value of 12 fl. 6 st.

Henri ...	-	1 fl. 2 st.
... à Rochelle	8 st.	-
X ²	-	3 fl. 10 st.
	_____	_____
Total private customers	903 fl. 3 st.	509 fl. 18¼ st.

2. Received 'pour une rame de papier imprimée d'une marque'.

Appendix 3

Books Bought and Sold in the Year 1609¹

1. Summary

	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
<i>Southern Netherlands</i>		
Antwerp (bookshop)	10,193 fl. 3¼ st.	-
(booksellers)	3,834 fl. 3½ st.	2,594 fl. 1¾ st.
(occasional booksellers)	9,870 fl. 15 st.	137 fl. 5½ st.
	—————	—————
	23,898 fl. 1¾ st.	2,731 fl. 7¼ st.
(present-day Belgium and part of present-day Netherlands)	6,317 fl. 1¼ st.	237 fl. 10 st.
(present-day Northern France)	3,836 fl. 15 st.	452 fl. 18½ st.
(private customers) ²	15,554 fl. 2 st.	-
	—————	—————
Total Southern Netherlands	49,606 fl.	3,421 fl. 15¾ st.
<i>Foreign countries</i>		
United Provinces (present-day Netherlands)	3,219 fl. 5½ st.	475 fl. 9½ st.
France	3,813 fl. 15 st.	2,532 fl. 15½ st.
Germany	11,657 fl. 4¾ st.	7,095 fl. 14½ st.
Italy	2,221 fl.	-
Spain and Portugal	1,954 fl. 6½ st.	-
	—————	—————
Total foreign countries	22,865 fl. 11¾ st.	10,103 fl. 19½ st.
Grand total for 1609	72,471 fl. 11¾ st.	13,525 fl. 15¼ st.

1. Compiled on the basis of the 1609 journal (Arch. 216), the *cahiers de Francfort* (Arch. 1007 a and b; cf. also Appendix 5) and the sales in the shop (Arch. 1074). Here and there the amount for a supply to or by the *Officina Plantiniana* was not filled in. Only transactions covering small amounts are involved; the important deliveries were always filled in.
2. Of this 9,124 fl. 17 st. were for church institutions or clerics, and 6,429 fl. 5 st. for laymen.

2. Transactions in the Southern Netherlands

	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Antwerp		
<i>Bookshop</i>	10,193 fl. 3¼ st.	-
<i>Booksellers</i>		
G. Bellerus	91 fl. 3½ st.	99 fl. 6 st.
P. Bellerus	205 fl. 11 st.	142 fl. 12 st.
T. Galle	37 fl. 3 st.	9 st.
G. Janssens	147 fl. 11½ st.	132 fl. 12 st.
J. van Keerbergen	2,093 fl. 18 st.	282 fl. 10 st.
M. Nutius	603 fl. 2 st.	1,537 fl. 5 st.
P. Phalesius	13 fl. 2 st.	16 fl. 5 st.
G. Sulsenius	73 fl. 5 st.	29 fl. 19 st.
P. van Tongeren	2 fl. 19 st.	-
J. Trognesius	217 fl. 16½ st.	167 fl. 12¼ st.
H. Verdussen	269 fl. 7½ st.	107 fl. 14½ st.
C. Verschuren	24 fl. 10½ st.	-
J.B. Vrients	54 fl. 14 st.	28 fl.
A. Coninx	-	15 fl. 11 st.
A. Huybrecht	-	12 st.
M. Huysens	-	17 st.
J. de Jode	-	13 fl. 17 st.
D. Vervliet	-	7 fl. 10 st.
G. van Wolsschaten	-	4 fl.
P. van Wolsschaten	-	7 fl. 10 st.
	_____	_____
Total Antwerp booksellers	3,834 fl. 3½ st.	2,594 fl. 1¾ st.
<i>Occasional booksellers</i>		
Celidon	141 fl. 3 st.	-
P. Curs	196 fl. 10 st.	-
G. Deegbroot	1,744 fl. 1 st.	-
E. Dias	1,560 fl. 8 st.	-

E. Frances	154 fl. 8 st.	-
B. Gomez	236 fl. 9½ st.	7 fl. 12½ st.
F. Helman	101 fl. 8 st.	-
H.A. de Herrera	634 fl. 1 st.	-
F. van Laer	1,844 fl. 11 st.	-
	_____	_____
To be brought forward	<i>6,612 fl. 19½ st.</i>	<i>7 fl. 12½ st.</i>

(Occasional booksellers)	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Brought forward	6,612 fl. 19½ st.	7 fl. 12½ st.
D. Pardo Lopez	2,362 fl. 7 st.	-
S. Monelia	602 fl. 5 st.	-
E. Perera	109 fl.	-
E. Ximenes	59 fl. 3½ st.	-
L. Zapate	125 fl.	-
Capucins Antwerp	-	60 fl.
D. Mertens	-	1 fl. 13 st.
Bought on the 'old market'	-	68 fl.
	_____	_____
<i>Total occasional booksellers</i>	<i>9,870 fl. 15 st.</i>	<i>137 fl. 5½ st.</i>
	_____	_____
<i>(Bookshop)</i>	<i>10,193 fl. ¾ st.</i>	-
<i>(Regular booksellers)</i>	<i>3,834 fl. ½ st.</i>	<i>2,594 fl. ¼ st.</i>
	_____	_____
Total Antwerp	23,898 fl. ¾ st.	2,731 fl. ¾ st.

**Southern Netherlands
(except Antwerp)¹**

*Bois-le-Duc**

D. Lambrechts	8 fl.	-
J. Scheffer the Elder	401 fl. 3 st.	16 fl. 15 st.
J. Scheffer the Younger	158 fl. 2½ st.	3 fl. 17½ st.
	_____	_____
	<i>567 fl. 5½ st.</i>	<i>20 fl. 12½ st.</i>

Bruges

Widow A. Tollenaere	141 fl.	2 fl.
J. Vinx	325 fl. 15 st.	-

1. In the Southern Netherlands are included the towns marked with an asterisk, which at that time were in Spanish hands but were later conquered by the United Provinces (the Northern Netherlands).

	—————	—————
	<i>466 fl. 15 st.</i>	<i>2 fl.</i>
<i>Brussels</i>		
J. Mommaert	157 fl. 2½ st.	31 fl. 8½ st.
J. Reyms	31 fl. 3 st.	-
P. Simons	23 fl. 4 st.	-
J. Thymont	18 fl. 13 st.	-
R. Velpius	290 fl. 5 st.	65 fl. 8 st.
	—————	—————
	<i>520 fl. 7½ st.</i>	<i>96 fl. 16½ st.</i>
	—————	—————
To be brought forward	<i>1,554 fl. 8 st.</i>	<i>119 fl. 9 st.</i>

<i>(Southern Netherlands)</i>	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Brought forward	<i>1,554 fl. 8 st.</i>	<i>119 fl. 9 st.</i>
<i>Courtrai</i>		
J. Mahieu	<i>22 fl. 18 st.</i>	-
<i>Ghent</i>		
H. van de Kerckhove	20 fl. 8 st.	-
J. van de Kerckhove	91 fl. 16½ st.	8 fl. 7 st.
Widow J. van de Kerckhove	38 fl. 6½ st.	-
J. van Salenson	180 fl. 18 st.	1 fl. 16 st.
J. van den Steen	6 fl.	-
	_____	_____
	<i>337 fl. 9 st.</i>	<i>10 fl. 3 st.</i>
<i>Liège</i>		
L. de la Coste	158 fl. 2½ st.	-
N. Engilbert	39 fl. 11½ st.	-
G. Hovius	120 fl. 17 st.	-
H. Hovius	24 fl. 5 st.	12 fl. 12 st.
J. Wabbels	174 fl. 4½ st.	-
	_____	_____
	<i>517 fl. ½ st.</i>	<i>12 fl. 12 st.</i>
<i>Louvain</i>		
Widow F. van Hougaerden (Elizabeth Velpius)	115 fl. ½ st.	-
J. Maes	499 fl. 13 st.	80 fl. 3 st.
G. Rivius	5 fl. 8 st.	6 fl. 3 st.
A. Sassenius	1,032 fl. 11 st.	-
Ph. Zangrius	290 fl. 9 st.	-
	_____	_____
	<i>1,943 fl. 1½ st.</i>	<i>86 fl. 6 st.</i>

*Maastricht**

H. van Pamelen	18 fl. 8 st.	-
G. Zevenzielen	144 fl. 11 st.	9 fl.
	—————	—————
	<i>162 fl. 19 st.</i>	<i>9 fl.</i>

Malines

J. van Campenhault	10 fl. 17½ st.	-
	—————	—————
To be brought forward	<i>4,548 fl. 13½ st.</i>	<i>237 fl. 10 st.</i>

(Southern Netherlands)	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Brought forward	<i>4,548 fl. 13½ st.</i>	<i>237 fl. 10 st.</i>
<i>Mons</i>		
G. Blaise	29 fl. 1 st.	-
A. Fenain	89 fl. 18½ st.	-
C. Michel	88 fl. 5½ st.	-
G. Michel	64 fl. 7 st.	-
G. van de Wervel	161 fl. 11 st.	-
	—————	
	<i>433 fl. 3 st.</i>	-
<i>Namur</i>		
J. Valentin	258 fl. 2 st.	-
F. Vivien	152 fl. 14 st.	-
	—————	
	<i>410 fl. 16 st.</i>	-
<i>Roermond*</i>		
J. Hompes	<i>142 fl. 4 st.</i>	-
<i>Tournai</i>		
N. Laurent	<i>777 fl. 18¾ st.</i>	-
<i>Ypres</i>		
S. Couweel	<i>4 fl. 6 st.</i>	-
	—————	—————
Total Southern Netherlands, except Antwerp (present-day Belgium, and part of Netherlands)	6,317 fl. 1¼ st.	237 fl. 10 st.
Present-day Northern France		
<i>Arras</i>		
R. Maudhuy	63 fl. 16½ st.	24 fl. 3 st.
G. de la Rivière	254 fl. 2½ st.	25 fl. 16 st.
J. de la Rivière	558 fl. 15 st.	6 fl. 12 st.

	_____	_____
	<i>876 fl. 14 st.</i>	<i>56 fl. 11 st.</i>
<i>Bergues Saint-Winnoc</i>		
J. Sleutel	<i>42 fl. 7½ st.</i>	-
<i>Béthune</i>		
G. Utens	<i>97 fl. 9½ st.</i>	-
<i>Cambrai</i>		
G. Robat	<i>265 fl. 1½ st.</i>	-
	_____	_____
To be brought forward	<i>1,281 fl. 12½ st.</i>	<i>56 fl. 11 st.</i>

<i>(Northern France)</i>	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Brought forward	<i>1,281 fl. 12½ st.</i>	<i>56 fl. 11 st.</i>
<i>Douai</i>		
B. Bellerus	586 fl. 10 st.	253 fl. 10 st.
J. Bogaerde	250 fl. 10 st.	74 fl. 7½ st.
P. Borremans	418 fl. 2½ st.	17 fl. 4 st.
G. Pinchon	43 fl. 5½ st.	-
T. Pinsard	13 fl.	-
	_____	_____
	<i>1,311 fl. 8 st.</i>	<i>345 fl. 1½ st.</i>
<i>Lille</i>		
M. Dey	13 fl. 1 st.	-
M. Doom	25 fl. 18½ st.	-
J. Dupuich	143 fl. 4½ st.	-
P. de la Rache	49 fl. 1 st.	-
	_____	_____
	<i>231 fl. 5 st.</i>	-
<i>Saint-Omer</i>		
A. Crabbe	680 fl. 11½ st.	41 fl. 2 st.
J. Foulere	152 fl. 8 st.	-
	_____	_____
	<i>832 fl. 19½ st.</i>	<i>41 fl. 2 st.</i>
<i>Valenciennes</i>		
J. Vervliet	<i>179 fl. 10 st.</i>	<i>10 fl. 4 st.</i>
	_____	_____
Total present-day Northern France	3,836 fl. 15 st.	452 fl. 18½ st.

3. *Transactions in foreign countries*

United Provinces (Netherlands)¹

Amsterdam

B. Adriaensen	507 fl. 12½ st.	157 fl. 16 st.
R. Antonissen	22 fl. 10 st.	-
C. Claessens	30 fl. 13½ st.	35 fl. 8 st.
P. Claessens	1,620 fl. 12 st.	-
J. Peetersen Paedts	95 fl. 13½ st.	-
	_____	_____
To be brought forward	2,277 fl. 1 st.	193 fl. 4 st.

1. For the territory of the modern Kingdom of the Netherlands should be added the towns marked with an asterisk in the table for the Southern Netherlands (Belgium), which in 1609 still belonged to the Spanish Netherlands.

(United Provinces)	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Brought forward	<i>2,277 fl. 1 st.</i>	<i>193 fl. 4 st.</i>
<i>Delft</i>		
W. Willemsen	<i>83 fl.</i>	-
<i>Dordrecht</i>		
P. Jansen	<i>11 fl. 18 st.</i>	<i>8 fl. 8 st.</i>
<i>Goes</i>		
A. Feyt	<i>55 fl. 7½ st.</i>	-
<i>Middelburg</i>		
S. Moulaert	<i>155 fl. 16 st.</i>	<i>44 fl.</i>
<i>Leiden</i>		
A. Clerck	<i>75 fl. 15 st.</i>	-
B. & L. Elzevier	<i>26 fl. 9 st.</i>	-
G. Elzevier	-	<i>30 fl. 5 st.</i>
G. Janssens Orler	<i>99 fl. 10 st.</i>	-
F. Raphelengius	<i>296 fl. 12½ st.</i>	<i>199 fl. 12½ st.</i>
	_____	_____
	<i>498 fl. 6½ st.</i>	<i>229 fl. 17½ st.</i>
<i>Rotterdam</i>		
J. van Waesberghe	<i>137 fl. 16½ st.</i>	-
	_____	_____
Total United Provinces	3,219 fl. 5½ st.	475 fl. 9½ st.
France		
<i>Lyons</i>		
H. Cardon	<i>1,319 fl. 10 st.</i>	<i>1,144 fl. 5½ st.</i>
<i>Paris</i>		
A. Beys	<i>992 fl. 2 st.</i>	<i>808 fl. 7 st.</i>
J. Cotreau	<i>99 fl. 7 st.</i>	<i>79 fl. 4 st.</i>
E. Focault	<i>109 fl.</i>	-
R. Fouet	<i>376 fl. 4 st.</i>	<i>80 fl. 10 st.</i>
Ch. Mallery	<i>35 fl.</i>	<i>7 fl. 10 st.</i>
M. Sonnius	<i>699 fl. 2 st.</i>	<i>412 fl. 19 st.</i>

	_____	_____
	<i>2,310 fl. 15 st.</i>	<i>1,388 fl. 10 st.</i>
<i>Toul (Pont à Mousson)</i> ¹		
S. Martel	<i>183 fl. 10 st.</i>	-
	_____	_____
Total France	3,813 fl. 15 st.	2,532 fl. 15½ st.

1. The residence of S. Martel is once given as Toul, and once as Pont-à-Mousson.

	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Germany		
<i>Cologne</i>		
C. Butgenius	-	18 fl. 9½ st.
P. Cholinus	-	16 fl. 5 st.
J. Critz	105 fl. 13½ st.	51 fl. 7½ st.
G. Grevenbroeck	-	9 fl. 19½ st.
B. Gualtheri	278 fl. 17 st.	60 fl. 3 st.
J. Gymnicus	-	64 fl. 5 st.
G. Gyze	11 fl. 19 st.	-
P. Hemmingius	42 fl. 4 st.	-
A. Hierat	273 fl. 6 st.	288 fl. 4 st.
N. Hierat	292 fl. 7 st.	-
J. Kinckes	20 fl. 18 st.	4 fl. 10 st.
G. Lutzenkirchen	-	3 fl. 16 st.
G. Muytincx	-	32 fl.
H. Mylius	474 fl. 19 st.	471 fl. 9½ st.
A. Quentelinus	171 fl. 17¾ st.	45 fl. 8½ st.
B. Wolters	138 fl. 5 st.	-
	_____	_____
	<i>1,810 fl. 6¼ st.</i>	<i>1,065 fl. 17½ st.</i>
<i>Danzig</i>		
P. Claessens	<i>347 fl. 3 st.</i>	-
<i>Emmerich</i>		
E. Wessel	<i>92 fl. 16½ st.</i>	-
<i>Frankfurt</i>		
Messe ¹	<i>9,406 fl. 19 st.</i>	<i>6,029 fl. 17 st.</i>
	_____	_____
Total Germany	11,657 fl. 4¾ st.	7,095 fl. 14½ st.
Italy		
<i>Naples</i>		
J. Ruart	<i>1,614 fl. 6 st.</i>	-

1. Actual sales figures.

Rome

G. Vivario (Van den Wouvere)	<i>606 fl. 14 st.</i>	-
------------------------------	-----------------------	---

Total Italy	<hr/> 2,221 fl.	-
-------------	------------------------	---

	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Spain & Portugal		
<i>Lisbon</i>		
D. Lobo ¹	22 fl. 9 st.	-
<i>Madrid</i>		
Diodat	328 fl. 5 st.	-
J. Hertroy	1,603 fl. 12½ st.	-
	—————	
	1,931 fl. 17½ st.	-
	—————	
Total Iberian Peninsula	1,954 fl. 6½ st.	-

1. Musician, who had his works printed in the *Officina Plantiniana* at his own cost, and also had other publications sent directly to him.

Appendix 4***Books Bought and Sold in the Year 1650¹*****Summary**

	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
<i>Southern Netherlands</i>		
Antwerp (bookshop)	4,440 fl. 8¾ st.	-
Antwerp (booksellers)	9,265 fl. 18½ st.	4,154 fl. 13 st.
Antwerp (occasional booksellers)	16,475 fl. 19½ st.	-
	_____	_____
Total Antwerp	<i>30,182 fl. 6¾ st.</i>	<i>4,154 fl. 13 st.</i>
Southern Netherlands, except Antwerp (present-day Belgium)	<i>5,228 fl. 4 st.</i>	<i>480 fl. 3 st.</i>
(present-day Northern France)	<i>812 fl. 13½ st.</i>	<i>120 fl. 2 st.</i>
(private customers) ²	<i>8,032 fl. 9 st.</i>	-
	_____	_____
Total Southern Netherlands	44,255 fl. 13¾ st.	4,754 fl. 18 st.
<i>Foreign countries</i>		
United Provinces (present-day Netherlands)	11,996 fl. 15½ st.	3,151 fl. 19 st.
France	1,523 fl. 13¾ st.	1,887 fl. 10 st.
Germany	5,811 fl. 6½ st.	419 fl. 11½ st.
England	675 fl. 11¾ st.	-
Spain	50,388 fl. 7 st.	-
	_____	_____
Total foreign countries	70,395 fl. 14¼ st.	5,459 fl. ½ st.
	_____	_____
Grand total for 1650	114,651 fl. 9½ st.	10,213 fl. 18½ st.

1. Compiled with the aid of the *journal* of 1650 (Arch. 258) and the sales in the shop (Arch. 262). For lack of the *Cahier de Francfort* for that year the data on transactions with the Holy Roman Empire are incomplete.
2. Of this 5,435 fl. 8¾ st. were for church institutions and clerics.

2. Transactions Southern Netherlands

	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Antwerp		
<i>Bookshop</i>	4,440 fl. 8¾ st.	-
<i>Booksellers</i>		
H. Aertsens	464 fl. 3 st.	285 fl. 17 st.
P. Bellere	835 fl. 5 st.	742 fl. 13 st.
A. van Brakel	69 fl.	-
Widow J. Cnobbaert	238 fl. 4 st.	338 fl. 9 st.
L. van Diest	331 fl. 13 st.	-
D. Faes	95 fl. 11 st.	36 fl.
F. Ficquaert	6 fl. 10 st.	1 fl.
J. van Ghelen	112 fl. 7 st.	5 fl. 10 st.
F. Lechien	198 fl. 7 st.	10 fl. 16 st.
G. Lesteens	641 fl. 11½ st.	467 fl. 19 st.
J. Meesens	84 fl. 16 st.	-
J. van Meurs	5,165 fl. 2½ st.	1,556 fl. 17 st.
Magdalena Phalesia	16 fl. 9 st.	16 fl. 9 st.
H. Verdussen	888 fl. 16 st.	675 fl. 9 st.
G. Verhulst	11 st.	-
M. Verhulst	7 fl.	-
C. Woons	110 fl. 12½ st.	8 fl. 10 st.
M. Binnaert	-	6 fl.
J. Galle	-	4 st.
R. Sleghers	-	3 fl.
	—————	—————
	9,265 fl. 18½ st.	4,154 fl. 13 st.
<i>Occasional booksellers</i>		
J.B. Baes	403 fl. 7 st.	-
G. Bollart	262 fl. 7 st.	-
L. Doncker	250 fl. 4 st.	-
J. van Eyck, trésorier d'Anvers	7,351 fl. 12¾ st.	-

Cl. Gaultier	880 fl. 2 st.	-
N. Gaultier	1,556 fl. 16 st.	-
N. de Groot	1,029 fl. 12 ³ / ₄ st.	-
J. Guiot	2,382 fl. 15 st.	-
C. Hillewerven	1,001 fl. 12 st.	-
M. Jacobs	388 fl. 5 st.	-
L. Malo	107 fl. 8 st.	-
	_____	_____
To be brought forward	<i>15,614 fl. 1½ st.</i>	-

(Occasional booksellers)	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Brought forward	<i>15,614 fl. 1½ st.</i>	-
J.B. Muttio	274 fl. 19¼ st.	-
E. Peeters	154 fl. ½ st.	-
Verschueren	188 fl. 19¼ st.	-
C. & L. de Wael	243 fl. 19 st.	-
	_____	_____
Total occasional booksellers	<i>16,475 fl. 19½ st.</i>	-
Total bookshop	<i>4,440 fl. 8¾ st.</i>	-
Total booksellers	<i>9,265 fl. 18½ st.</i>	<i>4,154 fl. 13 st.</i>
	_____	_____
Total Antwerp	30,182 fl. 6¾ st.	4,154 fl. 13 st.

**Present-day Belgium
(except Antwerp)**

Bruges

Cl. van Brussel *40 fl. 9 st.* -

Brussels

J. Deyn 475 fl. 7¼ st. -

G. Hackebout 125 fl. 15¼ st. -

J. Leonard 1,606 fl. 15 st. 32 fl. 8 st.

P. Michielsen 91 fl. 16¾ st. -

J. Mommaert 553 fl. 9 st. 37 fl.

F. van de Velde 94 fl. 19¾ st. -

F. Vivien 255 fl. 2 st. 168 fl.

3,203 fl. 5 st. *237 fl. 8 st.*

Ghent

Al. Sersanders *79 fl. 15½ st.* -

Liège

Marie Hovius 10 fl. 10 st. -

J. Mottet 670 fl. 15¼ st. -

	<i>681 fl. 5¼ st.</i>	-
<i>Louvain</i>		
J. Gosen	91 fl. 8 st.	-
J. van Hoegaerden	474 fl. 9¾ st.	-
B. Maes	91 fl. 14 st.	19 fl.
H. Mempe	162 fl. 5 st.	93 fl.
J. van Vrijenborgh	-	54 fl.
	_____	_____
	<i>819 fl. 16¾ st.</i>	<i>166 fl.</i>
	_____	_____
To be brought forward	<i>4,824 fl. 11½ st.</i>	<i>403 fl. 8 st.</i>

(Present-day Belgium)	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Brought forward	4,824 fl. 11½ st.	403 fl. 8 st.
<i>Mons</i>		
E. de Bruyère	18 fl. 15 st.	-
F. Wandre	71 fl. 19 st.	76 fl. 15 st.
	_____	_____
	90 fl. 14 st.	76 fl. 15 st.
<i>Namur</i>		
G. Couve de Ville	89 fl. 17¼ st.	-
<i>Tournai</i>		
Cl. Blanquart	223 fl. 1¼ st.	-
	_____	_____
Total present-day Belgium	5,228 fl. 4 st.	480 fl. 3 st.
Present-day Northern France		
<i>Douai</i>		
B. Bellere	-	17 fl. 10 st.
Magdalena Bellere	48 fl. 15 st.	-
G. Patté	359 fl. 4 st.	102 fl. 12 st.
	_____	_____
	407 fl. 19 st.	120 fl. 2 st.
<i>Lille</i>		
Ign. de Rache	130 fl. 5½ st.	-
Nic. de Rache	149 fl. 17½ st.	-
	_____	_____
	280 fl. 3 st.	-
<i>Saint-Omer</i>		
Th. Geubels	124 fl. 11½ st.	-
	_____	_____
Total present-day Northern France	812 fl. 13½ st.	120 fl. 2 st.

3. *Transactions foreign countries*

	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
United Provinces		
<i>Amsterdam</i>		
<i>Booksellers</i>		
H. Barentsen	204 fl. 7¼ st.	-
J. Bleau	258 fl. 19 st.	129 fl. 14 st.
J. Colom (Colen?)	91 fl.	-
L. Elsevier	818 fl. 16 st.	560 fl. 11 st.
J. Janssens	747 fl. 18½ st.	582 fl. 18 st.
J. van Metelen	950 fl. 3 st.	3 fl. 14 st.
J. de la Noue ¹	1,441 fl. 15 st.	-
G. van Ommeren	76 fl. 14½ st.	-
J. van Raversteyn	85 fl.	-
J. van Wijninghen	538 fl. 10 st.	-
	—————	—————
	<i>5,213 fl. 3¼ st.</i>	<i>1,276 fl. 17 st.</i>
<i>Occasional booksellers</i>		
J. Gard	661 fl. 13 st.	-
Capitan N. de Urbandje	596 fl. 5 st.	-
	—————	—————
	<i>1,257 fl. 18 st.</i>	-
	—————	—————
Total Amsterdam	<i>6,471 fl. 1¼ st.</i>	<i>1,276 fl. 17 st.</i>
<i>Delft</i>		
<i>Booksellers</i>		
A. Vlacq	10 fl. 5 st.	453 fl. 5 st.
<i>Occasional booksellers</i>		
A. Fyck	3,547 fl. 7 st.	-
	—————	—————
	<i>3,557 fl. 12 st.</i>	<i>453 fl. 5 st.</i>
<i>Dordrecht</i>		

1. Described as 'libraire à Amsterdam et à Venise'.

A. Andriessen	<i>14 fl.</i>	-
<i>Flushing</i>		
J. Gerreytsen Elburgh	<i>26 fl.</i>	-
<i>Groningen</i>		
H. Crudener	<i>45 fl. 13 st.</i>	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>
To be brought forward	<i>10,114 fl. 6¼ st.</i>	<i>1,730 fl. 2 st.</i>

(United Provinces)	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Brought forward	<i>10,114 fl. 6¼ st.</i>	<i>1,730 fl. 2 st.</i>
<i>The Hague</i>		
J. Tongerlo	<i>14 fl.</i>	-
<i>Leiden</i>		
A. Commelius	90 fl. 10 st.	69 fl.
Bon. & Abr. Elsevier	1,261 fl. 2 st.	1,276 fl. 9 st.
J. le Maire	-	51 fl. 8 st.
	_____	_____
	<i>1,351 fl. 12 st.</i>	<i>1,396 fl. 17 st.</i>
<i>Middelburg</i>		
M. van Houcke	28 fl.	-
J. Mitten	79 fl. 11 st.	-
Z. Roman	30 fl.	-
	_____	_____
	<i>137 fl. 11 st.</i>	-
<i>Rotterdam</i>		
A. Leers	53 fl. 8 st.	25 fl.
P. van Waesberghe	300 fl.	-
	_____	_____
	<i>353 fl. 8 st.</i>	<i>25 fl.</i>
<i>Utrecht</i>		
J. van Waesberghe	<i>10 fl. 18 st.</i>	-
<i>Zierikzee</i>		
J. Lambrechts	<i>15 fl.</i>	-
	_____	_____
Total United Provinces	11,996 fl. 15¼ st.	3,151 fl. 19 st.
France		
<i>Lyons</i>		
L. Anisson et Cie	297 fl. 8½ st.	632 fl. 10 st.
Ph. Borde, L. Arnaud, Cl. Rigaud	-	380 fl.
J.A. Huguetan & Ravaud	1,019 fl. 6 st.	485 fl.

	—————	—————
	<i>1,316 fl. 14½ st.</i>	<i>1,497 fl. 10 st.</i>
<i>Paris</i>		
J. Bellaine ¹	141 fl. 3 st.	?
S. Cramoisy Cie	-	184 fl. 10 st.
	—————	—————
	<i>141 fl. 3 st.</i>	<i>184 fl. 10 st.</i>
	—————	—————
To be brought forward	<i>1,457 fl. 17½ st.</i>	<i>1,682 fl.</i>

1. It is difficult to show the exact range of the transactions of the *Officina Plantiniana* with Bellaine, since both parties practised barter in a peculiar way (not met with either before or after), namely by exchanging printed sheets (and not, as is mostly the case, books for books). Only one delivery to Bellaine to the value of 141 fl. 3 st. was specifically noted.

(France)	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Brought forward	<i>1,457 fl. 17½ st.</i>	<i>1,682 fl.</i>
<i>Rouen</i>		
J. Cailloue	-	<i>205 fl. 10 st.</i>
<i>Toul</i>		
S. Belgrande (marchand)	<i>65 fl. 16¼ st.</i>	-
	_____	_____
Total France	1,523 fl. 13¾ st.	1,887 fl. 10 st.
Germany		
<i>Booksellers</i>		
<i>Cologne</i>		
Catherine de Berchen, Widow A. Hierat	-	24 fl.
M. Demen	359 fl. 2 st.	181 fl. 15 st.
G. Gymnicus	125 fl. 14 st.	84 fl. 2½ st.
P. Henninghen	-	49 fl. 14 st.
J. Kalckhoven	36 fl.	-
J. Kinckius	474 fl. 14¼ st.	64 fl.
G. Krisch	128 fl. 5 st.	-
C. Munich	-	10 fl.
H. Mylius	-	6 fl.
G. Remeeus, libraire chez G. Gymnicus	59 fl. 18½ st.	-
	_____	_____
	<i>1,183 fl. 13¾ st.</i>	<i>419 fl. 11½ st.</i>
<i>Frankfurt</i>		
Messe ¹	1,721 fl. 4 st.	?
J. Presse	18 fl. 10 st.	-
	_____	_____
	<i>1,739 fl. 14 st.</i>	-
<i>Munich</i>		
J. Waghener	<i>1,127 fl. 18¼ st.</i>	-

1. The value of the books sent to Frankfurt. Actual sales not known.

Munster

B. Raesveldt 225 fl. 7 st. -

Salzburg

S. Hyrald 511 fl. 10 st. -

Total booksellers 4,788 fl. 3 st. 419 fl. 11½ st.

(Germany) Deliveries from Officina Deliveries to Officina*Private customers**Gottorp*

A. Olearius, librarian of the Duke of Holstein	171 fl. 1 st.	-
--	---------------	---

Prague

J. Kraus, merchant	41 fl. 16 st.	-
--------------------	---------------	---

Th. Moretus ¹	810 fl. 6½ st.	-
--------------------------	----------------	---

	852 fl. 2½ st.	-
--	----------------	---

Total private customers	1,023 fl. 3½ st.	-
-------------------------	------------------	---

(Total booksellers)	4,788 fl. 3 st.	419 fl. 11½ st.
---------------------	-----------------	-----------------

Total Germany	5,811 fl. 6½ st.	419 fl. 11½ st.
---------------	-------------------------	------------------------

England*London*

J. Backer	660 fl. ¾ st.	-
-----------	---------------	---

C. Bee	15 fl. 11 st.	-
--------	---------------	---

Total England	675 fl. 11¾ st.	-
---------------	------------------------	---

Spain*Professional and occasional booksellers**Escorial*

Hieronymite Convent	30,280 fl.	-
---------------------	------------	---

San Sebastian

F. Aussorena Garagoa	131 fl. 13½ st.	-
----------------------	-----------------	---

Sevilla

J. Bellero	9,261 fl. 9 st.	-
------------	-----------------	---

1. A member of Balthasar II Moretus's family. On this figure, cf. Vol. I, p. 188.

N. Bernardo & Cie	78 fl. 1 st.	-
C. de Licht & J. de Coninck	220 fl.	-
	—————	
	<i>9,559 fl. 10 st.</i>	
	—————	
To be brought forward	<i>39,971 fl. 3½ st.</i>	

(Spain)	Deliveries from Officina	Deliveries to Officina
Brought forward	39,971 fl. 3½ st.	
<i>Whereabouts unknown</i>		
J. Portillo	364 fl. 14 st.	-
L. de Veldes	3,207 fl. 8¼ st.	-
	—————	
	3,572 fl. 2¼ st.	-
<i>Private customers (= 11 clergymen)</i>	6,845 fl. 1¼ st.	
	—————	
Total Spain	50,388 fl. 7 st.	-

Appendix 5***The Frankfurt Book Fairs Lent Fair 1579¹***

	Deliveries by Plantin	Deliveries to Plantin
Germany		
<i>Augsburg</i>		
G. Willer	112 fl. 16 st.	22 fl.
T. Lutz	84 fl. 11 st.	-
	—————	—————
	<i>197 fl. 7 st.</i>	<i>22 fl.</i>
<i>Brunswick</i>		
M. Weida	-	<i>27 fl. 2 st.</i>
<i>Cologne</i>		
L. Alectorius	15 st.	4 fl. 19 st.
Birckman	1 fl. 18½ st.	29 fl.
M. Cholinus	39 fl. 5 st.	32 fl.
J. Galenius	4 fl. 18 st.	60 fl. 4 st.
J. Gymnicus	18 fl. 10½ st.	3 fl. 15 st.
J. van Linth	22 fl.	-
	—————	—————
	<i>87 fl. 7 st.</i>	<i>129 fl. 18 st.</i>
	—————	—————
To be brought forward	<i>284 fl. 14 st.</i>	<i>179 fl.</i>

1. Compiled with the aid of Arch. 962; cf. also Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 170-171. This is the earliest *Cahier de Francfort* still extant (the following ones date from 1586). There were two *Cahiers de Francfort* each year: one for the Lent Fair and one for the September Fair. For 1579 only the *cahier* for the Lent Fair has survived. The amounts quoted are in German guilders, which were somewhat 'heavier' than the Carolus guilders (26 st. in Carolus guilders = 20 st. German guilders).

(Germany)	Deliveries by Plantin	Deliveries to Plantin
Brought forward	284 fl. 14 st.	179 fl.
<i>Dunkelspuhl (= Dinkelsbühl)</i>		
G. Guthman	15 fl. 13½ st.	-
<i>Eger (Bohemia)</i>		
J. Preux	9 fl. 12 st.	3 fl.
<i>Frankenthal</i>		
J. de Barsages	26 fl. 15 st.	-
<i>Frankfurt</i>		
N. Basseus	6 fl.	-
Egenolphus	-	3 fl. 14 st.
S. Feyerabend	63 fl.	-
J. Klaino, physician	11 fl. 2 st.	-
C. de Marne & J. Aubry	294 fl. 11 st.	-
A. Wechel	-	24 fl. 16 st.
	_____	_____
	374 fl. 13 st.	28 fl. 10 st.
<i>Ghewilder (?)</i>		
S. Woltz	8 fl. 7½ st.	-
<i>Heidelberg</i>		
M. Harnisch	8 fl. 4½ st.	12 fl. 15 st.
<i>Hildesheim</i>		
J. Lambert	40 fl. 2¼ st.	-
<i>Ingolstadt</i>		
A. Weissenhorn	20 fl. 8 st.	-
<i>Jena</i>		
J. Tröster	9 fl. 7 st.	-
J. Weidner	7 fl. 3 st.	-
	_____	_____
	16 fl. 10 st.	-
<i>Leipzig</i>		
Henningus Gross	87 fl.	-

A. Heyl	11 fl. 1 st.	-
S. Hutter	8 fl. 10 st.	5 fl. 6 st.
	_____	_____
	<i>106 fl. 11 st.</i>	<i>5 fl. 6 st.</i>
<i>Lübeck</i>		
L. Albrechtsen	60 fl. 11 st.	-
	_____	_____
To be brought forward	<i>972 fl. 1¾ st.</i>	<i>228 fl. 11 st.</i>

(Germany)	Deliveries by Plantin	Deliveries to Plantin
Brought forward	<i>972 fl. 1¾ st.</i>	<i>228 fl. 11 st.</i>
<i>Mainz</i>		
G. Behem	4 fl. 9½ st.	10 fl. 3 st.
<i>Nuremberg</i>		
H. Caymockx	10 fl. 10 st.	-
Heirs Gerlach	15 fl. 9½ st.	-
	—————	
	<i>25 fl. 19½ st.</i>	-
<i>Prague</i>		
M. Peterle	<i>16 fl. 15½ st.</i>	-
<i>Spiers</i>		
B. Dalbin	5 fl. 7½ st.	-
G. Garman	1 fl. 10 st.	-
	—————	
	<i>6 fl. 17½ st.</i>	-
<i>Strasbourg</i>		
Ch. Mylius	4 fl. 3½ st.	-
C. Rihel	45 fl. 18½ st.	2 fl. 14 st.
J. Rihel Jr.	42 fl.	-
	—————	—————
	<i>92 fl. 2 st.</i>	<i>2 fl. 14 st.</i>
<i>Tübingen</i>		
G. Gruppenbach	10 fl. 1½ st.	-
<i>Wittenberg</i>		
J. Scelfisch	207 fl.	-
	—————	—————
Total Germany	1,335 fl. 7¼ st.	241 fl. 8 st.

	Deliveries by Plantin	Deliveries to Plantin
Switzerland		
<i>Basle</i>		
Heirs Brylinger	-	3 fl. 4 st.
Episcopius	-	53 fl. 2 st.
Frobenius	6 fl.	8 fl.
T. Guarin	75 fl. 13 st.	12 fl. 6 st.
S. Henricpetri	-	7 fl. 4 st.
Heirs Henricpetri	-	60 fl. 1 st.
Heirs Hervagius	-	32 fl. 18 st.
Cl. Mieg	50 fl. 8½ st.	13 fl.
P. Perna	-	12 fl. 1 st.
Chr. van Sichem	8 fl. 15 st.	1 fl. 14 st.
	_____	_____
	<i>140 fl. 16½ st.</i>	<i>203 fl. 10 st.</i>
<i>Geneva</i>		
H. Comelin	18 fl. 15½ st.	10 fl. 13 st.
H. Stephanus	-	6 st.
E. Vignon	36 fl. 8 st.	19 fl. 5 st.
	_____	_____
	<i>55 fl. 3½ st.</i>	<i>30 fl. 4 st.</i>
<i>Zürich</i>		
C. Froschauer	6 fl.	17 fl. 16 st.
J. Gesner	8 st.	-
C. Haller	6 fl. 16½ st.	-
	_____	_____
	<i>13 fl. 4½ st.</i>	<i>17 fl. 16 st.</i>
	_____	_____
Total Switzerland	209 fl. 4½ st.	251 fl. 10 st.

	Deliveries by Plantin	Deliveries to Plantin
France		
<i>Lyons</i>		
A. de Gabiano	-	271 fl. 3 st.
A. de Harsy	52 fl. 10 st.	19 fl. 1 st.
Cl. Pesnot	24 fl.	120 fl. 15½ st.
J. Stoer	-	4 fl.
	_____	_____
	<i>76 fl. 10 st.</i>	<i>414 fl. 19½ st.</i>
<i>Paris</i>		
J. du Puis	31 fl. 15 st.	-
	_____	_____
Total France	108 fl. 5 st.	414 fl. 19½ st.
Italy		
<i>Venice</i>		
P. Longius	162 fl. 12 st.	312 fl. 5 st.
	_____	_____
Total Italy	162 fl. 12 st.	312 fl. 5 st.

	Deliveries by Plantin	Deliveries to Plantin
Residence unknown		
B. Emert	-	29 fl. 10 st.
V. Dosch	-	20 fl. 14 st.
J. Guichet	8 fl. 19½ st.	-
Zach. Kesnerus	25 fl. 3½ st.	-
J. Patruus	50 fl. 13½ st.	-
S. Rosenblatt	36 fl. 8½ st.	-
St. Sprengensmit	4 fl. 10½ st.	-
E. Tregelius	23 fl. 7 st.	-
	_____	_____
Total	149 fl. 2½ st.	50 fl. 4 st.

Balance Lent 1579

1. *Books dispatched to Frankfurt, Lent 1579*¹: 2,780 fl. 14 st.

2.	Deliveries	Sales	Purchases
a.	Sales against cash	379 fl. 12 st.	-
b.	Germany	1,335 fl. 7¼ st.	241 fl. 8 st.
c.	Switzerland	209 fl. 4½ st.	251 fl. 10 st.
d.	France	108 fl. 5 st.	414 fl. 19½ st.
e.	Italy	162 fl. 12 st.	312 fl. 5 st.
f.	Residence unknown	149 fl. 2½ st.	50 fl. 4 st.
		Total	Total
		2,344 fl. ¾ st.	1,270 fl. 6½ st.

3. Balance of payments

	Receipts		Dispenses
Sales against cash	379 fl. 12 st.	Expenses ²	152 fl. 13 st.
Received from booksellers	1,451 fl. 10 st.	Paid to booksellers	644 fl. 5 st.
	Total ³		Total
	1,831 fl. 2 st.		796 fl. 18 st.

1. Six barrels of books; 5,212 copies of 67 publications (cf. Rooses, *Musée*, pp. 170-171).
2. Namely 74 fl. 2 st. 'à Anthoine Meuller suivant son compte' (not specified further; probably transport costs); 24 fl. 'à nostre hoste [landlord] pour louage de boutique'; 16 st. for 25 'catalogus Nundinarum' [fair catalogues]; 10 st. for '20 *idem* des Tobias Lutz'; 25 fl. 4 st. (21 *thalers*) to Jacob von Weidich 'pour port' on 3 barrels with books (12 *thalers*) and 'item pour despens quil a eu en perdant ses chevaux lors que les Espagnolz le trouvoyent etc. par advis de A. Meuller (9 *thalers*)'; 5 fl. to Wolter von Gengers for carriage of 1 barrel with books 'und craengelt'; 5 fl. 16 st. to Lambrecht von Toudorf for carriage of 1 barrel with book 'und craengelt'; 5 fl. 'à Anthoine pour son salaire'; 14 st. 'à sa femme pour avoir cuict la chair'; 1 fl. 'à celluy qui a faict les tonneaulx'; 6 st. 'pour port des lettres venues'; 4 fl. 'en chair en diverses fois, pain, vin, bierre et chandelles et autres petits menutés suivant le compte que en a esté tenu'; 2 fl. 'à Jehan de Barri pour aulcuns repas quilz mont faict avoir estant malade'; 1 fl. 'au docteur qui mest venu visiter etc.'; 1 fl. 15 st. 'au tonnelier pour raccoustrer les tonneaux et pour faire mener les 4 tonneaux au navire'.
3. In total 1,500 fl. 5 st. was stacked in four barrels (probably among the books). What happened to this money is not stated precisely, but since the books, which were bought at the Lent Fair in Frankfurt, were sent to Antwerp in four barrels, it may be supposed that the 1,500 fl. 5 st. was sent in this way to the *Officina Plantiniana*. These monies were noted as 'passementz' ('trimmings'). In barrel no. 1 were stacked: 25 à (?) à la rose (187 fl. 10 st.), 56 A sol (151 fl. 4 st.), 60 'florins dor' (126 fl.), 59 'pistoletz' (231 fl. 5 st.), 9 'pistoletz doubles' (46 fl. 16 st.); in no. 2: 10 'doubles ducatz' (63 fl.), 4 'angelotz' (17 fl. 12 st.), 7 'florins dor' (14 fl. 14 st.), 13 'longues croix' (36 fl. 5 st.), 10 'philippus dor' (22 fl. 10 st.), 100 Hungarian ducats (220 fl. 10 st.); in no. 3: 70 Hungarian ducats (220 fl. 10 st.); in no. 4: 41 'dalres de Hollande' (67 fl. 13 st.).

Appendix 6
The Frankfurt Fairs
Lent & September 1609¹

1. Compiled on the basis of Arch. 1007a (*Cahier de Francfort*, Lent 1609) and 1007b (*Cahier de Francfort*, September 1609). The amounts given are in German guilders (cf. p. 500, note 1).

a. Germany Deliveries by Officina				Deliveries to Officina		
	<i>Lent</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Lent</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Amberg</i>						
J. Schönfeld	4 fl. 15 st.	80 fl. 13 st.	85 fl. 8 st.	-	2 fl. 8½ st.	2 fl. 8½ st.
<i>Augsburg</i>						
T. Lutz	25 fl. 12 st.	76 fl.	101 fl. 12 st.	-	-	-
S. Miller	61 fl. 4½ st.	29 fl. 13 st.	90 fl. 17½ st.	-	-	-
G. Willer	611 fl. 13½ st.	608 fl. 3½ st.	1,219 fl. 17 st.	-	78 fl. 7½ st.	78 fl. 7½ st.
			1,412 fl. 6½ st.			
<i>Bamberg</i>						
Widow N. Soener	6 fl.	25 fl. 13 st.	31 fl. 13 st.	-	-	-
<i>Bremen</i>						
H. Ganne	-	131 fl.	131 fl.	-	-	-
<i>Breslau (Wroclaw)</i>						
H. Griuch... (?)	-	95 fl. 12 st.	95 fl. 12 st.	-	-	-
<i>Cologne</i>						
C. Butgenius	3 fl. 10 st.	-	3 fl. 10 st.	1 fl. 2 st.	-	1 fl. 2 st.
P. Cholinus	3 fl. 12 st.	-	3 fl. 12 st.	16 st.	-	16 st.
G. Grevenbruch	7 fl. 8 st.	5 fl. 14 st.	13 fl. 2 st.	-	-	-
B. Gualtheri	64 fl. 6 st.	53 fl. 11 st.	117 fl. 17 st.	26 fl. 4 st.	22 fl. 6 st.	48 fl. 10 st.
J. Gymnicus	9 fl. 18 st.	42 fl. 7½ st.	52 fl. 5½ st.	59 fl. 16½ st.	94 fl. 5½ st.	154 fl. 2 st.
P. Herck	-	7 fl. 8 st.	7 fl. 8 st.	-	-	-

A. Hierat	31 fl. 1 st.	90 fl. 13½ st.	121 fl. 14½ st.	107 fl. 1 st.	191 fl. 19 st.	299 fl.
H. Hoberg	1 fl. 4 st.	-	1 fl. 4 st.	-	-	-
Z. Kesner	-	215 fl. 15½ st.	215 fl. 15½ st.	-	-	-
Z. Kesner & J. Krith	54 fl. 12 st.	-	54 fl. 12 st.	-	-	-
J. Krith	18 fl. 16½ st.	6 st.	19 fl. 2½ st.	18 fl. 17¼ st.	-	18 fl. 17¼ st.
J. Kinckes	4 fl. 12 st.	-	4 fl. 12 st.	-	61 fl. 6 st.	61 fl. 6 st.
G. Lützenkirchen	-	2 fl. 2 st.	2 fl. 2 st.	-	5 fl. 10 st.	5 fl. 10 st.
G. Muntinx	-	-	-	26 fl.	-	26 fl.
H. Mylius	130 fl.	100 fl. 14½ st.	230 fl. 14½ st.	226 fl. 9½ st.	12 fl.	238 fl. 9½ st.

A. Qunetel	11 fl. 16 st.	19 fl. 7 st.	31 fl. 3 st.	20 fl. 6½ st.	41 fl. 13 st.	61 fl. 19½ st.
M. Schmitz	6 fl. 10 st.	-	6 fl. 10 st.	-	-	-
J. Stracker	19 fl. 17 st.	-	19 fl. 17 st.	-	-	-
			—————			—————
			<i>905 fl. 1½ st.</i>			<i>915 fl. 12¼ st.</i>

*Frankfurt
am Main*

Heirs N. Basse	-	7 fl. 10 st.	7 fl. 10 st.	19 fl. 16 st.	24 fl. 14 st.	44 fl. 10 st.
J. Bernerus	-	1 fl. 8 st.	1 fl. 8 st.	-	-	-
Th. de Bry	-	-	-	15 fl. 1 st.	38 fl. 17 st.	53 fl. 18 st.
A. Cambier	18 st.	10 fl. 10 st.	11 fl. 8 st.	2 fl. 13¼ st.	-	2 fl. 13¼ st.
P. Egenolphus	-	-	-	-	3 fl.	3 fl.
J. Fischer	-	173 fl. 1 st.	173 fl. 1 st.	4 st.	157 fl. 7 st.	157 fl. 11 st.
Widow L. Hulsius	6 fl.	12 fl.	18 fl.	10 fl.	15 fl. 3½ st.	25 fl. 3½ st.
P. Kopfius	1 fl. 5 st.	81 fl.	82 fl. 5 st.	12 fl. 2 st.	11 fl.	23 fl. 2 st.
Cl. le Marne	-	-	-	230 fl. 6 st.	-	230 fl. 6 st.
Z. Palthenius	16 st.	5 fl. 1 st.	5 fl. 17 st.	184 fl. 6 st.	70 fl. 19½ st.	255 fl. 5½ st.
J. Rosa	-	-	-	7 fl.	9 fl. 10 st.	16 fl. 10 st.
N. Roth	-	-	-	-	33 fl. 11½ st.	33 fl. 11½ st.
Dr. J. Roulandt	1 fl. 2 st.	12 st.	1 fl. 14 st.	8 fl.	69 fl. 13 st.	77 fl. 13 st.
B. Schmidt	-	2 fl. 11 st.	2 fl. 11 st.	-	-	-

T. Schönwetter	17 fl. 11 st.	-	17 fl. 11 st.	91 fl. ½ st.	-	91 fl. ½ st.
N. Steyn	9 fl. 16 st.	-	9 fl. 16 st.	-	4 fl.	4 fl.
V. Steijnmeijer	-	11 fl. 12 st.	11 fl. 12 st.	-	-	-
J. Treudel	-	-	-	2 fl. 10½ st.	20 fl. 16 st.	23 fl. 6½ st.
G. Tambosch (= Tambesch)	30 fl.	102 fl. 8½ st.	132 fl. 8½ st.	-	75 fl. 15 st.	75 fl. 15 st.
Heirs A. Wechel	82 fl. 10 st.	-	82 fl. 10 st.	-	-	-
Cl. le Marne & Heirs A. Wechel	-	-	-	-	239 fl. 10 st.	239 fl. 10 st.
			—————			—————
			<i>557 fl.</i> <i>11½ st.</i>			<i>1,356 fl.</i> <i>15¾ st.</i>
			—————			—————
To be brought forward			<i>3,218 fl.</i> <i>12½ st.</i>			<i>2,353 fl. 4 st.</i>

(Germany) Deliveries by Officina				Deliveries to Officina		
	<i>Lent</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Lent</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>Total</i>
Brought forward			3,218 fl. 12½ st.			2,353 fl. 4 st.
<i>Frankfurt-an-der-Oder</i>						
J. Thim	32 fl.	-	32 fl.	-	-	-
<i>Freiburg</i>						
J. Straeffler	-	32 fl. 9 st.	32 fl. 9 st.	-	4 fl. 19½ st.	4 fl. 19½ st.
<i>Göttingen</i>						
J. Malthan	-	29 fl. 19 st.	29 fl. 19 st.	-	-	-
<i>Gotha</i>						
J. Lindeman	-	9 fl. 4½ st.	9 fl. 4½ st.	-	-	-
<i>Graz</i>						
G. Wagener	-	111 fl. 13½ st.	111 fl. 13½ st.	-	-	-
<i>Hanau</i>						
G. Antonius	1 fl. 10 st.	-	1 fl. 10 st.	-	-	-
<i>Heidelberg</i>						
P. Mareschal	16 fl. 8 st.	9 fl. 3½ st.	25 fl. 11½ st.	-	-	-
G. Vögelin	4 fl. 2½ st.	-	4 fl. 2½ st.	-	-	-
			—————			
			29 fl. 14 st.			-
<i>Helmstadt</i>						
S. Breen	-	30 fl.	30 fl.	-	-	-
<i>Ingolstadt</i>						
J. Hertfroy	83 fl. 6 st.	88 fl. 5 st.	171 fl. 11 st.	28 fl. 10 st.	25 fl. 7 st.	53 fl. 17 st.
<i>Jena</i>						

M. Crem	18 fl. 17 st.	-	18 fl. 17 st.	-	-	-
---------	------------------	---	------------------	---	---	---

S. Groener	12 st.	4 fl. 12 st.	5 fl. 4 st.	-	-	-
------------	--------	--------------	-------------	---	---	---

24 fl. 1 st.

Leipzig

Henning Gros the Elder	14 fl.	20 fl. 19 st.	34 fl. 19 st.	-	-	-
------------------------------	--------	------------------	------------------	---	---	---

Henning Gros the Younger	-	5 fl. 11 st.	5 fl. 11 st.	-	-	-
--------------------------------	---	--------------	--------------	---	---	---

T. Schurer	27 fl. 15 st.	17 fl. 19 st.	45 fl. 14 st.	-	-	-
------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	---	---	---

B. Vogt	9 fl. 17 st.	15 fl. 16 st.	25 fl. 13 st.	3 fl. 15 st.	-	3 fl. 15 st.
---------	--------------	---------------	---------------	--------------	---	--------------

111 fl. 17 st.

3 fl. 15 st.

Lübeck

L. Albrecht	7 fl. 8 st.	11 fl. 19 st.	19 fl. 7 st.	-	-	-
-------------	-------------	---------------	--------------	---	---	---

J. Jansens	38 fl. 6½ st.	39 fl. 9 st.	77 fl. 15½ st.	13 fl. 14 st.	71 fl. 5 st.	84 fl. 19 st.
------------	---------------	--------------	----------------	---------------	--------------	---------------

S. Jansz	-	6 fl. 10 st.	6 fl. 10 st.	-	-	-
----------	---	--------------	--------------	---	---	---

103 fl. 12½ st.

84 fl. 19 st.

Magdeburg

J. Francq	14 fl.	13 fl. 8 st.	27 fl. 8 st.	-	-	-
-----------	--------	--------------	--------------	---	---	---

A. Kirchner	7 fl. 12 st.	7 fl.	14 fl. 12 st.	-	-	-
-------------	--------------	-------	---------------	---	---	---

42 fl.

-

Mainz

J. Albin	1 fl. 10 st.	7 fl. 11 st.	9 fl. 1 st.	14 fl. 3 st.	17 fl. 12½ st.	31 fl. 15½ st.
----------	--------------	--------------	-------------	--------------	----------------	----------------

J. Evertsen	-	23 fl. 10 st.	23 fl. 10 st.	-	-	-
-------------	---	---------------	---------------	---	---	---

B. Lipp	-	-	-	7 fl. 1 st.	10 fl. 4 st.	17 fl. 5 st.
---------	---	---	---	-------------	--------------	--------------

H. Tennis	9 fl. 1 st.	13 fl. 11½ st.	22 fl. 12½ st.			
-----------	-------------	----------------	----------------	--	--	--

55 fl. 3½ st.

49 fl. ½ st.

Memmingen

J. Fesenmayer	32 fl. ½ st.	25 fl. 12½ st.	57 fl. 13 st.	4 fl. 4 st.	-	4 fl. st.
---------------	--------------	----------------	---------------	-------------	---	-----------

Nuremberg

P. Cansinen (?)	-	33 fl. 10 st.	33 fl. 10 st.	-	-	-
B. Caymockx	-	84 fl. 18 st.	84 fl. 18 st.	-	-	-
P. Kilswel	2 fl. 16 st.	5 fl. 3 st.	7 fl. 19 st.	-	-	-
P. Knabenhauer	6 fl.	188 fl. 5 st.	194 fl. 5 st.	-	-	-
Heirs V. Voemon	-	24 fl.	24 fl.	-	-	-

344 fl. 12 st.

Olmütz
(Olomouc
in
Moravia)

V. Schmit	-	37 fl. 1 st.	<i>37 fl. 1 st.</i>	-	-	-
-----------	---	--------------	---------------------	---	---	---

To be
brought
forward

4,442 fl.
13½ st.

2,553 fl.
19 st.

(Germany) Deliveries by Officina				Deliveries to Officina		
	<i>Lent</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Lent</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>Total</i>
Brought forward			4,442 fl. 13½ st.			2,553 fl. 19 st.
<i>Paderborn</i>						
M. Pontanus	20 fl. 2½ st.	25 fl. 6½ st.	45 fl. 9 st.	-	-	-
<i>Prague</i>						
J. Brehtanus	-	48 fl. 13½ st.	48 fl. 13½ st.	-	-	-
J. Salmond	6 fl. 17 st.	-	6 fl. 17 st.	-	-	-
			55 fl. 10½ st.			-
<i>Spiers</i>						
E. Kembrich	6 fl.	-	6 fl.	1 fl.	5 fl. 8 st.	6 fl. 8 st.
<i>Strasbourg</i>						
P. Ledders	-	-	-	-	15 fl. 10 st.	15 fl. 10 st.
T. Rihel	-	-	-	-	6 fl. 15 st.	6 fl. 15 st.
N. Schurer	23 fl. 2½ st.	-	23 fl. 2½ st.	-	-	-
L. Zettner	75 fl. 17 st.	168 fl. 13 st.	244 fl. 10 st.	88 fl. 15½ st.	100 fl. 18½ st.	189 fl. 14 st.
			267 fl. 12½ st.			211 fl. 19 st.
<i>Trier</i>						
H. Bock	-	15 fl. 8 st.	15 fl. 8 st.	2 fl. 8 st.	6 st.	2 fl. 14 st.
H. Machiel Coster	46 fl.	-	46 fl.	-	-	-
H.J. Proefffer	13 fl. 13 st.	1 fl. 10½ st.	15 fl. 3½ st.	-	-	-

	76 fl. 11½ st.	2 fl. 14 st.
--	-------------------	--------------

Ulm

P. Anspaed (?)	26 fl. 12 st.	19 fl. 19 st.	46 fl. 11 st.	-	-	-
C. Eberkeim	18 fl. 2 st.	-	18 fl. 2 st.	-	-	-

	64 fl. 13 st.	-
--	------------------	---

Wittemberg

C. Berger	2 fl. 1 st.	16 fl. 11 st.	18 fl. 12 st.	-	-	-
S. Seelfisch	2 fl. 19 st.	5 fl. 8 st.	8 fl. 7 st.	3 fl.	-	3 fl.

	26 fl. 19 st.	3 fl.
--	------------------	-------

Würzburg

J. Wese- meyer	-	11 fl. 14 st.	11 fl. 14 st.	-	10 fl.	10 fl.
G. Wezenberch	3 fl. 6 st.	-	3 fl. 6 st.	-	-	-
X	-	8 fl. 16½ st.	8 fl. 16½ st.	-	-	-

*23 fl. 16½
st.*

10 fl.

Total
Germany **5,008 fl.**
5½ st. **2,788 fl.**

b.

*Switzerland**Basle*

G.L. Frobenius	9 fl. 13 st.	8 fl. 5 st.	17 fl. 18 st.	-	4 fl. 9½ st.	4 fl. 9½ st.
H. Gemusäus	-	-	-	18 fl. 6 st.	-	18 fl. 6 st.
L. Henning	-	117 fl. 14 st.	117 fl. 14 st.	-	25 fl. 7½ st.	25 fl. 7½ st.
S. Henricpetri	-	-	-	36 fl. 13 st.	23 fl. 5 st.	59 fl. 18 st.
L. König	121 fl.	-	121 fl.	4 fl. 4 st.	-	4 fl. 4 st.

*256 fl. 12
st.*

*112 fl. 5
st.*

Geneva

J. Chouet	-	3 fl. 19 st.	3 fl. 19 st.	-	25 fl. 2½ st.	25 fl. 2½ st.
J. Comelin & N. Bonnard	-	12 fl. 14 st.	12 fl. 14 st.	-	104 fl. 18 st.	104 fl. 18 st.

Heirs	12 st.	-	12 st.	38 fl. 3½	-	38 fl. 3½
Comelin				st.		st.
I. le Prum (Geneva?)	11 fl.	-	11 fl.	-	11 fl. 5½	11 fl. 5½
					st.	st.
			<hr/>			<hr/>
			28 fl. 5 st.			179 fl. 9½
						st.
<i>Lausanne</i>						
J. Politius	-	184 fl. 3½	184 fl. 3½	-	-	-
		st.	st.			
<i>Zürich</i>						
F. Haller	30 fl. 11	40 fl. 10	71 fl. 1 st.	-	-	-
	st.	st.				
J. Wolfius	4 fl. 10 st.	5 st.	4 fl. 15 st.	-	-	-
			<hr/>			<hr/>
			75 fl. 16			-
			st.			
Total			544 fl.			291 fl.
Switzerland			16½ st.			14½ st.

<i>d. France</i>	Deliveries by Officina			Deliveries to Officina		
	<i>Lent</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Lent</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Lyons</i>						
J. Bousson	21 fl. 18 st.	100 fl. 18 st.	122 fl. 16 st.	21 fl. 18 st.	99 fl. 19 st.	121 fl. 17 st.
Drouart(?)	57 fl. 6 st.	14 fl. 10 st.	71 fl. 16 st.	57 fl. 8 st.	14 fl. 10 st.	71 fl. 18 st.
P. Henningius	88 fl.	86 fl. 11 st.	174 fl. 11 st.	84 fl. 15 st.	93 fl. 14 st.	178 fl. 9 st.
F. Huguet	86 fl. 3 st.	186 fl. 12½ st.	272 fl. 15½ st.	-	-	-
P. Landri	124 fl. 17½ st.	311 fl. 18 st.	436 fl. 15½ st.	114 fl. 8 st.	388 fl. 5 st.	502 fl. 13 st.
Cl. Morelle (?)	52 fl. 18 st.	55 fl. 10 st.	108 fl. 8 st.	53 fl.	55 fl. 10 st.	108 fl. 10 st.
J. Pillehotte	-	209 fl. 11 st.	209 fl. 11 st.	-	209 fl. 11 st.	209 fl. 11 st.
J. Thosan	41 fl. 14½ st.	-	41 fl. 14½ st.	-	-	-
E. Vignon	-	-	-	4 fl. 4 st.	38 fl. 13½ st.	42 fl. 17½ st.
B. Vincent	31 fl. 2 st.	41 fl. 10 st.	72 fl. 12 st.	8 fl.	74 fl. 4 st.	82 fl. 4 st.
			<hr/>			<hr/>
			<i>1,510 fl.</i> <i>19½ st.</i>			<i>1,317 fl.</i> <i>19½ st.</i>
<i>Paris</i>						
A. Beys	16 fl.	37 fl. ½ st.	53 fl. ½ st.	8 st.	52 fl. 14 st.	53 fl. 2 st.
A. Boetzerus	51 fl. 5 st.	112 fl. 4 st.	163 fl. 9 st.	51 fl. 4 st.	111 fl. 14 st.	162 fl. 18 st.
S. Cramoisy	63 fl. 19 st.	201 fl. 18 st.	265 fl. 17 st.	33 fl. 19 st.	201 fl. 18 st.	235 fl. 17 st.
A. Perier	58 fl. 19 st.	-	58 fl. 19 st.	7 fl. 18 st.	-	7 fl. 18 st.
			<hr/>			<hr/>

			<i>541 fl. 5½</i>			<i>459 fl. 15</i>
			<i>st.</i>			<i>st.</i>
<i>Pont à Mousson</i>						
F. Dubois	29 fl. 12 st.	53 fl. 5 st.	82 fl. 17 st.	2 fl. 6 st.	-	2 fl. 6 st.
S. Martel	4 fl. 4 st.	48 fl. 17 st.	53 fl. 1 st.	-	-	-
			_____			_____
			<i>135 fl. 18</i>			<i>2 fl. 6 st.</i>
			<i>st.</i>			
			_____			_____
Total France			2,188 fl. 3			1,780 fl.½
			st.			st.

d. *Italy**Venice*

'Com- pagnie'	91 fl. 16 st.	158 fl.	249 fl. 16 st.	86 fl. 4 st.	163 fl. 12 st.	249 fl. 16 st.
M.A. Briggiolo	98 fl. 18 st.	-	98 fl. 18 st.	183 fl. 1 st.	-	183 fl. 1 st.
			-----			-----
			<i>348 fl. 14</i> <i>st.</i>			<i>432 fl. 17</i> <i>st.</i>
Total Italy			348 fl. 14 st.			432 fl. 17 st.

e.

*Southern
Netherlands**Antwerp*

P. Bellerus	-	-	-	3 fl.	-	3 fl.
M. Nutius	-	30 fl. 16 st.	30 fl. 16 st.	-	30 fl. 16 st.	30 fl. 16 st.
			-----			-----
			<i>30 fl. 16</i> <i>st.</i>			<i>33 fl. 16</i> <i>st.</i>
Total Southern Netherlands			30 fl. 16 st.			33 fl. 16 st.

f. *United
Provinces**Amsterdam*

C. Claesz.	21 fl. 10 st.	-	<i>21 fl. 10</i> <i>st.</i>	-	-	-
------------	------------------	---	--------------------------------	---	---	---

Leiden

L. Elsevier	15 fl.	42 fl. 12½ st.	57 fl. 12½ st.	10 fl. 12 st.	42 fl. 12½ st.	53 fl. 4½ st.
F. Raphe-	-	-	-	4 fl. 3½ st.	-	4 fl. 3½ st.

lengius

*57 fl. 12½
st.*

57 fl. 8 st.

Total
United
Provinces

**79 fl. 2½
st.**

57 fl. 8 st.

g. England Deliveries by Officina				Deliveries to Officina		
	<i>Lent</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Lent</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>London</i>						
J. Bill	60 fl. 17 st.	-	60 fl. 17 st.	-	4 fl. 10 st.	4 fl. 10 st.
J. Bill & J. Northon	-	-	-	80 fl. 2 st.	-	80 fl. 2 st.
			60 fl. 17 st.			84 fl. 12 st.
Total England			60 fl. 17 st.			84 fl. 12 st.

h.
*Residence
unknown*

Cl. Cluppeler	97 fl. ...	-	97 fl.	96 fl. 19 st.	-	96 fl. 19 st.
J. Craesboom	-	35 fl. 4½ st.	35 fl. 4½ st.	-	-	-
J. Donet	-	-	-	5 fl.	-	5 fl.
D. Doulceur	8 fl. 1 st.	58 fl. 10 st.	66 fl. 11 st.	8 fl.	58 fl. 10 st.	66 fl. 10 st.
H. Eiring	73 fl. 3 st.	-	73 fl. 3 st.	-	-	-
G. Hamp	-	-	-	1 fl. 13 st.	-	1 fl. 13 st.
C. Hobelius	28 fl. 15 st.	2 fl. 17½ st.	31 fl. 12½ st.	-	-	-
B. Mare	-	390 fl. 2 st.	390 fl. 2 st.	-	251 fl. 7½ st.	251 fl. 7½ st.
S. Mercator	-	346 fl. 7 st.	346 fl. 7 st.	-	27 fl. 10 st.	27 fl. 10 st.
I. le Preux	11 fl.	-	11 fl.	-	11 fl. 5½ st.	11 fl. 5½ st.
J. Rieuw	-	15 fl. 4 st.	15 fl. 4 st.	-	-	-

Balance Frankfurt Fairs 1609**1. Books dispatched to Frankfurt:**

- Lent ¹	3,925 fl. 9½ st.
- Sept. ²	11,452 fl. 18½ st.

Total:	7,527 fl. 9 st.
--------	-----------------

2. Deliveries

	Sales	Purchases
a. Germany	5,008 fl. 5½ st.	2,788 fl.
b. Switzerland	544 fl. 16½ st.	291 fl. 14½ st.
c. France	2,188 fl. 3 st.	1,780 fl. ½ st.
d. Italy	348 fl. 14 st.	432 fl. 17 st.
e. Southern Netherlands	30 fl. 16 st.	33 fl. 16 st.
f. United Provinces	79 fl. 2½ st.	57 fl. 8 st.
g. England	60 fl. 17 st.	84 fl. 12 st.
h. Residence unknown	1,151 fl. 4½ st.	568 fl. ½ st.
i. Sales against cash	323 fl. 17½ st.	-
	9,735 fl. 16½ st.	6,036 fl. 8½ st.

1. The consignments to Frankfurt were not included in the *Cahier de Francfort*, but were detailed in the *journal* of 1609 (Arch. 216). Four barrels with books to the value of 722 fl. 10 st., 1,186 fl. 7 st., 1,459 fl. 8½ st., and 557 fl. 4 st.
2. Detailed in the *Cahier de Francfort*. Six barrels of books to the value of 1,535 fl. 5 st., 1,271 fl. 17½ st., 1,294 fl. 9½ st., 1,065 fl. 15 st., 1,321 fl. 2 st., 1,039 fl.

3. *Balance Disposes of payments*

	<i>Lent</i>		<i>September Total</i>		Receipts		
	<i>Lent</i>	<i>September</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Lent</i>	<i>September Total</i>		
Expenses	270 fl. 5½ st.	420 fl. ½ st.	690 fl. 6 st.				
Payments to booksellers (credit)	533 fl. 10½ st.	593 fl. 11½ st.	1,127 fl. 2 st.				
Payments to booksellers (cash)	295 fl. 3 st.	173 fl. 11½ st.	468 fl. 14½ st.				
Taken over from Antwerp booksellers	98 fl. 6½ st.	86 fl. 6½ st.	184 fl. 13 st.				
Sold cash				224 fl. 11 st.	99 fl. 6½ st.	323 fl. 17½ st.	
Received from booksellers (cash)				427 fl. 8 st.	781 fl. 6 st.	1,208 fl. 14 st.	
Received from booksellers (earlier deliveries)				1,325 fl. 16½ st.	1,391 fl. 19 st.	2,717 fl. 15½ st.	
Sundries ¹				30 fl. 14½ st.		30 fl. 14½ st.	
			————— 2,470 fl. 15½ st.			————— 4,281 fl. 1½ st.	
Balance in hand						————— 1,810 fl. 6 st.	
Dispatched to				962 fl. 15 st.	957 fl. 15½ st.	1,910 fl. 10½ st.	

1. A 'forgotten' charge, separately noted because it was no longer known from whom and in what circumstances the money was received.

Antwerp
in coins

Appendix 7***Sales Figures for Some Publications of Plantin¹*****Reynaert de Vos, in 8°**

Illustrated popular novel in Dutch and French. Number of copies printed: 1600. First copy sold on 26th June 1566.

	1566	1567	1568	Total 1566-68
<i>Netherlands</i>				
<i>Antwerp, bookshop</i>	29	25	46	100
<i>Antwerp, booksellers</i>	41	44	110	195
Total Antwerp	<hr/> 70	69	156	295
<i>Present-day Belgium</i>				
<i>Booksellers</i>				
Bruges	4	-	-	4
Brussels	4	22	4	30
Ghent	9	-	4	13
Liège	5	2	2	9
Louvain	30	62	2	94
Malines	-	4	12	16
Tournai	2	-	-	2
Ypres	1	-	6	7
Total Belgium	<hr/> 55	90	30	175
<i>Present-day Northern France</i>				
<i>Booksellers</i>				
Cambrai	1	8	4	13

1. Compiled on the basis of the *journals* of 1566 (Arch. 44), 1567 (Arch. 45) and 1568 (Arch. 46).

Douai	8	6	-	14
Lille	-	-	6	6
	<hr/>			
Total Northern France	9	14	10	33

	1566	1567	1568	Total 1566-68
<i>Present-day Netherlands</i>				
<i>Booksellers</i>				
Amsterdam	18	2	1	21
Bois-le-Duc	1	-	13	14
Breda	4	24	-	28
Delft	8	-	-	8
Haarlem	3	-	-	3
Maastricht	5	3	-	8
Utrecht	2	4	-	6
	<hr/>			
Total Northern Netherlands	41	33	14	88
<i>Private customers Southern and Northern Netherlands</i>	33	1	10	44
<i>Germany</i>				
Cologne	-	-	11	11
Heidelberg	-	6	-	6
	<hr/>			
Total Germany	-	6	11	17
<i>Summary</i>				
Antwerp	70	69	156	295
Present-day Belgium	55	90	30	175
Present-day Northern France	9	14	10	33
Present-day Netherlands	41	33	14	88

Private customers	33	1	10	44
Germany	-	6	11	17
Grand total	<hr/> 208	213	231	652

Ratio between cost price and sales figures

Cost price¹

Composition and printing of text, and paper	59 fl. 4 st.
Cost of illustration	93 fl. 8 st.
Total for 1,600 copies	<hr/> 152 fl. 10 st.
i.e., cost price per copy	1.9 st.

For some unknown reason Plantin disregarded the cost of illustration, hence his cost price was slightly under $\frac{3}{4}$ st.

1. Arch. 4, f^o 80^{vo}.

Sales figures

In 1566: 208 copies sold, bringing	15 fl. 12 st.
In 1567: 213 copies sold, bringing	15 fl. 19½ st.
In 1568: 231 copies sold, bringing	17 fl. 4½ st.
	—————
Total: 652 copies sold, bringing	48 fl. 16 st.
Average price per copy sold	1½ st.
Theoretical value of total run (1600 copies)	120 fl.

Valerius Flaccus, in 16mo

Classical author in Latin. Number of copies printed: 1000. First copy sold on 13th August 1566.

	1566	1567	1568	Total 1566-68
<i>Netherlands</i>				
<i>Antwerp, bookshop</i>	-	3	-	3
<i>Antwerp, booksellers</i>	-	1	-	1
 <i>Present-day Belgium</i>				
<i>Booksellers</i>				
Bruges	1	1	-	2
Liège	2	2	-	4
Louvain	55	2	-	57
	—————			
Total present-day Belgium	58	9	-	67
 <i>Present-day Northern France</i>				
<i>Booksellers</i>				

Arras	2	-	-	2
Cambrai	2	-	-	2
Douai	-	2	-	2
Lille	-	-	1	1
	<hr/>			
Total Northern France	4	2	1	7

*Present-day
Netherlands*

Booksellers

Alkmaar	-	-	2	2
Haarlem	3	-	-	3
	<hr/>			
Total Northern Netherlands	3	-	2	5

<i>Private customers Netherlands</i>	-	-	2	2
--	---	---	---	---

	1566	1567	1568	Total 1566-68
<i>Germany</i>				
Frankfurt (Fair)	150	-	32	182
Cologne (booksellers)	4	-	-	4
Total Germany	<hr/> 154	-	32	186
<i>France</i>				
Paris (Plantinian bookshop)	-	25	-	25
Paris (booksellers)	4	-	6	10
Total France	<hr/> 4	25	6	35
<i>England</i>				
London (booksellers)	6	27	-	33
<i>Italy</i>				
Rome (booksellers)	-	-	2	2
Venice (booksellers)	2	-	-	2
Total Italy	<hr/> 2	-	2	4
<i>Portugal</i>				
Lisbon (booksellers)	-	4	-	4
<i>Summary</i>				

Antwerp & present-day Belgium	58	9	-	67
Present-day France	4	2	1	7
Present-day Netherlands	3	-	2	5
Private customers Netherlands	-	-	2	2
Germany	154	-	32	186
France	4	25	6	35
England	6	27	-	33
Italy	2	-	2	4
Portugal	-	4	-	4
Grand total	<hr/> 231	67	45	343

Ratio between cost price and sales figures

Cost price for 1000 copies¹ 49 fl. 2 st.

i.e., per copy (as calculated by Plantin) 1 st.

Sales figures

In 1566: 231 copies sold, bringing 17 fl. 6½ st.

In 1567: 67 copies sold, bringing 5 fl. 5 st.

In 1568: 45 copies sold, bringing 3 fl. 7½ st.

Total: 343 copies sold, bringing 25 fl. 19 st.

Average price per copy sold 1½ st.

Theoretical value of total run (1000 copies) 75 fl.

Vesalius-Valverde, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani, in folio.*

Illustrated medical treatise in Latin. Number of copies printed: 600. First copy sold on 27th March 1566.

	1566	1567	1568	Total 1566-68
<i>Netherlands</i>				
<i>Antwerp,</i> bookshop	9	5	8	22
<i>Antwerp,</i> booksellers	17	13	17	47
<i>Present-day Belgium</i>				
<i>Booksellers</i>				
Bruges	4	-	-	4
Brussels	2	-	-	2
Ghent	1	-	-	1
Liège	1	-	-	1
Louvain	11	7	1	19
Malines	1	-	-	1
Tournai	4	-	-	4

1. Arch. 4, f^o 84^{vo}.

Total	<hr/> 50	25	26	101
present-day Belgium				
<i>Present-day Northern France</i>				
Douai (bookseller)	-	2	-	2
<i>Present-day Netherlands</i>				
<i>Booksellers</i>				
Amsterdam	-	2	3	5
Breda	2	-	-	2
Delft	1	-	-	1
Haarlem	-	-	3	3
Utrecht	1	-	-	1
Total Northern Netherlands	<hr/> 4	2	6	12

	1566	1567	1568	Total 1566-68
<i>Private customers Netherlands</i>	10	-	2	12
<i>Germany</i>				
Augsburg (booksellers)	-	-	2	2
Cologne (booksellers)	5	-	-	5
Emmerich (booksellers)	1	-	-	1
Frankfurt (Fair)	20	-	-	20
Heidelberg (booksellers)	-	25	-	25
Total Germany	<hr/> 26	25	2	53
<i>France</i>				
Lyons	13	-	6	19
Paris (plantinian shop)	25	57	-	82
Paris (booksellers)	26	-	2	28
Total France	<hr/> 64	57	8	129
<i>England</i>				
London	16	10	4	30
<i>Italy</i>				

Rome (booksellers)	-	-	2	2
Venice (booksellers)	2	-	-	2
Total Italy	<hr/> 2	-	2	4

*Iberian
Peninsula*

(regular and
occasional
booksellers,
private
customers)

Lisbon	-	1	-	1
Madrid	-	-	1	1
Sevilla	-	-	7	7
Total Iberian Peninsula	-	<i>1</i>	8	9

Summary

Antwerp & present-day Belgium	50	25	26	101
Northern France Present-day	-	2	-	2
Present-day Netherlands	4	2	6	12
Private customers Netherlands	10	-	2	12
Germany	26	25	2	53
France	64	57	8	129
England	16	10	4	30
Italy	2	-	2	4
Iberian Peninsula	-	1	8	9
Grand total	<hr/> 172	122	58	352

Ratio between cost price and sales figures

Cost price for 600 copies ¹	788 fl. 8 st.
i.e. per copy (as calculated by Plantin)	1 fl. 6½ st.

Sales figures

In 1566: 172 copies sold, bringing	430 fl.
In 1567: 122 copies sold, bringing	305 fl.
In 1568: 58 copies sold, bringing	145 fl.
Total: 352 copies sold, bringing	<hr/> 880 fl.
Average price per copy sold	2 fl. 10 st.
Theoretical value of total run (600 copies)	1,500 fl.

1. Arch. 4, f^o 80^{vo}. For the details of the cost of manufacture, cf. p. 384.

Appendix 8

Impositions and Folding Schemes

The diagrams show different *impositions* (the way a forme is laid down so as to give a particular arrangement of pages) and *folding schemes* (the way a sheet so printed is folded into signatures): cf. pp. 160 sqq. The examples given are not exhaustive: particularly for the more complicated impositions a number of further variants are possible which were, and still are, practised.

Though consecutive numbering of pages was already an established practice in Plantin's day, the earlier system of signatures was still in use and remained so for at least two more centuries. Signatures in old books are usually more accurate and trustworthy than page numbers: the latter are often full of errors. (According to one theory, paging was a job often entrusted to apprentices.) The basic system of signatures is as follows: each 'folding element' or 'unit' of four pages shows a signature on the first page. Thus a normal octavo sheet (16 pages folded together in 4-page units) will show signatures A, A2, A3, A4 on pp. 1, 3, 5, and 7 respectively. No signatures appear on pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, but on p. 17 signature B will be found, and B2, B3, and B4 on pp. 19, 21, 23, and so on. In the following diagrams both folios and signatures are shown; this will be found particularly useful in the more complicated schemes, where one sheet will produce for instance A, A2, A3, A4, followed by B and B2 (in other words, 24 pages folded and sewn into 16 and 8).

The reader should bear in mind that in diagrams representing formes all lettering appears in reverse; those representing printed pages show numbers the right way round. Odd-numbered (recto) pages read from the gutter (inside margin) towards the fore-edge; even-numbered (verso) pages read towards the gutter.

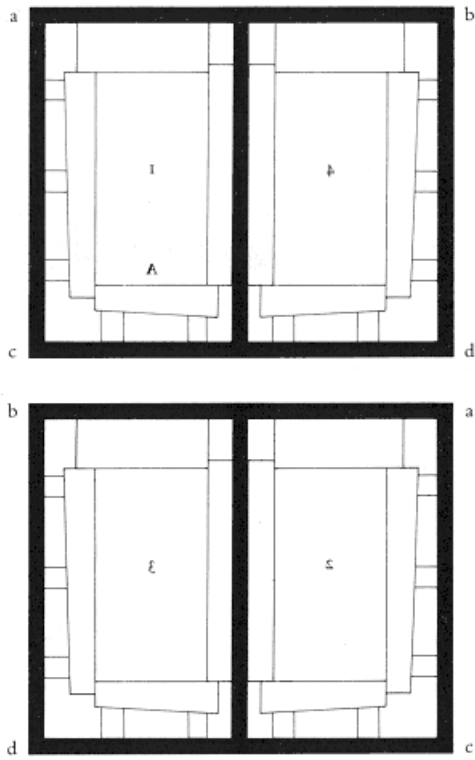


Fig. 1. Folio imposition. Folding scheme in fig. 14 on p. 540.

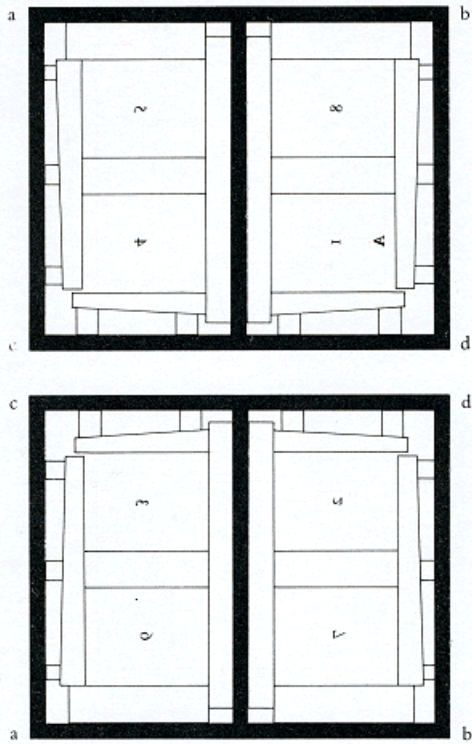


Fig. 2. Normal quarto imposition. Folding scheme in fig. 15 on p. 541.

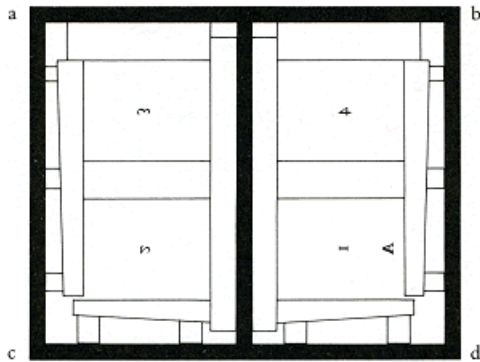


Fig. 3. Quarto imposition for work and turn operation (cf. p. 304). This imposition is still the usual one for 4-page folders. To produce a run of 1,000 copies the pressman takes 500 sheets which are printed on one side to begin with. The stack is then turned and the blank side printed from the same forme; as a result p. 1 thus backs p. 2, and p. 3 backs p. 4. Finally the sheets are cut in half, thus producing 1,000 half sheets printed both sides with the correct pages. Folding scheme in fig. 16 on pp. 542-543.

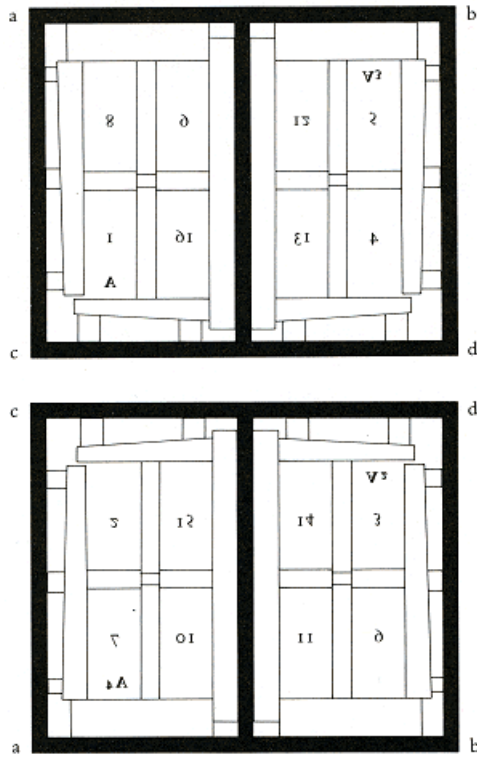


Fig. 4. Normal octavo imposition. This imposition is still the usual one for book-work printed on relatively small presses. See also figs. 11 and 24 on pp. 537 and 558. Folding scheme shown in fig. 17 on pp. 544-545.

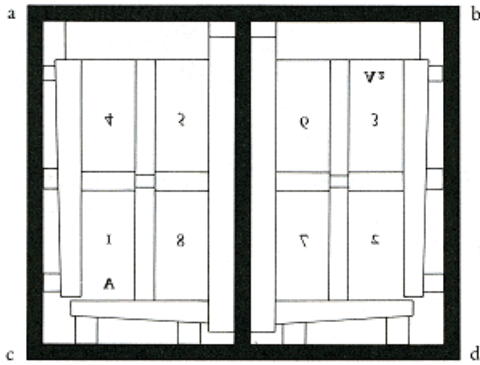


Fig. 5. Octavo imposition for work and turn operation: Plantin's 'impression à demi-feuilles'. The principle is the same as described under fig. 3 on p. 529. For formes with a greater number of pages (cf. figs. 11 and 12 on pp. 537 and 538) there is an additional advantage. When the normal imposition (fig. 4) is practised, the pressman cannot start printing before 16 consecutive pages are composed and passed for press (p. 1 and p. 16 are in the same forme); in the work and turn operation, however, the pressman can start his job as soon as 8 pages are composed and approved. Thus the flow of work from composing room to pressroom is more regular with less unproductive waiting about. Printers find this useful for rush jobs. Folding scheme in fig. 18 on pp. 546-547.

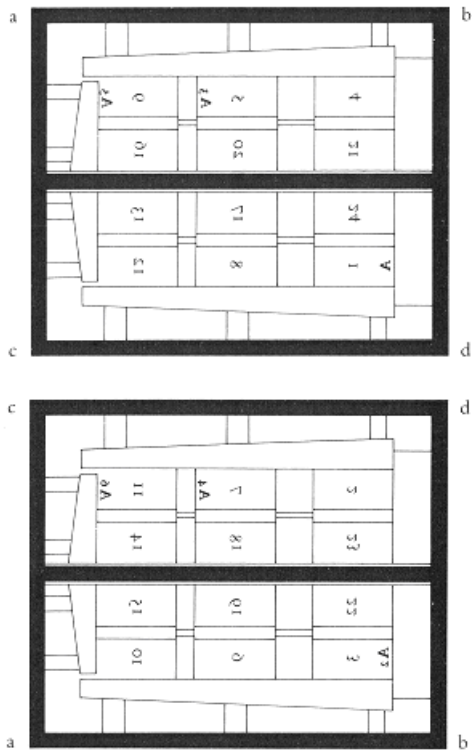


Fig. 6. One of several possible 12mo impositions. Folding scheme in fig. 19 on pp. 548-549.

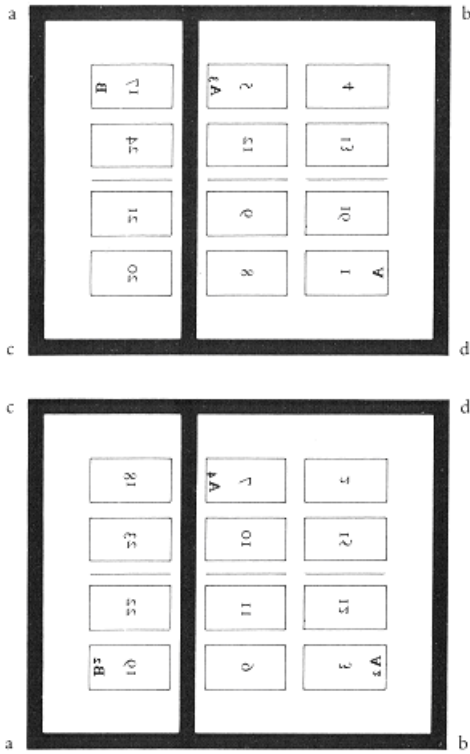


Fig. 7. Another 12mo imposition. Folding scheme in fig. 20 on pp. 550-551.

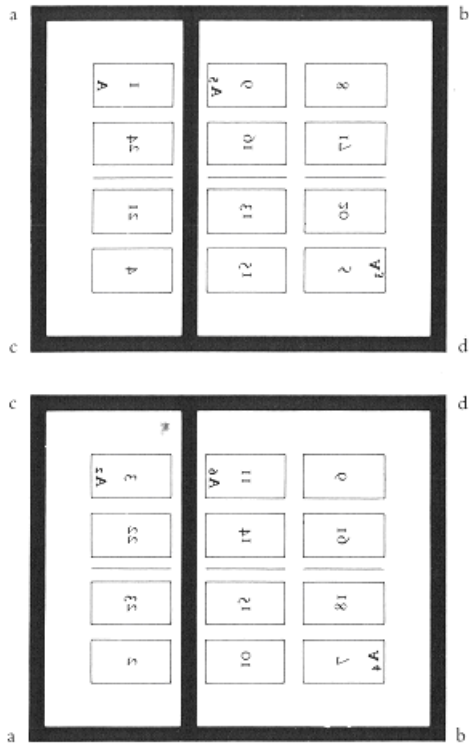


Fig. 8. A variant of the 12mo impression shown in fig. 7. Folding scheme in fig. 21 on pp. 552-553.

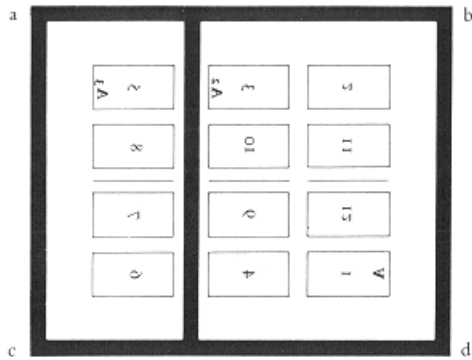


Fig. 9. A 12mo imposition for work and turn operation. Folding scheme in fig. 22 on pp. 554-555. The rather intricate 12mo fell into disuse with the advance of mechanized binding, as folding machinery is not usually adapted to performing such complicated tasks. In modern printing these impositions may be used when a book of a certain format must be printed on available paper of awkward size.

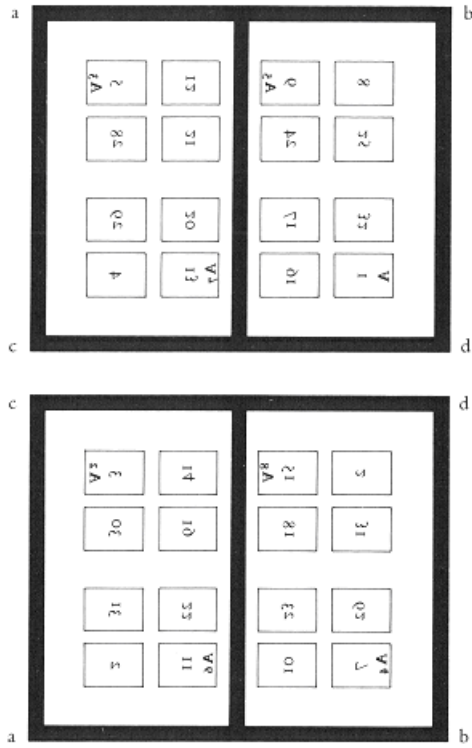


Fig. 10. Normal 16mo imposition. Folding scheme in fig. 23 on PP-556-557.

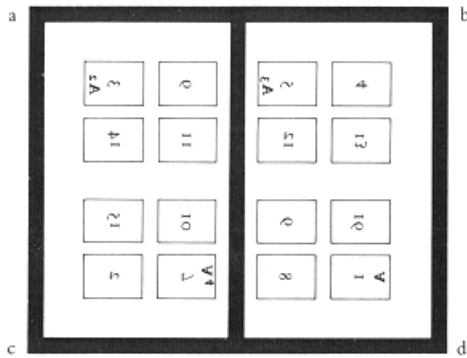


Fig. 11. A 16mo imposition for work and turn operation. Folding scheme in fig. 24 on pp. 558. This imposition is often used in modern printing, but was much less used in the time of Plantin and the Moretus, except for small books. Presses could only be built to a certain maximum size, as the printing of larger formes would have made too much of a demand on the muscular strength of the pressman. This limitation of size was only overcome with the development of modern power-driven cylinder presses. Paper sizes were also limited for much the same reasons before the advent of machine-made paper.

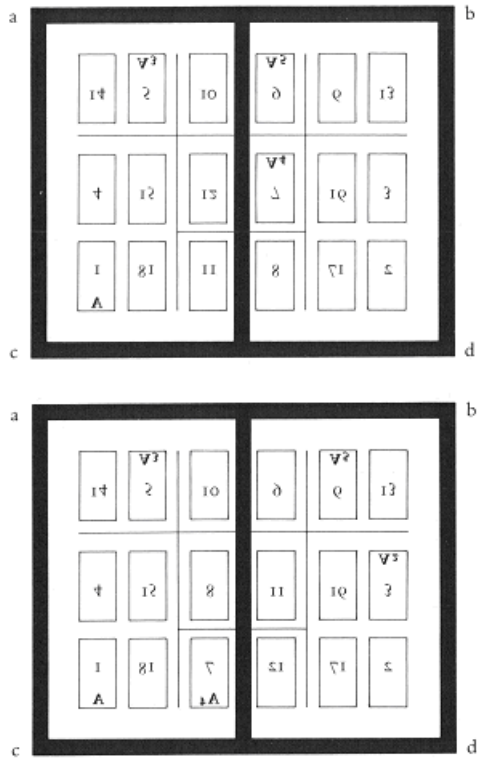


Fig. 12. An 18mo imposition, basically devised for work and turn operation. It should be noted, however, that for backing up the sheet pp. 7, 8, 11, and 12 must be arranged differently. Folding scheme in fig. 25 on p. 559.

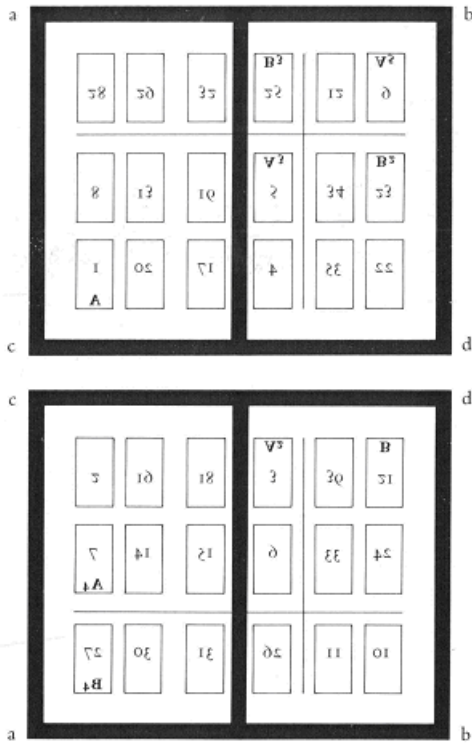


Fig. 13. An 18mo imposition devised in an inner and an outer forme. Folding scheme in fig. 26 on pp. 560-561. These impositions were not very common, most probably because of the highly intricate way of folding the sheets. Use of the imposition shown in fig. 12 in fact would mean that a loose leaf (A5, containing pp. 9 & 10) had to be pasted into the centre of the folded sheet.

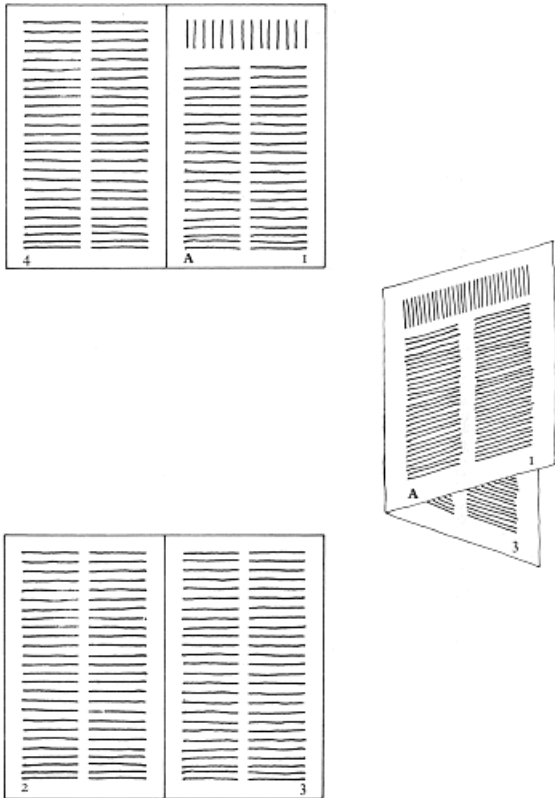


Fig. 14. A folio sheet: flat (both sides) and folded. Cf. fig. 1 on p. 527.

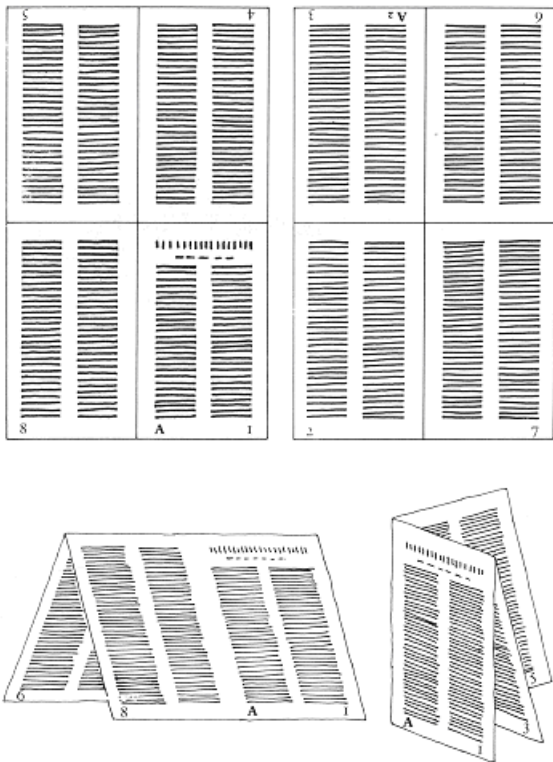


Fig. 15. A quarto sheet printed according to the imposition shown in fig. 2 on p. 528.

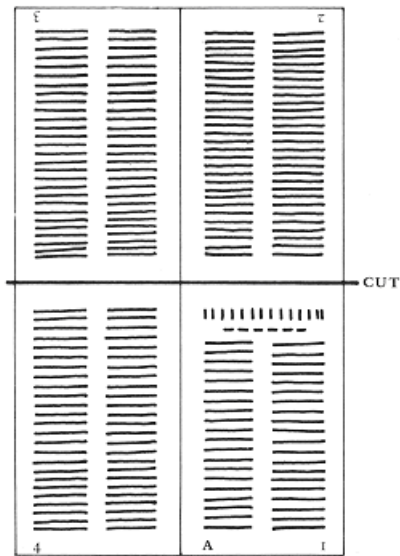
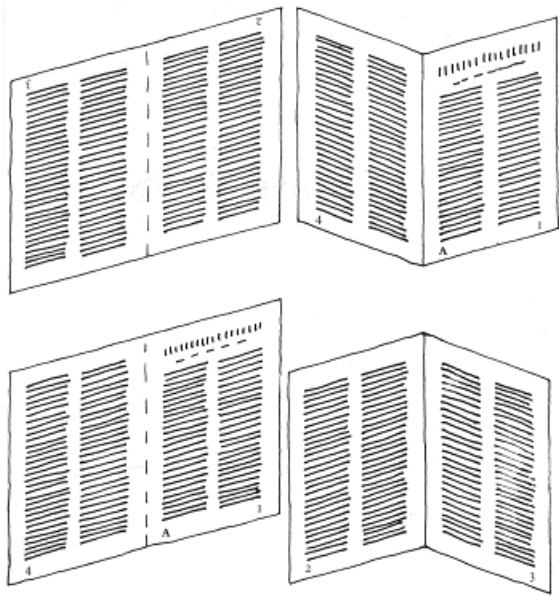
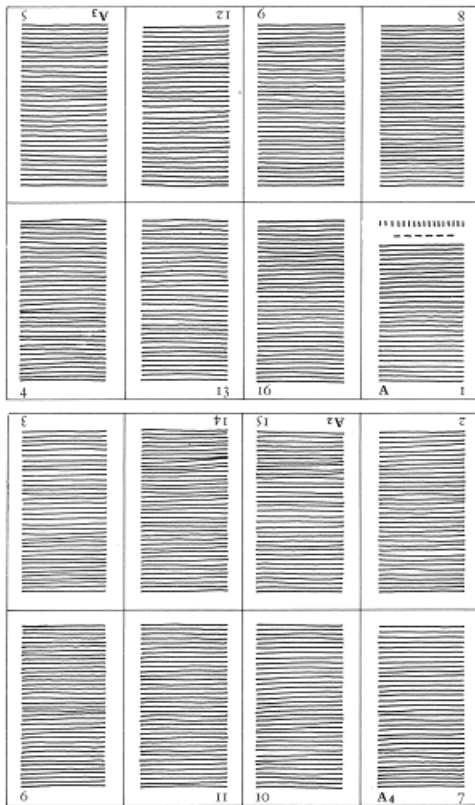


Fig. 16. A quarto sheet printed in work and turn operation according to the imposition shown in fig. 3 on p. 529. The sheet is first cut in half, thus producing two identical 4-page flat sheets (*opposite left*). After having been folded again two identical signatures result, with pp. 1 and 4 at the outside and pp. 2 and 3 at the inside (*opposite right*).





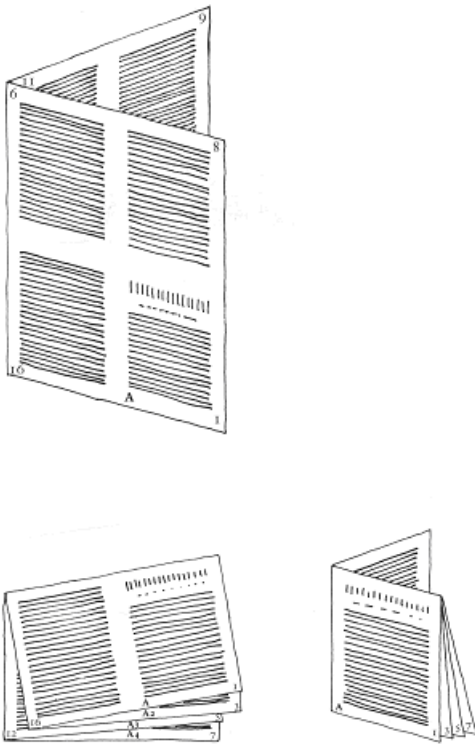


Fig. 17. An octavo sheet printed on both sides (*opposite page*) according to the imposition shown in fig. 4 on p. 530. On this page, *left*, the first fold; *at bottom left*, the second fold: *at bottom right*, the third (and final) fold. Usually when folding by hand the top edge is slightly cut between pages 12 and 13 after the second fold (at the top left hand corner of the diagram) so that the air may escape. In folding machines the second fold is perforated, in one operation, for the same purpose.

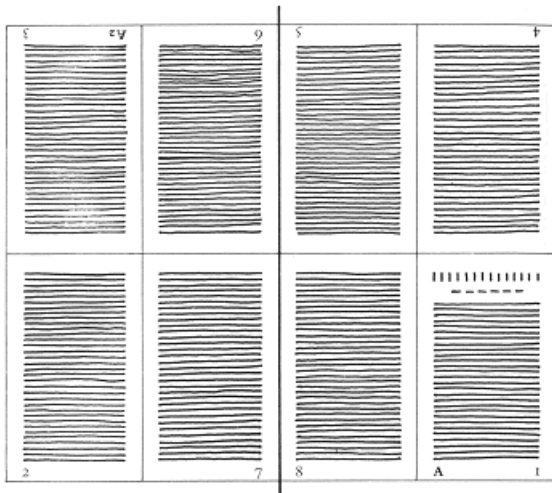
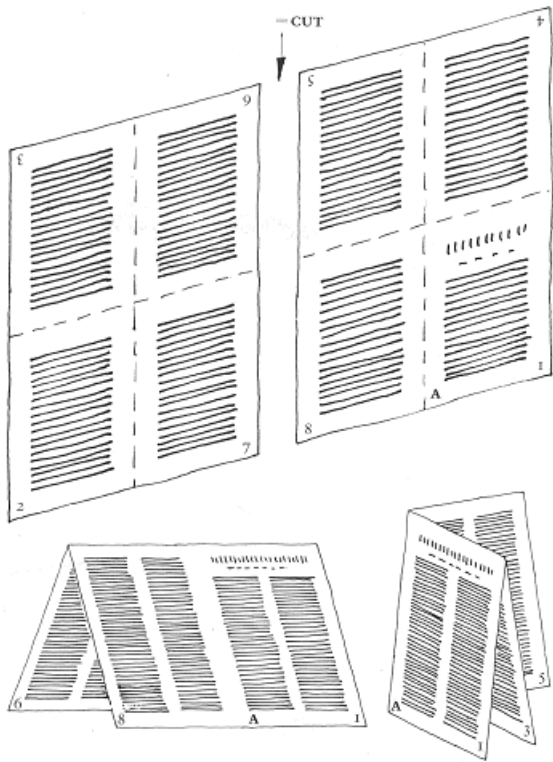
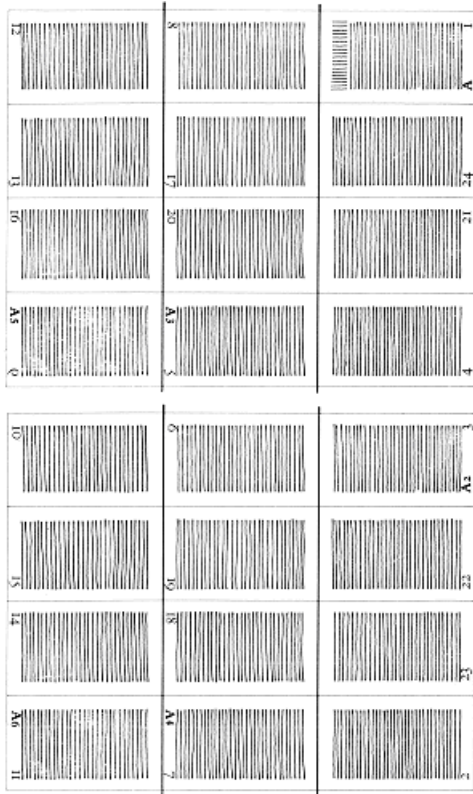


Fig. 18. An octavo sheet printed in work and turn operation as shown in fig. 5 on p. 531. The sheet is first cut in half (opposite page, top) resulting in two identical flat sheets of 8 pages. These are then folded twice as if they were quarto sheets. Cf. fig. 15 on p. 541.





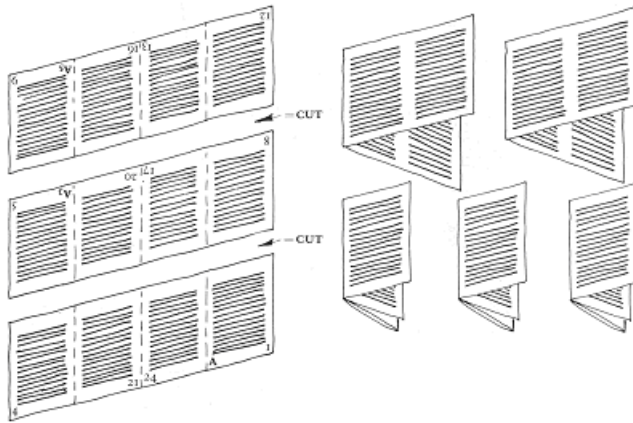
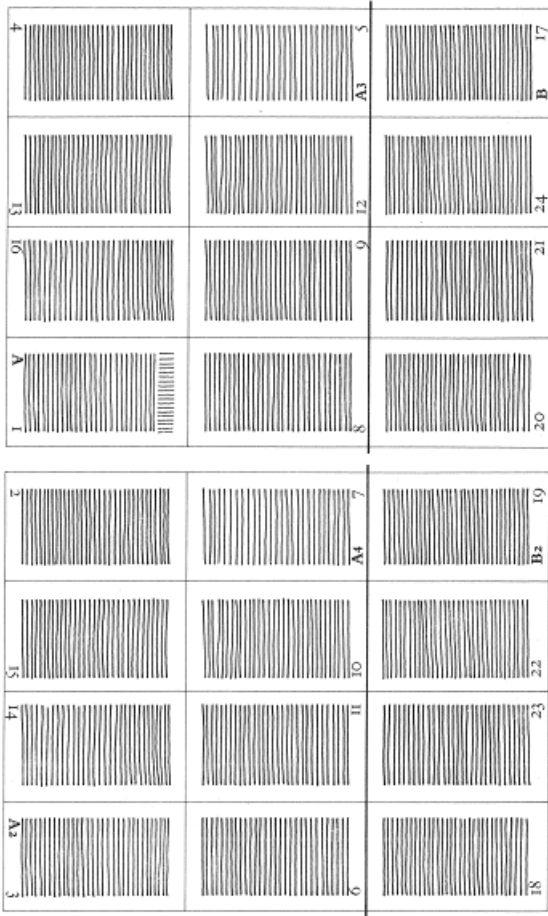


Fig. 19. A 12mo sheet printed according to the imposition shown in fig. 6 on p. 532. After being printed at both sides the sheet is cut (along the heavy lines) into three strips each containing 8 pages (as shown at left). These strips are then folded in parallel (the first fold is shown for two strips only) and finally inserted into each other. The signatures (A, A2, A3, A4, A5, A6) are a great help to the binder in this kind of operation.



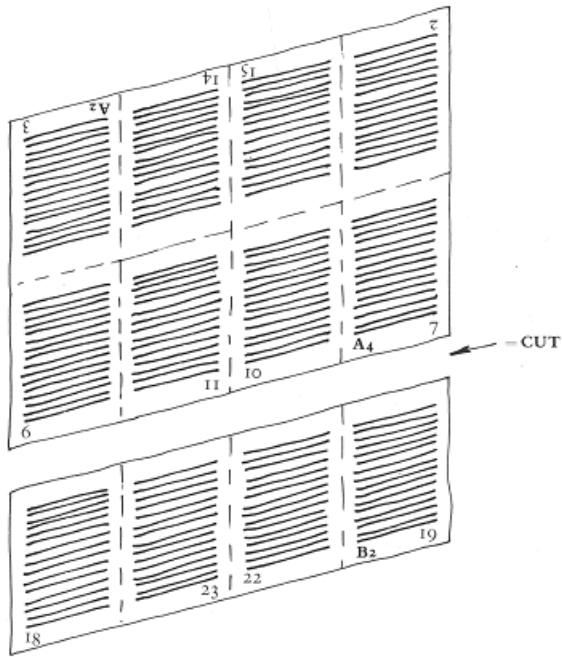
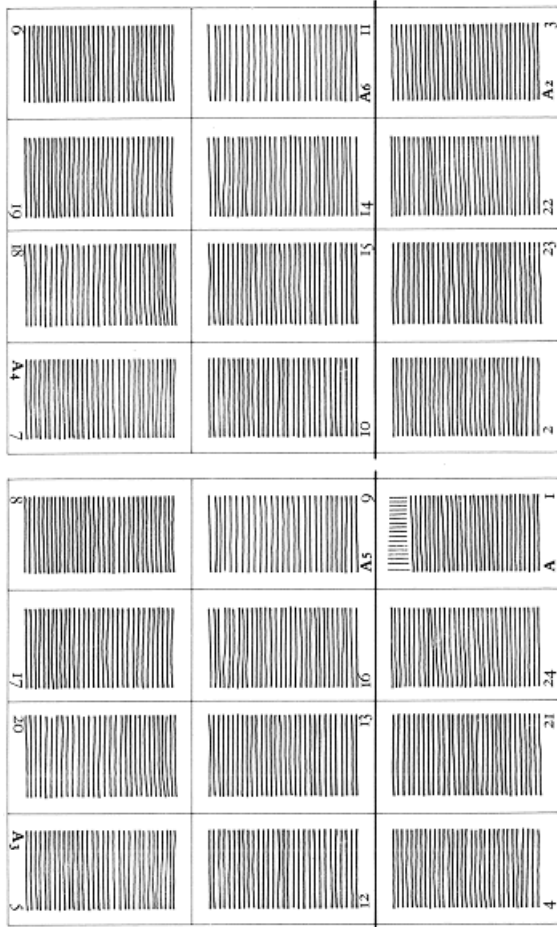


Fig. 20. A 12mo sheet printed according to the imposition shown in fig. 7 on p. 533. The sheet is really built up as two signatures: one ordinary octavo containing pp. 1-16 (A, A2, A3, A4) and a strip of 8 pages (pp. 17-24; B, B2). The former is treated as shown in fig. 17 on pp. 544-545, the latter as the innermost 8-page strip (A5, A6) shown in fig. 19 on p. 549.



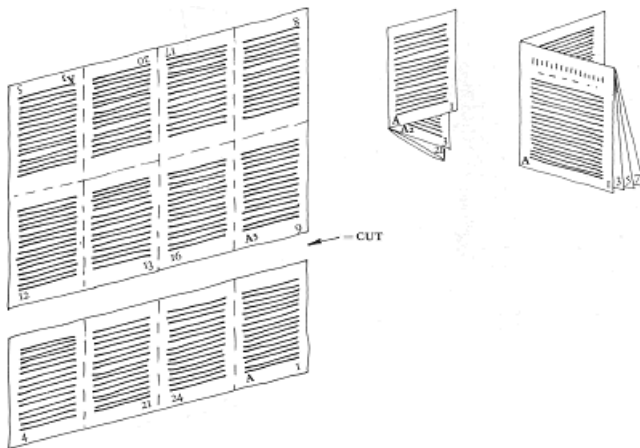


Fig. 21. A 12mo sheet printed according to the imposition shown in fig. 8 on p. 534. The lay-down of this forme is basically similar to the one shown in figs. 8 and 20. They differ in that the folded sheet of 16 pages is inset into the folded strip of 8 pages. Thus the 16-page signature contains pp. 5-20 (A3, A4, A5, A6) and the 8-page strip pp. 1-4 and 21-24. The latter is identical to the outer strip shown in fig. 19.

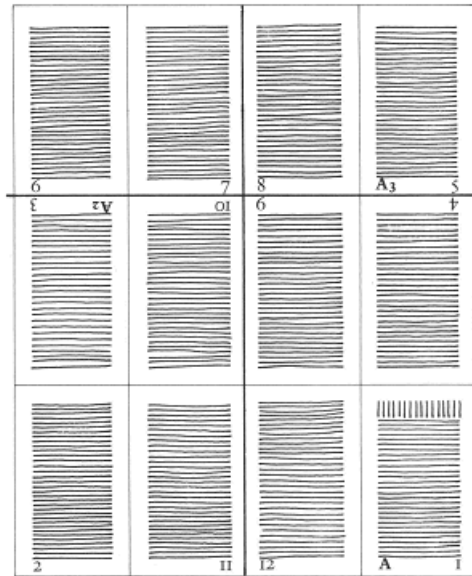
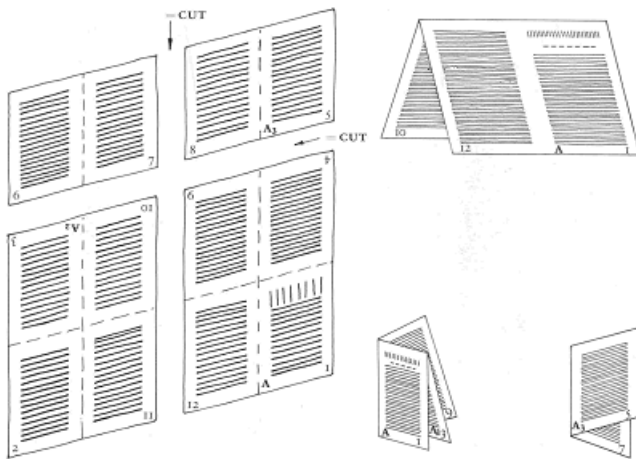
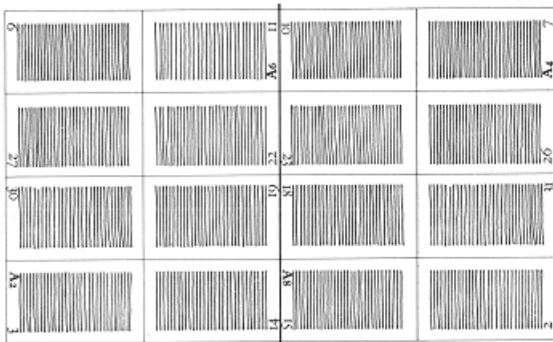
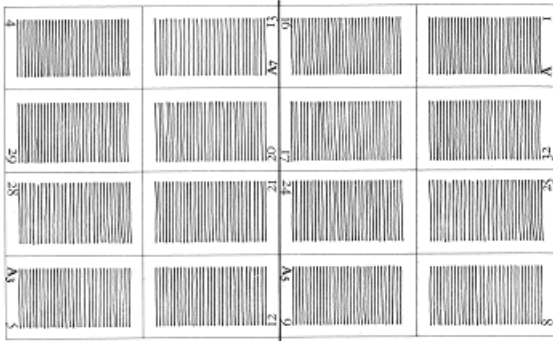


Fig. 22. A 12mo sheet printed according to the imposition shown in fig. 9 on p. 535 for work and turn operation. The same pages are printed on both sides of the paper. The printed sheet is cut twice along the heavy lines and produces one signature of 8 pages (pp. 1-4 and 9-12) twice and one signature of 4 pages (pp. 5-8), also twice. Both are folded and the 4-page signature (A3) inserted into the 8-page signature (A, A2). Most binders prefer to insert into the 4-page signature as it is easier to avoid mistakes in this way.





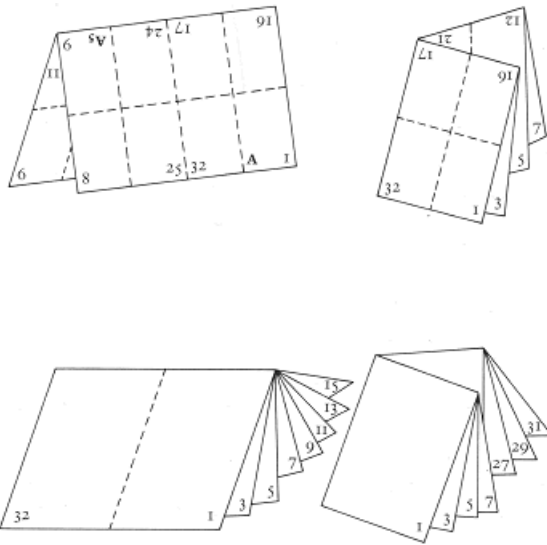


Fig. 23. A 16mo sheet printed according to the imposition shown in fig. 10 on p. 536. The sheet is folded four times, each fold crosswise to the previous one. Exact folding of such sheets is difficult, as much air tends to be caught in the folds. Usually this system was only used for small books printed on thin paper. Cf. fig. 17

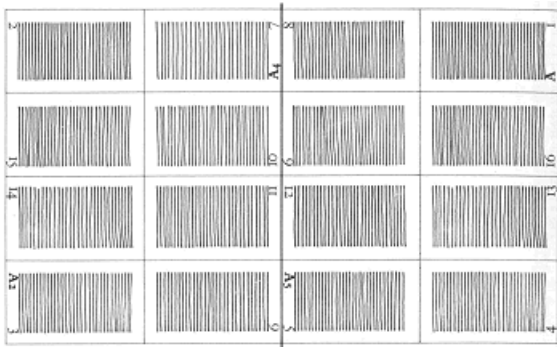


Fig. 24. A 16mo sheet printed according to the imposition shown in fig. 11 on p. 537 for work and turn operation. The sheet is cut in half along the heavy line, resulting in two identical signatures of 16 pages which are folded as shown in fig. 17 on p. 545.

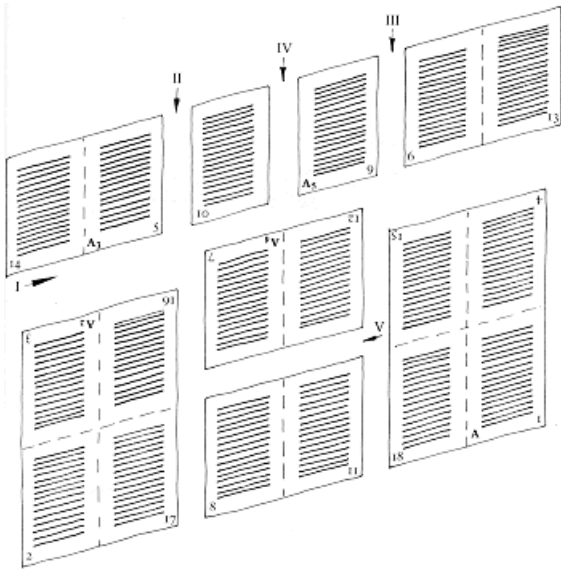
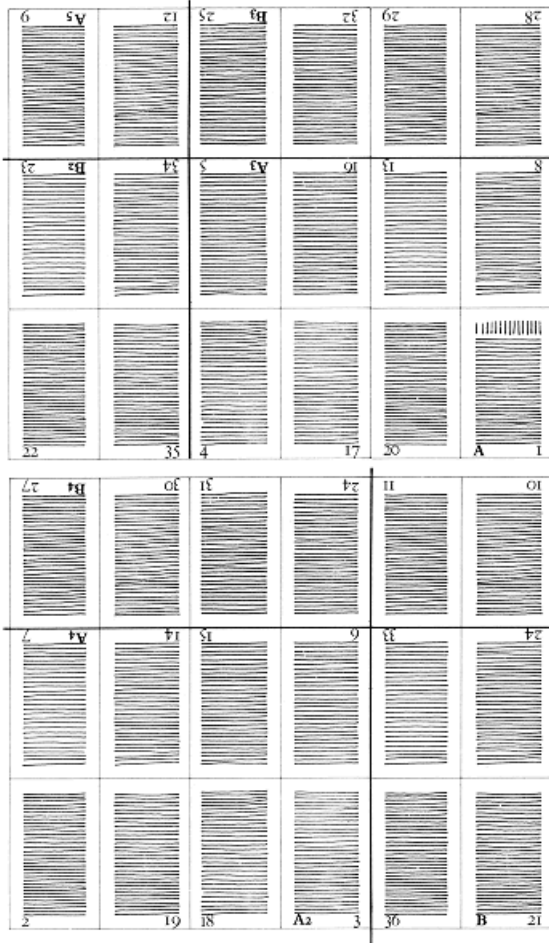


Fig. 25. An 18mo sheet printed according to the imposition shown in fig. 12 on p. 538, cut into its eight components. The numbered arrows indicate cuts in their consecutive order. As this imposition is basically a work and turn operation, each component appears twice. Folding is done along the dotted lines: the finished signature consists of an 8-page component (A, A2 containing pp. 1-4 and 15-18), two 4-page components inserted (A3: pp. 5-6 and 13-14, and A4: pp. 7-8 and 11-12). Finally the single leaf A5 (pp. 9 and 10) is pasted into the centre of the folded signature.



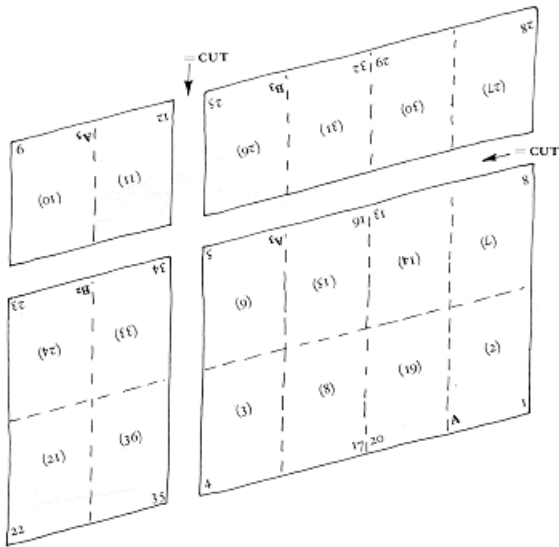


Fig. 26. An 18mo sheet printed according to the imposition shown in fig. 13 on p. 539. The flat sheet (both sides of which are shown opposite) is first cut into four pieces along the heavy lines. The resulting components are folded according to schemes appearing in previous figures. First, an octavo folding A, A2, A3, A4 containing pages 1-8 and 11-20, into which the component A5 (pp. 9-12) is inserted. The component B, B2 is folded twice, crosswise, and contains pp. 21-24 and 33-36, into which the element B3, B4 (pp. 25-32) is inserted after parallel folding. Numbers between brackets indicate the pages backing those visible.

Appendix 9

Additional Notes to Volume I

^{aanl.}(1) Pp. 9 sqq. *Plantin's first years as a printer.*

Eugénie Droz has dealt with the question of Plantin's first years as a printer in her 'Christofle Plantin, imprimeur de Guy de Brès, 1555', *Het Boek*, 37, 1965-6, pp. 57-72. She is of the opinion that Plantin can be credited with the publication of *Le baston de la foy chrestienne*, by the Lille Calvinist preacher Guy de Brès (executed at Valenciennes, 31st May 1567). The work was published without any indication of its printer, but with the words 'A Lyon, anno 1555' on the title-page. In conjunction with this theory she suggests that Plantin worked in Paris as a journeyman-printer for Jacques Bogard, or Bogaert, a Greek scholar and printer of Greek works who from 1543 to his death in 1548 was active in the house called *Saint-Christophe* in the Rue Saint-Jean de Latran. This establishment may have served as a secret 'cell' of the Family of Love. When Plantin left Paris for Antwerp after Bogard's death it would have been in answer to a call from Hendrik Niclaes, founder and prophet of the Family of Love, to go there and print for the sect. From 1548-49 at least, Plantin must have printed all kinds of heretical texts, only emerging openly as a printer in 1555. It was to provide himself with an alibi during these years that he described himself to the authorities as a bookbinder, but scarcely practised this craft at all. This in broad outline is Miss Droz's exegesis: it makes an interesting working hypothesis, and one capable of revolutionizing the traditional view of Plantin's early years, but it rests on a number of suppositions that prove hardly tenable on closer examination.

The matter of the *Saint-Christophe* has already been dealt with by Colin Clair in his book *Christopher Plantin*, 1960, pp. 6-7. Some scholars have assumed, on the basis of letters to Plantin from the Parisian bookseller, Martin le Jeune, headed 'de votre maison', that the owner of his residence - the *Saint-Christophe* - was Plantin; and also that the latter must have acquired it

before departing for Antwerp. However, Mr. Clair shows quite convincingly that ‘de votre maison’ was simply a courtesy formula and that Le Jeune himself was the owner of the house: a fact that is not at all difficult to accept as he was a son-in-law of Bogard.

In their essay ‘La question des reliures de Plantin’, in *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey*, 1966, pp. 58-59, Georges Colin and Howard M. Nixon, in answer to Miss Droz's article, stress that Plantin did bind books, and in considerable quantity, and executed other work in leather in the years 1550 to 1555.

As to the attribution of *Le baston de la foy chrestienne* to the ‘clandestine’ printer Plantin, the starting point of Miss Droz's thesis, the arguments here are even less convincing. The types used in *Le baston* are advanced as evidence. But these types, which are apparently identical with those employed in Plantin's first book, *La institutione...* (1555), were in general currency in the Netherlands at that time. Miss Droz does, however, point to some less usual roman capitals and the symbol of an outstretched left hand that also appear in an edition of Johannes Leo Africanus, *De Africae descriptione* by Jan de Laet. But this book, despite what Miss Droz assumes, was *not* printed by Plantin. If any Antwerp printer has to be made responsible for the clandestine issuing of the Calvinist preacher's work, then Jan de Laet, or the printer or printers working for him, are more likely candidates.

^{aanl.}(2) Pp. 11 sqq. *The bookbinder Plantin in Antwerp*.

To the relevant bibliography should be added the very interesting and lavishly illustrated contribution by Colin and Nixon, ‘La question des reliures de Plantin’, *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey*, 1966, pp. 56-89.

^{aanl.}(3) Pp. 95-96. *Plantin as printer to the States General*.

The States General, after the defeat inflicted on them by the Spanish army at Gembloux (31st January 1578), fled Brussels in panic and sought refuge in Antwerp, which was less under threat, and were established there from 5th February 1578. This more than any other consideration explains why in April of that year Plantin respectfully asked the States General if he might be their printer - and why they promptly accepted his proposal. In other words, Plantin's appointment as printer to the States General was determined by that body's presence in Antwerp.

Bibliography

Bibliography¹

- Alvin, L., *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre des trois frères Jean, Jérôme et Antoine Wiericx*. Brussels, 1866.
- Alvin, L., *Catalogue raisonné des portraits gravés par les trois frères Wiericx*. Brussels, 1867.
- Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens. *Catalogue de l'exposition organisée à la Galerie Mazarine (mars-avril 1954)*, Bibliothèque nationale. Paris, 1954.
- Audin, M., *Histoire de l'imprimerie par l'image I. L'histoire et la technique*. Paris, 1929.
- Baelde, M., 'De toekenning van drukkersoctrooien door de Geheime Raad in de zestiende eeuw' in *De Gulden Passer*, 40, 1962, pp. 19-58.
- Baelde, M., *De collaterale raden onder Karel V en Filips II (1531-1578). Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de centrale instellingen in de zestiende eeuw*. Brussels, 1965 (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, nr. 60).
- Becker, B., 'Thierry Coornhert et Christophe Plantin' in *De Gulden Passer* 1, 1923, pp. 97-123.
- Bemden, J.J.P. van den, *De familie Galle, plaetsnyders van het laetst der XVIe en de eerste helft der XVIIe eeuw*. Antwerp, 1863.
- Bergmans, P., 'Clement Perret, calligraphe bruxellois du XVIe siècle' in *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique*, 1902.
- Bodel Nyenhuis, J.T., *De wetgeving op drukpers en boekhandel in de Nederlanden tot in het begin der XIXde eeuw*. Amsterdam, 1892 (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel, 4).
- Bouchery, H.F., 'Latijnsche lexicographie der XVe en XVIe eeuw in de Nederlanden' in *De Gulden Passer*, 22, 1944, pp. 63-81.

1. This is not an exhaustive bibliography of all the studies of the history of Plantin and the Moretuses: only the works actually consulted for *this second volume*, and relevant to the questions discussed herein, are listed. For further titles, see the bibliography in Vol. I, pp. 447 sqq.

- Bouchery, H.F. and F. van den Wijngaert, *P.P. Rubens en het Plantijnsche huis*. Antwerp, 1941 (Maerlantbibliotheek, 4).
- Briquet, C.M., *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*. 4 vols., 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1923.
- Brückner, W., 'Eine Messbuchhändlerliste von 1579 und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bücherkommission' in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 3, 1960, columns 1629-1647.
- Brulez, W., *De firma della Faille en de Internationale handel van Vlaamse firma's in de 16de eeuw*. Brussels, 1959. (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, no. 35).
- Carter, H., 'Plantin's types and their makers' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 247-269 (also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34, 1956, pp. 121-143).
- Carter, H., 'The types of Christopher Plantin' in *The Library*, Fifth Series, 11, 1956, pp. 170-179.
- Carter, H., 'A message from Plantin to Guillaume Le Bé' in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 59-62.
- Carter, H., *A View of Early Typography up to about 1600*. (The Lyell Lectures 1968). Oxford, 1969.
- Carter, H., and H.D.L. Vervliet, *Civilité Types*. Oxford, 1966 (Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications, New Series, no. 14).
- Chauvet, P., *Les ouvriers du livre en France des origines à la Révolution de 1789*. Paris, 1959.
- Clair, C., 'Clement Perret, Calligrapher' in *The Library*, Fifth Series, 11, 1956, pp. 50-52.
- Clair, C., 'Clement Perret, Calligrapher: an Addendum' in *The Library*, Fifth Series, 13, 1958, pp. 127-128.
- Clair, C., 'Plantin's Trade Connections with England and Scotland' in *The Library*, Fifth Series, 14, 1959, pp. 28-45.
- Clair, C., *Christopher Plantin*. London, 1960.
- Clercq, C. de, 'Les éditions bibliques, liturgiques et canoniques de Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen, 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 238-318 (also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34, 1956, pp. 157-192).
- Clercq, C. de, 'La Bible française de René Benoist' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1958, pp. 155-163.
- Clercq, C. de, 'Deux épisodes plantiniens' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1958, pp. 155-163.
- Clert, L. le, *Le papier. Recherches et notes pour servir à l'histoire du papier, principalement à Troyes et aux environs depuis le quatorzième siècle*, 2 vols. Paris, 1926.
- Colin, G., and H.M. Nixon, 'La question des reliures de Plantin' in *Studia*

- bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey*, Amsterdam, 1966, p. 56-89.
- Coornaert, E., *Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers, fin du XVe-XVIe siècle*, 2 vols. Paris, 1961.
- Craeybeckx, J., 'De handarbeiders. III. De 17de en de 18de eeuw' in *Flandria Nostra. Ons land en ons volk, zijn standen en beroepen door de tijden heen*, vol. I (Antwerp, 1957), pp. 281-328.
- Crombruggen, H. van, 'Een brief van Adriaan Saravia over Lipsius en "Het Huis der Liefde"' in *De Gulden Passer*, 28, 1950, pp. 110-117.
- Crombruggen, H. van, *Janus Lernutius (1545-1619). Een biografische studie*. Brussels, 1955 (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 17, no. 23).
- Delen, A.J.J., 'Les artistes collaborateurs de Christophe Plantin' in *Sept études publiées à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire du célèbre imprimeur anversoïis, Christophe Plantin*. Brussels, 1920, pp. 85-123.
- Delen, A.J.J., 'Les illustateurs français de Christophe Plantin' in *Le Bibliophile* (Paris), 2, 1932, pp. 63-74 and 175-183.
- Delen, A.J.J., 'Christoffel Plantin als prentenhandelaar' in *De Gulden Passer*, 10, 1932, pp. 1-24.
- Delen, A.J.J., *Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas et dans les provinces belges, des origines jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, II. I. *Le XVIe siècle. Les graveurs-illustateurs*. Paris, 1935.
- Denucé, J., *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*. Antwerp and The Hague, 1912-1913, 2 vols. (Publications of the 'Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen', nos. 27 and 28).
- Denucé, J., *Musaeum Plantin-Moretus. Inventaris op het Plantijnsch archief. Inventaire des archives plantiniennes*. Antwerp, 1926.
- Denucé, J., *Musaeum Plantin-Moretus. Catalogue des manuscrits*.
- Denucé, J., *Catalogus der handschriften*. Antwerp, 1927.
- Denucé, J., *Catalogus van de privileges*. [In manuscript, to be consulted in the Museum Plantin-Moretus].
- Desgraves, L., *L'imprimerie à La Rochelle; 2: Les Hautin*. Geneva, 1960 (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 34).
- Dieterichs, K., *Die Buchdruckpresse von Johannes Gutenberg bis Friedrich König*. Mainz, 1930.
- Dietz, A., *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, vol. III. Frankfurt, 1921.
- Dietz, A., *Zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Büchermesse, 1462-1792*. Frankfurt, 1921.
- Donnet, F., *Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire financière d'Anvers au cours des siècles*. Antwerp, 1927.
- Edler, F., 'Cost accounting in the sixteenth century. The books of account

- of Christopher Plantin, Antwerp, printer and publisher' in *The Accounting Review* (Chicago), 12, 1937, pp. 226-237.
- Enschedé, J.W., 'Houten handpersen in de zestiende eeuw' in *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 4, 1906, pp. 195-215, 262-272.
- Enschedé, J.W., 'De drukpersafbeeldingen in Ampzing en Scriverius 1628' in *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 6, 1908, pp. 265-268.
- Febvre, L., and H.J. Martin, *L'apparition du livre*. Paris, 1958. (L'Évolution de l'Humanité, 49).
- Fischer, E., *Melchior Lorck. Drawings from the Evelyn Collection at Stonor Park, England and from the Department of Prints and Drawings, The Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen*. Copenhagen, 1962.
- Fontaine Verwey, H. de la, 'Typografische schrijfboeken: een hoofdstuk uit de geschiedenis van de Civilité-letter' in *De Gulden Passer*, 39, 1961, pp. 288-326.
- Fontaine Verwey, H. de la, 'Les caractères de civilité et la propagande religieuse' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Travaux et Documents*, 26, 1964, pp. 7-27.
- Franken, D., *L'oeuvre gravé des Van de Passe*. Amsterdam-Paris, 1881.
- Gaillard, A., *Le Conseil de Brabant*, 3 vols., Brussels, 1898-1902.
- Génard, P., *Levensschets van Cornelis van Kiel (Kilianus)*. 2nd impr., Antwerp 1882.
- Gossart, E., 'Le chroniqueur Garibay chez Plantin' in *Le Bibliophile belge*, 11, 1876, pp. 281-287.
- Guignard, J., 'A propos des éditions françaises de Plantin' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 319-363 (also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34, 1956, pp. 193-237).
- Halbertsma, J.H., 'Kiliaan en Plantin en hun lexicografische werkzaamheden' in *Handelingen van het 7e Nederlands Taal- en Letterkundig congres*, Bruges, 1962, pp. 225-251.
- Heitjan, I., 'Die Kölner Buchhändler und Verleger Demen im 17. Jahrhundert' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1962, pp. 294-302.
- Hellinga, W. Gs., *Copy and Print in the Netherlands. An Atlas Historical Bibliography. (With introductory essays by H. de la Fontaine Verwey and G.W. Ovink.)* Amsterdam, 1962.
- Henrard, P., 'Mathieu de Morgues et la Maison Plantin' in *Bulletins de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 2me série, 49, 1880, pp. 542-589.
- Hirschmann, O., *Verzeichnis des graphischen Werks von Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617*. Leipzig, 1921.
- Högberg, P., 'Reliures belges à l'université d'Upsal' in *De Gulden Passer*, 5, 1927, pp. 1-9.
- Howe, E., 'Plantin at Antwerp. A Typographical Adventure' in *The British Printer*, 73, 1960.

- Hoyoux, J., 'Les moyens d'existence d'Erasmus' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Travaux et Documents*, 6, 1944, pp. 7-59.
- Hunter, D., *Papermaking through Eighteen Centuries*. New York, 1930.
- Iconographie de l'Imprimerie et du Livre*. Paris, s.d.
- Kapp, F., *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels bis in das 17. Jahrhundert*. Leipzig, 1886.
- Kiliaanhulde op Zondag, 23 Juni, 1929, ter gelegenheid van de 400e verjaring der geboorte van Cornelius van Kiel, Kilianus van Duffel*. Duffel, 1929.
- Kingdon, R.M., 'The Plantin Breviaries; a case study in the sixteenth-century business operations of a publishing house' in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Travaux et Documents*, 22, 1960, pp. 133-150.
- Kingdon, R.M., 'Christopher Plantin and his Backers, 1575-90. A study in the problem of financing business during war' in *Mélanges d'Histoire économique et sociale en Hommage au Professeur Antony Babel*, Genève, 1963, pp. 303-316.
- Klaetsch, H., *Die Druckfarbe in vergangenen Zeiten*. Mainz, 1940.
- Krieg, W., *Materialien zu einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der Bücher-Preise und des Autoren-Honorars vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Wien-Zürich, 1953.
- Laroche, P., 'Discours de réception' in *Mémoires de la Société d'Arras*, 18, 1886, pp. 1-22 [of the off-print].
- Lefèvre, M., 'Libraires belges en relations commerciales avec Christophe Plantin et Jean Moretus' in *De Gulden Passer*, 41, 1963, pp. 1-46.
- McKerrow, R.B., *An Introduction to Bibliography*, 2nd ed. Oxford, 1928.
- Madan, F., 'Early Representations of Printing Presses' in *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 4, 1924, pp. 165-167.
- Mertens, L., *Les changes et fonds publics à Anvers depuis le 16e siècle à 1792*. Antwerp, 1894.
- Michielsen, L., 'Nota's over den rijkdom en den boekhandel der Moretussen in de XVIIIe eeuw' in *De Gulden Passer*, 14, 1936, pp. 53-60.
- Mortet, Ch., *Le format des livres. Notions pratiques suivies de recherches historiques*. Paris, 1925.
- Moxon, J., *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing (1683-4)*. New edition with notes by H. Davis and H. Carter. Oxford, 1958.
- Myers, M.L., 'Rubens and the Woodcuts of Christoffel Jegher' in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 1966, pp. 7-23.
- Nash, R., *Dürer's 1511 Drawing of a press and printer*. Cambridge, Mass., 1947.
- Nash, R., 'Plantin's illustrated books' in *Gedenkboek der Plantindagen 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 270-282 (also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34, 1956, pp. 144-156).
- Nash, R., *Calligraphy and Printing in the Sixteenth Century. Dialogue attributed to Christopher Plantin in French and Flemish facsimile. Edited with English translation and notes*. Antwerp, 1964.

- Neipp, L., *Les machines à imprimer depuis Gutenberg*. Paris, 1951.
- Paillard, J., *Claude Garamont, graveur et fondeur de lettres*. Paris, 1914 (Re-edition: La Courneuve, Ofmi-Garamont, 1969).
- Parker, M., and K. Melis, *Inventaris van de stemp els en matrijzen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus. Inventory of the Plantin-Moretus Museum Punches and Matrices*. Antwerp, 1960 (Mimeographed; may be consulted in the Plantin-Moretus Museum).
- Parker, M., K. Melis, and H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, II. Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices, and Moulds in the Plantin-Moretus Archives' in *De Gulden Passer*, 38, 1960, pp. 1-139.
- Parker, M., K. Melis, and H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, III: Ameet Tavernier, Punchcutter (ca. 1522-1570)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 39, 1961, pp. 17-76.
- Pirenne, H., 'L'importance économique et morale d'Anvers à l'époque de Plantin' in *Fêtes données en 1920 à Anvers et à Tours à l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de la naissance de Chr. Plantin*, Antwerp, 1920, pp. 15-24.
- Pottinger, D.T., *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime, 1500-1791*. Cambridge, Mass., 1958.
- Prims, F., *Antwerpse stadsschulden in Duitsland in de XVIde eeuw*. Brussels, 1948 (Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, X, no. 2).
- Puttemans, A., *La censure dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens*. Brussels, 1935 (Mémoires in 8° de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres, 37, I).
- Ramaix, I. de, 'Frans Huys. Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé' in *Le Livre et l'Estampe*, 55-56 (1968), pp. 258-293; 57-58 (1969), pp. 23-54.
- Raynaud, M.G., 'Une édition de Froissart projetée par Christophe Plantin (1563-1565)' in *Mélanges Julien Havet. Recueil de travaux d'étudition dédiés à la mémoire de Julien Havet (1853-1893)*. Paris, 1895, pp. 515-519.
- Recke, B., *Die Frankfurter Büchermesse*. Frankfurt, [1951].
- Remy, F., 'De boekencensuur. Historisch overzicht' in *De Gulden Passer*, 20, 1942, pp. 1-21.
- Reusch, F.H., *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Literaturgeschichte*, 2 vols. Bonn, 1883-1885.
- Reusch, F.H., *Die 'Indices librorum prohibitorum' des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, gesammelt und herausgegeben von -*. Tübingen, 1886.
- Reuter, W., 'Zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Buchdruckgewerbes im Rheinland bis 1800' in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 1, 1958, col. 642-736.
- Richter, G., 'Christian Egenolffs Erben 1555-1667', in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 7, 1966, col. 449-1130.
- Rooses, M., *Kilianus' Latijnsche Gedichten, uitgegeven en met een levensbericht*

- voorzien. Antwerp, 1880 (Publications of the Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen, 6).
- Rooses, M., 'Hoe de woordenboeken van Plantijn en Kilianus tot stand kwamen' in *Nederlandsch Museum*, 1, 1880, pp. 190-208.
- Rooses, M., 'Eene bladzijde uit de geschiedenis van den boekhandel over driehonderd jaar' in *Bulletijn van de Mij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, 1, 1882, pp. 72-81.
- Rooses, M., 'Les frères Wiericx à l'imprimerie plantinienne' in *Bulletijn van de Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen*, 1, 1882, pp. 225-248.
- Rooses, M., 'Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus' in *Rubens Bulletin*, 1, 1882, pp. 203-219, 275-299; 2, 1883, pp. 48-80, 125-148, 176-211 [Published separately as *Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus. Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der kunst*. Antwerp and Ghent, 1884].
- Rooses, M., 'De plaatsnijders der Evangelicae Historiae Imagines' in *Oud-Holland*, 6, 1888.
- Rooses, M., 'Kiel (Corneille)' in *Biographie Nationale [de Belgique]*, 10, [1888-1889], col. 748-759.
- Rooses, M., 'De Jegher's, vader en zoon' in *De Vlaamsche School*, 35, 1889, pp. 41-44, 53-58.
- Rooses, M., *Icones veterum aliquot, ac recentium medicorum, philosophorumque elogiolis suis editae, opera I. Sambuci. Nagedrukt in Facsimile volgens de uitgave van Plantin van 1574... Reproduit en Fac-simile d'après l'édition de Plantin de 1574...* Antwerp-The Hague, 1901.
- Rooses, M., *Les Emblèmes d'Hadrianus Junius. Réimpression de l'édition plantinienne de 1565*, Antwerp, 1901.
- Rooses, M., *De Emblemata van Hadrianus Junius. Herdruk der Plantijnsche uitgave*, Antwerp, 1902.
- Rooses, M., *Titels en portretten gesneden naar P.P. Rubens voor de Plantijnsche drukkerij. Titres et portraits gravés d'après P.P. Rubens pour l'imprimerie plantinienne*. Antwerp, 1901.
- Rooses, M., 'De letters der Plantijnsche drukkerij, 1555-1589' in *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 2, 1904, pp. 7-21.
- Rooses, M., 'De Plantijnsche uitgaven van "Emblemata Joannis Sambuci"' in *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 2, 1904, pp. 7-21.
- Rooses, M., *Index Characterum Architypographiae Plantinanae*. Antwerp, 1905.
- Rooses, M., *De houtsneden uitgevoerd voor den Brevier en voor den Missaal in-folio. Les bois gravés pour le Bréviaire et pour le Missel in-folio*. Antwerp, 1910.
- Rooses, M., *De houtsneden uitgevoerd voor de brevieren, de missalen en andere kerkelijke boeken. Les bois gravés pour les bréviaires, les missels et autres livres liturgiques*. Antwerp, 1911.
- Rooses, M., *Het Oud en het Nieuw Testament. L'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament*, 2 vols. Antwerp, 1911.

Rooses, M., *Le Musée Plantin-Moretus. Contenant la vie et l'oeuvre de Christophe Plantin et ses successeurs, les Moretus, aussi que la description du musée et des collections qu'il renferme*. Antwerp, 1914.

Rooses, M., *Les planches du bréviaire in -8^o, gravés par Jean Wiericx*. Antwerp, s.d.

Rooses, M., *De platen van den brevier in -8^o gesneden door Jan Wiericx*. Antwerp, s.d.

Rooses, M., *De platen van het getijdenboek gegraveerd door Crispijn van de Passe*. Antwerp, s.d.

Rooses, M., and J. Denucé, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*. Antwerp, 1883-1920, 9 parts in 8 vols. (Publications of the 'Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen', 12, 15, 26, 29-34).

Roover, R. de, 'Aux orogines d'une technique intellectuelle; la formation et l'expansion de la comptabilité à partie double' in *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, 9, 1937, pp. 171-193 and 270-298.

Roover, R. de, *L'évolution de la lettre de change (XIVe-XVIIIe s.)*. Paris, 1953.

Roover, R. de, 'The Business Organisation of the Plantin in the Setting of Sixteenth-Century Antwerp' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 230-246 (also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34, 1965, pp. 104-120).

Ruppel, A., 'Die Bücherwelt des 16. Jahrhunderts und die Frankfurter Büchermessen' in *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, Antwerp, 1956, pp. 156-164 (also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34, 1956, pp. 20-39).

Sabbe, M., 'Uit de briefwisseling van Clusius met Chr. Plantin en J. Moretus' in *Uit het Plantijnsche Huis*, Antwerp, 1924, pp. 57-67 (also in *Het Boek*, 10, 1921, pp. 97-114).

Sabbe, M., 'In- en uitvoerrechten op boeken en papier gedurende de 17e en 18e eeuw in Zuid-Nederland' in *Uit het Plantijnsche Huis*, Antwerp, 1924, pp. 99-115 (also in *Het Boek*, 10, 1921, pp. 285-293, 337-345, 361-372).

Sabbe, M., 'Plantin et les "Amours" de Ronsard' in *De Gulden Passer*, 2, 1924, pp. 110-115.

Sabbe, M., 'Ysbrand Vincent en zijn Antwerpsche vrienden' in *De Moretussen en hun kring*, Antwerp, 1928, pp. 178-232 (also published in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1924, pp. 499-551).

Sabbe, M., 'Balthasar Moretus II naar de Vasten-Messe te Francfort in 1644' in *Jaarboek van Antwerpen's Oudheidkundige Kring*, 8, 1932, pp. 31-53.

Sabbe, M., 'De Plantijnsche Werkstede. Arbeidsregeling, tucht en maatschappelijke voorzorg in de oude Antwerpsche drukkerij' in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, 1935, pp. 595-694 (also published separately).

Sabbe, M., 'In de Plantijnsche werkstede. Ordonnantie op het gebruik van vuur en licht' in *De Gulden Passer*, 14, 1936, pp. 145-151.

- Sabbe, M., *De Meesters van den Gulden Passer Christoffel Plantijn, aartsdrukker van Philips II, en zijn opvolgers, de Moretussen*. Amsterdam, 1937 (Patria, vaderlandsche cultuurgeschiedenis in monografieën, 7).
- Sabbe, M., 'Dans les ateliers de Plantin. Règlement du travail, discipline et prévoyance sociale' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1937, pp. 174-192.
- Sabbe, M., 'Een en ander over Dodoens' Cruydboeck-uitgaven van 1608 en 1618 en de Van Ravelingen's' in *De Gulden Passer*, 15, 1937, pp. 89-106.
- Sabbe, M., and M. Audin. *Les caractères de civilité de Robert Granjon et les imprimeurs flamands*. Lyons, 1921.
- Sabbe, M., and M. Audin. *Die Civilité Schriften des Robert Granjon in Lyon und die flämischen Drucker des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Vienna, 1929.
- Scholliers, E., 'Vrije en onvrije arbeiders voornamelijk te Antwerpen in de XVIe eeuw' in *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 11, 1956, pp. 285-322.
- Scholliers, E., 'De Handarbeiders. II. De 16de eeuw' in *Flandria Nostra*.
- Scholliers, E., *Ons land en ons volk, zijn standen en beroepen door de tijden heen*, vol. 1 Antwerp, 1957, pp. 261-280.
- Scholliers, E., *Loonarbeid en honger. De levensstandaard in de XVe en XVIe eeuw te Antwerpen*. Antwerp, 1960.
- Scholliers, E., Prijzen en lonen te Antwerpen (15e en 16e eeuw) in *Dokumenten voor de geschiedenis van prijzen en lonen in Vlaanderen en Brabant (XVe-XVIII eeuw)*.
- Schottenloher, K., 'Die Druckprivilegien des 16. Jahrhunderts' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1933, pp. 89-110.
- Schwetschke, G., *Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis; Meß-Jahrbücher des deutschen Buchhandels von dem Erscheinen des ersten Meß-Kataloges im Jahre 1564 bis zu der Gründung des ersten Buchhändler-Vereins im Jahre 1765*. Halle, 1850.
- Simpson, P., 'Proof-reading by English authors of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in *Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society*, II, 1, 1927, pp. 1-24.
- Simpson, P., *Proof-reading in the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries*. Cambridge, 1935.
- Simpson, P., 'Literary Piracy in the Elizabethan Age' in *Publications of the Oxford Bibliographical Society*. New Series, I, 1, 1947, pp. 1-23.
- Slenk, H., 'Christophe Plantin and the Genevan Psalter' in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging van Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 1967, pp. 226-248.
- Stein, H., 'La succursale plantinienne de Paris' in *Bibliographie moderne*, 1920-1921, pp. 34-57.
- Stellfeld, J.A., Het muziekhistorisch belang der catalogi en inventarissen van het Plantinsch archief in *Vlaamsche Jaarboek voor Muziekgeschiedenis*, 2-3, 1940-1941, pp. 5-50.

- Stellfeld, J.A., *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*. Brussels, 1949 (Mémoires in -8° de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts, V, 3).
- Stephanus, H., *Francofordiense emporium. Der Frankfurter Markt. The Frankfurt Fair. La foire de Francfort*. Frankfurt on Main, 1968 (Facsimile of the 1574 edition, with German, English, and French translation, and an epilogue by S. Taubert).
- Turner, P.J., 'Working Conditions in the Printing Office of Christopher Plantin and the Plantin Chapel' in *Printing Review*, 20, no. 75, 1959.
- Updike, D.B., *Printing Types. Their History, Forms, and Use. A Study in Survivals*, 2 vols, 3rd ed. Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1962.
- Verheyden, P., 'Plantijnsche bandmerken' in *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 8, 1910, pp. 263-265.
- Verheyden, P., 'Drukkersoctrooien in de 16e eeuw' in *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 8, 1910, pp. 203-226, 269-286.
- Verlinden, C., 'De zeeverzekeringen der Spaanse kooplui in de Nederlanden gedurende de XVIe eeuw' in *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 2, 1948, pp. 191-216.
- Vervliet, H.D.L., 'Une instruction plantinienne à l'intention des correcteurs' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1959, pp. 99-103.
- Vervliet, H.D.L., 'Typographica Plantiniana, I. Ter inleiding: de studie van het zestiende eeuwse letterbeeld en het geval van "La Theologie Germanicque" (Plantin, 1558)' in *De Gulden Passer*, 37, 1959, pp. 170-178.
- Vervliet, H.D.L., 'The Garamond types of Christopher Plantin' in *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 1, 1965, pp. 14-20.
- Vervliet, H.D.L., *The Type Specimen of the Vatican Press, 1628*. Amsterdam, 1967.
- Vervliet, H.D.L., 'Robert Granjon à Rome, 1578-1589. Notes préliminaires à une histoire de la typographie romaine à la fin du XVIe siècle' in *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge à Rome*, 38, 1967, pp. 177-231.
- Vervliet, H.D.L., *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*. Amsterdam, 1968.
- Voet, L., 'Boeken en drukkers' in *Antwerpen in de XVIIIde eeuw*, Antwerp, 1952, pp. 314-347 (Publications of the 'Genootschap voor Antwerpse Geschiedenis', III).
- Voet, L., 'Plantiniana 1943-1958. Bibliografie betreffende Plantin, de Moretussen en het Museum Plantin-Moretus verschenen tussen 1943 en 1958' in *De Gulden Passer*, 36, 1958, pp. 19-42; 37, 1959, pp. 21-73.
- Voet, L., 'Les relations commerciales entre Gérard Mercator et la Maison Plantinienne à Anvers' in *Duisburger Forschungen*, 6, 1962, pp. 171-232.
- Voet, L., 'The Printers' Chapel in the Plantinian House' in *The Library*, Fifth Series, 16, 1961, pp. 1-14.

- Voet, L., 'The Making of Books in the Renaissance as told by the Archives of the Plantin-Moretus Museum' in *Paga (Printing and Graphic Arts)*, Lunenburg, Vt., 10, 1965, pp. 33-66.
- Voet, L., 'Een aantekenboek van Franciscus Joannes Moretus nopens technische aspecten van het drukkersbedrijf, opgesteld omstreeks 1760' in *De Gulden Passer*, 44, 1966, pp. 229-244.
- Voet, L., 'Production and Sales Figures of the Plantin Press in 1566' in *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey*, Amsterdam, 1966, pp. 418-436.
- Vries, B.W. de, *De Nederlandse papiernijverheid in de negentiende eeuw*. The Hague, 1957.
- Weiss, W., 'Blaues Papier für Druckzwecke' in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1959, pp. 26-35.
- Wroth, L.C., *The Colonial Printer*, 2nd ed. Portland, Maine, 1938.
- Wijngaert, F. van den, 'De late Moretussen en de boekillustratie' in *De Gulden Passer*, 25, 1947, pp. 186-240; 26, 1948, pp. 150-205.
- Wijngaert, F. van den, *Inventaris met aansluitende catalogusnummers der tekeningen bewaard in het Museum Plantin-Moretus* [In manuscript; may be consulted in the Plantin-Moretus Museum].
- Wijngaert, F. van den, *De oude tekeningen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus. Catalogus* [In manuscript; may be consulted in the Plantin-Moretus Museum].
- Wijnman, H.F., 'Thomas de Vechter, lettergieter te Leiden 1584-1602' in *Het Boek*, 28, pp. 149-153.

Index

Indexes compiled by Huib van Krimpen

Numbers refer to pages. Those followed by an asterisk refer to a footnote on that page. Those preceded by pl. (*plate*) refer either to the actual illustration or to its caption.

Names and subjects occurring *passim* were left out unless the context warranted inclusion. Subjects and particularly names occurring once or just mentioned were treated according to the same rules.

Italic figures refer to passages where fuller information on the subject may be found.

Sub-references following one general heading were not treated uniformly for each subject as to the order of sub-headings. Whereas it was found that a more or less alphabetical order was the best solution in some cases, a chronological order was maintained in other cases. In still different cases an order dictated by a sense of logic was applied.

Dutch and Flemish names with *van* are alphabetized under their main parts, not under *Van*. The Netherlands diphthong *ij* is taken together with *y*.

French names with *La*, *Le*, or *Du* are alphabetized under these parts; these prefixes are treated as names, i.e., they are put in the order *La Coste*, *La Hèle*, *La Hulpe*, *La Motte*, etc. until *La Tombe*, followed by *Laer*, *van*; *Lamberts*, etc.

People known under their own names and under a latinized form are entered under the more generally used version; if necessary a cross-reference is given under the other version.

Publications and impressions of Christophe Plantin and his successors on which relevant information and particulars are given in the main text or the footnotes are brought together in a 'Short-title list' on p. 626. However, references to Plantin's *Biblia Regia* (1572), which are numerous, are to be found in the main index *in voce*: *Polyglot Bible*.

Index

Accents. See: Diacritical marks.

Account-books, Plantin's 3

Accounting. Simple methods of - 5; pl. 4

ACCOUNTS

- outstanding 451
- settling of -. See: Settling of accounts.

Aelsens, Hendrik (Antwerp printer) 13

Aitzinger, Michel (Austrian historian) 295

Adriaensen, B. (Amsterdam bookseller) 487

Aertsens, H. (Antwerp bookseller) 492

Albertsen, H. (Amsterdam bookseller) 475

Albin, J. (Mainz bookseller) 511

Albrecht(sen), L. (Lübeck bookseller) 501, 511

Aldus Manutius (Venetian printer) 155, 158, 165, 291*

Aldus Manutius the Younger (Venetian printer) 161, 422

Alectorius, L. (Cologne bookseller) 500

Alsens, H. (compositor in *Officina*) 336

Alterations, Last-minute - 299

Alva, Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of - 66, 277

Amen, Claes (compositor in *Officina*) 305

Amersfoort, M. van (Emmerich bookseller) 477

Amman, Jobst (Nuremberg graphic artist) pl. 76

Andriessen, A. (Dordrecht bookseller) 495

Andriessen, D. (Nymegen bookseller) 475

Angoulême. Paper from - 33

Anisson & Cie, L. (Lyons booksellers) 496

Anjou, François Duke of - and Alençon 243

Anspaed(?), P. (Ulm bookseller) 512

Antesignanus. See: Deventer, Peter.

ANTIMONY IN TYPE-METAL

- Baskerville (1760) 100*
- Caslon (1776) 100*
- Caslon (1794) 100*
- Figgins (1805) 100*
- P.-S. Fournier (1764-66) 99*
- Guyot (1563) 96*
- modern foundry type 95*, 100*
- Monotype 95*
- F.J. Moretus (1760) 98
- *Officina* (17th and 18th cent.) 99
- Plantin (1565) 96, 105
- Plantin (1581) 95
- slug casting machinery 95*
- J.M. Smit (c. 1735) 98

- Watts (1841) 100*

Antonissen, R. (Amsterdam bookseller) 487

Antonius, G. (Hanau bookseller) 510

ANTWERP

- bookbinders 248
- Calvinist regime established (1577) 339, 340, 356
- Capucine monastery 484
- Carmelite monastery 297
- centre of printing 263
- emigration from - 340
- Guild of St. Luke 362
- recaptured by Parma (1585) 26, 339
- siege of - 340
- Spanish Fury (1576) 8, 11, 91, 124, 401; pl. 53
- standard of living at - in 16th cent. 339-341

Apollodorus of Athens, Planned edition of - (1581) pl. 57, 58

APPRENTICES 351

- duration of apprenticeship 352, 353, 354
- duties of - 352*
- paying board 353
- wages 352
- change in contracts 355

APPROBATIO

- for Garibay's History of Spain (1570) 264*
 - granted by Antwerp clergy 260
 - for Lipsius, *De Amphitheatro* (1598) pl. 49, 50
 - long in coming 299
 - not applied for in dubious cases 277
 - no cost involved officially 272
 - not fully effective in all cases 276
 - obligatory for getting a privilege 257
 - in Plantinian archives 257
 - presents and payments to officials 273
 - of secondary importance from printer's point of view 258
 - second - for greater safety 260
 - for Vesalius-Valverde pl. 53
- See also: Religious censorship.

Aqualinus, Maximus 441*

Arabic type 53, 77, 154

Arendonck, Abraham van (pressman in *Officina*) 331*

ARIAS MONTANUS, BENEDICTUS (Spanish theologian) 20*, 26*, 45*, 212, 214*, 281

- *Index librorum prohibitorum* (1569) 277
- *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas* (1583) 260
- *De optimo imperio* (1583) 260
- *Elucidationes* (1588) 295
- influenced by Barrefelt's ideas? 261

- intermediary for Plantin's sales in Spain 401
- petitioned Privy Council for privilege for Polyglot Bible 268*

Arnaud, L. (Lyons bookseller). See: Borde.

ARTIFICIAL LIGHT 146

- cost of - 150
- system 151

Ascenders (in type) 57

Ascendonica (type size) 56, 57

Assonleville, Christophe d' (president of Privy Council) 293

Assonleville, Christophe d' (son of the former) 293

Atlases 242

Aubry, J. (Frankfurt bookseller) 501

Audin, Marius - on type-cases 143*

Augustine (type size). See: St. Augustine.

Aussorena Garagoa, F. (San Sebastian bookseller) 498

Authorities commissioning books 11

Authorized reprints 291*

AUTHOR(S)

- commissioning books 9
- corrections & alterations by - 314
- delays caused by - 299
- disputes between - and publisher 299
- fees to - 283, 284
- initiative for publication with - 283; pl. 58

[AUTHOR(S)]

- paying publisher for publication 294
- usually not correcting proofs 300
- rewarded for dedications 284
- rewarded with free copies 287, 288

Auvray, Pierre-Laurent (copper engraver) 211, 241

Averbode, Abbot of - 297

Avians, Antoine (apprentice compositor in *Officina*) 353, 355*

Ayala, Don Loys de (Spanish bibliophile) 245*

Backer, J. (London bookseller) 498

Bad debts 451

Bael, Guillaume (debtor to Plantin) 469*

Baes, J.B. (Antwerp merchant) 492

Baldin, Clement (Lyons bookseller) 249*, 401, 476

Balenus, André (Louvain theologian) 259*

BALLAIN, GEOFFROY (Paris draughtsman) 197, 214*, 233

- character of his work 199
- drawings for Hadrianus Junius 198, 224
- drawings for Reynard the Fox 304

Bankruptcies among *Officina*'s customers 452

Barberini, Mapheus (Pope Urban VIII) pl. 41, 42

Barentsen, Hendrik (Amsterdam bookseller) 450*, 495

Baronius, Cesare Cardinal 297

Barrefelt, Hendrik Janssen van 261, 277

Barsages, J. de (Frankenthal bookseller) 501

Barthers in books 419

Basan (sheepskin) for binding 249

Basanne, François (French bibliophile) 245*

Basins in printing shop 140

Baskerville, John (Birmingham type-founder) 100*

Basse(us), N. (Frankfurt bookseller) 501

Basse, Heirs (Frankfurt booksellers) 509

Bastarde (type form) 156

Bauduyn, G. (Arras bookseller) 452*

Baum, Th. (Cologne bookseller) 477

Bax, Andreas (Antwerp printer) 109*

Beaufux, P. de (Liège bookseller) 473

Becanus, Joannes Goropius (Antwerp humanist and moneylender to Plantin)
293, 296, 299*, 456*, 478, 496

Bedwell, William (English orientalist) 77

Bee, C. (London bookseller) 498

Behem, G. (Mainz bookseller) 502

Beke, Lieven van der. See: Torrentius, Livinus.

Belbrande, S. (Toul merchant) 497

Bellaine, J. (Paris bookseller) 496
Bellart, Jan (Antwerp bookseller) (may be identical with Bellerus, Jan) 245*,
472
Bellere, B. (Douai bookseller). See: Bellerus, B.
Bellere, Magdalena (Douai bookseller) 494
Belloero, J. (Sevilla bookseller) 498
Bellerus, B. (Douai bookseller) 487, 494
Bellerus (= Bellart?), Jan (Antwerp printer & bookseller) 10, 12*, 26*, 396*,
472
Bellerus, Pieter (Antwerp printer & bookseller) 287, 396*, 444*, 483, 492, 515
Bellerus, G. (Antwerp bookseller) 483
Bellet, François (maker of ink) 48*, 49*
Berchen, Catherine de (Cologne bookseller). See: Hierat, Widow A.

Berger, C. (Wittenberg bookseller) 512
 Berger, Joris (maker of ink) 49
 Bernardo & Cie, N. (Sevilla booksellers) 498
 Bernerus, J. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509
 Bernuy, Fernand (moneylender to Plantin) 469, 478
 Berten, Pieter (collator in *Officina*) 330
 Bessels, Matheis (Antwerp locksmith) 137, 138*, 140*
 Beugnet, Jean (Paris artist) 210, 236
 Beys, Adriaan (son of Egidius -, Paris bookseller) 404*, 488, 514
 BEYS, EGIDIUS (son-in-law to Plantin) 25, 27*, 72, 266*, 274*, 300
 - acting as Plantin's Paris agent 398, 404, 415, 447
 - Plantin's shop assistant 394, 395*
 - on publicity for books 422

Bèze, Théodore de (French Calvinist theologian) 276

Bible (type size) 54, 55 *, 56

BIBLIOPHILES

- had books bound by Plantin 245
- special requirements of - 251

Bierckman, Arnold (Antwerp printer) 12*

(See also: Birckman)

Bill, J. (London bookseller) 516

Bill, J. - & J. Northon (London booksellers) 516

Bill of exchange 449

Billot, Randolphe (French bibliophile) 245*

BINDING(S)

- by Antwerp craftsmen 248
- French style -244
- materials for - 245*, 249
- by Plantin himself 244
- with Plantin's mark 247
- prices of - 245, 248, 250
- tools for - 246

Binnaert, M. (Antwerp bookseller) 492

Birckman (Antwerp book firm at the 'Poule Grasse') 245*, 472

Birckman, A. (Cologne bookseller) 443

Birckman, J. (Cologne bookseller) 477, 500

BLACK-AND-RED BOOKS 21

- improved technique with type of different heights 94
- prices and discounts 442
- presswork 321, 322

BLACK LETTER 53, 58

- type-cases for - 143
- varieties of - in the Netherlands 156

Blado, Antonio (Rome printer) pl. 58
Blaeu, Joan (Amsterdam printer & bookseller) 14*, 495
Blaeu, Willem Jansz. (Amsterdam cartographer & printer of maps) 135
Blaeu. Printing press according to - 135
Blaise, G. (Mons bookseller) 486
Blanckaert, Joannes (priest; proof-reader at *Officina*) 178, 191*, 193
Blanquart, Cl. (Tournai bookseller) 494
Blankets (for press) 131
Bock, H. (Trier bookseller) 512
Bockhorst, Jan van (illustrator) 235
Boetzerus, A. (Paris bookseller) 514
Bogaerde, J. (Douai bookseller) 487
Bogaert (or: Bogard) (Paris printer and scholar) 562
Bollart, G. (Antwerp merchant) 492
Bomberghen, Charles van. See: Bomberghen, Karel van.
Bomberghen, Cornelis van 4, 66, 67, 245*, 282*, 445, 469, 478
Bomberghen, Daniel van 67, 70
Bomberghen, Frans van 478
Bomberghen, Karel van 288*, 469, 478

Bomberghen Family, Van 65

Bonds 449

Bonnard, N. (Geneva bookseller) 513

BOOKS

- barter trade 419
- commissioned by authorities 11
- commissioned by authors 9
- given to authors in lieu of fee 287, 288
- published on authors' initiative 283; pl. 58
- transport and delivery of - 426

Bookbinders working for Plantin 248

Book design 164

Book illustration 194-243

(See also: Illustration)

Book-keeping, Double-entry 4 Book-keeping. See: Accounting.

BOOKSELLERS 440

- barter with - 419
- going bankrupt 452
- occasional - 444
- slow in paying 451
- transactions with - 6

Bookshop, Plantinian 392, 293, 394, 395; pl. 73

Boon, Gerard (debtor to Plantin) 469*

BORCHT, PIETER VAN DER (illustrator) 169, 209, 226*, 233, 238

- character of his work 200
- drawings for Rembert Dodoens 199
- friendly with Arias Montanus 212
- friendly with Plantin 211
- Plantin's chief illustrator 199, 204, 206, 220
- valued part of Plantin's estate 231*, 232
- worked also for Jan I Moretus 206
- works reproduced pl. 34, 36, 40

Borculo, H. (Utrecht bookseller) 475

Borde, Ph. -, L. Arnaud, & Cl. Rigaud (Lyons booksellers) 496

Borghet. Van der - type-foundry, Brussels 93*

BORREKENS, MARIA THERESIA (widow F.J. Moretus)

- buys type from P.-S. Fournier (1775-77) 112
- has type cast by Mathieu Rosart (1792, 1796-99, 1807) 112

Borremans, P. (Douai bookseller) 487

Boschardt, Jacques (Douai bookseller) 380*, 419*, 474

Bouché, Franciscus (copyist for *Officina*) 241

Bouché, Martinus (engraver) 240

Bouck, Cornelis (Antwerp bookbinder) 248*

Bourgean, J. (Antwerp bookseller) 472
Bourgeois, Jean (Arras bookseller) 380*, 474
Bourgeoise (or: bourjoise) (type size) 56
Boury, Pierre Antoine (woodcutter) 237
Bousson, J. (Lyons bookseller) 514
Bouttats, Pieter-Balthasar (engraver) 240
Brabant, Council of 10, 262, 263, 269, 270
Brakel, A. van (Antwerp bookseller) 492
Branches at Leiden and Paris 6
(See also: Leiden branch; Paris branch)
Braunfeld (Braunfels), Otto (German printer) 283
Brauwer, Hieronymus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 179
Brayer, Lucas (Paris paper merchant & bookseller) 28, 43*, 476
Breen, S. (Helmstadt bookseller) 510
Brehtanus, J. (Prague bookseller) 512
Brès, Guy de (Calvinist theologian) 562
Breviaire (type size) 56
Breviaries for Spain 8, 163, 165

- Brichet, Robert (engraver) 211, 241
 Brigiolo, M.A. (Venice bookseller) 515
 BROECK, CRISPIJN VAN DEN (illustrator) 199, 213*, 224, 233
 - character of his work 200
 - friendly with Arias Montanus 212
 - friendly with Plantin 211
- Brouck, J. de (composer) 196*
 Bruneau, Jacques (choirmaster of St. Bavo, Ghent) 354
 Bruneau, Robert (son of Jacques -, apprentice at *Officina*) 354
 Brussel, Cl. van (Bruges bookseller) 493
 Bruto, Giovanni Michele (author) 10
 Bruyère, E. de (Mons bookseller) 494
 Bruyn, Abraham de (engraver) 204, 205, 238, 243
 Bruyn, Theodoor de (illustrator) 235
 Bry, Th. de (Frankfurt bookseller) 509
 Brylinger, Heirs (Basle booksellers) 503
 Buieu, Claude de (Arras bookseller) 451*, 474
 Bullock, George (English theologian) 295*
 Busbecq(ius), Ogier Ghislain (de) (Flemish scholar) 279*
 Buschere, Joachim de (secretary to Council of Brabant) 269
 Butgenius, C. (Cologne bookseller) 489, 508
 Buyens, Claude. See: Buieu.
- Cahiers de Francfort* 6, 23
 Cailloue, J. (Rouen bookseller) 497
 CALCULATION AND COSTING
 - during Van Bomberghen partnership 379
 - of illustrated books 381
 - items not included in - 381
 - overheads figuring in - 385
 - prices charged to clients 379
 - in relationship to prices 388, 390
- [CALCULATION AND COSTING]
 - wages figuring in - 385
- Calf leather for binding 249
 Calvinists 9, 339, 340, 356
 Cambier, A. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509
 Campenhault, J. van (Malines bookseller) 485
 Can, Balthasar van (shop assistant in *Officina*) 394*
 Candles 151
 Candle snuffers 146
 Candlesticks 146
 Canisius, Petrus (theologian) 288*
 Canon d'Espagne (type size) 56

Cansinen (?), P. (Nuremberg bookseller) 511
Canterus, Guilielmus (author) 288*
Capitan, N. de Urbandje (Amsterdam merchant) 495
Cardon, H. (Lyons bookseller) 488
Capucine Monastery, Antwerp 484
Carmelite Monastery, Antwerp 297
Carolingian minuscule 155
Caron, Nicolas (woodcutter) 211, 237
CARTER, HARRY

- on civilité 158*
- on italic 159*
- on 16th-century type 154*
- on type-cases 143
- on type-metal 99*

Carter, Matthew 81
Caslon, William (London type-founder) 100*
Castellio, Sebastian (French theologian) 277
CATALOGUES OF OFFICINA (books & types)

- 1561 423*
- 1566 170*, 383, 424
- 1567 66, 170*, 384, 424
- 1568 424
- 1572 167*, 168
- 1575 424

[CATALOGUES OF OFFICINA]

- 1579 424
- 1584 167*, 168, 424; pl. 74
- 1596 424
- 1615 160*, 167*, 168, 424; pl. 75
- 1642 424
- 1656 424

CATALOGUES, PUBLISHERS'

- Aldus Manutius the Younger (Venice 1541) 422
- Simon de Colines (Paris 1546) 422
- Christoph Froschouer (Zürich 1548) 422
- Sébastien Gryphius (Lyons 1549) 422
- Johann Froben (Basle 1549) 422
- Robert Estienne (Geneva 1552, 1559) 423
- Plantin's first (broadside 1561) 423*
- Plantin's subsequent - 424
- *Officina's* later - 424

Causé, Martinus (engraver) 240

Cavelat, G. (Paris bookseller). See: Marnef & Cavelat.

Çayas, Gabriel de (Philip II's secretary) 23, 25*, 26*, 31, 36, 42*, 43*, 66, 245*, 251*, 302, 305, 478

Caymox, B. (Nuremberg bookseller) 511

Caymox, H. (Nuremberg bookseller) 502

Cecile, Laurent (Antwerp bookbinder) 248*

Cedulle. See: IOU.

Celidon (Antwerp merchant) 483

CENSORSHIP

- political. See: Political censorship.
- religious. See: Religious censorship.
- secular. See: Secular censorship.

Censors causing delays 299

Censura 255

(See also: Religious censorship.)

CHAPEL (= trade union) 309

- developments in general 362

[CHAPEL]

- different from guild 361
- election on committee 370
- fees to be paid to - 364
- records on Plantinian - 310, 363, 369, 372
- rules 364
- in 17th century 367

Chappuis (translator) 289*

Charente region. Paper from - 33

Charles I, king of England 125*

CHARLES V, EMPEROR 219*, 256

- ordinances on religious censorship 258
- ordinances on political censorship 262

Chase (part of press) 130, 132, 133, 139, 140

Chesnau, N. (Paris bookseller) 476

Chifflet, Philippe (chaplain to Archduchess Isabella) 216

CHOICE OF TYPE

- governed by strict rules 157
- for Latin texts 157
- for vernacular texts 158

Cholinus, Maternus (Cologne bookseller) 12*, 380*, 477, 500

Cholinus, P. (Cologne bookseller) 489, 508

Chontierelt(?), François de la (Antwerp merchant?) 26

Chouet, J. (Geneva bookseller) 513

Ciardi, Antonio (occasional dealer in paper) 23, 42, 49

Cicero (type size) 56

Ciofanus, Hercules (humanist from Rome) 291*

CIVILITÉ TYPE 53, 58, 61, 156, 157

- accompanying black letter 158
- Carter & Vervliet on - 158*
- conceived by Granjon as a national French type 158
- persisted well into 18th century 158
- texts to be set in - 158
- use in *Officina* 158

- Claes, Gilles (woodcutter) 236
 Claessens, C. (Amsterdam bookseller) 487
 Claessens, Egidius (woodcutter) 236
 Claessens, P. (Amsterdam bookseller) 487
 Claessens, P. (Danzig bookseller) 489
 Claessens, Willem (woodcutter) 236
 Clair, Colin 562
 Claesz, C. (Amsterdam bookseller) 515
 Claude de Saintes, F. (theologian) 9
 Clerck, Adrian (journeyman type-founder in *Officina*) 110
 Clerck, A. (Leiden bookseller) 488
 Cluppeler, Cl. (bookseller, residence unknown) 516
 Clusius, Carolus (botanist and humanist) 176*, 301*, 478
 Clypeus, G. (Antwerp bookseller) 472
 Cnobbaert, Widow J. (Antwerp bookseller) 492
 Coal slack 152
 Cock, Hieronymus (Antwerp illustrator and bookseller) 197, 233, 472
 Cock, Jan Claudius de (illustrator) 235
 Coffin (part of press) 130, 133, 140
 Coismans, H. (compositor in *Officina*) 337, 338
 Colen, J. (Amsterdam bookseller). See: Colom, J.
 Colines, Simon de (Paris printer) 422
 Colineus (type size) 56
 Colisis, Guillaume (Troyes paper merchant) 27, 29, 30, 31
 Colom, J. (Amsterdam bookseller) 495
 Collaert, Adriaan (engraver) 239
 Collaert, Jan - the Elder (engraver) 204, 225, 238
 Collaert, Jan - the Younger (engraver) 240
 Collating of printed sheets 244, 328
 Collators 244, 328, 329
 Collin, Richard (engraver) 240
 Comelin, H. (Geneva bookseller) 503
 Comelin, J. - & N. Bonnard (Geneva booksellers) 513
 Comelin, Heirs (Geneva booksellers) 513
 Commelius, A. (Leiden bookseller) 496
 Commin, W. (Lille bookseller) 474
 'Compagnie' (Venice booksellers) 515
 Comperes, Jacques (Antwerp paper merchant) 28
 Comperes, Jan (Antwerp paper merchant) 27
 Composing stick 132, 142
 COMPOSITOR(S)
 - annual wages 336, 337, 338
 - better paid than pressmen 317
 - bonuses for poor copy 314
 - bonus paid for speed 315*
 - fines for poor work 313*
 - number of - in proportion to pressmen 334, 335

- one - working at one text 303, 313
- output of- 304, 314, 315
- relationship to pressmen 333, 341, 345
- tasks 311
- two - working at one text 303, 312
- 'voorbladers' paid higher 314
- wages at piece rates 314, 315, 339
- working hours 146
- working seated 145

Compositors' equipment 142-153 (See further: Equipment, compositors'.)

Concordia (proof-readers' fraternity) 178*, 192*, 193

Coninck, Antonius Martinus de (proof-reader at *Officina*) 178, 193

Coninck, J. de (Sevilla bookseller). See: Licht, C. de.

Coninx, A. (Antwerp bookseller) 483

Copies. Number of-printed. See: Number of copies printed.

Coppens, Ignatius (proof-reader at *Officina*) 178, 188, 193

COPPER IN TYPE-METAL

- absence of - in 18th century 99
- Baskerville (1760) 100*
- Caslon (1776) 100*
- Caslon (1794) 100*
- Figgins (1805) 100*
- P.-S. Fournier (1764-66) 99*
- London type (1647) 99
- modern foundry type 95*
- Plantin (1565) 96, 105
- Plantin (1581) 95
- Watts (1841) 100*

COPPERPLATE ENGRAVINGS 195

- by specialized craftsmen 196
- to be printed specially 201

Copus, A. (Louvain bookseller) 473

COPY

- for Kiliaan's *Etymologium* (1599) pl. 65
- for Lipsius's *De Amphitheatro* (1585) pl. 69
- for Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1591) pl. 67
- for Verepaeus's *Epitome* (1578) pl. 70
(See also: Manuscript.)

Corbinet, Mathias (proof-reader at *Officina*) 178

Cornelii Harlemensis, Godefridus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 182, 189*

Cornet, S. (composer) 296*

Coronel(le) (type size) 55, 56

CORRECTION(S)

- last-minute 299
- of proofs. See: Proof correction.

Corrin (also: Corru) Jérôme (paper merchant) 28

Cosme, Paul (Paris paper merchant) 29

Coster, H. Machiel (Trier bookseller) 512

Costerus, Franciscus (Jesuit author) 261, 478

Cotreau, J. (Paris bookseller) 488

Coudenbergh, P. de (Antwerp apothecary & bibliophile) 245*

Coulanges, Jehan de (Auvergne paper merchant) 28

Council of Brabant 10, 262, 263, 269, 270

Council, Privy 10, 24, 264, 265*, 270

Counterpunch 61

Courtoy, Gaspar (copperplate printer) 222*

Couve de Ville, G. (Namur bookseller) 494
Couweel, S. (Ypres bookseller) 486
Crabbe, A. (St.-Omerbookseller) 487
Cradle (part of press) 131
Craesbeeck, Pierre van (apprentice compositor in *Officina*) 352*, 354
Craesboom, J. (bookseller, residence unknown) 516
Cramoisie & Cie, S. (Paris booksellers) 496
Cramoisy, S. (Paris bookseller) 514
Crem, M. (Jena bookseller) 510
Cressone, Jan (woodcutter) 200, 236
Critz, J. (Cologne bookseller) 489
Crudener, H. (Groningen bookseller) 495
Cruquius, Jacobus (Bruges teacher) 298
Crusat de Portugal (coin) 446
Curiel, Nicolas (Paris paper merchant) 28
Curs, P. (Antwerp merchant) 483
Cuyl, René van. See: Kuyl.
Cuypres, S. (Antwerp schoolmaster) 291*
Cyrillic, Type-cases for - 143

Dalbin, B. (Spiers bookseller) 502

- Davalos, Antonio (Spanish bibliophile) 245*
- Debts. Bad- 451
- Deegbroot, G. (Antwerp merchant) 483
- Defehrt, A.J. (engraver) 241
- Delays caused by authors and censors 299
- Delivery and transport of books 426
- Demen, M. (Cologne bookseller) 497
- Desbois, Widow G. (Paris bookseller) 476
- Descenders (in type) 57
- Descendiane (type size) 56
- Desruelles, Jan Frans (copyist) 241
- Desserans, J. (London bookseller) 443, 447*, 448, 477
- Deventer. Peter - called Antesignanus 471*
- Dey, M. (Lille bookseller) 487
- Deyn, J. (Brussels bookseller) 493
- Diacritical marks 57, 58, 64
- DIALOGUES FRANÇOIS ET FLAMANDS
- on composing 129
 - on imposition 129
 - on ink 47
 - on presses 130, 132, 133
 - on presswork 129
 - on punches and matrices 60
 - on type-cases 193
 - on type-founding 91
 - on type sizes 54
- Diammer, H.F. (copyist) 241
- Dias, E. (Antwerp merchant) 483
- Didot system of type sizes 53
- Diegem. Paper mill at - 34, 35
- Diepenbeeck, Abraham van (illustrator) 235
- Diest, A. van (Antwerp bookseller) 472
- Diest, L. van (Antwerp bookseller) 492
- Diest, Marcus Antonius van (translator) 289*
- Diest, Van (Antwerp brass-founder) 105
- Dieu, Louis de (agent for Gerard Mercator) 427*, 448*
- Diodat (Madrid bookseller) 406, 490
- DISCOUNTS 460
- to booksellers 440
 - to important private clients 441
 - on credit transactions 442, 444
 - to occasional booksellers 444
 - for payment within certain date 444*
- Distribution of type 312
- Dodoens, Rembert 14, 219*, 264*, 300, 479

Dodonaeus. See: Dodoens.
Doetecom. See: Duetecom.
Doncker, L. (Antwerp merchant) 492
Donet, J. (bookseller, residence unknown) 516
Doom, M. (Lille bookseller) 487
Dosch, V. (bookseller, residence unknown) 505
Double-entry book-keeping 4
Doulceur, D. (bookseller, residence unknown) 516
Draeckx, Pieter (painter of maps) 242
Draeckx, P. (Malines bookseller) 473
Dresseler, Jan (Plantin's emissary to Frankfurt) 396*, 404, 435
Dross in type-metal. See: *Lycagie*.
Drouart (?) (Lyons bookseller) 514
Droz, Eugénie 562
Drumaeus, Petrus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177
Drumon, Melchior (copyist) 241
Du Molin, Jan (Antwerp bookseller) 248*
Du Puis, J. (Paris bookseller) 504
Du Tour, Henri. See: Keere, Hendrik van den.
Dubois, F. (Pont-à-Mousson bookseller) 514
Duchesne, Marc (woodcutter) 200, 236
Duetecom, Jan & Lucas (engravers) 197, 237

Dufour, Pieter (engraver) 204, 205, 224, 238
 Duodecimo format 160, 161, 532-535, 548-555
 Duport, A. (French bookseller at Medina del Campo) 419*, 422*
 Dupuich, J. (Lille bookseller) 487
 Dupuis, Baptist (London bookseller) 443*, 450
 Dupuis, J. (Lyons bookseller) 443
 Duvivier, G. (Cologne bookseller) 441*
 Duvivier, J. (Ghent bookseller) 419*, 473

Eberkeim, C. (Ulm bookseller) 512
 Ecclesiastical authorities commissioning books II
 Ecclesiastical censorship. See: Religious censorship.
Ecu soleil (coin) 446
 Egenolff type-foundry, Frankfurt 67
 Egenolphus, P. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509
 Egenolphus (Frankfurt bookseller) 501
 Egmont. Lamoral Count of- 441*, 479
 18MO FORMAT 538, 539, 559-561

- practised by Elsevier, Leiden (1627) 161
- practised by *Officina* (1615) 161

Eiring, H. (bookseller, residence unknown) 516
 Elbius, Hieronymus(P) (editor) 287*

ELSEVIER

- Bonaventura (printer, Leiden) 161, 165
- Bonaventura & Abraham (booksellers, Leiden) 496
- Bonaventura & Louis (booksellers, Leiden) 488
- Gilles (bookseller, Leiden) 488
- Louis (collator at *Officina*) 330
- Louis (bookseller, Amsterdam) 495

[ELSEVIER]

- Louis (bookseller, Leiden) 515
- Hans van Loeven -. See: Loeven.

Elst, Franciscus van der (proof-reader at *Officina*) 179, 192*

Elzevier. See: Elsevier.

Elzevier, Hans van Loeven -. See: Loeven.

Emert, B. (bookseller, residence unknown) 505

En blanc (= unbound) 16, 244

ENCYCLOPÉDIE FRANÇAISE (1796)

- on composing and presswork 129, 309
- on presses 135
- on type-cases 143*

Engilbert, N. (Liège bookseller) 485

England, N. (London bookseller) 477

Enjoubert, Jacques (Clermont paper merchant) 28*, 29

Enschedé type collection at Haarlem 19

Episcopus (Basle bookseller) 503

EQUIPMENT, COMPOSITORS' 142-153

- benches to sit on 145
- candle snuffers 146
- candlesticks 146
- composing sticks 142
- cost of- 142, 148
- galleys 142
- inventory of- (1567-76) 147
- reglets 146
- stands for type-cases 145
- sundry- 146
- type-cases 143

Erasmus, Desiderius 283, 284

Esche, Guillaume van (maker of ink) 48

Escolle, Robert de l' (paper merchant) 30

Escorial. Hieronymite Monastery in - 393, 498

ESTIENNE, HENRI (Geneva printer) 54*, 503

- book on Frankfurt Book Fair 396*

- Estienne, Henri II (Geneva printer) 161
 Estienne, Robert (Geneva printer) 423
 Ethiopic type 53, 77, 154
 Everborgh, Laurent van (type-founder). See: Everbroeck.
 EVERBROECK, LAURENT VAN (Antwerp type-founder)
 - composition of type-metal (1563) 96*
 - fountscheme for Greek(1565) pl. 16
 - price of type-metal 119
 - type supplied to Plantin (1563-71) 105, 106, 107*
 - type-cases supplied to Plantin (1566) 144*
- Evertsen, J. (Mainz bookseller) 511
 Eyck, J. van (paymaster of Antwerp) 492
- Faber, A. (compositor) 338
 Fabri, Guilielmus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 178
 Fabricius, Franciscus (Dusseldorf humanist) 423
 Fabritius Boddianus, Guido. See: Le Fèvre de la Boderie.
 Faes, D. (Antwerp bookseller) 492
 Fagle, Franciscus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 183, 189*
 Falls in wages (1566-67; 1585) 339
 Family of Love (religious sect) 278, 456
 Faults. See: Printing errors.
 Faunteus, Laurentius Arturus (Polish Jesuit) 295
 Favolius, Baptista (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177
 Fenain, A. (Mons bookseller) 486
 Fesenmayer, J. (Memmingen bookseller) 511
 Feudius Orschotanus, Joannes (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 183, 189*
 Feyerabend, Sigmund (Frankfurt printer) 501
 Feyt, A. (Goes bookseller) 488
 Ficquart, F. (Antwerp bookseller) 492
 Figgins, Vincent (London type-founder) 100*
 Figures 57
 Financial year. Analysis of *Officina's* - 390
 Fine, Oliverius a (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 183, 185, 189*, 190, 191, 192
 Fischer, J. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509
 Flamande 156, 157, 158 (See also: Black letter)
Fleurons 53
 Floris, Cornelis III (illustrator) 206, 234
 Flowers, Printers'. See: *Fleurons*.
 Focault, E. (Paris bookseller) 488
 Folding. Methods of - 162, 526-561
 Folio format 160, 527, 540
 Folio regali. In (maximo) - 162
 FORMAT(S) 160-168
 - determined by folding 162
 - determined by size of paper 162

- 'in forma majori' 161, 162
- 'in forma minori' 161, 162
- 'magnum folium' 164
- for pocket editions 165
- stated in *Officina* catalogues 162
- unusual- 162
- folio 169, 167*, 168, 527, 540
- small folio 162
- large quarto 162
- quarto (4^o) 160, 167*, 168, 528, 529, 540-543; pl. 26
- octavo (8^o) 169, 167, 168, 530, 531, 544-547
- duodecimo (12^{mo}) 160, 161, 167, 168, 532-535, 548-555
- sedecimo (16^{mo}) 160, 167, 168, 536, 537, 556-558
- 18^{mo} 161, 167, 168, 538, 539, 559-561

[FORMAT(S)]

- 24^{mo} 161, 165, 167, 168; pl. 27
- 32^{mo} 160, 167, 168
- 64^{mo} 160, 167, 168; pl. 29

FORME

- amount of type needed for one - 102
- basis of payment to men 101, 311
- inking of- 141
- locking up of- 130
- washing - after printing 141

Fouet, R. (Paris bookseller) 488

Foulere, J. (St.-Omer bookseller) 487

FOUNT 53

- characters in black-letter - 58
- characters in civilité - 58
- scheme for Greek according to Van Everbroeck pl. 16
- schemes according to Hendrik van den Keere pl. 13, 14, 15

Fournier, Philippe (Antwerp book-binder) 248*

FOURNIER, PIERRE-SIMON (French type-founder)

- successor to Le Bé foundry (q.v.) 78
- supplier to F.J. Moretus (1775-77) 78, 112
- type still present in *Officina* (1876) 119
- on type-metal 99*

Fowler, J. (Antwerp bookseller) 472

Fraktur 156

Frances, E. (Antwerp merchant) 483

François, H. (London bookseller) 450*

François 'le libraire' (Dinant bookseller) 473

Francq, J. (Magdeburg bookseller)

FRANKFURT BOOK FAIR 6, 396, 398

- cash payments at - 446
- Henri Estienne's description 396*
- Jan I Moretus's visits 404
- matrices sold at - by Plantin 63, 71, 89

[FRANKFURT BOOK FAIR]

- punches and matrices bought at - 72
- type bought at - 79
- settling accounts at - 442
- transactions by Plantin (1566) 477
- transactions by Plantin (Lent 1579) 500
- transactions by Jan I Moretus (1609) 487, 508

- transactions by Moretus (1650) 497
- decline after Thirty Years War 408

Frellon, Jacques (Lyons printer) 161
 French style. Bindings in - 244
 Friskets 44, 45, 131, 134, 139
 Frobenius, G.H. (Basle bookseller) 513
 Froben(ius), Johann(es) (Basle printer) 161, 422, 503
 Froissart, Jean (14th-century French chronicler) 279*, 286*
 Froschouer, Christoph (Zurich printer) 161, 422, 503
 Fruytiers, Filips (illustrator) 235
 Fruytiers, Lodewijk (engraver) 211, 241
 Fugger (Augsburg family of bankers) 479
 Furle, M. (Namur bookseller) 474
 Furnace in type-foundry 105
 Furnius. See: Dufour.
 Fyck, A. (Delft merchant) 495

Gabiano, A. de (Lyons bookseller) 504
 Gaillarde (type size) 56
 Galenius, J. (Cologne bookseller) 500
 Galle, Cornelis (engraver) 208, 225, 239
 Galle, Cornelis II (engraver) 208, 240
 Galle, Cornelis III (engraver) 240
 Galle, Jan (engraver) 206, 239, 492
 Galle, Norbertus (engraver) 239
 Galle, Philip (engraver) 10, 165, 205, 222*, 227, 231*, 232, 238

- Galle, Theodoor (engraver) 196, 206, 207, 208, 226*, 227, 234, 239, 483; pl. 44
 Galle Workshop for engraving 206, 220, 222, 239
 Galley(s) 132, 142, 311
 GANDO, M. (Brussels type-founder)
 - type cast for *Officina* (1831-35) 112
 - type still present in 1876 119
- Ganne, H. (Bremen bookseller) 508
 Gara, G. de (Venice bookseller) 476
 GARAMOND, CLAUDE (French type-founder) 55, 57*, 72, 79; pl. 8
 - founts of - owned by Plantin 69
 - influence on 16th-century type design 71
 - sets of matrices bought by Plantin 70
 - his *Texte* (MA 20a & b) 59
 - work by - in Van den Keere collection 74
- Garamonde (type size) 54, 56
 Gard, J. (Amsterdam merchant) 495
 Garibay y Zamalloa, Esteban de (Spanish historian) 9, 280*, 281, 294, 300*
 Garman, G. (Spiers bookseller) 502
 Gast, Mathias (Madrid bookseller) 90*, 400*
 Gaultier, Cl. (Antwerp merchant) 492
 Gaultier, N. (Antwerp merchant) 492
 Geesdael, Joannes (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 183, 189*, 190
 Gelder, P. van (Breda bookseller) 475
 Gemusäus, H. (Basle bookseller) 513
 Gerlach, Dietrich (Nuremberg printer) 89
 Gerlach, Heirs (Nuremberg booksellers) 502
 Gerreytsen Elburg, J. (Flushing bookseller) 495
 Gesner, J. (Zürich bookseller) 503
 Geubels, Th. (St.-Omer bookseller) 494
 Gheeraerts, Marcus (engraver) 238
 Ghelen, J. van (Antwerp bookseller) 472, 492
 Ghent. Abbot of St. Peter's at - 297
 Ghisbrechts, Mathias (proof-reader at *Officina*) 175, 176, 182, 188, 189*
 Gifanius, Obertus (editor) 287*
 Gilles, Martin (pressman at *Officina*) 327*
 Gilles, Merten (collator at *Officina*) 331
Giornale della Stampa 4, 5
 GISELINUS, VICTOR
 - regular *Officina* proof-reader 175, 176, 182, 191
 - acting as editor 288*, 292
- Giunti, A. (Venice bookseller) 476
 Gobelius, Severinus (Brandenburg physician) 243
 Godinet, Augustin (Basle printer) 11*

Goedhave, Jacques (paper merchant) 28*, 29
Goltzius, Hendrik (Dutch engraver and bookseller) 204, 205, 239, 418, 473
Goltzius, Hubert (humanist, engraver, printer, publisher, at Bruges) 14*, 22, 27, 203, 209, 219, 225, 230, 420*; pl. 44, 45, 46, 47
Goltzius, Jules (engraver) 204, 238
Gomez, B. (Antwerp merchant) 483
Gommer (Antwerp bookbinder) 243*
Goris (Antwerp bookbinder) 248*
Gorse, Pierre de la (paper merchant) 30
Gosen, J. (Louvain bookseller) 493
Gothic type 53
Gouault, Jean (Troyes paper merchant) 28*, 29, 30, 31
Goubaud, J. (engraving studio, Brussels) 241
Goupil, Joannes (proof-reader at *Officina*) 179
Gourmont, Jean de (Paris woodcutter) 200, 224, 236, 305

- Gouverneur* (at *Officina*) 331, 333
 Gozaeus, Thomas (Louvain theologian) 288*
 Graet, M. (woodcutter) 237
 Graeve, Claes de (Antwerp printer) 257
 Grammay, Gérard (tax-collector of Antwerp) 3*, 9*, 245*
Grand livre. Plantin's - 3, 5
Grand livre des affaires 4
 GRANJON, ROBERT (French punch-cutter & type-founder) 5 3, 79,472; pl. 8, 10
 - influence on type design 71
 - transactions with Plantin 71, 72, 73, 80, 83
 - prices charged 82
 - time involved in punch-cutting 82
 - time involved in justifying matrices 82
 - material used 82
 - his *Civilité* 72, 156
 - his *Gros Texte* civilité (MA 108) 61
 - his *Parangonne* italic (MA 15) 60
 - Syriac cut on Plantin's instructions 80
 - matrices justified by Sabon 85
 - work in Van den Keere collection 74
- GRANVELLE. ANTOINE PERRENOT, CARDINAL DE - 37, 247, 251*, 269, 297, 298
 - introduced Italian authors 293
 - specimen pages insisted on 162, 163
 - views on book design discussed with Plantin 164
 - wishes about format 162
- Graphaeus, Alexander (town-recorder of Antwerp) 24
 Gras Canon (type size). See: Gros Canon.
 Gravius, B. (Louvain bookseller) 473
 Gravius, Henry (Louvain theologian) 261
 Greek type 53, 58, 143, 144, 154
 Grenier, Jean (paper merchant) 29
 Grevenbroeck (or: Grevenbruch), G. (Cologne bookseller) 489, 508
 Grévin, Jacques (French physician & humanist) 54*, 289*, 299
 Griffi, Francesco (Bolognese punch-cutter) 155
 Grimaldi, Simon de (secretary to Privy Council) 265*, 272
 Griuch...(?), H. (Breslau bookseller) 508
 Groener, S. (Jena bookseller) 510
 Groot, N. de (Antwerp merchant) 492
 Gros Canon (type size) 56
 Gros Flamande (type size) 56
 Gros Romain (type size) 56
 Gros Texte (type size) 56
 Gross, Henning - the Elder (Leipzig bookseller) 501, 510
 Gross, Henning - the Younger (Leipzig bookseller) 510

Grosse Augustine (type size) 56
Grosse Nonpareille (type size) 56
Grosse Parangonne (type size) 56
Groux, Ph. (compositor in *Officina*) 337, 338
Gruppenbach, G. (Tübingen bookseller) 502
GRUTER, HERMAN (Antwerp type-founder)

- matrices justified for Plantin (1569) 85
- type supplied to Plantin (c. 1571) 108
- Plantin's main type-founder (c. 1585-90) 108, 109

Gruyter, Ameet de (Antwerp type-founder) 109
Gruyter, Herman de. See: Gruter.
Gryphius, Antoine (Lyons printer) 161, 291*
Gryphius, Sebastien (Lyons printer) 422
Gualtheri, B. (Cologne bookseller) 489, 508

- Guarin (or: Guerin), Thomas (Basle bookseller) 450*, 503
 Guerlins, Gerard (apprentice pressman at *Officina*) 325*, 326*
 Guicciardini, Ludovico (historian) 214, 229, 242, 269, 287; pl. 39, 40
 Guichet, J. (bookseller, residence unknown) 505
 GUILDER (monetary unit)
 - Carolus - 445, 446
 - German - 445
- Guiot, J. (Antwerp merchant) 492
 Gutenberg. Johann Gensfleisch zum Laden, known as - 22
 Guthman, G. (Dinkelsbühl bookseller) 501
 GUYOT, FRANÇOIS (Paris punch-cutter at Antwerp) 67, 68, 69, 72, 78
 - supplier to Plantin (1555-70) 104, 106
 - price charged for casting type (1563-64) 121, 122
 - composition of type-metal 96*
 - price of type-metal 119
 - waste in type-founding 100*
- Gymnicus, G. (Cologne bookseller) 497
 Gymnicus, J. (Cologne bookseller) 477, 489, 500, 508
 Gyze, G. (Cologne bookseller) 489
- Hackebout, G. (Brussels bookseller) 493
 Hacqué, Joannes Baptista (proof-reader at *Officina*) 178, 181*
 Halle, Maeyken van (debtor to Plantin) 469*
 Haller, C. (Zurich bookseller) 503
 Haller, F. (Zurich bookseller) 513
 Hallin, L. (pressman in *Officina*) 326*, 336
 Hamont, M. van (Brussels bookseller) 419*, 473
 Hamp, G. (bookseller, residence unknown) 516
 Han, Hans (compositor in *Officina*) 315
 Handle of press 134
 Harduinus, Franciscus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177
 Harlemius, Joannes (Louvain theologian) 288*
 Harnisch, M. (Heidelberg bookseller) 501
 Haro, Christoval (Spanish bibliophile) 245*, 246*
 Harsy, A. de (Lyons bookseller) 504
 Hartoch, Joos de. See: Hertoch.
 HARTUNG, J.H. (Antwerp type-founder)
 - type supplied to *Officina* (1828) 112
 - type still present in 1876 119
- Hassard, Pierre (Armentieres physician) 291*
 HAULTIN, PIERRE (French type-founder) 70, 72, 476
 - contacts with Plantin 71
 - his Mediane Greek (MA 142 & 143) 62, 90
 - his Nonpareil 77

Hausius, Petrus Nicolaus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 178
Hautin, Pierre. See: Haultin.
Hayus, Joannes (Louvain theologian) 291*
Heating 151, 152
HEBREW TYPE 53, 154

- Daniel van Bomberghen's - 70
- type-cases for - 144, 148

Heere, Lucas d'(Ghent painter & illustrator) 198, 224, 233
Helman, F. (Antwerp merchant) 483
Hemmingius, P. (Cologne bookseller) 489
Hendelot (copper engraver) 211, 220*, 241
Hennequin, Jean (Troyes paper merchant) 30*, 31
Heiming, L. (Basle bookseller) 513
Henninghen, P. (Cologne bookseller) 497

- Henningius, P. (Lyons bookseller) 514
 Henridus, James (Antwerp bookseller) 396*
 Henricpetri, Heirs (Basle booksellers) 503
 Henricpetri, Sebastian (Basle printer & bookseller) 503, 513
 Herck, P. (Cologne bookseller) 508
 Hercules, Cornelis (temporary collator at *Officina*) 331*
 Heret, Simon (Mainz paper merchant) 23, 28, 40, 43*
 Herrera, H.A. de (Antwerp merchant) 483
 Hertfroy, J. (Ingolstadt bookseller) 510
 Hertoch, Joos de (Antwerp bookbinder) 248*, 249
 Hertoghe, Jehan de (Enghien bookseller) 12*
 Hertroy, J. (Madrid bookseller) 406*, 407, 490
 Hertsen, Tenneken (debtor to Plantin) 469*
 Hervagius, Heirs (Basle booksellers) 503
 Heur, Cornelis Jozef d' (illustrator) 210, 235
 Heurck, Jan Karel van (member of Privy Council) 35
 Heuren, P. van (Antwerp bookseller) 472
 Heydenberghe, Jacob (Louvain printer) 13
 Heyden (a Meriga), Pieter van der (engraver) 204, 226*, 237
 Heyl, A. (Leipzig bookseller) 501
 Heylbrouck, Norbertus (engraver) 241
 Heylen, Gonzales van (illustrator) 235, 237
 Heyndricx, P. (Amsterdam bookseller) 475
 Heyns, Pieter (Antwerp schoolmaster & calligrapher) 218, 291*, 441*
 Hierat, A. (Cologne bookseller) 489, 508
 Hierat, N. (Cologne bookseller) 489
 Hierat, Widow A. (Cologne bookseller) 497
 Hillessemius, Ludovicus (German author) 296
 Hillewerven, C. (Antwerp merchant) 492
 Hobelius, C. (bookseller, residence unknown) 516
 Hoberg, H. (Cologne bookseller) 508
 Hoegaerden, J. van (Louvain bookseller) 493
 Hogenberg, Frans (engraver) 204, 239
 Hompes, J. (Roermond bookseller) 486
 Hoochstraete, Dirck van (woodcutter) 236
 Hooftman, Gilles (Antwerp merchant) 393*
 Hooghe, Cornelis d' (engraver) 204, 237
 Horen, J. van (pressman at *Officina*) 337
 Horst, P. (Cologne bookseller) 477
 Horst, Nicolaas van der (illustrator) 207, 218, 235
 Houcke, M. van (Middelburg bookseller) 496
 Hougaerden, Widow F. van [Elizabeth Velpius] (Louvain bookseller) 485
 Houven, Jacob van der (copperplate printer) 221
 Houwaert, Jan Baptist (Brussels poet and politician) 217
 Hove(n), Hendrik van den (Liège bookseller) 291*, 473, 485
 Hovius, G. (Liège bookseller) 485
 Hovius, Anna (Liège bookseller) 447*, 448*

Hovius, H. (Liege bookseller). See: Hove(n), Hendrik van den.
Hovius, Marie (Liege bookseller) 493

Hoybaert, P. (Armentières bookseller) 474
 Huberti, Adriaan (engraver) 196*
 Huguet, F. (Lyons bookseller) 514
 Huguetan, J.A. - & Ravaud (Paris booksellers) 496
 Hulsius, Widow L. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509
 Hun(n)aeus, Augustinus (Louvain theologian) 259*, 288
 Hunin, Jozef (engraver) 241
 Hutten, Ulrich von (German humanist) 283
 Hutter, S. (Leipzig bookseller) 501
 Huybrecht, A. (Antwerp bookseller) 483
 Huybrecht, Jean (paper merchant) 29
 Huybrechts, Adriaan (engraver). See: Huberti.
 Huybrechts, Gaspar (engraver) 240
 Huys, Brothers (illustrators working jointly) 197, 202, 224
 Huys, Frans (engraver) 197, 237; pl. 43 See also: Huys, Brothers.
 Huys, Pieter (painter & engraver) 196, 198, 204, 22*, 225, 233, 237; pl. 33 See also: Huys, Brothers.
 Huysens, M. (Antwerp bookseller) 483
 Hyrald, S. (Salzburg bookseller) 497

Iconoclasm (1566) 256

ILLUSTRATION OF BOOKS 194-243

- woodcuts 195, 201
- copper engravings 195, 201
- lithographs 195
- steelplate engravings 195
- coloured 242, 243

Imposition 311, 526-561

Impression par demi-feuilles. See: Work-and-turn operation.

Imprimatur 255

See also: Religious censorship.

Imprimerie nationale, Paris: type collection 79

Imprints of Moretuses 8*

Imprints of Plantin 12*, 13*

In albis (= unbound) 16, 244

Increases in wages 339, 340

Index of Prohibited Books 256

Indexes. Compiling of - 290

Initiative for publication 283

INK, PRINTER'S -

- composition of - 47
- preparation 47, 142
- quality 47
- stocking 142
- turpentine in - 48
- amounts spent on - 50

- different kinds 48
- prices 48
- red - 49

Ink balls 131, 141, 150

Insurance of shipments 438

Intaglio press 222; pl.

INVENTORY OF OFFICINA

- of 1567-76 147
- of 1589 at Plantin's death 149
- of 1642 compared to 1651 461
- of 1658 150
- of 1662 150
- of 1745 147, 321
- Plantin-Moretus Museum 147

IRON IN TYPE-METAL

- P.-S. Fournier (1764-66) 99*
- F.J. Moretus (1760) 98
- Chr. Plantin (1563) 105
- Chr. Plantin (1581) 95
- J.M. Smit (c. 1735) 98

Italian texts. Rules for setting - 158

ITALIC 53

- Harry Carter on - 159*
- Plantin's views on - 159
- use of- in *Officina* 158

J. Capital - in 16th-century roman type 57

Jacobs, Martin (Antwerp paper merchant) 27, 28, 31

- Jacobs, M. (Antwerp merchant) 492
 Jacobsen, Jacques (paper merchant from Bois-le-Duc) 29, 31
 Jansen, P. (Dordrecht bookseller) 488
 Jansenboy, Philippus Jacobus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 179, 192*
 Jansens, J. (Lübeck bookseller) 511
 Janssen van Kampen, Gerard (Breda woodcutter & bookseller) 201, 236, 475;
 pl. 36
 Janssens, G. (Antwerp bookseller) 483
 Janssens, J. (Amsterdam bookseller) 495
 Janssens Orler, G. (Leiden bookseller) 488
 Jansz, S. (Lübeck bookseller) 511
 Jegher, Christoffel (illustrator & woodcutter) 196, 209, 217*, 225, 235, 237;
 pl. 45, 46, 47
 Jegher, Jan Christoffel (woodcutter) 209, 237
 Jegherendorf. See: Jegher, Chr.
 Jode, G. de (Antwerp bookseller) 472
 Jode, J. de (Antwerp bookseller) 483
 Jode, Pieter I de (illustrator) 206, 207, 234
 Jode, Pieter II de (engraver) 240
 Jolie (type size) 54, 56
 Jonghelinckx, Jan-Baptist (engraver) 240
 Joos, P. (Louvain bookseller) 473
 Jossen, L. (Metz bookseller) 476
Journal des affaires 4
Journal, Plantin's - 3, 5; pl. 6
 Junius, Hadrianus (physician & historian) 287, 441*, 479
 Justified matrix 63
 Justifying of matrices. Time involved in - 81
- Kalckhoven, J. (Cologne bookseller) 497
 Keerberghen, Jan van (Antwerp printer & bookseller) 267, 412, 472, 483
 Keere, Hendrik van den - the Elder (Ghent typefounder & printer) 73, 286
 KEERE, HENDRIK VAN DEN - THE YOUNGER 57*, 58*, 61, 63, 64*, 70, 79
- learnt punch-cutting from Joos Lambrecht 73
 - greatest Flemish punch-cutter of 16th century 73
 - *fleurons* cut for Plantin (1568) 73
 - regular supplier of type to Plantin (1572-80) 74, 104-108; pl. 8, 9, 11, 12
 - cut romian on Plantin's instigation 80
 - his *Flamandes* 73
 - his *Texte Flamand* (MA 96) 59
 - Nonpareil Gothic for Plantin (1569) 73
 - Lettre castillane (1574) 157
 - death (1580) 73, 74
 - business continued by Thomas de Vechter 74
 - collection of punches and matrices left to widow, afterwards bought by Plantin 74

- prices charged for various jobs 83-84, 121, 122, 124
- price of type-metal 119
- time involved in various jobs 81, 102, 103
- waste 100
- fount schemes pl. 13, 14, 15

Kemacher, Jehan (debtor to Plantin) 469*

Kembrich, E. (Spiers bookseller) 512

Kemp, Theodoor (proof-reader at *Officina*) 175, 177, 182, 189*

Kerckhove, H. van de (Ghent bookseller) 485

Kerckhove, J. van de (Ghent bookseller) 485

Kerckhove, Widow J. van de (Ghent bookseller) 485

KERKHOVIUS, PETRUS

- regular proof-reader at *Officina* 175
- doing translations etc. 289*, 382*

Kerle, Jacob de (composer) 169

Kesner(us), Zacharias (Cologne bookseller) 505, 508

Kesner, Z. - & J. Krith (Cologne booksellers) 508

Kesselaer, George (painter of illustrations) 243

Kestel, Lambert van (paper merchant) 30

Keyser, Daniel de (Ghent paper merchant) 22, 29

KILIAAN, CORNELIS - VAN DUFFEL

- most trusted proof-reader at *Officina* 176, 180, 182, 189, 479
- as editor 188
- as compositor 316, 332*
- as shop-assistant 395*
- as moneylender to Plantin 456*
- author of dictionaries 191, 279; pl. 64, 65, 66
- death (1607) 184

Kilswel, P. (Nuremberg bookseller) 511

Kinckes (or: Kinckius), J. (Cologne bookseller) 489, 497, 508

Kinder, Leonard de (Antwerp carpenter) 144*

Kindt, Arnold (supplier of vermilion) 50, 51

Kingkes, Jan (shop-assistant to Jan I Moretus(?)) 452*

Kirchner, A. (Magdeburg bookseller) 511

Klaino, J. (Frankfurt physician) 501

Kleyn, Martinus de (priest, and proof-reader at *Officina*) 179

Knabenhauer, P. (Nuremberg bookseller) 511

Kok, W. (engraver) 241

König, L. (Basle bookseller) 513

Kopfius, P. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509

Kraus, J. (Prague merchant) 498

Krisch, G. (Cologne bookseller) 497

Krith, J. (Cologne bookseller) 508

Kuyl, René van (paper manufacturer) 34, 35

La Coste, L. de (Liège bookseller) 485

La Gorse. See: Gorse.

La Hèle, George de (composer) 296*

La Hulpe. Paper mill at - 34

La Motte, Michel de (carpenter) 137

La Noue, J. de (bookseller at Amsterdam and Venice) 495

La Plus Grande Romaine (type size) 56

La Porte, Pierre de (compositor at *Officina*) 316*

La Rache, P. de (Lille bookseller) 487

See also: Rache

La Rivière, G. de (Arras bookseller) 486

La Rivière, J. de (Arras bookseller) 486
La Rovière, P. de (bookseller, residence unknown) 516
La Tombe, P. de (Brussels bookseller) 473
Laer, F. van (Antwerp merchant) 483
Laet, Jan de (Antwerp printer) 563
Lambert, J. (Hildesheim bookseller) 501
Lambrecht, Joos (Ghent type-founder) 68, 73
Lambrechts, D. (bookseller at Bois-le-Duc) 484
Lambrechts, J. (Zierikzee bookseller) 496
Landry, P. (Lyons bookseller) 442*, 443*, 514
Languaigne. See: Lengaigue.
Langhenhoven, Jan Baptist van (Brussels paper manufacturer) 34, 35, 36*
Large quarto format 162
Last-minute alterations 299

LATIN ALPHABET; SCRIPTS

- Carolingian ininuscle 155
- littera humanistica 155
- littera cancellaresca 155
- gothic 155

LATIN ALPHABET; TYPE FORMS

- *allemande* 156, 157, 158
- *bastarde* 156
- black letter (q.v.) 53, 58, 156, 157
- *civilité* 156, 157, 158
- *flamande* 156, 157, 158
- *Fraktur* 156
- *Hoogduyts* 156
- *lettre d'écriture* 156
- *lettre française* 156, 157
- *Nederduyts* 156
- roman 53, 155
- *rotunda* or round gothic 155, 157
- *Schwabacher* 156, 157

Latin texts. Rules for setting - 157

Latius (Antwerp bookseller) 472

Latomus, Jacobus (Louvain canon) 298, 301*

Laurent, J. (Tournai bookseller) 474

Laurent, N. (Tournai bookseller) 486

Lauwers, Conrad (engraver) 240

Layout pl. 58-63

LE BÉ, GUILLAUME (French punch-cutter, type-founder, and paper merchant)
28*, 29, 72, 79

- influence on 16th-c. type design 71
- albums of his work in Bibliothèque nationale, Paris 80
- 'Garamond' design owned by Plantin cut by - 70
- Hebrew founts by - owned by Plantin 69, 72
- punches and matrices sold cheaply to Plantin (1562) 87; pl. 8

Le Bé, Nicolas (Troyes paper merchant) 28

Le Breton (author in *Encyclopédie française*) 48, 49, 50*

Le Clerc, Alexandre (Troyes paper merchant) 27

Le Fèvre de la Boderie, Guy (proof-reader at *Officina*) 176, 182, 189

Le Jeune, C. (French author) 264*

Le Jeune, Martin (Paris bookseller) 12*, 71*, 247*, 251*, 476, 562; pl. 2

Le Maire, J. (Leiden bookseller) 496

Le Marne, Cl. (Cologne bookseller) 509

Le Marne, Cl. - & Heirs A. Wechel (Cologne booksellers) 509

Le Preux, I. (bookseller, residence unknown) 516

Le Prum, I. (Geneva (?) bookseller) 513

Le Royer, J. (Paris bookseller) 476
Le Serrurier, Mathias (Antwerp blacksmith) 137
Le Sueur, Nicolas (woodcutter) 211

LEAD IN TYPE-METAL

- Baskerville (1760) 98
- Caslon (1776) 100*
- Caslon (1794) 100*
- Van Everbroeck (1563) 96*
- Figgins (1805) 100*
- P.-S. Fournier (1764-66) 99*
- Guyot (1563) 96*
- modern foundry type 95*, 100*
- Monotype machinery 95*
- F.J. Moretus (1760) 98
- Plantin (1565) 96
- Plantin (1581) 95
- J.M. Smit (c. 1735) 98
- slug casting machinery 95*
- Watts (1841) 100*
- from window-panes etc. 105

Lead matrices 63

LEATHER

- for binding 249
- for ink balls 141, 150

Lechien, F. (Antwerp bookseller) 492
Ledders, P. (Strasbourg bookseller) 512
Ledgers kept by Plantin 6
See also: *Livre; Journal; Giornale*.
Ledieu, Antoine (paper merchant) 29

- Leers, A. (Rotterdam bookseller) 496
 Leest, Antoon van (woodcutter) 201, 202, 209, 224, 236; pl. 34
 Lefort, François (paper merchant) 30
 Leiden branch of *Officina* 6, 154, 161
 Lengaigne, Jacques de (Antwerp paper merchant) 25, 27, 28, 30, 38*, 39*, 40, 42
 Lens, Andreas-Cornelis (illustrator) 235
 Leonard, J. (Brussels bookseller) 493
 Leonius, Elbertus (Brabant lawyer) 295
 Lesteens, G. (Antwerp bookseller) 492
 LETTRE
 - castillane 157
 - d'écriture 156
 - française 156
- Lettre de change*. See: Bill of exchange.
Lettre de crédit. See: Bill of exchange.
 Lever (of press) 134
 Levita, Joannes Isaac - of Cologne (editor) 286*
 L'Huiller, P. (Paris bookseller) 476
Libro della Stampa 4, 5; pl. 3
 LIBRORUM CENSOR 255
 - semi-official function 258
 - often chosen by printers 259
 See also: Religious censorship.
- Licentia* 255
 See also: Religious censorship.
 Licht, C. de - & J. de Coninck (Sevilla booksellers) 498
 Lieftrinck, H. (Antwerp bookseller) 472
 Lieftrinck, Mijnen (Antwerp intaglio printer) 222*, 226, 242
 Ligatures 57, 58
 Lighting. See: Artificial light.
 Lindanus, Theodoor (Antwerp printer) 13
 Lindeman, J. (Gotha bookseller) 510
 Linschoten, C. van (pressman at *Officina*) 337, 338
 Lintzenich, Jacques de (paper merchant at Aix-en-Provence) 29
 Linth, J. van (Cologne bookseller) 500
 Lipp, B. (Mainz bookseller) 511
 Lipsius, Justus (scholar) 14*, 164, 214, 216, 225, 282*; pl. 54-56
 Lire, Jan van (Antwerp carpenter) 145*
 Lithography 195
Littera cancellaresca 155
Littera humanistica 155
 Liturgical books for Spain 8, 163
Livre de caisse 6
Livre des débiteurs 4*

Livre des libraires et autres 4

LIVRE DES OUVRIERS 4, 309

- specifying amounts of work done 310
- 1563-67 pl. 71
- 1571 onwards 332
- first mention of collator 329

Livre des relieurs 5, 6

Livre tournois (unit of money) 445

Livre des utensiles 5

Livre des ventes 6*

Livre des ventes à la boutique 4, 6

LOANS 454

- heavy burden on Plantin 455
- after 1567 456
- rates of interest 457

Lobelius, Mathias (botanist) 243, 288

Lobo, D. (Lisbon musician) 490

Locking-up of formes 130

Lock-out 360

Loe, Jan van (Antwerp printer & bookseller) 106*, 219*, 229, 472

Loeven Helsvir, Hans van (journeyman-printer at *Officina*) 330*, 351*

Loeybos, Van (illustrator) 235

Longius, P. (Venice bookseller) 504

Loos, Pieter de (copyist) 241

Lork, Melchior (Danish artist) 199, 234

Louis XIII, king of France 8*

Louis XIV, king of France 32

LOUVAIN

- centre of printing 263
- Synod of - (1574) 297
- theologians as *censores librorum* 259, 276

Loven, F. van (bookseller at Bois-le-Duc) 475

Luther, Martin 277, 283

Lutz, Tobias (Augsburg bookseller) 500, 508

Lützenkirchen, G. (Cologne bookseller) 489, 508

Luyten(ius), Henri(cus) (theologian) 12

Lycops, François (Antwerp paper merchant) 29

Lycagie (dross in type-metal) 97, 99, 100

Lye for washing of formes 132

Mack, Jean-Guillaume (woodcutter) 237

MADOETS, ANDREAS

- proof-reader at *Officina* 175, 176, 182, 189*
- as editor 279*, 286*
- as compositor for Hebrew 188

Madur, Gabriel (Auvergne paper merchant) 28*

Maes, B. (Louvain bookseller) 493

Maes, Godfried (illustrator) 235

Maes, Jan (Louvain printer and bookseller) 13, 125, 447*, 448*, 485

Mahieu, J. (Courtrai bookseller) 485

Malines. Sack of - (1572) 212

Mallery, Ch. (Paris bookseller) 488

Mallery, Karel de (illustrator & engraver) 196, 208, 235, 240

Malo, L. (Antwerp merchant) 492

Malthau, J. (Göttingen bookseller) 510

Mameranus (author) 295

Manilius, Cornelis (Ghent printer) 286

Manilius, Ghislenuus (Ghent printer) 13

Manrique, Don Luis (Grand Almoner of Spain) 214*

MANUSCRIPTS

- alterations in - 279
- copied by scribes 282
- extant - in Plantin-Moretus Museum 279, 282*
- going astray 282
- fate of - after use 280
- poorly legible - 281
- printed texts serving as - 279; pl. 58
- recopied - 281, 282; pl. 54
- rejected - 292, 293
- for Spanish edition of Vesalius-Valverde pl. 52, 53

Manutius, Aldus. See: Aldus.

Manutius, Paulus (Rome publisher) 449*

MAPS

- craftsmen colouring - 242
- Mercator's - 242
- Ortelius's - 242

Marchand, Laurent (Tournai bookseller) 250

Mare, B. (bookseller, residence unknown) 516

Mareschal, P. (Heidelberg bookseller) 510

Marischal, J. (Lyons bookseller) 476

Marketing and sales 387-439

See also: Sales

Marne, C. de - & J. Aubry (Frankfurt booksellers) 501

Marnef, H. de (Paris bookseller) 476

Marnef, H. de - & G. Cavelat (Paris booksellers) 476

Marot, Clément (French Calvinist poet) 276

Martel, S. (bookseller at Toul or Pont-à-Mousson) 488, 514

Martens, Henri van (pressman at *Officina*) 350*

- Martius, Jeremias (translator) 289*
 Masius (Louvain printer). See: Maes, Jan.
 Materials for binding 245*, 249
 Matrices 48; pl. 10
 Matrices, Lead - 63
 Matrix. Justified - 63
 Mattheus, J. (Utrecht bookseller) 475
 Maudhuy, R. (Arras bookseller) 486
 Maximilian. Emperor - 274
 Mayer, Michel (compositor at *Officina*) 351*
 Mediane (type size) 56
 Meersman, J. de (compositor at *Officina*) 337
 Meesens, J. (Antwerp bookseller) 492
 Meesters, Cornelis (supplier of type-metal) 119
 Melchior (Antwerp bookbinder) 248*
 Melis, K. 81
 Mempe, H. (Louvain bookseller) 493
 MERCATOR, GERARD (Duisburg cartographer) 26*, 398
 - map of Europe (1554) coloured 242
 - map of Europe, privilege for - 275
 - *Chronologia* (Cologne 1568) 421
 - maps supplied to Plantin 421
- Mercator, S. (bookseller, residence unknown) 516
 Merlen, Abraham van (engraver) 240
 Merlin, Guillaume (Paris paper merchant) 28*, 29
 Mert, Joannes (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 183, 189*, 190
 Mertens, D. (Antwerp merchant) 484
 Mertens, Nicolaus (priest, and proof-reader at *Officina*) 179
 Metelen, J. van (Amsterdam bookseller) 495
 Meteren, Emmanuel van (historian) 284
 Mettes, Marc (pressman at *Officina*) 350*
 Meurier, Gabriel (author of schoolbooks) 264*
 Meurs, J. van (Antwerp bookseller) 492
 Meyer, Hendrik (compositor at *Officina*) 315*
 Meys, Hendrik (Antwerp paper merchant) 30
 Michel, C. (Mons bookseller) 486
 Michel, G. (Mons bookseller) 486
 Michielsen, P. (Brussels bookseller) 493
 Mieg, Cl. (Basle bookseller) 503
 Mignonne (type size) 56
 Miller, S. (Augsburg bookseller) 508
 Millo, H. van (gouverneur at *Officina*) 338
 Minuscule. Carolingian- 155
 Milcam, Leonard (type-founder at *Officina*, 1626-56) 109, 110
 Missals for Spain 8, 163
 Mitten, J. (Middelburg bookseller) 496

Moerman, Joannes (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 183, 189*, 190
Moerlants, Hans (Antwerp bookbinder) 248*
Mofflin, Jean (abbot to Philip II) 24, 31, 213*, 441*, 449*
Molanus, Jan (theologian) 287, 288*
Molina, Juan de (Lisbon bookseller) 400, 442*, 443*
Mollijns, J. (Antwerp bookseller) 472
Mommaert, J. (Brussels bookseller) 484, 493
Momper, Joos de (illustrator) 206, 234
Monelia, S. (Antwerp merchant) 484

MONEY

- counterfeit - 447
- in bullion 446
- obstacles to transport of - 449
- rates of exchange 445*, 447
- reckoned at metal value 447
- transport of - 448

[MONEY]

- units of - 445
- in various coins 446

Monopoly of publication through privilege 256

Mont, Guillaume vander (Antwerp silversmith & type-founder) 109

Moonen, Hapartanus Joannes (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 182, 188, 189*

Moreau, Jean (Troyes paper merchant) 28*, 29, 43*, 44*, 50

Morelle, Cl. (Lyons bookseller) 514

MORETUS, ALBERT

- inventory of type 55
- type cast for - by J.H. Hartung (1828) 112
- type cast for - by M. Gando (1831-35) 112

MORETUS, BALTHASAR I 8*, 9

- built type-foundry pl. 7
- type-founders working for - (1624-26) 109
- type cast for King Charles I (1634) 125*
- large woodcuts for service books ordered (1630-40) 203
- illustration ordered from Christoffel van Sichem 209
- instructions to P.P. Rubens 215, 217
- woodcuts of Plantin's time used 209
- Virgil edition pl. 26

MORETUS, BALTHASAR II 32

- stocks of type (1652) 114
- type cast for - by Hans Pen (1656-59) 109
- inventory of 1658 150
- type cast for - by Van Wolsschaten (1660, 1661) 109, 152*
- survey of profits 1641 and 1652 460, 461
- inventory of 1662 150

Moretus, Balthasar III 33

Moretus, Balthasar IV 222

Moretus, Edward 6, 7*

MORETUS, FRANCISCUS JOANNES

- importer of paper 21, 35
- punch-cutters and type-founders working for - (1756-60) 78
- difficulties with French illustrators 211
- on composition of ink 48
- on costs of type-foundry 123
- on output of type-founders 103
- on prices of type 122*
- on punch-cutting 81*
- on smelting 100
- on type-metal 97, 100, 120
- on weights of type 102

MORETUS, JAN I 49*, 50

- shop assistant 394, 395*
- relations with Egidius Beys 404
- correspondence with Arias Montanus 212
- inherits Plantin's type collection jointly with Frans Raphelengius 75, 76
- acquires Raphelengius's type collection 77
- type-founders working for - (1592-94) 109
- agreement with apprentice proof-reader 191
- proof-readers employed by - 177, 178
- instructions to proof-readers 184
- inherits Plantin's collection of wood-blocks and copperplates 231
- instructions to illustrators 214
- fees paid to illustrators 227
- coloured book for Pierre Porret 242
- on censorship 262
- on cost of illustration 386
- on numbers of copies printed 169, 171, 172, 173
- on workmen 357

MORETUS, JOANNES JACOBUS

- difficulties with French illustrators 211

[MORETUS, JOANNES JACOBUS]

- P. Perreault working for - as type-founder (1736) 111
- on type-metal 97*

Moretus. Theodoor - S.J. 392*, 498

Moretus imprints. Different forms of - 8*

Morgues, Mathieu de (French theologian) 300*, 301*

Morillon, Maximilian (vicar-general to Granvelle) 157, 247*, 251*, 269, 296*, 297

Moschus (author) 169

Motten, Hart (apprentice at *Officina*) 353*

MOTTE, MICHEL DE LA (Antwerp carpenter)

- presses built for Plantin 137, 138*
- type-cases made for Plantin 144*

Mottet, J. (Liège bookseller) 493

Moulaert, S. (Middelburg bookseller) 488

MOULDS pl. 9

- technical description 92
- number in use in *Officina* 92
- number now in Plantin-Moretus Museum 93
- originating from Van der Borgh foundry 93*
- value in *Officina* inventories 94

Moulin, Lucia de (Antwerp paper merchant) 28, 30

Movable type 52

MOXON, JOSEPH (author of *Mechanick Exercices*) 64*

- on associations of workmen 363
- on composing and presswork 129, 309
- on composing-sticks 142
- on ink 47, 48, 49*
- on presses 134, 135, 139
- on type-cases 143

Moyen Canon (type size) 56

Muelener, Cornelis (compositor at *Officina*) 303, 312*, 316*

Muet, Jacques (Troyes paper merchant) 30

Muet, Jean (Troyes paper merchant) 30

Muet, Michel & Jean (Troyes paper merchants) 30

Mul(l)ener, Cornelis. See: Muelener.

Muller, Corneille. See: Muelener.

Muller, Cornelis (woodcutter) 200, 221*, 236

Munich, C. (Cologne bookseller) 497

Muntinx, G. (Cologne bookseller) 508

Musenhole, Wife of Gilles (Frankfurt paper merchant) 28

Music type 53

Muttio, J.B. (Antwerp merchant) 493

Muytinx, G. (Cologne bookseller) 489
Mylius, Arnold (Cologne publisher) 11, 12
Mylius, Ch. (Strasbourg bookseller) 502
Mylius, H. (Cologne bookseller) 489, 497, 508

Navarrus. Martin d'Azpilcueta, or - (Spanish theologian) 294
Navas, Marquis de la (Spanish bibliophile) 245*
Navières, Charles de (French author) 268*
Nederduyts (kind of type) 156, 158
Neeffs, Jacob (engraver) 240
Neels, Adrianus (priest; also proof-reader at *Officina*) 178
Neoclesianus, Guilielmus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177
NEUF, ANNA MARIA DE (widow of Balthasar III Moretus)

- type-founder wanted through help of Ysbrand Vincent (1696) 111
- ordinance 1703 (for short hours) 345

Niclaes, Hendrik (heretic theologian) 277, 278, 562
 NICOLAI, ARNOLD (woodcutter) 196*, 236, 472
 - worked for Plantin (1555-c. 1568) 200, 221*
 - illustrated Niclaes's *Spegel der Gherechticheit* (c. 1562) 197
 - his old age 212

Nineteenth century. The firm's activities in the - 6
 Nobelius, Jacobus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 178
 Nompaille or Nonpareille (type size) 54, 56
 Noort, Adam van (illustrator) 206, 234
 Noort, Lambert van (illustrator) 199, 224, 233; pl. 33
 Northon, J. (London bookseller).

See: Bill & Northon.

Nouveau texte (type size) 55*, 56

Noyens, Philippus Jacobus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 179, 192

NUMBER OF COPIES PRINTED 169-173

- how determined 169, 170
- average of Plantin 173
- usual of Plantin 170
- highest of Plantin 172, 173
- lowest of Plantin 169, 172, 173
- average of Jan I Moretus 170
- usual of Jan I Moretus 170
- highest of Jan I Moretus 172, 173
- of *Pseaumes de David* (1564) 170
- of Hebrew Bible (1566) 169
- of Lipsius's works 171

Numerals. See: Figures.

Nutius, Martin (Antwerp bookseller) 245*, 267, 412, 472, 483, 515

Nutius, Philippus (Antwerp publisher) 12, 14*, 396*, 472

Nutz (or: Nuyts) Govaert (Antwerp paper merchant) 27, 28, 30, 42*

Nuyts, Willem (Antwerp paper merchant) 27

Nijs, Gillis (Antwerp paper merchant) 30

Nys, Govaert. See: Nuyts.

Nijs, Guillaume (Antwerp paper merchant) 29, 30

Obligation. Financial - 440

Occo, Adolphus (numismatist) 284, 295

Octavo format 160, 530, 531, 544-547

Oignies, Gilbert d' (bishop of Tournai) 282*, 283, 297

OLD TYPE IN TYPE-METAL

- in Guyot's (1563) 97*
- in Plantin's time (1565 onwards) 97
- in J.M. Smit's (c. 1735) 98
- in F.J. Moretus's (1760) 98

Olearius, A. (librarian to the Duke of Holstein, Gottorp) 498

Oliva, Philippus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 178

Ommeren, G. van (Amsterdam bookseller) 495

Oproede, Cornelis van (Antwerp paper merchant) 27, 29

ORDINANCES 310

- when issued 311*
- 1555 319, 342*, 345, 357
- 1563 319, 324*, 346; pl. 72
- 1570-71 324
- 1703 345
- 1715 319, 321, 331, 343*
- on the chapel 365
- on composers' duties 342
- *gouverneur* first mentioned 331
- on obligations of employer 345, 346
- on order in the shop 359
- on penalties for offences 358
- on pressmen's tasks 319, 324*
- on proofing 321
- warning against negligence 312
- on working hours 343, 344

Orley, Richard van (illustrator) 235

- Orsini, Fulvio (Roman humanist) 293
 ORTELIUS, ABRAHAM 9, 231*, 232; pl. 48
- acting as bookseller 472
 - coloured maps for Plantin 242
 - received free copies 288
 - presentation copy in Plantin-Moretus Museum 247
 - views on authors' fees 284, 285, 286
 - *Synonyma* 284
 - *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* 242, 281, 289*
 - *Thesaurus geographicus* 280*, 284

Other printers working for Plantin 13

Ottens, J. (shop assistant at *Officina*) 394*

Oudart, Nicolas (canon of St. Rombouts, Malines) 291*

Paciolo, Luca (Italian author) 4

Packing of books 427

Pagnini, Sanctes (theologian) 286*

Paillette, Guillaume (grinder of vermilion) 51*

Pain, Claude (pressman at *Officina*) 350*

Palthenius, Z. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509

Pamelen, H. van (Maastricht bookseller) 485

Pamelius, Jacobus (Bruges theologian) 298

Pamphleteering 256

Pantin, Pierre (theologian) 291*

PAPER

- consumption by *Officina* 19, 20, 22
- from Auvergne 24*, 36
- from Brabant mills 34
- Dutch - from Ysbrand Vincent 34
- from France in Plantin's time 22
- from Frankfurt 28, 42*
- from Germany in Plantin's time 22
- from Holland 32, 33, 36*, 42
- home-produced 22

[PAPER]

- from Italy 42
- from La Rochelle 24*, 25*, 36
- from Pradier and Angoulême 33
- from Rouen 24*, 28
- from Troyes 24*, 25*, 36
- blue 37*
- quality of- 36
- prices 26, 33, 35, 42
- sizes 38-41
- watermarks 38

- machine-made 38
- centres of production in Plantin's time 22
- suppliers to Plantin 27-31
- French manufacturers moving to Holland 33
- Antwerp dealers 25
- French merchants 25
- Egidius Beys as supplier 25
- retail trade in - by Plantin 26
- stocks held by Plantin 44
- amounts spent on - 43
- payments for - 44
- dampening of- 132, 140
- for Polyglot Bible 20, 36, 37, 42

Papillon, Jean Michel (woodcutter) 211, 212, 237

Papolin, Jean (Rouen paper merchant) 29

Par, Ludovicus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 178, 188

Parangonne (type size) 56

PARCHMENT

- for binding and its price 45*, 249
- to print on and its price 45, 46*
- for tympan and friskets and its price 44, 45*
- calf- 46*
- sheep - 45
- supply and suppliers 45
- prices of books printed on- 45, 46
- from Zealand 46

Pardo, Silvester (*librorum censor*) 261; pl- 53

- Pardo Lopez, - D. (Antwerp merchant) 484
 Parent, Henri (collator at *Officina*) 329, 330
 Parent, Michel (collator at *Officina*) 329, 330
 Paris branch of *Officina* 6, 161, 398, 401, 443*, 476
 Parker, Mike 81
 Parijs, Silvester van (Antwerp print dealer) 200
 Parijs, Willem van (woodcutter) 200, 236
 PASCH, JAN
 - compositor at *Officina* 336, 337
 - gouverneur 332, 333, 337
- Pasch, Otho (compositor at *Officina*) 180*
 Paschalis, Carolus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 182
 Passarus, Bernardinus (Italian illustrator) 234
 Passe, Crispijn (van) de - the Elder (engraver) 196*, 204, 239
 Passerus. See: Passarus.
 Patars 445, 446
 Patruus, J. (bookseller, residence unknown) 505
 Patté, G. (Douai bookseller) 494
 Paul V, Pope 220*
 Pauli, Renatus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177
 Pauwels, Adriaan (engraver) 206, 220*, 240
 Pauwels(en), Simon (Delft bookseller) 380*, 442*, 475
 Peeters, E. (Antwerp merchant) 493
 Peeters, George (Antwerp merchant) 449*
 Peetersen (Amsterdam bookseller). See: Swertkens.
 Peetersen Paedts, J. (Amsterdam bookseller) 487
 Pelten, Jacques (Antwerp paper merchant) 29
 Pen, Hans (type-founder at *Officina*, 1656-59) 109, 110
 Perera, E. (Antwerp merchant) 484
 Peres de Varron, Martin (Spanish bookseller) 403
 Perez, Gonzales (Spanish bibliophile) 245*
 Perez, Gregorio (Spanish client of Plantin) 448*
 Perez, Louis (Spanish bookseller) 400*, 444*, 456*
 Perez, Marcus (Spanish bibliophile) 245*
 Péricart, Pierre (Troyes paper merchant) 27, 40
 Perier, Adrien (Paris bookseller) 514
 Perk. Abbot of- 297
 Perna, P. (Basle bookseller) 477, 503
 Perreault, P. (type-founder at *Officina*, 111, 112
 Perret, Clement (calligrapher) 227, 233
 Perret, E. (author) 9
 Pesnot, Charles (Lyons bookseller) 401*
 Pesnot, Cl. (Lyons bookseller) 504
 Peterle, M. (Prague bookseller) 502
 Petit [of Paris], Jan (Antwerp bookbinder) 245
 Petit, O. (Paris bookseller) 476

Petit Canon (type size) 56
Petit Romain (type size) 56
Petit Texte (two type sizes) 55*, 56
Petite Ascendonica (type size) 56
Petite Augustine (type size) 56
Petite Nonpareille (type size) 56
Petite Parangonne (type size) 56
Phalesia, Magdalena (Antwerp bookseller) 492
Phalesius, P. (bookseller at Louvain and Antwerp) 473, 483
PHILIP II, KING 6*, 37*, 256

- as client to Plantin 163, 401, 444
- ordinance on political censorship 262

[PHILIP II]

- ordinance on religious censorship 258

Philippusdaalder (coin) 446

Philipson, Henry (English bibliophile) 245*

Philosophie (type size) 56

Pica point system 54

Pièce de 2½ basses (coin) 446

Pièce de trois basses (coin) 446

Piemontois, Alexis (Italian author) 48, 50*, 264*, 290*

Pighius, Stephanus Winandus (librarian to Cardinal Granvelle) 245*, 269, 480

Pillehotte, J. (Lyons bookseller) 514

Pimpont, de (Paris author) 261, 299, 300

Pinchon, G. (Douai bookseller) 487

Pinsard, T. (Douai bookseller) 487

Piracy 290, 291

See also: Privilege

Pissart (or: Pissard), A. (Mons bookseller) 380*, 474

Pistolet (coin) 446

Pivot (of press) 130

PLANTIN, CHRISTOPHE

(Personal and business)

- start as bookbinder (1555) 244
- imprints 8, 12*, 13*; pl. 1
- stay in Paris (1562-63) 65, 197
- possessions auctioned (1562) 65, 246
- Van Bomberghen partnership (1563) 4, 65, 66, 153
- Paris branch 14, 397
- Leiden branch 14, 124*
- son-in-law Egidius Beys 24
- son-in-law Jan Moretus 14
- son-in-law Frans Raphelengius 176*
- agreement with Marcel Ghisberts (1563) 175
- agreements with other printers 13, 297
- amounts paid for type 124, 125

[CHR. PLANTIN: *personal and business*]

- books printed for third parties 163
- burdened by loans 455
- buying and selling paper 23-31, 43
- catalogues 424
- Frankfurt Fair 398
- Indexes of prohibited books printed 256*
- joint ventures 12*, 14*
- lawyers engaged to defend privileges 268
- markets 392
- Gerard Mercator 398

- official printer to City of Antwerp 10, 266
- official printer to States General 266, 563
- payments to carpenters and locksmiths 147
- Philip II 163
- prints bought and sold 194
- storage of books 425
- type and other possessions sold (1576) 124
- value of woodblocks and copperplates (1589) 231
- worked at a loss (1566) 391

(Staff and collaborators)

- attitude towards chapel 367
- difficulties with workmen 359
- opinions on workmen 357
- proof-readers employed 176, 177
- relationship with illustrators 212

(Finance and administration)

- account books 3, 4, 5
- accounts for 1566 385, 391, 399
- amounts paid to punch-cutters 83-85
- inventory 1561 87
- inventory 1563 87
- inventory 1566 87
- inventory 1572 67
- investments in punches and matrices 95
- lack of liquid funds 391

[CHR. PLANTIN: *finance etc.*]

- loss in 1566 391
- matrices owned (1556-63) 58*, 65
- prices and value of presses 133
- stocks and value of type (1562) 114, 124
- stocks and value of type (1575) 75, 115-117
- stocks and value of type (1589) 88, 113, 124
- type collection as security against loans 89, 91

(Technique and materials)

- bindings done by himself 244, 246
- justification of matrices 85
- limited runs printed to speed up publication 101
- nomenclature for formats 161
- own foundry built 105
- presses built 137, 138*
- type cases made 144
- type-metal 95, 119

(Publishing)

- advice to authors 164
- *approbationes* from Antwerp clergy 260
- authors made to pay for publication 294
- catalogues (1566-1584) 161, 424
- complaints about piracy 291
- costs of colouring maps and illustrations 242, 243
- censor. Dean of St. Gudule preferred as - 259
- difficulties with censors 260
- illustration: switch from woodcut to copper engraving 202
- illustrators engaged (1565-81) 199
- *mappae pictae* 242
- numbers of copies printed 169, 170, 172, 173
- Polyglot Bible (q.v.) 13, 66
- privilege from Privy Council 264
- privilegium generale 266
- privileges, defending of- 268

[CHR. PLANTIN: *publishing*]

- privileges for Lipsius's works 270
- privileges from Emperors Maximilian and Rudolph II 274
- translations commissioned 289

(Typography, type design, book design)

- book design; views on - 164-167
- book design personally attended to 163
- dislike for italic 159
- Everbroeck founts owned and bought (1563-71) 105, 107, 108

- Garamond founts owned and bought (1573) 69, 70
- Granjon founts owned and commissioned 71, 73
- Granjon civilité; among first users of - (1557) 53, 156
- Granjon, transactions with - 83
- Gruter founts owned and bought (c. 1571) 108
- Guyot founts owned and bought (1555-70) 104-107
- Haultin founts owned and bought 71
- Haultin Greek ordered through Porret 90
- Van den Keere; *fleurons* and type bought from - (1568, 1569) 73
- Van den Keere founts owned and commissioned (1572-80) 104-108
- Van den Keere punches and matrices owned (44 sets) 74
- Van den Keere collection bought from his widow 74
- Van den Keere. Instructions to - 80
- Le Bé founts bought cheaply 87
- Le Bé Hebrew 70, 72
- punches and matrices in Frankfurt warehouse 76
- Sabon founts owned and bought (1565) 106
- Tavernier founts owned and bought (1555-63) 106

[CHR. PLANTIN: *typography etc.*]

- specimen pages 162
- terminology of type sizes 55
- type collection divided between Jan Moretus and Frans Raphelengius (1589) 75
- type specimen 1567 66, 67
- type specimen 1585 57*, 75
- De Vechter founts bought and owned (1572-82) 104

(*Publications and impressions*)

- anonymous 277
 - antedated 278
 - under false imprint 277
- See also short title list on p. 626.

Plantin, Magdalena (wife to Egidius Beys) 402*

Plantin, Margareta (wife to Frans Raphelengius) 176*

PLANTIN-MORETUS MUSEUM

- collection of type, punches, and matrices 79
- extant manuscripts 279

Plantius, J. (Bruges bookseller) 473

PLATEN (part of press) 130, 134

- made of copper 138, 139
- made of iron 139
- Moxon on- 139
- movement of- 140
- prices of- 138

Pleek, Andreas (priest; also proofreader at *Officina*) 179, 192*
‘Pocket editions’ 165

Poel, J. van den (Malines bookseller) 473

POELMAN, JUAN

- shop assistant to Plantin 395*
- partner of Jan I Moretus (1586) 402
- partner of Martin Peres de Varron 403
- bookseller at Salamanca 291*, 403

Poelman, Theodoor (Antwerp humanist) 279*, 288*, 402, 480

Political censorship 256

Politijs, J. (Lausanne bookseller) 513

POLYGLOT BIBLE 13

- project first mentioned by Plantin (1566) 66
- financing 297
- approbation from Sorbonne 259, 260*
- privilege obtained by Arias Montanus 268*, 275
- privilege for twenty years pl. 51

- privileges for several countries 275
- composing 316
- title-page suggestions by Don Luis Manrique 214*
- Hebrew type needed 70
- Hebrew type sketched by Plantin 80
- Hebrew type cut by Le Bé 72
- Syriac type cut 53
- method of printing 101
- paper 20, 36, 37, 42
- parchment 45*
- remuneration of editors and collaborators 288
- with coloured illustrations 243
- prices 440
- specially bound 250
- ruled 251, 252
- retailers 393

Polytes, Joachim 9

Pons [of Aix-en-Provence], Jacques (Paris ruler of books) 251, 252

Pontanus, M. (Paderborn bookseller) 512

Pooter, Jan-Anton de (engraver) 240

PORRET, PIERRE 25, 27*, 48, 66, 71, 90, 164, 275*

- acting as Plantin's agent in Paris 299, 398, 415, 447*
- buys Greek type for Plantin from Haultin (1567) 90
- book coloured for - 242
- translator of texts for Plantin 289*

Porta, J.B. (Italian author) 289*

Portillo, J. (bookseller, residence unknown) 499

Portinariis, G. de (bookseller at Lyons and Salamanca) 450

Postel, Guillaume (French orientalist) 80

Pound (different unities of currency) 445

Pradier. Paper from- 33

Presents to censors 272

PRESS, PRESSES (printing machine) 130, 132-136

- blankets 131
- Blaeu's - 135
- built to order 137
- built by Matheis Bessels, locksmith 138*, 140*
- chase 130, 132, 133, 139, 140
- coffin 130, 133, 140
- construction 134
- cost of - 132, 133
- discussed in *Dialogues françois et flamands* 130-132
- forme 133, 141
- frisket 131, 134, 139
- handle 134
- imposing stone 138
- ink balls 131, 141
- lever 134
- Moxon's description 134-135
- 'new-fashioned' 135; pl. 23
- number of- in operation in *Officina* (1564-89) 335
- 'old-fashioned' 135
- pivot 130
- in Plantin-Moretus Museum 135, 136, 139
- platen 130, 134, 137, 138
- quoins 130
- rounce 130
- spare parts 138, 139
- spindle 130, 134, 137
- Stanhope's 134
- stone 133
- suppliers of - 137
- supporting beams 140
- tympan 131, 134, 139

[PRESS, PRESSES]

- used by Plantin 136
- value of- 133
- yoke made of iron 135

Presse, J. (Frankfurt bookseller) 497

PRESSMEN

- correction of errors by - 320
- number of- in proportion to compositors 334, 335

- output 326
- paid at piece rates 324
- 'premier' 324
- pulling proofs 320
- relationship between - at one press 324
- relationship to composers 333, 341, 345
- 'second' 324
- tasks 318
- training 341
- two - at one press 318
- wages 339
- working hours 146

Preux, J. (Eger bookseller) 501

PRICES

- of binding 245, 248, 250
- of friskets 139
- of Polyglot Bible 440
- recommended retail - for books 440

Principe, Maximilianus a (proof-reader at *Officina*) 178, 193

Printer's flowers. See: *Fleurons*.

PRINTING ERRORS

- cause of- 298
- not corrected by authors 300

PRIVILEGE(S) 154, 255

- acquired by authors 264, 268
- *approbatio* condition for - 257
- costing money 271
- defended through lawyers 268
- duration of- 265, 290
- Council of Brabant granting - 262
- different bodies granting - for same book 264

[PRIVILEGE(S)]

- effectiveness of- 276, 290
 - from Emperors Maximilian and Rudolph II 274
 - first - issued in the Netherlands (1512) 257
 - long in coming 299
 - not applied for in dubious cases 277
 - older than organized censorship 257
 - Plantin's first 264
 - in Plantinian archives 257
 - Privy Council granting - 262
 - sanctions on infringement 267
 - voluntarily sought by printer 257
 - for Garibay's History of Spain (1570) 264*
 - for Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* 269
 - for Lipsius's works 270
 - for ordinances 266
 - for Polyglot Bible (1573) pl. 51
- See also: Secular censorship.

PRIVILEGIA GENERALIA

- for France 275
- Plantin's - renewed by each subsequent Master 266

Privy Council 10, 24, 264, 265*, 270

Proeffler, H.J. (Trier bookseller) 512

Profit margins 459, 462

PROOF CORRECTION 174-193

- by authors 174, 300
- in connexion to presswork 320
- by occasional assistants 174
- system 185-187, 313; pl. 31, 32

Proofing press 321

PROOF-READERS

- alcoholism among - 192
- conflicts with employers 192
- different standing of - in *Officina* 174
- fraternity of - (founded 1664) 175, 178*, 192*, 193
- learned men or priests serving as - 191
- numbers employed 182

[PROOF-READERS]

- ordinances mentioning - 193
- resident and non-resident - 189, 190
- room of - in *Officina* pl. 30
- system of working 185-187
- tasks 180, 184, 187

- wages 189, 190

Publicity 422-425

Pulmannus, Theodorus. See: Poelman, Theodoor.

Punch-cutters and type-founders. Specialized - 64

Punch-cutting. Time involved in - 81, 82

PUNCHES 58, 61

- cut in wood 63
- investments by Plantin in - and matrices 95
- separate - for diacritical marks 64

Punctuation marks 57

Purfoot, Thomas (London printer) 14*, 229

Putte, Bernard van de (Malines bookseller and painter of maps) 242, 473

Quarto format 160, 528, 529, 541-543

Quellin, Erasmus II (illustrator) 208, 216, 217*, 218, 225

Quellin, Jan Erasmus (illustrator) 235

Quentel(inus), A. (Cologne bookseller) 489, 509

Quoins 130

Rabat. See: Discount.

Rache, Ignace de (Lille bookseller) 494

Rache, Nicolas de (Lille bookseller) 494

See also: Le Rache.

Rademaker, J. (Antwerp merchant and occasional bookseller) 392*

Raeseveldt, B. (Munster bookseller) 497

Ranchart, Jean (apprentice at *Officina*) 352*, 354

RAPHELENGIUS, FRANS (son-in-law to Plantin) 14, 480

- exchange of punches and matrices with Jan Moretus (1590-1601) 76
- exotic founts owned by - 154
- Frankfurt type collection shared with Jan Moretus (1589) 76
- inherits parts of Plantin's type collection 75, 76
- inherits half of Plantin's collection of woodblocks and copperplates 231
- Lipsius editions by - 270
- matrices lent to and borrowed from Jan Moretus 76
- marriage to Margareta Plantin 176*
- proof-reader at *Officina* (1564-85) 176, 180, 182, 188, 189*, 191, 282*
- shop-assistant to Plantin 395*
- shop at Antwerp Cathedral managed for Plantin 420
- specialist printer for Oriental languages at Leiden 53
- type removed from Antwerp to Leiden (1583) 124*

RAPHELENGIUS, FRANS - JUNIOR (Leiden printer & bookseller) 488, 515; pl. 59, 60, 61, 62

- Arabic fount sold by - to William Bedell 77
- Dodoens's Herbal published (1608) 230*
- exchange of punches and matrices with Jan Moretus 76

Raversteyn, J. van (Amsterdam bookseller) 495

Reale (type size) 56

Realle (gold coin) 446

RELIGIOUS CENSORSHIP

- built up before 1550 257
- delays caused by - 261
- function of *librorum censor* or *visitateur* 255
- no central body responsible 258

[RELIGIOUS CENSORSHIP]

- occasional lack of- 262
- ordinances of Charles V and Philip II 258
- organized by the King 256
- remained in existence until French Revolution 257
- system 255
- terminology used: *approbatio*, *imprimatur*, *censura*, *licentia* 255
- weapon in struggle against Protestantism 256, 257

Remeus, G. (bookseller at G. Gymnicus's) 497

Renette, Baron de (son-in-law to Edward Moretus) 7*

Renialme, Ascanius de (London bookseller) 443

Reprints. Authorized - 291*

Requesens y Zuniga, Don Luis de (Governor of the Netherlands) 157*
Rethius, Joannes (Jesuit, theologian) 213
Reyns, J. (Brussels bookseller) 484
Reyns, Maximilianus Petrus (priest; also proof-reader at *Officina*) 179
Rhemis (Antwerp bookbinder) 248*
Richard, J. (Antwerp bookseller) 472
Richardot, F. (bishop of Arras) 298
Richelieu, Armand-Jean du Plessis, Cardinal de - 8*
Rieu, D. de (Douai bookseller) 474
Rieuw, J. (bookseller, residence unknown) 516
Rigaud, Cl. (Lyons bookseller). See: Borde.
Rihel, C. (Strasbourg bookseller) 502
Rihel Jr., J. (Strasbourg bookseller) 502
Rihel, T. (Strasbourg bookseller) 512
Rios, B. de los (Spanish theological author) 216
Rivière, Guillaume (pressman at *Officina*) 337, 338, 349

- Rivius, G. (Louvain bookseller) 485
 Robot, G. (Cambrai bookseller) 486
 Robot, V. (Cambrai bookseller) 474
 Roberts, Nicolas Louis (inventor of paper making machine) 38
 Robles, Blas de (Madrid bookseller) 249*, 442*
 Roche, Jacques (compositor at *Officina*) 313*, 336*
 Roda, Jeronimo de (Spanish official) p. 52, 53
 Roeland, J. (Antwerp bookseller) 472
 Rogier, J. (Maastricht bookseller) 475
 Roman, Z. (Middelburg bookseller) 496
 ROMAN & ITALIC
 - expansion of-in 15th century 155
 - type-cases for - 143
 - used for certain languages only 157, 158
- Rombauts, Herman (physician at Boisle-Duc) 191
 Rombauts, Joannes (proof-reader at *Officina*) 178, 181*, 191
 Ronsard, Pierre de (French poet) 10*
 Rooses, Max 7
 Rosa, J. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509
 Rosenblatt, S. (bookseller, residence unknown) 505
 Rosart, Jacques-François (typefounder at Haarlem, afterwards Brussels) 77, 78
 Rosart, Matthioeu (Brussels type-founder) 112, 118
 Rosenburg, C. de (translator) 289*
 Roth, N. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509
 Rotunda 155, 157
 Rouillé. See: Roville.
 Roulandt, Dr. J. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509
 Roulandt, Roger (paper merchant) 29
 Rounce (part of press) 130
 Round gothic. See: Rotunda.
 Rous, Nicolas de (Rouen printer) 11*
 Rousandt (painter) 214, 225, 234
 Roville, Guillaume de (Lyons printer) 291, 429
 Royalties to competitors 286
 Ruart, J. (Naples bookseller) 489
 RUBENS, PETER PAUL 9
 - work done for Balthasar I Moretus 207, 209, 214, 216, 217, 228*, 234
 - title-page designs 215, 216, 219*; pl. 42, 43, 44
 - fees for illustrations 223, 225
 - epigones 210
- Rudolph, Emperor 274
 Ruille, J. (Paris bookseller) 476
 Ruling of printed books 251
 Run. See: Number of copies printed.

Rijcker, Hendrik (engraver) 239

SABON, JACQUES (punch-cutter & type-founder) 67

- amount charged for justifying Granjon's matrices 85
- works in Plantin's foundry (1565) 106
- leaves for Frankfurt (1565) 107

Sadele(e)r, Jan (de) (engraver) 204, 205, 206, 238

Saint-Augustine (type size) 54, 56

Salenson, G. (van) (Ghent bookseller) 442*, 473, 485

Sale-or-return arrangements 419

SALES

- markets of *Officina* 392
- through own shop 392, 393
- in the Netherlands (general) 392
- in the Netherlands (1566) 410
- in the Netherlands (1609) 411,412
- in the Netherlands (1650) 413
- in Germany 414
- to Hieronymites of Escorial 393, 406, 409
- to publishers at home and abroad 392
- of books from other publishers 417
- to booksellers (1566) 472
- to booksellers (1609) 483

[SALES]

- to private customers (1566) 478
- of Dutch books 416
- of Latin books 414
- of topical books 415
- in 1566 470
- in 1609 406, 482
- in 1650 409, 491
- by Jan II and Balthasar I Moretus 406
- payments received against - 398
- prices of published books 388
- profits & losses on - 388, 391
- books going out of print 459

Salmond, J. (Prague bookseller) 512

Samaritan type 53, 77, 154

Sambucus, Joannes (humanist from Hungary) 284

Sand. Type cast in - 63

Sanderson, John (English author) 282, 290*

Sasbout, Mathias (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 183, 189*, 190

Saturdays. Work done on - 312

Sassenius, A. (Louvain bookseller) 485

Sassenus, Servatius (Louvain printer) 13

Sassenus, S. (Louvain bookseller) 473

Savonne, Pierre (French author on book-keeping) 287

Scaliger, Joseph-Juste (philologist & orientalist) 77

Scelfisch, J. (Wittenberg bookseller) 502

Schauwberg, Jan-Hendrik (engraver) 240

Scheffer the Elder, J. (bookseller at Bois-le-Duc) 475, 484

Scheffer the Younger, J. (bookseller at Bois-le-Duc) 484

Schelte a Bolswert (engraver) 196, 235, 240

Schinckel, Herman (bookseller at Delft and Utrecht) 419*, 452, 475

Schmidt, B. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509

Schmit, V. (bookseller at Olomouc, Moravia) 511

Schmitz, M. (Cologne bookseller) 509

Schönwetter, T. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509

Schots, Tinneken (debtor to Plantin) 469*

Schottus, Franciscus (theologian) 279*

Schouwenberg. See: Schauwberg.

Schuef, Jan (Antwerp bookseller) 248*

Schultingius, Cornelis (author) 294

Schurer, N. (Strasbourg bookseller) 512

Schurer, T. (Leipzig bookseller) 511

Schwabacher (form of type) 156, 157

Scrapen, L. (Maastricht bookseller) 419*, 475

Scripts in Latin alphabet. See: Latin alphabet, scripts.

Sebastian, Laurent (temporary collator at *Officina*) 330*

Secular authorities commissioning books etc. 11

SECULAR CENSORSHIP

- deliberate ambiguity of - 262
- influence of Catholic Church on - 256
- privileges and patents 255
- system of- 256

Sedecimo format 160, 536, 537, 556, 557

Seelfisch, S. (Wittenberg bookseller) 512

Semaines des ouvriers 309, 310

Sepulveda, Joannes (Spanish author) 164

Serranus, Petrus (Spanish author) 295, 298

Serrurier, Hubert (Antwerp bookbinder) 248*

Sersanders, Al. (Ghent bookseller) 493

Service books for Spain 8, 163, 165

SETTLING OF ACCOUNTS

- through barters 443
- by bill of exchange 449
- by cash 442
- at Frankfurt Fair 442

Sichem, Christoffel van (woodcutter) 209, 237

Sichem, Chr. van (Basle bookseller) 503

SICK FUND 372

- contribution to - by men 373
- donations to - by Master 374
- existence of - in later years 375

Silvius, Willem (or: Guillaume) (Antwerp printer) 12, 397*, 419*, 472

Silvius edition of Guicciardini (1567) 229; pl.39

Simons, P. (Brussels bookseller) 484

Sirigatti, Nuccio (Italian bibliophile) 245*

64mo format 160 Size of edition. See: Number of copies printed.

Sleghers, R. (Antwerp bookseller) 492

Sleutel, J. (bookseller at Bergues St.-Winnoc) 486

Small caps. 57

Small folio format 162

Smesman, Abraham (apprentice pressman at *Officina*) 353

Smesman, Henri (pressman at *Officina*) 350*, 354

SMIT, JOHAN MICHAEL (18th-century type-founder) 77

- composition of his type-metal (c. 1735) 98

Soares d'Albergia, Lopez (Lisbon bookseller) 46

Soener, Widow N. (Bamberg bookseller) 508

Solis, Virgilius (Frankfurt engraver) 207, 236

Sonnus, Franciscus (Bishop of Antwerp) 260*

Sonnus, Michel (Paris publisher & bookseller) 11, 12, 27*, 274*, 275*, 401, 402*, 443*, 444, 476, 488

Sorbonne. Theologians from - acting as censors 260*

Soter, Laurent (compositor at *Officina*) 315, 316*, 350*

Soter, Louis (compositor at *Officina*) 336*

SPAIN

- predilection in - for *rotunda* 156, 157
- sales in - 400, 490
- service books for - 8, 163, 165
- privileges withdrawn (1765) 409

Spanish texts. Style of setting - 158

Spanish Fury (1576) 8, 11, 91, 124, 401; pl. 53

Specialized type-founders 64

Specimen pages 162, 163

SPEED OF BOOK PRODUCTION

- breviaries 302
- broadsides 302
- illustrated books 304, 305
- 'impression par demi-feuilles' 304
- in general 302
- missals 302

Spelman, Gerard (Antwerp printer) 13

Spindle (part of press) 130, 134, 137

Spithals, Antonius (proof-reader at *Officina*) 176, 182, 188, 189*, 190, 192

Sprengensmit, St. (bookseller, residence unknown) 505

Standing matter 101

Stands for type-cases 145

Stanhope press 134

Stationers' Company in England 362

Steelplate engravings 195

- Steelsius, Jan (Antwerp bookseller) 12, 14*, 26*, 245*, 472
 Steen, J. van den (Ghent bookseller) 485
 Steen, N. van der (Ghent bookseller) 473
 Steenberghen, S. (Deventer bookseller) 475
 Steenhartsius, Quintinus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 175, 290*
 Steewech(ius), Godeschalk (classical scholar) 9*, 296, 298*
 Stephanus. See: Estienne.
 Sterck, Laurentius (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 182, 189, 190, 192*
 Sterck, Nicolas (pressman at *Officina*) 299*, 327*, 336, 338
 Stewechius. See: Steewech(ius)
 Steyn, N. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509
 Steijnmeijer, V. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509
 STOCKS OF TYPE
 - value of Plantin's - 124
 - reduced shortly after 1800 125

 Stoer, J. (Lyons bookseller) 504
 Stone. Imposing - 133
 Storage of books 425
 Stracker, J. (Cologne bookseller) 509
 Strada, Jacobus (Italian humanist at Vienna) 292
 Straeffler, J. (Freiburg bookseller) 510
 Straten, or: Stratonus, Alexander (proof-reader at *Officina*) 178, 186*
 Strien, Jean (compositor at *Officina*) 315
 Strike (stoppage of work) 359, 360
 Strike from punch 63
 Stroishier, H. (pressman at *Officina*) 338
 Strong, James (type-founder; son of Thomas) 109, 110, 354, 355*
 STRONG, THOMAS (type-founder from Ireland) 77, 354
 - supplies *Officina* (up to 1624) 109
 - works on the premises no

 Stur, Nicolas (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 182, 189*
 Sulsenius, G. (Antwerp bookseller) 483
 Susato, Jacques (Antwerp printer of music) 106*
 Swertkens, P. (also: Peetersen) (Amsterdam bookseller) 475
 Symon(ius), Guillaume (proof-reader at *Officina*) 175, 176*
 Symons, G. (Antwerp bookseller) 472
 Symons, G. (Haarlem bookseller) 475
 Syriac type 53, 154

 Tassaert, Filips Jozef (illustrator) 235
 Taffin (or: 'M. le receveur') 469*
 Taler. Philip's - (coin) 446
 Tambosch (also: Tambesch), G. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509
 Tasselo, Petrus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 178
 TAVERNIER, AMEET (Antwerp type-founder) 68, 69, 72, 74, 78

- supplier to Plantin (1555-61) 104, 105, 472

Tellevorius, Godefridus (or: Goevaert) (proof-reader at Officina) 176*

Tellinorius. See: Tellevorius.

Terhulpen. See: La Hulpe.

Texte (type size) 56

Thaler (silver coin) 446

Thim, J. (bookseller at Frankfurt on Oder) 510

Third parties commissioning books 9-12, 163

32mo format 160

Tholincx, Gisbert, Embert, & Jan (Amsterdam merchants) 450*

Thomasius, M. (scholar; protégé of Granvelle) 298*

Thosan, J. (Lyons bookseller) 514

Thouvenot, Nicolas (paper merchant) 32*

Thymont, J. (Brussels bookseller) 484
 Thijs, Jan (*parcheminier*) 45
 Tielens, A. (Antwerp bookseller) 472
 Tilenius (or: Tilens), Antonius (Antwerp publisher) 12, 274*
 Tiletanus, Franciscus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 176*

TIN IN TYPE-METAL

- absence of - in 18th century 99
- Baskerville (1760) 100*
- Caslon (1776) 100*
- Caslon (1794) 100*
- Van Everbroeck (1563) 96*
- Figgins (1805) 100*
- Guyot (1563) 96*
- modern foundry type 95*, 100*
- Monotype 95*
- Plantin (1563) 96, 105
- Plantin (1581) 95
- price of - 99
- slug casting machinery 95*
- Watts (1841) 100*

Title-pages 166; pl. 57

Tol, Cornelis (compositor at *Officina*) 336*, 337, 351*, 353
 Tollenaere, Widow A. (Bruges bookseller) 484
 Tollis. Catelijne, widow of Jan - (*parcheminière*) 45
 Tollis, Jan (*parcheminier*) 45
 Tombe, Pierre de - la (Brussels bookseller) 268*
 Tongheren, Peter van (shop-assistant(?); brother-in-law to Jan I Moretus; Antwerp bookseller) 396*, 483
 Tongerlo, J. (bookseller at The Hague) 496
 Tools for book-binding 246
 Topiarius, Aegidius (author) 274*
 Torrentius, Livinus (Bishop of Antwerp) 260*, 280*
 Torsi, N. (Brussels bookseller) 419*, 473
 Tournes, Jean de (Lyons printer) 279*
 Tovar, Simon (Spanish physician) 281
 Toy, H. - & J. Desserans (London booksellers) 477
 Toy, H. - & N. England (London booksellers) 477
 Trade Union. See: Chapel. Translations 289
 TRANSPORT OF BOOKS 430

- damages and losses 435
- difficulties through blockade 437

Tregelius, E. (bookseller, residence unknown) 505
 Treudel, J. (Frankfurt bookseller) 509
 Triest, J.B. van -. See: Tryst.
 Trognesium, Joannes (Antwerp printer & bookseller) 125, 472, 483

Tröster, J. (Jena bookseller) 501
Troughs used in pressroom 140, 141
Tryst, Jan Baptist van (paper manufacturer) 34, 35
Turpentine in printing ink 49
24mo format 161
Tympan (part of press) 44, 45, 131, 134, 139

TYPE

- amount needed for an average forme 102, 103
- Arabic- 53, 77, 154
- cast metal - 91-126
- cast in sand 63
- cast for third parties 125*
- certain letters not occurring in Plantin's time 57
- choice of - 157
- different forms of some letters in same fount 57
- different heights of - for 'black-and-red' jobs 314
- founding of - 58
- Guyot's prices for - 121, 122
- Van den Keere's prices 121, 122
- making of - in general 52
- old and worn - in type-metal.

See: Old type.

[TYPE]

- prices of - in general 121
- prices paid by F.J. Moretus 122*
- stocks of - owned by Plantin (1562) 114
- stocks of - owned by Plantin (1575) 115-117
- stocks of - owned by Plantin at his death (1589) 113
- stocks of - owned by Balthasar II Moretus (1652) 114
- stocks of- in *Officina* (1810; 1818; 1876) 118
- weight of 1,000 pieces of - in various sizes 102, 104
- Van Wolsschaten's prices for - 122

TYPE-CASES 132, 143

- arrangement of Plantin's - 143
- Audin on - 143*
- for black letter 143
- for Cyrillic type 143 - for Greek type 143, 144
- for Hebrew type 144, 188
- prices of - 144
- for roman and italic 143
- single - as opposed to - in pairs 143, 144
- stands for 145

TYPE DESIGNS 64, 154-160

- exclusive - wanted by Plantin 69

Type forms in Latin alphabet. See: Latin alphabet.

Typefaces 53

TYPE-FOUNDERS

- specialized - and punch-cutters 64
- sworking for *Officina* 104-126

Type-founding 95-103

TYPE-FOUNDRY, OFFICINA'S OWN

- history 109-110
- journeymen for - 110
- closed (1660) 110
- reopened (1736) 111
- closed definitely (1760) 112
- operating costs of - according to F.J. Moretus 123

TYPE-METAL

- according to Moxon 95*
- analysis of Plantin's - (1581) 95
- amount of old type in - 97
- amount of waste (dross; *lycagie*) when reusing - 97
- antimony in - 95, 96, 98, 99, 100*, 105
- components of Baskerville's - (1760) 100*

- components of Caslon's - (1776) 100*
- components of Caslon's - (1794) 100*
- components of Van Everbroeck's - for Plantin (1563) 96*
- components of Figgins's - (1805) 100*
- components of P.S. Fournier's - (1764-66) 99*
- components of Guyot's - for Plantin (1563) 96*
- components of - in modern foundry type 95*, 100*
- components of Monotype - 95*
- components of F.J. Moretus's - (1760) 97, 100, 120
- components of J.J. Moretus's - (1738) 97*
- components of - in old type at Oxford University Press 99*
- components of - for slug casting machinery 95*
- components of Watts's - (1841) 100*
- copper in - 95, 96, 99, 100*, 105
- cost of- 96
- hard or soft - 96*
- iron in - 95, 98, 99*, 105
- lead in- 95, 96, 98, 99*, 100*, 105
- leading of window panes etc. used in - 105
- made at Plantin's foundry (1567) 107
- old type mixed in - 97, 98

[TYPE-METAL]

- prices of - (1565-1760) 119, 120
- recipe from Plantin for - (1565) 96, 119
- systems of smelting 100, 101
- tin in - 95, 96, 99, 100*, 105

TYPE SIZES 53-56

- different names for - 55, 56
- Plantin's concern with - 163
- to be used for 'pocket editions' 166
- for readers of poor eyesight 166

Tiron, A. See: Tyron

Tyron, Antoine (schoolmaster; also translator, and editor at *Officina*) 175, 279*, 289*, 290*

Union. Trade-. See: Chapel.

Updike, Daniel B. 154*

Urban VIII, Pope 220*

(See also: Barberini, M.)

Utens, G. (bookseller at Béthune) 486

Valentin, J. (Namur bookseller) 447*, 486

Valerius, Robertus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 182, 185, 189*, 190

Valverdius (Italian author) 295

Varick, Norbertus van (proof-reader at *Officina*) 179

Vatican type collection 79

Vauzelle, Denys de (Ghent paper merchant) 28*, 29

VECHTER, THOMAS DE (type-founder)

- foreman and successor to Hendrik van den Keere, Ghent 74
- continues Van den Keere's business (1580) 108
- supplier to Plantin (1572-82) 104
- moves to Antwerp (1581) 108
- moves to Leiden (between 1582 and 1584) 80, 108
- exotic founts by - acquired by Balthasar I Moretus (1619-20) 108

Vegetius, Flavius (classical author) 296, 298*

Velde, Adriaan van de (compositor, later gouverneur at *Officina*) 332, 338

Velde, F. van de (Brussels bookseller) 493

Velden, A. van (Ypres bookseller) 474

Veldes, L. de (bookseller, residence unknown) 499

Veldius, J. (Bruges bookseller) 473

Velpius, Elizabeth (Louvain bookseller). See: Hougaerden, Widow F. van.

Velpius, R. (Louvain bookseller) 473

Velpius, R. (Brussels bookseller) 484

Veluwe region. Dutch paper from - 33

Venice 161

Vera Cruz, Alonso de (Spanish merchant) 400
Verdonck, Jacobus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 179
Verdussen, H. (Antwerp bookseller) 483, 492
Verdussen. Firm of - (printers at Antwerp) 230; pl. 45, 46, 47
Verduyn, Gerrit (Amsterdam merchant) 450*
Verhasselt, M. (Louvain bookseller) 473
Verhelst, Egidius - the Younger (engraver) 241
Verhulst, G. (Antwerp bookseller) 492
Verhulst, M. (Antwerp bookseller) 492
Vermeulen, Cornelis-Martinus (copyist for *Officina*) 241
Vermilion 50, 51
Vernacular texts 158
Vernoel, Mathurin (woodcutter) 237
Vernois, Pieter (herald of arms) 197
Verscaut, Andries (compositor at *Officina*) 350*
Verschueren (Antwerp merchant) 493

- Verschuren, C. (Antwerp bookseller) 483
 Verspreet, Hans (Antwerp paper merchant) 30
 Vervliet, Daniel (Antwerp printer & bookseller) 109*, 472, 483
 VERVLIET, H.D.L. 81
 - on 16th-century type 154*
 - on Plantin's proof-readers 183
- Vervliet, J. (Valenciennes bookseller) 487
 Vervloet, Jacques (Antwerp paper merchant) 29
 Verwithagen, Jan (Antwerp printer & bookseller) 13, 472
 Verwithagen, Norbertus (priest; also proof-reader at *Officina*) 179
 Vienne, Guillaume de (lawyer) 268*
 Viglius ab Aytta (jurist & statesman) 24, 42*, 245*, 480
 Vignacourt, Maximilian de (humanist poet) 169
 Vignon, E. (bookseller at Lyons and Geneva) 503, 514
 Villenfagne, G. (apprentice pressman at *Officina*) 330*, 331*
 Vincent, B. (Lyons bookseller) 514
 Vincent, Ysbrand (Dutch paper merchant) 19*, 32, 33, 34, 36*, 111
 Vincentius, Friar Balthasar (translator for *Officina*) 281, 289*
 Vincke, Peter (Antwerp bookbinder) 248*
 Vinx, J. (Bruges bookseller) 484
 Viperano, Giovanni Antonio (humanist scholar from Rome) 293
Visitateur 255
 See also: Religious censorship.
 Visorum 132
 Vivarier, J. (Mons bookseller) 474
 Vivario (originally: Van den Wouvere), G. (Rome bookseller) 489
 Vivien, F. (bookseller at Namur, afterwards Brussels) 486, 493
 Vlacq, Adriaen (Delft bookseller) 495
 Voemon, Heirs G. (Nuremberg booksellers) 511
 Voet, Alexander II (copyist) 241
 Vögelin, G. (Heidelberg bookseller) 510
 Vogt, B. (Leipzig bookseller) 511
 Vorsterman, Lucas (engraver) 208, 240
 VOS, MAARTEN DE (illustrator) 199, 234
 - character of his work 200
 - work reproduced pl. 38
- Vos, Paul de (temporary collator at *Officina*) 330*, 352*
 Vosberghe, Widow (debtor to Plantin) 469*
 Voskens, Widow Dirk (Amsterdam type-foundry) 111
 Vossenhole, Hans van (compositor at *Officina*) 180*
 Vrai texte (type size) 56
 Vraie Augustine (type size) 56
 Vraie Parangonne (type size) 56
 Vredius, Michael (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 183, 189*
 Vrients, Jan Baptist (Antwerp printer, bookseller, engraver) 229, 483

Vrijenborgh, J. van (Louvain bookseller) 493

W not occurring in 16th-century roman type 57

Wabbels, J. (Liège bookseller) 485

Wael, C. & L. de (Antwerp merchants) 493

Waesberghe, J. van (Rotterdam bookseller) 488

Waesberghe, J. van (Utrecht bookseller) 496

Waesberghe, P. van (Rotterdam bookseller) 496

Waesberghe, Pieter van (Amsterdam printer & bookseller) 230

Waesberghen, Van (Antwerp booksellers) 472

Wagener, G. (Graz bookseller) 510

WAGES

- compositors' and pressmen's 339
- *Officina* - compared to other craftsmen's 341

Waghenaer, Lucas Jansz. (author) 9

Walcourt (or: Wallencourt), Estienne de (proof-reader and editor at *Officina*)
175, 286*, 290*, 480

Walle, Jacques van de (paper merchant) 30

Wandre, F. (Mons bookseller) 494

Washing of printed books 251

Watermarks in paper 38

Watts, Richard (London type-founder) 100*

Wechel, Adrien (Paris printer & bookseller) 476

Wechel, Adrian (Frankfurt bookseller) 501

Wechel, Heirs A. (Frankfurt booksellers) 509

(See also: Le Marne)

Weerdts, Judocus de (woodcutter) 237

Weerts, Bartholomeus (engraver) 239

Weida, M. (Brunswick bookseller) 500

Weidner, J. (Jena bookseller) 501

Weissenhorn, A. (Ingolstadt bookseller) 501

Wellens, H. (Louvain bookseller) 473

Werden, Jacob van (illustrator) 235

Wertlaw, Benedict (composer & pressman at *Officina*) 326*, 327*, 350*

Wervel, G. van de (Mons bookseller) 486

Wesemeyer, J. (Würzburg bookseller) 513

Wessel, E. (Emmerich bookseller) 489

Weyden, Theodatus (also: Godtgaf) van der (proof-reader at *Officina*) 179

Wezemberch, G. (Würzburg bookseller) 513

Wiericx brothers (engravers working jointly) 212

Wiericx, Hieronymus (engraver) 204, 205, 206, 213*, 224, 238

Wiericx, Jan (illustrator & engraver) 196, 204, 205, 206, 234, 238

Wilde, Jehan de (pressman at *Officina*) 349*

Willems, L. (bookseller at Bois-le-Duc) 475

Willemsen, W. (Delft bookseller) 488

Wilier, Georg (Augsburg bookseller) 423, 500, 508

Willin, Claude (Antwerp paper merchant) 27

Withagen. See: Verwithagen.

Witte, Jacques de (secretary to Council of Brabant) 270*

Wolfert, Michel (debtor to Plantin) 469*

Wolfius, J. (Zürich bookseller) 513

Wolsschaten, G. van (Antwerp bookseller) 483

WOLSSCHATEN, FIRM OF VAN - (Antwerp type-founders) 68*

- first contact with *Officina* (1660) 109
- cause closing of *Officina*'s own foundry (1660) 110
- *Officina*'s regular suppliers of type (1661) 152*

- *Officina* supply discontinued (1736) 111
- supply to *Officina* taken up again (1761) 112
- goes out of business (1776) 78*
- work done for *Officina* in 1672 77*
- quality of work 111

Wolsschaten, Jan-Baptist van (type-founder to *Officina*, 1761-76) 78, 112

Wolsschaten, P. van (Antwerp bookseller) 483

Wolters, B. (Cologne bookseller) 489

Wood. Punches cut in - 63

WOODCUTS FOR ILLUSTRATION 195

- executed by specialized craftsmen 196
- printed letterpress with text 201

Woons, C. (Antwerp bookseller) 492

Work-and-turn operation 304

WORKING CONDITIONS

- bonuses 314, 315, 347
- holidays 344, 367
- hours 146, 343, 345
- illness 372
- light and heating 351
- penalties and fines 345, 346
- preferential treatments 348 - resignations and dismissal 349
- right to strike 350

Wouvere, G. van den (Rome bookseller). See: Vivario.

Wijninghen, J. van (Amsterdam bookseller) 495

Ximenes, E. (Antwerp merchant) 484

Ximenes, F. (Cologne bookseller) 477

Yoke. Iron - for press invented by Blaeu(?) 136

IJsche, Guillaume van. See: Esche.

Zaan district. Dutch paper from - 33

Zangrius, Ph. (Louvain bookseller) 473, 485

Zapate, L. (Antwerp merchant) 484

Zelius Neomagensis, Bernardus (proof-reader at *Officina*) 177, 182, 189*, 190, 192

Zevenzielen, G. (Maastricht bookseller) 485

Zürich 161

Zurich, Gaspar van (moneylender to Plantin) 393*, 449*, 456, 469, 480

Short Title List **of Plantinian and Officina Publications and Impressions**

In this Short Title List only those titles are given that are referred to in the text in some detail. Entries are basically in the same form as they are found in text and footnotes, particularly as far as dates are concerned. Consequently the List is divided into three sections, viz.:

(1) Publications and impressions of Christophe Plantin mentioned in the text with their dates. These are given by year (1555-89) and within each year in alphabetical order.

(2) Plantin publications and impressions mentioned in the text without dates, in alphabetical order.

(3) Publications and impressions of the Officina Plantiniana and some of the Leiden Raphelengius family, issued after Christophe Plantin's death (1589):

Numbers refer to pages; page numbers with an asterisk refer to a footnote on that page. A number preceded by pl. refers to a plate or its caption.

§ 1 - Dated publications and impressions of Christophe Plantin

1555

P. Belon de Mans, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez...* 12*

G.M. Bruto, *La institutione di una fancilla nata nobilmente* 10, 37*

Roland furieux, 'Le premier volume de -' 13

1556

J. Meyerus, *Comites Flandriae* 10*

1557

Ronsard, *Les Amours* 11*

1558

Alexis Piemontois, *Les secrets* (edition in Dutch) 264*

[Alvarez], *Historiak description de l'Ethiopie* 12*

Diurnale 316

Diurnale in 24mo 316

M.H. Vida, *Opera* 10*

1559

Biblia 12*

La magnifique et sumptueuse Pompe Funèbre de Charles Cinquième 197, 202,
231*, 237*

1561

Alexis Piemontois, *Les secrets* 264*

Breviarium reverendorum patrum ordinis divi Benedicti 10*

Olaus Magnus, *Histoire des Pays septentrionaux* 12*; pl. 1

1562

F. Claude de Saintes, *Reformation de la Confession de la foy...* 9, 379*

Dictionarium tetraglotton 12*

1563

Joliffe, *Responsio ad articulos Anglorum* 288

Virgil in 16mo 327

1564

ABC avec la civilité puérile 382

Alexis Piemontois, *Les secrets* 39*, 290*

Bible in Latin 292

Bible in 8vo 286*

Clenardus, *Greek Grammar* 170*

Cyrillus, *Catecheses* 12*, 290*

Erasmus, *Colloquia* 292

Erasmus, *Adagiorum epitome* 39*

Etienne, *Agriculture et maison rustique* 289*

Horace in 16mo 327, 382

Isaac, *Grammatica Hebraica* 389

Joliffe, *Responsio* 265*, 459*

Lucanus in 16mo 389
Pictorius, *Dialogues* (in French) 289*
Porta, *Magia naturalis* (in French) 289*
Promptuarium Latinae linguae 281, 312*, 389
Pseaumes de David 170, 276, 304
Sambucus, *Emblemata* (in Dutch) 170*, 198, 221*, 224, 226*, 289*, 381, 384
Sambucus, *Emblemata* (in French) 170*, 198, 221*, 224, 289*, 381, 384
Thesaurus linguae Crispini 188*, 286*
Veiga, *Commentarii in Galeni Opera* 39*, 326*, 327
Virgil in 16mo 313*, 315, 316, 318*, 389

1565

Bible in Dutch 286*
Cicero, *De officiis* 164*, 290*; pl. 27, 28
Corpus Iuris Civilis, ed. Raevardus 170*, 291
Hadrianus Junius, *Emblemata* (in French) 195*, 198, 289*, 316
Lucretius, ed. R. Gifanius 290*
Luyten(iu)s, *De nativitate domini nostril Jesu Christi* 10*
Luyten(iu)s, *Enarrationes Evangeliorum* 12
Nomina Hebraica explicata in 16mo 459*
Nomina Hebraica in 8vo 460*
Nonius Marcellus, ed. Had. Junius 290*
Porta, *Magia naturalis* (in Dutch) 289*, 382
Valerius Flaccus in 16mo 383

1566

Barlaeus, *De miseriis humanae vitae* 170*
Bible in Dutch 440*
Bible in Hebrew 169, 170*, 315, 316, 317
Coustumes d'Artois 380*
Diogenes Laertius in 8vo 389
Dodonaeus, *Historia frumentorum* 199, 264*, 288, 290*
Hunnaeus, *Dialectica* 288, 389

1566 (continued)

Index librorum Officinae Plantiniana 170*, 383
 Institutiones Iuris Canonici Lanceloti 286*, 389
Instruction en flamand pour Manuale Cameracensis 170*
 Mameranus, *Epithalamia Alexandri Farnesi et Mariae a Portugallia* 295
 Hendrik Niclaes, *Speghel der Gherechticheit* 197*, 277
 Ovidius, *Opera* 292
 Reynard the Fox 224, 305, 389, 416, 441, 519
 Sambucus, *Emblemata* in 8vo 327
 Valerius, *Argonauticon libri VIII* 233
 Valerius Flaccus in 16mo 389, 441*, 521
 Vesalius-Valverde, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani* 197, 202, 203, 213*, 219*, 224, 226, 231*, 289*, 292, 305, 384, 389, 441*, 523; pl. 33, 43

1567

Aesopus, *Fabulae* 14*
 Biblia Hebraica in 4to 389, 392*
 Biblia Latina (nonpareille) in 8vo 389
 Canisius, *Parvus catechismus* 380*
 Clusius, *Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum* 301*
Dialogues françois. Françoische t' samensprekinghen. 15*, 54, 58, 60, 91, 129, 134, 139, 289*, 369, 459*
 Erasmus, *Colloquia* in 16mo 389
Flores Ciceronis (in Dutch) 289*
 J. Guerin, *Traicté... de peste* 12*
Horae Beatissimae Virginis Mariae 328*
 G. ab Horto, *Aromatum... historia* 389
Index sive specimen characterum... 66, 170*, 384
Interpretation des sacrements en flameng pour le Manuel de Cambrai 380*
 Hadrianus Junius, *Nomenclator* 287, 382, 389
 L. Lemnius, *Occulta naturae miracula* 10*
 Nicander 224
 Nouveau Testament (transl. Benoist) in 16mo 259, 389
 Pighius, *Themis Dea* 213*
 Pindarus in 16mo (in Greek & Latin) 389
 J.B. Porta, *Magia naturalis* in 16mo 389
 Savone, *Instruction et manière de tenir livres de raison* 14*, 265*, 287, 383, 389
 Topiarius, *Conciones* 440*
 C. Valerius, *Physica* in 12mo 389
 Valerius Maximus in 8vo 304, 389
 Vesalius-Valverde (in Dutch) 219*, 381

1568

- Ausonius, *Opera* 279*
Custos Brechtanus, *Syntax* 459*
Despauterius, *Ars versificatoria* 459*
Goropius Becanus, *Origines Antwerpiae* 293
Grévin, *Deux livres des venins* 289*, 299
P. Heyns's Alphabet Book 218
Horae Beatissimae Virginis Mariae in 16mo 400*
Leopardus, *Emendationum et miscellaneorum Libri XX* 14*
Lindanus, *Apologeticum* 316
Opmeer, *Officium Missae* 380*
Virgil, *Aeneis* (4th book) 460*

1569

- Breviarium Romanum in 8vo 327, 331*
Concordantiae 331*
Gemma, *Cyclognomica* 40, 316
Lipsius, *Variae lectiones* 315, 316
Sambucus, *Emblemata* 316
Summa S. Thomae 163*, 259, 287

1570

- Biblia 331*
 In Leviticum (see also Serranus, 1572) 331*
Kalendarium in 64mo 168; pl. 29
 Malines Synod Statutes in 4to 459*
 Malines Synod Statutes in 8vo 459*
 Missale 331*
 Montanus 331*
 Perret's Calligraphic Album 227
 Veldius, *In Cassionem* 460*
 Veldius, *Quadragesimale* 460*

1571

- Antiphonarium in folio 327, 440*
 Biblia Pagnini (part of Polyglot Bible) 315*, 316, 327
 Brevarium in 8vo 37*, 316
 Garibay, *Compendia historial...* 9, 281, 294, 300*
Index Expurgationis 380*
Lexicon Syrachaldaicum (part of Polyglot Bible) 315, 316
 Lexicon Pagnini (part of Polyglot Bible) 327
 New Testament with woodcuts 195*
 Novum Testamentum Graecum et Latinum (part of Polyglot Bible) 316
 Oudegherst, *Chroniques de Flandres* 459*
 Psalterium in folio 45*, 224, 297; pl. 34

1572

- Bullock, *OEconomia methodica Concordantiarum Scripturae Sanctae* 295*
Discours sur les causes de l'exécution... 10
 Gambará, *Ad Deum gratiarum actio pro victoria de Turcis habita* pl. 32
 Granada, *Conciones* 101, 303
 Hesychius, *De vitis et philosophorum* 459*
 Horae B. Mariae Virginis 287
Index librorum in officina Chr. Plantini excusi 167*, 168
 Missale 323*
 Polyglot Bible see p. 612 *General Index*
 Serranus, *Commentaria in Levitici librum* 295

1573

Antiphonarium 45*, 218*, 297, 282, 283; pl. 35
Breviarium in folio 37*, 328*, 444*
Calvete de Stella, *Ad Ferdinandum Alvarum Toletum...* pl. 31
Canisius, *Parvus catechismus* 170*, 288*
A. Copius, *Dialogi* 459*
Decretales Gregorii 12, 14*
Thesaurus Teutonicae linguae 286*

1575

Breviarium in 4to 203*, 381
Breviarium in folio 203*
Justiniani Institutiones Triboniani 459*
Missal in folio 224; pl. 36
Navarrus, *Enchiridion sive manuale confessariorum* 163*, 164, 294
Novum Testamentum Syriacum in 8vo 460*
Novum Testamentum Syriacum in 16mo 460*
Pagnini's Hebrew Dictionary 292
Pimpont, *Paralipomena* 188*
Sermones Leinartii sive Ambrosii homilia 460*
Stobaeus, *Ecloga* 460*

1576

Antwerp Synod Statutes 459*
Lobelius, *Plantarum seu stirpium historia* 14*

1577

Gambara, *Rerum sacrarum liber* 234*

1577 (continued)

- Hillessemius, *Sacrarum antiquitatum monumenta* 213, 296
 S. Augustini opera 12*, 188*
 S. Hieronymi Opera 12*, 188*

1578

- De la Hèle, *Octo Missae...* 38*, 296*
 Ortelius, *Synonymia* 285
 Perret, *XXV Fables des Animaux* 9
 Verepaeus, *Epitomes* 279*; pl. 70
 Vosmerus, *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae* 10*

1579

- Aitzinger, *Pentapulus regnorum mundi* 295
 De Brouck, *Cantiones sacrae* 296*
Catalogus librorum Typographiae Plantini pl. 76
 A. Freytag, *Mythologia Ethica* 238*
 P. Heyns, *Le miroir du monde* 10*
 H. Janssen Barrefelt 277
 Occo, *Imperatorum Romanorum numismata* 295

1580

- Goropius Becanus, *Opera* 296, 459*
 Macarius, *Homilia* 459*
Vredehandel van Ceulen 415*, 460*

1581

- Busbequius, *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum* 279*
 Cornet, *Cantiones musicae* 296*, 459*
 Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* 214, 229, 239*, 381; pl. 40
 Lobelius, *Plantarum seu stirpium icones* 243, 288

Fulvius Ursinus, *Notae in Ciceronem* 459*

1582

Burchius, *Laudes illustrissimae Hieronymae Columnae* 295
Guicciardini, *Descrittione...* 214
Houwaert, *Pegasides Pleyne* 203*, 217
La Jessée, *La Flandre à Monseigneur* 415*
Lettres interceptées du cardinal de Granvelle 415*
Polybius, *De legationibus* 460*
Rechten ende Costumen van Antwerpen 10

1583

Arias Montanus, *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas* 260
Arias Montanus, *De optimo imperio* 260
Biblia Latina, in 8vo 317, 327
Bible in Hebrew, in 4to 327
Concordantiae in 4to 317, 327
M. Hostius, *De numeratione* 260
La Jessée, *Les premières oeuvres françoises* 265*, 460*
Ovid in 4to 317
Ovid in 16mo 327

1584

Barlandus, *Hollandiae comitum historia et icones* (Leiden publication) 11*
Catalogus librorum qui ex Typographia Chr. Plantini prodierunt pl. 74
Leoninus, *Centuria Consiliorum* 295
Lipsius, *De constantia* 164
Waghenaer, *Spieghel der Zeevaert* 9, 237*

1585

A. Hayen, *Amstelredamsche Zeecaerten* (Leiden publication) 239*
Juvenalis & A. Persius Flaccus in 24mo 165*
Le Jeune, *Livre de mélanges* 265*
Lipsius, *De Amphitheatro* 279*; pl. 69
Porta, *Magia naturalis* 460*

Vegetius, *De re militari*, ed. Stewechius 203*, 296, 298

1586

Moschus 169
 Vignacourt, *Monodia Belgidis...* 169

1587

Breviarium in 4to (ill.) 203*, 381
 Catullus-Tibullus-Propertius in 24mo 165*
 Costerus, *Meditation van de Passie* (in French) 289*
 'Missel in 8vo portatif' 165
 Ortelius, *Thesaurus* 285

1588

B. Arias Montanus, *Elucidationes in omnia sanctorum Apostolorum scripta*
 166, 295
 Carpentarius, *In vaticina Isaiæ* 163*
 Diurnale 166*
 Guicciardini, *Descrittione...* 241, 393; pl. 40
 Kiliaan, *Dictionarium...* 279*; pl. 63, 65
 Ludolphus, *Manuale* 459*
 Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (in Spanish) 289*, 459*

1589

Baronius, *Martyrologium Romanum* 297
 Belon de Mans, transl. Clusius 213*
 Sanderson, *Institutionum Dialecticarum libri IV* 290*
 Virgil in 24mo 165*

§ 2 - *Publications and impressions of Christophe Plantin mentioned without dates*

Apollodorus of Athens (not published) pl. 57, 58
 Brouccus, *Commentarii in Ptolemaeum* (not published) 198

Costerus, *Boeckken der Broederschap* (translated into French) 289*
Froissart's Chronicles (not published) 286*
Guicciardini (1581, 1582, 1588 editions) 269, 287; pl. 40
Graduale (planned 1574; not published) 297
Horae in 24mo 165*
Horae in 32mo 168
Horae in 64mo 168
De Kerle's music 169
Lexicon Graecum in 4to 188*
Missal (large format) 166*, 440*
New Testament in 8vo, for schools 165
Ortelius, *Epitome* 229*
Ortelius, *Parergon* 229*
Ortelius, *Synonymia* 284
Ortelius, *Theatrum* 229*
Ortelius, *Thesaurus* 284
Pocket Bible 165
Schultingius (not published) 294
Type Specimen (c. 1585) 57*
Virgil in 8vo 170*, 440*
Virgil in 12mo 170*

§ 3 - *Officina publications after Plantin's death (1589)*

Verepaeus, *Epitome* (1590) pl.70
Scaliger, *Opus de emendatione temporum* (Raphelengius 1593) 77
Lipsius, *De Cruce libri tres* (1594) pl. 54. 56
Entry of Archduke Ernest (1595) 234*
Lipsius, *De militia Romana* (1595) 415*
Litanien tot ghebruyck des Catholycken Legers... (1595) 168*

- Graduale (1599) 46*
 Kiliaan, *Etymologium* (1599) pl. 63, 65
 Costerus, *Meditationes* (1600) 227*
 Entry of the Archdukes (1602) 227*, 234*
 Lipsius, *Diva virgo Hallensis* (1604) 214, 225, 282*
 Ph. Rubens, *Electorum libri III* (1608) 207*
 Aguilonius, *Opticarum libri VI* (1613) 215*, 236*
 Breviarium Romanum (1614) 215, 219*
Index librorum (1615) 160*, 167*, 168; pl. 75
De vita et miraculis... Joannae Valesiae (1624) 240*
 Statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1624) 46*
 H. Hugo, *Obsidio Bredana* (1626) 219*
 Breviarium Romanum (1628) 220*
 Corderius, *Catena LXV Graecorum Patrum in S. Lucam* (1628) 216*
 Corderius, *Theses Theologicae* (1630) 223*
 Blossius, *Opera* (1632) 215*, 216*
 Sarbievius, *Lyriceorum libri IV* (1632) 217*
 La Serre, *Histoire curieuse...* (1632) 46*
 Bauhusius & Cabillavus, *Epigrammata* (1634) 215*
 Bidermanus, *Heroum epistolae* (1634) 215*
 Maphaeus Barberini, *Poemata* (1634) pl. 41, 42
 Boenerus, *Delineatio historica fratrum minorum occisorum* (1635) 220*
Imago primi saeculi Societatis Jesu (1640) 235*
 Los Rios, *De Hierarchia Mariana* (1641) 216
 Nierembergius, *Historia Naturae* (1641) 203*, 209*
 Goltzius, *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum* (1645) 209, 217*, 219, 225, 230;
 pl. 45, 46, 47
 Goltzius, *Opera Omnia* (1645) 14*, 209, 215*, 219; pl. 34
 Corderius, *Expositio patrum Graecorum in psalmos* (1646) 240*
 De Marselaer, *Legatus* (1666) 215*
 Rituale (1760) 241*
 Breviarium Romanum (several editions in 18th century) 317, 327
 Missale Romanum (several editions in 18th century) 317, 327
 Diurnale in 24mo (with steel engravings) (1825) 195*, 241*
 Breviarium in 16mo (with lithographs) (1831) 196*