



Proquest's Early Modern Books: A Celebration

ANDREW PETTEGREE
ARTHUR DER WEDUWEN

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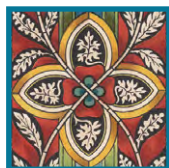
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Front cover image: Francesco Petrarca (1478) *Trionfi e Canzoniere*. Rinaldo da Nimega & Teodoro da Rijnsburg, Venice.

Back cover image: Louis Hennepin (1697) *Nouvelle decouverte d'un tres grand pays situé dans l'Amerique* (Utrecht: Willem Broedelet), USTC 1831849.

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EMB & USTC: Anatomy of a Partnership

‘The bomber will always get through’. That grim thought dominated military planning in the first half of the twentieth century; it also incubated key elements of the great scholarly endeavour that became Early English Books Online (EEBO) and more recently Early Modern Books (EMB). In January 1918, Alfred Pollard, Secretary of the Bibliographical Society, found himself without a speaker for the last scheduled talk on the society’s 1917–1918 calendar. Instead, he offered a largely impromptu reflection on the possibility of creating a check list of all the books published in Britain in the first two centuries of print. Pollard, a curator of the British Museum, then host to the greatest collection of early printed books in the world (and the forerunner of the British library), was fresh from the task of deciding which of its treasures should be moved to safety, after German Zeppelin balloons and aircraft had begun dropping bombs on the capital in 1915. The bombing caused relatively light casualties, but the shock of sudden death raining from the sky was disproportionately great. The idea that Britain’s treasures of early print should at least be listed before the whole building potentially went up in flames was perfectly logical. By 1927, the task was completed and published, a list of 29,000 editions, gathered from the British Museum, Oxford and Cambridge, with additional information from some 60 smaller collections. This inspired other institutions, particularly in the United States, to search their collections, resulting in a wholly new revised edition, published in three volumes between 1976 and 1995, by which time the total number of editions had grown considerably. The success of the short title catalogue also spawned a successor project, coordinated by Donald Wing, Associate Librarian at Yale, covering the period of rapid growth in British publishing between 1641 and 1700.

The next stage was to make these early editions, many of which were known in only a single surviving copy, more widely available to the scholarly community. Here too, the anticipated impact of the bombing played a major role. The technique of microphotography had been known since the 1830s, but the imminence of war

encouraged its systematic application to early printed books. This owed much to the initiative of the American entrepreneur Eugene Power, whose company University Microfilms International (UMI) was the first to undertake microfilm preservation on a large scale. At-risk collections in England were among his first clients, and at the end of the war in 1945, Power was allowed to keep the high-quality cameras required for his military work. The result was Early English Books, spreading the opportunity of access to this increasingly comprehensive survey of early English print, to scholars beyond those working in the major research libraries.

Microfilm was at one point seen as the technology that would make print redundant, but as its limitations became more evident, the search was on for an alternative form of preservation and publication. Digitisation of the UMI microfilms began in the 1990s, leading to the launch in 1998 of over 125,000 full-text digital scans under the banner of ProQuest, the digital arm of UMI. Presented through the Chadwick-Healey platform from 1999, by 2002 ProQuest's EEBO had become the largest and most comprehensive national collection of early printed books available to the scholarly world.

This of course encompassed only part of the history of early print, and ProQuest was also keen to play a part in telling this wider story. In 2009, ProQuest entered into an agreement with five major European collections, aimed at establishing the foundations for Early European Books (EEB), a cognate digital survey of European print: the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Royal Libraries of Copenhagen and The Hague, the National Central Library in Florence and the Wellcome Medical Library in London. These five libraries collectively offer a broad range in terms both of geographical coverage and genre but surveying the print worlds of continental Europe was a task infinitely larger and more complex than the English bibliography. The output of the English press comprises less than a tenth of the total European production in the period 1450-1700; creating a comparative survey of the European powerhouses of Italy, Germany and France, not to mention significant outriders like Poland, Spain and the late blossoming Dutch Republic, was a task of a wholly different order. It was this that brought ProQuest into conversation with the Universal Short Title Catalogue curated at the University of St Andrews.

The St Andrews book history group began work in 1995, at first focused on a far more limited survey of French printing. In the course of their work on France, the St Andrews researchers made discoveries of great relevance to the national bibliographical surveys then underway in Germany, Italy and the Low Countries. Thirty per cent of the French books registered by the St Andrews researchers were located only in collections outside France; this implied that there would be many Italian or German books not included in their respective national surveys (Edit16 and VD16), which had confined their searches largely to libraries in their

own language domains. This certainly proved to be the case when the St Andrews group moved from France to work on the Low Countries, where we added many thousands of works unrecorded in the respective national bibliographies.

In 2009, with the work on France and the Low Countries largely complete, the St Andrews group began to gather together all of our data into a single searchable database, what would become the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC). This would in part be an aggregation of data from partner national bibliographical projects, reinforced by our own fieldwork and comprehensive surveys of outlying regions. The important corpus of Spain, Portugal and Spanish America, was meanwhile covered in a parallel project undertaken by Professor Alexander Wilkinson (a former project manager of the St Andrews team) at University College, Dublin.

The first iteration of the USTC went live online in 2011. At that point it contained records of some 320,000 editions, and the location of 1.5 million surviving copies. Popular features included its searchability, links to other resources and the application of our own subject classification system. This enabled the user to compare, for instance, the European publishing profile of Erasmus and Luther, the output of medical books in Italy and France, or the expansion of the market for military handbooks between 1550 and 1590. In 2015, coverage was extended to 1650, rounding out the first two centuries of print and more than doubling the size of the resource. As of 2021, the USTC contains records on 830,000 editions with the location of four million surviving copies, identified in over 9,500 libraries, museums and archives in over sixty countries. The USTC also provides direct access to over 300,000 full text digital editions, an especially popular feature among our worldwide community of users: in 2021 the USTC passed the milestone of 7 million page views. In the next years we will expand coverage to the end of the seventeenth century, again doubling the size of the resource.

The St Andrews team was in communication with ProQuest from the first years when Early European Books was getting underway, though a formal consultancy agreement was signed only in 2014. Under the terms of this agreement, the USTC provides advice on possible new scanning opportunities and helps with the development of metadata: one of the most substantial tasks in preparing the USTC was to render fully searchable data prepared for different language communities (author, collations, printer names, notes). All EEB records will also be provided with our subject classifications, allowing the sort of thematic searches with which USTC users are familiar. The creation of Early Modern Books, bringing EEBO and EEB together into one coherent whole, allows ProQuest subscribers to experience the early modern print world as it was to contemporaries, where London booksellers supplied their customers with books from all over Europe, and popular texts moved around the continent in translations, or read in their original

languages. The reading culture of any national print community was never a sealed unit, as is witnessed both by contemporary evidence of book collecting, and the present locations of so many books that made their way far from their original places of publication early in their lives. This bibliographical diaspora, though frustrating to the compilers of national bibliographies (the USTC documents over 200,000 copies of German books not included in the VD16 and VD17) has been invaluable in ensuring the survival of early printed books through the turmoil of the conflicts of the twentieth century, as indeed has the preservation by filming in microfilm and later digital form.

To celebrate the unification of the European book heritage in EMB, ProQuest and the USTC offer this modest commemorative booklet. Here we tell the story of print through the digital editions available in EMB based on a series of articles commissioned by the St Andrews team at ProQuest's request. Here we track the print innovations that gave the print industry the breadth and thematic variety that ultimately secured its financial viability. The articles on individual EMB titles are drawn from the corpus provided by our subject experts: the full range of these articles can be enjoyed on the EMB website. All text not attributed to these subject experts is the work of the two editors.

The USTC Classification Scheme

We append below the current USTC subject classification scheme, which gives an impression of the rich variety of printed books in the early modern world showcased in the chapters that follow.

Religion

Bibles	Bibles, New Testaments, psalm books and translations of individual books of scripture, Biblical Concordances (but not Biblical commentaries), separate publications of maps for the Bible. Whole texts of the Bible make up a relatively small proportion of this classification. All books in this category are double classified as religious.
Religion	Prayer books, Missals and other church books, commentaries, sermons, indulgence certificates, devotional texts, catechisms, religious controversy. This compendious category, which will include (double classified) academic dissertations on religious subjects, will make up 40% of the whole corpus of print into the eighteenth century.
Witchcraft	Demonology, texts of with-hunting, pamphlet or illustrated prints of accounts of contemporary cases and executions.

University Publications

Academic Dissertations	Academic dissertations, academic notices, lecture schedules, notifications of degree celebrations, congratulatory orations for successful graduates, laureations for new professors, obituary notices. Academic dissertations make up the vast proportion of this category; other forms of academic ephemera, although no doubt numerous at the time, survive very poorly.
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Politics, Law and News

Ordinances	Government ordinances, edicts, proclamations and tax forms published as pamphlets or broadsheets. These can be published by royal, state, regional and municipal authorities.
Jurisprudence	Compendia of laws and customs, legal textbooks, handbooks and commentaries, academic dissertations in the field.
Government	Works of political thought and reflections on current systems of government.
Political Tracts	Tracts, often pamphlets, commenting on contemporary political events, many in a polemical spirit.
News	News pamphlets and broadsheets, covering a wide range of subjects, including natural disasters, battles, executions, monstrous births, peace treaties, political ceremonies, royal weddings and ambassadorial speeches.
Newspapers	Serial news publications published at least weekly. A new genre that spreads rapidly through northern Europe from 1605 onwards.
Journals	Non-news periodicals, typically scientific, cultural and society journals, together with a number of news annuals or monthly journals mixing news and commentary.

Book Trade

Book Trade	Publisher's stock catalogues, auction catalogues, advertisements for book auctions, book fair catalogues, published inventories and catalogues of private collections, treatises on book collecting, bibliographies, printed advertisements for books or works of a particular author. Government regulations on the book trade are also listed here, though also classified as ordinances.
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Practical Knowledge

Travel	Travel journals, works on geography and navigation, maps and atlases. A genre that grows massively in the seventeenth century and becomes a major source of recreational reading as well as technical knowledge.
Almanacs	Almanacs published as yearbooks and wall charts. A hugely lucrative and competitive market from the fifteenth century onwards. This category also includes Calendars and Prognostications.
Schoolbooks	Educational books, ABCs, grammars, treatises on how to educate children or how to write letters.
Dictionaries	Dictionaries, vocabularies, phrase books, instruction in foreign languages.
Economics	Treatises on the economy, guild regulations, coinage, textbooks of accountancy.
Art and Architecture	Guides to art, artists and artistic method, architectural textbooks and collections of prints or architectural designs.
Military Handbooks	Drill books, books of military strategy, fortifications.
Agriculture	Works on agriculture, viticulture, hunting and veterinary science.
Women	Texts on marriage and debates on women.
Etiquette	Works on courtesy, civil conversation, etiquette and sumptuary regulations.
Heraldry	Heraldic works and genealogies.
Games	Chess and other board games, tennis, card games, fencing and jousting.
Cookery	Cookbooks, books of recipes, table manners, household management and gardening.

Literature, Poetry, Drama and Music

Literature	Romances (which may be in verse), works of prose fiction and novels.
Drama	Play books, play bills (advertisements), theatre tickets, epitomes of texts for dramatic performances (a feature of Jesuit Latin drama, often performed by school pupils).
Poetry	Works in verse.
Music	Musical part books, instruction manuals for learning musical instruments, works on the theory of music.
Literary Compendia	Adages, aphorisms, emblem books, jest books, proverbs, epigrams and anthologies of excerpts.

Commemorative Ephemera

Funeral Orations	Funeral orations and sermons, epitaphs and gravestones. A huge genre in the seventeenth century.
Wedding Pamphlets	Celebrations of weddings, often in verse, and often commissioned from specialist writers in the field.
Birthday Greetings	A much smaller genre, normally celebrating the birth of a member of the local ruling house.
Special Events	Pamphlets written in celebration of public events (festivals, peace, anniversaries) or of private achievements or milestones (often those of students at university).
Orations	Orations (excluding funeral orations), often given to mark a military victory, an achievement of the city or national ruler. Orations are often also academic orations, held by professors at university or an academy.



Building an Industry: The Growth of Print in the Early Modern World

Those who welcomed the magnificent regularity of Johannes Gutenberg's mechanical books in 1454 could hardly have perceived that the problems of creating a new book industry had only just begun. The new printed pages were impressive, but then the art of printing, the pressing of an image onto paper or cloth, had been known for centuries. What was unique, and differentiated the Gutenberg revolution from other experiments, was the concept of the edition, the simultaneous creation of several hundred copies. This promised books on a previously unimaginable scale, but it did not guarantee customers or sales. The success of the new venture required collectors, who might previously have devoted years to tracking down a text and organising for it to be copied by hand, to grasp the opportunity to build a library on a quite different scale; purchasing books that they might not have even known existed before they saw them on the bookseller's stall.

This required a huge adjustment on the part of sellers and customers alike, and the building of a whole new infrastructure of international trade. For to dispose of several hundred copies, even in the international scholarly language of Latin, it was necessary to tap into a market dispersed throughout Europe. Printers were initially cautious, trusting to well-known bestsellers, but this brought its own problems with a glut of competing editions. The time required to sell out a whole edition as well as the costs of selling (not least the bookseller's cut) brought many businesses to their knees: bankruptcy became the default experience of the first generation of pioneers. It also became clear that the establishment of presses in small towns far away from the major centres of trade, a common phenomenon in the first exuberant age of experimentation, was financially unsustainable. Within thirty years the new publishing industry had largely consolidated in Europe's major commercial cities.

It also became clear that the solvency of a book market suddenly awash with new books required publishers to seek new clients beyond the traditional buyers of manuscript books. A whole generation of new readers was available among the newly prosperous and literate urban mercantile classes, but they required a literature quite different from the texts of mediaeval scholarship. Thus alongside the international Latin trade was gradually created a vernacular market for history, poetry and popular devotion. It was this that finally permitted the creation of a sustainable print industry in places as diverse as Spain, England, Denmark and Poland, in addition to the core marketplaces in France, Italy and Germany. Publishers also recognised that a commercial vernacular trade could be combined with serving the needs for the governing elites, not least by publishing the laws, orders and proclamations that proliferated in an age when government took on ever increasing responsibilities. This unromantic trade was every bit as important as the text for which humanists had hungered, and for which they now serenaded Gutenberg's invention: it would become a cornerstone of the new ecology of publishing.

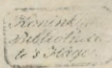
As the market was stabilised, so the book changed shape. No longer a quasi-facsimile of the manuscript, as had been the case with Gutenberg's Bible, but a distinctive artefact, with a title-page (one of the great inventions of printing), which advertised both the author and the publisher; along with chapter divisions, and a text page that through the artful disposition of different sizes and style of typeface, and the use of woodcuts and white space, led the reader through the text without the riotous colour of the mediaeval manuscript. Thus the black and white printed page took on a beauty and visual appeal that we today associate with the first age of print, whilst simultaneously spawning the development of a range of new markets, for news, drama, literature and religious instruction. Europe's global expansion created both new markets abroad, and fresh narratives to fascinate the home market. It is this glorious variety that we present here, in sixty works chosen from ProQuest's Early Modern Books by a panel of subject specialists assembled for this celebratory volume.

Half-Printed Books

If print was an agent of change, many of the first generation of printers seem not to have been aware of this. Their choice of texts was remarkably conservative. They rendered into print texts that had been in high demand in the manuscript age, serving largely established markets: scholars and students, noble collectors, and especially the church. This text, a missal for the diocese of Liège, is a demonstration that this large and reliable market extended to complex texts that would have required considerable investment. In the mediaeval world, monastic scriptoria would have been the major source of missals and other texts required in the daily round of worship, in this case the celebration of the Mass. This market was robust because

BE Januarii hz b kxi lu: xxx
 iij **A** Circuncilio domini
 xi b octaua stephani pthor:
 xix e octaua iohannis euangel:
 viij d octaua scōp innocent:
 viij e **E**pphania domini
 vii g
 vii b
 vii d
 vii e
 xix f octaua epphanie dñi:
 xix g felix confessoris.
 xix **A** marthij abbatis & gf
 xix b marcelli pape & marti:
 xix c anthony abbatis et cōf
 xix d prisce virginis & mar:
 xix e marij & marthe marti:
 xix f fabiani & sebastia. marti:
 xix g agnetis virgi: & mart:
 xix **A** vincentij martiris.
 xix b emerentiane & martha:
 xix c thymothei apostoli
 xix d Conuersio pauli apli:
 xix e polycarpi epi & martirif
 xix f iohannis crisostomi epi:
 xix g octaua sancte agnetis:
 xix **A** valerij epi & confesso:
 xix b aldegundis virginis
 xix c

BE Februarii hz b xxviij lū xxix
 d ignatij epi et martiris
 xi e Purificatio marie virg.
 xix f hadelini gress: blasij epi.
 viij g
 viij **A** agathe virginis & mar:
 xvi b amandi & vedasti epōp:
 v c dorothee virginis & marti:
 d
 xix e appollonie virgi: & mart:
 g f zotici hereni et iacincti. zo
 g theris. scolasti. d.
 xix **A**
 b
 xix c valentini. vitalis. felix
 viij d
 e iuliane virginis: & marti
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 xix **A**
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 d **C**athedra petri apostoli:
 xix e **O**vigilia.
 xix f mathie apostoli:
 xix g
 vi **A**
 b
 xix c



many dioceses had their own local rite. Manuscripts were often highly decorated, with different coloured inks to help guide the reader, or presiding priest, through the text. This would have been all the more necessary when Mass was celebrated in poor light or by candlelight. These features of church books, particularly the presentation of part of the text in red letters, proved complex and costly to produce mechanically. Early experiments in double impression printing, first with black ink, then a second pass to ink in the parts of the text in red, had not gone well. It was difficult to ensure that the different inks did not encroach on the plate, and the paper had to be exactly aligned for the second pull. Far simpler was to print the page in black, and add the red highlights by hand, as here. This allowed for both the rubrication of the text, and the more elaborate decoration of the opening initial. But this implied considerable extra expenditure of time and effort after the book left the print shop, essentially half finished. This was not what print was supposed to have achieved. It would be many decades before these technical problems were resolved, and in fact large format church books remained the most enduring market for red/black printing. The cost would probably have been underwritten by the sponsoring diocese; few printers were in a position to undertake this sort of risky work from their own resources, even for regular and lucrative customers.

Aldo and His Tormentors

Dante's *Divine Comedy*, one of the great milestones of Italian literature, was printed both in Italy and abroad since its first edition in 1472. Printers and publishers produced the text in several guises and formats, with commentaries, illustrations and other paratext. Among the most famous editions were the enchiridia, or pocket-size books, conceived and printed by the great Renaissance printer Aldo Manuzio. These little books represented the earliest example of an editorial series. They were extremely successful, and widely imitated, down to the design of their innovative italic typeface. Aldo soon found himself complaining about the pirated editions that appeared in Lyon mere months after the originals.

Five digitised copies from the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence present in EMB allow for an investigation of this phenomenon. The copies Ald.2.5.21 and the series of adjacent volumes Ald.3.3.15 to .18 all contain Dante's text printed in italics, devoid of commentary. Close inspection of these holdings shows that while Ald.3.3.15, Ald.3.3.17 and Ald.3.3.18 contain the original Aldine version of 1502, Ald.2.5.21 is in fact the counterfeit edition printed in Lyon (distinctive features are the long-tailed lowercase 'z' and the running title 'INF.' in the original, 'INFER.' in the counterfeit). The costly investment of copying the new Aldine type made the imitations virtually indistinguishable from the original, and the untrained eye will be at a loss in separating the two.

INFER.

Ruppemi l'alto sono ne la testa
 Vn greue tuono sì, ch' i mi riscossi;
 Come persona, che per forza è desta:
 Et l'occhio riposato intorno mossi
 Dritto leuato; e fiso riguardai,
 Per conoscer lo loco, dou' io fossi.
 Vero è, che n' su la proda mi trouai
 De la uale d' abisso dolorosa,
 Che throno accoglie d' infiniti guai.
 Oscura profond' era, et nebulosa
 Tanto; che per ficcar lo uiso al fondo
 Non ui discernueua alcuna cosa.
 Hor discendian qua giu nel cieco mondo;
 Comincio il poeta tutto smorto:
 I sarò primo; et tu sarai secondo.
 Et io, che del color mi fui accorto,
 Dissi; come uerro, se tu pauenti,
 Che suoli al mio dubbiar esser conforto?
 Et egli a me; l'angoscia de le genti,
 Che son qua giu, nel uiso mi dipigne
 Quella pietà, che tu per tema senti.
 Andian; che la uia lunga ne sospigne:
 Così si mise; et così mi fe' ntrare
 Nel primo cerchio, che l' abisso cigne.
 Quiui; secondo che per ascoltare;
 Non hauea pianto, ma che di sospiri,
 Che l' aura eterna faceuan tremare:
 Et ciò auenia di duol sen'za martiri;
 C' hauean le turbe; ch' eran molte, et grandi
 D' infanti, et di femine, et di uiri.

INF.

Ruppemì l'alto sonno ne la testa
Vn greue tuono sì, ch'ì mi riscossi;
Come persona, che per forza è desta:
Et l'occhio riposato intorno mossi
Dritto leuato; et fiso riguardai,
Per conoscer lo loco, dou'io fossi.
Vero è, che'n sù la proda mi trouai
De la ualle d'abisso dolorosa,
Che throno accoglie d'infiniti guai.
Oscura profond'era, et nebulosa
Tanto; che per fiatar lo uiso al fondo
I non ui discernueua alcuna cosa.
Hor discendiam qua giù nel cieco mondo;
Cominciò il poeta tutto smorto:
I sarò primo; et tu sarai secondo.
Et io, che del color mi fui acorto,
Dissi; come uerrò, se tu pauenti,
Che suoli al mio dubbiar esser conforto?
Et egli a me; l'angoscia de le genti,
Che son qua giù, nel uiso mi dipigne
Quella pietà, che tu per tema senti.
Andiam; che la uia lunga ne sospigne:
Così si mise; et così mi fe' ntrare
Nel primo cerchio, che l'abisso cigne.
Quiui; secondo che per ascoltare;
Non hauea pianto, ma che di sospiri,
Che l'aura eterna faceuan tremare.
Et ciò auenia di duol sen'za martiri;
C'hauean le turbe; ch'eran molte, et grandi
D'infanti, et di femine, et di uiri.

The final Florentine copy, Ald.3.3.16, demonstrates an unforeseen exploitation of the similarities between the two editions. The title-page clearly belongs to the pirated Lyon editions; yet the colophon ascribes the edition to the Aldine Press. The mystery is solved with a little patience and the systematic comparison of multiple examples side by side. Ald.3.3.16 is a hybrid copy, with the first quire 'a' taken from a copy of the Lyon counterfeit, and the remaining pages belonging to the Aldine original. It is impossible to tell what happened, and when, without further investigation, but it seems clear that at some point in the past someone decided to furnish the incomplete Aldine copy with the remaining text. In such instances, a common practice is that of providing handwritten facsimiles (some are extremely well done and hardly noticeable, especially nineteenth-century examples). In this case, the high compatibility of the Aldine Dante with its fraudulent Lyonnais imitation allowed for a seamless substitution of missing leaves. (SG)

Law and Order

The item highlighted below is one of the earliest surviving printed French ordinances. It was issued in Paris in January 1501 by the royal provosts of the trade of the city, in conjunction with the King of France and the magistrates of the city. The ordinance was a substantial piece of legislation which affected numerous trades, guilds and businesses – the ordinance was made up of close to 60,000 words. It took some time to be put into print: the ordinance opens with a statement by King Charles VIII, who died in 1498, almost three years before Antoine Vérard, the printer who had been instructed by the Parlement of Paris to publish the ordinance, finished production.

The ordinance is a typical example of many early state publications. It is a lengthy work, of close to 200 pages in folio, and contains the text of fifty different regulations affecting Parisian trade. The sale, distribution and prices of goods like grain, fruits, coal and wine are stipulated within, as well as transportation duties targeting imports and exports in the city. The ordinance exemplifies the ambitions of the French crown to exercise its royal authority to its full extent, but the legislation also reveals the complexities of the expanding power of the state. The French crown always struggled to exercise control over Paris, a sprawling metropolis of close to 350,000 inhabitants by the middle of the sixteenth century. In Paris the crown had to contend with the power of the Parlement, which could challenge edicts issued by the king, forcing changes or the removal of certain laws and regulations; and with the provosts of the trade of the city, a group of magistrates responsible for the commerce and infrastructure of Paris. The three jurisdictions – crown, Parlement and provosts – were all involved in the composition and dissemination of this ordinance.

The purchase of a copy of the ordinance would have been a conscious investment. This is evident not least from the size of the ordinance (almost two hundred pages in



Le present li-
vre fait men-
cion des ordonnances de la preuostte des mar-
chans et escheuinaige de la ville de Paris.
Imprime par lordonnace de messeigneurs
de la court de parlement. ou mors de Jan-
uier. Lan de grace. Mil Cincq cens



Le present livre fait mention des ordonnances de la prévosté des marchans et eschevinaige de la ville de Paris ([Paris: Antoine Vérard], 1500 [=1501]), USTC 767859.

folio), and the presence of lavish woodcut illustrations. The book contains woodcut illustrations of the provosts of Paris and King Charles at the beginning of the ordinance. The fifty regulations which follow are also preceded by a woodcut of the respective subject: the sections on the wine traders, the wine transporters and the wine sellers all feature separate illustrations. Most paragraphs open with impressive woodcut initials, designed to resemble traditional manuscript initials. In many respects the volume of regulations reflects mediaeval traditions of book production, mirroring closely the organisation and design of handwritten compendia. But the presence of so many illustrations and woodcut initials generally double the price of a book, making the ownership of a printed volume of regulations of this sort a desirable, but costly endeavour.

The First History of Denmark in Print

Below is the first printed edition of Saxo Grammaticus' monumental history of the Danes written in Latin around 1200. Three hundred years later, the Danish humanist Christiern Pedersen (1480–1554) decided to use the new technology of the printing press to publish this famous history of his home country. Pedersen had studied at the University of Paris and during this time he had developed a close friendship with the learned printer Jodocus Badius Ascensius (or Josse Bade, 1462–1535). Pedersen worked closely with Badius, one of the most influential and prolific printers of the French Renaissance.

The edition was completed on 15 May 1514 in Paris. It is a good example of early Renaissance printing. The title-page is printed in red and has a large woodcut depicting the Danish king in front of his army. This was an opulent edition, printed with the utmost care. By striving for correctness, Badius was aiming to make his imprints popular among European scholars.

The Royal Library of Copenhagen has collected multiple copies of this first printed edition of Danish history. Their eight copies are all available on EMB, as is one copy held at the Wellcome Library. Having access to multiple copies allows scholars to trace multiple owners of this edition. Scanning for marks of ownership on title-pages and throughout the book always offers some pleasant surprises. Copy six contains the inscription, 'Joannis Grolierij Lugd. & amicorum' and Jean Grolier's favourite motto, indicating that it once belonged to the famous French bibliophile. (NL)



Saxo Grammaticus, *Danorum Regum heroumque historiae* (Paris: Badius, 1514), USTC 144260.

PORTIO MEA DOMINE SIT IN
TERRA VIVENTIVM.

Joannis Grolierij Lugd'
Bamconum.

V. Raffarij

The inscription and motto of Jean Grolier in EMB's sixth copy of Saxo Grammaticus, *Danorum Regum heroumque historiae* (1514).



Devotion

In the fifteenth century, printing was rightly celebrated as an astonishing technical achievement, capable of expanding the range of texts available to Europe's readers many times over. Contemporary observers who recognised print as a progressive force have been dutifully echoed by scholars through the ages. This should not, however, disguise the fact that, though the technology may have been revolutionary, the first printers were decidedly conservative in their choice of texts. Within thirty years of when Gutenberg first exhibited his new technique, the market was saturated; and it proved far simpler to print the texts than to sell them.

Printers gradually learned that the route to prosperity lay through cultivating established markets and reliable partners; and that the most reliable of all were institutional clients, the state, the universities and the church. Europe's governments were precocious in adopting this novel form of distribution, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries universities also proved a steady source of work, often in towns that would not otherwise have been major centres of production. But religious printing, publishing for church institutions and the works of clerics, was from the beginning of print to the end of the eighteenth century the solid bedrock of the industry. Bibles, missals, sermons, catechisms, devotional texts and religious polemic: together, and in almost every part of Europe, in every era, religious books accounted for almost half of all the books printed.

Gutenberg's signature project in the 1450s was, of course, a Bible. But this was a text so expensive that most of Gutenberg's customers were institutions, largely monasteries who could afford the extra expense of decoration. The market for complete texts of the Bible would grow steadily as prices fell, particularly after the Protestant Reformation brought a new theological urgency to the reading of the

text of scripture in vernacular languages. Mostly lay people contented themselves with smaller texts: an edition of the New Testament or a collection of psalms. Church institutions also provided a large and robust market for missals and other texts required for the regular round of church services. These could be very large books, intended to be placed on the church lectern, the sort of complex projects that could only be taken on by the best equipped print shops (and even then, most likely with subsidy from the commissioning diocese). A more flexible market, and one eagerly pursued by printers, was the commission to print the certificates of donation and other printed paraphernalia accompanying the sale of indulgences. Indulgence campaigns were big business in late mediaeval Europe, raising large sums, normally for local churches. Energetically preached by indulgence specialists, they required hundreds of thousands of printed certificates which pious donors received in return for their contribution. Rather ironically, several of those who later made a fortune printing for Martin Luther were up to the eve of the Reformation heavily involved in the indulgence trade. Printing was a very pragmatic industry.

In 1517, this cosy, complacent world was shaken to its foundations. This was not because the printers had lost confidence in their Catholic patrons: rather, they had found in Germany an outlet even more profitable. Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar in mid-career, not previously particularly well known, emerged as a brave, resilient and outspoken critic of the church. More importantly, he found a voice for the occasion, turning out a stream of short, original writings, ideal products for the printing press in a time of high drama and fast-moving events. Luther revolutionised religious publishing, writing in German, taking complex theological debates, previously regarded as the preserve of a closed circle of theologians, to a far wider audience. This very public quarrel was largely propelled by print, with multiple editions of the works of Luther and his loyal band of supporters. Europe would be irrevocably changed by the Reformation, divided into competing Catholic and Protestant Churches. The torrent of print generated by the religious quarrels brought the habit of book-buying to new generations of readers, vastly expanding the market for printing, making the decisive shift away from reliance on the core audiences of the manuscript era.

In time, the fires of controversy would die down, but the new energy in the print industry did not disappear but was simply redeployed. As the evangelical movement took root in the cities and states that had followed Luther in repudiating the authority of the Papacy, other types of literature were required: church orders, catechisms, hymn books and psalters, the 'church' books that defined the new vernacular worship that pious believers would now carry with them to service. This created a whole new lucrative market for printers who had flourished making quick profits from Luther's writings. The apogee of this pyramid of print was the text of holy scripture.

In the near panic created by the unprecedented fury of Luther's assault on the church, defenders of the old order tried hard to hold the line. Talented men came forward to contest Luther's theological precepts, though usually in Latin. In many parts of Europe, where rulers stayed faithful to the old church, the writing, selling or ownership of Luther's works was banned. Publishing Luther became deadly dangerous: in these places editions of his works were generally published anonymously. But the attempt to root out Luther's beliefs had some serious consequences. There was no reason why the vernacular Bible should have been Protestant property, but Catholic prohibitions on translation, as for instance in France, effectively made it so. This handed evangelicals the largest slice of a huge market. Editions of the Bible, New Testaments and psalm books, became a staple of the trade for over four centuries: editions in all sizes and for all pockets. In emerging markets, the production of a Bible in the native tongue, in Finnish, Swedish or Estonian, was a symbolic coming of age for both the print industry and the local vernacular.

In the mid-sixteenth century, the Council of Trent brought stability to the church Luther had abandoned, ending the haemorrhage of talent and drawing clear theological dividing lines between the competing churches. The Catholic Church became a mission church, both in parts of Europe that had abandoned the true faith, and in new mission fields overseas in Asia and America. In all these endeavours, print played an important role. In France, an outpouring of vituperative denunciations of the surging Calvinist movement helped rally the Catholic majority in defence of traditional practice at the onset of the religious wars. In England, devotional works published abroad played a major role in sustaining Catholic recusant communities. Colonial powers carried religious texts with them abroad intended to convert the indigenous peoples: one notable by-product of this was the first generation of bilingual texts in indigenous and European languages. In this, as in attempts to reconvert Protestant territories in Europe, the Jesuits played a leading role. Their creativity in commissioning and distributing expositions of the Catholic faith demonstrated how much had been learned from Luther's movement. Jesuits too were profoundly committed to educational initiatives like those that had transformed literacy in Protestant Europe. Jesuit colleagues also planted libraries in frontier territories, an important statement of purpose. When Swedish armies embarked on their campaigns of conquest in the 1620s, these Catholic libraries were a first target, their contents carefully packed up and shipped back to Stockholm and Uppsala, where many remain today.

In all these efforts to build an informed Christian people, the publication of sermons played a leading role. In the first generation of print, the hopes of aspirant authors were not always realised. But sermons were always popular, in every era, every part of Europe, and in every language; after editions of the scripture and texts for use

in church, these were probably the predominant form of religious publication. Sermons were an infinitely flexible medium: the literature of consolation and spiritual encouragement, comfort in sickness, grief and misfortune, a reminder of obligations to Christ's less fortunate children. They served as an introduction to theological understanding, a means to deepen Christian knowledge. During periods of confessional tension, preachers excoriated their opponents and celebrated military triumphs as a sign of God's favour. These too were swiftly relayed to the print shops. The messages they contained also had a timeless quality. On the eve of the French Revolution, eight of the most popular texts, as revealed in the official records of the Parisian print industry, were devotional works. The absolute bestseller, the *Ange Conducteur*, was written over one hundred years earlier, and constantly in print thereafter. It is a reminder that, while scholars (and librarians) constantly seek out texts breaching new frontiers of knowledge, most readers of the time preferred eternal verities: a structural reality of the book trade that was largely unchanged until deep into the nineteenth century.

A Deadly Vocation

The writings of Martin Luther transformed the German print industry. At one point in the early 1520s, the writings of Luther and his supporters accounted for half of the books published in the Holy Roman Empire. So it bears emphasis that Luther's movement in fact did not export very well. This was partly because Luther was often addressing German issues, and stirring German grievances; but it was also the case that government authorities in much of western Europe, in France, England, Italy and Spain took swift action to forbid the publication or ownership of Luther's works. Persecution of evangelicals was particularly severe in the Netherlands, despite (or perhaps because of) the early enthusiasm for Luther's message in the Low Countries. To spread Luther's words, and avoid prosecution or even execution, printers had to adopt very different strategies to the bold marketing of Luther's works in Wittenberg and other German towns. This book, *A Very Useful Meditation on the Suffering and Death of our Lord Jesus Christ*, has all the appearance of a pre-Reformation Catholic devotional text. In fact, it is a sermon of Martin Luther, first published in Wittenberg in 1519. At no point is Luther's responsibility for the text acknowledged; the confident use of Luther's name to market the German originals of these sermons and works of consolation is here entirely absent. Nor is the printer, Jan Seversz, keen to associate his name with the project. Seversz was a courageous man, risking his life for the cause. In the first years of the Reformation Seversz reprinted several of Luther's Latin works, an offence for which he was banned from Holland in 1524. He moved to Utrecht but his reputation pursued him: here too he was banished, and when he moved to Antwerp, a larger city where concealment was more plausible, he was briefly

**Een seer nuttelyke bedenckenisse
 onser salicheyts / des lidens en̄ mar-
 telys onser alder liefsten heere
 ihesu chusti.**



[Martin Luther], *Een seer nuttelyke bedenckenisse onser salicheyts* ([Leiden: Jan Seversz, 1522]), USTC 424778.

imprisoned. This modest work, with its comforting message of salvation, unlocks a tumultuous world of underground printing and clandestine distribution. In one respect this deception, the carefully non-confessional title and elegant woodcut, seems to have worked. This was only rediscovered as the work of Martin Luther comparatively recently. But the clampdown on dissident print was in other respects successful. This delicate pamphlet is the only surviving example of the original edition.

To the Victor the Spoils

Throughout the history of print, the Bible was a perennial favourite of the industry. This was the text with which Gutenberg chose to announce his great invention, and for centuries thereafter Bibles, New Testaments and psalm books formed the cornerstone of the collections of those who could afford books; and if households only owned a handful of books, these would invariably include a biblical text. But this was at the same time a challenging market, for purchasers and producers alike. Rival translations could stir controversy. So it was not surprising that in both England and the Dutch Republic, a commission of experts was tasked with producing an official translation. Writing by committee is seldom a happy experience, and in the Dutch Republic the production of the States Bible turned into a saga of battling egos, rivalries and greed.

Most of the roadblocks were erected by the printers. Almost as soon as the translation got underway, the printers protested that they faced financial disaster if their large stocks of earlier translations became suddenly redundant. They estimated this stock at 80,000 copies, an extraordinary witness to the size of the marketplace of scripture. Happily, the lengthy deliberations of the translators negated this problem, but as the work reached completion, leading figures in the print industry began manoeuvring for the coveted commission to publish the book. It was clear that the Bible had to be printed in the university city of Leiden, where the translators had been given hospitality, so the major Leiden publishing houses were confident of success; until, that is, the printer to the States General, the widow Van Wouw, based in The Hague, established a Leiden subsidiary and carried away the coveted privilege by buying off the Leiden city magistrates and the translators.

This caused uproar both in Leiden and Amsterdam. Since every church and many private citizens would buy the new translation, the potential profit to Van Wouw was enormous. In Amsterdam, a number of printers came to an agreement to oppose the privilege granted to Van Wouw, and produce a local rival edition. This consortium was promptly supported by their local magistrates, eager to display their displeasure with the regents in The Hague and Leiden. This majestic edition is one of the fruits of this unseemly squabble, published with a title-page

engraving displaying a harbour view of Amsterdam and proudly proclaiming the authenticity of their edition. In the end, the market was big enough to sustain publication in both Leiden and Amsterdam; the States Bible was popular with Mennonites and Lutherans as well as with the Reformed Church. It remained, with numerous New Testaments in various sizes, a cornerstone of the Dutch book trade for two centuries.

The Memory of Grievances Past

For Protestantism, France was both the greatest prize and the greatest missed opportunity. For a few heady years in the mid-sixteenth century, it appeared, at least to members of the expanding Calvinist congregations, that the conversion of France was at hand. A decade later these hopes lay in tatters, the dying embers snuffed out by the horrors of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. The movement regrouped in urban strongholds far from Paris in the south and west, but never again posed a significant threat to France's Catholic identity.

The psalms, sung in the metrical versions devised in Geneva by Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze, played a critical role in all stages of the movement's growth, tribulation and survival. Calvin's Geneva church rejected the hymn-singing tradition of Luther's church, where the new hymns were often set to tunes appropriated from secular songs, for the more austere alternative of metrical psalms. Yet in both churches communal singing became a staple of worship, a pedagogic tool, and a badge of identity. This was even more the case when the Calvinist movement was transposed to Catholic France. Psalms became a comfort in adversity, while the young churches still faced persecution, and then, a triumphant demonstration of defiance as royal authority was challenged, and the Calvinists sought freedom of worship. In the French Wars of Religion, Huguenot armies sung psalms before battle. In places like Saumur, psalms became not only a tool of edification, but a badge of identity, a memorial of liberties preserved through years of tragedy. In this beautiful edition, this is reinforced by a poignant calendar, where the traditional Catholic holidays are replaced by special days of Protestant memory. The day when the Flood began to recede when Noah spied dry land, and the conversion of Saint Paul, vied for remembrance with the death of Catherine of Medici and memories of Catholic treachery. Even in the sanctified space of worship, the true enemy was never out of view.

Memento Mori

The ability of print to convey not just the ideas of high theology but also a message of popular piety was very much heeded by the French Catholic Church. They responded to the danger posed by the Protestant Reformation by developing

LES
PSEAVMES
DE DAVID
MIS EN RIME
FRANÇOISE.



Par Clement Marot, & Theodore
de Beze.



A S A V M V R,
Par THOMAS PORTAV

Les pseumes de David mis en rime françoise (Saumur: Thomas Portau, 1609), USTC 6802634.

Catholic printed books aimed not simply at theologians but a much wider public by publishing in French. In this domain the reaction of the Gallican Church was reinforced by the rulings of the Council of Trent which encouraged some members of the French clergy to take this further and delve into printing in regional languages such as Breton, as is illustrated by this imprint.

The *Mirror of Death* was not the first Breton-language title – there had been printing in Breton during the incunabula era – but it marked a change from what had preceded it. Early imprints had mainly been books of hours, generally printed in Paris and shipped to the duchy. In this case we have a work printed within the Breton-speaking half of Brittany and produced outside the normal context for most publications in this period. Indeed, rather than being printed in a city for a commercial publisher, this work came off a press that had been set up within the walls of the Franciscan convent of Cuburien close to Morlaix. It formed part of a concerted effort in the aftermath of Trent to promote Catholicism. But here it was not aimed at a population that had been seduced by Protestantism: the Reformation's impact was mainly to be felt amongst the nobility and in some of the towns of the French-speaking eastern half of the duchy. Instead it sought to deal with the very peculiar and often unorthodox traditional beliefs of the Breton-speaking population.

The press had undoubtedly been set up by the local Franciscan theologian and future head of the order, Christophe de Cheffontaines. Though he was born into a noble family, Cheffontaines first language was Breton and he understood the need to communicate more effectively to the locals in order to strengthen their faith. The skull motif encapsulated the ubiquity of death, central to many of the popular beliefs as is illustrated by the numerous skulls that adorn the monuments of the parish enclosures of Lower Brittany. The skull that stares out from the title-page of this edition introduces a lively verse text that intersperses the Breton text with French chapter headings to guide the reader through fundamental religious issues such as the final judgment and gaining access to paradise.

The imprints from Cuburien are extremely rare: they were produced to be distributed locally to a population that did not collect books and the exemplar digitalised as part of this collection is the only known surviving copy. (MW)

The Power of the Pulpit

The normative narrative of print lays stress on the speed with which the new technology spread through Europe, and it is true that printing was established in over 200 towns and cities in the fifty years before 1500. The problem is that in many of these places the presses could not be sustained: the publishing industry retrenched into a small number of major centres of production, in France, Italy,

LE MIROVER DE

La Mort, en Breton : au quel doctement, &
Deuotement, est trektè des quatre fins de l'home : cest
à scauoyr de la Mort, du dernier Iugement, du tres-
sacre Paradis : & de l'horible Prison de L'enfer : &
ses Infinis Tourments.

*En Maru, en Barn, en l'ffern yen, preder map dō, ha
na enoe.*

*Ha nepret nep lech ne pechy, gar lacquat da spy en t'y
Doe.*

Recollectis Cuburien

MIRE TOYLA. FIK



Memorare nouissima tua, & in aeternū
non peccabis. Ecclesiasticū septimo

Imprimet é S François Cuburien . 1575.

Germany and the Low Countries. Most of the trade in books took place in a nexus uniting Northern Italy with the Low Countries and France along the Rhine: a pentagon with outer limits defined by Hamburg, Leipzig, Rome, Paris and Antwerp. Most places outside this nexus were essentially subsidiary markets, where collectors looked to the major print centres for more serious purchases. In Scandinavia and the Baltic, the development of a robust print industry was far more halting. This sermon by Johannes Lassenius preached in 1692 is a case in point. Published seven years later, this is a relatively crude piece of work, printed in a large format black letter typeface that would not have troubled the most inexperienced compositor. Furthermore, this was a text published in German, not Danish, for the benefit of the congregation of the local church. The print industry in Denmark and Sweden had depended heavily on foreign expertise to sustain a local press, but still not altogether successfully. Works in Danish were also frequently put to the press of more experienced printers in North Germany, or as far away as Antwerp. In this slow developing market, the trade in vernacular religious texts placed an even more important role.

In the seventeenth century, Danish and Swedish collectors looked mostly to the Dutch Republic to build an elegant library. There was little scope for local printers to compete with the well-capitalised print shops of Amsterdam. But the local market for vernacular texts was a different story; here there was scope for an enterprising business. Once the market for basic church books was satisfied, sermons, as elsewhere in Europe, provided an opportunity for authors and printers alike. Sermons provided an infinitely flexible medium for theological instruction, comfort and exhortation, celebration and repentance, or comment on contemporary events.

D. JOH. LASSENI
Nach = Predigt
Behalten den 2 Febr:
1692.
In der Teutschen Kirchen zu St. Petri
in Kopenhagen/
über das Evangelium/
Am Fest = Tage
der Reinigung Marien.
Kopenhagen/
Gedruckt bey Sehl. Conrad Neuhoffs
Nachgelassene Wittwe 1699.

Johannes Lassenius, *Nach-Predigt*, gehalten den 2. Febr. 1692, in der Teutschen Kirchen zu St Petri in Kopenhagen (Copenhagen: widow of Conrad Neuhoff, 1699).



The Professionals

The rationalisation and diversification of book production described in the first chapter had rescued the book industry from its first crisis. But it was still necessary to develop new markets as well as to persuade existing customers to buy more books. This was the achievement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first, and most significant builders of new libraries were the emerging professional class: by the seventeenth century, government officials, lawyers, doctors, church ministers and professors had built collections of significant size.

The exponential growth of private libraries of these new collectors was the most significant development of the second phase of print, and a bedrock of the book trade, all the more so as institutional libraries struggled under the hammer blows of religious change. In the fifteenth century, twenty books was a respectable collection. By the middle of the sixteenth century, a doctor in England could assemble a collection of several score books, almost exclusively imported. Scroll forward a further hundred years, the collection of a lawyer or scholar might top a thousand books, and some professors assembled collections much larger than that of their university library, something unthinkable today.

This increase in collecting among professional men led to a large growth of the number of books being published in the fields of jurisprudence, medicine and theology, in both local vernacular languages and Latin. The huge increase in medical publishing illustrated the strength of the hold of the classical tradition of Galen and Hippocrates, given fresh impetus by the print industry, and the increasing encroachment of experimental investigation, not least in anatomy and battlefield surgery. Professionals began to assemble collections which went far beyond their occupational needs. Everyone, whether lawyer or church minister, would have had a small collection of medical texts: given the expense

of professional medicine and its enslavement to Galenic principles, a few books of popular cures would have been a sound investment.

The size of these professional collections often went far beyond what might expect of the limited salary of, for instance, a minister of the church. But collectors were also frequently themselves authors, and could rely on some free copies to give to their friends (the only remuneration most authors could hope for in this era). These free copies they could exchange with friends; sometimes printers would give them books for favours rendered, proof-reading or bringing work their way, and former students would present copies of their compositions. Thus a considerable library could be assembled: as every collector knows, the best way to build a library is to get books for free.

Universities, too, made substantial use of the press. The works of the professors, advertisement of ceremonial occasions, lists of forthcoming lectures or obituaries: all of this provided steady work for the university printer, a prized appointment in the printing fraternity. In addition, students supplicating for a degree would be expected to pay for the printing of theses they would defend, on a subject stipulated by their professor. In preparation for these public events, many students would take part in several practice exercises, for which the theses were also printed. This provided a nice booklet, which the student could send home to prove their diligence to parents and sponsors. Masses of these practice dissertations survive today in libraries, often uncatalogued. But this most unfashionable type of print can provide a valuable window on the development of theological controversy, philosophy, science and theories of government. They also provided a mass of work that sustained presses in almost every university town throughout Europe.

Cornerstones of Law

Justinian's *Institutes* may be considered the cradle of Western legal science. It was written with the aim of becoming the official manual of Roman law adopted throughout the empire, and drafted by a commission of three jurists, Tribonian, Theophilus and Dorotheus entrusted by the emperor Justinian to compile an elementary introduction to the first principles of jurisprudence. The treatise became, immediately upon adoption (in 529 CE), the standard textbook on law employed in late antiquity and the indispensable primer used by anyone wishing to read law in later centuries. Through this repeated use, the *Institutes* increased their authority, to the point of becoming the commanding model followed by many, if not most, scholarly attempts to systematise the law and arrange its principles in cohesive bodies of normative and doctrinal knowledge. Thus, the *Institutes* exemplified the typically Roman persuasion according to which law does not derive from rules, it is rules that emanate instead from law.



A small format edition of the Institutes, published in Amsterdam: *Institutiones Justiniani typis variæ rubris nucleum exhibentibus accesserunt ex digestis tituli de verborum significationem et regulis iuris* (Amsterdam: apud Lowijs III Elzevier, 1654), USTC 1826443.

As soon as they are read in this light, it becomes instantaneously clear why the *Institutes* open with one of the very few definitions provided by Roman law: the definition of justice. Justice, in fact, understood to be the constant and perpetual will to give each their own, was none other than the most elementary and the most far-reaching notion of legal education: the foundation and purpose of law itself, by which jurisprudence could rightfully claim to be the discriminating science, separating justice from injustice.

The *Institutions* were originally published as part of the legislative reform project undertaken by Emperor Justinian. So, the text must be read in conjunction with the other volumes that comprised his compilation: the *Code*, the *Digest* and the *Novels*. Once these texts were rediscovered by medieval jurists, after a long period of oblivion, they ended up being rearranged and collated into a single work which took the name of *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. This compilation has since become, together with the Holy Scriptures, one of the most authoritative texts of Western civilization and has been read for centuries, in particular during the Middle Ages, as the depository of law's most rational principles. (AC)

War and Peace

Writing *In the Shadows of Tomorrow* (1936), amid a world darkened by the prospect of imminent war and unhinged by the weakening of judgment, the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga pointed to the work of the seventeenth-century jurist Hugo Grotius as a 'shining example' of the early modern effort to establish and maintain a new conception of international order, predicated on the harmonisation of juristic wisdom, Christian ethics, feudal obligations and ancient political philosophy. In singling out Grotius, Huizinga pitted the rampant aggression swirling around him against a whole movement of thought that had found its foundation in the *magnum opus* of the Dutch jurist: the *De Iure Belli ac Pacis*, first published in Paris in 1625 by Nicolas Buon.

Grotius had written this treatise *pro Iustitia*, i.e. 'in favour of Justice'. He declared as much in the opening dedication of the work to King Louis XIII of France, whose protection he had sought after fleeing the Netherlands after his catastrophic fall from grace in the Arminian controversy. The dedication was itself a eulogy of justice, as it related to both the external relations between states and their internal form of government. And its arguments were mirrored in the final chapter, which concerned the care of preserving faith and placed this supreme obligation at the very foundation of all peaceful human societies.

On these foundations, Grotius built the law of war and peace. He did not circumscribe the notion of war exclusively to arm conflicts waged by sovereign states; instead, he treated war as any violent dispute not regulated by civil laws.

HVGONIS GROTH
D E 1124 A2
IVRE BELLI
A C P A C I S
LIBRI TRES.

In quibus jus Naturæ, Gentium, item
juris publici præcipue explicantur.

EDITIO NOVA
ab Auctore ipso recognita & correctæ:
de qua vide pagina sequenti.



AMSTERDAMI,
Apud GVILIELMVM BLAEV.
CIO D C XXXII.

Cum Privilegio S. Caesaris Majestatis, & Christianissimi
Galliarum Regis.

Hugo Grotius, *De Iure Belli ac Pacis Libri Tres. In quibus jus Naturæ, Gentium, item juris publici præcipue explicantur. Editio nova ab auctore ipso recognita et correctæ* (Amsterdam: Willem Jansz Blaeu, 1632), USTC 1031874.

The source of its regulation was, thus, natural law. Accordingly, Grotius maintained that the purpose of war was to secure peace and he therefore claimed that both the procedure leading to its declaration, as well as its actual execution had to comply with a precise series of norms, which – if violated – would authorise legitimate forms of retaliation. Grotius articulated his treatise in three books: the first roughly considered the subjects who were entitled to act, the second dealt mainly with the causes of just war, while the third discussed primarily the lawful procedures that had to be followed during armed conflicts.

The treatise inaugurated a new season in European jurisprudence. After its first publication, Grotius oversaw at least three further editions, all published in Amsterdam respectively in 1631, 1632 and 1642. The editions published in the following century, with the possible exception of two, were all printed in Protestant countries. Here Grotius was read as the foundational author of a renewed understanding of law, testified also by the immense success of the French annotated translation of his *De Iure Belli ac Pacis*, edited by Jean Barbeyrac and first published in Amsterdam in 1724. (AC)

The Healing Powers of Nature

The intense smell of durian fruit, the heat of black pepper and cinnamon, the gentle tactility of aloe and sharp spines of prickly pears: these are the things that season and texture the pages of Cristóbal Acosta's (c.1515–c.1592) account of the plants of the East Indies published in Burgos in 1578. An unusual appendage of a tract on the nature of elephants completes the exotic melange. Acosta himself was an African doctor and a surgeon, born within the Portuguese Empire, who likely studied medicine at the University of Salamanca. Drawing upon experiences of military service and overseas travel, his publication was just one of many which was designed to whet the early modern European appetite for new herbal simples and medical treatments, as well as accounts of their places of origin.

The demand for such works was nourished through the increasing sophistication of printed forms as well as vernacular translations – both of which are highlighted so strikingly within this *Early European Books* database. Acosta's text features in eleven separate copies on EMB which record the translation of the work from its original Spanish (*Tractado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias Orientales*) into Latin in 1582, Italian in 1585, as well as its place in later seventeenth-century French compilations. What this, and so many other works highlight is that, whilst Latin remained the principal language of medical publishing, the development of specific genres – such as travel accounts or plague tracts – made vernacular texts increasingly common, as authors sought to convey the horror and trials of disease, and offer remedies for use within both commercial and domestic medicine, in



'Fichi d'india' from Cristóbal Acosta, *Trattato di Christoforo Acosta africano medico* (Venezia: Francesco Ziletti, 1585), USTC 824364.

the most vivid and accessible way possible. A major contribution of the EMB database is to allow us to connect these editions with the people (authors, readers and patients) and places that they attest to from across the early modern medical world. The thousands of high-quality digital versions of medical texts display developments in the materiality of medical publishing as well as the ideas debated, endorsed and debated during the early modern period. (JC)

From the Classroom to the Sickbed

The notion that academic learning should be of benefit to the common good was a popular one in the early modern period. With the emergence of the territorial university in the fifteenth century, a model in which academic institutions were founded and controlled by rulers to serve their territories, the idea that learning should be of general public utility became established as commonplace. References to the positive and mutually reinforcing relationship between universities and the common weal abounded in university charters, privileges and in the symbolic sentiments of foundation ceremonies. Such utterances were not intended as empty formulae. They shaped expectations of how the university should interact with state and society and reinforced the notion that the men of learning should be active in their societal engagement. For some this was a more viable prospect than others, particularly for scholars in the public-facing and utilitarian higher faculties of law, medicine and theology.

Johann Lonaeus van den Bosch was one such outward-looking scholar. He had studied in Louvain at the Collegium Trilingue before taking a post in the faculty of philosophy in Ingolstadt in 1558. In 1560 he was appointed to a medical professorship in Ingolstadt. In addition to his academic profile he established a reputation as practical medic and his services were much in demand. Van den Bosch, then, like many medical scholars, straddled both academic and non-academic worlds. His 1562 work on the plague, printed in a German and Latin edition, demonstrates this attention to audiences inside and beyond the academy. This work is offered as an expert, scholarly intervention in a matter of grave public concern; the health of the university and city. Bosch repeatedly makes the case for the importance of utilising experienced and learned medics in the treatment of the plague. Plague was a traumatic urban experience which could produce a variety of responses and explanations. It was commonly held that plague in its genesis, course, progress, and regress, was divinely ordained. Similarly, it was understood that a visitation of the plague upon a city was a manifestation of divine displeasure over the sinful life. The understanding that it could be ameliorated through acts of piety was also typical, as were interventions of this sort in the effort to combat or shorten the visitation. Bosch is careful to give precedence to the divine in his explanation of the plague's cause and treatment. He acknowledges that plague is divinely ordained

1210. Med. 50912

DE PESTE,

NEC NON QVO PACTO AB
ea præseruari quis possit atq; liberari:

Authore Ioanne Lonæo Boscio, Medici-
næ Doctore ac Professore in celeberrima
Vniuersitate Ingolstadiensi
Ordinario.

L 6952 o/10

*Quicquid scripserunt de sena peste Vetus
Atq; Neoterici mille uoluminibus,
Vno, quem spectas hic, tradidit omne libello
Boscius, ingenio magnus & arte potens.
Theodorus Hyleus.*

IMPRESSVM INGOLSTADII,
per Alexandrum & Samuelem
Vucssenhornios.

M. D. LXII.

52227

Rathschlag.

Wie man sich zu disen gefährlichen zeiten/
vor der Pestilentz hütten

Vnd

Wie dieselbig so sie eingerissen/wider zu
vertreiben/vnd zu curieren sey.

Durch Ioannem Lonæum Boscium, der
Arzney Doctorn vnd ordenlichen Professorn
in der löblichen Vniuersitet zu Ingol-
stat / vor im Latein verfertiget/
vnnnd yetzt auff Teütsch ver-
dolmetscht.

Gedruckt zu Ingolstat / durch Alexander
vnd Samuel Weyssenhorn.

M. D. LXII.

Johann Lonaeus van den Bosch, *Rathschlag. Wie man sich zu disen gefährlichen zeiten/vor der Pestilentz hütten Vnd Wie dieselbig so sie eingerissen/wider zu vertreiben/vnd zu curieren sey* (Ingolstadt: Alexander & Samuel Weissenhorn, 1562), USTC 2213674.

and that the best prevention measure is to lead a moral life. Bosch makes clear that his learned understandings of the plague do not depart from Christian principles. The medical scholar, and the students to whom he dictated this work over three months, thus work towards the betterment of public health and the common good with pious humility but also fully confident in the importance and utility of the knowledge they command and offer. (RK)

Willingly to School

The *Carmina Gratulatoria in Honorem Virtute Eruditione et Moribus Ornatissimi juvenis Dn. Michaelis Sumii* (1597) brings together nine poems celebrating Michael Suhm (Sumius) on the occasion of the award of a masters degree in philosophy in 1597. Suhm matriculated at the Lutheran universities of Rostock (1594), Jena (1596) and Frankfurt an der Oder (1598) prior to a return to his native Kiel where he took up the position of conrector of the city's school in 1599, and Suhm became a busy author himself. Collectively these publications reveal much of the collaborative and social character of academic print in this period. The role of print in reflecting and forging social alliances and networks is most evident in the two works published in praise of Suhm: the *Carmina Gratulatoria* occasioned by his magisterial promotion; and the 1603 pamphlet published in celebration of his marriage to Anna Rossia. The *Carmina Gratulatoria* is typical of the ephemera printed in celebration of academic achievement. Unsurprisingly, the award of academic degrees was a particular focus for such celebration and the publication of celebratory texts on such occasions was common by the end of the sixteenth century. Celebratory poetry was the most frequently deployed form and the great majority of pamphlets combined verses *scripta ab amicis*. The collaborative nature and conventions of this genre offered considerable scope for the expression and even the instigation of patronage relationships and friendship and for the representation of friendship networks. Although the content of the poetry reveals little other than the fact that it constructs or maintains certain conventions, the record of friendships and patronage displayed in this and similar texts is of unparalleled use in recreating patterns of association among scholars. More specifically these texts afford historians an opportunity to reconstruct at least portions of the academic careers of the celebrated individuals and their peers with a level of detail that would otherwise not be possible. (RK)

Praeses and Respondents

Disputations were a central component of university pedagogy. They also were of general scholarly value, within and outside of the university. They served to demonstrate the learning and intellectual flexibility of those involved. Disputations were often utilised as a means of examining candidates for university degrees.

CARMINA GRATULATORIA

IN HONOREM
VIRTUTE ERVDITIONE ET MORIBVS ORNATISSIMI

juvenis Dn. MICHAELIS

^{SYMII}
Confr. Kilon.

*Cui in incluta Jenensium Academia
summus in Philosophia gradus
decernebatur*

Ad diem 2. Augusti
A.C. 1597.

Conscripta ab amicis.



I E N Æ
TYPIS TOBIÆ STEINMANNI.

*Am. Michaelis Dithm.
Henn. C. Kilon. in H. 1597*

Carmina gratulatoria in honorem virtute eruditione et moribus ornatissimi juvenis Dn. Michaelis Sumii cui in incluta Jenensium Academia summus in philosophia gradus decernebatur ad diem 2. Augusti A.C. 1597. Conscripta ab amicis (Jena: Tobias Steinmann, 1597), USTC 619381.

DISPV TATIO
DE SIGNIS IN
GENERE, DEINDE DE
SIGNIS INSALVB RIBVS
DIAGNOSTICIS.

Ad quam
D. F. N.

Præfide

DVNCANO LIDDELIO PHIL.
ET MEDICINAE DOCTORE, IN IL-
lustri IVLIA publico professo-
re ibidem,

Respondebit

GEORGIVS COCIVS FLENS-
burgensis Holfatus.

Mense Maio.



HELM AESTADII
Excudebant hæredes Iacobi Lucij, Anno
M. D. XCVIII.

Duncan Liddel & Georg Koch, *Disputatio de signis in genere, deinde de signis insalubribus diagnosticis. Ad quam D.F.N. pæside Duncano Liddelio phil. et medicinae doctore, in illustri Iulia publico professore ibidem, respondebit Georgius Cocius Flensburgensis Holsatus. Mense Maio* (Helmstedt: hæredes Jacob Lucius, 1598), USTC 638016.

Students demonstrated their worth in an academic joust by defending theses set by their master (the *praeses*), thus replicating the scholarly practices they had observed over the course their studies. Disputations were not exclusive to the examination process and were undertaken by scholars of all ranks, students and masters alike. Printed texts were often distributed prior to the disputation. They served not only as a device to be used by the disputant's interlocutors during the event, but also advertised it in advance. Broadsheet formats served this latter purpose particularly effectively. More substantial works such as the *Disputatio de signis in genere* did not lend themselves to pasting or tacking, although they certainly could have been distributed by other means. Interestingly, in this case, the title-page does not advertise a specific date for the disputation although it does refer to the fact that it will take place in the month of May. It is possible that the date of the disputation was advertised subsequently via a single sheet notice, handwritten or printed.

The *Disputatio de signis in genere* is an artefact of a medical disputation on a set of theses proposed by the presiding professor, Duncan Liddel, and defended by the respondent, Georg Koch (Cocius) of Flensburg. The subject matter was semiology; the branch of medicine concerned with symptoms. Koch was inscribed in the matriculation records of Helmstedt as a student of medicine in 1597. He does not appear, however, in the lists of students promoted to degrees in the medical faculty. In light of this fact we must conclude either that this disputation was not offered towards examination, or that Koch did not succeed in satisfying his examiners.

The printing of disputations promoted the image of the university in which they took place by demonstrating the expertise of its professors and prowess of their students. Given that the University of Helmstedt was founded in 1576, the representation of its scholarly credentials was of paramount importance at this point in time. The printed disputation could also enhance the reputation of the respondent. It is notable that Koch includes a dedication to Heinrich von Ahlefeldt, administrator of Flensburg, and the members of the Flensburg council in the disputation of May 1598. In 1605 Koch was appointed to the position of conrector of the school in Schleswig. This again illustrates the value to individual careers, inside and outside of universities, of such public demonstrations of learning. (RK)



New Frontiers

When Christopher Columbus sailed back from his first great voyage across the Atlantic, he must have thought the game was up. His tiny fleet had failed to discover a passage to the East Indies; there was no cargo of gold and silver to honour his royal sponsors, and few riches of any sort. To add to his woes, when his battered flagship made landfall at Lisbon, the King of Portugal had him thrown in prison. There was one final throw of the dice. Columbus wrote an open letter, boasting of the wealth of the Indies. Rather in defiance of the evidence, Columbus reframed his tortured passage as a triumph for Spanish arms, new lands captured and claimed for Spain, renamed in honour of Ferdinand, Isabella, Christ and the Virgin Mary. These were territories filled, according to Columbus, with unimaginable goods and wonders. For the bold and valiant explorer the possibilities were endless. This letter, swiftly published in pamphlet form, saved Columbus and the fortunes of his family. As Columbus's announcement of the new territories claimed for Spain, *De insulis nuper in mari Indico repertis*, was published and republished around Europe, Ferdinand and Isabella kept faith with their wayward genius and the status of Columbus as the Admiral of the New World was confirmed. Where navigation and diplomacy had fallen short, print had won the day.

Returning to the Caribbean with the blessing of his royal patrons, Columbus inaugurated a century in which European colonisation of the Americas was dominated by the Portuguese and Spanish Empires. The two crowns effectively divided the new world into two zones, legally codified by the Pope under the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494).

Thus began a relationship between print and overseas expansion that only intensified during the next two centuries. Readers in Europe were able to enjoy

accounts of perilous voyages and encounters with the indigenous peoples as the explorers pressed deep into new continents. Travel books became an ubiquitous part of any significant collection. Some of their authors, like Olfert Dapper, wrote long serious books on lands overseas without ever leaving the comfort of their own study.

The Anthropology of Power

José de Acosta (1539–1600) was a Jesuit theologian who travelled to Peru in 1571 as a missionary. There he remained, until his return to Spain in 1587. His *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* was first printed in 1590 in Seville – the great port city that acted as Europe’s gateway to the Americas. Such was the popularity of Acosta’s work that it was subsequently printed in multiple editions not only in Spain, but also across Europe. Indeed, within a decade, the *Natural and Moral History* was translated into French, English, Dutch, German and Italian. Acosta’s work was the product of a decade and a half of first-hand experience in Peru, as well as conversations with the indigenous population and political, military and religious figures in the region. Acosta reconciled the reality of the new continent and its peoples with the geographical and religious world-views of classical philosophers such as Aristotle, and the early Church fathers, Chrysostom, Jerome and Lactantius. However, what dominates the first four books is Acosta’s detailed examination of the physical geography and natural history of the country, covering topics such as the seasons, rivers, winds and tides, agriculture, animals and volcanoes. The final three books deal with the socio-political environment of the peoples of Peru and Mexico, with chapters on religious beliefs – especially what Acosta termed indigenous ‘idolatry’; on human sacrifices, on indigenous attitudes to the dead and their funeral practices; to religious women, including convents of virgins; to births and marriages; to the calendar systems; to writing; to systems of government and trade; to education; and to dancing.

The information he gleaned often came from the Amerindian people themselves, though their stories have been refracted through the author’s eyes. The History tells us something of the nature of colonisation, offering precious insight not only into the indigenous peoples, for which evidence otherwise is so scarce, but also of the attitudes of the European conquerors and settlers. (AW)

Competition

The other great powers looked on in a mixture of wonder and envy as Peruvian silver flooded into Seville and financed the wars of Charles V and his successors. By the end of the sixteenth century, France and England had determined to sponsor their own colonial enterprises, soon joined by the newly-independent Dutch Republic.

HISTORIA
NATURAL
Y
MORAL DE LAS
INDIAS,

EN QUE SE TRATAN LAS COSAS
notables del cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas, y anima-
les dellas : y los ritos, y ceremonias, leyes, y gouier-
no, y guerras de los Indios.

*Compuesta por el Padre Joseph de Acosta Religioso
de la Compañia de Iesus.*

DIRIGIDA A LA SERENISSIMA
Infanta Doña Isabela Clara Eugenia de Austria.



Año

1608.

CON LICENCIA.

Impresso en Madrid en casa de Alonso Martin.

160 *De la historia natural de Indias:*

ahogaria entrandole agua. Es marauillofa la pelea del Cayman cō el Tygre, que los ay feroziffimos en Indias, Vn religioso nuestro me refirio, auer visto a estas bestias pelear crueliffimamente a la orilla de la mar. El Cayman con su cola daua rezios golpes al Tygre, y procuraua cō su grã fuerça llevarle al agua, el Tygre hazia fuerte presa en el Cayman con las garras tirandole a tierra. Al fin preualecio el Tygre, y abrio al Lagarto, deuio de fer por la barriga, que la tiene blanda, que todo lo demas no ay lãnça y aun apenas arcabuz, que lo paffe. Mas excelente fue la victoria que tuuo de otro Cayman vn Indio, al qual le arrebatò vn hijuelo, y se lo metio debaxo del agua, de que el Indio lastimado y sañado se echò luego tras el con vn cuchillo, y como son excelentes buzos, y el Cayman no prende sino fuera del agua, por debaxo de la barriga le hirio, de fuerte que el Caymã se salio herido a la ribera, y folto el muchacho aunque ya muerto y ahogado. Pero mas marauillofa es la pelea q̃ tienen los Indios con las Vallenas, que cierto es vna grandeza del hazedor de todo, dar a gente tan flaca como Indios habilidad y osadia, para tomarse con la mas fiera y disforme bestia, de quantas ay en el vniuerso, y no solo pelear, pero vencer y triunfar tan gallardamente. Viendo esto me he acordado muchas vezes de aquello del Psalmo,

Psal. 103. q̃ se dize de la Vallena: Draco iste, quẽ formasti ad illud edũcẽ. Que mas burla q̃ llevar vn Indio solo cō vn cordel vencida y atada vna Vallena tan grande como vn monte? El estilo que tienen (segun me refirierõ personas experras) los Indios de la Florida, donde ay gran cantidad de Vallenas, es, meterse en vna canoa, ò barquilla, que es como vna artesa, y bogando llegarfe al costado de la Vallena, y con gran ligereza salta y sube sobre su cerniz, y alli cauallero aguardando tiempo mete vn palo agudo y rezio, q̃ trae consigo, por la vna ventana de la nariz de la Vallena

llamo

Page 160 from Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, in which Acosta discusses a battle between a Caiman and a Tiger [=a Jaguar], as well as an Amerindian seeking revenge on a Caiman for killing his child. This section also speaks with wonder at the prowess of the indigenous population in killing whales. In this, Acosta sees at work the power and greatness of God, giving Amerindians the skill and courage to tame such mighty beasts.

A true
declaration of the
troublesome voy-
adge of **M. John Hau-**
kins to the parties of
Guinea and the west
Indies, in the yea-
res of our Lord
1567. and
1568.

Imprinted at
Londō in Poules Church-
parde, by Thomas Purfo-
te for Lucas Harrison,
dwelling at the sig-
ne of the Crane.

Anno. 1569.

One of the earliest adventurers and privateers to take on the Spanish Empire was the Devon-born John Hawkins, who made multiple voyages to the West Indies to intercept Spanish traffic and engage in the growing profits of the Triangle Trade between west Africa, the Americas and western Europe. On his third voyage, made together with Francis Drake, Hawkins's fleet was almost entirely destroyed by a Spanish flotilla at San Juan de Ulúa, although the two admirals made it back home. This account of Hawkins's 'troublesome voyage', printed in London in 1569, claimed, rather disingenuously, that it was only Spanish treachery that had resulted in the loss of four of six English ships. Hawkins and Drake would have their revenge in 1588, when they played a leading part in the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

The Black Legend

To legitimise their ventures overseas, the new colonial powers eagerly took to denouncing the evil of Spanish rule in the Americas. In this they were aided immensely by Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas, a Spanish Dominican who had written an account of the cruel maladministration of early Spanish rule in New Spain in 1542. By the end of the sixteenth century, his work had been translated into French, German, Dutch and English, and it found repeated appeal with anti-Spanish readers in the seventeenth century, especially in the Dutch Republic. The edition featured here, printed by Cornelis Claesz in Amsterdam, would serve as the inspiration for other political polemical writings targeting Spanish rule, including a popular Dutch school book, the *Spiegel der Jeugt* (*Mirror of Youth*).

Armchair Travellers

With the proliferation of practical handbooks on overseas lands some publishers sensed new opportunities to bring the new world closer to home. In the 1660s, the Amsterdam publisher Jacob van Meurs enlisted the help of two scholarly writers, Arnoldus Montanus and Olfert Dapper, to compile general histories and descriptions of distant lands. Neither Montanus nor Dapper had first-hand experience of exotic travel, but with the help of travel journals and descriptions written by more adventurous travellers, the two men could write about the distant world as if they had seen it themselves. These works, handsome folios with lavish engravings, were destined for the respectable shelves of European collectors; naturally, the series included a volume on the Americas. Although originally written in Dutch, Van Meurs also published these volumes in French and German for the export market.

Spiegghel der Spaenscher ty- rannye/in West-Indien. Waer inne verhaelt wordt de moorda- dighē, schandelīcke/ende groutelijcke seften/die de selve Spaen- jaerden ghebuyrkt hebben inde selve Landen.

Mitsgaders de beschrypinghe vander gheleghentheyt/zeden
ende aert van de selfde Landen ende Volcken.

In Spaenscher Talen beschreven, door den E. Bisschop Don Fray
Bartholome de las Casas, van S. Dominicus Oorden.



Parti. 1.^e

Schendet dat Land niet/daer ghy inne woot want wie bloet schuldich is / die schendet dat
Land, ende dat Land en can dant bloet niet verfoert worden / dat daer inne vergoten worde/
sonder doot; dat bloet des ghens diet vergoten heeft.

Cicero. Philipp. 1.3.

Mijn opinie is/darmen den ghenen die genuechte heeft in tweedjacheen/ doestlaghen van Be-
ghers ende inmensche ooploghe behooft te verbyghen wt den ghetele der menschen/ ende van
de werelt te helpen.

t'Amstelredam,

By Cornelis Claesz. Boeckvercooper woonende opt Water/
mit Schuyfboeck. Anno 1607.

Die Unbekante

Neue Welt /

oder

Beschreibung

des Welt-teils

AMERIKA,

und des

Süd-Landes:

Darinnen vom Ursprunge der Ameriker und Sudlän-

der / und von den gedechtwürdigen Reisen der Europæer darnach zu.

Wie auch

Von derselben Felsen Ländern / Inseln / Städten / Festungen / Dörfern /

vornähmsten Gebeyen / Bergen / Brunnen / Flüßen / und Ahrten der Tiere /

Beyne / Strauden / und anderer fremden Gewächse ; Als auch von den

Gottes - und Bögen-steynen / Eitten / Straden / Kleider-trachten /

wunderlichen Begabheiten / und so wesl alten als neuen

Kriegen / außersüßlich gehandelt wird ;

Durch und durch mit vielen nach dem Leben in Ameriken selbst
entworfenen Abbildungen gezieret.Durch D^r O. D.

Zu Amsterdam /

Bey Jacob von Meurs / auf der Keysergrafft / in der Stadt Meurs /

1673.

The Art of Empire

Although the coastlines of the Americas were documented with great precision in the sixteenth century, by the end of the seventeenth century, Europeans began to investigate the vast expanse of the North American interior. Many of the earliest pioneers were French, intent on joining up the two French territories in North America, in Louisiana and the St Lawrence Basin. Father Louis Hennepin, a Catholic priest sent to New France by Louis XIV in the later 1670s, made several extensive journeys through the American heartland. In 1697 he was responsible for bringing an account of the Niagara Falls to a European audience, published in the elegant Utrecht edition below, complete with an engraving of the waterfalls.

A Press of their Own

The first press to arrive in the Americas was set up in Mexico in the later 1530s, while a second press followed in Peru, fifty years later. These early ventures were a significant boom to the Spanish colonial administration, and they were also beneficial to local Catholic missionary efforts, by producing devotional works with parallel texts in Spanish and the indigenous languages. In contrast, it would take until 1638 before the first press arrived in British North America, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, at the behest of a minister, Joseph Glover, who contracted Stephen Daye to operate the press. Glover died on the journey across the Atlantic, but Glover's wife Elizabeth and Daye nevertheless persisted with the venture. When Elizabeth Glover died in 1643, the press was donated to Harvard College (later Harvard University). In the seventeenth century, the Harvard press produced a substantial number of multilingual religious works, including this copy of Lewis Bayly's ubiquitous work, *The Practice of Piety*, to aid the conversion of the indigenous population of New England. This Massachusetts Algonquian edition of Bayly would also have been of use to colonial ministers learning the Algonquian language. The translation was made by John Eliot, a prolific preacher who was also responsible for translating the Bible into Algonquian (1661–1663).



Niagara Falls, as presented in Hennepin's *Nouvelle decouverte d'un tres grand pays situé dans l'Amerique* (Utrecht: Willem Broedelet, 1697), USTC 1831849.

Manitowompae
POMANTAMOONK:

Sampwshanaui

Christianoh

Uttoh woh an
POMANTOG

Wussikkitteahonat

G O D.

80 line. C
1 Tim. 4. 8.

Manittóonk ohtóowá quóshóatúongásh yenyen ut pomantamóonganit kab ne paomóoug.

CAMBRIDGE:

Printed in the Year 1665.

Early English Books Online, Copyright © 2019 ProQuest LLC
Images reproduced by courtesy of Bodleian Library

Lewis Bayly in Massachusetts Algonquian, *Manitowompae Pomantamoonk: Sampwshanaui Christianoh Uttoh who an Pomantog Wussikkitteahonat God* (Cambridge, MA: s.n., 1665).



Science

Works of science occupy a prominent place in the accepted canon of early modern books. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries offer us luminous names such as Copernicus, Galileo, Descartes, Huygens, Leibniz and Newton. Their publications feature amongst the most collectible of rare books in the antiquarian market today and will often be some of the most prized items in academic libraries. Yet the attention lavished on works that belong to the western scientific revolution is not reflected by their contemporary importance in the book market. Science was one of the smallest sectors of the trade. The USTC documents more wedding pamphlets, funeral orations and works on economics and finance than on science, while genres such as schoolbooks, poetry and music far outstrip scientific works.

The minor role of science in the marketplace had much to do with the expertise required to produce complex technical handbooks, which often required detailed diagrams and illustrations. This drove up the cost of publishing science considerably and ensured that the greatest advances in scientific knowledge were often disseminated amongst scholars in manuscript, rather than printed form. Science was also inhibited by the academic structures of the day, in which ‘natural philosophy’ occupied a negligible role, far below the heavyweight subjects of theology, jurisprudence, medicine; science was left jostling for a place with the other ‘liberal arts’. What science was taught, and printed, was dominated by the classics, chiefly by Aristotle and Pliny, and concentrated on the classification of the natural and metaphysical world.

Before experimental science, as we would conceive of it today, emerged strongly in the later seventeenth century, the way had been paved by an altogether different breed of scientist. Some of the most notable advances were made in the field of

surgery and anatomy, practical offshoots and often bitter rivals of learned medicine. When the likes of Andreas Vesalius and Ambroise Paré delved into the human body to heal and repair, their efforts would later exercise significant influence over scientists such as William Harvey. The impact of this ‘practical science’ would nevertheless be largely shunned from the traditional world of academia, cast into the same category as the field of alchemy, the little respected forerunner of chemistry.

Scientific publishing would only receive a significant boost with the arrival of academic societies and their learned journals. This allowed talented scientists such as the Dutchman Anthonie van Leeuwenhoek, a draper by trade but lens-maker by hobby, to publicise his ground-breaking discoveries made under his own microscopes. The business of scientific publishing could only thrive when a critical mass of practitioners of science had emerged to challenge the stranglehold of the classical tradition on the advancement of knowledge, but this was a gradual development that would only be realised into the eighteenth century.

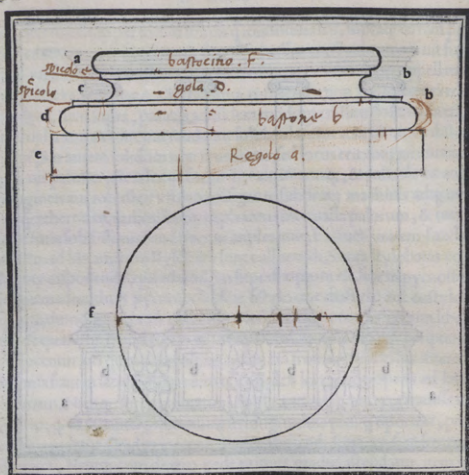
Reading Vitruvius

The *De Architectura* by Lucius Pollius Vitruvius was highly influential in the Renaissance, being the only architectural text from Latin antiquity preserved in its entirety. The first editions of the text started to appear in the fifteenth century, but it was in the sixteenth century that the editorial fortune of the treatise became well known, in a new edition from Giovanni Giocondo, as well as by the vast set of illustrations that was attached to the text. Both made their first appearance in the 1511 Venetian printing by Giovanni Tacuino, a fine folio edition that would remain influential in architectural studies for several decades.

EMB features two heavily annotated copies of the Tacuino edition, one held at the Wellcome Collections and the other at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence. The two readers adopted different approaches to the text. The Florence reader supplemented the printed text with a substantial number of classical references, including Plato, Ptolemy and Pliny. The Wellcome copy was owned by Celio Calcagnini (1479–1541), who bequeathed it to the library of the Dominican convent in Ferrara. The contemporary marginal annotations are probably to be attributed to Calcagnini himself, a humanist and scientist who was working on the rotation of the earth at the same time as Copernicus. This was a very attentive reader. Exploring the text and the illustrations together, the reader ensured that they represented the same content accurately. The edition lacked printed marginalia to signpost topics of discussion; extensive handwritten keywords hint to the reader’s intention to return to this text at a later time. Indeed the annotations, by the same hand but in at least three different shades of ink, might suggest repeated readings.

a. torus superior
 b. quadra
 c. corona siue trochilus
 d. torus inferior
 e. plinthus

f. modulus & imae columnae crassitudo



Sin autem ionice erunt faciendae, symmetriae earum sic erunt constituenda, uti latitudo spirae quoque uersus sit columnae crassitudinis adiecta crassitudine quarta & octaua, altitudo uti atticurgisuita & eius plinthis, reliquumque praeter plinthon quod erit tertia pars crassitudinis columnae, diuidatur in partes septem, inde trium partium torus qui est in summo, reliquae quatuor partes diuidendae sunt aequaliter, & una pars fiat cum suis astragalis & supercilio superior trochilus, altera pars inferiori trochilo relinquatur, sed inferior maior apparebit ideo, quod habebit ad extremam plinthon proiectionem, Astragali faciendi sunt octauae partibus trochili, proiectione erit spirae pars octaua & sextadecima crassitudinis columnae.

The reader of the Wellcome copy was technically proficient, as is suggested by the numerous corrections and integrations to both text and images (eg. fol. B2r, D5r or E3r).

The readers of both copies display a deep engagement with the Vitruvian text that is representative of wider reception trends in the scholarly community. The subsequent editions and translations of *De Architectura*, several of which are also available through EMB, stand witness to the continuing interest in this milestone text. (SG)

Illustrated Editions as a Niche for Specialisation:

Valgrisi's Mattioli

The rivalry in the Renaissance marketplace of print compelled many to try and avoid open competition by specialising in a particular field. This would usually require capitals to be sunk into the purchase of printing materials, but the conspicuous investment discouraged competition. Vincenzo Valgrisi, a French publisher active in Venice, was a tycoon of the illustrated book. His trademark edition was Pietro Mattioli's commentary on the botanical works by Dioscorides, which were accompanied by hundreds of woodcut illustrations. Ever larger editions appeared from the Venice print shop between 1548 and 1571 at a rate of almost one a year; Valgrisi's heirs issued a few more after his death. As a rule, these were folio editions; size was important, because the pages had to contain the extensive commentary as well as the detailed illustrations of plants. The editions in quarto were cheaper but did not feature the famous woodcuts.

The EMB collections feature several copies of Valgrisi's Mattioli from the Wellcome Collections, in nine different editions printed by Valgrisi and his heirs. Comparing different copies and editions allows one to follow the use of the same woodblocks over time, as well as inspecting the variations in layout and especially language across these versions. The original blocks were later replaced with new ones. Despite their high cost, their substantial overlap with recent versions, and the existence of cheaper imitations, Valgrisi's editions of Mattioli remained unsurpassed for their quality and prestige. As a result, they are virtually ubiquitous in the great Renaissance libraries across Europe. (SG)

The English Invasion

Until the seventeenth century, England had been largely a satellite of the main European market. Those building a library of scholarly books were content to buy texts printed on the continent; printers in London made a decent enough living serving the domestic market. As in so much, religious texts led the way, with authors

IRIS DOMESTICA.

IRIS SYLVESTRIS.



IRIS.

CAP. I.



IRIS à caelestis arcus similitudine nomen accepit. Folia fert gladioli, sed maiora, latiora, & pinguiora. Flores t in summitate cuiusque caulis, aequalibus inter se spatij distant, incurui, varijs siquidem candidi, pallentes, lutei, purpurei, aut carulei conspiciuntur: quia diversis coloris specie, quædam caelestis arcus imago representari uidentur. Radices subiacent geniculate, foliis, odoratæ: quæ frustatim dissectæ, in umbra fiescantur, & traictæ lino reconduntur. Melior est Ilyrica, & Macedonica: inter has laudatissima, quæ multa ferè, & densa consistat radice, frangenti contumax, subrufo colore, gustu amaro, odore perquam grato, & succo, ita ut nullum prorsus situm redolent: quæ dum trunditur, sternutamenta mouet. Secundum locum habet Africana, candidians, gustuque amara. Teredines in vetustate sentiunt, tunc tamen odoratiores reddi solent. Vis omnibus exalciatoria, extenuans, contra tulsim efficax: humorum, qui ægrè rejiciuntur, crassitiem digerunt: bilis, crassamque pituitam ex hydromelite drachmis septem epotæ purgant: somnum conciliant, lacrymas ciant, torminibus medentur. Eadem potæ ex aceto auxiliantur serpentium ictibus, lienosis, consulis, perfrictionibus, horribus, & quibus genitura effluit: menses ex uino potæ pellunt. Decoctum earum, seminarum sotibus vtiliter imponitur, ad emolliendos locos, laxandaque in eis uenarum spiracula: ichiadicis infunditur: fistulas, ac sinus carne explet. Radices ex melle glandis modo subditæ, partes extrahunt: quinetiam coctæ & illitæ, strumas, veteresque durities emollunt. Sicca quoque vlcera replent, & cum melle purgant: nudata ossa corpore operiunt: doloribus capitis cum aceto, & rosaco magna viilitate illinuntur. Admore cum albo veratro, & duabus mellis partibus, lentiginis & vitia cutis in facie à sole contracta emaculat. Pelsis, malagmatis, & scopis inferuntur. In viuicrum magni ad omnia usus.

IRIS in uniuersum satius est, & sylvestris. Hæc duorum est generum: altera satius, & uulgari similis, filijs tamen, flore caule, radiceq; paulo minoribus. ALTERA filijs gladioli longioribus: adice tenui, lignosa, geniculata, subrufo, odoratq; caule breui: flore cæteris longè minor, odore Armeniaci mali. Constat hic filijs nouem purpureis, quorum extrema, superiore tantum parte, tunc pinguius lincis. Sunt qui hanc legitimam Ilyricam putent, Ilyricam ab Iadicis differre existimantes. In quorum sententiam estis tampridem deueniam; tamen longe alter rem se habere postmodum cõperi. Quandoquidem præferri Ilyricam nouerim, non quod genere, uel specie à nostrate dis-

IRIS gener,
cuiusq; con-
sideratio.

b 3 frui,

7



FRANCISCI
BARONIS
 DE VERVLAMIO,
VICE-COMITIS
 SANCTI ALBANI.

DE DIGNITATE ET AUGMENTIS
 SCIENTIARVM.

LIBRI IX.
 AD REGEM SVVM.

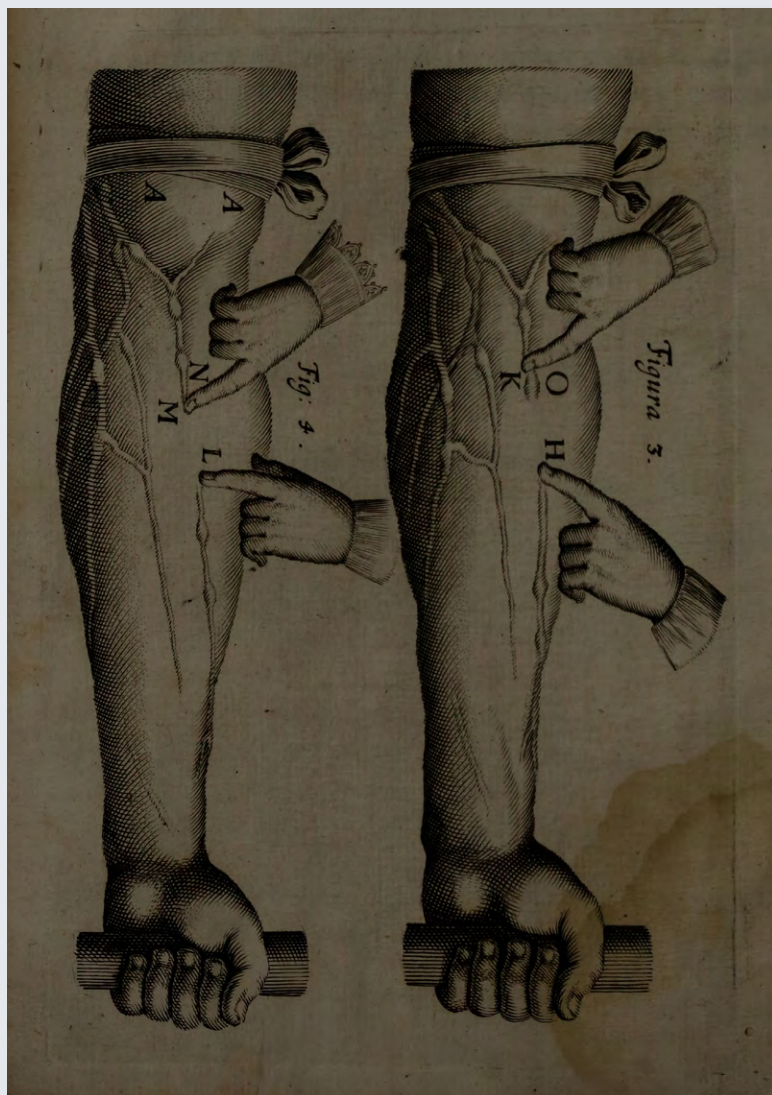


mus-A.

Tab-128^a
retro
no-1^a

Iuxta Exemplar Londini Impressum.

PARISIIS,
 Typis PETRI METTAYER, Typographi Regij.
 M. DC. XXIV.



Engraving from Gabriel Harvey, *Recentiorum disceptationes de motu cordis, sanguinis, et chyli, in animalibus* (Leiden: ex officina Joannis Maire, 1647), USTC 1011783.

like William Perkins, and a significant number of second generation theologians finding a ready audience on the continent. This laid the groundwork for the most significant development in this relationship: the conquest of Europe by English science. Here the pivotal role was played by Francis Bacon and William Harvey. Bacon, a towering intellect much admired by contemporaries, built his reputation by a bold assertion of the importance of empirical observation; by no means to be assumed after humanist promotion of Classical authors had reified the supremacy of Greek and Latin authors, with consequences deeply inhibiting for scientific discovery. Bacon's works were reprinted in France and the Netherlands in Latin and French, and in Italian in Florence, Milan and Venice. This was unprecedented contemporary fame for an English author, and may well have inspired William Harvey's decision to offer his work on the circulation of the blood not to a London publisher, but to Fitzer at Frankfurt, home to the famous book fair, and the central distribution point for scholarly books throughout Europe. Soon Harvey was the most celebrated medical author of his day, his work repeatedly reprinted abroad, especially in Leiden, the site of the first and most distinguished of the new Protestant universities in the Dutch Republic.

Not all English scientists approved such a strategy. But London publishers were on the whole not risk-takers, and the industry had taken a backward step with the destruction of English book stock in the Great Fire of London in 1666. Even Isaac Newton was warned that he would not find a publisher unless he was prepared to subsidise production. When his *Principia mathematica* was published in 1687 it found no immediate resonance: no second edition was required until 1713, at which point it was taken up by the publishers of Amsterdam, and Newton's international reputation was assured.

Robert Boyle solved the problem by a distribution agreement with the Amsterdam dealer Hendrik Wetstein (the publisher of a superb *Opera omnia* of Francis Bacon), though even this did not insulate him from unauthorised continental reprints. In this market hesitation could be fatal. While Henry Oldenburg struggled in vain to persuade John Martin, printer to the Royal Society, of the viability of a Latin translation of the *Philosophical Transactions*, the gap was filled by editions in Copenhagen, Amsterdam and Leipzig, the new centre of the German market.

Life in the Republic of Letters was not always plain sailing, and scholars (then as now) were not always clever in business. But in retrospect what mattered was that the work of this exceptional generation of English scientists reached a wide audience, which, thanks to continental reprints, it undoubtedly did. A century before such an international audience would have been unthinkable. It was a significant marker of the shift in Europe's intellectual centre of gravity, and of the reorientation of the print industry, from south to north.

PHILOSOPHIÆ
NATURALIS
PRINCIPIA
MATHEMATICA.

Autore ꝑ S. NEWTON, Trin. Coll. Cantab. Soc. Matheseos
Professore *Lucafiano*, & Societatis Regalis Sodali.

IMPRIMATUR.
S. PEPYS, Reg. Soc. PRÆSES.
Julii 5. 1686.

LONDINI,
Jussu Societatis Regiæ ac Typis *Josephi Streater*. Prostant Vena-
les apud *Sam. Smith* ad insignia Principis *Walliæ* in Cœmiterio
D. *Pauli*, alioq; nonnullos Bibliopolas. Anno MDCLXXXVII.

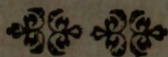
70209 (1)

NOVA
EXPERIMENTA
PNEVMATICA
RESPIRATIONEM

Spectantia.

AUTHORE
ROBERTO BOYLE

NOBILI ANGLO,
è Societate Regia.



BONONIÆ, M.DC.LXXV.

Sumptibus Petronij de Ruinettis,
superiorum permissu.

45.472

ACTA
PHILOSOPHICA
SOCIETATIS REGIÆ IN
ANGLIA,

ANNI M. DC. LXV, LXVI, LXVII, LXVIII, LXIX.

AUCTORE

HENRICO OLDENBURGIO,
SOCIETATIS REG. SECR. ANGLICE
CONSCRIPTA,

ET
IN LATINUM VERSA INTERPRETE
C. S.

NUNC ITERUM, ADJECTO INDICE
ACCURATO, EDITA.



LIPSIAE,

Sumptibus JOHANNIS FRITZSCHII, Bibliop.


Typis JOHANNIS ERICI HAHNII.

Anno M. DC. LXXV.

Acta philosophica Societatis regiae in Anglia, anni 1665., 66., 67., 68., 69. (Leipzig: Eric Hahn for Johannes Fritzsche, 1675).



News

 On 25 January 1627, a schoolmaster in the Dutch city of Arnhem visited his local bookshop to settle his outstanding bills. After paying, the teacher, David Beck, lingered in the shop to read the weekly newspaper, printed there by Jan Jansz. The two men knew each other well: Beck taught Jansz's daughter, so Jansz offered Beck a tankard of beer, and Beck whiled away the remainder of the day at the premises, chatting deep into the night.

We know about Beck's activities that day because the schoolmaster kept a diary, in which he regularly described in fine detail where he went, who he talked to and what he read. He visited Jansz's bookshop regularly, especially to read the latest newspaper; on 5 April he recorded spending the entire afternoon reading the news. Beck did not have a subscription to the weekly paper, the *Arnhemse Courant*, but his close relationship with Jansz allowed him to acquire the news for free. We also know that he got hold of other printed newspapers from friends and colleagues. On 21 November 1627 a local dignitary visited Beck and left him his newspaper; on 23 January 1628 the rector of the local Latin school gave him a copy to read. Several years earlier, when Beck lived in The Hague, it was his uncle who brought over the paper most frequently. Thanks to the advent of printed news, this Dutch schoolmaster was able to keep abreast of political developments throughout Europe. Beck could read reports concerning the latest battles, sieges, political manoeuvring and ambassadorial missions, without travelling beyond the borders of the Netherlands.

Beck kept a diary for several years during the 1620s. Studying his diary makes clear that despite his fondness for newspapers, these weekly printed newssheets played only a minor role in his news consumption. He had access to a wide variety of printed news media, including printed news pamphlets, song and poetry and

government placards. Yet his most reliable form of access to the latest news were his colleagues, friends and family, as well as acquaintances and fellow citizens. Beck heard official proclamations made by the local town council or by town criers. He was visited by friends from towns further afield, and he gathered news from maidservants, his landlord and dignitaries crossing the street. Beck was also an avid writer, renowned for his beautiful handwriting, and kept up exchanges with a small personal network of correspondents who provided tid bits of news.

That we know so much about Beck's news consumption is unusual; but it seems that the practices that he engaged in were typical of many other citizens in early modern Europe. By the early seventeenth century, printed news was ubiquitous throughout Europe. It never replaced previously existing news media, but supplemented them in multiple ways. Printed news was always considered to be the least trustworthy form of news in an age where the social reputation of the bearer of the news was of utmost importance. An anonymous pamphlet therefore ranked rather lower than a letter from a trusted merchant, or a proclamation by a royal crier. Because print was the last medium of current affairs that people would turn to, the genre had more functions than simply providing raw information: printed news was designed to entertain, to celebrate and memorialise, and to offer a moral lesson. The purpose of printed news was therefore often more analytical than informative.

One important feature that stands out from the earliest days of news publishing was that this was generally a vernacular genre. While Latin remained the dominant language of publishing for scholarly publications, including philosophy, law and medicine, news was inherently a genre that appeared in the vernacular. As printing developed, the international trade in books became dominated by centres of publication in the major hubs of transnational trade such as Venice, Paris, Frankfurt and Antwerp. News publishing, however, found a home everywhere. Printing news pamphlets required little capital investment, and could lead to quick returns, as most pamphlets were sold locally. This means that printers operating on the periphery of the European print world, whether that was in Vilnius, Seville or in Copenhagen, produced news pamphlets.

News on local affairs, however, was often in short supply. Local news was invariably news that was supportive of the state. Accounts of military victories, triumphs or happy royal births were common. Otherwise printed news of domestic affairs was largely restricted to the sensational and the moral, including accounts of crimes, executions, wondrous portents and monstrous births. But in an age when governments had no wish to endure a running commentary on their strategies and mishaps, it was safer to report on events reassuringly far from home. Printed accounts of foreign affairs, especially foreign political affairs, were generally allowed greater licence; but here too caution was advised. After the confessional divide of the Reformation tore the unity of Europe asunder, international news was rarely



Reading the newspaper. Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, *Krantlezer in interieur* (1766), after a drawing by Adriaen van Ostade (c. 1673) (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-0B-24.553).

truly neutral. Pamphlets narrating atrocities committed against co-religionists in foreign lands were therefore popular, but victories of rulers that were hostile to the state less so.

These trends in news publishing were not entirely the result of censorship. Publishers of news recognised that it was happy news that sold well, while news of defeats, tragedies and setbacks were best left to be communicated through rumour on the street, and quiet conversation. One form in which bad news could be distributed in print was through verse. Ballads, using a mixture of poetry and song, were a popular medium throughout Europe, and this form could more easily accommodate reverses, especially if the ballad communicating news was thinly disguised as allegory.

Dealing with Defeat

In early modern Europe, there was perhaps no threat as familiar as that of the Ottomans. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman empire inexorably pushed back the frontiers of Christendom. The Ottomans made inroads in the Balkans and Greece, swallowing up small Christian principalities, and in the Mediterranean, where crusading knights and Italian city-states dominated island strongholds. Every renewed Ottoman effort was accompanied by a clarion call from the Pope throughout Western Europe, or from pleading ambassadors sent by the commanders of the beleaguered outposts.

These dramatic battles attracted considerable attention from the publishing trade. Some of the first printed news pamphlets covered the successful Ottoman assault on Negroponte (1471), the Venetian capital in central Greece, on the island of Euboea. The siege was led by Sultan Mehmed II in person, and after a Venetian relief force failed to engage the besiegers, the city surrendered, and its defenders were put to the sword. The news of the defeat, brought back to Venice by the impotent relief force, sent shockwaves through Christian Europe. This was the first major setback suffered by the Venetian Empire in the struggle against the Ottomans, and the commander of the relief force was stripped of his titles and exiled.

News of the defeat spread primarily by word of mouth. Military setbacks did not accommodate themselves well to print. Nevertheless, soon after the news of Negroponte had arrived in Italy, accounts of the siege circulated in printed verse. This book, one of the first printed items to be produced in Milan, offers a short, rhymed lament on the fall of Negroponte, and celebrates the Christian valour of its defenders. Written by a Florentine in Italian, the pamphlet frames the defeat as part of a wider narrative of the struggle between Christendom and the Turk, without offering any open criticism of the secular authorities in charge of the outpost.

LAPERSA DE NIGROPONTE FAC
TA PER VNO FIORENTINO.

Tu dolce signor che hai creati
Torrente.e.fiume de misericordia
I tuoi fideli ti sieno racomandati
De metti fra christiani pace.e.cōcordia
Non risguardare anostri gran peccati
De noi altri meschini abbi ricordia
Tu uedi il danno.e.uitupero.e.onte
Che receuen christiani di nigroponte

De dona gratia al mio intellecto basso
Che io possa atutti larotta contare
Di nigroponte ben passo per passo
Si che piaccia achi starra ascoltare
Della mischina terra.e.del frachasso
Che mai sudi tal crudelta cantare
Prima diremo a laude del signore
Poi apiacer dichiascun uditore



Poetry, whether read or sung, provided one of the few means to convey news of defeat in print. This remained a principle of printed news for centuries to come, and it would be invoked after further Ottoman victories, most notably at Rhodes (1522) and Mohacs (1526). The poem on the fall of Negroponte certainly struck a chord. There are two surviving copies of this edition, held in libraries in Florence and Turin, but other editions were produced in Florence, Naples, Milan and Venice, some in the later 1470s. Printing had only recently arrived in these cities from the German heartlands, but its printers were already acutely aware of the profitability, and political complexities, of trading in news.

Sensational Crime

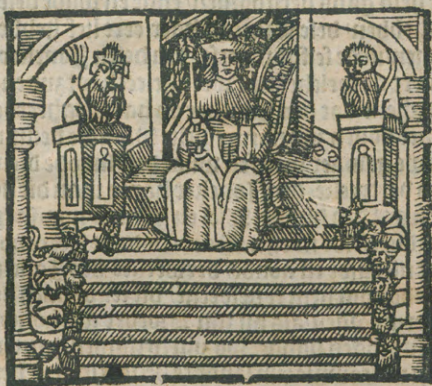
In 1610, a young girl from Leiden was beheaded in the Dutch town of Steenwijk. She had been found guilty of murdering her former employer's wife. There seemed little doubt concerning her crime: her knife, engraved with her name, was found with the body. But there was a cruel twist: after her execution, it came to light that the maid, Grietken Stoffels, had been set up by her former employer, a young man named Hendrick Jansz, who had made advances to her in the past, but had been rejected. The spiteful Jansz forced Grietken to leave their household, and promptly employed a new serving girl who proved more receptive to his amorous intentions. Together Jansz and the new maid plotted to murder Jansz's wife, and frame Grietken for the murder, by stealing her knife. Jansz and the new maid had run away after the murder to Oldenzaal, where they were found out, arrested and themselves executed.

This macabre tale was related in a Dutch pamphlet in 1610, in a racy narrative of some 1,000 words. The title above gave away the sensational content: 'A story of a young girl from Leiden, who was beheaded in Steenwijk, despite her great innocence. As took place this last month in Steenwijk, near Oldenzaal.' Tales of crime, especially crimes with a macabre twist, such as this one, were an extremely popular genre of news publishing. Besides their shocking and sometimes lewd narratives, the news accounts conveyed a clear message, that divine retribution would befall those who committed wicked crimes, whilst rewarding those who maintained pious hope, even onto death, in the face of false accusations. And ultimately, even the wicked recognise their guilt: in the 1610 news pamphlet, the two murderers repented on the scaffold and exhorted the audience that they should not follow their example. The anonymous author of the news report closed his account by stating: '...and thus one should watch oneself, so as not to fall into this state, may the Lord prevent us from doing so, Amen.'

This news pamphlet, held in the Royal Library in The Hague, is a unique surviving copy. Although these tales of sensational crime were commonplace in the Low

**Een Testament van een jonghe
Dochter van Leyden / die binnen Steen-
wijck onthalt is / tot hare groote
onschult .**

**Gheschiet in dese loopende Maent/ binnen
Steenwijck gheleghen by Oldenzeel.**



**Ghedrukt / by Jan Pietersz. int
Jaer 1610.**

Een testament van een jonghe dochter van Leyden, die binnen Steenwijk onthalt is, tot hare groote onschult. Gheschiet in dese loopende maent, binnen Steenwijk gheleghen by Oldenzeel (S.l.: Jan Pietersz, 1610), USTC 1034262.

Countries in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, they seem to have lost some of their popularity later in the century. But sensational news found other outlets, in accounts of explorations of exotic worlds, of shipwreck and mutiny, in reports of sieges and battles engaging Dutch forces, and in the advertising columns of Dutch newspapers, where descriptions of absconding apprentices and murderous thieves accelerated the heart rates of bourgeois merchants. The news trade was always, in some way, bound to the business of sensation.

Mysteries from the Deep

On 7 November 1615, a remarkable creature was brought up by fishermen in the Baltic, between Kalmar and Kristianopol, in south-eastern Sweden. The fish was monstrous in appearance: it was more than two metres long and instead of scales it had skin like a crocodile. In addition to its grotesque fins it had two mammalian feet, and three long spikes on its back, akin to spears. Most astonishing of all, the fish had a Turkish sabre struck through its neck.

The capture of this monster was reported in a German broadsheet, apparently published in northern Germany around 1615. Like many broadsheets describing natural disasters, uncommon phenomena and monstrous births and animals, the author of the text remains anonymous. All focus is placed on the subject of interest, the truthfulness of which is supported by a high level of detail, of physical description, place and time. Yet once the parameters of the phenomenon had been established, the incident serves primarily as a vehicle to communicate a message of divine warning or retribution. The characteristics of this monstrous fish caught in 1615 are contextualised by a rather general narrative that God exacts punishments upon us all, through war, hunger and pestilence. This suggests that the author of the broadsheet could have been a minister, a cadre of newsreaders who were understandably eager to remind their flock of the omnipotent presence of God in all human affairs. The notion of a monstrous fish with human or unnatural features was also one that was frequently employed by political pamphleteers. John Roger Paas, the historian of seventeenth-century German political broadsheets, has described several examples of placards featuring monstrous fish with human heads, flags and weaponry to symbolise military threats.

This broadsheet embodies the overlapping functions of news publishing in early modern Europe. News could be informative, sensational, emblematic and instructive at the same time. Illustration could add further excitement, but only within the context of a textual account, one that was focussed as much on delivering a moral message as attracting potential buyers to spend a penny or two.

The Birth of the Newspaper

The first weekly newspaper was printed in Strasbourg in 1605. Other German newspapers followed shortly in the next two decades, published in Cologne, Wolfenbüttel and Berlin. Outside of the Holy Roman Empire it was in the Dutch Republic that the newspaper found an immediate market; before long the Netherlands was home to the most competitive and successful newspaper industry in Europe. The first titles emerged in Amsterdam, then rapidly developing as the leading information centre of northern Europe. By 1618, there were two competing weekly titles, and around the 1640s there were at least six newspaperman active in the trade, responsible for ten weekly issues in Dutch, as well as several in French.

This example is one of the early Amsterdam titles, which emerged in 1638. The *Ordinarise Middel-weeckse Courante* (Ordinary Mid-Week Coranto) appeared on Tuesdays, in order to fill a gap in the market, as the first Dutch papers had been published on Saturdays. The pioneer behind this shrewd initiative was François Lieshout, a seasoned publisher of news broadsheets and pamphlets. After Lieshout's death in 1646, his wife, Sara Vlaminck, took over the publication. Many Dutch newspapers were published by women, generally the widow of the male founder.

This issue, dating from 26 July 1667, includes three advertisements, found at the back of the paper, in the bottom of the second column. Newspaper advertising had been invented in the Low Countries, and Dutch newsmen embraced the opportunities afforded by including short notices from fellow publishers, citizens or government bodies to share information with the reading public. In this issue, the paper carried a notice that a market in Beemster had been moved by a day due to a forthcoming prayer day; an advertisement from an Amsterdam publisher for a forthcoming title; and an announcement by a physician, Johannes van Duren, who advertised the variety of services that he could offer to heal the sick, blind and those afflicted by the plague.

No more than 276 issues of the *Ordinarise Middel-weeckse Courante* have been found in archives and libraries today, a mere 20% of the total likely number of issues originally published. Newspapers were amongst the most ephemeral publications in early modern Europe: their happy survival and modern digitisation allow us to investigate how this genre of news emerged and gradually found its place in a competitive multi-media news environment.

Uyt Madrid, den 30 Juny.

Hare Majesteit de Koningin Regente is ster ghe-
noen om de Spanische Nederlanden te assien-
heffen des wegen gheconcreet, dat alle de kintghe-
schicken in die in Spaenien souden komen gemint
woeren, sullen gheschieden in allet haest naar Vlaenderen
over ghevoert worden, neffens een onghemint groote som
van Conventen sijn Majesteit onsen koningh bliffen teem-
del bangwoeren, soo dat de Nederlanden lustliker dat by niet
veel joren berisken sal. De Conck Rovers doen in te se so
veel ghebet, met het nemen van Scheypen, als y selfs willen:
om dat geen teghenstaelt hebben. Dat Cadix waren twee
tijck ghaen Scheypen uyt Hollandt gearriveert, en waerden
van dat noch eenige bet waecht.

Uyt Genue, den 6. July.

Hier souden versien loof, dat soo haest als den nieuwen
Paus te de Pauslike waerhijghdij is komen was, dat hy
soudt berisken Concreet af ghebreken heeft, soo aen den
Duytschen Keiser, als aen t Hof van Spaenien en noch naar
den coningh van Portegal, met sulck herseck, dat hy
als et wort dat heren hem persoonlijck yek niet, als
se datouten sal en en nemen woeren, daer den woet ge-
schiet. So als uyt Portegal bericht woert, soo heeft
den Heer Aluane onsen ghesent Dorla, met eenen brief
beant met een brief, dat den Coningh van Portegal een de
spagische onghewil bereet, ontgande de Erooite in te le-
den: waer oec hier verskeiden braad-ssinghen sijn ghe-
weest, maar daer en is tot dato noch niet geresolveert, dat tot
een coadiute uprijckghe dienen kan. Den Heer Reider
Agustini Spina, is uyt Spaenien booz eenige dagen al-
hier aengekomen, men hoef gemenet dat gemenden Heer hier
met groote Ceremonien soude verwel- komt sijn ghevoeren:
maar sulc is niet geschiet, de reden waerom is by de gemeen-
te onbekent.

Uyt Venetien, den 2. dito.

De Conck Rovers sijn in sietken gheghe in de Gulse
van Venetien, dat haer qualick een Schip booz pessen kan
sonder ghenoen te waerden, doch men boept dat daer in wel
haest sal versien worden, te meer, om dat wy na verlichet sijn:
dat de Dyde-handelinge tusschen de Engelsehe en Hollandsche
Datte, op een goeden doot staet. Onse Geshytsen-helden
besonderen Candia tot noch toe, soodanig dat wy groote hoop
hebben, en by na verlichet sijn, dat de Turcken van daer niet
ghewilt sullen moeten wijkten, om dat haer assistentie van de
onken en tijt langh herwaerts termiet en berouert is, wy
hoopen dat den nieuwen Paus ons met een goede assistentie
behuysaem sal sijn, al so wy verstaen dat hy meer als den
overleden Paus tot dese Requich gecommeert is.

Uyt Paris, den 15. dito.

De sprack begint alder sner te gaen, dat sijn alder Chri-
stelijke Majesteit onsen Konink, in weynige dagen her-
waerts en komen sal, doch sulck woort om te dencken weynigh
geleeven. De onghemint progressen die de onse in
Vlaenderen en Brabant doen, caesieren hier groote blijdschap
en zijn de Geseleken schier getidig doende om neffens an-
dere Loefingen, het te Dinn Landmarck te sinnen eenige wil-
len veel gelve verdeden, als den Coningh binnen den tijt
van twaelf Maenden om een jaer behouwen sal sijn van Vlaen-
deren en Brabant, neffens het aenkerende van die: waer op
sijn Majesteit rechtewaerdige presentie heeft, t welck ier wel
soude konnen ghedien: om dat de Spaenierden onnachs-
tighe sijn, soo, om en Leget tegens ons in te Velt te brengen,
als om hare Steden naar bequemen quamen en annoiree
van Oorloeg te verliet: oock verliet men dat de meeste Ste-
den, niet anders begheeren, als onder de bescherminghe van
Vanckrijcke te sijn, ten deele om dat sy by hare Rechie blij-
ven, en oock om dat den Koningh van Spaenien, of den selfs
Geyverneurs hier niet beschamen konnen. Onsen Koningh
verstaet men, dat seer civiel handelt met de Inwoonders van
de Steden, die by in Vlaenderen en Brabant ingenomen heeft.
Onse Oorloegs-voet onse Conmante van den Heerogh
van Beaufort, heeft noch geen order, om verliet in Zee te be-

geven, mecht wel seol langh blijven leggen, tot dat sijn Ma-
jesteits Leghet tot voor Ollende sal gheken en zijn. Soo ons
uyt Breda bericht wort, soo is de Vrede-handelinge aldaer soo
ver gheavanceert, dat daer niet gewijfheit wardt, of soude in
weynigh dagen toeten goet eynde konnen. Men is hier seer
ye woert dat de Ergelen soo onnachsichtig sijn, dat sy tegen
de Hollanders niet in een enige Actie duken konnen, daer sy
soo oegemeen van haer geringel-oort worden. Hier aen het
Hof is onder de Houwerghen groote blijdschap over de groo-
te progressen die onse Koningh met sijn Leget uyt werket
meer onder de Keerp-leyden die geintrelicket sijn, by de drie
laeste Scheypen, die van de Turcke Rovers van ons ghehoemen
sijn bescreut men groote dielshet, te meer, om dat dese
Scheypen seer rijckelijckelijck gheladen waren. Brieven uyt
Savoyen nelden, dat de differenten tusschen den Haetghen
van Savoyen en die van Geneve soo ver gheavanceert waren, dat sy
niet de naef de brieven beoegten te schryven, dat die quistien
vullen verseeoert soude sijn, eenighe van onse troepen, dat
haer een ghetuymen tijdt ontent den Necker-stroom en die
gewesten oerhouden hebben, sijn herwaerts afgeleket, sullen
haer by onse Armade in Vlaenderen en Brabant verwoeghen
soo haest sijn Majesteit onder daer toe sal geven.

Uyt Dovries, den 16. dito.

Toedert de Hollanters te Hartwits sijn gecomt, heeft men
hier al om langh de te-Clut en algenen deere woert ha-
re ghelick mach ghehad: want ten minsten dat se komen/
barntien by onse Scheypen, alle doen ons selfs onse Scheyp-
ten woert: doch herenken van Scheypen bekenen: ghe-
ghick men dan op de te-Clut sijn onbekent te Phenij, als
daer ghesontken, waer uyt te halen, sichte te verghelick al-
reeds eoe, de Eerden die heogh en lachg gaen ghekerent.
En gherucht tot Londen ontsien, toen de Hollanters van
Hartwits weder woert, de Riebt quamen, als of y alreeds
ghebrant ghevoert en na den Teur quamen, heeft men
herenken van dwerche Scheypen om de Riebt betoocht: sijn
te sijn wy haer hier beoert woert, t ploet, doozlangh kruylen/
en tusschen de sietten en onse Clut getuymer in al-smer, Eoet
goet ons Doyt.

Uyt Hamburgh, den 10. dito.

Hare Majesteit de Koningin Cristina, laet eenige toebe-
reyselen toessellen, om aen al de werlt bekent te maken, dat
sy goet Rooms is: dese toessellen sullen uyt beelden de ghe-
hoorenheydt die hare Majesteit aen sijn Heylighedyt den
nuewen Paus bewijst. De Sweertse Armade leydt als noch
in te Stiet Bremen stil, maken vel en ontalliche aen men-
schen, die hier onse onse deuren het broodt, tot haer onderboet
moeten secken. Men segt dat onse Achbare Magistraet in
haar nidielen veramen sal, waer door dese arme Lynden be-
hoorlick orde hoedt kunnen kriegen. Soo ons van Bremen
berocht werd, soo den Heer Graf Wangel tot Bremen, op
den 20. deser zijnde erigieren, seer smuylich in gehalt, hoet
die laek verder sal af-loopen sal den tijt leeren.

Uyt Ceulen, den 22. dito.

Men seght hier, dat den Bisschop van Munster wonderlijck
weist, en neffens dat gaen mede gherucht, dat soo de Vrede
tusschen Hollandt en Engeltot voortgaet, al geheel wonder-
dellike veranderingen in Europa volgen: maar dit sijn
ghedachten, niet te min bedroeft om den ondergaet der
Spanische Nederlanden, dat hoe wel het den Duytlen Bodem
niet veel goet en beloof, echter hier by sommighe harde ge-
pakte voor al geheel probatum moet oegeneven. Den so-
mer beloof ons op den Wijn-Rock in der Rijckden gorden
druff, en het graen is meer als gemen overvolgh.

Uyt Nieuwpoort, den 22. dito.

T Packt boer van Dovries herwaerts komende, hebben de
Zeeuwse Kapers wel aenghedan, dat laeten vaer, maar een
Franche sloep met 13. Man, heeft eenige daer op, die sy pre-
sumeeren Engelsen te wesen, 200. gulden afgedroegen,
ons vaer-water verliet nauw, en te Lande komen de Franche
Vyzanten tot voor Yperen, en jagen de Lieden dat bedroeft om
sien is, met hare Beesten tot onder Gent en Brugge: het gaet
ons te water en te lande alons tegen, t Jaren wal hier al Wa-
selbacken, en nu, by haer sietet byster te yert.

News Across the Oceans

By the end of the seventeenth century, printing presses had also been established in Philadelphia, New York and Boston. In these thriving commercial towns, the business of print would mirror that of many smaller European centres, as printers relied chiefly on jobbing work, such as ordinances and edicts, as well as cheap vernacular publications. The Boston almanac (1700) and New York news pamphlet on the colonial war waged between France and England as part of the Nine Years' War (1693) pictured here, are representative examples of the early print culture of North America.

Clough, 1700.

THE *New England*
ALMANACK

For the Year of our LORD, *M DCC*
From the CREATION 5649. And
From the Discovery of *America* by *Cbr. Columbus* 27.
Being Leap Year, & of the Reign of our Gracious
Sovereign, King WILLIAM the Third
(which began *Febr.* the 13. 1688, 9) the 12th.

Wherein is contained the severall Changes of the Moon,
and Aspects of the Planets, Courts, Spring Tides, Rising
& Setting of the Sun, with the Sun & Moons place,
and time of Full Sea or High Water, with an account
of the Eclipse: And a figure of the Visible Eclipse
as it will appear to us.

The Vulgar Notes of this year are,
Golden Number 10 } Cycle of the Sun 1
The Epact 20 } Dominick Letters G.F.

Fitted to the Meridian of Boston in *New-England*
Lat. 42. gr. 30. min. But may serve any part of
New-England without any sensible Error.

By Samuel Clough,
A Lover of the Mathematicks.

Licensed by Authority.

Printed by Bartholomew Green, & John Allen
Sold at the Printing-House. 1700.

(1)

A NARRATIVE

Of an Attempt made by the
French of Canada
UPON THE
MOHAQUES COUNTRY,
Being *Indians* under the Protection of their Majesties
Government of *New-York*.

To which is added,

1. An Account of the present State and Strength of *Canada*, given by two *Dutch-men*, who have been Prisoners there, and now made their escape.
2. The Examination of a *French Prisoner*.
3. His Excellency *Benjamin Fletcher's* Speech to the *Indians*.
4. The Answer of the five Nations of the *Mohagues* to his Excellency.
5. Proposals made by the four chief Sachims of the five Nations, to his Excellency. And his Excellency's Reply thereto.
6. An Address from the Corporation of *Albany* to his Excellency, returning Thanks for his Excellency's early Assistance for their Relief, &c.

A Journal kept by Coll. *Nicholas Beyard* and Lieut. Coll. *Charles Lodwick*, who attended his Excellency in this Expedition.

Sunday, the 12th of *February*, 1692. about ten a Clock at night, an express from Lieut. Coll. *Beekman* of *Ulster County*, gave his Excellency an account of Advice from *Albany* of the *French* and *Indians*, consisting of 550 being within 20 miles of *Schenectady* on the 8th instant, an hour before day, ready to fall upon the two first Castles of the *Mohagues*.

Whereupon his Excellency ordered the Colonel of the Militia of the City of *New-York* to draw out his Regiment the next Morning. Monday the 13th. Orders were sent to Coll. *Cowland* of *Kings County*, and Coll. *Wilke* of *Queens County*, to detach out of their Regiments a hundred and fifty men, to be forth with ready to imbarque at the Ferry.

About



Telling Truth Unto Power

The growth of the state was one of the defining characteristics of the early modern period. Europe's kings, princes and regents steadily accrued more political power over territories great and small. The absolutist rule of King Louis XIV of France (1638–1715) is the most famous example of the expansion of state power in this period. Yet everywhere throughout Europe political authority was gradually transferring from the hands of many feudal and ecclesiastical lords to a smaller number of potentates and representative assemblies. This authority was a privilege, but it too carried responsibilities. The wars waged by Louis and his enemies required immense taxation. To push through the commercial and industrial reforms implemented by Louis's chief minister Colbert, the state had to rely on the consent of its citizens. Regulations had to be explained, and new taxation measures had to be justified.

Legislation was not valid without its publication to the people. For centuries Europe's rulers had communicated the law to their subjects through proclamations made by royal heralds, civic officials and town criers. Word of mouth remained the foremost medium of state communication throughout the early modern period. But from the late fifteenth century onwards, Europe's authorities increasingly turned to the printing press to bolster their communication strategies.

The invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century was lauded by humanists as a means to advance renaissance scholarship, but it would be the state which would quickly emerge as one of its most reliable customers. The Habsburg Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) was one of the first rulers to make use of the printing press to reproduce copies of ordinances which would otherwise have been distributed in manuscript. Other monarchs and princes, especially in France and England, followed suit: the USTC currently documents over 500 extant editions

of official edicts and ordinances printed throughout Europe in the first fifty years of print. While Latin remained the international language of scholarship, state communication was a vernacular process. The law had to be communicated to citizens of all ranks and education.

The early use of the printing press for the dissemination of official print was dedicated towards the production of constitutional handbooks. Throughout Europe many provinces or cities had acquired specific rights and liberties from their rulers during the mediaeval period: these were described as *landrechten* (regional laws), *keuren* (statutes) or *coutumes* (customs). These handbooks had long been in circulation in manuscript, and were used as reference guides by lawyers, merchants and magistrates. Many princes, potentates and city councils throughout the Holy Roman Empire, France, the Low Countries and further afield tasked printers with the publication of such handbooks. These were valued and expensive texts, and were often reprinted throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the number of constitutional rights and regulations expanded.

The printing of announcements concerning the regulation of daily life and society developed at a slower pace. During the sixteenth century most city councils in the Holy Roman Empire, the Low Countries and France reserved the use of print only for the announcement of extraordinary events or measures which were likely to affect a significant portion of their subjects: an outbreak of plague, the announcement of a municipal lottery or market, or the establishment of a ceiling price on the sale of bread. Such proclamations would generally be printed as broadsheet placards, designed to be pasted up around town, and distributed further by municipal messengers.

The decrees of monarchs and other potentates were printed in much greater quantities. The regular printing of royal proclamations in England as broadsheet placards, designed to be affixed around the country by town criers, was commonplace by the 1540s. In sixteenth-century France royal ordinances were reprinted across the country as short pamphlets: the EMB collections contain examples printed in Lyon, Dijon, La Rochelle, Clermont-Ferrand, Rouen, Rennes, Toulouse, Poitiers, Metz, Orleans, Tours and Bourg-en-Bresse. In both England and France royal printers were appointed as licensed publishers of ordinances, a practice which had spread across Europe by the seventeenth century.

By the middle of the seventeenth century the use of print for state communication was widespread throughout Europe. In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, over one hundred authorities, including at least seventy-five different municipalities, used printed ordinances. The privilege of printing such ordinances was highly profitable work, and hotly contested amongst publishers. The production of a five hundred or one thousand copies of a broadsheet placard or pamphlet ordinance

ORDONNANTIE
Op den Houwelijc-
ken Staet / in den Lande
van Over-Yssel.



TOT DEVENTER:
By Sebastiaen Wermibouts/
Boeck-drucker woonende op den Poot/
inden Vergulden Bybel/ 1624.

Ordonnantie op den houwelijcken staet, in den lande van Over-Yssel (Deventer: Sebastiaen Wermibouts, 1624), USTC 1022269, an ordinance of the Dutch States of Overijssel concerning regulations on marriage in their province.

required only one or two days of work, and the entire print run was generally delivered to a single client. A licensed government printer also enjoyed the privilege of reprinting ordinances for commercial sale, a privilege which many state printers exploited eagerly.

The Emperor's Command

On 20 August 1531 the Habsburg Emperor Charles V issued a new ordinance regulating the constitution of the provincial court of Holland, Zeeland and West-Friesland. The new ordinance was a substantial piece of legislation, composed of approximately 23,000 words. In this new law the Emperor introduced 234 regulations for the procedures of the court, its judges, prosecutors and other officials; the administration and record-keeping of the court; and its jurisdictional restrictions. The Emperor's new regulation overhauled the constitution of Holland's and Zeeland's provincial court. But the ordinance would also prove to be a profitable commercial publication for over a century. The content of the ordinance was never changed, even after Holland and Zeeland rebelled against Habsburg authority, so administrators and lawyers at the Court of Holland would require new copies of the ordinance well towards the end of the seventeenth century. Between 1531 and 1700 at least twenty-two editions of the ordinance appeared in print in the Low Countries – five of these are available in full reproduction through the collections of EMB.

The copy of this 1648 edition of the ordinance contains copious late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century annotations. It is the first item bound in a *Sammelband* with fourteen other mid-seventeenth-century ordinances concerning the constitution of Holland and its provincial court, all printed by the family Van Wouw. The binding of the volume suggests that the ordinances were gathered together in this form sometime in the seventeenth century. A manuscript note on the third page of this ordinance states that the volume is part of the library of 'Corn[elius] Vinck'. Judging by the hand, Vinck seems to have been responsible for the other annotations of the volume. The ordinance, like the other fourteen items in the *Sammelband*, is interleaved with numerous blank pages which the owner used for further annotations. Most annotations consist of references to other legal sources and ordinances; the owner also wrote subject headings in the margins of the pages of the ordinance, resembling reading or studying aids.

The annotation and interleaving of ordinances like this regulation of the provincial court was a common practice in the early modern period. To work successfully as administrators, lawyers and lawmakers in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, men like Cornelius Vinck would have to know the law, study past ordinances, and refer to them constantly. Thanks to persistent demand for new editions of old laws,

d'Instructie vanden Hove

van Hollandt / Zeelandt / ende
Vrieslant.

Gheordonneert by de Keyserlijke Maje-
steyt, in 't laer vijftien-hondert een-en-dertich.

Nu seer neerstelijck oversien ende geannoteert.



IN 'sGRAVEN-HAGE,

By de Weduwe ende Erfgenamen van wijlen Hillebrandt Jacobsz van
Wouw, Ordinaris Druckers vande Ed; Mo: Heeren Staten
van Hollant ende West-Vrieslant, Anno 1648.

D'Instructie vanden Hove van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant. Gheordonneert by de keyserlijke majesteit, in't jaer vijftien-hondert een-en-dertich (The Hague: widow and heirs of Hillebrant van Wouw, 1648), USTC 1014448.

and the desire for custom-made collections of ordinances, the privileged printers of the state enjoyed their greatest profits.

Pasted Power

The dissemination of law by broadsheet placard was a ubiquitous practice throughout Europe by the end of the seventeenth century. Crowded European cities would have been awash with official printed broadsheets, affixed in all public spaces. In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, some municipal authorities even appointed civic employees charged with the affixing of placards around town. In 1682 the magistrates of Haarlem drew up an instruction for their *stadsaanplakker* (the ‘municipal up-poster’), who was to paste up local ordinances on the doors of the city hall, all churches, the gates of the city, the wall of the militia headquarters, and on unspecified walls and doors on busy streets and corners throughout the city. Twice a day the *stadsaanplakker* would have to present himself at the city hall to see if there was anything to post up.

Because they were posted up and distributed for free in public, most sixteenth and seventeenth-century broadsheets do not survive today. They were destined to be lost under mud, waste and rain; some were also deliberately torn down, suggesting that the law was unwelcome. Others simply disappeared under copies of new placards. It is rare for municipal or state archives to possess copies of every single broadsheet issued, and we are often left to reconstruct broadsheet publication by using evidence from municipal account books.

Other stray broadsheet survivors can be traced in contemporary bound volumes of edicts, tracts or pamphlets. This highlight from the EMB collection, a broadsheet placard issued by the King of Denmark, survives because it is folded and bound at the end of a small *Sammelband* made up of five pamphlet ordinances issued by the Danish crown. It is, as far as we know, a unique surviving copy, like most extant broadsheet placards from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

This ordinance was issued by King Frederick III of Denmark in Copenhagen on 26 July 1667. The ordinance introduced a stamp tax on all bonds, contracts, wills and other legal and administrative documents in his dominions. Like many other rulers throughout Europe, Frederick had come to realise that there was much money to be made from taxing paper; especially paper used by notaries and lawyers, who could hardly do without.

Although the ordinance was originally issued in 1667, the regulation was reprinted thirty years later, in 1697. Observance of the stamp tax was not as strict as the Danish crown had instructed, so the ordinance was reprinted and affixed once again. This was a common practice of state communication across Europe: the essence of laws had to be reiterated through proclamations on a regular basis, or

zigen bleibet Männlich zu weihen. Als Wir in dem verwichenen 1668ten Jahr den Gebrauch des gestempelten Papiers unter andern auch in unsern Fürstenthümern Schleswig Holstein und deren incorporirten Landen eingeführt und sich dabei eine große Unmöglichkeit zu dem Unerträglichsten befunden, daß man solchen nicht aller Orten zu auffretelangen kennen/sondern daß es an theils Örttern von den Kramern fast der dritte Theil höher als der Tax gezeuget/verkauft worden/ und Wir also deshalb wenige Einkünfte und Intraden zu erheben gehabt/daß Wir daher wegen derer darinne folgende an derwertliche Verorrenung zu machen.

Sollen demnach fürs Erste alle Obligationen, Contrahen, Haub- oder Kauf-Briefe/ Ehe-Pacten/ Testamenten, Moraren aach- oder Marc-Briefe auff nach gesetzte Art Sorten geschrieben werden/nemblich:

Auff dem Papier, darauß N. 1. gedrucket und 5. Rthaler kostet / alles so 5000. Reichthlr. und

Auf dem Papier N. 2, von 3, Rthaler alles so von 3000, Rthaler bis zu 5000, Rthaler betrifft.

Auff dem Papier N. 3. von 2. Rthaler alles was von 1000. Rthaler bis zu 3000. Rthaler betrifft.

Auf dem Papier N. 4. von 1. Rthaler alles was von 500. Rthaler bis zu 1000. Rthaler betrifft
Auf dem Papier N. 5. von 2. Schill. alles was von 100. Rthaler bis zu 500. Rthaler betrifft

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Zum Andern sollen alle Deutungen / Reversen, Cellionen, ~~oder~~ Transporten, Versteigungen, Schreine / Notarial-Instrumenta, Mandata, Immissionen, Urtheile / Appellationen und dergleichen / so Geld oder dessen Werth betreffen / dann auch Accis- Zölle und Wag-Zetteln / auff nachfolgende Sorten

9. bis N. 15. geschrieben werden/nemblich:
Aus dem Marienbuch mit 1. 1. gedruckt und: Rathaler Posten / offed mað 1000. Rathaler und darüber betrifft.

Auf dem Bapier/so mit N. 9. bedrucker und 1. Bithaler kostet / alles was 1800. Bithaler und
Auf dem Bapier N. 10. von halben Bithaler / alles so von 1000. Bithaler bis zu 1000. Bithaler b

Auf dem Papier N. 10, von halben Rthaler/alles so von 1000, Rthaler bis zu 1000, Rthaler betr.
Auf dem Papier N. 11, von 12, Schiff: alles was von 500, Rthaler bis zu 1000, Rthaler betr.

Auf dem Papier N. 11, von 2. Schill: alles so von 100. Rithaler bis zu 100. Rithaler betrifft.
Auf dem Papier N. 12, von 8. Schill: alles so von 100. Rithaler bis zu 100. Rithaler betrifft.
Auf dem Papier N. 13, von 4. Schill: so ein halber Bogen seyn soll/alles so unter 100. Rithaler betrifft, dafern man nicht einen ganzen Bogen
voll gebraucht.

Auff dem Papier von N. 14. so 2. Schill: kostet / und ein Quart Bogen seyn soll / alle Obistungen / Accis-Zell- und verglachten Zetteln / so von 10.

Auf dem Vauier von N. 15. 6. 1. Schiff: Postet/asse Ostymagen/ Accis- Zoll- und der gleichen Zeit

Zum Dritten: so sollen auch obgedachte Sorten den Num. 9. bis 15. folgender Massen gebraucht werden; als das Papier von N. 9. in allen Vocationen, auch Collationen, Dispensationen, und Befehlungen / welche in unsern Rämern die Ampelsteu erhalten; und dann zu den ersten und letzten Segen in aller Röm. Leute Bücher / so nicht a fern sollen.

Das Papier von N. 10, zu allen fest-auch Gebührens-Bürger-See- und Lehr-Briefen.
Das Papier von N. 11, zu den ersten und letzten Vogen in dem Zoll-Gerichts- und Dingbücher, welches so wol in dem Städten als auff dem Lande gehalten werden.

Das Papier N. 12. zu allen Supplicationen, Memorialen, Citationen, Libellen, Deductionen, Informationen, Recessen, Interlocuten, so der Justiz über-
 und Appellations-Causen und andern Urtheilen einzuwenden oder von denselben gegeben werden / jedes sollen in Deductionen, Recessen und
 weislichen Schriften nur die 3. ersten Vogen gedruckt seyn / da man aber dazu nur einen halben Vogen nehmen wil / sol das Papier von
 N. 13. dazu gebraucht werden / wie dann auch solche 3. u. allen Supplicationen, Bescheiden / Gerichts-Zeugnissen oder Ding-Beurtheilungen / zu den
 3. Vögen des Papiers N. 14. zu gebrauchen.

und zum Verleihen/so sollen alle andere Sachen, welche hiebei begeben wird bezeuget und sonst kein Geld der über uns/auf dem Papier von N. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833.

Zum fünfften so sol an vorberordn. Papyer die zwey Pöden und das Perforatium mit der
 rolle der Name darunter geschriben und drey Wochen nach Publication dieser Unser Verordnung dasselbe zu allen und jeden Schrifften bey nachge-
 tet Straffe gebrauchet werden.

[illegible]

Verleihen, sondern auch einrichtig, so es am Reich, 30, 100, oder mehr Mannen, oder
 Verleihen darnach ein Lehen und künftigen Erbentzitem in den Fürstenthümen Schleswig, Holstein, Angeln, Dänen, Rügen-Land, Voigtens-Land, und Ansp-
 Schewen, Haub-Partes und Kirchspiel, Voigtens, auch Bürgermeistern und Rath in den Städten hiem allersindigst über dieser Unser Berechnung freilich zu halten und denselben aller-
 dings gederkinstliche Folge zu leisten, Wollen sich dann Wärmlich bekennen zu richten und der Schaden zu haren. Umwelchlich unter Unsern König, Jungzeichen und secrez. Insigniel, Velen
 auch Unsern König, Königin zu Copenhagen den 26. July, Anno 1667.



FRIEDERICH

Glücksstadt / Gedruckt bey Gerhard Janßen / Königl. Buchdrucker / Im Jahr 1697.

else citizens might claim ignorance of the existence of an ordinance, or deliberately misremember the exact rates of the stamp duty required by law.

This broadsheet placard is a typical example of its genre. Broadsheets which were to be affixed and exhibited in public were designed to stand out in the hustle and bustle of daily life. When posted up, they would be surrounded by all sorts of commercial and private notifications. This placard was carefully produced to help compete for attention: it contained a large woodcut initial, while the title of the king was displayed prominently at the bottom of the placard, alongside a woodcut of the royal seal. At the top of the placard a large title ('Ordinance concerning the stamp tax') stood out, immediately communicating the subject of the regulation. It is a striking, sophisticated piece of printing, one which was to be worthy of the royal authority it represented. The broadsheet placard, the most ephemeral of state publications, played a crucial part in ceremonial depictions of power in early modern Europe.

Pamphlet Protest

Europe's potentates were not alone in waking up to the potentialities of print. From the early sixteenth century onwards, political pamphleteering – the discussion of affairs of state in short pamphlets – became a notable feature of European politics. Martin Luther's reformation in Germany had demonstrated the effectiveness of short, vernacular polemical writing. This was a lesson which later reformers and rebels would not forget. During the French wars of religion (1562–1598) and the Dutch Revolt (1566–1609) printed pamphlets, libels and posters played an important role in marshalling support to the contending parties of the conflict.

Political pamphleteering became an unavoidable feature of seventeenth-century European politics. Successive political conflicts in the Dutch Republic (the Remonstrant crisis of the 1610s), England (the civil war of the 1640s) and France (the Fronde of the early 1650s) demonstrated the powerful role which pamphlets could play in encouraging political revolutions. Pamphlets were an ideal medium with which to disclose political information or vilify opponents: they were generally short quarto or octavo pamphlets of sixteen pages or fewer, and could be printed in a couple of day's work.

The Clachte des verdruckte[n] Nederlandts over zijn slappe onghetrouwe ingheboerne die tot hen eygen verlossinghe niet en helpen (Complaints of the oppressed Netherlands concerning their weak and disloyal inhabitants who do not help themselves to their own liberation) is one of the texts which was published in 1568 to support William of Orange's invasion. A late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century annotation in Dutch at the beginning of the pamphlet states that this is: 'one of [many] remarkable pieces, published by the [Reformed] preachers, to incite the people

De la Bibliothèque du Capit^{me} Michiels
CLACHTE

Des verdructē

Nederlands over zijn slappe on-
ghetrouwe ingheboerne
die tot hen eygen ver-
lossinghe niet
en helpen.



Ghedrukt int Jaer ons Heeren

1568.

Capt^{ne}: Michiels.

Clachte des verdructe[n] Nederlands over zijn slappe onghetrouwe ingheboerne die tot hen eygen verlossinghe niet en helpen ([Cologne: Gottfried Hirtshorn], 1568), USTC 421570.

to rebel against the Duke of Alba.' The pamphlet seeks to do just that, accusing Netherlandish citizens of waiting for their liberation to come from God, rather than seizing the initiative and liberating themselves. The author urges his fellow citizens to revolt while William's armies have invaded: 'rise, rise, my sons, quick to your feet, arm yourselves, help me and yourself to freedom; what are you waiting for? What excuse do you have?' (page 8).

Like most pamphlets disseminated by Dutch rebels during the 1560s and 1570s, this pamphlet was published anonymously. The author did not reveal himself, and neither did the printer responsible for producing the tract. It is possible that the author was a Reformed minister (as suggested by the annotator), judging by the placement of two biblical citations at the beginning and end of the pamphlet, and the Reformed tone of the piece. In all likelihood the author will remain anonymous. But typographical analysis has revealed that this pamphlet was in fact printed by Gottfried Hirtshorn, a publisher active in Cologne. Some rebel pamphlets were printed inside the Low Countries, but it was much safer to produce pamphlets outside the jurisdictions which fell under Spanish rule. Some tracts were printed in the independent fiefdom of Vianen, lying between the Dutch provinces of Holland and Utrecht; many others were produced across the eastern borders of the Spanish Netherlands, in Emden, Wesel, Cologne and Frankfurt. Gottfried Hirtshorn, active in Cologne for over twenty years, was a clear supporter of the rebel cause: almost all publications ascribed to him concern the oppression of the Protestant faith in the Low Countries, or the terrors inflicted upon Netherlandish citizens by the Habsburg government. Hirtshorn was also responsible for publishing William of Orange's famous *Warning to the inhabitants and subjects of the Netherlands*, the official declaration made to accompany William's invasion into the Netherlands in 1568.

The copy of the *Clachte des verdrueten Nederlandts* digitised by EMB is one of only two surviving copies known today. From the ex libris inscription inside the pamphlet we know that the copy was once part of the library of Anne d'Yves (1738–1814), a Belgian noble and revolutionary who helped organise the Brabant uprising against Austrian rule in 1789. The patriotic tone of this 1568 pamphlet would have been an appropriate inspiration for Netherlandish revolutionaries more than two centuries later, when Southern Netherlandish citizens revolted against rulers whom they identified as foreign oppressors once again.

The Toils of War

Between 1562 and 1598, France was torn asunder by a violent series of conflicts known collectively as the French Wars of Religion. It is estimated that during this period some three million people lost their lives as a direct consequence of the civil

REQUESTE PRESEN-
TEE AV ROY ET A LA
ROYNE PAR LE
TRIVM VIRAT.



NOUS Duc de Guyse, pair, grand
maistre & grād chambellan de Fran-
ce, Duc de Montmorency, pair & Co-
nestable de France, de saint André,
Mareschal de Frāce: à ce qu'il soit no-
toire à vos Maiestez & à tout le mon-
de, que nos cœurs & intentions assez cogneus & decla-
rez par toutes actions passees, & tout le cours de nos
aages & vies employees & despēdues non ailleurs qu'au
loyal & fidele seruice des Maiestez de nos bons def-
functs Roys (que Dieu absolue) à la cōseruation & aug-
mentation de leur honneur, grandeur, estat & couron-
ne, ne furent iamais, ne sont auiourd'huy, & ne seront
(Dieu aydant) de nos vies autres que tēdans à la mesme
bonne & loyalle fin que dessus, & par moyēs iustes, rai-
sonnables, legitimes & louables. Aquoy nous auons
voué (apres le seruice de Dieu) le demeurant de nos di-
ctes vies, biens & fortunes.

Supplions treshumblement les Maiestez de vous,
Sire, & de vous, Madame, entendre le fonds de nos in-

A ii.

Wars, while the religious, political, economic and social turmoil left a long-lasting impression on France. The printing press played a major role as all sides sought to justify their actions and shore up public support. In this regard, the start of the conflict was a pivotal moment as the Protestant party sought to organise itself and promote its message in an accessible manner. To achieve this, the main aristocratic leader, the Prince of Condé, had a series of short imprints printed in Orléans by the printer and bookseller, Éloy Gibier.

These pamphlets were a new genre in France, a country where there had not previously been an outburst similar to that witnessed in the Holy Roman Empire following the publication of Martin Luther's 95 theses. France's first 'pamphlet moment' occurred in the run up to the outbreak of the conflict. The Protestant party mimicked the German *Flugschriften*, adopting a quarto format for these imprints – a short-lived experimentation before adopting the smaller octavo format that dominated French ephemeral printing in this period. The printer chosen to produce these items was a modest provincial workshop with a Protestant master printer who was reluctant to put his head above the parapet for his faith. The series of Condean tracts to which this item belongs were produced under the cover of anonymity, though Gibier continued to use his ornamental material which made identification relatively straightforward.

The success of the pamphlets led to each text appearing in a number of different editions in quick succession as the print runs ran out, each new version scrupulously copied on the previous iteration. The pamphlets were not only bought as separate items, but often conglomerated into a single item, probably as soon as they were acquired. These composite volumes, known by their German name *Sammelbände*, signifying literally 'bound together', are important witnesses to how the pamphlets were sold, how their owners collected them and the context in which a text such as the *Requete* would have been read and then preserved for future generations. (MW)

Not So Humble Subjects

Throughout early modern Europe, policymaking was generally restricted to a limited number of royal councillors or regents. But subjects and citizens could certainly influence government policy, and they had numerous means available to them to communicate their discontent, disagreement, or outright dissent.

The most prominent means of exerting pressure on policymaking employed by citizens was petitioning. The delivery of a letter or document to one's ruler, humbly requesting change in policy, was a universal and ancient right practised across Europe. Some of the most famous petitions, like that delivered by hundreds of Dutch nobles to the Habsburg government in Brussels in 1566, demanding

22
Señor.

LA Ciudad de Xerez de la Frontera por su Procurador m̃yor. Dize, q̃ cerró la comunicacion la dicha Ciudad, y la de Cadiz, con la del Puerto de Santa Maria, por la enfermedad de contagio, que se entendió auia, y el dicho puerto, haziendose dueño del rio Guadalete, impidió con guarnicion de arcabuzeros el tránsito de los barcos. Padecia Cadiz falta de ballimentos, y saca de mercaderias; Xerez de la de sus frutos: los interesados le pidieron proueyesse de remedio, y como no se les dió la licencia que pedia para abrir vn canal, que será de mil varas de largo, desde el Salamanco, que sale de la Baía por junto a la Mata gorda, y viene al rio por la barcana de Puerto Franco, tierra sin dificultad de cortar esta distancia, se determinaron los Eclesiasticos a ponerlo en execucion. La justicia, y dicha Ciudad ha visto, y oido de todos los medios posibles para que suspendan la obra, por no vfar de los violentos, hasta dar cuenta a V. M. y aunque han ofrecido cessar, toda via se prosiguen con pretexto del seruicio de V. M. y del remedio; y que si se mandasse lo contrario, la costa, y su trabajo lo quieren perder, obedeciendo como leales vassallos. Con lo qual ha parecido escusar escandalos contra personas Eclesiasticas Sacerdotes, muertes, y otros inconuenientes que pueden resultar, reconociendo su zelo, y necesidad, prouocados por los del puerto: y que están entendiendo, que ay licencia para hazer este corte, y que no llega a ser inobediencia en lo que no ay prohibicion: porque antes es materia tratada, y entendida, y V. M. seruido de disponer su execucion, reconociendo el grande beneficio que se le sigue del aumento, y comodidades que se le dà al comercio en vtilidad publica, y particular de las ciudades de Xerez, Cadiz, y de otras, como parecerá por las Reales cedulas, y ordenes de V. M. libradas para su direccion, y execucion, suspendido desde el año de 625. por causa de las guerras, y otras diuersiones, que despues han ocutrido, impossibilitandolo el mucho gasto, que era necesario para obra tan heroica, como era abrir canal nauegable desde Guadalquivir a Guadalete, y a la Baía de Cadiz, y en esto se comprehendia esta pequeña parte, que aora se trata. Esto, señor, es lo sucedido, y el nuevo accidente obliga a procurar su remedio, y con la atencion que se due a lo mas conueniente, propone, que en quanto a la posibilidad, sin ningun inconueniente, ni daño, muchos ingenieros de V. M. así naturales, como otros estrangeros, que el año de viente y cinco mandò viniessen de Flandes, lo resolvieron, y dieron sus pareceres, como tambien lo hizieron otros, de que se podia hazer canal, de estaño nauegable desde el rio a Xerez, por reconocer el Rey don Felipe Segundo nuestro señor, lo mucho que importa facilitar el comercio. Para todo lo han visto, nivelado, y dado sus pareceres, con que se quita qualquiera duda, y se asegura del daño, que de lo contrario se quiere oponer, estando manifestado por los memoriales, que se dieron los

Señor, la Ciudad de Xerez de la Frontera pour su Procurador m̃yor Dize, q̃ cerró la comunicacion la dicha Ciudad, y la de Cadiz, con la del ([Xerez de la Frontera: s.n., 1626]).

greater religious freedom and political autonomy, offered a direct challenge to government policy. But most petitions were more modest in nature: citizens, guilds or corporations requested new by-laws or changes in existing municipal legislation; and they asked for financial privileges and protection for economic ventures. Petitions could play a serious part in informing government policy. Rulers were surprisingly susceptible to petitions; after all, it was impossible for a ruler to be knowledgeable of all matters relating to the social or economic well-being of their country. Petitioning was a crucial means of bringing to the attention on one's ruler a deficiency in their legislation – rather than oppose the state, petitions often encouraged the state to expand its authority.

The extraordinary document above, digitised by EMB from the collections of the Wellcome Library in London, contains the text of a petition by the magistrates of Jerez de la Frontera, in south-western Spain, submitted to King Philip IV in 1626. The magistrates humbly requested the king to reopen the city after it had been shut due to an outbreak of plague. Jerez de la Frontera lies upstream from Cadiz and El Puerto de Santa Maria, two major Spanish ports, and due to the plague the passage from Jerez to those cities, was, as the petition states, closed to all traffic. The magistrates wished to inform the king through their petition that the plague has subsided; they therefore urged for the king to allow the city to open for trade once more, as the inhabitants of Jerez were dependent on commerce with Cadiz and El Puerto de Santa Maria.

The printing of this petition is unusual. In the early seventeenth century, petitions would have been submitted formally through a letter, carefully addressed, signed and sealed to pay respect to the authority of the king and the dignity of his title. This printed petition is a simple, rather unassuming piece of printing. It is composed of a single folio sheet of four pages, without any typographical sophistication or official signature. This would certainly not have been a copy of the document which would have been placed before the eyes of the king and his councillors. Rather, it seems that the text of the petition was reproduced in this fashion for the knowledge of the afflicted citizens of Jerez, to assure them that the king was informed of their plight, and that an answer could be expected imminently. The simplicity of the printed petition is partly due to the utilitarian nature of the production; and possibly also to the restrictive circumstances endured by the city, devoid of contact with the outside world and bereft of imports. But regardless of its crude appearance, this 1626 petition is a powerful example of the important role of petitioning in early modern political culture.



Persecution in Print: Censorship, Control and the Clash of Warring Faiths

When Johannes Gutenberg completed his experiments with moveable type, Europe became one integrated market for the printed book. The authority of the Catholic Church was recognised throughout western Christendom, and in the early years, would provide one of the most reliable sources of work for Europe's printers. A hundred years later, the situation would be entirely different. Luther's pugnacious movement had shattered Christian unity beyond repair, and from this point, the church would be divided into irreconcilable competing faiths, including numerous competing variants of Protestantism.

The result was contention and sometimes warfare, intolerance and ultimately persecution. In places where Protestant churches took root, Catholic worship was seldom tolerated; in places where the Catholic orthodoxy prevailed, Protestantism was banned. The fragmenting groups of freethinkers were despised by both sides. This had inevitable consequences for the book world. Bookshops were frequently raided for the texts of banned churches. The Reformation brought into existence a comprehensive regime of censorship that had seldom been thought necessary before Luther.

This radical change in the media environment reached a significant milestone with the publication in 1559 of the first Papal *Index Auctorum et Librorum Prohibitorum*. This was later complemented by separate indices issued by the Catholic universities of the Sorbonne and Louvain, as well as the Spanish inquisition. They were reprinted across Catholic Europe, like the version in EMB below, produced by the famous typographer Christophe Plantin in Antwerp. The indices would become the most significant limitation on the circulation of texts and the collecting of

books in early modern Europe. The lists included the names of authors whose works were entirely forbidden, books which were deemed heretical, as well as specific editions of orthodox texts condemned because they had been corrupted by heretical commentaries. The first Roman index also included a category of heretical printers, sixty-one in all, whose entire output, regardless of content, was suspect. Good Christians were supposed to surrender copies of these books from their libraries, while the production, sale and ownership of all texts listed in the index was strictly forbidden.

The impact of this division of Europe into two zones of book production cannot be overestimated. The effect was most dramatic, paradoxically, in Catholic Europe. To this stage the trade in scholarly Latin books had been conducted largely by exchange. Venetian publishers would take their new editions to the Frankfurt Fair, expecting to exchange them for books with other exhibitors for sale at home. Thus works circulated around the European market without complex cash transactions. Now the books published in Protestant northern Europe were likely to be confiscated by the censors on their return. Within a few decades, Venetian publishers had largely abandoned the Frankfurt Fair.

The consequence for Protestant Europe was rather less profound, partly because northern collectors declared no blanket anathema on works of scholarship published in the traditional printing heartlands of Italy and France. Indeed, they continued consciously to collect Catholic books, as the splendidly defiant publication below by the first librarian of Oxford's Bodleian Library makes clear. To scholars like Thomas James, the Catholic indices had an altogether different use: they were essentially wish lists of useful books, to be rescued and safely stored in Protestant collections. Studying books identified by the Pope as heretical, James considered, would help gather evidence for the erroneous teachings of the Catholic Church, and prove that the movement of Reform started by Martin Luther was the true inheritor of the Apostles and early Church Fathers. This publication brought together items prohibited by the Catholic Church, but available for study in the Bodleian library in Oxford.

The Church of the Shunned

When Luther first made his protest against Papal power, Catholic critics warned that this division of the church would have many unintended consequences. In this they were certainly correct. Luther, having denied the authority of the Pope, proposed Scripture as a self-evident guide to correct belief. Yet within a decade, critics of the Pope became also critics of Luther: the Protestant call for renewal inspired a wealth of different solutions. A century after Luther, Protestantism had generated a wealth of competing, and not always tolerated sects.

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LIBRORVM

PROHIBITORVM,

CVM REGVLIS CONFECTIS

PER PATRES A TRIDENTINA SYNODO
delectos, Auctoritate Sanctiss. D. N. Pij IIII.
Pont. Max. comprobatus.

*CVM Appendice in Belgio, ex mandato Regie
Cathol. Maiestatis confecta.*



Libro 9 a
12.

ANTVERPIÆ,
Ex officina Christophori Plantini.
M. D. LXX.

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GENERALIS
LIBRORVM PROHI-
BITORVM à PONTIFI-
ciis una cum Editionibus

expurgatis vel expur-
gandis juxta seriem Li-
terarum & triplicem
secundum classem

In usum Bibliothecae Bodleia-
anae, & Curatoribus eiusdem
specialiter designatus

PER

THO. JAMES S. Theol.
D. Coll. B. Mariæ Winton
in Oxon. Vulgò Novi dicti
quondam Socium.



OXONIÆ,
Excudebat GVILIELMVS
TURNER. AN. D. 1627.
P. Lomesius.

CATECHESIS ECCLESIA RUM

Quæ in Regno Poloniæ, & magno Ducatu Lithuaniz, & aliis ad istud Regnum pertinentibus Provinciis, affirmant, Neminem alium præter Patrem Dominum Iesum Christum, esse illum unum Dominum Israël: Hominem autem illum Iesum Nazarenum, qui ex Virgine natus est, nec alium, præter aut ante ipsum, Dei Filium unigenitum & agnoscunt & confitentur.

Cui accedit

Fausti Socini Senensis

V I T A.

Et Dissertatio Operibus suis
ab Equite Polono præmissa.

Cum

Catalogo Operum ejusdem

FAUSTI SOCINI.

Ose 14. ult. Rectæ sunt viæ Jehovah & iusti
ambulabunt in eis: prævaricatores vero cor-
rumpent in eis.

RACOVIAE,

Anno Domini M. DC. LII.

Catechesis Ecclesiarum Quae in Regno Poloniae, & magno Ducatu Lithuaniae, & aliis ad istud Regnum pertinentibus Provinciis, affirmant (Raków [=London]: s.n., 1651).

FAUSTI SOCINI
SENENSIS
OPERA OMNIA.

in

Duos Tomos distincta.

Quorum prior continet ejus

Opera Exegetica & didactica

posterior

Opera ejusdem Polemica comprehendit

Accefferunt quædam hæcenus inedita,

Quorum Catalogum versa pagina exhibet.



I R E N O P O L I

Post annum Domini 1656.



Named after their Italian founder, Fausto Sozzini (1539–1604), the Socinians were an anti-Trinitarian Reformed sect which denied the divinity of Jesus Christ and the workings of original sin. The Socinians established themselves in the tolerant climate of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth towards the end of the sixteenth century. Their writings were published predominantly by the firms Rodecki in Kraków and Sternacki in Raków, where the Socinians had established a theological academy. Between the 1570s and the 1630s, the two firms were responsible for over 300 editions espousing Socinian thought. When they were exiled from Poland, the Socinians fanned out across Europe, with many settling in the Dutch Republic, and a smaller number in northern Germany and England. Here they continued to publish works of their creed, especially their catechism. Like the example above, these often claimed to have been produced in Raków to throw local authorities off their scent.

During the course of the 1650s and 1660s, Socinian books were published in great quantities in Holland, the part of Europe in which virtually all dissident groups received at least a grudging tolerance. Apart from using false cities on the imprints, many were published with false dates, antedated so as to appear as if they were printed in Raków in the early 1620s or 1630s. The freedom afforded to printers in the Dutch Republic encouraged illicit publications that required considerable investment. Between 1665 and 1668, the Remonstrant minister and bookseller Frans Kuyper published the eight-volume folio *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*, a collection containing the works of leading Socinian theologians. Entrenched in a network of fellow unorthodox booksellers in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, Kuyper could be sure that this magnificent publication would find its market unimpeded. The sheer size of the *Bibliotheca* set it apart from all other illicit religious and philosophical works. Only very few persecuted books were printed in folio. The reason for this is not hard to fathom. Since the dawn of printing, an essential part of the camouflage of forbidden books was their innocuous appearance, so that they would escape detection by those who wished to suppress them. The *Bibliotheca* was a bold announcement of the new frontiers of liberty extended in Amsterdam.

Sundry Treasonable Passages

The divisions of religion, and the consequent elaboration of structures of censorship and control, encouraged governments to use these same censorship regimes to suppress criticism of their own policies. The proclamation below issued by King Charles II of England in the year of his Restoration to the throne targets three books written by some of the greatest advocates of the recent republican Commonwealth regime, John Milton and John Goodwin. The three books banned here were not recent publications, but they were nevertheless highlighted as containing ‘sundry treasonable passages’ against Charles, and judged as powerful

symbols of the republican era. Both authors were arrested, and the public hangman burnt copies of their books several weeks after this proclamation was issued.

The Search for Pierre Marteau

Measures like this had a chilling effect on the daily business of the print industry. To preserve their livelihoods, publishers generally avoided anything likely to bring a raid on their premises, and the loss of their license to trade. As in any society, the most effective method of control was self-censorship. The result was the increasing tendency for tendentious writings to be published abroad, and sold, with varying degrees of subterfuge, after importation. This became an important part of the book market, though difficult to study, since so many of the works were published without imprints, or with false places of publication. The second half of the seventeenth century saw the rise of one of Europe's most prolific printers: Pierre Marteau, or Peter the Hammer. Marteau, resident of Cologne, was a fictional character, a pseudonym used by a variety of printers active in the Low Countries. They used this imprint for a wide range of French political and literary treatises, many of which commented unfavourably on Louis XIV, French foreign policy and the French court. The particular item below derided France for its frequent alliances and treaties with the Ottoman Sultans. It is safe to say that the use of the Cologne Marteau imprint took on a life of its own: contemporaries were aware that there was no printer in Cologne by that name. Instead, the use of the name immediately identified a book as weighing in on debates on France and its monarchs, nobles and courtesans. To printers in Amsterdam, Brussels, Leiden, The Hague and Utrecht, the imprint gave them plausible deniability, while they could, in effect, print what they wished.

The Ballad of Treason

One should not imagine that censorship was always unpopular. The values being defended were usually widely shared in the societies persecuting dissidents. Throughout early modern Europe, the successful persecution of books relied largely on the participation of ordinary people. The authorities could issue many edicts against dangerous or heretical texts, but unless citizens handed in these books, and booksellers denounced colleagues in the trade who stocked them, the confiscation of books would remain an arduous process. When the community happily joined in the destruction of books (sometimes without the encouragement of the authorities), the results could be efficient. The following English ballad celebrates the 'burning of several cart-loads of Popish books' during the chaos of the fabricated Popish Plot, which saw widespread attacks on Catholics and Catholic symbols in Restoration London.



By the King.

A PROCLAMATION

For calling in, and suppressing of two Books written by *John Milton*; the one Intituled, *Johannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Anonymi alius Salmasti, Defensionem Regiam*; and the other in answer to a Book Intituled, *The Pourtraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings*. And also a third Book Intituled, *The Obstructor of Justice*, written by *John Goodwin*.

CHARLES R.



Whereas *John Milton*, late of Westminster, in the County of Middlesex, hath published in Print two several Books. The one Intituled, *Johannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasti, Defensionem Regiam*. And the other in Answer to a Book Intituled, *The Pourtraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings*. In both Which are contained sundry Treasonable Passages against Us and Our Government, and most Impious endeavors to justify the horrid and unmatched Murder of Our late Dear Father, of Glorious Memory. And whereas *John Goodwin*, late of Coleman Street, London, Clerk, hath also published in Print, a Book Intituled, *The Obstructor of Justice*, written in defence of his late Majesty. And whereas the said *John Milton*, and *John Goodwin*, are both fled, or so obscure themselves, that no endeavors used for their apprehension can take effect, whereby they might be brought to Legal Trial, and deservedly receive condigne punishment for their Treasons and Offences.

Now to the end that Our good Subjects may not be corrupted in their Judgments, with such wicked and Treasonous principles, as are dispersed and scattered throughout the beforementioned Books, we, upon the motion of the Commons in Parliament now assembled, doe hereby strictly charge and Command, all and every Person and Persons whatsoever, who live in any City, Burrough, or Town Incorporated, within this our Kingdom of England, the Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, in whose hands any of those Books are, or hereafter shall be, That they, upon pain of Our high Displeasure, and the consequence thereof, do forthwith, upon publication of this Our Command, or within Ten days immediately following, deliver, or cause the same to be delivered to the Mayor, or Keyholders, or other chief Officer or Magistrate, in any of the said Cities, Burroughs, or Towns Incorporated, where such person or persons so live; or, if living out of any City, Burrough, or Town Incorporated, then to the next Justice of Peace adjoining to his or their dwelling, or place of abode, or if living in either of Our Universities, then to the Vice-Chancellor of that University where he or they do reside.

And in default of such voluntary delivery, which we do expect in obedience of Our said Command, That then and after the time before limited, expired, the said Chief Magistrate of all and every the said Cities, Burroughs, or Towns Incorporated, the Justices of the Peace in their several Counties, and the Vice-Chancellors of Our said Universities respectively, are hereby Commanded to seize and Take, all and every the Books aforesaid, in whose hands or possession forever they shall be found, and certify the names of the Offenders unto Our Privy Council.

And we do hereby also give special Charge and Command to the said Chief Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, and Vice-Chancellors respectively, That they cause the said Books which shall be brought unto any of their hands, or seized or taken as aforesaid, by virtue of this Our Proclamation, to be delivered to the respective Sheriffs of those Counties where they respectively live, the first and next Assizes that shall after happen. And the said Sheriffs are hereby also required, in time of holding such Assizes, to cause the same to be publicly burnt by the hand of the Common Hangman.

And we do further strictly Charge and Command, That no man hereafter presume to Print, Blend, Sell, or Disperse any the aforesaid Books, upon pain of Our heavy Displeasure, and of such further punishment, as for their presumption in that behalf, may any way be inflicted upon them by the Laws of this Realm.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 13th day of August, in the Twelfth year of Our Reign, 1660.

LONDON, Printed by *John Bill* and *Christopher Barker*, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, 1660.

By the King. A proclamation for calling in, and suppressing of two books written by John Milton (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1660).

KW 226 E 45

LA COUR
DE
FRANCE
TURBANISE'E,
ET LES
TRAHISONS
DE MASQUE'E S.

En trois Parties.

Par Monfr. L. B. D. E. D. E.

SECONDE EDITION



A COLOGNE,
Chez PIERRE MARTEAU, 1687.

The horrid Popish PLOT

HAPPILY DISCOVER'D:


O R,

The English Protestants Remembrancer.

A POEM on the Never-to-be-forgotten

POWDER-TREASON,

And late Burning of several Cart-loads of Popish Books at the *Royal Exchange*.


 Welcome *blest day!* that happily didst save
 Our Church and Nation from a threatened Grave:
 A Day! mult never *Marks* of Honour want,
 Whilst there survives one grateful Protestant;
 But in our *Calendar* shall stand enrol'd,
 Through every Age, with Characters of Gold.
 As once proud *Human* with a curs'd Decree,
 Had sign'd God's peoples General Deliv'rance,
 So cruel Factors now of Hell and ROME,
 Relolv'd on *England's* universal Doom.
 But Heaven's bright Eye reveal'd the Hellish PLOT,
 Which had it prosper'd, boldly might have shot
 At the Celestial Throne, put out the Sun,
 And made the World back to its Chaos run.
 Though deep as Hell they laid the Black Design,
 Fate blasts their Projects with a Countermine:
 And then the desperate *Undertakers* be,
 Like *Human*, sentenc'd to the fatal Tree,
 Thus *Pharaoh* perish'd, *Israel* cap'd free,
 And thall *Juch Mercies* ever be forgot?
 No, no,---Were we to thankless, they would not
 Permit it; whose new *Treasons* still we see,
 Revive their *Old ones* to our Memory.
 The *Cockatrice* on the same Eggs doth brood;
Rebellion's Vengeance is their natural Food.
 Rome's Founder by a Wolf (tis said) was nurs'd,
 And with his *Brother's* blood her Walls at first
 He cemented: whence ever since we finde
 Her Oil spring of a *Ravenous, Bloody* kinde.
 Long since with *Temporal Arms*, and *Flags* unfurl'd,
 She *Tyranny* o'er Conquer'd Nations hurl'd;
 And now with *spiritual Thraldom* grasps the World.
 Sooner the *Atiops* may launch his skin,
 And Devils cease from tempting Men to sin;
 Sooner shall Darkness dwell in the Sun's beams,
 And *Tyburn* mix with our *Thames* purer Streams,
 Than the lie *Jesuits* his old *Arts* will leave,
 Or curst Nets of Treason cease to weave.
 But now behold! methinks a gallant Sight,
 DoDrines of *Darkness* yonder brought to light:
Rooflines in Earneſt! where Rome's *Pamphlets* fly,
 And *Popish Authors* pass their Purgat'ry.
 Unto the Fire their Books! most jolly came,
 Which first were wrote to set us in a Flame.

As in the Air the burning Papers flew,
 We might, in Emblem, that Religion view:
 Which makes a while a glorious glittering Blaze,
 And with gay *Pomp* inviteth Fools to gaze;
 Pretends directly towards Heav'n to fly
 On Wings of flaming Love and Charity:
 But wait a while, approach a little nigher,
 Its Glory fades, grows faint, and does Expire.
 What at first view appear'd so warm and bright,
 Like painted Fire, yields neither Heat, nor Light,
 But Grofs and Earthly down it comes again,
 And with its Blackness, where'th doth touch, doth stain.

Was it for this the Monk in his dark Cell,
 With Nitrous Earth, and *Brimstone* toln from Hell,
 First compos'd Gun-powder, that it might be
 The future Engine of their Butchery?
 At one fid stroke to *Massacre* a Land,
 And make them fall, whom Heaven ordain'd to stand?
 Or could the bold, but fly Traitors hope,
 Great Britain e're would Trickle to the Pope?
 Erect and Lofly still her Genius stands,
 And defies all their Heads, and all their Hands.
 Nor shall their Strength or Policy e're reach
 Our Ruine, if our Crimes ope not the Breach.
 Still we are late, till our *Irreconcilable* merits
 The dreadful Reformation from such Spirits.
 They dig in vain, nor need our Nation fear
 Dark Lanthorns, whilst Gods Candlesticks are here.
 "The Purple Whore may lay her Mantle by,
 "Until our Sins are of a Scarlet Die.

Lord! may they never to that Bulk proceed,
 Nor fester so within, that we should need
 Italian *Horfe-leeches* to make us Bleed.
 May Reviv'd London never more become
 The Priests *Burnt-offering* to insult Rome.
 With Guarding Mercies fill our Sovereign tender,
 And be thou *He*, as He's thy Faiths Defender.

FINIS.

L I C E N S E D, Nov. 2. 1678.

L O N D O N : Printed for R. G. 1678.

The horrid Popish Plot happily discover'd (London: R.G., 1678).

The Library of De Witt

It should be remembered that books were just as often persecutors as the persecuted. Like the English ballad that celebrated a bonfire of Catholic books, so this cruel pamphlet, the *Catalogue of the books in the library of Johan de Witt*, was a reminder that even the most tolerant of societies could spawn vicious and spiteful politics. Johan de Witt led the Dutch Republic as Grand Pensionary of Holland for twenty years, between 1653 and 1672. He was brutally lynched by a mob in The Hague, the consequence of a disastrous invasion by several French and German armies that broke through Dutch borders with ease. The pamphlet contained a list of fictional titles purportedly to be found in De Witt's library. Each was a savage stab at his already desecrated corpse, recalling the accusations made against him of corruption, collusion with the Republic's enemies, and betrayal of the state which he ruled in the interests of his own narrow clique. *The Catalogue of the books in the library of Johan de Witt* was not just a grotesque and bitter work penned by a fanatical supporter of the Prince of Orange, De Witt's great opponent, or a grudge-bearing personal enemy. It was wildly popular, a true bestseller: according to what we know from surviving copies, it went through at least eight editions in the space of a single year; there were also spin-offs, a 'continuation' and an 'appendix'. To printers and publishers, persecution could be good business.

This tract makes uncomfortable reading, but offers a salutary message for those who study changing media environments through history. Literate people would instinctively set themselves against censorship, and of course, persecution. But at the same time, societies have always reserved the right to patrol the acceptable bounds of public expression and behaviour. In this respect, the first centuries of print reflected the conflicting imperatives of human society in all their perplexing variety.

T 6245

CATALOGUS
Van
BOECKEN
Inde
BYBLIOTHEQUE
Van
Mr. J A N de W I T,
Door zijn Discipel
Den Pensionaris V I V I E N.



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Time to Relax

Recreational literature had a difficult birth. Although books were now ubiquitous, they were still a serious and carefully considered purchase: most books were bought for professional purposes by those who needed to remain well informed. In mediaeval Europe, listening to chivalric romances, told by a travelling troubadour or the court poet, was the privilege of the very rich, and this tradition continued in the age of print with the early editions of Ariosto and *Amadis de Gaule*. The French translation of *Amadis*, a sprawling multi-volume saga in the Arthurian tradition of the knights of the round table, was something of a milestone: a luscious folio with specially commissioned woodcuts, published in successive and eagerly awaited instalments. These tales set in a semi-mythical historical past blended with a broader taste for reading history, one of the most popular forms of recreational reading in the first centuries of print.

The French *Amadis* was an expensive book, and it was only towards the second century of print that recreational literature began to appear in cheaper editions. The oral tradition remained strong: one of the most significant vectors of culture was the publication of play texts, sold after a successful performance on stage. Equally significant were the ubiquitous, but today very rare broadsheet ballads, many with a strong contemporary political edge. Authorities were especially wary of ballad culture, and policed what was sung in the taverns as carefully as what was sold in the streets. Prose literature was heavily orientated towards events, with accounts of battles, celestial visions and hideous crimes providing good business for printers. It was only in the seventeenth century that imaginative prose of a non-theological nature began seriously to infiltrate the print market. The adventures of *Don Quixote de la Mancha* was a crucial intervention, building on the established chivalric tradition and turning its second edition into a meditation celebrating the

LE CINQUESME LIVRE D'AMADIS DE

GAVLE, MIS EN FRANCOYS PAR LE
Seigneur des Essars Nicolas de Herberay, Com-
missaire ordinaire de l'artillerie du Roy, &
Lieutenant en icelle, es pais & gouverne-
ment de Picardie, de monsieur de Bris-
sac, Cheualier de l'ordre, grand
maistre & Capitaine general
d'icelle artillerie.

Acuerdo Oluido.



Es de la libreria de Robert le Mangnier
Avec priuilege du Roy.

A P A R I S.

Pour Jean Longis & Robert le Mangnier, tenant
leurs boutiques en la gallerie par ou
on va à la Chancellerie.

1560.

6218

One of the instalments of Amadis: *Le cinqiesme livre d'Amadis de Gaule* (Paris: Jean Longis and Robert le Mangnier, 1560), USTC 27158.

power of print. Don Quixote was not uncontroversial: the Spanish authorities tried unsuccessfully to prevent its exportation to the colonies. But the literary world had a great deal for which to thank Michel Cervantes, as influential a pioneer in recreational literature as Martin Luther had been in the exploitation of print for his religious movement.

Of Valorous Knights and Powerful Rulers

Printing in the sixteenth century was not only about the great names of humanist and literary publishing such as the Estiennes, the Gryphes, the de Tournes or Badius. Most editions were produced by less prestigious workshops, many of which have long escaped scholars mainly attracted by the leading lights of the Renaissance book. The *Épitaphes des Roys de France* is a case in point. The text attributed to Barthélemy Chasseneu on the title-page was in fact a rewriting of the printer and poet Jacques Bouchet's work *Les anciennes et modernes genealogies des Roys de France*, and comprised a series of short biographies of the fifty-eight kings of France, starting with the mythical King Pharamond, whose Trojan descent added legitimacy and prestige to the royal lineage, and ending with Francis I. Written entirely in French verse, Francis is the only king to receive a short Latin eulogy that concentrates on his military successes and his generosity. Each king received his own woodcut portrait inserted into a passe-partout frame. They range from the completely fabricated, for the more ancient monarchs, to a vague likeness, in the case of the more contemporary ones.

The Bordeaux imprint followed in the wake of a number of editions of this popular text, the first of which was printed by Bouchet in 1527/8. However, this version differs from its predecessors as it jettisons the long prose accounts of the reign of each king to preserve only the short verse introductions. The impression that this is a downmarket iteration is reinforced by the woodcuts: they are crudely cut copies of those that feature in the initial edition, simplifying the hatching and sometimes removing details from the originals. The deformed name of the publisher, given as Jean Mentcle, suggests this might be a pirate edition: Jean Mentcle was in fact Jean Clement, the bookseller inverting the first and last syllable of his name – a process very common in modern French slang known as *verlan*.

Decrypting his name in the way allows us to track down Clement's will in the Bordeaux archives which reveal a slightly more complex story: he was an itinerant figure whose peripatetic career took him not just to Bordeaux, but also to Poitiers where he had business connections to the Marnef shop which published with Bouchet a new edition of the text in 1545. This suggests that the Clement edition was perhaps at least implicitly authorised, a cheap octavo iteration that sought to popularise the text further without contaminating the Bouchet and Marnef brand before the publication of the more prestigious folio edition a few years later. (MW)



Iam Franciscus adest gallis generosior illo
 Alter et in toto non fuit orbe prior
 Magnanimus bello (lustris uix quinq; pactis)
 Cum decorat meritum parta corona caput

Woodcut from Jacques Bouchet, *Epitaphes des Roys de France, qui ont regné depuis le roy Pharamond, jusques au roy Francoys premier de ce nom* (Bordeaux: Jean 'Mentcle', [c. 1540]), USTC 13301.

Translating Tacitus

The Roman senator Tacitus (c. 56–120 AD) became an extremely popular author at the end of the sixteenth century. In his *annals*, Tacitus described the history of imperial Rome covering the period following the death of the first Emperor Augustus and the reigns of his successors including Caligula and Nero. It is an account of political intrigue revealing the reality of power. At a time when religious and civil wars were raging in France and the Low Countries, rulers and their counsellors turned to Tacitus for political lessons.

Editions of his *annals* and *histories* were translated in most European vernaculars. In 1578, the Florentine *Accademia degli Alterati* asked Bernardo Davanzati (1529–1606) to translate the first book of Tacitus' *annals* into Tuscan. He finished this work in 1596 when it was first published in Florence. Davanzati continued to translate the remainder of the *annals* and a further five books were printed in Florence by Filippo Giunti in 1600. By this stage, the Giunti press had published a number of texts on Tacitus, all in quarto.

In EMB, two copies of the 1600 edition from the *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze* have been digitised. Both copies contain extensive seventeenth-century annotations. The first copy contains corrections and annotations by Davanzati. Later, this copy belonged to Francesco de Medici. These annotations are interesting in guiding our understanding of the process of translation and editing. Ancient historians were not just translated into the vernacular to reach a broader audience. Translating Tacitus became part of the language and cultural battles between the French and Italian at this time. Davanzati wanted to prove it was possible to translate Latin sentences into short Italian ones. The second copy was annotated by the Florentine Piero Dini (1570–1625), a friend of Galileo Galilei, who was active in literary academies in Florence, before moving to Rome and being appointed as Archbishop of Fermo. (NL)

The Female Voice

One of the major problems facing women in this period was the gender gap when it came to the teaching of reading and writing. This would be increasingly addressed from the sixteenth century onwards, particularly in northern Europe: Luther was a prominent exponent in female education, and his church orders mandated the establishment of schools for girls. Until this point literacy was common only in the upper reaches of society, or, indeed, in the printing industry. The first generation of female authors, therefore, included a number who were politically prominent in their own right, such as Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549), sister of King Francis I of France and wife of King Henry II of Navarre, who was widely regarded as a woman of learned distinction. Her intelligence, curiosity and wisdom won her

L'IMPERIO
DI TIBERIO CESARE
Scritto da
CORNELIO TACITO
NELLI ANNALI

Espresso in lingua Fiorentina propria.

D A

Bernardo Dauanzati Bosichi.



Di France.

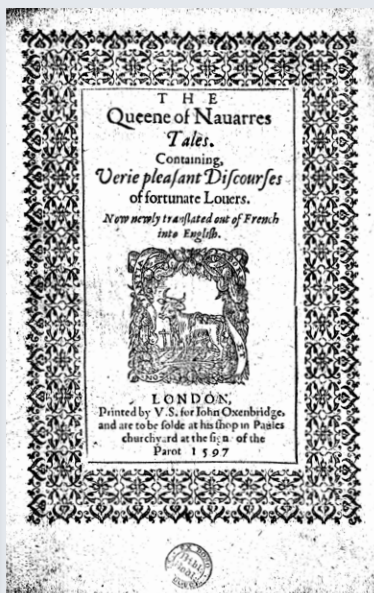
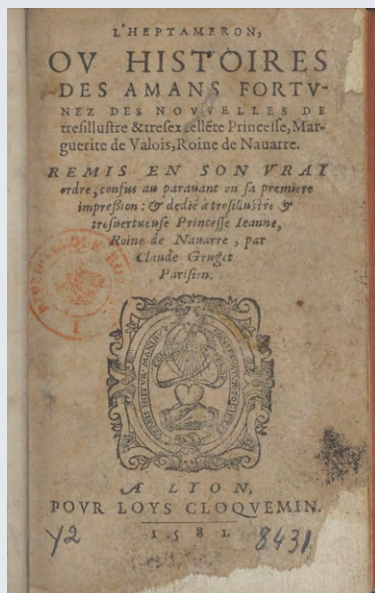
Medie.

IN FIORENZA
PER FILIPPO GIUNTI.
M D C.

Con licenzia de' Superiori & privilegio.

Gi. Gualt. Bardini M. M. Nani

Cornelius Tacitus, *L'imperio di Tiberio Cesare scritto da Cornelio Tacito nelli annali espresso in lingua fiorentina* (Florence: Filippo (II) Giunti, 1600), USTC 857899.



A French and English edition of Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron*: *L'heptameron* (Lyon: Louis Cloquevin, 1581), USTC 2938, and *The queen of Navarres tales. Containing, verie pleasant discourses of fortunate lovers* (London: Valentine Simmes for John Oxenbridge, 1597), USTC 513474.

many admirers, who flocked to her court in hope of receiving her patronage. She was an active patron, especially of the early French Reformed movement, which secured her ever-lasting praise. As an author, she would become best known for her *Heptaméron*, a collection of short stories in French, first published posthumously in 1559. It appeared in over thirty editions within half a century and was also translated into English as *The queen of Navarres tales. Containing, verie pleasant discourses of fortunate lovers* (1597).

Once women found their voice, this gave considerable impetus to the development of imaginative literature. Women had always been significant consumers of poetry, often read to circles of women working on their embroidery, or mixed circles of men and women at court. Marguerite of Navarre's *Heptaméron*, very much in the style of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, drew on this tradition. So it is no surprise that other women authors found success writing literature and poetry, especially in the seventeenth century. Louis XIV's France can be considered as one of the most fertile grounds for women's literary pursuits. *La princesse de Monpensier* (1662), written anonymously by Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne (1634–1693), is regarded as one of the earliest novels. As a drama set during the French Wars of Religion of a century earlier, it is also a prototype for the genre of historical fiction: the preface announced to the reader that 'the author wished to write these invented adventures as a pleasant distraction'.

It is extremely difficult to find the female voice in early modern Spanish print. Just half of one per cent of all works, for which we have an author, are known to have been written by women. Yet, though relatively small in number, women did write books, and these works did find their way onto the printing presses and into the hands of readers. Before 1700, at least 160 women are known to have been involved in penning books in Spain. The majority were of a religious nature. Indeed, the first woman author whose work was printed in Spain (in 1486) was Faltonia Betita Proba – an early Christian poet. Her *Carmina, sive Centones Virgilii* was printed in seven editions in the incunabula period alone. Towering above all female religious authors, though, were figures such as St Teresa de Jesús, María de Jesús de Ágreda, Hipólita de Jesus Rocaberti y Soler and Juana Inés de la Cruz.

The relative visibility of women authors within the religious book market was not replicated in other genres. This makes the figure of María de Zayas y Sotomayor (1590–1661) all the more remarkable; for she was a writer not of religious but of secular literature. The *Amorous and Exemplary Novels* became an immediate publishing success. The version digitised here was printed in Zaragoza in the Hospital Real de Nuestra Señora de Gracia in 1637, and is the first confirmed edition of her work. A second edition, appearing from the same press, was rushed to print in the same year, with two further editions the following year. Further editions were printed in Barcelona in the mid-1640s and in Madrid in 1659 and

NOVELAS ^x,
AMOROSAS, Y
EXEMPLARES.
COMPUESTAS POR DOÑA
*Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor, na-
tural de Madrid.*



CON LICENCIA,
*En Zaragoza, En el Hospital Real, y Gñl de N. Señora
de Gracia, Año 1637.*

A costa de Pedro Esquer, Mercader de libros.

María de Zayas y Sotomayor, *Novelas amorosas y exemplares* (Zaragoza: Hospital Real de N. Señora de Gracia a costa de Pedro Escuer, 1637), USTC 5022533.

1664. The *Amorous and Exemplary Novels* were ten short stories, each supposedly told over a number of nights by five men and five women. The stories were designed to entertain Lysis, their host, who was sick with quartan fever. Each of the stories recounts some aspect of love, with the women's tales emphasising ill-treatment, deception and even violent abuse at the hands of their male suitors or husbands, and the men's stories demonstrating key character flaws such as arrogance or unfaithfulness. It is no wonder that the short stories have attracted so much interest from literature specialists in particular – keen on tracing how gender relationships were expressed in periods earlier than our own. (AW)

The Play's the Thing

One of the most prolific Dutch female authors was Katharina Lescaille, a writer, translator and publisher. The work pictured here, *Genserik, treurspel* (1685) was her translation of a French tragedy written by a woman, Antoinette Deshoulières (1638–1694). Although it does not state so on the title-page, Katharina Lescaille also published this work, together with her sisters. As the daughters of the prominent poet-publisher Jacob Lescaille, who had enjoyed the privilege of printing for the Amsterdam *Schouwburg* (theatre), the Lescaille family was fully integrated in the literary world of the Dutch Republic.

Theatre is also one genre closely associated with Spain's Golden Age. While printed version of plays can be found from the late fifteenth century onwards, the torrent of plays written, performed and published in the seventeenth century was on a wholly different scale. The voracious appetite of the market for buying printed versions of plays was also unprecedented in European terms; it is a quite distinctively Spanish phenomenon. The seventeenth century was an extraordinarily fertile period for drama, electrified by the presence of outstanding dramatists. Playwrights, including figures such as Lope de Vega (1562–1635) and then Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681) wrote for an eager public. With local authorities in some areas concerned about the impact of the plays on public morality, the closure of theatres, sometimes for long periods, was not uncommon. There were also periods where the printing of plays was expressly prohibited. If anything, however, such acts served to stoke the flames of public interest further. Printed plays offered sensational opportunities for the world of publishing.

Printed drama evolved in Spain, adopting and developing different physical formats that had proved successful in other genres, to appeal to readers' tastes and their pockets. These very formats (*sueltas*, with distinct pagination, *desglosables*, disbindable plays, and *partes*, volumes intended to be presented as such, even if some of the plays have now ended up separated) present huge problems for modern scholars attempting to reconstruct the contours of the market. Many items have

GENSERIK,

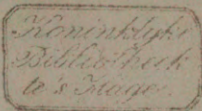
Kw 4482174
Deshoulières
TREURSPEL.



Amst.
AMSTERDAM,

By de Erfgenaamen van Jacob Lescailje, op de
Middeldam, naast de Vischpoort, 1685.

Met Privilegie.



Antoinette Deshoulières, *Genserik, treurspel*, translated by Katharina Lescaille (Amsterdam: heirs of Jacob Lescaille, 1685), USTC 1837599.

SEGUNDA PARTE
DE LAS COMEDIAS DE DON PEDRO
CALDERON DE LA BARCA, CAVALLERO
DEL ABITO DE SANTIAGO.

RECOGIDAS

Por don Ioseph Calderon de la Barca su hermano.

DIRIGIDAS

A Felipe Lopez de Oñate, Proveedor de la Casa Real de la
Reyna nuestra Señora, y de los Principes.



CON PRIVILEGIO, EN MADRID,
EN LA IMPRENTA DE CARLOS SANCHEZ,
A casa de Antonio de Ribero, mercader de libros, en la calle de Toledo.



EL MAYOR ENCANTO AMOR.

COMEDIA FAMOSA.

De don Pedro Calderon de la Barca.

Personas que hablan en ella.

Vlises.

Antistes.

Arquelao.

Lebrel.

Polidoro.

Timantes.

Floro.

Clarín.

Arfidas.

Lisidas.

Circe.

Florida.

Astrea.

Licia.

Iris.

Cafimira.

Tubo.

Sirene.

*Tocan un clarín y descubrese un nauio. y en él Vlises, Antistes, Arquelao,
Lebrel, Polidoro, Timantes, Floro, y Clarín.*

*Antif. En vano forcejamos,
quando rendidos a la fuerte estamos
contra dos elementos.*

*Arq. Homicidas los mares, y los vientos,
oy serán nuestro ruina.*

Tim. Iza el trinquete. Pol. Larga la bolina.

Flo. Grande tormenta el vracan promete.

A

Antif.

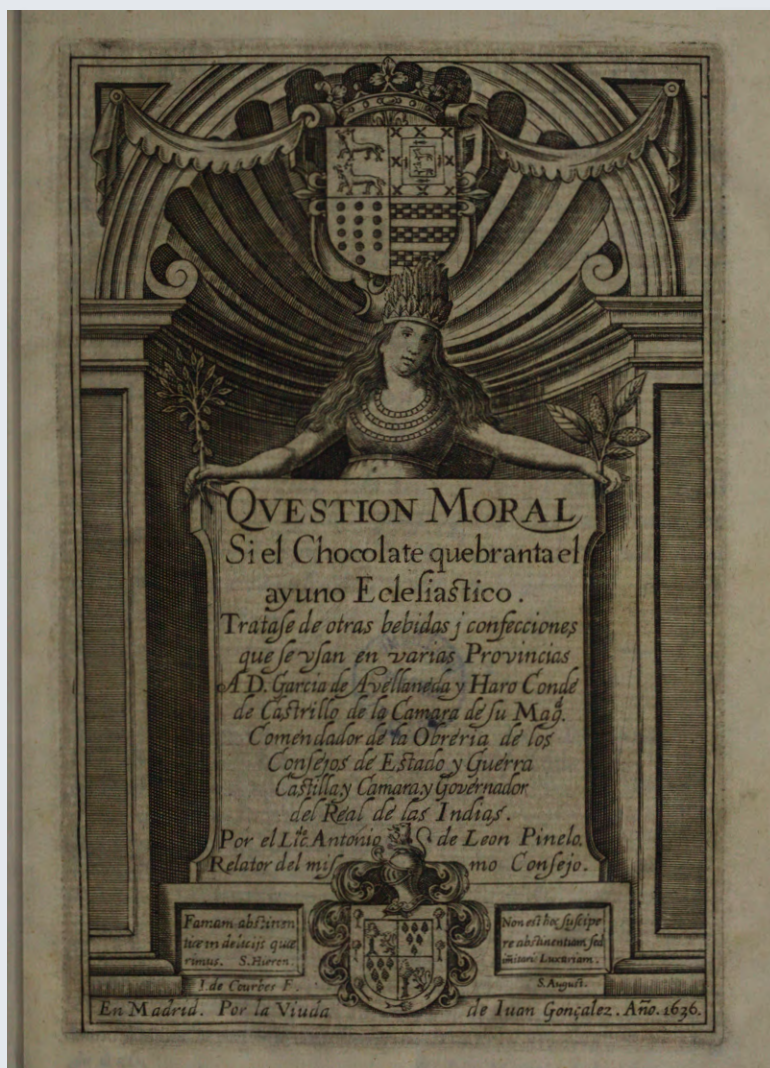
The opening of Calderón's *Love, the Greatest Enchantment* (USTC 5020070), first performed in the presence of King Philip IV in 1635 on an island purpose-built on a large lake in the Buen Retiro gardens in Madrid. One memorandum outlining plans for staging the event suggested that the opening involve a chariot carrying the goddess Agua pulled by two very large fish spouting water, with a chorus of twenty singing nymphs. The decorative fleuron (stylised flowers) at the top of the page is placed at the beginning of each of the twelve plays in the volume.

been lost altogether, while those that have survived often fail to mention any place of printing, printer or even date. Further, the popularity of these works, together with attempts to censor them, led to pirated editions or the printing of items with disguised imprints. Later editions, moreover, often purported to be earlier than they actually were. This magnificent anarchy has meant that plays are amongst the most bibliographically complex groups of works printed in this period. In consequence, scholars have faced a huge challenge to reconstruct what was printed, where and when; much investigation remains to be undertaken.

The digitised volume presented above – *the Second Volume of the Comedies* – was the work of Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681), with the twelve plays it contains gathered together for publication by the dramatist's younger brother, José Calderón. It is an example of a genuine volume, with continuous collation and pagination. This was the second edition of this particular work, printed by Carlos Sánchez, the first having appeared four years earlier in 1637, printed by María de Quiñones. Another edition, purporting to have been printed in 1637 in Madrid by Quiñones was, in fact, probably printed around 1670. It is quite telling of the chaos that seemed to have reigned in this period in the printing of plays that in his dedication in the 1637 edition of the *Segunda Parte*, José Calderón speaks of his irritation at seeing many plays being printed under his brother's name that were certainly not by him. This was a problem, indeed, that would have been all too familiar to other great playwrights of the period too, including Lope de Vega. (AW)

Where Two Worlds Meet

Expansion into the New World confronted contemporary philosophers, scientists and theologians with a range of interesting problems and conundrums. One pressing issue raged over a seemingly innocuous substance – chocolate. A ritual drink in Mexico, chocolate was adopted with some enthusiasm by the Spanish settlers who often combined it with cinnamon, vanilla, sugar and chili. In Europe, it became popular too – at least among the wealthy. Seen as a luxury and exotic item, an entirely new culture developed around its consumption, with special pots, and even devices for frothing becoming an integral part of the experience. So frequently was chocolate consumed, at least amongst the well to do, that it sparked a fiery theological debate – which, at various points, spilled over into print. The essence of the problem was this: could people drink chocolate during ecclesiastical fasts? Of course, any substance which offered sustenance to the Catholic faithful during fasts was unacceptable; indeed, it was regarded as a mortal sin. However, a drink which offered no such sustenance, was considerable perfectly acceptable.



The Moral Question of whether Chocolate Breaks the Ecclesiastical Fast: Antonio de León Pinelo, *Question moral si el chocolate quebranta el ayuno ecclesiastico* (Madrid: por la viuda de Juan González, 1636), USTC 5008338.

Into this debate sprang Antonio de León Pinelo (c. 1590–1660), a remarkable man. León Pinelo had held several major administrative offices in the New World, including becoming mayor of Oruro. On returning to Madrid, his advice and extensive knowledge of colonial affairs became highly valued; indeed, he was known amongst his peers as the ‘Oracle of America’. His contribution to the debate – *The Moral Question on Whether Chocolate Breaks the Ecclesiastical Fast* – was printed in Madrid in 1636 by Catalina de Barrio y Angulo, the widow of Juan González.

The title-page captures perfectly the cultural interaction that was occurring between the Old and the New Worlds. What is immediately striking about the wonderful engraving is the juxtaposition of the classical European style in the background with the central figure of a Mexican woman, in Mexican dress, holding up the scroll in which sits the book’s title. In her left hand, she holds cocoa leaves, and in her right a small cocoa tree. Latin quotations at the bottom from Jerome and Augustine highlight the issue the book is designed to address – the importance of the fast, and how it ought properly to be conducted.

Antonio de León Pinelo offered a moderating influence. The work provides an overview of the key themes raised by previous contributors to the debate, before finally settling on the conclusion that – if it is consumed once, and if no other ingredients are added, then drinking chocolate does not break the fast and mortal souls are not in danger. The book also explores other dimensions of chocolate, including discussions of its medical benefits and drawbacks, advising, perhaps prudently, restraint rather than overindulgence. (AW)



Artisans of Culture

In the mid-seventeenth century, at the height of the Dutch Golden Age, Franchyna Woedwaerdts went to court. Her husband, Paulus Callenbach, had died, leaving the bulk of his estate to the daughter of his first wife, depriving Franchyna of what she thought was her due. That was not unusual; what marked this case out was that Franchyna should defend her own rights so fiercely, arguing that she had been the driving force behind their printing business. Before their marriage, Franchyna contested, Callenbach had not had the money to sustain a prospering business. Franchyna had had to sell her trousseau to provide the necessary capital. Thereafter she had been a full partner in the enterprise, ‘hanging up the printed pages to dry, and proofing them, such that everything had to pass through her hands.’ This testimony came from one of her late husband’s journeymen. The other men working in the print shop realised how important a role their mistress had played in sustaining the business, and they were prepared to speak up on her behalf.

This sort of evidence is vanishingly rare; as so often, those who lived out of the public eye are known to us when they became embroiled in legal proceedings. This case is particularly valuable because it offers us tangible evidence of one constant of the industry: that print shops were a family business. The wife, as here, would frequently act as business manager. Sons would be trained in the family firm, and the future of both sons and daughters was carefully plotted to embed the family more firmly in the networks of personal connections that acted as a protective shield for the most prominent publishing firms. Dynastic marriages of this sort helped preserve the cosy cartel that helped repel outsiders and ensured steady profits for the established firms.

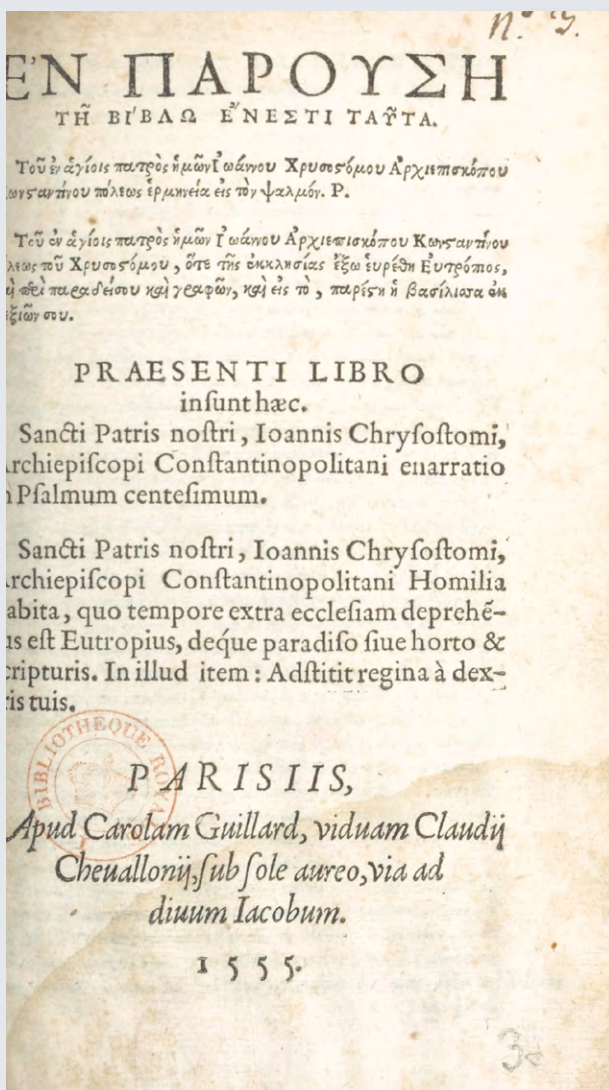
Little of this contribution would be recorded on the book's imprint, which advertised the firm's work with the address of the printing office and the name of the head of the family, generally the father. All of the books on which Franchyna Woodwaerdts laboured so effectively were published under the name of her ungrateful husband, Paulus Callenbach. It was only if they outlived their husband that most women had the chance to step out of the shadows and print under their own name: hence Franchyna's frustration when this opportunity was snatched away by the claims of her stepdaughter. But when the opportunity presented itself, women master printers frequently went on to build careers in their own right of great distinction, as the collections of EMB allow us to demonstrate.

So here we have decided to illustrate the contributions of the artisans of the book trade by concentrating exclusively on the unsung contributions of the women of the family.

Parisian Pioneer

Charlotte Guillard (c. 1485–1557) was one of the most prominent Parisian printers of the early sixteenth century, as well as one of the most successful women printers of her age. She did not come from a printing family, but married into the trade after her first husband, Berthold Rembolt, decided to invest in the booming Parisian book business. When Rembolt died in 1518 or 1519, she maintained the family print shop, solidifying her position by marrying the bookseller Claude Chevallon in 1520. Although her name disappeared from her publications after her second marriage, archival contracts indicate that she was mentioned as an equal partner in the business. When Chevallon died in 1537, Guillard was determined to lead the printing house until her death. Over the course of the two following decades, she published at least 158 works under her own name, like this edition of John Chrysostom (1555).

It is certainly true that we see more female printers at work in northern Europe than the Mediterranean countries. Nevertheless, women still played an important role in the book trade in Italy and Spain. A substantial surgical handbook, by the French author Guy de Chauliac (1300–1368) and translated into Castilian by Juan Calvo, was printed in 1658 in Madrid by Maria de Quiñones (below). In 1627, Maria had inherited her print shop not from a husband or father, but from her aunt, Maria Rodriguez Ribalde, the widow of Pedro de Madrigal. Maria de Quiñones was married to Jan de la Cuesta, who abandoned her, moving to Seville, when Maria was pregnant. Undeterred, Maria continued to lead the print shop herself. It is noteworthy that Maria continued to place her husband's name on her books until 1634. This was a common, pragmatic choice: once the brand identity had been established, it was sometimes too valuable to be cast off.



Guillard's Chrysostom (1555), USTC 204859: she described herself as 'Charlotte Guillard, widow of Claude Chevallon'.

16195
LA MAGNA, Y CANONICA

CIRURGIA

DE GUIDO DE CAVLIACO,

PRINCIPE DELLA.

Con la Glossa del Doctor Falcon; y lo que a su modo
dispuso el Doctor Caluo.

ANOTADOS, CORREGIDOS, Y DECLARADOS LOS
lugares obscuros, autoridades, terminos de los simples, y dificultades
de los compuestos, por exemplares Latinos, y vulgares,
quanto se pudo.

TODO EN LENGVA CASTELLANA.

Vtil, y noticioso a Medicos, Cirujanos, y Boticarios.

Añadida su Cirujia Parua, ò Recetario, nuevamente traduzida, con las notas
necessarias de su inteligencia.

POREL DOCTOR D.FERNANDO INFANTE DE AVRIOLES,
natural de la Villa de Carrion, Medico Complutense, de la Familia de la Reyna
nuestra Señora, de los Exercitos, y Armadas de su Magestad, y de los
Reales Hospitales, en la muy antigua, noble, y
coronada villa de Madrid.

TRABAJO

Que consagra a la gloriosa Reuerencia de los Inclitos Martires
SAN COSME Y SAN DAMIAN.

Salen tambien en esta impresion el Tratado de las Flores de Guido, Aphorismos, ò Gnomologias,
sacadas de sus Doctrinas.



CON PRIVILEGIO

En Madrid, En la Imprenta de Maria de Quiñones, Año M.DC.LVIII.

A costa de Iuan de Valdés, Mercader de libros. Vendese en su casa, enfrente del Colegio
de Santo Tomas.

An example of the work of the indefatigable Maria de Quiñones, a substantial surgical work in folio (*La magna, y canonical cirugia*, 1658).

Merry Widows

When Margareta van Bancken (1628–1695) married Abraham Casteleyn of Haarlem, she married the foremost newspaper publisher of the Netherlands; some said even all of Europe. Immortalised in a magnificent portrait by Jan de Bray in 1663, Margareta and Abraham enjoyed a harmonious marriage and a successful public life.

When Abraham died in 1681, Margareta took over publication of the tri-weekly *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant*, as well as Abraham's position as city-printer. It is noteworthy that Margareta printed city ordinances, schoolbooks and other literature under her own name (an otherwise rare occurrence in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic) but maintained her husband's name on the newspaper that he had founded in 1656. In fact, Abraham Casteleyn's name would remain on the imprint of every issue until 1737, when the paper's privilege left the Casteleyn family.

Like Margareta, many women publishers who followed in the footsteps of their husbands maintained a similar profile in the trade, working within similar networks and catering towards the tastes of known audiences. Some women, once at the head of the business, were more entrepreneurial. Susanna Veseler, widow of the Amsterdam bookseller-poet Jan Jacobsz Schipper, is a case in point. Veseler's husband was a well-known publisher of poetry, natural science and Reformed theology, but after his death, Veseler converted to Catholicism, and for a period of thirty years (1669–1699) she would diversify the family's publishing programme considerably. Although she continued to publish some Reformed works, like the magnificent folio edition of Adriaen van Haemstede's Protestant martyrology (1671, below), she also invested great sums in the publication of English Bibles and Catholic devotional works: one destined for export across the North Sea, the other for the Southern Netherlands. When Veseler died, she left a substantial estate, including several fine Amsterdam canal properties.

London and York

Sometimes, opening up new markets provided the opportunity for entrepreneurial women. London was an unwelcoming environment for newcomers: Alice Broade was one of the first printers of York, following in the footsteps of her husband Thomas Broade, who had printed in York briefly during the English Civil Wars. She became the only printer in York upon the Restoration of Charles II (1660) and ensured that a printing press would remain permanently active in York. One of the first works that she printed was the *Good Husbands Jewel* (1661): not a tract on marriage advice, as the title might indicate, but a text on veterinary medicine, by John Crowshey.



Abraham Casteleyn and Margareta van Bancken (1663), as pictured by Jan de Bray (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, K-A-3280).

4870
DES
KONINGS en PROPHETE
DAVIDS
BOEK
DER
HARP-ZANGEN:

In Neêrduitsch uitgebreidt door

D^r. JOHAN VLAKVELD.

*Van nieuws op Musijk gebracht
met 1. en 2. Stemmen:*

Cantus, of Tenor, en Bassus;

Nevens een

Bassus Continuus:

Door

Mr. SIMON LE FEVRE.



Tot HAARLEM,

Gedrukt voor den Auteur; by Margarita van Banken,
op de Groote Markt. 1683.

Met Privilegie.

One of Margareta's works (1683), a Dutch version of the Psalms of David, with extensive musical notations. Johan Vlakveld, *Des Konings en Prophete Davids boek der harp-zangen* (Haarlem: Margareta van Bancken, for the author, 1683), USTC 1825925.

DE
HISTORIE
DER
MARTELAREN,

Die om het getuygenisse der Euangelischer
waerheyt haer bloet gestort hebben, van de tijden
Christi onses Salighmakers af tot den jare
sesthiën hondert vijf-en-vijftigh toe.

*Niet alleen in dese Nederlanden / maer oock in Brancrijck / Engelandt /
Schotland / Spanjen / Italien / Duytschlandt / America en andere Landen / met
vele van hare Bieden en Belydenissen: als mede de Noort van Parijs / de Noort
in Dolsoline / d' ongeschooide wreethed in Perlandt: midtsghaders de
schijckelijcke Noort aen de Daudoyen in Piemont / en an-
dere vervolgingen der Geloovigen.*

In desen laetsten druck op een nieuw neetstelijk oversien, verbeteret, en
veelsins vermeerdert; en elck op sijn behoortick jaer en tijdt met groo-
ter vlijt en neerstigheydt tusschen gevoeght, door J. G. O.

*Met meer dan hondert vijftigh kopere platen verciert / en alle de martelisanie seer curieus
naec den aerdt en enghenschen des landts en plaetsen gesneden; en een kort
inhoudt / tot gerief vanden Leser / boven yder plaet.*

Op nieuws van duyfende mislagen gesuyvert en verbeteret.



TOT AMSTERDAM,

By de Weduwe van J. J. SCHIPPER, op de Keyfers-gracht. 1671.

Adriaen van Haemstede's great martyrology, *De Historie der Martelaren* (1671), published by 'the widow of J.J. Schippers', Susanna Veseler, USTC 1808229.

Women were also active as booksellers. In London, Anne Helme was co-publisher of a 1621 text on fowling, written by Gervase Markham. She is known to have published at least eight other editions in a career that spanned at least from 1616 to 1627. Women were prolific as hawkers of books, newsheets and pamphlets. In eighteenth-century London, ‘mercury-women’ were largely responsible for the distribution of the tens of thousands of newspapers printed in the city on a daily basis.

Print Dynasties

We should leave the last word to Machteld van Leuninghen, better known as the widow Van Wouw (1580–1662), one of the most important and entrepreneurial printers in the Dutch Republic. She was also associated with one of the printer-heroes of the Dutch Revolt, Harmen Schinkel, who was executed in 1568 by the Habsburg government for printing Reformed and rebel literature. Schinkel’s widow, Agniesgen Bruynen, remarried, and from that marriage Machteld was born. From a young age, Machteld was in the print shop, which she took over from her parents together with her husband Hillebrant van Wouw in 1605.

Hillebrant became ill in 1618 and petitioned the Dutch government to guarantee Machteld’s rights to the business and its privileges in the event of his death. In 1622, when he died, the States honoured this request, and Machteld would remain at the helm of the print shop until the early 1660s. She was a fierce businesswoman who also extracted the privilege to produce the first Dutch States Bible, a new Reformed translation of the Bible undertaken by order of the Dutch States.

Machteld became one of the richest inhabitants of The Hague, arguably the Republic’s most fashionable town: she even made the Dutch Republic’s then equivalent of the ‘rich list.’ It is an extraordinary achievement for a woman of non-aristocratic background to gain such a position in seventeenth-century Europe, even if, with her ancestral connection to one of the printing martyrs of the Dutch Republic, she was the equivalent of publishing royalty. How she must have been envied by Franchyna Woedwaerd, when she made her case for recognition to the city court of Rotterdam. But for this legal case, Franchyna’s contribution to the family printing business would be unknown to history. It is a reminder that women played a far more important role in the book trade than will ever be acknowledged by the imprint data on the books. We can, nevertheless, honour the achievement of those who emerged from this cloak of invisibility, to produce some of the most significant and technically proficient works of the age. From 2021, this visible female agency will be recognised by a special search feature in both EMB and the USTC.

THE 779.6.12.
GOOD HUSBANDS

JEWEL

OR *Craveyng*

PLAIN AND EASY DIRECTIONS

how to know the means whereby Horses,
Beasts, Sheep, &c come to have many Disea-
ses, and the way to cure them perfectly. and that,
with little cost or charges.

Written by a very skilful hand, who had this know-
ledge, not by reading or perusing any Books. but
by above thirty years experience, besides the practice of
his Ancestors.

Most usefull for all Countymen, whereby they may be enabled
to preserve their Cattell-

To an admirable and safe way for Gelding and Spaying, both
of Male and Female. Approved by the testimony of diverse
worthy Gentlemen, both Knights and Esquires, in the Coun-
ties of Yorke and Lincolne.

*The fift Edition, corrected, enlarged, and published by
AuthORITY.*

Y O R K E,

Printed by *Alice Broade*, and are to be sold by
Leonard Campleston in Stonegate, 1661.

Hungers Prevention: 1672

O R,
The whole Arte
O F
FOWLING
E Y
Water *and* Land.

Containing all the Secrets belonging
to that Arte, and brought into a true
Forme or Method, by which the most Ignorant
may know how to take any kind of
Fowle, either by Land or Water.

Also, exceeding necessary and profitable
for all such as trauell by Sea, and come into
vnhabited places: Especially, all those that
haue any thing to doe with new
Plantations.

By GERVASE MARKHAM.

LONDON,
Printed by *A. Marb.* for *Anne Helme* and
Thomas Langley, and are to be sold at their
Shops in Saint Dunstons Church yard, and
ouer against the Sarazens head
without Newgate.

One of Anne Helme's publications (Gervase Markham, *Hungers Prevention: or, the whole arte of fowling by water and land*, 1621, USTC 3009595), printed in London for her and Thomas Langley: both had shops at St Dunston's Churchyard.

KW
32567

TRACTAET,

Van bestendige Vriendt-

ende Nabuyschap / mitsgaders Verdrach noopende de
Commerciën ende Thollen/ ghemaect tot Christiaeno-
poli den 13 Augusti 1645. tusschen syne Konighlyjke
Majesteit van Denemarcken en Noorwegen/ etc. ter
eenre; ende de Hoogh Mogende Heeren Staten Gene-
rael der Vereenighde Nederlanden/ ter andere zyde.



IN 's GRAVEN-HAGE,
Byde Weduwe, ende Erfgenamen van wylen Hillebrandt Jacobsz
van Wouw, Ordinaris Druckers vande Ho: Mog: Heeren
Staten Generael. Anno 1645. Met Privilegie.

This publication from her press, a treaty of alliance between the States General and the crown of Denmark (1645), stands as an excellent example for the thousands of ordinances that Machteld van Leuninghen produced over the course of her long career. *Tractaet, van bestendige vriendt- ende nabuyschap, mitsgaders verdrach noopende de commerciën ende thollen, ghemaect tot Christiaenopoli den 13 augusti 1645. tusschen syne konighlyjke majesteit van Denemarcken ende de Staten Generael* (Den Haag: widow and heirs of Hillebrant Jacobsz van Wouw, 1645), USTC 1032034.

The Editors



Andrew Pettegree, FBA, is Professor of Modern History at the University of St Andrews, and Director of the USTC. Arthur der Weduwen is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of St Andrews and Deputy Director of the USTC.

Contributors

Andrew Cecchinato (AC) is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of St Andrews.

Jane Stevens Crawshaw (JC) is Senior Lecturer in Early Modern European History at Oxford Brookes University.

Shanti Graheli (SG) is Lecturer in Italian at the University of Glasgow.

Richard Kirwan (RK) is Lecturer in History and Director of the Centre for Early Modern Studies at the University of Limerick.

Nina Lamal (NL) is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Amsterdam.

Malcolm Walsby (MW) is Professor of Book History at ENSSIB, the French National Library School in Lyon.

Alexander Wilkinson (AW) is Professor of History at University College Dublin.

