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PRINT AND POWER IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE (1500–1800)

Edited by Nina Lamal, Jamie Cumby, and Helmer J. Helmers

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Print and Power in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)

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Nina Lamal
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Cover illustration: Minerva with a printing press. Detail from Jacob van der Schley, 'Allegory of the art of printing'. Frontispiece for Prosper Marchand, *Histoire de l'origine et des prémiers progrès de l'imprimerie* (The Hague: Pieter Paupie, 1740). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam RP-P-OB-67.367. See illustration 0.1 for full frontispiece.

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Notes on Contributors

Renaud Adam
is a book historian of the early modern period, who earned his PhD in 2011 at the University of Liège. He is currently working for Arenberg Auctions (Brussels), an auction house specializing in old and rare books. Adam mainly publishes on the history of the book in the Southern Low Countries from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries. He is the author of *Vivre et imprimer dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux* (*des origines à la réforme*) (2 vols., Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

Martin Christ
is a postdoctoral researcher and junior fellow in the Humanities Centre for Advanced Studies "Religion and Urbanity: Reciprocal Formations", funded by the German Research Foundation (FOR 2779). He is based at the Max-Weber-Centre of the University of Erfurt. He has published on confessional coexistence, conversions to Lutheranism and the history of Bohemia. He is currently working on death, burials and commemoration in German and English urban centres.

Jamie Cumby
is Assistant Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts at the Linda Hall Library. She received her PhD and her MLitt in Book History from the University of St Andrews, where she worked on the USTC and MEI projects, and she is currently enrolled in the Masters of Library Science (MLIS) program at the University of Illinois. Her research focuses on publishing and the transnational book trade in the sixteenth century, especially by publishing companies. She has published articles on early broadsheet publications in Lyon, and on the business activities of Luxembourg de Gabiano. Her current project explores the development of the *Compagnie des Libraires* of Lyon before the Wars of Religion.

Nora Epstein
is a PhD student at the University of St Andrews under the supervision of Professors Bridget Heal and Andrew Pettegree. Her research traces the transmission of religious woodcuts and metalcuts during the English and Scottish Reformations. After receiving her master's in Library and Information Science (MLIS) at the University of Illinois, she earned a master's in Book History (M.Litt) from the University of St Andrews. She has worked in archives, paper

conservation laboratories and special collections libraries; most recently as the Special Collections and Archives Librarian at DePaul University.

Helmer Helmers
is senior researcher in Dutch history at the Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW). He is the author of *The Royalist Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), and co-editor of the *Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). His current project, *The Invention of Public Diplomacy*, investigates the interaction between print and diplomacy in early modern Europe.

Jan Hillgärtner
is lecturer of German Language at Leiden University. His work focuses on the spread of the newspaper in seventeenth-century Germany and modes of reporting in the periodical press, as well as literary fame and its interplay with book advertisements and reviews in the press of the eighteenth century. Hillgärtner obtained his PhD in modern history from the University of St Andrews. He is currently working on a bibliography of German newspapers printed between 1605 and 1650.

Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba
is assistant professor in book history and editing at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow in Poland. She is the author of *Czcionką i piórem. Jan Januszowski w roli pisarza i tłumacza* (Krakow: Universitas, 2007), a monograph about a master-printer in 16th-century Krakow, and a book on printers' devices in early modern Poland-Lithuania, *Sygnety drukarskie w Rzeczypospolitej XVI wieku. Źródła ikonograficzne i treści ideowe* (Krakow: Societas Vistulana, 2015).

Nina Lamal
is a postdoctoral researcher at the Humanities Cluster of the Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW). She has published on Italian news report as well as histories on the Revolt in the Low Countries. Currently she is working the Habsburg authorities and Dutch rebels attempts at public diplomacy to gain support for their cause in the German states during the Revolt in the Netherlands.

Margaret Meserve
is Fabiano Collegiate Chair in Italian Studies and Associate Professor of History at the University of Notre Dame. She is the author of *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (2008) and the forthcoming *Papal Bull: Print,*

Politics, and Propaganda in Renaissance Rome. She has published numerous articles on Italian and French incunabula printing and has also translated Pius II's *Commentaries* for the I Tatti Renaissance Library.

Rachel Midura
is an assistant professor of digital history at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. She recently finished her dissertation at Stanford University, "Masters of the Post: Northern Italy and European Communications Networks, 1530–1730," on early modern surveillance, espionage, and postal systems. In her research, she brings twenty-first-century understanding of media and social networks to the political and cultural history of the early modern period. Her work has appeared in collected volumes such as *The Renaissance of Letters* (London: Routledge, 2019) and *Empires of Knowledge: Scientific Networks in the Early Modern World* (London: Routledge, 2018).

Gautier Mingous
is a member of the Laboratoire de Recherche Historique Rhône-Alpes (LARHRA). He received his PhD in modern history from University Lumière Lyon 2 in 2015. Mingous has published several articles on the history of information networks in Lyon at the turn of the French Wars of Religion, and on the political power of letter-writing. He is the editor of a volume on civic government in times of crisis during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: *Gouverner les villes en temps de crise. Urgences militaires et sanitaires, XVI*^{e}*–XVII*^{e} *siècles* (Louvain: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 2019).

Ernesto E. Oyarbide Magaña
has a dual *Licenciatura* in Spanish Philology and Journalism from the University of Navarra (Spain), and a Master of Studies in Literature and Arts from the University of Oxford (with distinction). He is on the last stages of a DPhil in History at the University of Oxford. Ernesto is interested in the study of early modern diplomacy, Anglo-Iberian relations, Renaissance libraries, print culture and intellectual history.

Caren Reimann
is a contributing editor and research fellow at the State Office for the Preservation of Monuments of Lower Saxony. She is the author of *Die arabischen Evangelien der Typographia Medicea. Wirtschaftshistorische Hintergründe – kunsthistorische Perspektiven* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020) and *Egon Rheinberger – Die Skizzen der Italienreise 1897* (Schaan: Edition eupalinos, 2020).

Chelsea Reutchke
is a PhD candidate at the University of St Andrews studying Catholic print networks in England during the Restoration era. Her research looks at the intersection of religious and print history. She was recently published in *Studies in Church History* on the interests of enforcers of the 1662 Licensing Act. She also serves as a bibliographic worker for BBIH and research intern for the Open Virtual Worlds' 'St Andrews 1559' digital reconstruction project.

Celyn David Richards
was awarded his PhD by the department of theology and religion at Durham University in 2020. His thesis explored the political, commercial and industrial developments that prompted the dramatic increase in printed output in England during the short reign of Edward VI, 1547–1553.

Paolo Sachet
obtained his PhD from the Warburg Institute in 2015. He is visiting lecturer at the Università degli Studi di Milano and postdoctoral fellow at the Institut d'histoire de la Réformation, at the University of Geneva. Sachet has published various articles on Renaissance scholarship and the book world. He co-edited *The Afterlife of Aldus: Posthumous Fame, Collectors and the Book Trade* (London: Warburg Institute, 2018) and authored *Publishing for the Popes: The Roman Curia and the Use of Printing* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

Forrest Strickland
(PhD, University of St Andrews) is adjunct professor of church history at Boyce College, Louisville. He is the author of, among other works, the forthcoming *Protestant Ministers and their Books in the Dutch Republic, 1607–1700*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming) and the article 'Teachers of Christ's Church: Protestant Ministers as Readers of the Church Fathers in the Dutch Golden Age' published in the volume *Communities of Print* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). In 2018 Strickland was Arminius Fellow at the Scaliger Institute at Leiden University.

Ramon Voges
is historian of early modern Europe. He obtained his PhD in 2017 at the University of Paderborn. His dissertation on the Hogenberg prints was published as *Das Auge der Geschichte. Der Aufstand der Niederlande und die Französischen Religionskriege im Spiegel der Bildberichte Franz Hogenbergs* (Leiden: Brill, 2019). Voges is deputy head of the German Museum of Books and Writing of the German National Library.

Arthur der Weduwen
is a British Academy Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of St Andrews and Deputy Director of the Universal Short Title Catalogue. He researches and writes on the history of the Dutch Republic, books, news, libraries and early modern politics. He is the author of *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols., Brill, 2017), *The Bookshop of the World. Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (co-authored with Andrew Pettegree, Yale UP, 2019) and two books on early newspaper advertising in the Netherlands (both Brill, 2020). His latest project is *The Library: A Fragile History*, co-written with Andrew Pettegree and published by Profile in 2021.

Introduction: The Printing Press as an Agent of Power

Helmer Helmers, Nina Lamal and Jamie Cumby

On the frontispiece of Prosper Marchand's 1740 history of the printing press, written at the tercentenary of its presumed invention, the press is an emblem of Enlightenment. Descending from the heavens, it spreads its light and is welcomed by Minerva and Mercury, the gods of wisdom and dissemination. In all its Enlightenment idealism, Marchand's emblem is at the heart of a long-standing, and to some extent still persistent discourse: that the invention of the printing press was an emancipating power, a bringer of light.[1] It is therefore no coincidence that the second edition of Elizabeth Eisenstein's seminal work *Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* used this captivating engraving as a frontispiece.[2] If the invention of the printing press was, in Eisenstein's famous phrase, an agent of change, that change has been perceived to be a largely positive, modernising force by many scholars writing long after Marchand.[3] Print's wide reach and persistence over time was conducive to standardisation, to cultural memory and to cross-cultural interchange on a previously unimaginable scale.[4] It spurred the spread of literacy, allowed ordinary people to access different sources of information and gave permanence to radical ideas challenging conceived wisdom. On such an account, the new technology

1 For a brief discussion of the 1740 print and an overview of how print became synonymous with liberal progress and the modern nation state see Trish Loughran, 'Books in the nation', in Leslie Howsam (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 36–39.

2 Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. iii.

3 Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change. Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). See also: Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (eds.), *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007). On bible reading, e.g. Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Printing and the People', in her *Society and Culture in Early Modern France. Eight Essays by Natalie Zemon Davis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965), pp. 189–226.

4 For Eisenstein the persistence of print was an important argument, see Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, pp. 113–126. For the debate on these issues see the discussion between Eisenstein and Johns, 'How Revolutionary was the Print Revolution?', *American Historical Review*, 107:1 (2002), pp. 84–128.

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FIGURE 0.1 Jacob van der Schley, 'Allegory of the art of printing'. Frontispiece for Prosper Marchand, *Histoire de l'origine et des prémiers progrès de l'imprimerie* (The Hague: Pieter Paupie, 1740) RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM RP-P-OB-67.367

brought social and intellectual changes that could confidently be labelled as enlightening progress.

The medium of print has also been credited with the power to effect profound political and religious change. Indeed, some of the most spectacular uses of print in its early history belong to reformers challenging power. The Protestant movement by Martin Luther used print to help build a transnational and multilingual movement opposing the authority of the Catholic Church and Catholic rulers throughout Europe.[5] In the realm of politics, rebels against monarchical authority, such as those in the sixteenth-century Low Countries, who mustered the power of print to convince both domestic and foreign audiences of the righteousness of their cause against Philip II.[6] Print's fixity and adaptability made it a tool of Enlightenment philosophers, whose work circulated and thrived through clandestine distribution networks and falsified imprints in areas where it was formally banned.[7] Lastly, the newspaper publishers and news writers who purportedly broke the arcana of government helped to create the conditions for public debates on politics.[8] Such associations, too, fitted a master narrative of modernisation, in which the medium itself

5 The literature on the Reformation and print is vast, see amongst others Bernd Moeller, 'Stadt und Buch. Bemerkungen zur Struktur der reformatorischen Bewegung in Deutschland', in Bernd Moeller and Johannes Schilling (eds.), *Die Reformation und das Mittelalte*r (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1991), pp. 111–124; Thomas Kaufmann, 'Ohne Buchdruck keine Reformation?', in Stefan Oehmig (ed.), *Buchdruck und Buchkultur im Wittenberg der Reformationszeit* (Leipzig: Evangelischer Verlagsanstalts, 2015), pp. 13–34 and Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther. 1517, Printing, and the Making of the Reformation* (London: Penguin Press, 2016).

6 On the Dutch Revolt: Paul Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten, 1566–1584* (Utrecht: HES, 1984); Daniel Horst, *De Opstand in zwart-wit: propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand (1566–1584)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003); Christi M. Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws. Nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassaus militaire ondernemingen uit de periode 1590–1600* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005); Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012); On the English Revolution, which was also premised on a lively print culture, see Jason Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

7 Robert Darnton, *Forbidden Best Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995). On Darnton as a 'mythmaker' of the Enlightenment as a progressive force see Simon Burrows, *The French Book Trade in Enlightenment Europe II. Enlightenment Bestsellers* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 10–15.

8 The traditional case presented in Jürgen Habermas, T. Burger with the assistance of F. Lawrence (trans.), *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge MA.: Polity Press, 1989). For a good overview of the debate see Andreas Gestrich, 'The Public Sphere and the Habermas debate', *German History*, 24:3 (2006), pp. 413–430.

challenged the status quo of the Ancien Régime.[9] This narrative gained much traction in the twentieth century. Popular culture and various news media have adopted it with gusto, and it survives, for instance, in *The Washington Post*'s tagline, "Democracy Dies in Darkness".[10] The implicit light, for *The Washington Post*, is again the published word, which counters the efforts of more authoritarian forces.

Stressing 'the dissident potential of printing' is, however, misleading. As David Adams and Adrian Armstrong have put it, emphasizing print's power to bring about societal change risks creating a distorted picture of its impact, and fails to recognise 'the interplay between media technologies and social control'.[11] In the past decades, undoubtedly influenced by contemporary experience, historians have become more sensitive to the less enlightening aspects of print in its early modern coming-of-age period. In particular, book historical scholarship of the early modern period has provided ample reason to dim the shining light of Marchand's and Eisenstein's techno-optimism. In various ways, recent work on both early modern European print culture as well as more global book historical research, suggests an intimate rather than adversarial relationship between printing technology and established authority.[12] Print could become a tool for authorities just as easily as it could be used to challenge them, and actors within the print industry often cultivated a friendly

9 See for a recent example Thomas Munck, *Conflict and Enlightenment. Print and Political Culture in Europe, 1635–1795* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

10 The Washington Post website displayed the new slogan before it appeared in print: <https://www.washingtonpost.com>, visible since 22 February 2017, last accessed 10 June 2020.

11 Adrian Armstrong and David Adams, 'Introduction', in Armstrong and Adam (eds.), *Print and Power in France and England, 1500–1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 8. The striking difference between their volume and Roger Chartier's 1989 volume on the uses of print underlines the change in focus: Roger Chartier (ed.), *The Culture of Print. Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1989).

12 For a more comparative global approach see: Hilde de Weerdt and Julius Morche (eds.), *Political Communication in the Medieval World 800–1600* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, forthcoming); On early modern China: Kai-Wing Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004) and Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-Wing Chow (eds.), *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005); for seventeenth-century Japan see Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006). On printing in the Ottoman Empire: Dana Sajdi, "Print and its Discontents. A Case for Pre-Print Journalism and Other Sundry Print Matters", *The Translator*, 15:1 (2009), pp. 105–138 and Kathryn A. Schwartz, 'Did Ottoman Sultans Ban Print?', *Book History*, 20 (2017), pp. 1–39. Also see Sebouh D. Aslanian, 'Port cities and Printers. Reflections on Early Modern Global Armenian Print Culture', *Book History*, 17 (2014), pp. 51–93. For Europe see the cases discussed below.

relationship with existing institutions. Overwhelmingly, as we will further illustrate below, this growing body of work on government patronage, propaganda, censorship, as well as the print economy suggests that early modern print was an agent of power at least as much it was as an agent of change. Yet to make sense of the complex interplay between authority, subversion and print is, in the words of Cyndia Susan Clegg, still 'the challenge of book history'.[13] This volume takes up that challenge.

While the theme of print and power in early modern Europe is vast, and could and indeed will fill many more books, our broad aim is to redress the notion that print was an agent of modernising change by uniting and building on key strands in recent scholarship. The contributions collected here reflect on how authorities in various places in Europe have shaped the history of print rather than the other way around. From accounts of governmental print commissions to the complex interplay between printers and their individual, elite patrons, to the conscientious use of print to establish and reinforce orthodoxy, these essays construct a coherent story of print as an extension of established power. Only when we realize the full extent to which print was instrumental to authorities and the rise of strong bureaucracies, and map the ways in which it was used by them to influence the minds and bodies of the broader public, can we arrive at a more balanced picture of the relationship between print and power than what the popular and theoretical grand narratives have on offer.

Studying Print and Power

To study the relationship between print and power in early modern Europe in a meaningful way, we first need to abandon any notion of a fundamental opposition between print and authority. While it might be tempting to adopt an antagonistic model in which the authorities represent control and the market of print represents freedom of expression, research has complicated this model beyond repair. The recent historiography of censorship, for example, which by its nature is prone to highlight the opposition, shows a much more complex picture, offering many examples of print acting in the service of power. The Indexes of prohibited books promulgated throughout the early modern period were printed documents, too, and the demands of religious orthodoxy created numerous print commissions that could be exploited into attractive monopolies, such as the new liturgical books printed in the wake of

13 Cyndia Susan Clegg, 'The Authority and Subversiveness of Print in Early Modern Europe', in Howsam (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book*, pp. 125–142.

the Council of Trent.[14] The print industry itself, it is important to stress, was not necessarily opposed to control, and even actively sought government protection and approval. Printers, publishers and authors petitioned authorities for privileges to print particular works.[15] Privileges were a way of protecting printers' investments against competitors, an impulse towards self-regulation motivated by the needs of individual printing businesses.[16] This book therefore shifts the focus from attempts of authorities to police printing to study how those in power used the medium of print.

Scholars of early modern political communication have problematized the Habermasian opposition between a premodern representative public sphere, tightly controlled by homogeneous elites, and a modern, open, bourgeois public sphere.[17] Their work has shown that neither ideal state was ever attained, and that there has always been an interaction between centres of political and religious power and the market of print. For the Holy Roman Empire, Volker Bauer has argued that books published by the elite for the elite trickled down, eventually opening up space for debating court life outside the society of princes.[18] For England, Jason Peacey has shown that the pamphlet debates in

14 Jesús Martínez De Bujanda (ed.), *Index des livres interdits* (11 vols., Sherbrooke: Centre d'études de la Renaissance, 1984–2016); Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 170–174; Natalia Nowakowska, 'From Strassburg to Trent: Bishops, Printing and Liturgical Reform in the Fifteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 213 (2011), pp. 25–31; Robert M. Kingdon, 'The Plantin Breviaries: A Case Study in the Sixteenth-century Business Operations of a Publishing House', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 22 (1960), pp. 133–50.

15 On the early development of printing privileges: Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System, 1486–1526* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Joanna Kostylo, 'From Gunpowder to Print: The Common Origins of Copyright and Patent' in Martin Kretschmer, Lionel Bently, and Ronan Deasley (eds.), *Privilege and Property: Essays on the History of Copyright* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2010), pp. 21–50; Christophre L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

16 See parts I and II of this volume, Shanti Graheli (ed.), *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2019) and Jane McLeod, *Licensing Loyalty: Printers, Patrons and the State in Early Modern France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).

17 See Rudolph Schlögl, 'Politik beobachten: Öffentlichkeit und Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 35 (2008), pp. 581–616; Patrick Boucheron and Nicholas Offenstadt (eds.), *L'espace public au Moyen Âge. Débats autour du Jürgen Habermas* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011) and the contributions in Massimo Rospocher (ed.), *Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe* (Bologna: Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, 2012).

18 Volker Bauer, 'Strukturwandel der höfischen Öffentlichkeit: Zur Medialisierung des Hoflebens vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 38:4

the mid-century civil wars (previously perceived as an expression of public debate on the supposed free market of print) were, to a considerable extent, the result of the activities of politicians and their dependents.[19] Similar arguments have recently been made against the presumed "discussion culture" of the Dutch Republic, which was more susceptible to control than has often been assumed.[20] Many of the debates on the assumed free market of print, then, were battles between conflicting authorities that ceased as soon as their conflict had been settled. Yet while they may have aspired to total control, none of these authorities could claim it when it mattered most. In a patchworked Europe where power was divided between numerous institutions, the interactions between print and power were many and diverse. The degree of control authorities were able to wield over the new medium differed from locality to locality, and was always dependent on neighbouring polities.

Based on the recent history of print dealing with aspects of the complex relationship between print and power in early modern Europe, we distinguish three focal points in terms of both research questions and methodology that permeate the chapters below. First is a *focus on the agency of elites and authorities* in the circulation and management of print. Each of the following chapters demonstrates an awareness of the sophistication with which early modern elites were able to shape debate and behaviour through patronage and active intervention, without ever attaining the hegemony implied in Habermas's shorthand concept of a representative public sphere. Jan Hillgärtner's chapter serves as a case in point. Dealing with what is perhaps the most prominent symbol of the rise of the public sphere, the printed newspaper, Hillgärtner shows that in the seventeenth-century Holy Roman Empire some newspapers were decidely instruments of power, whose existence relied on the approval,

(2011), pp. 585–620 and Volker Bauer, 'Buchmarkt, Hofpublizistik, Interaktion: Höfischer Mediengebrauch und Medienwechsel im Alten Reich – mit einem Seitenblick auf Sachsen-Gotha', *Daphnis*, 42:2(2013), pp. 571–594. See also Helmer Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe. Towards a New History of News', *Media History*, 22:3–4 (2016), pp. 401–420.

19 Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

20 For the concept of "discussion culture" see Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *Dutch Culture in European Perspective. 1650: Hard-won Unity* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004). For a more in-depth analysis of the interactions between politicians, authors and booksellers see Roeland Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie. Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011). For a recent overview on the topic consult Helmer Helmers, 'Popular Participation and Public Debate', in Helmer Helmers and Geert Janssen (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 124–146.

patronage, and even initiative of local rulers. Government print, which is at the forefront of recent book historical studies of the early modern period, is a central concern in various chapters.[21]

Secondly, a reassessment of the relationship between print and power requires *a balanced treatment of orthodox and subversive content*. While dissent and conflict by their nature command historical attention, it is vital to also analyse how print served the needs of orthodoxy and the status quo, which was arguably its more common role. It is for this reason that this volume, following recent book historical research, devotes much attention to the Catholic world of print. The later remarkable historical success of Protestant uses of print, for instance during the Revolt in the Low Countries or the Thirty Years' War, carries the risk of overemphasing the importance of Protestant print culture to the detriment of Catholic printing, especially in Southern and Eastern Europe.[22] Catholic propaganda could be virulent too, and has started to receive its fair share of scholarship in recent decades, especially in the context of the French Wars of Religion.[23]

21 Several contributions to Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2017) explore the topic of "official print" in terms of local and national governmental use of single-sheet printed documents. See also Arthur der Weduwen, *Selling the Republican Ideal. State Communication in the Dutch Golden Age* (University of St Andrews, Unpublished PhD dissertation, 2018) and Saskia Limbach, *Government Use of Print. Official Publications in the Holy Roman Empire, 1500–1600* (Frankfurt: Klostermann Verlag, forthcoming).

22 Munck, *Conflict and Enlightenment*, is the most ambitious and wide-ranging recent book on print displaying a blind spot for Catholic Europe outside of France. While statistical data from the USTC bears out the very real concentration of print production in Northern Europe (accelerating in the mid-to late sixteenth-century), this greater output does not justify inattention to more peripheral print cultures. For the Thirty Years War, see e.g. Esther-Beate Körber, 'Der Dreißigjährige Krieg als europäisches Medienereignis' *Europäische Geschichte Online* (2015); Esther-Beate Körber, 'Deutschsprachige Flugschriften des Dreißigjährigen Krieges 1618 bis 1629', *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, 3 (2001), pp. 1–47; Pärtel Piiramäe, 'Just War in Theory and Practice: The Legitimation of Swedish Intervention in the Thirty Years' War,' *The History Journal,* 45:3 (2002), pp. 499–523; Sylvia Serena Tschopp, *Heilsgeschichtliche Deutungsmuster in der Publizistik des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Pro- und antischwedische Propagandain Deutschland 1628 bis 1635* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1991); Peer Schmidt, *Spanische Universalmonarchie oder "teutsche Libertet": das spanische Imperium in der Propaganda des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001). For the Revolt in the Low Countries, see n. 6.

23 Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Alexander Wilkinson, *Mary Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion 1542–1600* (London: Palgrave, 2004).

In the Eisensteinian paradigm, the Catholic Church's attitude towards print is mainly repressive and equated with the Index. It cut printers off from lucrative markets, such as printing of vernacular bibles and stifling scientific progress.[24] Rome's engagement with the new printing technology, however, went far beyond prohibiting and censoring. In her contribution, Margaret Meserve demonstrates that the papacy under Pope Julius II was just as innovative in its use of the printing press as his Protestant opponents. Rather than the medium, the conservative papal message was the problem. Because they reiterated papal supremacy, Meserve argues, the many papal documents that were printed across Europe failed to resonate with the faithful. The medium itself was neither Protestant nor Catholic, and indifferent to change. While the Protestant Reformation is far from absent in this volume, contributions such as Meserve's, we hope, will stimulate the growing body of work on Catholic printing, much of which has appeared in recent contributions to this series.[25]

Finally, and arguably most importantly, researching the relationship between print and power also entails a *turn to the archive*, which has transformed recent scholarship of print.[26] Scholars who have privileged the enlightening aspects of print relied predominantly on established collections of historical print: the books stored in university libraries, the collections of pamphlets and broadsheets compiled in nineteenth and early twentieth century catalogues, or the graphic prints disclosed, selected and studied by art historians. For generations of print historians, these collections were the mainstay research diet, made up of types of print that were both easily accessible and whose value was determined by their content. Indeed, very often these collections were built from books with content that met specific aesthetic or ideological criteria in the first place. It is the great achievement of recent work, including, most recently, Andrew Pettegree's and Arthur der Weduwen's *The Bookshop of the World*, that it added a broad range of ephemeral materials gleaned from the archives

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24 Eistenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, pp. 415–421, pp. 648–659. Adrian Johns writes that Eisenstein asserts that 'censorship created a sweeping asymmetry in European print culture', see 'How to Acknowledge a Revolution', pp. 119–120. He argues we have to examine restrictions on a local level.

25 Alexander Wilkinson and Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo (eds.), *A Maturing Market: The Iberian Book World in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Natalia Maillard Álvarez (ed.), *Books in the Catholic World during the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Benito Rial Costas (ed.), *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe: A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

26 Kate Peters, Alexandra Walsham, and Liesbeth Corens (eds.) *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Elizabeth Yale, 'The History of Archives: The State of the Discipline', *Book History*, 18 (2015), pp. 332–359.

to broad discussions of print culture.[27] Various chapters in this volume, too, are the result of painstaking research into overlooked kinds of print (such as contracts, forms, placards, advertisements, and printed newspapers) with extremely low survival rates, typically conserved in archives rather than libraries. Forrest Strickland, for instance, uses his systematic survey of a dispersed body of seventeenth-century printed auction catalogues to analyse the libraries of Dutch reformed ministers as sources of authority.

It was exactly the unglamorous and dispersed kinds of print, underwhelming in form and uniform in content, that could carry great force. The archival turn in the history of print has opened new possibilities to analyse the interactions between governments, printing and printers in early modern Europe. As early modern authorities explored the potential of printed forms of all kinds, the book industry thrived: it was the steady stream of government jobs, after all, that provided reliable profits. It should be no surprise, then, that the rise of the paper and print industries ran parallel to the remarkable expansion of new bureaucracies in this period.[28]

Besides enabling the study of overlooked types of print, the turn to the archive is also indispensable when we seek to study agency. For as Jason Peacey, has emphasized, print collections do not only provide us with a distorted image of the kinds of print that circulated in early modern society, they also obscure the power mechanisms behind their circulation, the workings of the public sphere in general.[29] A focus on these collections creates the false impression of a free market for print that was unconstrained by power and patronage. Archival research, he argues, problematises the notion of a free market of print, at least in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of the anonymous persuasive texts, the news, rumours, songs and libels that aimed to shape opinion in early modern Europe may seem to be part of a popular culture of dissent, to originate in communities, and to circulate on

27 Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World. Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2019); See also: Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books*: *Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

28 Randolph Head, *Making Archives in Early Modern Europe: Proof, Information and Political Recordkeeping, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); E.C. Dijkhof etc. (eds.) *Medieval documents as artefacts. Interdisciplinary perspectives on codicology, palaeography and diplomatics* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2020); Megan Williams, 'Unfolding Diplomatic Paper and Paper Practices in Early Modern Chancellery Archives', in Arndt Brenecke (ed.), *Praktiken der Frühen Neuzeit. Akteure, Handlungen, Artefakte* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2015), pp. 496–508.

29 Jason Peacey, 'Print and Public Politics in Seventeenth-Century England', *History Compass*, 5:1 (2007), pp. 85–111.

the free market. In reality, however, their creation and dissemination was often carefully tailored and managed by those in power.[30] Rindert Jagersma's chapter exemplifies the sophistication with which elites managed their publicity campaigns while seeking to obscure their own involvement. On the eve of the Glorious Revolution in 1688, Jagersma shows, the Dutch stadtholder William III deliberately resorted to censorship of his own propaganda, both to conceal his involvement in the publication of a notorious pamphlet slandering the King of England and to draw extra attention to it. Jagersma's approach shows that only archival research can lead us to identify the figures who initiated, supported, financed or restrained the production of information and their aims. Only such an archival approach can lead to a better understanding of the mechanisms and mentalities that governed the relationship between print and power.

Types of Print, Types of Power

New media are often credited with great power. Printing, in the early modern period, was no exception. The deep involvement of early modern government and church officials in the production, circulation, and censorship of print indicates how apprehensive they were of its effects. Like modern new media, printed texts were often likened to infectious diseases, which could spread and poison the body of the state or the church if left uncontested, or to weapons more powerful than those made from steel.[31] Early modern rulers were extremely sensitive to the slightest hint of dissension, disrespect or unorthodoxy in printed texts, as any crack in the facade of authority and uniformity might lead to its collapse. The fierce propaganda wars and censorship efforts in early modern Europe, however flawed, were the result of a deep belief in the affective power of print.

One of the driving forces behind this belief was the fear of conversion in post-Reformation Europe. The success of the Reformation had shown how rapidly religious conversion could undermine institutional powers that were previously taken for granted. In contrast to interfaith conversion between, for instance, Islam and Christianity, interconfessional conversion was an insidious

30 For a similar point, applied to international rather than English politics see Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe', pp. 401–420.

31 On the metaphor of print as poisonous or infectious, see Helmer Helmers, 'Illness as Metaphor: The Sick Body Politic and Its Cures', in Jaap Grave, Rick Honings and Bettina Noak (eds.), *Illness and Literature in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2015), pp. 97–120.

and ever-present threat to communities. These were brought about by proselytisers who relied not only on the power of speech, but also on printed books. Indeed, not infrequently, crypto-Protestants or crypto-Catholics could only be discovered by such books, hidden on attics or beneath floorboards. As a result, conversion literature proliferated in early modern Europe, sometimes expressing the anxiety of religious communities about being undermined by unseen enemies, and sometimes displaying the power and confidence of one or the other confession.[32] Conversion *récits,* for example, were an important feature of French print culture in the seventeenth century.[33] Martin Christ's chapter offers an analysis of the growth and development of *Revocationspredigt,* or revocation sermon, a genre that has been under-studied in a German context. Christ shows how public displays of an individual preacher's conversion were an important part of the violent history of Catholic-Lutheran conflict in the seventeenth century.

In this confessional battle, images were considered to be especially powerful. While traditional scholarship pitted an iconoclastic Protestantism of the Word against the profusely visual culture of the Catholic Baroque, recent work has told a more complex story, and analyses the negotiation and appropriation of imagery as it travelled across confessional borders.[34] Protestant piety, on this account, led to different uses and forms of the visual and the theatrical, rather than being altogether hostile to it. Nora Epstein's chapter, investigating

32 See David M. Luebke etc. (eds.), *Conversion and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Germany* (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2012); Sarah Rütter, *Konstruktion von Bekenntnisidentität in Konversionsschriften der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2014); Abigail Shinn, *Conversion Narratives in Early Modern England. Tales of Tuning* (London: Palgrave, 2018); Lieke Stelling *Religious Conversion in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019). See also: Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

33 Karin Maag, 'Seventeenth Century French Conversion Narratives: Making Sense of Shifting Confessional Allegiances', in Jon Balserrak and Richard Snoddy (eds.), *Learning from the Past: Essays on Reception, Catholicity, and Dialogue in Honour of Anthony N.S. Lane* (London and New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015), pp. 93–106; Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), pp. 248–307; Thierry Wanegffelen, 'Récits de conversion des XVI[e] et XVII[e] siècles: Discours confessionel et expérience individuelle', in Jean-Christophe Attias (ed.), *De la conversion* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1998), pp. 183–202; Roger Duchene (ed.), *La conversion au XVII[e] siècle, Actes du XII[e] colloque de Marseille* (*janvier 1982*) (Marseille: Centre Méridional de Rencontres sur le XVII[e] siècle, 1983).

34 See Bridget Heal, 'Introduction: Art and Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe', *Art History. Special issue on Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe*, 40:2 (2017), pp. 246–255 and Els Stronks, *Negotiating Differences. Word, Image and Religion in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

how the London printer John Day and his son appropriated imagery from Catholic Books of Hours in their Protestant prayer books, is in keeping with this recent reappraisal of the role of religious imagery in early modernity. In Ramon Voges's chapter on the Hogenberg prints of the Dutch Revolt, the power of the image in early modern religious conflict comes into play in a different way. While Hogenberg's famous newsprint-like images have often been seen and used as more or less neutral illustrations of historical events, Voges argues that they should be treated as historical powers themselves, which were able to shape both the history and the history-writing of the prolonged religious warfare in the Low Countries.

If printed sheets of paper were ever literal embodiments of power, it was in the field of law. As early modern authorities increasingly turned to print for promulgating and storing their laws and regulations, reinforcing traditional methods of manuscript and oral dissemination, print regulated first civic and later rural everyday life. Renaud Adam's chapter does much to reinforce this argument. Investigating the evolving relationship between the Burgundian and Habsburg authorities in the Low Countries and the printing industry (a relationship hitherto remarkably unstudied) Adam probes the socio-economic consequences of printing the law. Highlighting the entanglement between the history of the book and the history of state formation, he represents a growing group of scholars of print and communication who seek to reincorporate the history of law, which has suffered much neglect due to the cultural turn in early modern scholarship, into mainstream historiography.[35]

Adam's chapter alerts us to the fact that urbanised regions such as the Low Countries and the Italian States were leading in the application of print for government uses.[36] Focusing on a conflict in seventeenth-century Groningen, in the Northern Netherlands, Arthur der Weduwen's chapter shows how, in

35 Leslie Moran, 'Legal Studies after the Cultural Turn: A Case Study of Judicial Research', in Sasha Roseneil and Stephen Frosh (eds.), *Social Studies after the Cultural Turn* (London: Palgrave, 2012), pp. 124–143; Mark Somos, 'The Unseen History of International Law: A Census Bibliography of Hugo Grotius's De iure belli ac pacis', *Grotiana*, 40 (2019), pp. 173–179; Nicholas Simon, 'Une culture d'État? Législation et prise de décision dans les Pays-Bas espagnols (1580–1610)', in Eric Bousmar, Philippe Desmette and Nicholas Simon (eds.), *Légiférer, gouverner et juger. Mélanges d'histoire du droit et des institutions (IXe–XXIe siècle) offerts à Jean-Marie Cauchies à l'occasion de ses 65 ans* (Brussels: Presses de l'Université Saint-Louis, 2016), pp. 295–308; Paul Raffield and John Morrill, *Images and Cultures of Law in Early Modern England: Justice and Political Power, 1558–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

36 See contribution in Pettegree (ed.), *Single-Sheet Publishing* as well as Frances Maguire, *Bonds of Print and Chains of Paper: Rethinking Print Culture and Social Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550–c.1700.* (University of York, Unpublished PhD dissertation, 2017).

a remarkable conflict, competing authorities employed state publications to win over the urban community. Though prolific in their use of print, civic authorities in the Low Countries were hardly unique in their efforts to use the new medium for governing their growing polities. Rachel Midura and Gautier Mingous trace how the local authorities of late-sixteenth-century Milan and Lyon increasingly relied on print to regulate early modern city life. Mingous demonstrates that the city government of Lyon, one of the most important trading centres in Europe, was rather reluctant to spread information in print at first, but embraced it due to pressing circumstances. In the chapters of der Weduwen, Midura, and Mingous, religious and political conflict is shown to be a catalyst for increased government uses of print as they struggled to maintain the health of the civic body politic. The outbreak of disease, such as the plague in Northern Italy in 1576, had similar effects in Milan and Lyon.[37] Indeed, as Midura shows, both ailments of the body politic (plague and political conflict) were often entangled and provoked magistrates to experiment with the medicine of print.

As major and reliable customers, civic and state institutions provided stimulus for the printing industry also, or perhaps even especially, in more peripheral areas such as sixteenth-century England. Celyn Richards' chapter investigates how, under Edward VI, the introduction of Protestantism led to major commissions of canonical texts by the state, which sought to strengthen evangelicalism through print. Partly, Richard's analysis of the volume and economical value of these commissions conforms to the established association between Protestantism and print. However, it also departs from this narrative by showing that the Edwardian regime was an active and substantial participant in the print industry. Rather than being the result of a grassroots movement, Protestant print in sixteenth-century England was orchestrated from above, with major consequences for the economic viability of print.

In establishing the connections between authorities and print, we should, as a recent volume has it, look beyond the metropolis and the nation.[38] If civic bureaucracies were early to adopt and manage a wide variety of print to enhance their grip on local societies, other levels of government operated on different timelines, different scales, and with different instruments. In the

37 For a recent discussion of print as an instrument of public health management, see Alexandra Bamji, 'Health passes, print and public health in early modern Europe', *Social History of Medicine*, 32:3 (2019), pp. 441–464.

38 James J. Connolly, Patrick Collier, Frank Felsenstein, Kenneth R. Hall and Robert G. Hall (eds.), *Print Culture Histories Beyond the Metropolis* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2016). Also see various contributions in edited volume by Costas (eds.), *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe.*

Austrian countryside, where the old aristocracy still reigned over sparsely populated mountainous territory, bureaucratic print penetrated much later and slower than in major political and commercial cities such Milan or Lyon. Andreas Golob's chapter analyses the ways in which officials in Enlightenment Austria used print to reform the administration. As a whole, this volume demonstrates the realisation among scholars that we cannot understand the changing relationship between print and power as long as we limit ourselves to studying a single tier of authority, be it from a local, national, or international perspective.

Early modern authorities ordered many kinds of print, thus providing a crucial, steady stream of commissions for printers, but they were also vital for the industry by acting as patrons for printers in the early modern sense of the word. In her chapter on the Polish-Lithuanian printer Jan Januszowski in Krakow, Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba shows the importance of church and government patronage for this prominent sixteenth-century printing house. While the government jobs discussed by Der Weduwen, Mingous, Richards and Golob meant easy profit for printers, Kiliańczyk's focus on commission from Polish prelates communicates a more complicated story. Her chapter shows the risks, difficulties and anxieties that came with prestigious but unreliable patronage, and the constant and humbling networking it required.

Having the right connections to powerful individuals within papal curia was also crucial for any printer active in Rome in the first half of the sixteenth century. In reconstructing the creation of a new papal office, the *stampatore camerale*, Paolo Sachet demonstrates the harsh competition between printers for the support of powerful Cardinals, who might entrust them with the printing of papal documents. In this ever-changing environment, printers needed to maneuver carefully. Yet despite the difficulties early modern printers had in navigating perilous powerscapes, the rewards for those who persevered could outweigh these troubles. Thus, after twenty years of labour, the Roman printer Antonio Blado and his family finally obtained the lucrative privilege to print papal bulls, briefs and promulgations. In Krakow, Januszowski was eventually even elevated into the Polish-Lithuanian nobility. This was a rare feat for an early modern printer, and had only been possible through his relentless efforts to please the powers that be with his prestigious projects.

Prestige was one of the main currencies connecting the realms of print and power. Elite patrons could raise the renown and profit of a printer, while the printer contributed to the reputation of the patron. Honour was also very much at stake for Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, who founded the extraordinary printing house *Typographia Medicea* (which specialised in Arabic and Syriac type) in Rome in 1584. Caren Reimann's chapter on Ferdinando's patronage shows that he remained very involved with the business even after leaving Rome and becoming Grand Duke of Tuscany. In contrast to Januszowski's patrons, who quickly lost interest in his ventures, Ferdinando de' Medici saw how a press could be an instrument to further his political goals. His case allows Reimann to investigate the boundaries between international cultural politics, religion, economy and the print market. In this case too, the support of power was indispensable for a profitable enterprise. Once the Grand Duke stepped back from the *Typographia*, its director, Raimondi, struggled for survival. Part of the unhelpfulness of a concept like the representative public sphere lies in the fact that it cannot grasp the complex and continually changing relationships between printers, patrons and the international market.

Competition between elites and, therefore, between patrons, was an important factor in advancing both the print market and ideological debates more broadly, both within and between territories. Aristocratic households and embassies deserve a special mention in this regard, as privileged spaces. These were free havens that could create room for experiment or for the dissemination of illicit, even subversive literature. Chelsea Reutcke's chapter discusses the spectacular example of the household of the Queen of England, Catherine of Braganza, which functioned as a "grey area" within her own husband's religious and censorship laws, and became a centre of illicit Catholic publication. Similarly, Ernesto Oyarbide discusses the case of the notorious Spanish ambassador to the court of James I, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar, whose protection of Catholics in England also extended to print. For both Queen Catherine and for Gondomar, this involved stimulating international exchange that would otherwise have been barred. Once we realise that their cases exemplify many other powerful patrons acting against states aiming at uniformity, we can understand the Herculean task of early modern censors and custom officers, whose most formidable opponents were shielded by diplomatic immunity. Even in the age of absolutism, international competition between elites thus helped to ensure a diverse media landscape.

Printing for Power

Printing for power meant much more than the political polemic that has attracted so much scholarly attention. Frequently, print that acted in the service of power was an inconspicuous, ordinary part of early modern life, like the printed documents that city governments used to streamline their functioning. In this way, print also helped to communicate the symbols of power, like official seals. These had applications beyond bureaucracy, and could just as easily be directed to enforce a law as they could be used to add the weight of authority to a propaganda campaign. Beyond these very clear-cut examples where the symbols of power literally appeared on the printed page, the influence of individual patrons and competing authorities added a variety of formats and funds to what we might consider printing for power. The same government and church-sanctioned print runs that helped disseminate the rhetoric, ideology, aesthetics or literal decrees of power created lucrative opportunities for the printers who could secure rights to them.

Whereas Marchand's frontispiece and Eisenstein monumental book present print as an impersonal force of enlightened progress, this volume adopts a less idealistic view of the new medium. By asking how print served the needs of those in power, and by closely examining the roles of patronage, control, and orthodoxy in the early modern print world, a counter-narrative to the Enlightenment narrative starts to form in which print's role in early modern society is more accurately described as that of an agent of power rather than of change. Print thrived by serving the needs of the powerful, and in that service it was fully capable of stifling change rather than promoting it. Elite patronage in the print world conferred economic and legal protections that could make or break the fortunes of a printing house. Printers courted wealthy patrons both institutional and individual, and authorities sought to harness the persuasive and productive capacities of print. This not to say that print was fully controlled by homogeneous elites, of course, but rather to serve as a reminder that political and religious interests were a dominant force on the market of print, and it requires careful, contextualized research to assess their role. If change occurred, and it obviously did, this was not necessarily the result of the medium itself, but of the competition between elites seeking to use the power of print for their own good.

PART 1

Governing through Print

CHAPTER 1

Policing in Print: Social Control in Spanish and Borromean Milan (1535–1584)

Rachel Midura

In 1580, the archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, and Spanish governor, Antonio de Guzmán y Zuñiga, Marquis de Ayamonte, appeared to be at an implacable standoff. Six years prior, Borromeo had excommunicated the previous governor, Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga, over the issue of Borromeo's personal police force. The new governor was faring little better, clashing with the cardinal about everything from religious ceremonies to urban development projects.[1] For the second year in a row, the governor gave orders for the traditional Carnival performances in which he would also take part. Once again, Borromeo responded by publishing an act threatening excommunication for all participants, which Ayamonte proceeded to ignore soundly. It piqued the Ayamonte's anger when the newly-excommunicated flocked to the cardinal, seeking his absolution, including some of the governor's personal guests. On 1 March 1580, perhaps intending retribution, but certainly the final word, Ayamonte ordered the raid and closure of the cardinal's seminary print shop, jailing its printers.[2]

Historians have often approached the crisis of 1579/1580 from a biographical perspective, emphasising the conflict between the Spanish governor's adherence to courtly protocol and martial hierarchy, and Borromeo's own uncompromising devotion to recreating the Ambrosian church.[3] The raid on the

1 Many miscellaneous documents related to these conflicts and the earlier excommunication survive in the *buste* of the Archivio di Stato di Milano (ASMi), *Atti di governo*, *Culto*. See particularly busta 558.

2 This incident has been treated by Kevin Mark Stevens, *Printers, Publishers and Booksellers in Counter-Reformation Milan: A Documentary Study* (University of Wisconsin, Unpublished PhD dissertation, 1992) and his 'Printing and Politics: Carlo Borromeo and the Seminary Press of Milan', in Nicola Raponi and Angelo Turchini (eds.), *Stampa, libri e letture a Milano nell' età di Carlo Borromeo* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1993), pp. 97–133.

3 The *Storia di Milano* series mirrors a traditional division between political and religious authority in Milan's sixteenth-century in its division of two volumes of relevance: Federico Chabod, *Storia di Milano: L'epoca di Carlo V (1535–1559)* (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, 1961) and Mario Bendiscioli, *Storia di Milano: L'età della reforma cattolica (1559–1630)* (Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, 1956).

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seminary press escalated tensions, but it also demonstrated the joint evolution of secular and religious authority in Milan; both recognised the importance of the press for governing daily life in the city. From the printed edicts that brought about the crisis, to official anthologies of legislation (*acta* and *gridari*), to the use of printed tickets (*bolletini*) to license and record commerce, print was the chosen medium for exercising social control in late sixteenth-century Milan.[4]

The plague years of 1576–78 were particularly crucial for the development of official print production in Milan, and provide key foregrounding for the crisis. Static statements about Spanish or Borromean Milan elide the enormous changes between 1540 and 1590. San Carlo Borromeo, canonised in 1610, casts a particularly long shadow. For many contemporaries, the Ambrosian library and seminary press perfectly joined humanist inquiry and Catholic catechesis; conflict with Spanish authorities makes the story all the more miraculous. The cardinal and governor shared a goal of quelling social dissent in Lombardy, which before the 1570s, seemed plagued by would-be heretics and traitors. Tools for social control developed in conjunction with interventions in the name of public health during the 1560s and 1570s. The combination of powerful rhetoric and printed authority furthered a contagion theory of dissent, and a top-down method of prevention, quarantine, and treatment.

For an example of works bridging the gap, see Agostino Borromeo, 'Archbishop Carlo Borromeo and the Ecclesiastical Policy of Philip II in the State of Milan', in John Headley and John Tomaro (eds.), *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century* (Cranbury/ London/Mississauga: Associated University Presses, 1988), pp. 85–111; Paolo Pissavino and Gianvittorio Signorotto (eds.), *Lombardia borromaica, Lombardia spagnola: 1554–1659* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1995).

4 I have chosen to use 'social control' here as I wish to emphasise the gathering and publication of social informatics that did not always result in active discipline, however I owe much to the ample social discipline literature. Wietse de Boer carries out a particular fruitful application in his study of Carlo Borromeo's confessional program in his *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). See also Danilo Zardin, 'La "perfezione" nel proprio "stato": strategie per la riforma generale dei costume nel modello borromaico di governo', in his *Carlo Borromeo: cultura, santità, governo* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 2010), pp. 105–142. Gianvittorio Signorotto takes a similar approach to a propagandising use of print in Milan, but puts greater emphasis on the secular use of military threat in his article 'Milano nella guerra dei Trent'anni: Informazione politica, mobilitiazione, conflitti', *Rivista storica Italiana*, 130 (2018), pp. 895–918.

Duchy and Diocese to 1576

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the duchy of Milan was enormous, and the diocese even larger. The duchy stretched from Genoa and the Ligurian sea in the South to Lake Como and the foothills of the Alps to the North. It effectively monopolised passage along the river Po. The diocese included swaths of politically Savoyard, Swiss and Venetian territory. The city of Milan had the fourth-largest population in Europe, and its commercial strength made it a valuable prize.[5] Dominance over Milan had been one of the most contentious points of the century-long Italian wars. After the 1535 death of the last Sforza duke, the duchy passed into Habsburg hands, ruled first by Charles V, then entrusted to his son, King Philip II of Spain.

Circumstances were ripe for political rebellion in the 1540s and 1550s, and there were several close calls. In 1544, Spanish authorities imprisoned members of the local Milanese elite on charges of conspiracy. In 1548, Giulio Cibo Malaspina was brought to Milan and sentenced to death for a plot to deliver Genoa to French.[6] Spanish authorities were convinced that such dissent was habitual for their Lombard subjects. When the Duke of Alba arrived in Milan as governor in 1555, he wrote with disgust, 'here there is a custom that seems very bad to me, of speaking far too liberally whether one is for the Imperial or French, like they speak in Rome and Venice, and of treating publically the actions and choices of state officials, as though they were not their lords'.[7] Despite such complaints, royal attention focused on uprisings in the Spanish Netherlands, and governors were moved frequently further North. While Governor Ferrante Gonzaga (o. 1546–1554) had been from nearby Mantua, the Duke of Alba (o. 1555–1556) and many successors were members of the Castilian elite. They lived removed from their Milanese Italian subjects, surrounded by Spanish forces in the districts around the castle and other military installations.[8] By all accounts, Milan was a loose cog in the imperial apparatus.

Milan's unique position as a communication and commercial hub contributed to the contentious public sphere. Lombardy bordered the strange Swiss political entity known as the Grey League, or the Grisons, by way of a subject

5 Stefano D'Amico, *Spanish Milan: A City within the Empire, 1535–1706* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 1–6.

6 Accused conspirators included Camillo, Alessandro, Giovanni Battista and Lancelloto Castiglioni. Chabod, *Storia di Milano*, p. 157.

7 Letter by Duke of Alba to Ruy Gomez de Silva on 28 October 1555 quoted in Chabod, *Storia di Milano*, p. 156.

8 D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, pp. 7–34.

region known as the Valtellina, which consisted of several densely populated valleys, and the cities of Chiavenna and Morbegno. Contemporaries frequently described the relative political and religious freedom of the region as heretical and anarchical.[9] Concerns often mixed the potential for religious and political rebellion: in October of 1572, Governor Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga (o. 1572–1573) called the Swiss and Grisons 'very rebellious in their houses, and very preoccupied with bringing the King of France into their domain', while the Spanish ambassador to Trent, Juan Vargas Mexia, wrote of a vast Protestant conspiracy across Northern Italy.[10] However as the figures of individual reformers such as Agostino Mainardo and Pietro Vergerio demonstrate, evangelical preaching, utopian idealism, and egalitarianism in politics and religion held a powerful inherent appeal.[11]

Carlo Borromeo was appointed to the archiepiscopacy of Milan at the age of 22 in 1560. He remained abroad, aiding his uncle Pope Pius IV in Rome, and playing a key part in the final session of the Council of Trent in 1562. It was only upon the 1566 succession of Pius V that Borromeo fully relocated to Milan (then the most populous diocese in Europe) and began his career in earnest as the successor to St. Ambrose.[12] Within his archdiocese, Borromeo demonstrated a wholehearted commitment to the eradication of heresy. Yet for every institutional achievement, there was often a setback associated with his uncompromising approach. In his first years in Milan, Borromeo toured the Northern reaches of his archdiocese and caused such a diplomatic incident in the Valtellina that he barely fled arrest.[13] A decision to disband the *Umiliati* order nearly had fatal results in 1569, when a former member ambushed Borromeo in his private chapel. That same year, the canons of Santa Maria alla Scala barred Borromeo's entry in protest to what they saw as unwarranted power-mongering. Borromeo encountered strong resistance from the Spanish governors, particularly the Marquis d'Ayamonte (o. 1573–1580), who found

9 Randolph Conrad Head, *Early Modern Democracy in the Grisons: Social Order and Political Language in a Swiss Mountain Canton, 1470–1620* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

10 Letter by Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga to Philip II on 28 October 1572 included in Domenico Maselli, *Saggi di storia ereticale lombarda al tempo di S. Carlo* (Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1979), appendix, pp. 200–201; Letter by Juan Vargas Mexia written to the Duke of Albuquerque on 3 October 1570 quoted in Maselli, *Saggi di storia ereticale*, p. 54.

11 Agostino Borromeo and Quintín Aldea Vaquero (eds.), *La Valtellina crocevia dell'Europa: Politica e religione nell'età della Guerra dei Trent'Anni* (Milan: G. Mondadori, 1998).

12 Michel de Certeau, 'Carlo Borromeo, Santo', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (*DBI*), v.20 (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1977), p. 262.

13 Henry Charles Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), p. 130.

the archbishop arrogant and disrespectful. In these early years, the relatively young reformer seems to have generated more resistance than change.

Like their secular counterparts, Milan's Archbishop and Inquisition saw foreign influences as the main source of heretical thought. Merchants from abroad were subject to particular suspicion as potential couriers ferrying contraband letters and books, or as being missionaries in disguise. A 1563 letter from the Venetian secretary in Milan described how the inquisitors sought 'heretics along the borders of the Swiss and Grisons, who are a type of merchant sent throughout the world with secret intelligence and correspondences, not just related to their business, but to take up arms and rise against their princes …'[14] Giorgio Guerzi was captured on just such charges in 1568, as was Giacomo Torricelli in 1575, who appeared to carry with him a map of safe houses for missionary activity throughout Italy.[15] In a 1569 oration, Borromeo compared the walls of Milan to floodgates, barely withstanding outside pressure.[16]

Both religious and Spanish authorities displayed a constant anxiety about the social and religious stability of the Lombard region in the years before 1576. However, both groups were fundamentally limited in their ability to control influence from abroad. Governor Gonzaga had submitted plans for the conquest of the Valtellina, Bergamo, and Brescia, but his Spanish superiors were more invested in keeping the peace; they mandated the greatest prudence in diplomatic relations.[17] The Inquisition, while maintaining that any transaction with heretics, commercial or otherwise, constituted heresy, lacked essential secular support for enforcement.[18] Treaties between Milan and the Grisons guaranteed mercantile rights. As the Milanese representative Ascanio Marso summarised 'they come, stay, return, negotiate and traffic in Milan freely and securely regardless of the prohibition, as long as they do not have and sell

14 Letter by Antonio Mazza to the Council of Ten on 30 March 1563 quoted in Maselli, *Saggi di storia ereticale*, p. 33.

15 Letter by Giovanni Ricci, Cardinal of Pisa, to Cardinal Borromeo on 4 September 1568 included in Maselli, *Saggi di storia ereticale*, appendix, p. 162; Letter by Cardinal of Pisa to Cardinal Borromeo on 14 May 1575 in Maselli, *Saggi di storia ereticale*, appendix, p. 171.

16 'Cultivating the field persistently. Oration at the second provincial council, April 24, 1569' translation from Carlo Borromeo, John R. Cihak (ed.), Ansgar Santogrossi (trans.), *Charles Borromeo: Selected Orations, Homilies and Writings* (London/Oxford/New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017); Borromeo's approach echoed that of his predecessor in portraying heresy as an external enemy, see Michael Stuart Williams, *The Politics of Heresy in Ambrose of Milan: Community and Consensus in Late-Antique Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

17 Gonzaga also was an early exponent of closed borders as an anti-plague measure, which he put into effect in 1549. See Chabod, *Storia di Milano*, pp. 170–174.

18 Lea, *The Inquisition*, p. 173.

[prohibited things], nor wish to dispute the faith or bring books against the Old Religion'.[19] This provided cold comfort to Spanish and religious authorities, who noted how commonly the Milanese collected foreign works in their libraries and corresponded with known heretics.[20]

The Inquisitors persisted but met constant popular resistance. In 1563, Philip II tried unsuccessfully to introduce the Spanish Inquisition to Milan. There was public outcry, and a full embassy of Milanese delegates arrived at the Spanish court to lodge a formal protest.[21] A story from the life of Fra Michele Ghislieri (later the notorious Pope Pius V) represents many common stories from these years. Ghislieri was working as an inquisitor in the duchy of Milan when he stopped a consignment of heretical books at the customs house on their way to Como. The merchant complained to the sympathetic episcopal vicar, who took possession of the books despite Ghislieri's protests. Ghisleri brought the case before the Roman Holy Office, who demanded that the vicar and canons appear. The local clergy, in turn, involved governor Gonzaga. When Ghislieri set out to appear before the governor, he narrowly escaped a murderous ambush.[22] Other Dominican friars were not so fortunate: a number were assaulted and killed in Mantua in 1567, accused of having been overzealous in aiding the Inquisition.[23]

19 Marso himself is a fascinating figure; sent by Gonzaga to Basel to report on the Italian Protestant community there, he acted as a double agent to hinder negotiations between the Grisons and French. He appears to have run a network of spies throughout the region in service to the duchy of Milan, but he came under fire for corresponding with the reformers of Zurich and Chiavenna in the course of the late 1550s, resulting in his arrest on 6 March 1559. Marso was pardoned, but the incident reveals the level of mutual suspicion and miscommunication in Milanese governance. Letter by Ascanio Marso to the Senate and Grand Chancellery on 13 April 1555 in Chabod, *Storia di Milano*, p. 174.

20 Agostino Mainardo notably corresponded with the monks of Milan's San Marco. Simonetta Adorni Braccesi and Simona Feci, 'Mainardo, Agostino', *DBI*, v. 67 (Rome: Istituto della encyclopedia italiana, 2006), pp. 585–590; Meanwhile Kevin Stevens demonstrates that Milanese booksellers maintained substantial debts to Venetian publishers, clearly purchasing works in bulk. His study of seven retailers' book inventories finds works condemned by the 1559 Index present across the board. Stevens, 'Printers, Publishers, Booksellers', pp. 183–185, 226; See also the confiscation of Conte Robbio's library in a letter written by Cardinal of Pisa to Cardinal Borromeo on 14 May 1575 quoted in Maselli, *Saggi di storia ereticale*, appendix, p. 171.

21 A 1563 letter to the Governor instructed him to behave as though the idea had never been entertained. Philip II to the Duke of Sessa, 'Abandoning the Introduction of the Spanish Inquisition in Milan' 8 November 1563 in Lea, *The Inquisition*, appendix, p. 529. Originally cited from Archivio Civico Storico, Armario A, filza VII, n. 40.

22 Girolamo Catena, *Vita del gloriosissimo Papa Pio Quinto* (Rome: Per A. Gardano & F. Coattino, 1587), USTC 819687, pp. 6–8, 17; in Lea, *The Inquisition*, p. 122.

23 Lea, *The Inquisition*, p. 133.

Most of the records of the Milanese Inquisition have been lost, destroyed in more recent centuries. Yet many anecdotal cases such as this can be supplemented by the secular and ecclesiastical archives of Milan to present an overall picture prior to the plague years: jurisdictional obstreperousness, repeat offenders, and daring escapes ran rampant.[24] Several attempts were made to restructure the inquisition in Milan.[25] The deeper problems, however, went unaddressed: the persistent resistance of locals, and the difficulty of controlling cross-border transit and exchange, particularly given the tricky position of the Milanese diocese within foreign polities.[26]

From 1500–1560, the Spanish Duchy of Milan was a highway for heresy rather than a bastion of Catholicism. Its location at a communications and transport waypoint brought constant traffic of people, texts and ideas, which cross-pollinated with local heterodoxy and political allegiances. The duchy was a rich garden for intellectual diversity and institutional criticism. The Milanese, in particular, grew used to freedoms derived from the diplomatic stalemate with the Swiss North and Venetian East. As noted by the Spanish governors, the people vocalised their personal stake in politics and were more likely to bow to the bonds of family and locality than to their foreign rulers or inquisitors. As the Cardinal of Pisa wrote of one soldier brought before the Inquisition to provide information on his noble patrons, 'he professes to believe that testifying against another is a thing of little honor'.[27] No doubt many locals, including the clergy, held similar beliefs.

24 See for further example, the case of the Augustinian friar Claudio de Pralboino, convicted for apostasy, who escaped with forged papers of pardon in 1556. Cases such as the burning of Francesco Cellaria, a Valtelline missionary who made frequent visits to noble patrons in Mantua, were rare successes, with extradition achieved through a combination of subterfuge and brute force. Lea, *The Inquisition*, pp. 124, 134–135.

25 Including taking the responsibility from the Dominicans of San Eustorgio and investing instead those of Santa Maria delle Grazie in 1558.

26 As shown by Paul Grendler's seminal study, the Venetian relationship with the Roman Inquisition was grudging at best, and more often opted for protectionist policies in favor of its universities, religious institutions, and printing industry. Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

27 Letter by Cardinal of Pisa to Borromeo on 31 July 1571, in Maselli, *Saggi di storia ereticale*, appendix, 168–169.

Years of Pestilence (1560–1578)

The 'Caroline' plague in Milan shifted relations between the state, the church, and the Lombard people.[28] A confessionalising and territorialising agenda, previously met with ample resistance, achieved new success. The emergency circumstances created by the plague provided new impetus for the development, implementation and acceptance of new social controls. The threat of plague was tied to a powerful new presence of ecclesiastical and secular governance in peoples' lives through print. The use of printed edicts and tickets to manage a distributed network of officials, communicate to the public, and underscore authority was an important administrative innovation.

The plague first appeared around Trent in the early 1570s, spreading to Milan by July 1576. It followed several hard years of famine and sporadic outbreaks of what was likely influenza. As of 1574, the population of the city was around 115,000. Some estimates put the following plague deaths at nearly 25,000 or 18–20% of the population.[29]

Located as it was at the crossroads of Europe, Milan was no stranger to plague. Duke Bernabo Visconti had promulgated one of the earliest set of plague quarantine laws in Europe in the 1370s, while Giangaleazzo Visconti put in place a comprehensive notification scheme involving mandatory reporting to parish elders. In 1535, Duke Francesco Sforza II introduced the office of public health (*Magistrato di sanità*).[30] The office depended upon deputised functionaries (often clergy) across Lombardy to keep them apprised of any suspicious persons (particularly vagabonds), register the dead, and report on the hygiene and security of street and sewage systems. Early contagion theory dictated that the ill be identified, then isolated from the general community, along with all members of their household.[31]

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28 So named after Carlo Borromeo to distinguish it from that of 1630, which occurred during the office of Federico Borromeo (1564–1631).

29 Population estimates taken from D'Amico, *Spanish Milan*, p. 12. Plague death estimates often based on two chroniclers, Giacomo Filippo Besta put it at 17,329, while Gaspare Bugato wrote 18,320; Giacomo Filippo Besta, *Vera narratione del svccesso della peste, che afflisse l'inclita citta' di Milano, l'anno 1576. & di tutte le prouisioni fatte à salute di essa città* (Milan: Da Ponte, 1578), USTC 814306; Gaspare Bugati, *I fatti di Milano al contrasto della peste, over pestifero contagio: dal primo d'Agosto 1576, fin a l'ultimo dell'anno 1577* (Milan: P. Gottardo, & Pacifico Pontij, fratelli, 1578), USTC 817140.

30 The body was composed of a president and secretary chosen from among the Senate, four conservators, including two investigators and two doctors, and a jurisconsultant. See Giorgio Cosmacini, *Il medico e il cardinale* (Milan: San Raffaele, 2009).

31 Ann Carmichael, 'Contagion Theory and Contagion Practice in Fifteenth-Century Milan', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 44:2 (1991), pp. 213–56.

M. D. XLIX. ALLI VI. DI GIVGNO.

HAVENDO Alli giorni passati li Magnifici & Prestantissimi Signori Presidente, & Cõservatori della Sanita del Stato di Milano, fatto publicar Cride, & messo altri ordini per provedere che la Peste che di presente fa gran pgresso nelli paesi delli Signori Suiceri, nõ si estenda in qsto dominio: E parso cõveniẽte a. S. S. pveder anchora, che le immonditie, & altre putredini, dalle quali sogliono provenir contagiosi morbi, siano levate da questa Citta, cosi dalli publici como dalli privati lochi, & che nello avenir sia tenuta munda, & netta, in modo che rimossa l'occasione del male, col Divino aiuto habbia ad conservarsi in sanita.

Pero in nome de. S. Signorie per la presente si comãda a qualũq; persona, di qual stato, grado, & cõditione si voglia c'habbia ledame accumulato in questa Citta, o altre immõditie, in publico o in privato loco che nel termine de giorni doi immediate sequẽti dopo la publicatione della presente Crida, debbia haver dato principio, & successivamẽte nel termine de altri giorni. viii. prossimi debbia haver fatto cõdur, fuor della seconda fossa di essa Citta distante dalle vie publica detto ledame, dove nõ renda fettore, Sotto la pena de Scuti deci d'oro applicata alla Cesarea Camera in beneficio della sanita per la mita, & per l'altra mita allo accusatore, sive alli officiali che notificarãno alcuno cõtravenir alla presente Crida, & de altra pena maggior, etiã corporale allo arbitrio delli prefati Signori Conservatori.

Item sotto la medesma pena, si phibisse a qualũq; psona como disopra lo affittar, & torre a fitto loco alcuno in qsta Citta, & borghi suoi p accumular ledame, & parimẽte se phibisce sotto la medesma pena che niuno visupra possa accumular, o far accumular ledame nella detta Citta & suoi borghi senza speciale licẽtia de. S. S. in iscritto, la quale si fara gratis.

Item si comãda che nõ sia alcuna persona como disopra che ardisca gettar, ne far gettar in loco alcuno de questa Citta publico, ne privato, bigatti, ne letto d'essi bigatti, acque dove si buglino gallette, ne cosa alcuna di qualũq; sorte che renda fettore, o, malo odore, ne anche tener simili cose in casa ppria in modo che rendino malo odore, ma se mandino fuor della secõda fossa como disopra, sotto la pena como disopra applicata como disopra.

Item si comãda alli posteri de grassi, Formagiari, & fabricatori di Candelle, che tengano le loro casere, & formagi, & che facciano fabricare le Cãdelle in loco, & in modo che nõ rendino fettore, o malo odore, & che nõ lascino viscir di casa, o di bottega, sangue, acque marcida, o altre putredini, sotto la pena antedetta applicata como disopra.

Item si comanda alli, Pellateri, & Tinctori, che tengano le loro pellatarie, & tintorie, monde in modo che nõ rendano fettore, o malo odore, sotto la pena antedetta, applicata como disopra.

Item si comãda alli Beccari che nõ vendano, ne tengano nelle loro case, o botteghe, carne guasta, ne tengano Sevo, ne altra cosa che rendi fettore, o malo odore, sotto la pena, sopradetta applicata como desopra.

Item si comãda alli Pescatori, & venditori de pesce, cosi fresco, como salato, che nõ conducano, ne facciano cõdur, ne vendino, o faccian vẽder in questa Citta alcuna quãtita anchor che pocha sia, di pesce marcido, e guasto, sotto la pena, de soldi vẽti, per ogni libra di pesce si trovarrãno haver, o vẽduto che fosse guasto, sotto la pena visupra applicata como disopra.

Similmẽte si comãda a tutti li fruttaruoli, vẽditori & vẽditrici de qualũq; sorte de frutti, herbe, legumi, & altre vettovalie, che nõ conducano, ne vẽdino frutti, herbe, legumi, & como disopra marcidi, o guasti, & che tẽgano le loro Poste, & altri lochi netti in modo che nõ vi si trovino innanti immõditie, ne fettore, o malo odore, sotto la pena de Scudo vno d'oro per ogni volta che contrafarãno applicata como disopra.

Appresso si comãda a qualũque persona como disopra, che havera animale alcuno da se morto, cio e Cavalli, muli, bovi, asini, in questa Citta, Borghi, & corpisancti soi, che subito lo faccia notificar a Spirto Chiocchino in Porta Orientale a cio deputato, o soi agẽti, ad effetto che subito sian cõdotti alli lochi ordinarii, & ivi permetter siano escoriati secõdo il solito, & questo sotto la pena de Fiorini dieci applicata ad esso Chiocchino per la mita, & per l'altra mita allo accusatore, secondo la forma delle littere a lui cõcesse, & chi notificara vno delli memorati animali, havera vna parpaiola dal detto Chiocchino.

Anchora si comanda che nõ sia persona alcuna como disopra, che ardisca gettar, ne far gettar in alcun loco publico, ne privato di questa Citta, Cani, Gatte, o altro animal morto, ma si facciano portar fuor della seconda fossa como disopra, o vero li facciano ben sotterare di modo nõ possano rẽder malo odore, overo li facciano portar a casa del detto Chiocchino, sotto la pena de scudo vno d'oro per ogni volta cõtrafarrãno applicata como disopra. Signata

Preses, & Conservatores Sanitatis
Status Mediolani &c.

Aluy. Dinal. Cancel.

FIGURE 1.1 *Edict of 6 June 1549* ASMi, *Atti di governo, Sanità parte moderna*, busta 3
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI MILANO

The earliest print public health edict (*grida*) in the collection held by the state archive in Milan (ASMi) dates to 1549 [Fig. 1.1].[32] The printing is crude, with a simple woodblock of the double-headed Habsburg eagle. The edict mandated several standard preventative measures: the clearing of waste in public and domestic spaces and the general eradication of 'bad odor' associated with the plague, particularly from trades such as cheesemakers, candle makers, and tanners.

By the next 1563 example, the plague edicts had a much more refined style [Fig. 1.2].[33] They were printed with the arms of King Phillip II, and joined by the signatures of the President and Conservator of Public Health at the bottom. This and several other examples use a particularly appropriate visual metaphor for the social control: a woodblock letter featuring a woman switching a bare-bottomed man [Fig. 1.3]. Readers were warned of the advent of 'several miserable, nefarious enemies to human nature' from the Piedmont who with 'unctions, dusts and other diabolical arts aim to spread plague across the land'.[34] They were even given the power to 'shoot or wound with impunity' any such unwelcome visitor. Later in 1576, Governor Ayamonte clarified that he did not really believe the 'unctioner' theory, but did think that foreign troublemakers sought to rile the credulous.[35]

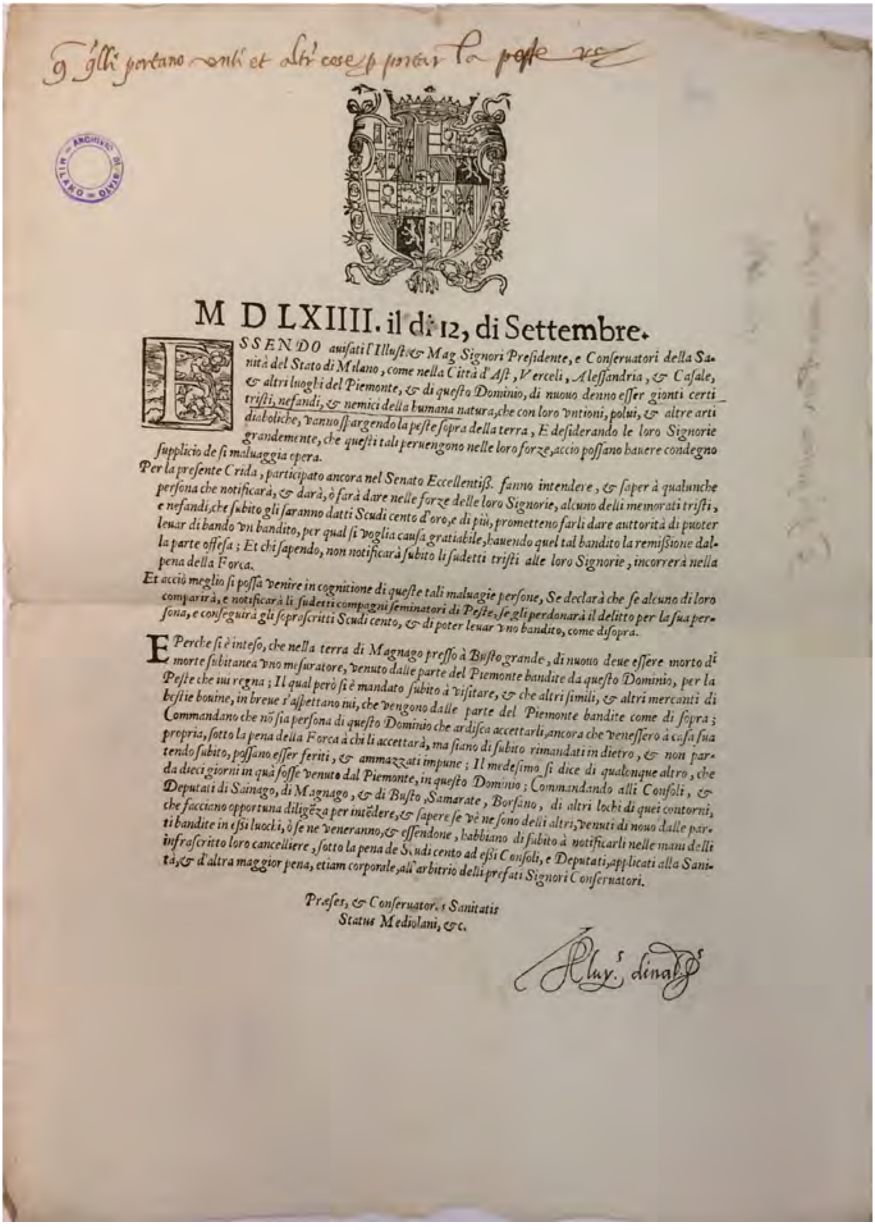
What can the development of the plague edicts tell us about the use of official print in 1570s Milan? First, we see that they were shaped by a particular socio-cultural moment, from the employment of broadsheet-style sensationalism to the emphasis on vigilante response. By 1576, the Marquis d'Ayamonte's name and coat of arms featured prominently, while the text referenced the 'diligence and pastoral care of the Reverend Cardinal and Archbishop' (notably not naming Cardinal Borromeo). The authorities mutually affirmed one another, while the governor nonetheless asserted his pre-eminence. The figurative presence of the governor covered for his physical absence, as the

32 ASMi, *Atti di governo*, *Sanità parte moderna*, Busta (b.) 3, Edict (6 June 1549).

33 ASMi, *Atti di governo, Sanità*, b. 3, 'Quelli portanto untioni et altre cose per portar la peste' (12 September 1563).

34 'Essendo avisati l'Illust. & Mag. Signori Presidente, e Conservatori della Sanità del Stato di Milano, come nella Città d'Ast, Verceli, Alessandria & Casale, & altri luoghi del Piemonte, & di questo Dominio, di nuovo denno esser gionti certi tristi, nefandi, & nemici della humana natura, che con loro untioni, polvi, & altre arti diaboliche, vanno spargendo la pese sopra della terra …' ASMi, *Atti di governo, Sanità*, b. 3, 'Quelli portanto untioni et altre cose per portar la peste' (12 September 1563).

35 MS copy of decree from Ayamonte (12 September 1576), ASMi, *Registri delle cancellerie dello stato*, b. 16.



M DLXIIII. il di 12, di Settembre.

ESSENDO auisati l'Illust. & Mag. Signori Presidente, e Conseruatori della Sa-
nità del Stato di Milano, come nella Città d'Ast, Verceli, Alessandria, & Casale,
& altri luoghi del Piemonte, & di questo Dominio, di nuouo denno esser gionti certi
tristi, nefandi, & nemici della humana natura, che con loro vntioni, polui, & altre arti
diaboliche, vanno spargendo la peste sopra della terra, E desiderando le loro Signorie
grandemente, che questi tali peruengono nelle loro forze, accio possano hauere condegno
supplicio de si maluaggia opera.

Per la presente Crida, participato ancora nel Senato Eccellentiss. fanno intendere, & saper à qualunche
persona che notificarà, & darà, ò farà dare nelle forze delle loro Signorie, alcuno delli memorati tristi,
e nefandi, che subito gli saranno datti Scudi cento d'oro, e di più, prometteno farli dare auttorità di puoter
leuar di bando vn bandito, per qual si voglia causa gratiabile, hauendo quel tal bandito la remissione dal-
la parte offesa; Et chi sapendo, non notificarà subito li sudetti tristi alle loro Signorie, incorrerà nella
pena della Forca.

Et acciò meglio si possa venire in cognitione di queste tali maluagie persone, Se declarà che se alcuno di loro
comparirà, e notificarà li sudetti compagni seminatori di Peste, se gli perdonarà il delitto per la sua per-
sona, e conseguirà gli soproscritti Scudi cento, & di poter leuar vno bandito, come disopra.

E Perche si è inteso, che nella terra di Magnago presso à Busto grande, di nuouo deue essere morto di
morte subitanea vno mesuratore, venuto dalle parte del Piemonte bandite da questo Dominio, per la
Peste che iui regna; Il qual però si è mandato subito à visitare, & che altri simili, & altri mercanti di
bestie bouine, in breue s'aspettano iui, che vengono dalle parte del Piemonte bandite come di sopra;
Commandano che nō sia persona di questo Dominio che ardisca accettarli, ancora che venessero à casa sua
propria, sotto la pena della Forca à chi li accettarà, ma siano di subito rimandati in dietro, & non par-
tendo subito, possano esser feriti, & ammazzati impune; Il medesimo si dice di qualonque altro, che
da dieci giorni in quà fosse venuto dal Piemonte, in questo Dominio; Commandando alli Consoli, &
Deputati di Sainago, di Magnago, & di Busto, Samarate, Borsano, di altri lochi di quei contorni,
che facciano opportuna diligēza per intēdere, & sapere se v'è ne sono delli altri, venuti di nouo dalle par-
ti bandite in essi luochi, ò se ne veneranno, & essendone, habbiano di subito à notificarli nelle mani delli
infrascritto loro cancelliere, sotto la pena de Scudi cento ad essi Consoli, e Deputati, applicati alla Sani-
tà, & d'altra maggior pena, etiam corporale, all'arbitrio delli prefati Signori Conseruatori.

Præses, & Conseruator. s Sanitatis
Status Mediolani, &c.

FIGURE 1.2 Edict of 12 September 1563 ASMi, *Atti di governo, Sanità parte moderna*, busta 3
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI MILANO

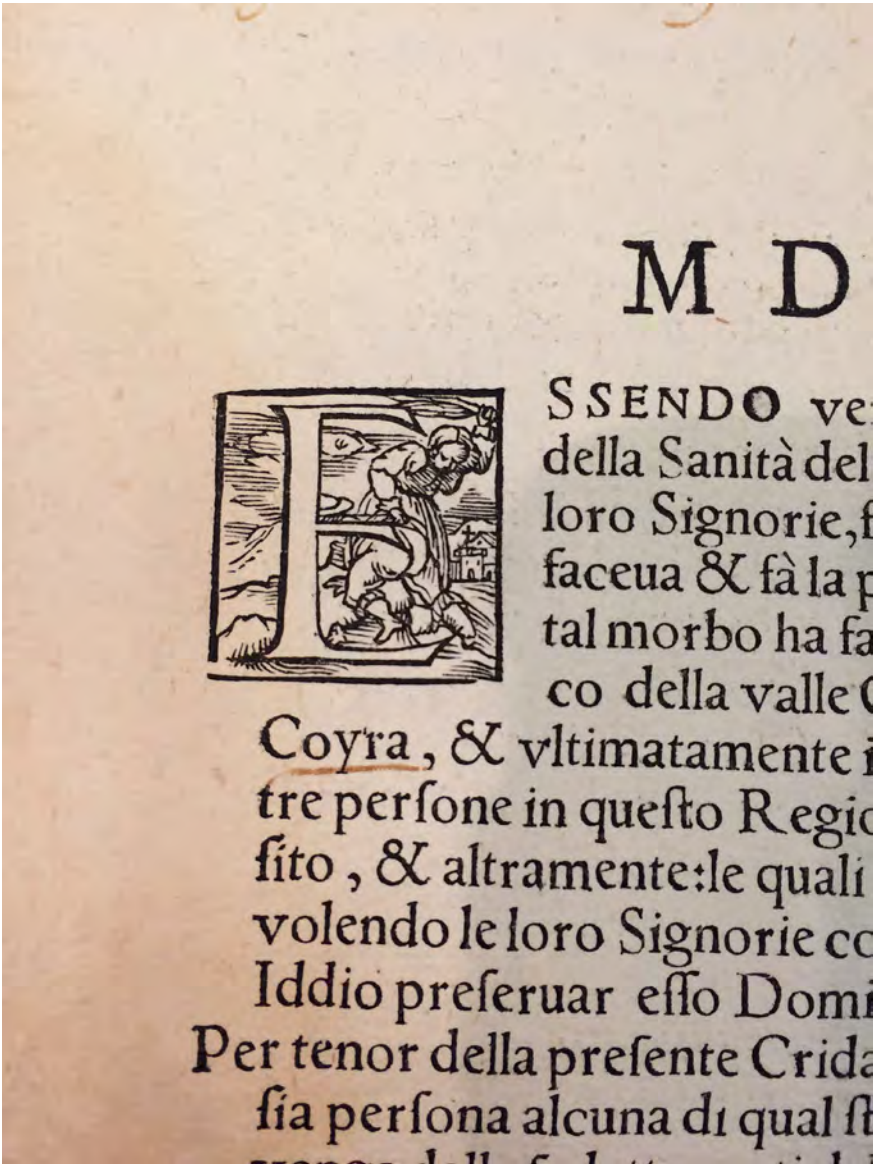

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FIGURE 1.3 Detail of Edict of 12 September 1563

Marquis had fled the onset of the plague.[36] By the autumn of 1576, such edicts were appearing at least weekly, even given what are likely poor survival rates.[37] The department of public health began to employ its own printers, Pacifico and Giovanni Battista Pontio, who developed a consistent aesthetic joined with the revision and reprinting of boilerplate language.[38] These print communications could be cautionary, punitive, instructional, and even referential, providing the days and times for household inspections and names of deputised inspectors. The development of a consistent print program was part and parcel of a larger bureaucratic protocol to respond to the plague, which by necessity involved the public as participants and enforcers. Edicts were included in letters with orders to hang them in public places, thereby distributing them across a wide network of administrators. In Milan, they were often posted at the city's many gates. One manuscript version was stitched together to be unfolded in a scroll-like fashion, indicating the ongoing interplay between aural, manuscript and print modes.[39]

It is difficult to reconstruct the reception of the edicts, but their content certainly became more restrictive as the situation grew dire. Citizens of Milan were regularly under general quarantine between 1576–1578, with movement and gathering completely banned for suspect or vulnerable groups.[40] The edicts themselves preserve some of the back-and-forth between the public and governing authority. They addressed individual rumors, such as that of the unctioners, chastised remiss officials, and increasingly threatened the death penalty for disobedience. Attention was mandatory, as several provided deadlines for altered behavior declared, pre-emptively discounting claims to ignorance

36 His absence was noted by contemporaries; On 29 September 1576, Papirio Picedi commented that the 'the marquis of Ayamonte has been invisible'. Quoted in A. Valente, 'La peste del 1576 in Milano. Notizie tratte dalle lettere di un contemporaneo', *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 50 (1923), p. 458.

37 See edicts of 19 October, 23 October, 25 October, 26 October and 4 November in ASMi, *Atti di governo*, *Sanità*, b. 3.

38 The earliest signature by one of the Pontio brothers as printer for the Sanità is Pacifico Pontio on an edict from August 1572; Gio. Battista does not appear using the title of printer for public health specifically until 1577. In ASMi, *Atti di governo*, *Sanità*, b. 3; Pacifico and Gio. Battista would also come to play an important part as printers for the seminary press, some of whom were jailed for printing materials without the license of the Inquisition. Stevens, *Printers*, pp. 234–235.

39 Printed grida (2 August 1577) in ASMi, *Atti di governo*, *Sanità*, b. 3.

40 Cosmacini indicates that an overall ban was only applied to women and children, but that the movement of groups such as artisans who traveled between districts was restricted. Cosmacini, *Il medico*, p. 77.

or inability ('which is not to be believed').[41] Manhunts for specific individuals who escaped confinement are particularly striking: see one such example seeking a 'Giovanni Spagnuolo' and providing a detailed physical description.[42] Proscriptive sources are a distorted mirror for reality at best. The propagandising power of such an all-seeing, all-knowing performance still rings true today. In fact, the edicts were later reprinted as bound volumes (*gridari*), editions of which can be found in several major collections.[43] They modeled a highly interventionist role for government in the lives of the Milanese people.

As the printing of state edicts became a weekly occurrence in October of 1576, Cardinal Borromeo led a procession through the streets, barefoot and carrying a crucifix. He conducted several such processions over the next months (including one with 1,000 *disciplinati* who flagellated themselves) and offered plenary indulgences to all participants. He frequently ministered to victims in person at the largest plague hospital, the Lazzaretto, his presence a stark contrast to the absent governor, or the Jesuit Provincial Francesco Adorno, who refused to send his priests to accompany the archbishop. The later importance of the plague ministry to Borromeo's personal narrative and eventual canonisation is visible in the four enormous *Quadroni* that hang in the Milanese cathedral.[44] In many Borromeo is shown resplendent in his cardinal's robes, surrounded and lauded by the plague's many victims. The mannerist perspective places the viewer among the populace, looking up at the heroic figure astride his white horse [Fig. 1.4].[45]

However, Borromeo never lost his crusader's passion against heretical dissent. A 1572 act from the cardinal charged heretics with 'seducing' many, and 'devouring the Lord's flock like rapacious wolves'.[46] The act provided a list

41 Printed tickets with blanks for MS addition (30 July 1577) in ASMi, *Atti di governo*, *Sanità*, b. 3.

42 'Per la Fugga d'un Carcerato dal luogo del lazzeretto di Mil.o in tempo di contaggio' (23 March 1578) in ASMi, *Atti di governo*, *Sanità*, b. 3.

43 Ascanio Centorio de'Hortensii, *I cinque libri degl'avvertimenti, ordini, gride, et editti: fatti, et osservati in Milano, ne'tempi sospettosi della pesta* (Venice: G.P. Gioliti de' Ferrari, 1577), USTC 821598. Later reprinted in Milan by Gio. Battista Bidelli in 1631, USTC 4010158.

44 Borromeo's embrace of print also fits within his overall attention to visual media as a means of cultivating devotion. See Grace Harpster, *Carlo Borromeo's Itineraries: The Sacred Image in Post-Tridentine* Italy (University of California Berkeley, unpublished PhD dissertation, 2018).

45 Pamela Jones, 'San Carlo Borromeo and Plague Imagery in Milan and Rome', in Gauvin Alexander Bailey (ed.), *Hope and Healing: Painting in Italy in a Time of Plague, 1500–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 65–96.

46 'Editto Che Si Denunciino Heretici …' (1572) in Carlo Borromeo, Pietro Galesino (ed.), *Acta Ecclesia Mediolanensis tribus partibus distincta* (Milan: Pacificum Pointium, 1582), USTC 842632, col. 1104. (Henceforth: *AEM*).

FIGURE 1.4 Giovanni Battista Crespi (Cerano), *San Carlo Borromeo consola gli appestati alle capanne* (1602). Hung in the Duomo of Milan as a part of a series of scenes from the life of San Carlo Borromeo
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE FONDAZIONE ZERI

of heretical words and acts; infamous men and their helpers, defenders, and believers; and heretical texts, all of which could contaminate a believer. Any contact required speedy denunciation to the diocese or inquisitor on pain of excommunication. The act declared the need for 'a common vigilance for the sake of common health' uniting the people against 'the common enemies'.[47] We see also here an early reference to the spiritual 'health' of the community, a theme that Borromeo would develop more fully in the coming years.

The comprehensiveness of Borromeo's reform program, and the later emphasis on print publication, provides us with ample evidence to analyze the progression of his ideology and rhetoric across his career. His sermons and other writings circulated widely in print, even prior to their collection in his

47 'Editto Che Si Denunciino Heretici …' (1572) in *AEM*, col. 1101–1102.

1582 magnum opus: the *Acta Ecclesia Mediolanensis*.[48] The *Acta* consist of the many decrees and orations of six provincial councils and eleven diocesan synods called by the Cardinal, as well as a selection of other acts and writings. The project and its contents speak to the strong influence of Tridentine reform on Borromeo's program. As the edict collections represented the Spanish government, so too did the *Acta* convey Borromeo's confessional program at home and abroad.

Many entries show the impact of the plague years quite directly, none more so than the acts of the fifth provincial council of Milan.[49] Beginning with 'On Plague Ministry', Borromeo provided clergy with practical precautions derived from his experience. He instructed the clergy in the correct process for determining 'what, and how much is the power of the plague; how dire is the infection; how much, and what varieties of havoc it causes; how much and how terrible are the its causes, how suddenly it takes the soul to the tremendous judgement of Christ The Lord'.[50] In Borromeo's rhetoric, the health of the physical body was constantly linked to the health of the spiritual body. He warned priests of the effect the plague might have on even the faithful: 'the soul is move to panic, and made emotional and bewildered'.[51] While cautioning clergy to take 'prudent precautions' he nonetheless heartily endorsed public services and demonstrations, lest stations go untended and souls unministered (a position that notably put him at odds with the Spanish authorities).[52]

Borromeo cultivated this rhetorical link between physical and spiritual pestilence over the course of the plague years, reaching a particularly refined form in his 1579 "Letter to the People of Milan."[53] He blamed the plague on the 'provocations to God' posed by the pagan celebrations of carnival, and the pride and vanity of the Milanese people. 'And when you find fever', Borromeo now instructed the patients, rather than the care-givers, 'it is not enough for a Christian to seek the cause in the humors intrinsic to the body, and the putrefaction that they produce, but he must look up to see with Christian light of reason what causes have moved God to permit and maintain such a fever'.[54] Like doctors, victims also needed to be wary that not fully cured, spiritual

48 See footnote 46. Republished in 1599 with the patronage of Cardinal Federico Borromeo.
49 Actorum Pars I, Concilia Provincialia V, 21579, *AEM*, USTC 842735.
50 *AEM*, col. 557.
51 *AEM*, col. 557.
52 *AEM*, col. 557.
53 Carlo Borromeo, Giovanni Testori (ed.), *Memoriale ai Milanesi* (Milan: Giordano Editore, 1965).
54 Testori, *Memoriale*, p. 50.

contagion might return all the stronger, 'and not all the medicine and remedies will be enough to cure it'.[55]

Religious rhetoric has long drawn a connection between spiritual and physical illness, and Northern Italy saw many examples. A series of 1547 letters between the inquisition in Milan and officials in Cremona described the Lutheran sect as 'pullulating', a term that evoked the sprouting of plants, the swarming of insects, or the appearance of blisters on a body. They frequently referred to heresy as a type of 'plague' (*peste*), or to places and people as 'infected' (*infetti*) by heretical ideas. They pressed to need to both 'remedy' (*ovviare*) and 'uproot' (*estirpare, estinguere*) heresy.[56] In a 1565 address to the first provincial council, Borromeo had used similarly medical language in his discussion of remedies: 'the method to be used in correcting delicts, following the nature of illnesses, is the one that adapts the medicine to the strength and quality of the sicknesses', yet also advocated 'a sharper cure, and finally applying iron and fire to the irritated parts, as the nature of the evil and the danger of contagion will demand …'[57] Similarly, in his 1569 address, he made sense of the seeming return of the 'pestilential heresies' from the age of the 'ancient Fathers' as like an old illness returning to a body 'affect by some recent, even minor problem'.[58] The metaphor of illness provided Tridentine reformers with a model for explicating and treating heretical dissent.

The 'contagion' theory of heretical ideas may well help to explain the strong institutional focus on controlling means of communication and transit in Lombardy, shared by secular and religious authorities. Controls aimed at the spread of the plague also happened to include many known centers of Protestantism, such as Hungary, Croatia, Germany and the Grisons (1564), Geneva and Besançon (1567), Switzerland and its valleys (1568) and Basil and Lyon (1569).[59] It is the nature of epidemiology that disease networks overlay those of trade and travel, and with its limited Alpine passes, there were reasonably set paths along which plague could travel to Milan. However, we might ask whether the system was primed to identify a physical threat with Northern influence, whether by xenophobia or design; as Ann Carmichael finds in a recent survey of the postmortems filed by the deputies of the magistracy of

55 Testori, *Memoriale*, p. 51.

56 Assorted correspondence from inquisitors of Cremona. ASMi, *Atti di governo*, *Culto,* b.2104.

57 'Oration at the First Provincial Council 15 October 1565' in Cihak (ed.), *Selected Orations*, pp. 29–30.

58 'Oration at the Second Provincial Council 24 April 1569' in Cihak (ed.), *Selected Orations*, pp. 29–30.

59 Various edicts in ASMi, *Atti di Governo*, *Sanità*, b.3.

public health, 'they confirmed plague deaths, but (with practiced facility) they blamed plague's spread preemptively on travelers or undesirable migrants, or on infractions to good order by smugglers, tax evaders, and delinquent watchers'.[60] Based on the documents held at the Archivio di Stato in Milan, it appears that were fewer outright bans of communication and exchange with Genoa, Naples, and Vienna – hotspots for pestilence, but also Catholic centers under Habsburg control. While difficult to demonstrate a conscious program of limiting interaction with the Protestant North, there certainly appears to have been a socio-political calculus made as to the acceptability of such outright bans, disguised in the language of public health.

In his "Letter", Borromeo also emphasised the danger of such cross-border ties:

> oh sons, in the opening that now allows commerce among the provinces and cities in the countryside … where you have not been able to set foot in this time, that afflicted you with the water of the tribulation of the pestilence: what can you do but marvel at the thousands and thousands of men, who were submerged in this water among Milan, Venice, Mantua, Padua, Verona, Vicenza, Brescia and Pavia.[61]

Borromeo frequently invoked the metaphor of the biblical arc to underscore the exceptionality of Milan, but also the importance of its 'enclosure and exclusion' from its diluvial surroundings.[62] Those regions are identified as the source of danger, with frequent reference to the 'many thousand dead in Mantua, Venice, and especially Brescia, a city so close to us, so small in proportion to ours'.[63] In providing such claims to quantitative and qualitative knowledge about the plague, Borromeo evoked a similarly omnipotent quality to the edicts, while also stoking similarly xenophobic fears.

The Venetian representative in Milan, Ottavian di Marzi, offers an interesting view into how increasingly aggressive controls were justified in the name of public health, even to the point of diplomatic incidents with the duchy's neighbors to the east. Ottavian reported the news to the Venetian Council of

60 Ann G. Carmichael hypothesizes that there was a greater recognition of plague as 'something flowing from the countryside all around them, not something deliberately spread in the city by persons hoping to sustain the plague', encouraging the wider adoption of latent surveillance systems such as Milan's, see 'Plague Persistence in Western Europe: A Hypothesis', *The Medieval Globe*, 1 (2016), p. 167.

61 Testori, *Memoriale*, p. 28.

62 Testori, *Memoriale*, p. 28.

63 Testori, *Memoriale*, p. 31.

Ten from his conversations with a 'friend' (often code for a paid informer) who had been deputised by the office of public health. 'Sovico' (likely the same Hieronymo Sovicus who appears in a February edict) lamented the danger posed by the 'Germans', who did not adequately inspect their churches and women. He feared that it was all part of a grander political scheme to occupy Savoy. Inspection for 'health' in this scenario was clearly linked with an inspection to detect the 'arms in great quantity of every sort' that the German merchants supposedly hid within their merchandise. The official claimed to know of this practice 'for sure' when the merchants were forced to come to him for a ticket 'without which they could not leave'.[64] In this case, health inspections were clearly linked with surveillance intended to detect political and military threat.

For Marzi and his compatriots, November brought a stinging insult: the construction of *cassotti* within Venetian territories, a type of toll-station nominally intended to inspect such tickets and stem the tide of plague. Ottavian condemned the stations in the strongest terms (calling it a 'usurpation' made with 'the greatest temerity') as an infringement on Venice's jurisdiction, arguing that the authorities of Bergamo had already undertaken measures without this oversight. He confronted a relevant senator, then the head of Public Health directly, and even brought the matter before the Milanese senate. Over and over, he encountered the same rebuttal for every argument: that such an emergency situation demanded such emergency measures. The ministers even went as far as imprisoning the Venetian commissary sent to destroy the stations.[65]

The language of justification in the name of public health was omnipresent from 1576 forward. Marzi's account also references another important element of print plague policing: the 'tickets' (*bolletini*). This ephemeral bureaucratic documentation was as present in daily life as the edicts that enforced them.[66] Tickets were pieces of paper that represented inspections and declared certain privileges related to trade and travel in a short standardised form. While existing in manuscript form for several centuries, the use of such tickets was made omnipresent during the plague years and continued well after. Even in the present day, travelers are often expected to provide evidence of good health, in addition to a political visa. Northern Italy and Switzerland became particularly notorious among travelers for their strict application of a ticketing

64 Letter by Ottavian di Marzi to Capi of the Council of Ten on 7 Aug 1575, Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASVe), *Capi del Consiglio di X, Dispacci degli ambasciatori*, b. 16.

65 Letter by Ottavian di Marzi to the Senate on 8 Dec 1575 in ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori*, b. 4.

66 Alexandra Bamji, 'Health Passes, Print and Public Health in Early Modern Europe', *Social History of Medicine*, 32:3 (2019), pp. 441–446.

system, although it was hardly without its problems. See for example an early letter from Governor Gonzaga mentioning the difficulties faced by ticket officials in Como, aggravated by their own regular practice of extortion.[67]

A 1576 edict gave clear instructions for the use of the 'new' tickets. The responsibility was to be invested in individuals who were 'above all loyal and discrete' and able to carry out their duties punctiliously. Every individual who wished to travel would require such a printed ticket, while the new form was intended to clarify their use and invalidate older versions. The new ticket was to include 'age, distinctive marks, complexion, stature, name and surname, where they came from and where they went' as well as whether they traveled on horse or foot, the color of the horse, and the exact date of travel. Such tickets were not to be issued for any travel to or from infected areas. Three examples were provided at the bottom of the edict for individuals to presumably copy [Fig. 1.5].[68] Comprehensive and individualised versions were likely often scrapped in favor of a more general print ticket on which the most pressing data (name, date, and place of travel) could be filled in as needed.[69]

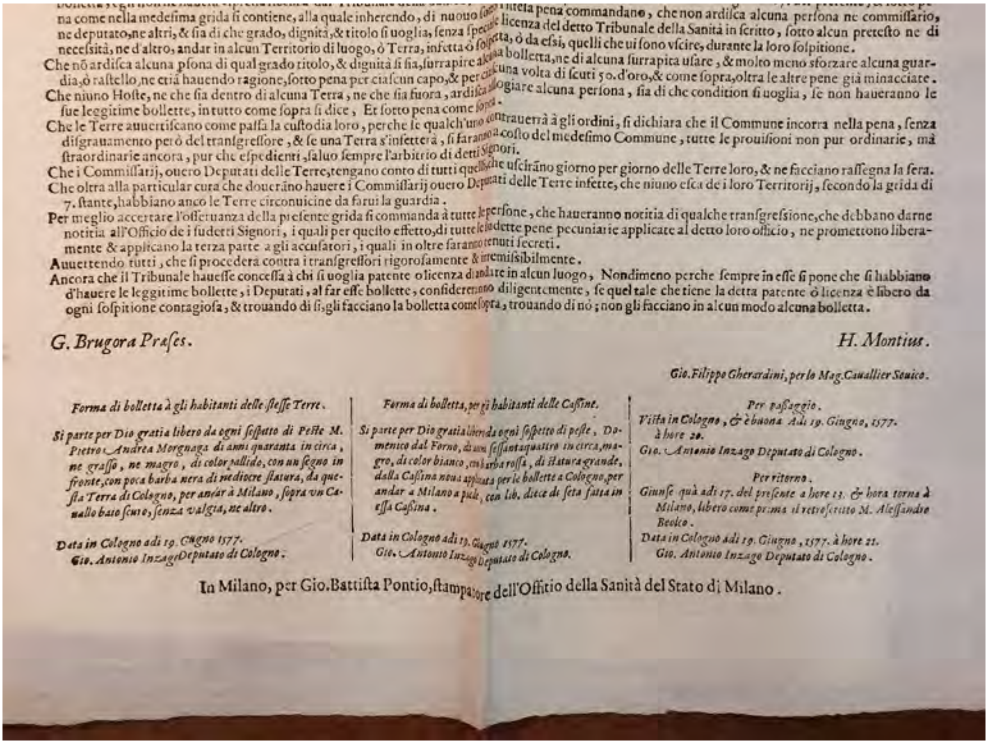
Why did it matter that these forms were in print? They certainly derived from and continued to interact with the manuscript in ways that should qualify our eagerness to indicate a wholesale print revolution. However, the need or desire to utilise print for administration was shared by both secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The tickets speak to the scale of bureaucratic ambitions for social control, as well as to the authority and credibility that such a print item, though ephemeral, might carry. In fact, in the time of plague and years following, the Milanese seemed increasingly to turn to print for all kinds of answers. Samuel K. Cohn's analysis of Italian print publication for these years found that more than 378 publications related to the plague in the sixteenth-century, with more than 45% produced in the years of the plague itself (1575–1578).[70] Nearly 115 texts were produced just within the years of 1576 and 1577. Importantly, these numbers do not include either broadsheets or the edicts analysed here. Even Cardinal Borromeo cited recent print literature, remarking in a letter of 1576 that the plague 'features in a book published

67 Copy of letter by Governor Gonzaga (27 Sept 1550) in ASVe, *Senato, Dispacci degli ambasciatori*, b. 4.

68 'Instruttione per le nuove bollette et altro' (21 June 1576) in ASMi, *Atti di governo, Sanità*, b. 3.

69 The use of the term 'stampare' in the edict to describe the tickets further support this, as do the printed licenses for inspectors. See example given to Lodovico Pallavicino (30 July 1577) in ASMi, *Atti di governo, Sanità*, b. 3.

70 Samuel K Cohn, *Cultures of Plague: Medical Thinking at the End of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 33.


na come nella medesima grida si contiene, alla quale inherendo, di nuouo [illegible] la pena commandano, che non ardisca alcuna persona ne commissario, ne deputato, ne altri, & sia di che grado, dignità, & titolo si uoglia, senza speciale licenza del detto Tribunale della Sanità in scritto, sotto alcun pretesto ne di necessità, ne d'altro, andar in alcun Territorio di luogo, ò Terra, infetta ò sospetta, ò da essi, quelli che ui sono uscire, durante la loro sospitione.
Che nõ ardisca alcuna psona di qual grado titolo, & dignità si sia, surrapire alcuna bolletta, ne di alcuna surrapita usare, & molto meno sforzare alcuna guardia, ò rastello, ne etiã hauendo ragione, sotto pena per ciascun capo, & per ciascuna volta di scuti 50. d'oro, & come sopra, oltra le altre pene già minacciate.
Che niuno Hoste, ne che sia dentro di alcuna Terra, ne che sia fuora, ardisca allogiare alcuna persona, sia di che condition si uoglia, se non haueranno le sue leggitime bollette, in tutto come sopra si dice, Et sotto pena come sopra.
Che le Terre auuertiscano come passa la custodia loro, perche se qualch'uno contrauerrà à gli ordini, si dichiara che il Commune incorra nella pena, senza disgrauamento però del transgressore, & se una Terra s'infetterà, si faranno a costo del medesimo Commune, tutte le prouisioni non pur ordinarie, mà straordinarie ancora, pur che espedienti, saluo sempre l'arbitrio di detti Signori.
Che i Commissarij, ouero Deputati delle Terre, tengano conto di tutti quelli che uscirãno giorno per giorno delle Terre loro, & ne facciano rassegna la sera.
Che oltra alla particular cura che douerãno hauere i Commissarij ouero Deputati delle Terre infette, che niuno esca de i loro Territorij, secondo la grida di 7. stante, habbiano anco le Terre circonuicine da farui la guardia.
Per meglio accertare l'osseruanza della presente grida si commanda à tutte le persone, che haueranno notitia di qualche transgressione, che debbano darne notitia all'Officio de i sudetti Signori, i quali per questo effetto, di tutte le sudette pene pecuniarie applicate al detto loro officio, ne promettono liberamente & applicano la terza parte a gli accusatori, i quali in oltre saranno tenuti secreti.
Auuertendo tutti, che si procederà contra i transgressori rigorosamente & irremissibilmente.
Ancora che il Tribunale hauesse concessa à chi si uoglia patente o licenza di andare in alcun luogo, Nondimeno perche sempre in esse si pone che si habbiano d'hauere le leggitime bollette, i Deputati, al far esse bollette, considereranno diligentemente, se quel tale che tiene la detta patente ò licenza è libero da ogni sospitione contagiosa, & trouando di si, gli facciano la bolletta come sopra, trouando di nò; non gli facciano in alcun modo alcuna bolletta.

G. Brugora Præses.

H. Montius.

Gio. Filippo Gherardini, per lo Mag. Cauallier Souico.

Forma di bolletta à gli habitanti delle stesse Terre.

Si parte per Dio gratia libero da ogni sospetto di Peste M. Pietro Andrea Morgnaga di anni quaranta in circa, ne grasso, ne magro, di color pallido, con un segno in fronte, con poca barba nera di mediocre statura, da questa Terra di Cologno, per andar à Milano, sopra un Cauallo baio scuro, senza valgia, ne altro.

Data in Cologno adi 19. Giugno 1577.
Gio. Antonio Inzago Deputato di Cologno.

Forma di bolletta, per gli habitanti delle Cassine.

Si parte per Dio gratia libero da ogni sospetto di peste, Domenico dal Forno, di anni sessantaquattro in circa, magro, di color bianco, con barba rossa, di statura grande, dalla Cassina noua applicata per le bollette a Cologno, per andar a Milano a piedi, con lib. diece di seta fatta in essa Cassina.

Data in Cologno adi 19. Giugno 1577.
Gio. Antonio Inzago Deputato di Cologno.

Per passaggio.

Visto in Cologno, & è buona Adi 19. Giugno, 1577. à hore 20.
Gio. Antonio Inzago Deputato di Cologno.

Per ritorno.

Giunse quà adi 17. del presente a hore 13. & hora torna à Milano, libero come prima il retroscritto M. Alessandro Beolco.

Data in Cologno adi 19. Giugno, 1577. à hore 21.
Gio. Antonio Inzago Deputato di Cologno.

In Milano, per Gio. Battista Pontio, stampatore dell'Offitio della Sanità del Stato di Milano.

FIGURE 1.5 Edict of 21 June 1576 in ASMi, *Atti di governo*, *Sanità*, busta 3
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI MILANO

here', which indicated the salutary properties of religious processions.[71] It is difficult to recreate the popular sentiment of the Milanese in this period, particularly due to the lacunae in the archival record. Given the chaos caused by such a high mortality rate, we might reasonably imagine there was something comforting about all of these printed words, and even the draconian measures they sometimes imposed. The printed edict and ticket could convey an active, informed, and pre-emptively prepared governing authority in uncertain times.

The development of such tickets might seem to slot neatly into the history of the secular state, but we see an exact mirroring in the ecclesiastical context

71 This could be a book referenced by Borromeo in his *Memoriale*: Salvianus, *De gubernatione Dei* (Paris: Sébastien Nivelle, 1580), USTC 172421. Letter by Carlo Borromeo to Niccolò Ormaneto (6 September 1576) in Carlo Borromeo, Marina Bonomelli (ed.), *Milano e la corte di Spagna: un carteggio inedito di Carlo Borromeo* (Milan/ Rome: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2008), pp. 167–171.

by Cardinal Borromeo. He intended to institute a system of confession tickets in "Advice for those who maintain the records of the state."[72] These slips of paper would be filled out at the time of the confession, held by the devotee, and handed to the priest before receiving communion. Overall, the tickets would be part of a four-part administrative documentation, along with the parish register (*status animarum*), approved list of confessors, and list of the unconfessed. Borromeo even attempted to mandate that the ill confess promptly and show the ticket, 'otherwise doctors are not to treat them, under penalty of excommunication'.[73] The 1574 synod visitation memo indicated that the tickets were nonetheless widely disregarded. In Gorgonzola, the clergy protested that they 'knew all their devotees', but the inspectors commented that they seemed to admit all without distinction. Under the inspector's description of Capriasca, the excuses are simply abbreviated as 'they do not use the tickets because they trust, etc'.[74] However, Borromeo did not alter his demands, offering a model in the "Advice" of just such a ticket that might be pre-printed and filled out as necessary, similar to those provided for the plague tickets some years before.[75] He further reminded the clergy of Milan that all foreigners only be admitted to the Metropolitan church, and that they needed to be recorded in a book with their name, last name, place of origin, or domicile from which they came, and their itineraries. 'Keep this book faithfully', he chastised, 'and every fifteen days write to us, signed and affirmed in your hand'.[76]

Borromeo sought to carve space for the Inquisition in commercial and diplomatic relations, cultivating a culture of self-reporting. In keeping with the contagion model of heretical dissent, Borromeo was concerned that Milanese merchants might become infected by aberrant practices while abroad in the nearby Protestant North. In 1580, Borromeo printed instructions for just such merchants, requiring that they receive a ticket from a religious authority

72 'Avvertenze a ciascun curato per far i libri del stato delle su anime' (1574) in Pars IV Reliqua ad instructionem aliquam pertinentia vulgari sermone conscripta, *AEM*, col. 1934–1988. See also De Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul*, pp. 187–192.

73 'Avvertimenti per il sacramento della cresima' (1582), in Pars IV Reliqua, *AEM*, col. 1773–1775.

74 '1574, Memoriali dei Vicari Forenei per il Sinodo Diocesano' in Angelo Turchini (ed.), 'Appendice', *Monumenta borromaica*, (Cesena: Il ponte vecchio, 2010), pp. 147–171. Original cited from Archivio Diocesano Milano, *Memoriali diversi*, Sez. VI.

75 'Avvertenze a ciascun … libri del stato', in Pars IV Reliqua, *AEM*, col. 1934–1935.

76 'Avvertenze di Mons. Illustr. Card. Di S. Prassede Arcivescovo di Milano ai Curati della Citta e Diocesi Sua …' in Pars IV: Instructiones variæ – Reliqua ad instructionem aliquam pertinentia vulgari sermone conscripta, *AEM*, col. 1775–1776. Previously published under same title (Milan: Valerio et Hieronimo fratelli da Meda, 1574), USTC 842542, & (Milan: Pacifico da Ponte, 1574), USTC 84254.

certifying a character investigation to establish the purity of their faith. Like the secular edicts, the order included the instructions for its own promulgation, so that 'no man might plead ignorance'.[77] In combination with the participation records that Borromeo encouraged all priests to keep, the tickets would have supported a system of religious 'passports'. The resulting paperwork would constitute a systematic database of potential heresy cases. The character investigation, while potentially weeding out those with a weak religious 'constitution', would also propagandise the dangers of travel, perhaps dissuading a would-be traveler.

It would not be out of the scope of possibility for Borromeo to double-down on a failed strategy, but as with the secular edicts and use of tickets, it seems that the systematic integration of this bureaucratic documentation had made some headway over the course of the 1570s. While authorities in Milan struggled to control the public sphere (and still contested it with one another) they now focused on weaving a web of social control through print. Edicts and acts presented the outward face of bureaucracy, as well as generating internal coherence. Lombard residents were expected to keep apprised of new regulation and take part in a constant program of information collection, from the deputies that performed postmortems, to approved priests hearing confessions, to anonymous informers rewarded for their denunciations.

Conclusion: A Lasting Legacy

In 1578, Borromeo wrote to Phillip II to protest the lodging and conduct of a contingent of German soldiers nearby, who 'lived heretically', 'publically showed various injuries and irreverences' towards the Catholic ritual, and were 'eating meat every day indifferently'.[78] 'I leave it to Your Majesty to consider what poor conduct (*scandalo*) they transmit to these people, what a danger they might be, how they corrupt and contaminate (*corrompere e contaminar*) with this plague the simple and rough people of these places', he declared, arguing that they not be allowed to 'infect (*infettar*) others with their pernicious example'.[79] Yet Borromeo did not receive the response he wished, forced instead in later letters to defend his latest antagonisms of the governor and

77 'Letera a Parochi per quelli che vanno a terre d'Heretici' (1580), *Edicta varia, ordinationes et decreta*, AEM, col. 1105–1106.

78 Letters from Cardinal Borromeo to Phillip II of Spain (1578), in Bonomelli, *Milano e la corte di Spagna*, pp. 196–197, 200–201.

79 Bonomelli, *Milano e la corte di Spagna*, pp. 196–197, 200–201.

senate. The culmination of these petty conflicts in the 1580 print shop raid reminds us that while Cardinal Borromeo and the Marquis d'Ayamonte may have developed similar rhetorical and print strategies as a result of the plague years, they were rarely deliberate allies in the fight for social control.[80]

Both the cardinal and governor recognised the public print voice as an invaluable resource, and sought to quell their competition. The plague years had shown how the press could enable the expansion of a secular or ecclesiastical bureaucracy, and then effectively propagandize that same achievement. The 1580s production and export of the *Edicts* and *Acts* compilations monumentalised them for international readers. Yet it was the new daily presence of authority in print governing trade, travel and even devotion in Lombardy that was the most lasting legacy. Both Borromean church and Spanish state benefitted from this advance in early informatics.

The proscriptive nature of these documents provides evidence for two things: on the one hand, they can be interpreted as expressing the interests and authority of the governing powers. On the other hand, they indicate the need for continual crackdown. The acceptance of social controls in daily life did not equate with a total obedience. Throughout the next decades, edicts prohibiting gambling over the election of clergy and posting nighttime pasquinades (*pasquini*) indicate continuing sacrilegiousness.[81] However, the political and religious docility of Milan over the next century was truly a historical anomaly: of all the Spanish possession, this former nest of would-be traitors and heretics was the only one to not revolt against its foreign rulers. The expanded role of the church and state in governing daily life appears to have been largely accepted, and certainly current scholarship speaks of Milan as a hub of the Counter- and Catholic Reformation.

The transformation also worked in two ways: these new information systems embedded the public in governance, but they also drew authorities into a constant interaction and monitoring of the public sphere. In 1584, Borromeo spoke to an audience of priests, chastising them by saying that Swiss visitors, on returning home, proclaimed "the priests in Milan, who are examples for everyone else, do such and such, live in such and such a way, speak in such

80 This difference was also reflected by two rival theories as to the initial source of the plague. Bugato and Bestia believed it may have been spread by religious pilgrimage, while an anonymous doctor writing in 1577 placed the blame with Spanish soldiers arriving from Sicily. Cosmacini, *Il medico*, pp. 69–70.

81 'Sopra i Pasquini' (12 Apr 1583) & 'Grida, che non si possa far scomesse per l'elettione de' Sommi Pontefici, & Cardinali' (30 Aug 1591) in Pandolfo Malatesta (ed.), *Compendio di tutte le gride e ordini publicati nella Città e Stato di Milano* (Milan: Malatesti, [1609]), USTC 4039281.

and such a way; and so they are allowed to be much worse than us'.[82] Many of the Milan edicts from the 1580s played into Protestant stereotypes of Spanish authoritarianism, a particularly striking example being an edict banning rowdiness at comedies.[83] The decades before the Thirty Years' War were a high point for censorship as governments chased the specter of controlling public opinion and expression.[84] Borromeo's own 1582 "Orders to be Observed by Booksellers, Printers, and Others" sought to establish Inquisitorial censorship as the standard, rather than the exception, for all vernacular books, which were to be submitted to the Inquisitor and diocese for written approval 'for the common benefit'.[85] Possession of any vernacular bible or text treating 'controversies with heretics' was only allowed to only 'mature' readers who would not fall into error. Books published in Venice; used books; and books authored 'by diverse authors', common pseudonyms such as 'Simon Simonio', or known authors such as Flaminio and Erasmus, were banned entirely.[86]

The control of foreign influence can be viewed as a final ramification of the plague years and its systems of social control. The 1580s saw a flood of edicts that elaborated the ticketing systems of earlier years, with particularly strict ramifications threatened for innkeepers who failed in mandatory reporting.[87] In his travels of Lombardy in the first decade of the seventeenth-century, the Scottish Protestant Fynes Moryson was positively paranoid about Spanish Catholic surveillance. He opted to forego travel by post and coach entirely to avoid drawing attention. In a comic moment, Moryson even encountered another Englishman at his public inn in disguise as a Frenchman. Failing to communicate properly in French or German, the man 'tooke me for a spie, and feared I should betray him, and presently went into the stable, where he commanded his servant to saddle their horses, that they might ride all night towards Genoa. But I following him, and boldly speaking English to him, he was soone content to stay all night, and to take me in my homely apparell for

82 'Homily to the canons of the major church and collegiate churches of Milan given in the Archbishop's House Chapel January 2, 1584' in Cihak (ed.), *Selected Orations*, p. 129.

83 'Che non si faccia questione, ne risse alle Comedie' (3 Aug 1585) in Malatesta, *Compendio*.

84 Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip* II (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Paolo Preto, *I servizi segreti di Venezia* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1994).

85 *Ordini da osservarsi da librari, stampatori, ed altri* (1582) in *Edicta varia, ordinationes et decreta*, *AEM*, *col.* 1107–1111.

86 *Ordini da osservarsi da librari, stampatori, ed altri* (1582) in *Edicta varia, ordinationes et decreta*, *AEM*, *col.* 1107–1111.

87 'Sopra l'allogiar i Forastieri' (16 July 1585); 'Grida, che prohibisce a forestieri l'entrare in questo Stato' (11 Sept 1590); 'Grida contra banditi forastieri, che dimorano in questo stato' (13 Feb 1592) in Malatesta, *Compendio*.

his bedfellow'.[88] The fear of surveillance that foreign Protestants felt in Milan stands in stark contrast to their relative comfort in the mid-sixteenth century.

The contagion theory of plague and accompanying program of governance and ecclesiastical ministry had long-term effects for the development of the Duchy of Milan. The climate prior to Borromeo's arrival and into the first decade of his work was largely hostile. Lombard residents were more likely to reject authoritarian intervention, expressing discontent through delegations to the Spanish court, attacks on the Inquisition, and conspiracies with Protestant or French allies. The series of pestilences in the 1560s, followed by the advent of the plague of 1576–1578, created a new emergency. Spanish authorities and local governance established a program utilising print edicts and tickets for social control. At the same time, Borromeo's *Acts* emphasised the connection between spiritual and physical health and illness, and adopted many of the same methods for controlling the 'contagion' of heresy and dissent. The ephemeral tickets, which largely do not survive, and the memorialised acts and edicts, which do, demonstrate the influence of this shared environment on bureaucratic development of both religious and secular governance.

88 Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Written by Fynes Moryson* (London: John Beale 1617), ESTC Cit. S115249, pp. 168–169. USTC 3007471.

CHAPTER 2

On Printing and Decision-Making: The Management of Information by the City Powers of Lyon (ca. 1550–ca. 1580)

Gautier Mingous

In the year 1562, as religious division became acute in the city of Lyon and the *consulat* tried its best to re-establish a semblance of order, the municipal government forbade artisans from meeting in assemblies. This measure was an attempt to restore calm and avoid a potential confrontation. To implement the ruling, the city council did not follow its standard procedure to communicate such a decision: no town crier was requested to spread the information. Instead of the town crier, the municipal government employed two sergeants of the municipality to affix more than 140 posters for display at the different crossroads of the city. The man who 'carries the glue' was even given a small purse of *deniers* to perform the deed.[1] This decision is one of the rare documented instances of the very concrete and material use of printing by the city council in the middle of the sixteenth century.[2]

The city of Lyon makes an excellent case study to analyse the growing importance of print as an official information medium in times of political, religious and health crises. The relationship between print and decision-making has mostly been studied within the framework of royal rule, with a distinct focus on the seventeenth century.[3] The relation between print and power in French

1 Archives municipales de Lyon (hereafter AML), CC 1099 : "comprins le sallaire d'un homme qui portoit la colle".

2 Eugène Vial, *Institutions et coutumes lyonnaises* (Lyon: L. Brun, 1903), p. 27.

3 Jean-Pierre Seguin, *L'information en France, de Louis XII à Henri II* (Geneva: Droz, 1961); Jean-Pierre Seguin, *L'information en France avant le périodique. 517 canards imprimés entre 1529 et 1631* (Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1964); Xavier Prévost, *Les premières lois imprimées. Étude des actes royaux imprimés de Charles VIII à Henri II (1483–1559)* (Paris: Édition de l'École nationale des Chartes, 2018). For examples of royal use of print see Hubert Carrier, *La Presse de la Fronde (1648–1653): les Mazarinades. La conquête de l'opinion* (2 vols., Geneva: Droz, 1989); Robert Chartier, *Les usages de l'imprimé (XVe–XIXe siècles)* (Paris: Fayard, 1986); Hélène Duccini, *Faire voir, faire croire. L'opinion publique sous Louis XIII* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2003); Gilles Feyel, *L'annonce de la nouvelle. La presse d'information en France sous l'Ancien Régime (1630–1788)* (Oxford: Voltaire foundation, 2000); Héloïse Hermant, *Guerres*

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cities in the sixteenth century has been discussed indirectly.[4] This article investigates the slow introduction of print in sixteenth-century Lyon and the use of this new information medium by the city council and governors.

For most of the sixteenth century, the relationship between printing and the urban powers of Lyon had been something of a case of missed opportunity. The municipal powers used print only infrequently during the first decades of the sixteenth century. It was the economic capital of the kingdom, and the city had grown into a capital of printing in Western Europe at the end of the fifteenth century.[5] The exceptional dynamism of Lyon's commerce and of its book market even played a role in the diffusion of the Reformation, precipitating the very crisis the city government would later combat.[6] Despite the strength of the book industry on its doorstep, the *consulat* seldom resorted to this medium to handle its affairs, favouring instead the traditional use of town criers to spread information orally.[7]

The authorities would later review their use of print and would turn to it as a tool of governance only after the religious divide of the 1550s and the conflicts that broke out during the following decade. As a border city situated at the junction of several trade routes, the city was not exempt from the growth of Calvinism and the dissolution of religious unity during the French Wars of Religion. This situation led to growing conflicts, culminating in the Protestant occupation of Lyon, with the Huguenots laying siege to the city in 1562. Following the Catholic reconquest of the city in 1563, Lyon was turned into a bastion of Catholicism.

In the context of religious division, civil wars and health crises, the necessity to inform the citizenry properly and thoroughly became a priority for the

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de plumes. Publicité et cultures politiques dans l'Espagne du XVII^e^ siècle (Madrid: Casa de Velasquez, 2012).

4 For example, Marie-Thérèse Blanc-Rouquette, *La presse et l'information à Toulouse des origines à 1789* (Toulouse: Association des publications de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Toulouse, 1967); Louis Desgraves, *La presse à Bordeaux* (*XVI^e^–XVIII^e^ siècles*) (Bordeaux: Sud Ouest Université, 1996); Delphine Estier, '1589–1594: la maîtrise de l'opinion à Lyon pendant la Ligue, ou le secret nécessaire', *Rives nord-méditerranéennes*, 17 (2004), pp. 63–83; Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue* (*1585–1594*) (Geneva: Droz, 1976); Anne Béroujon, *Les écrits à Lyon au XVII^e^ siècle. Espaces, échanges, identités* (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 2009).

5 Richard Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVI^e^ siècle. Lyon et ses marchands* (*environs de 1520-environs de 1580*) (2 vols., Paris/The Hague: Mouton, 1971).

6 See Yves Krumenacker (ed.), *Lyon 1562. Capitale protestante. Une histoire religieuse de Lyon à la Renaissance* (Lyon: Olivétan, 2009).

7 Didier Lett and Nicolas Hoffenstadt (eds.), *Haro! Noël! Oyé! Pratiques du cri au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses universitaires de la Sorbonne, 2003); Jean-Pierre Vittu, 'Instruments of Political Information in France', in Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (eds.), *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 162.

municipality. The local representative of the king and the governor also started to consider print as a valuable medium of communication. They used print to spread news, orders and information about local policies. During the second half of the sixteenth century, the urban powers made many attempts to commission print. These endeavours aimed to institutionalize the use of print to make it a communication medium of official and authoritative information that would be fully legitimate in the eyes of the population.

This transformation went hand in hand with new ways of organising the production of print with the purpose of standardising its content and its circulation. The ultimate goal was for print to become a real tool of urban government whose efficiency would no longer be questioned. However, the situation was very different from the seventeenth century onwards, when print would really become a full-fledged informative medium. In Lyon during the civil wars, the government's relationship to print was still hesitant and mostly experimental. However, the growing number of printed orders shows that urban elites attached more and more importance to this medium when it came to decision-making.

This paper examines the urban powers' new relationship to print, as well as print's significance compared to other communication tools. It will explore the transformation of print into a trustworthy information medium, especially at a time when authorities still favoured orality for its solemnity and efficiency. The basis of much of this research comes from the municipal registers and, more importantly, to the pamphlets conserved in the municipal library of Lyon. In order to shed light on these questions, I will first analyse the traditional use of print by urban powers, with particular attention to its strong ties with orality. This will lead to a focus on the city council and on the governor's efforts to turn print into an official and far-reaching communication medium to deliver information. This paper will finally examine print during two specific moments of crisis: the first civil wars in Lyon and the 1580s health crisis due to the plague. These cases illustrate the diversification of the use of print as the city faced complex challenges.

Printing and Distributing Information: The Traditional Use of Print in Lyon

The *consulat* was the urban institution in charge of handling the daily affairs of the city. It was composed of twelve *échevins* who served two-year terms and were elected yearly in groups of six. They oversaw all matters relating to commerce, urban policing and supply of provisions. The *échevins* met at very regular intervals, usually on a weekly basis, and held an assembly that included a secretary whose role was to describe in detail the content of all deliberations in municipal registers.[8] Together with the municipal accounting records, which list *consulat* expenditures, these documents are key sources of information on the nature and frequency of the use of printing by the *consulat*. When the *échevins* resorted to print, they ordered copies of acts or privileges granted by the Crown to the city as well as posters, which usually served commercial purposes.

Town criers were appointed by the municipality and delivered information through official announcements.[9] These included what Michèle Fogel has called 'information ceremonies'.[10] Announcements from criers were meant to be as formal as possible, relying on musical instruments and specific set phrases, all of which added a high degree of solemnity to the message delivered. While such a performance mostly relied on oration and music, print was involved to some degree as well. This hybrid practice, where orality and print coexisted, was paramount for the authorities' process of communicating with the rest of the urban community.[11] Many printed documents containing the proclaimed texts stated that the information had been 'cried and published'.[12] The term 'publish' might mean that the information was put up on the city's walls as broadsheet posters, but it could also refer to the public crying itself, 'published' meaning made public, in this case.[13]

There is little evidence to provide an estimate of the number of public cries that were printed. Some official documents, like price tables of bread, were most certainly turned into a written publication, as printed copies have been conserved. Similarly, an order of the seneschal to the city dating from 31 January 1568, was cried and printed. Indeed, the document mentions that a copy of the text was "attached" in different places of the city, such as the gates of

8 Claude de Rubys, *Histoire véritable de la ville de Lyon* (Lyon: Bonaventure Nugo, 1604), USTC 6900422, pp. 473–476.

9 Xavier Nadrigny, *Information et opinion publique à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen-Âge* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Chartes, 2013), pp. 239–267; Vittu, 'Instruments of Political Information', p. 162.

10 Michèle Fogel, *Les cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVI*^{e} *au XVIII*^{e} *siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

11 Thierry Dutour, 'L'élaboration, la publication et la diffusion de l'information à la fin du Moyen Âge (Bourgogne ducale et France royale)', in Lett and Hoffenstadt (eds.), *Haro ! Noël ! Oyé*, p. 153.

12 AML, 6 FI 651.

13 Jean Masset, Jean Nicot and Aymar de Ranconnet, *Thrésor de la langue françoyse* (Paris: D. Douceur, 1606), USTC 6016155, p. 524; See 'Publier' in Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes, et les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts* (3 vols., The Hague: A. et R. Leers, 1690), III, p. 261.

the city hall, on the walls of churches and other locations.[14] This clearly proves that print and public crying were used simultaneously. The printed broadsheets reproducing messages from town criers were used to transmit information supposed to be known by all. However, the surviving information about them is too scarce to determine their exact numbers, forms and frequency. The municipal accounting records do not specify any payment for printed copies of public cries and the broadsheets themselves have not been conserved.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, official print was mainly used to communicate information about the price of bread and about the city's fairs. The provision of food to the Lyonnais inhabitants was one of the many responsibilities of the *consulat*. Indeed, in periods of scarcity, they regulated bread prices to prevent people from being overcharged. One of the few preserved broadsheets in the Archives Municipales of Lyon is a price table for bread for August 1556. This specific broadsheet illustrates the purpose of this kind of document: delivering information visually and to the greatest number of people.[15]

The fairs were the main commercial events in the city, which gathered merchants coming from all over Europe in January, around Easter, in August, and in autumn.[16] The *échevins* were in charge of controlling the fair activities in the city and were required to communicate the decisions made by the king and the privileges granted to the merchants. During the fairs, the *échevins* commissioned hundreds and even thousands of printed documents in order to inform merchants about the privileges of the city.[17] For example, in January 1560, the printer Pierre Fradin received up to 60 *livres tournois* for printing 536 copies of fair privileges, which were meant to be distributed to the merchants attending the king's fair.[18]

During the 1560s and the 1570s, print orders from the city council increased, and more importantly, diversified. Other official documents were added to the existing body of printed fair privileges and price tables, such as broadsheets

14 *Ordonnance de messieurs les Seneschal et gens tenans le siege presidial en la ville de Lyon, contre les detenteurs des biens de ceux de la religion reformée : ensemble les noms et surnoms des seditieux et rebelles contre la majesté du Roy nostre Sire* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1568), USTC 5333.

15 Jacqueline Boucher, *Vivre à Lyon au XVI^e siècle* (Lyon: Éditions Lyonnaises d'Art et d'Histoire, 2001), p. 47; Jamie Cumby, 'Bread and Fairs: Broadsheet Printing for the Municipality of Lyon, 1497–1570', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets. Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Boston/Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 170–171.

16 Marc Brésard, *Les foires de Lyon aux XV^e et XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1914), pp. 66–69; Boucher, *Vivre à Lyon*, pp. 46–48; Rubys, *Histoire véritable*, pp. 340–343.

17 For example, Michel Jove is requested to print 3,500 receipts during the fair of All Saints Day in 1575. AML, CC 1233.

18 AML, CC 1089.

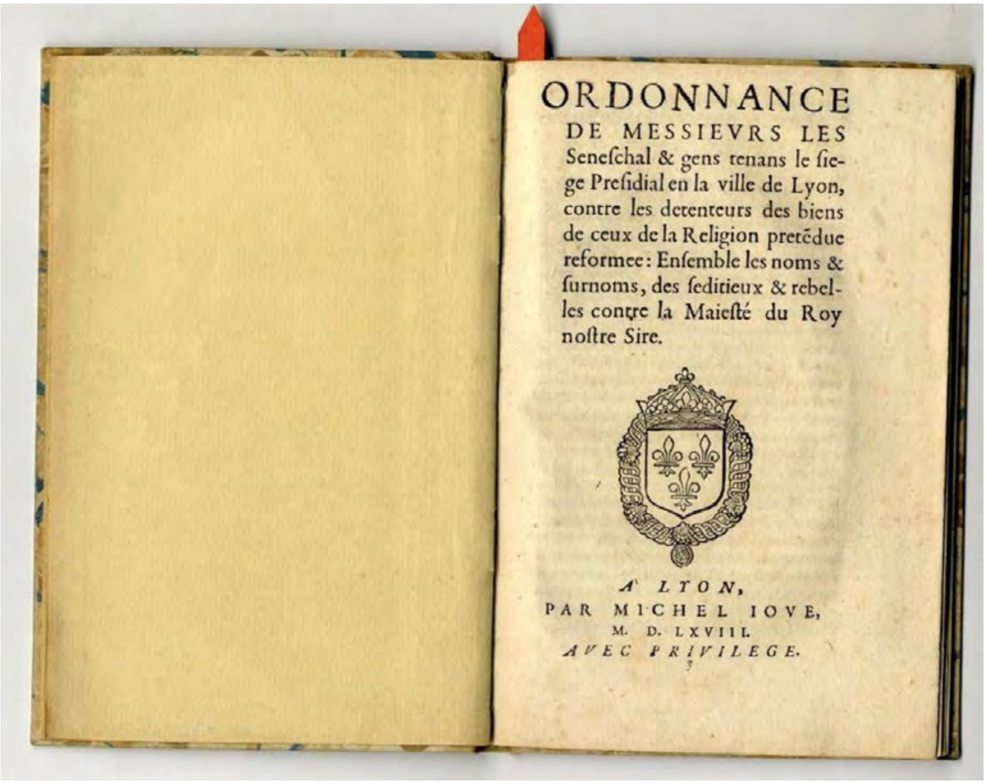
concerning the taxes received by the municipality. The documents that deal with the exit fees of merchandise, the *rêve et foraine cartulaire*, also appeared in print. These acts allowed the municipality to be informed about the proper observance of commercial rules for merchants in the city. Therefore, this use of print makes it clear that city authorities gradually optimised the management of information related to commerce, and devoted an essential part of their yearly budget to the control of the city's activities.[19]

In the sixteenth century, the municipality of Lyon increasingly started to rely on print to deliver information to its citizens. Pamphlets, posters or broadsheets became an increasingly familiar sight to the Lyonnais inhabitants by the middle of the sixteenth century.[20] These documents were often displayed in the open air, which means that they could be subject to the deteriorating effects of bad weather and simply became illegible to the inhabitants of the city. Likewise, the authorities were also prompted to remove broadsheets whenever the information they displayed was no longer relevant, to make way for updated posters.[21] Print, no matter how official it might have been, had a short lifespan and could be difficult to conserve. In the sixteenth century, the authorities did not yet conserve these printed documents consistently, as only six posters are currently to be found in the Archives Municipales of Lyon.[22] Nevertheless, the absence of print in the city's memory does not mean that urban powers disregarded this communication medium. Official print was used to deliver information efficiently that needed to be communicated to the largest possible number of people.

Legitimizing Information: Print and Tokens of Power

The *consulat* relied on several printers to print these documents. The minutes of the municipal registers list the orders meticulously, whereas the names of printers hired by the municipality during the 1550s are not always noted.[23] When specific references to printers appear, they are only to be found in accounting records rather than in municipal deliberations.[24] Their absence

19 Cumby, 'Bread and fairs', p. 186.
20 Cumby, 'Bread and fairs', pp. 163–164.
21 Béroujon, *Les écrits à Lyon*, pp. 113–114.
22 Cumby, 'Bread and fairs', p. 171.
23 AML, BB 74.
24 A clear distinction should be made between orders for printing work and the supplies purchased from stationers and printers. These printers were only requested to provide the *consulat* with ink and paper, not to print documents *per se*.



ORDONNANCE
DE MESSIEVRS LES
Seneſchal & gens tenans le ſie-
ge Preſidial en la ville de Lyon,
contre les detenteurs des biens
de ceux de la Religion pretẽdue
reformee: Enſemble les noms &
ſurnoms, des ſeditieux & rebel-
les contre la Maieſté du Roy
noſtre Sire.

A LYON,
PAR MICHEL IOVE,
M. D. LXVIII.
AVEC PRIVILEGE.

FIGURE 2.1 *Ordonnance de Messieurs les Seneschal & gens tenans le siege Presidial en la ville de Lyon* (1568), title page

from the official municipal registers, which constitute the written memory of the city, suggests that printers still played a lesser role in the 1550s, and that printers were not explicitly involved in the exercise of power. Lack of record keeping about print commissions by Lyon's authorities reveals that, in the sixteenth century, print was not considered important enough to be part of the official memory of the city. However, the 1560s and the 1570s were a turning point for printers working for the municipality. The *échevins* not only started to name them consistently in the registers, but also drew on a smaller number of printers to print these official orders than previous decades. Indeed, during this period, only two printers rose to prominence and became the official personnel behind the publications of the *échevins*.

Benoît Rigaud was the first printer to work in the service of the governor of Lyon. He was a bookseller and a printer who managed a very successful business from 1555 to the late 1590s.[25] First, he first published pamphlets about law, medicine or political news. He gradually specialised in reprinting small, inexpensive pamphlets, editions of edicts, orders and royal letters, which were popular throughout the kingdom. Between June and December 1563, Rigaud issued no fewer than 44 pamphlets.[26] Most of these pamphlets were orders signed by the seneschal or the governor 'with the permission of' or 'on command of' the representative or the lieutenant of the king, intended for local circulation. Rigaud became the de facto printer for all the governors of Lyon in the 1560s. He received this official status from privilege letters dating from 1 August 1566, granting him a three year monopoly on the printing and sale of the orders promulgated by the king.[27] By relying on an appointed printer, the city governor gradually gained control over the circulation of the king's word, bypassing the usual communication channels of the Crown.

A similar process can be observed with the second printer working for the *échevins* of Lyon during this same period, Michel Jove. His first works as a printer dated back to 1551 and he eventually started printing edicts and royal orders in the service of the urban powers in 1568.[28] In February 1569, Jove received permission letters from the king that granted him a monopoly on printing orders and royal edicts in Lyon, a decision that was officially confirmed in 1574.[29] His appointment might have been motivated by his record of printing in favour of the Catholic faith, in order to rebuke Protestant "heresies."[30] The official status granted to him by the king explains the political orientation of his printing work. Indeed, between 1557 and 1576, almost half of the editions that Jove produced were political documents, such as edicts, orders and letters patent sent by the king to the seneschal or the governor.

25 Henri Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVI^e siècle* (12 vols., Paris: F. de Nobele, 1964), III, pp. 175–176.

26 Baudier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, III, pp. 214–226.

27 Archives Départementales du Rhône (hereafter ADR), BP 3642.

28 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, II, p. 82.

29 ADP, BP 3643; Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, II, p. 84.

30 ADR, BP 3643. Jove was the printer of Gabriel de Saconnay, a vehement advocate of the Catholic faith. His work *Discours des premiers troubles advenus à Lyon*, published in 1569 (USTC 6353), is one of the most widespread books which helped the Catholic reconquest of the city. Jérôme Sirdey, *Réforme/Contre-Réforme. La production comparée de deux libraires lyonnais de la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle: Michel Jouve et Jean Saugrain* (Lyon: Mémoire d'étude de l'Ecole Nationale supérieure des Sciences de l'information et des bibliothèques, 2010).

TABLE 2.1 Documents printed by Michel Jove between 1557 and 1576

Subject	Number	Percentage
Royal Edicts and Orders	75	39 %
Parliamentary decisions and political letters	46	23,8 %
Religion	40	20,7 %
Tributes	13	6,7 %
Other	19	9,9 %
Total	193	100 %

Most of these printed documents were published as early as 1566, reaching a peak in 1568 with 26 acts of the king and his administration.[31] This period of intense activity in the service of the Crown led to a growing number of commissions given by the *consulat* of Lyon. From the beginning of the 1570s to the end of his career, Michel Jove became the official printer of the municipality and was trusted with most of the print orders emanating from the *échevins*.[32] This growing number of commissions concerned official documents dealing with commerce or local policies. The *échevins*' decision to employ Michel Jove as their official printer had nothing to do with chance. Indeed, selecting a royally appointed printer to print municipal documents was a deliberate choice by the *consulat*. This decision increased the authoritativeness of the municipality's print, as it was linked not only to the coats of arms of the city but also to the legitimacy of a printer associated to the name of the king.

To be seen as authoritative objects, printed documents had to demonstrate their connections to power. The first of these tokens of power is clearly visible: the coat of arms or the name of the authorities sending the message. Use of these traditional symbols aimed to disclose the sender's identity at first glance. Even if most pamphlets usually came from the municipality, they were all sent in the name of the king, opening with the words '*de par le Roy*', or in the name of his representatives in the city, the governor or the seneschal.[33] Not only did this language help to identify the authority, it also informed the reader to treat the pamphlets with an appropriate level of attention and solemnity. The coat

31 Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise* II, pp. 112–118.

32 AML, CC 1194; CC 1199; CC 1210; CC 1223; CC 1230; CC 1233; CC 1237; CC 1243; CC 1247; CC 1249; CC 1257; CC 1268; CC 1272; CC 1276; CC 1281; CC 1283; CC 1286; CC 1291.

33 AML, 6 FI 651.

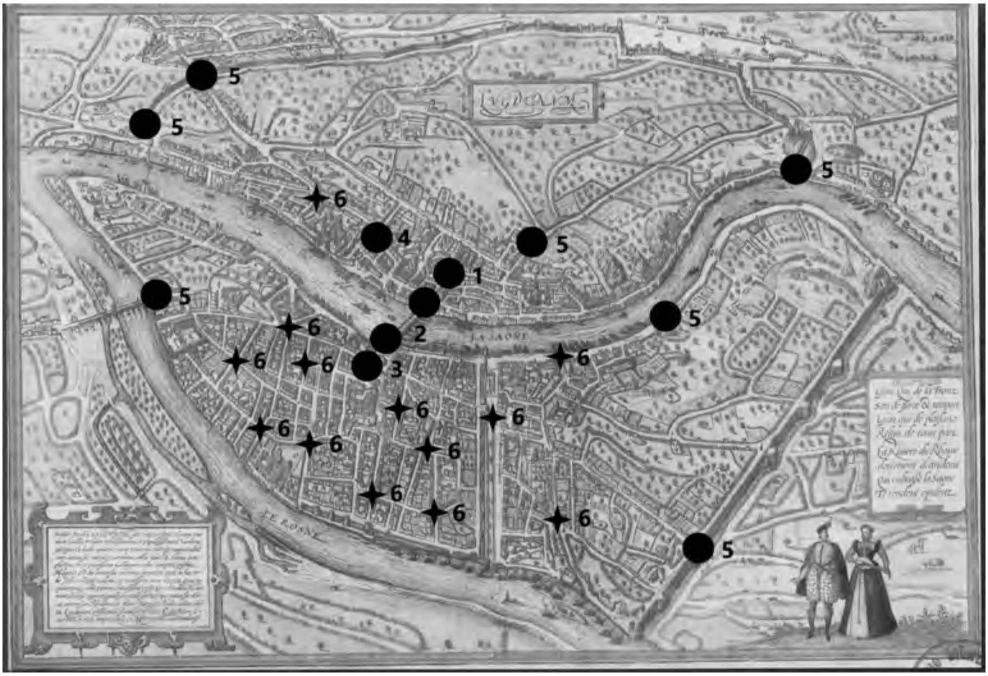


FIGURE 2.2 Strategic locations where print was displayed in 1568. 1: Place des Changes; 2: Pont de Saône; 3: Place de l'Herberie; 4: Palais de Roanne; 5: City gates; 6: Crossroads and other places

of arms, as a traditional symbol of power, worked alongside this official language by marking print with an official seal.[34] These tokens of power were a way to highlight the legitimacy and the authoritativeness of the message sent.

Once the broadsheet was published, its manner of circulation was meant to be as official as possible. The posters and the broadsheets were displayed or distributed in very specific locations throughout the city, usually controlled by the authorities. The order that dates back to January 1568 offers more detail about the settings chosen, namely the *Place des Changes*, the *Pont de Saône*, the *Place de l'Herberie*, the city's crossroads and the gates.[35]

Each location had its own strategic importance within the urban fabric. The two *Places* played a central role for trade and were, unsurprisingly, often frequented by the city's inhabitants. Crucially, the *Pont de Saône* constituted the only passage between the two shores of the river and was a key crossing point

34 Bruno Dumézil and Laurent Vissière (eds.), *Épistolaire politique II. Authentiques et autographes* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris Sorbonne, 2016), pp. 8–9.

35 *Ordonnance de messieurs les Seneschal et gens tenans le siege presidial en la ville de Lyon* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1568), USTC 5333.

in the city. As for the gates of the governor's palaces or of the city hall, these stood out as symbols of authority and power.[36] The gates of the city constituted a threshold which, once crossed, implied that all onlookers entered the jurisdiction of the municipality and were aware of the information displayed in print. Displaying *placards* at the gates of the city meant that the authorities aimed to notify all foreigners entering the city of their decisions. By displaying information to all newcomers, the council made it impossible for anyone to contest them on the grounds that they were not informed. Through this process of exploiting urban spaces, print became a token of authority.[37] Placing *placards* at the very entrance of the city symbolically reaffirmed their importance over all other written documents.

Displaying printed documents in these locations meant that new actors intervened in the process of spreading official information. Even though the town crier usually had a role to play, and was expected to help affix posters, the municipality sometimes relied on different personnel who were supposed to receive and put up the posters, acting as representatives of the city council: the *pennons* and the *dizeniers*.[38] This large group of employees were citizens who carried weapons and formed an urban militia in the service of the *consulat* so as to uphold order in the city.[39] For example, in 1575, these municipal employees were expected to handle the official broadsheets and, more importantly, to enforce the decisions printed by the city council in their constituencies. The *pennons* and the *dizeniers* did not publicly cry messages, nor did they have any instruments or wear specific uniforms. However, these messages were still understood as an authoritative communication from the *échevins*. In this specific case, this evolution of personnel suggests the growing importance of print in decision-making. When the city government used these municipal employees, they were using print alone without resorting to orality. Printed messages were indeed sufficient to symbolise authority and no longer needed to be surrounded by a proclamation ceremony to legitimise the message conveyed. Print became ceremonial in itself and was enough to affirm the authority of its authors. It could then become a full-fledged tool for government practices.

36 The city hall does not appear on the map because its exact location is not known for the 1560s. It is very likely to have been in the neighborhood of the Saint-Nizier church, between the Rhône and the Saône rivers, but it was not an official building. However, the palace of the governor is located near Saint-Jean, in the palace of Roanne.

37 Béroujon, *Les écrits à Lyon*, pp. 153–155.

38 AML, CC 1241.

39 Robert Descimon, 'Milice bourgeoise et identité citadine à Paris au temps de la Ligue', *Annales E. S. C.*, 4 (1993), pp. 885–906; Serge Brunet and José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez, *Les milices dans la première modernité* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2015).

Print and Its Use to Control the City in Times of Civil War

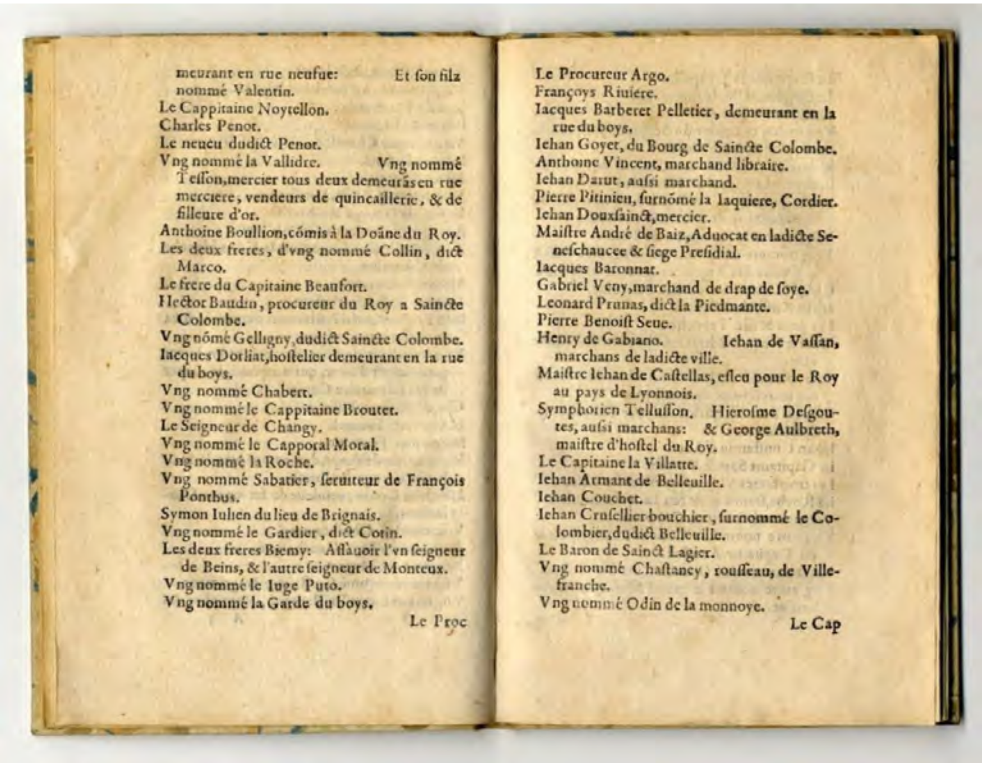
The use of print during the Wars of Religion provided a catalyst for such an evolution. As the city faced religious strife, the Catholic authorities did not hesitate to use print to harm their Protestant enemies. A broadsheet from 31 January 1568 provides a telling example. This broadsheet was published in the midst of the second civil war, during which the city of Lyon was not directly under attack, but local government still implemented a new set of rules to supervise the city and its population. Its text informed the Lyonnais people that all the belongings of the Huguenots, considered as rebels against the Crown, would be confiscated on command of the king.[40] The broadsheet also listed the names and statuses of hundreds of Protestants from Lyon. The order was spread in multiple ways: it was cried and displayed throughout the city and was distributed as a booklet. By disclosing the names and spreading them in a booklet, the intention was clearly to turn the Huguenots into easily identifiable enemies. These documents were supposed to fuel denunciations and encourage the public to purge the city of the heretics. Print was used as a weapon that aimed to display the unwavering Catholicism of the authorities and their willingness to unify the community against the threat of heresy. Such a use of print was unique in Lyon, and does not seem to have occurred again during the Wars of Religion in France.[41] It is a concrete example of how print was brought into play by Catholic authorities against the perceived Protestant threat.

Print also became a tool to control the Catholic population. To make information circulate more efficiently, small notes were distributed directly to the citizens in Lyon to notify them about the decisions made by the *échevins*. An example of such a practice can be found in 1575. On 16 September, the *consulat* received the news that German troops were passing through the vicinity of Lyon to join Henri de Montmorency-Damville and his allies, known as the '*malcontents*'.[42] The city council took this news very seriously, not only because of its content but also due to its origin. The information was immediately believed to be true because Henri III had written to the governor. In these dangerous circumstances, the *consulat* immediately requested that Michel Jove print notes and posters, which would be distributed and put up at the gates

40 *Ordonnance de messieurs les Seneschal et gens tenans le siege presidial en la ville de Lyon* (Lyon: Michel Jove, 1568), USTC 5333.

41 Even during the years of the Ligue, no such document was reprinted, see Estier, '1589–1594: la maîtrise de l'opinion à Lyon pendant la Ligue', pp. 4–6.

42 AML, BB 93. The *malcontents* is the name given to the Catholic and Protestant lords who formed a coalition to oppose the Crown after the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre in 1572.


meurant en rue neufue: Et son filz
nommé Valentin.
Le Cappitaine Noytellon.
Charles Penot.
Le neueu dudict Penot.
Vng nommé la Vallidre. Vng nommé
Tesson, mercier tous deux demeurás en rue
merciere, vendeurs de quincaillerie, & de
filleure d'or.
Anthoine Boullion, cómis à la Doãne du Roy.
Les deux freres, d'vng nommé Collin, dict
Marco.
Le frere du Capitaine Beaufort.
Hector Baudin, procureur du Roy a Saincte
Colombe.
Vng nómé Gelligny, dudict Saincte Colombe.
Iacques Dorliat, hostelier demeurant en la rue
du boys.
Vng nommé Chabert.
Vng nommé le Cappitaine Broutet.
Le Seigneur de Changy.
Vng nommé le Capporal Moral.
Vng nommé la Roche.
Vng nommé Sabatier, seruiteur de François
Ponthus.
Symon Iulien du lieu de Brignais.
Vng nommé le Gardier, dict Cotin.
Les deux freres Biemy: Assauoir l'vn seigneur
de Beins, & l'autre seigneur de Monteux.
Vng nommé le Iuge Puto.
Vng nommé la Garde du boys.
Le Proc

Le Procureur Argo.
Françoys Riuiere.
Iacques Barberet Pelletier, demeurant en la
rue du boys.
Iehan Goyet, du Bourg de Saincte Colombe.
Anthoine Vincent, marchand libraire.
Iehan Darut, aussi marchand.
Pierre Pitinieu, surnómé la Iaquiere, Cordier.
Iehan Douxsainct, mercier.
Maistre André de Baiz, Aduocat en ladicte Se-
neschaucee & siege Presidial.
Iacques Baronnat.
Gabriel Veny, marchand de drap de soye.
Leonard Prunas, dict la Piedmante.
Pierre Benoist Seue.
Henry de Gabiano. Iehan de Vassan,
marchans de ladicte ville.
Maistre Iehan de Castellas, esleu pour le Roy
au pays de Lyonnois.
Symphorien Tellusson. Hierosme Desgou-
tes, aussi marchans: & George Aulbreth,
maistre d'hostel du Roy.
Le Capitaine la Villatte.
Iehan Armant de Belleuille.
Iehan Couchet.
Iehan Crusellier bouchier, surnommé le Co-
lombier, dudict Belleuille.
Le Baron de Sainct Lagier.
Vng nommé Chastancy, rousseau, de Ville-
franche.
Vng nommé Odin de la monnoye.
Le Cap

FIGURE 2.3 *Ordonnance de Messieurs les Seneschal & gens tenans le siege Presidial en la ville de Lyon*
MUSÉE DE L'IMPRIMERIE ET DE LA COMMUNICATION GRAPHIQUE DE LYON.

of the city. The exact content of these notes is not known, but, according to the commission in the city's registers, the posters demanded that the vagrants leave the city, and that foreigners give their identity to the *consulat*. It also prohibited innkeepers from hosting unknown people. These notes were distributed daily from 16 September 1575 to 3 April 1576 at every gate of the city under the watch of the *pennons* and the *dizeniers*.[43] In these dramatic circumstances, the traditional channels of information were completely transformed.

Interestingly enough, the city used only print in this case, as it enabled a broader distribution of the official message in a context of war and urgent threat. Print proved more efficient because of how it also allowed the authorities to reach the addressees in a physical sense, as the notes were handed over in person. These notes are an interesting case study of speech acts, which

43 AML, CC 1243.

means that they did not merely present information, but also performed an action through language.[44] In this case, the action performed by print is to make the decisions of the urban powers immediately effective, without resorting to public criers. Indeed, the authority of the printed document alone was supposed to guarantee that those receiving it would respect the order. Notes were also meant to encourage the circulation of information, as the person receiving them was implicitly trusted with the mission to pass them along to his acquaintances. Resorting to print was consequently more efficient than orality, insofar as the written word can make the information it communicates more memorable. It succeeds in anchoring the information in a specific time and place, making it more permanent and therefore more graspable. Print was the medium that enabled the authorities to maintain information over time, thanks to the duplication of documents. Last but not least, print allowed the authorities to spread information quickly, durably over the course of several months and at less cost, compared to handwritten documents.

Despite their use of print in times of war, the city council still employed it only occasionally. More often than not, the orders given in service of city administration had to be immediately effective, and their lifespan was necessarily very short because they were quickly replaced by new instructions. Interestingly, the use of print turned out to be less efficient than orality and public crying in the resolution of day-to-day affairs that require rapidity. The situation differed when the city had to face lasting predicaments, as in times of plague.

Print and Its Use to Regulate an Urban Health Crisis

The fight against epidemics and the mission to guarantee the good health of the Lyonnais inhabitants fell to the city council and the governor of the city. As early as the end of the fifteenth century, city authorities used print to warn the community about the dangers of disease. Throughout the sixteenth century, the city of Lyon was hit by plague; some outbreaks of the disease were more aggressive than others.[45] From 1577 onwards, after a major outbreak of plague in Northern Italy, the *échevins* ordered that documents related to health issues

44 John L. Austin, *Quand dire c'est faire* (Paris: Seuil, 1970).

45 During the period under study, Lyon was affected in 1564, 1577, 1579, 1580, 1582, 1586 and 1587–1588. However, all these outbreaks are not only due to the plague, as the urban powers use this term to name many epidemics without necessarily making a clear distinction between all the diseases present in the cities. Thus, the 1580 outbreak might actually be a case of pertussis rather than the plague. Rubys, *Histoire véritable*, p. 429.

were to be printed and put up, following a method that had been used in previous decades. Several of these documents have been conserved in the city's archives. In this case, the city council expanded its use of print with the use of *bullettes*. These printed documents were certificates, emanating from the local authorities, whose purpose was to ensure the good health of the bearer of the document. These documents were handwritten in the 1550s and the 1560s, but started to be printed at the end of the 1570s.[46] The Lyon Archives Municipales do not have exemplars of *bullettes* issued by the city of Lyon, but they have preserved several ones from Marseille, for which the bearers were Marseillais people travelling to Lyon.[47]

The *bullettes* were forms that were distributed in the city. The names and signatures of the *échevins* were added to these printed forms by hand, which associated them with the municipal power that had issued them. Print does not seem to have been able to symbolise the authorities' power by itself, hence the need for handwritten signatures.[48] The coexistence of print and manuscript on the *bullettes* proves that the latter was still necessary to make these documents fully official. Indeed, unlike decrees, *bullettes* were distributed outside the city and their intended recipients needed to be convinced of the truthfulness of the documents. Such a degree of precaution was not necessary when the urban elite conveyed information in their own city through decrees. By contrast, these *bullettes* were printed in Marseille in order to be used in Lyon. They likely used handwriting in addition to print for *bullettes*, because it was a more traditional and generally accepted way to transmit official information. A signed document might have been more likely to be believed to be true and valid. This hybrid form also suggests that the use of print was still experimental and was undertaken with hesitation when it was intended for external authorities.

Similar documents were used by the city of Lyon and distributed in the region. In 1586, as the plague threatened Lyon, the *échevins* travelled to neighbouring villages for ten days to inform them about the measures taken in the city to avoid the plague. Their message was oral, but a poster was also put up at the gate of the villages' churches, and *bullettes* were printed and given to the local authorities so that they could distribute them to parties visiting Lyon. Some of the *bullettes* circulating were even meant to be given to other

46 AML, BB 84.

47 AML, AA 73.

48 Béatrice Fraenkel, 'La signature: du signe à l'acte', *Sociétés et représentations*, 25:1 (2008), pp. 19–26.

neighbouring villages that were not visited by the *échevins*.[49] In this specific case, print became a governmental tool that exceeded the limits of the city. Whether transmitted by a town crier or not, print grew into an authoritative medium, diffusing reliable information even outside the city. More importantly, it allowed authorities to spread the decisions they made to a much wider audience. Its format also individualised the information, as it indicated the identity of the bearer of the *bullette*. It also helped the message to transcend time and space as it did not have an expiry date. In this case, decision-making was narrowly linked to the medium for the circulation of information. By choosing print, the *échevins* wished to make the information not only immediate, at the very first reading, but also able to endure for several years and to be valid throughout the different cycles of plague. Print was used far more than was common when it came to solving a health crisis because it enabled an administrative management of diseases and played a role in the prevention of the spread of plague.

However, the efficiency of such government practices cannot be fully verified. The municipal registers are silent about the concrete results of these printing campaigns, which makes it impossible to know whether the population was more receptive when the orders were printed rather than proclaimed.[50] Nevertheless, the repeated remonstrance of the *échevins* and the governors against the gates' guards, who deserted their posts for several months in a row, sheds some light on this question. The guard's desertion obviously meant slowing down or even preventing the distribution of official forms, and therefore the circulation of official decisions in the city.[51] These reiterated threats against the guards suggest that the proper reception of written orders by the Lyonnais people was not necessarily efficient because of the deficiencies of the personnel in charge of their distribution. However, the more consistent and diversified use of print seems to signal a change in the perception of this medium, which the urban elites had begun to integrate into their government practices.

Conclusion

Decision-makers increasingly relied on print because of the efficient diffusion of information it enabled. However, at the end of the sixteenth century, these

49 AML, 3 GG 4.

50 About the contestation of public cries see: Nadrigny, *Information et opinion publique*, p. 260.

51 AML, BB 94, BB 98.

new communication strategies represent only the early stages of this relation between print and decision-making, as print was not used systematically. The urban powers' choice to print official documents was not standardised and was far from being perfectly efficient, but proves that authorities were, however gradually, willing to make use of print technologies. The goal of the authorities was to introduce new forms of information media in order to optimise their strategy for communicating with the urban community. Print was used as a new source of information, which redefined traditional channels of official communication, intertwining written and oral messages. Therefore, print managed to coexist with orality and, though to a somewhat limited extent, became one of the information media of Lyon's urban elites.

The *bullettes* present a stronger case for the expedience of print than the devastating Wars of Religion. The various examples of printed documents studied prove that print was used very differently depending on political and social circumstances. In times of war, print was not expected to solve any crisis. Instead, the city government deployed print to spread short-term information as a way to control the population and to re-establish order inside the city. Given how temporary war information was, the *échevins* favoured public crying because of how quickly it allowed any message or piece of information to be replaced by a new one. When it came to containing plague, print implied a very different relation to time and decision-making. The city government favored printed documents because of the cyclical nature of epidemics, which were likely to last for a long period of time. *Bullettes* were indeed reusable from one health crisis to the other. Similarly, throughout a plague outbreak, print allowed urban powers to deliver messages that remained valid and legitimate in the eyes of the population.

Print was only one of the many tools of government employed by the city council and the governor. Only several decades later would the use of print become standard in the political practices of French urban elites. This medium would eventually become the way of transmitting the most authoritative and trusted documents circulating in the city, and would then impose itself in the exercise of power as a form of speech act on which the local authorities would rely.

CHAPTER 3

Printing for Central Authorities in the Early Modern Low Countries (15th–17th Centuries)

Renaud Adam

In August 1495, Archduke Philip the Handsome promulgated a new constitution for the County of Zeeland (*Keure van Zeelandt* in Dutch).[1] In Antwerp Govaert Bac later printed the text. It was the first time that the central authorities of the Low Countries resorted to printing to disseminate its official acts. This case, and in particular the links between the Antwerp printer Govaert Bac and the Burgundian court in Brussels, provide the starting point for a broader study, exploring the relationship between the community of printers and the central government in the early modern Low Countries. This complex relationship has not yet been the subject of a detailed study. Until now, only the relationship between printers and local, provincial or religious authorities have attracted the attention of scholars. Investigations were notably conducted on the French-speaking part of the Low Countries and Antwerp.[2] To fill this

1 Abbreviations: ARB = State Archives of Belgium, Brussels; BB = Ferdinand Vander Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* (7 vols., Brussels: Culture et civilisations, 1964–1975); CPE = Spanish Private Council; NK = Wouter Nijhoff, Maria Elizabeth Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* (3 vols., The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1923–1971); *PP* = Léon Voet, *The Plantin Press at Antwerp (1555–1589)* (6 vols., Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980–1983); USTC = *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (https://www.ustc.ac.uk). The author would like to thank Dr Susie Sutch (Berkeley, USA) and the editors of the volume for their remarks and comments.

2 Sébastien Afonso, 'L'imprimé officiel: enjeu et objet de rivalités entre imprimeurs dans les villes du sud des Pays-Bas méridionaux au XVII^e siècle', in Renaud Adam etc. (eds.), *Urban Networks and the Printing Trade in Early Modern Europe (15th–18th Century). Papers presented on 6 November 2009, at the CERL Seminar hosted by the Royal Library of Belgium* (London: Consortium of European Research Libraries, 2010), pp. 53–76; Stijn Van Rossem, 'Book and the City. The Urban Networks of the Verdussen family (1585–1700)', in Adam, *Urban Networks and the Printing Trade*, pp. 39–52; Sébastien Afonso, *Imprimeurs, société et réseaux dans les villes de langue romane des Pays-Bas méridionaux (1580-ca 1677)* (Free University of Brussels, Unpublished PhD dissertation, 2015–2016). The relationship between authorities and printers in France and in the Dutch Republic was studied in two recent publications: see Xavier Prévost, *Les premières lois imprimées. Études des actes royaux imprimés de Charles VIII à Henri II (1489–1559)* (Paris: École des Chartes, 2018); Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World. Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2019), pp. 195–216.

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historiographical gap, we have decided to study the individuals behind the printing of publications from central government and how the distribution of these documents was regulated. This survey is based on a cross-analysis of the archives of central institutions and the documents printed for them. This chapter will provide a better understanding of the socioeconomic consequences resulting from printing the law in early modern period and add reflection on the connection between print and power.

The Beginnings: Printing the Law under the Reign of Philip the Handsome

It took some time for the relationship between printers and central authorities to become official. The first official privilege was granted in 1531. To understand how this relationship has been built, we have to look for all the connections that brought printers and central government together. The first is certainly the new constitution for Zeeland mentioned in the introduction. It followed other charters previously issued by Florent the Tutor around 1257, by Florent V of Holland in 1290, and by William III of Holland-Hainaut in 1328. The new charter was proclaimed in different towns in the province: Middelburg on 24 or 25 April 1496, Zierikzee on 28 April and Reimerswaal the following day. This law remained in force, with some amendments, until the annexation of Zeeland by France in 1795.[3]

This legislative text was printed shortly after its promulgation by Govaert Bac in Antwerp in 64 sheets in quarto format.[4] Three of the five surviving copies bear the autograph signatures of two commissioners who participated in its preparation. The Royal Library of Belgium has a copy with the following inscription on the last page: *gecolla*[*tio*]*neert tegens die originael brieve*[*n*] *bij Capelle* [collated from the original letter by Capelle] (fol. 64r).[5] Capelle was the councillor and master of requests Richard de La Chapelle, who entered the service of the Dukes of Burgundy in 1473.[6] The two other copies in possession of the national library in The Hague and the British Library in London

3 Robert Fruin, *De Keuren van Zeeland* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1920).

4 *Keure van Zeeland* ([Antwerp: Govaert Bac, ca. 1496–1497]), USTC 436385.

5 Royal Library of Belgium, Inc A 1.426.

6 Richard de La Chapelle was canon of St. Donatian's Cathedral in Bruges, dean of Our Lady in Veere and doctor of canon law. He began his administrative career as an ecclesiastical advisor to the Parliament of Mechelen (1473), before becoming master of requests (1477). He held this position until his death in 1511. See: Alida Johanna Maria Kerckhoffs-De Heij, *De grote raad en zijn functionarissen. Biografieen van raadsheren* (Universiteit van Amsterdam,

also bear an identical formula.[7] The only difference is that another ducal secretary signed them. These were signed by Jan van Coudenberghe, secretary of the Great Council in Mechelen since 1487.[8] The two ducal secretaries conscientiously corrected the typographical errors. Coudenberghe was more meticulousness than Richard de La Chapelle. Collating the copies reveals that Chapelle overlooked mistakes.

The presence of the secretaries names was aimed at reinforcing the authority of the document, but also, and above all, at authenticating it. The formula *gecollationeert tegens die originael brieven* placed at the end of the book is an authentication formula used by the Chancellery of the Dukes of Burgundy.[9] The use of handwritten signatures on printed documents to authenticate them was common at this time. For example, the copies of the indulgence in favour of the repair of the hospital of Santiago de Compostela, preached in 1497 by Alphonsus de Losa and printed by Dirk Martens, still bear traces of the ancient seal of the legate, as well as his autograph signature.[10] The collation work also suggests that it was an order placed directly by the court and not a personal initiative of the printer.

The reason why Govaert Bac printed the *Keure van Zeelandt* can certainly be found in his links with the Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows, especially as one of its founders, Jan van Coudenberghe, directly participated in the revision of the text. The Confraternity of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary was established in 1492.[11] It was placed under the patronage of young Philip the Handsome, and was largely supported by the entourage of the Archduke.

Unpublished PhD dissertation, 1980), p. 45; Céline Van Hoorebeeck, *Livres et lectures des fonctionnaires des ducs de Bourgogne (ca 1420–1520)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 190–192.

7 British Library, IA 49.951, fol. 64r; National Library of the Netherlands, 225 H 42, fol. 64r.

8 Jacob Fruytier, 'Coudenbergh (Jan de)', in Philipp Christiaan Molhuysen, Petrus Johannes Blok and Friedrich Karl Heinrich Kossmann (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (11 vols., Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1974), VII, pp. 333–334.

9 Pierre Cockshaw, *Le personnel de la chancellerie de Bourgogne-Flandre sous les Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois (1384–1477)* (Heule-Kortrijk: UGA, 1982), pp. 162–163.

10 Royal Library of Belgium, Inc A 2.342; British Library, IA.50021; Bodleian Library, Arch. B b.5 (26/1); Bibliothèque Mazarine, Rés. 3439 Abis. Reference of the edition: Alphonsus de Losa, *Indulgentia 1497 [for the benefit of the confraternity of St James of Compostella]* ([Antwerp: Dirk Martens, about 1497]), USTC 438703.

11 On this confraternity, see: Pérégrin-Marie Soulier, *La confrérie de Notre-Dame des Sept Douleurs dans les Flandres 1491–1519* (Brussels: Pères Servites de Marie, [1912]); Susie Speakman Sutch and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, 'The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary: Devotional Communication and Politics in the Burgundian-Habsburg Low Countries (c. 1490–1520)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61 (2010), pp. 252–278; Emily S. Thelen (ed.), *The Seven Sorrows Confraternity of Brussels. Drama, Ceremony, and Art Patronage (16th–17th Centuries)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

Unlike many confraternities, the ambition of these men was to go beyond strictly religious concerns and to try to bring people together in emotional and spiritual communion with the Burgundian-Habsburg dynasty. Its final aim was to unite the people, something Maximilian of Austria never managed to achieve despite all his efforts.[12] Beyond the image of the Virgin mourning the death of her son is the suffering of young Philip the Handsome who lost his mother, Mary.

Although no list of members of the Antwerp chapter has survived, two printers can nevertheless be associated with it: Gheraert Leeu and Govaert Bac. Leeu was the first printer to publish a text that dealt with the devotion to the Seven Sorrows. Around 1492, he printed a short treatise of 16 sheets entitled *Van de seven droefheden ofte weeden Onze Lieve Vrouw*, in octavo format.[13] Was it a personal initiative testifying to his attachment to the brotherhood, evidence of a keen business sense, or, more simply, an order from the central authorities? A letter from Gheraert Leeu to Philip the Handsome, published shortly after the Leeu's death by Govaert Bac, provides part of the answer to this question. In his letter, Leeu humbly asks permission to print a missal as well as books of hours intended for the devotion to the Seven Sorrows. Prudently, he also suggested that he could submit the texts to the Archduke before printing them so that he and/or his close councillors could review them and correct them if necessary.[14] The printer does not seem to have been directly commissioned by the Archduke's entourage, but rather to have offered his services as a collaborator. If Leeu's initiative was linked to his presence in a circle close to this devotion, it is, however, impossible to assert that he was a member of the confraternity.

The case of Govaert Bac seems clearer. The *Confraternitas dolorum Beata Virginis Mariae*, in which Leeu's letter was published, contains in its preface an epistle written by Bac dedicated to the whole *dolorum Beatissime Virginis Marie confraternitas* (fol. 2r–v). In this text, Bac describes the leading role played by Philip the Handsome in the diffusion of that devotion, as well as his own involvement. He affirmed that he had taken the task of printing this

12 Two centuries later, Marian worship was again instrumentalised by the Habsburg dynasty, which was struggling to maintain its control over the Spanish Low Countries, shaken by incessant wars and divided by local particularist demands. On this, see: Annick Delfosse, '*La Protectrice du Païs-Bas'. Stratégies politiques et figures de la Vierge dans les Pays-Bas espagnols* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009). For Brussels, see: Renaud Adam, 'L'*Histoire de Saint sacrement de Miracle* d'Étienne Ydens (1605), œuvre de dévotion ou œuvre polémique ?', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 92 (2014), pp. 413–433.

13 *Van de seven droefheden ofte weeden O.L.V* (Antwerp: [Ghereart Leeu, between 30 April 1491–1492]), USTC 436052.

14 *Confraternitas dolorum B.V.M. Officium de doloribus B.V.M.* (Antwerp: Govaert Bac, [1493–1494]), USTC 436177, fol. 9v.

Confraternitas dolorum Beata Virginis Mariae upon himself, with the agreement of the Archduke and of the brotherhood (fol. 2r).

The last publication in connection with Philip the Handsome was the account of the solemn funeral of the Archduke celebrated in Mechelen on 18 and 19 July 1507, written by Jean Lemaire de Belges.[15] Willem Vorsterman published this text simultaneously in French and Dutch. This double publication highlights the official character of this story.[16] The presence, following the description of the funeral, of a song celebrating the new treaty of peace and trade concluded with England in 1507 underlines the eminently political aspect of the initiative. Here, Jean Lemaire de Belges played the role of historiographer.[17] The association of the two texts is far from accidental. Margaret of Austria thus benefitted from the moral guarantee of her brother for one of her first political acts as regent.

Towards a More Active Government Policy: Printing the Law under Charles V

Until 1512, the Habsburg authorities did not interfere in the regulation of the book market.[18] The first intervention by the civil government resulted from a commercial dispute between the printer Claes de Grave and Henrick Eckert and his associates. This case concerned the printing of a prognostication written by the astrologer Jaspar Laet. Claes de Grave filed a complaint before

15 This text is a passage from a handwritten chronicle of the year 1507 written by Jean Lemaire de Belges. Only the part relating to Philip the Handsome's funeral was printed. On this subject, see: Anne Schoysman (ed.), *Chronique de 1507* (Brussels: Royal Academy of Belgium, 2001).

16 Jean Lemaire de Belges, *La pompe funeralle des obseques du feu roy dom Phelippes* ([Antwerp: Willem Vorsterman, 1507]), USTC 26124; Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Die funerallen ende deerlike triumphen oft pompen vander uutvaerden van wijle dom Philippus* ([Antwerp: Willem Vorsterman], 1507), USTC 436747. The French version is edited by Jean Stecher (ed.), *Œuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges* (4 vols., Louvain: Lefever, 1882–1885), IV, pp. 243–266.

17 The text is edited in *Œuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges*, IV, pp. 267–268.

18 On the regulation of the profession of printer in the beginnings of the typographical era, see Renaud Adam, 'The Profession of Printer in the Southern Netherlands before the Reformation. Considerations on Professional, Religious and State Legislations', in Wim François, Violet Soen and Dries Vanysacker (eds.), *Censorship and Catholic Reform in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 13–25. A short history of the regulation of the book trade during the 'long sixteenth century' can be found in Paul Arblaster, *From Ghent to Aix. How They Brought the News in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1550–1700* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 21–28.

an Antwerp court regarding Laet's desire to sell his text to various printers. Following the judgement of 7 November 1511, Claes de Grave obtained the rights of reproduction for one month. The judges decided that the astrologer had the right to choose his printer, but that he should return the sum of 20 Rhine guilders he received from Eckert and his associates as payment for the book. De Grave received the sum of 12 Rhine guilders as a compensation from Laet.[19] Around Christmas, after a period of 30 days imposed by the court, Henrick Eckert hired some colleagues and worked with four or five presses and 15 or 16 apprentices. They intended to publish Laet's prognostication as soon as possible. Eckert hoped to overtake Claes de Grave. Forewarned, Claes de Grave complained to the Council of Brabant, the sovereign court of the duchy. On 5 January 1512, the Council of Brabant decided to allow Claes de Grave to print all books not yet published in the duchy, and prohibited any of his colleagues from reprinting these books during six years.[20] This was the first case of a privilege being granted to a printer by the civil government in the Low Countries.[21]

Although the Council of Brabant was a sovereign court, it was still under the scrutiny of Habsburg ruler. Therefore, even if printers asked for protection from the Council, the central government still maintained some rights of inspection. When the Duchy of Brabant came under the domination of the Dukes of Burgundy, and later of the Habsburg dynasty, they managed to keep a certain degree of autonomy. So, before granting any privilege, the Council of Brabant made sure to take advice and deliberation from the regent, Margaret of Austria.[22] After 1531, printers also had the opportunity to address a petition

19 Prosper Verheyden, 'De Antwerpsche boekdrukker Henrick Eckert van Homberch alias Butzbach, 'Bosbas', en zijn 'herdoopte' weduwe', *De Gulden Passer*, 16–17 (1938–1939), pp. 103–121. The Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek has several fragments of Laet's prognostication for the year 1512 attributed to Willem Vorsterman: Jaspar Laet, *Pronostication de l'an 1512* ([Antwerpen: Michiel Hillen, ca. 1511]), not recorded in USTC; see NK 4514. Is it one of the copies of the controversial almanac? On this topic see: Wytze & Lotte Hellinga, 'Eclipses and Early Printing', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 46 (1971), pp. 99–102.

20 The document is edited in Verheyden, 'De Antwerpsche boekdrukker Henrick Eckert', pp. 104–106. See also : Alphonse Wauters, 'Histoire des livres. Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'imprimerie dans l'ancien Brabant', *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 12 (1856), p. 74; Prosper Verheyden, 'Drukkersoctrooien in de 16e eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor Boek – en Bibliotheekwezen*, 8 (1910), pp. 208–209, nr. 1; Lode Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien toegekend door de Raad van Brabant tot 1600', *De Gulden Passer*, 68 (1990), p. 13, nr. 1.

21 For a European overview, see Edwige Keller-Rahbé (ed.), *Privilèges de librairie en France et en Europe XVIe–XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2017).

22 Thomas van der Noot's privilege (1512) mentioned that the authorities took advice from "*notre tres cher et tresaimee fille de Monseigneur Empereur dame et tante de Monseigneur Charles larchiduchesse Marguerite d'Autriche, régente des Pays-Bas*" [our dearest and

to the Privy Council to obtain protection beyond the limits of Brabant: the central institution of government over the whole Low Countries, including the Duchy of Brabant.[23]

The government policy towards printers became more and more restrictive after the rise of the Reformation. The first repressive edict to combat heresy was published on 28 September 1520, preceding even the Edict of Worms. This was followed by a new edict in March 1521, which prohibited the printing, sale, purchase, storage and reading of Lutheran books under threat of confiscation of all property and of other unspecified punishments. Less than two months later, on 26 May, Charles V signed the famous Edict of Worms, which extended the ban to books attacking the Roman Church, the Pope and the University of Louvain. As a corollary, the Council of Brabant stopped granting general monopolies to printers and restricted itself to granting privileges for specific editions. The authorities quickly realised that the system of granting privileges could be a useful weapon to support its struggle against heresy and subversive forces of all forms. This is why, by the edict of 14 October 1529, they forced each printer to submit all texts for ecclesiastical and official examination.[24]

The first privilege granted by the central authorities for printing its own ordinances goes back to 31 October 1531, when Michiel Hillen obtained permission to print ordinances from 'His Imperial Majesty', excluding all other printers for six months.[25] This concession coincided with the proclamation of a new edict against 'Lutherans and other disapproved sects', dated 7 October 1531.[26] Hillen printed this ordinance simultaneously in French and in Dutch on 31 November 1531 in collaboration with his colleague Willem Vorsterman. The content of the privilege states that every violator would be fined 100 carolus guilders.

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beloved lord Emperor's daughter and lord Charles' aunt the archduchess Margaret of Austria, regent of the Low Countries] (ARB, Chamber of Accounts, 635, fol. 213r).

23 Michel Baelde, 'De toekenning van drukkersoctrooien door de Geheime Raad in de zestiende eeuw', *De Gulden Passer*, 40 (1962), pp. 19–56.

24 André Puttemans, *La censure dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens* (Brussels: Georges Van Campenhout, 1935), pp. 13–22; Jeroom Machiels, *Privilège, censure et index dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux jusqu'au début du XVIIIe siècle* (Brussels: State Archives of Belgium, 1997), pp. 59–113; Aline Goosens, *Les inquisitions modernes dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux (1520–1633)* (2 vols., Brussels: Éditions de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1997–1998), I, pp. 47–112; Jochen A. Fühner, *Die Kirchen- und die antireformatorische Religionspolitik Kaiser Karls V. in den siebzehn Provinzen der Niederlande 1515–1555* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

25 Wauters, 'Histoire des livres', p. 75; Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 16, nr. 20.

26 Charles V, *Ordinantien ende statuten, 07.10.1531 op te extirperen ende te verdriven de Lutheraensche ende andere ghereprobeerde secten* (Antwerp: Willem Vorsterman & Michiel Hillen, 1531), USTC 437594.

Interesting to note is that such a privilege was not granted for the printing of earlier edicts on heresy. The Edict of Worms, printed in June 1521 by Dirk Martens in Louvain and by Vorsterman in Antwerp, doesn't bear any mention of a privilege.[27] The need to react quickly to the imperial condemnation of Luther at the diet of Worms could certainly explain this. It was the papal legate Girolamo Aleandro, who had just returned from Worms, who contacted these printers to print the text.[28]

Less than ten years later, on 7 October 1540, the Brussels bookseller Marck Martens was granted a privilege for one year to print all the ordinances regarding heresy.[29] As for Hillen, the granting of this privilege followed the promulgation of a new edict against the heterodoxy by the Emperor on 22 September 1540. The proximity to the court, established in Brussels in 1531 by Mary of Hungary, can certainly explain the choice to print there. Martens received a new privilege on 2 December 1541 to print all the new ordinances (*om te mogen prenten de nyeuwe ordinnancien*).[30] However, after this date there are no further references to him in surviving documents.

A few months later, the authorities decided to create an exception for ordinances dealing with economic matters, especially those regarding the reproduction of coins. The bookseller Victor de Dayn from Ghent was granted a privilege for reproducing 'books relating to markets, measures and weights'

27 Charles V, *Edictum imperial ex convent Wormatiae habito 1521 contra Martinum Lutherum* ([Leuven: Dirk Martens, 1521), NK 3298; not recorded in USTC; Charles V, *Edictum imperial ex convent Wormatiae habito 1521 contra Martinum Lutherum* (Antwerp: Willem Vorsterman, 1521), USTC 437163.

28 Aleandro encountered some difficulties with Martens. The printer seemed to be reluctant to print Luther's condemnation. On this, see: Paul Fredericq, *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae. Verzameling van stukken betreffende de pauselijke en bisschoppelijke inquisitie in de Nederlanden* (5 vols., Ghent/The Hague: J. Vuylsteke /M. Nijhoff, 1889–1902), V, pp. 400–401; Renaud Adam and Alexandre Vanautgaerden, *Thierry Martens et la figure de l'imprimeur humaniste* (*une nouvelle biographie*) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 124–125.

29 Wauters, 'Histoire des livres', p. 76; Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 19, nr. 34. Marck Martens never owned his own printing house and he mainly collaborated with Antwerp's printer Jacob van Liestvelt. He was accused of selling heretical books and having printed, in collaboration with Liesvelt, a bull from Paul III in Flemish and French without authorization (1536). See: Prosper Verheyden, 'Verhooren van Mark Martens en van Jacob van Liesveldt (1536)', *Tijdschrift voor boek – en bibliothekenwezen*, 4 (1906), pp. 245–261; Auguste Vincent, 'L'interrogatoire de Marc Martens et Jacques van Liesveldt', *Revue des bibliothèques et archives de Belgique*, 7 (1909), pp. 40–44; Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaires des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XV^{e} et XVI^{e} siècles dans les limites actuelles de la Belgique* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), pp. 128–129, 139–140.

30 Wauters, 'Histoire des livres', p. 76; Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 20, nr. 41.

on 23 March 1542.[31] The next year, on 22 October 1543, Josse Lambrecht, who acted as a Dayn's printer, received the same authorisation.[32] The need to have appropriate material – woodcuts reproducing coins faithfully – certainly explains why the authorities decided to entrust the reproduction of these documents to a single printer. It was easier for the government to give that kind of monopoly to one person than to have to change every year and then have to check the press equipment for every new printer.

On 30 June 1546, Charles V promulgated a new edict of censorship that introduced the obligation for printers to place the content of the privilege granted by the authorities at the beginning of their books. This is very valuable for historians of the book, since the content of each petition is mentioned in its corresponding privilege. The text of the privilege granted to Servaes van Sassen for printing the edict of 1546 – in Latin, Dutch and French – tells us that he applied for the privilege and that he assumed the costs of printing and selling the edict to obtain it.[33] Personal involvement and economic justification are two arguments that would be used thereafter by printers in almost all petitions made to the central authorities.

Towards Monopolies: Printing the Law under Philip II of Spain

The reign of Philip II was marked by the creation of the semi-permanent position of official court printer and the appearance of two new titles: King's Printer (*typographus regius*) and chief printer of the King (*architypographus/ prototypographus regius*).[34] Willem Silvius, a native of 's-Hertogenbosch, was the first printer of the Low Countries to receive the title of King's Printer.[35] After obtaining his Master of Arts degree on 31 March 1558 in Louvain, Silvius

31 The original reads: "*volumen aengaende den mercten maeten ende gewichten*". See Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 20, nr. 44.

32 Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 21, nr. 51.

33 Published in three languages: Charles V, *Edictum promulgatum anno M.D.XLVI. Catalogus librorum reprobatorum/ Mandement donne et publie en l'an 1546. Avecq catalogue, intitulation ou declaration des livres reprouvez/ Mandement int jaer XLVI met dintitulatie ende declaratie vanden gereprobeerde boecken* (Louvain: Servais de Sassen, 1546), USTC 13090, 406206, 408488.

34 On the title of King's Printer in France and in England, see: Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer. An Historical Study on the Elder Stephanus* ([Appleford]: Sutton Courtenay, 1986), pp. 117–161.

35 On Silvius, see: Rouzet, *Dictionnaires des imprimeurs*, p. 201–203; Paul Valkema Blouw, 'Willem Silvius's remarkable start, 1559–62', *Quaerendo*, 20:3 (1990), pp. 167–206; Pettegree and der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, pp. 197–198.

settled in Antwerp where he received a printer's license on 6 May 1558.[36] He must have opened his bookshop during the winter of 1559/60. The first publications under his name (an official publication in French and two scholarly works) were printed in 1560 and were accompanied by a formula indicating his status as an official typographer: *Typographus Regii* or *Imprimeur du Roy*.[37] His appointment by the government was a great success for him, occurring right at the beginning of his career. This nomination of such a recently established printer is rather exceptional. There were at that time candidates with better and older rights to the appointment of King's Printer.

Sylvius obtained his title thanks to the printing of one book – an edition of the Statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece – and his good relations with the court.[38] On 26 July 1559, Joachim Hopperus, member of the Great Council of Mechelen, sent a report to Viglius ab Aytta, president of the Council of State, in which he asked for his old friend Silvius to be appointed typographer royal on account of the typographical quality of the production of the Statutes of the Order.[39] The appointment must have taken place before 8 October 1559, when Christopher Plantin opened an account to 'master Willem Silvius Printer of the King'.[40]

The post of Royal Printer was not a direct source of income for printers who held it. Indeed, shortly after the nomination of Silvius, Michiel van Hamont, from Brussels, was appointed sworn printer of the King, and received an effective monopoly on all royal ordinances. Unfortunately, the document ratifying Hamont's appointment has not been preserved and as a result we do

36 Edmond H.J. Reusens, 'Promotions de la faculté des arts de l'université de Louvain, 1428–1797', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*, 3 (1866), p. 467; Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 40, nr. 186.

37 Philip II, *Ordonnances, statuts, stil et maniere de proceder* (Antwerp: Willem Silvius, 1560), USTC 38593; Theodor Poelmann, *Studio accuratissime castigatus, & adnotationibus variis, asterisco designatis, illustratus* (Antwerp: Willem Silvius, 1560), USTC 404352; Johannes Voerthusius, *Phoenicis sive consecrationis Augustae liber unus* (Antwerp: Willem Silvius, 1560), USTC 441291.

38 The text was printed in Latin and French: *Constitutiones clarissimi ordinis velleris aurei* trans. by Nicolaus Grudius (Antwerp: Willem Silvius, 1559), USTC 404310; *Les ordonnances de l'ordre de la toison d'or* (Antwerp: Willem Silvius, 1559), USTC 61150; recorded in USTC as [Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1560]).

39 Maurice Van Durme (ed.), *Supplément à la correspondance de Christophe Plantin* (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1955), p. 11, nr 1. Hopperus and Sylvius must have met at the University of Louvain. Silvius registered to university on 3 February 1550 and Hopperus obtained his doctorate on 27 Augustus 1553, see Charles Rablebeek, 'Hopper (Joachim)', in *Biographie nationale* [*de Belgique*] (43 vols., Brussels: Bruylant, 1866–1986), IX, pp. 466–469.

40 Quoted by Valkema Blouw, 'Willem Silvius's remarkable start, 1559–62', p. 172.

not know exactly why he was chosen. Maybe due to his proximity to the court in Brussels? Anyway, the function would be created at the beginning of 1560, because Silvius received a derogation from the privilege of Hamont to 'print some ordinances' on 18 February 1560.[41] For Silvius, the Royal Printer post must have been important for his reputation as a publisher, because this implied a recognition of his abilities. He continued to call himself royal typographer until he left to Leiden in 1579.

On 2 March 1568, Silvius was arrested on suspicion of Protestant sympathies and for his involvement in the Iconoclastic Fury of August 1566. He was released a month later, on 26 April, after paying a bail of 2,000 carolus guilders. On 16 July, he was acquitted.[42] At the same time, Plantin wrote a letter to Jean Moffin, Philip II's confessor, in which he explained that Silvius printed the Statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece in the *Officina Plantiniana* while he was in Paris.[43] He also mentions that cardinal Granvelle first refused to give the title to Silvius because the King wanted to appoint Plantin. After that, Silvius would have come beg Plantin to obtain the coveted title. Scholars had previously accepted Plantin's statements as true, but recent work has shown this not to be the case.[44] According to Paul Valkema Blouw, in 1559 Plantin had no relation with the Court in Brussels. Moreover, it would be surprising if Plantin, a born Frenchman, had been considered for an appointment as Printer of the King immediately after the conclusion of the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (3 April 1559), which marked the end of the 65-year struggle between France and Spain for the control of Italy.[45] Plantin certainly must have wanted to distance himself from his colleague. After he was arrested and released, Silvius could continue to call himself Royal Printer, but he had long since lost the post.

41 Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 41, nr. 194.

42 Rouzet, *Dictionnaires des imprimeurs*, p. 201; Valkema Blouw, 'Willem Silvius's remarkable start, 1559–62', p. 169; Guido Marnef, 'Repressie en censuur in het Antwerps boekbedrijf, 1567–1576', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 8 (1992), pp. 222–223.

43 The letter, undated, is edited in: Max Rooses & Jan Denucé (ed.), *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin* (9 vols., Antwerp: J.E. Buschman/Ghent: A. Hoste, 1883 [I]; Ghent: A. Hoste/The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1885 [II]; Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel/The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1911–1918 [III–IX]), I. 256–257.

44 On this debate, see: Henry de la Fontaine Verway, 'Hoe werd Silvius koninklijk drukker?', *Het Boek*, 26 (1940–1942), p. 222; Colin Clair, 'Willem Silvius', *The Library*, 14 (1959), pp. 192–205; Valkema Blouw, 'Willem Silvius's remarkable start, 1559–62', pp. 171–183.

45 On this peace, see: Bertrand Haan, *Une paix pour l'éternité. La négociation du traité du Cateau-Cambrésis* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010).

The most lucrative position for a printer was held by Michiel van Hamont, as 'sworn printer of his Majesty for the placards and ordinances'.[46] He settled in Brussels around 1557, and his presses ran until 1581; he died in 1585.[47] His book production was negligible, comprising less than 15 titles, mainly in Dutch. These included texts by the abbot Louis de Blois and his Dutch translator Josse Schellinck, the schoolmaster Noël de Berlaimont, the historian Nicolaus Mameranus and the Franciscan Frans Vervoort. In addition to these texts, Hamont printed almost two hundred edicts and ordinances on behalf of the central government, in both Dutch and French. The privilege given to Hamont on 3 February 1557, which to allowed him to print books, specifies that he was also authorised to publish woodcuts and engravings.[48] Plantin confirmed this twenty years later, in the certificate renewing Hamont's licence to exercise his profession dated 15 July 1570. He described him with these words:

> expert … in the art of printing … is able to speak Latin, Spanish, German and Flemish well but no French, is able to carve wood engravings, and knows how to correct in forms and printed proofs, and is able to design images and other things.[49]

Plantin thus informs us that Hamont was also able to speak Latin, Spanish, German and Dutch, but not French. Hamont had to share his monopoly with

46 This title was found in a petition to obtain the succession of Hamont: ARB, CPE, 1276, 9. The original reads: "*Imprimeur Jure des placcarts et ordinances de sa Majeste*".

47 Léopold Le Clercq, 'Michel van Hamont, 'figuersnijder' te Brussel (1556–1585)', *De Gulden Passer*, 21 (1945), pp. 113–118; Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs*, pp. 87–88; Edmond Roobaert, 'Michiel van Hamont. Hellebaardier van de keizer, rederijker en drukker van de koninklijke ordonnanties en plakkaten', in Frank Daelemans and Ann Kelders (eds.), *Miscellanea in memoriam Pierre Cockshaw (1938–2008)* (2 vols., Brussels: Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 2009), II, pp. 465–485; Renaud Adam, 'Spanish Books in Michiel van Hamont's Bookshop (1569): a Case Study of the Distribution of Spanish Books in Sixteenth-Century Brussels', *Quarendo*, 48:4 (2018), pp. 300–316 and Renaud Adam, '*Men and books under watch*: the Brussels' Book Market in the Mid-Sixteenth Century Through the Inquisitorial Archives', in Shanti Graheli (ed.), *Buying and Selling: The Early Book Trade and the International Marketplace* (Leiden/Chicago: Brill, 2019), pp. 303–321.

48 Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 39, nr. 184.

49 The original reads: "*expert … audit estat d'imprimerie … entendant for bien latin, espagnol, haut alleman et flameng et aucunnement François et taille aussi figures en bois, et sçait corriger sur le plomb et espreuves, et patronner figures et autres choses*", Philippe Rombouts, *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin et autres documents se rapportant à la charge du Prototypographe* (Antwerp/Ghent: J.E. Buschmann/ A. Hoste, 1881), p. 5. The license was approved two days later by the authorities. Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 50, nr. 254.

Plantin after his appointment as chief printer of the King (*architypographus*/*prototypographus regius*) to the Low Countries by Philipp II on 19 May 1570:

> We have decreed and do hereby decree … that there shall be created and instituted a *prototypographus* or first printer who shall have oversight of the trade of printing; who shall have authority to examine and approve the masters and workmen of this craft in our lands from this side onwards and to grant each and every one of them letters of competence according to their ability; for which further letters of confirmation and approval shall thereafter be requested from us or from our aforesaid Lieutenant and Governor-General in our dominions from this side onwards.[50]

Plantin was charged with examining the professional skills and orthodoxy of men involved in printing trade (master printers, craftsmen, and apprentices).[51] However, Plantin tried to relieve himself of this burden, arguing that he did not practice Dutch well enough to carry out the interrogations, but no one could contradict the King's orders. Two months after his appointment, on 28 June 1570, he took the oath before the president of the Private Council at Brussels, Charles de Tisnacq.[52]

The decision made by Philip II was a response to the lack of thorough supervision of the printing trade in the context of the struggle against heresy. The king wanted to control the entrance to the printing trade and to exclude the black sheep: both those who did not know the trades of the book and those suspected on religious or moral grounds.

As the chief printer of the King, Plantin did not receive money. He tried to obtain tax reductions, particularly on wine and beer, but to no avail.[53] Despite this, he received official orders from the government, such as the 1570

50 Quoted by Léon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the 'Officina Plantiniana' at Antwerp* (2 vols., Amsterdam/London/New York: Vangendt, 1969–1972), I, p. 70.

51 The certificates still kept are edited in: Rombouts, *Certificats*. For more detail on these examinations, see: Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, I, pp. 70–72.

52 The revolt of the Low Countries in 1576 left Plantin with the title and no authority on the community of printers. After the Pacification of Ghent, signed on 8 November 1576, and the restoration of Spanish rule, Philip II neglected to make his decree effective again. Plantin continued to be called 'king's printer', but without power. His son-in-law Jan Moretus did not inherit the title. Balthasar Moretus was granted the title of 'architypographus regius' in about 1639 (Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, I, p. 73).

53 *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, II, p. 153, nr. 238.

and 1571 indexes and, from 1570, royal ordinances.[54] For Léon Voet, this 'must be regarded as not much the result of his new status, as of his good relations with the Spanish authorities'.[55] As early as 1570, Plantin began to make joint petitions with Michiel van Hamont for privileges on the printing and distribution of ordinances. The first petition concerned the ordinance of criminal law of 1570.[56] The two printers received a privilege for a period of six years on 6 September 1570. Offenders would be fined 100 carolus guilders per copy and would see their editions confiscated.[57]

On 6 November 1574, Plantin obtained a special appointment for the printing of currency edicts.[58] This privilege was previously in possession of Hendrik I vanden Keer, active in Ghent from 1556 to 1580, who conceded it to Plantin.[59] Hendrik I vanden Keer had obtained this privilege in 1557. The previous holder was Josse Lambrechts. Before granting this monopoly to Hendrik I vanden Keer, the Chamber of Accounts was consulted and gave a favourable opinion on 22 May 1557.[60] In his petition to the Privy Council, Hendrik I vanden Keer argued that he had spent a lot of money to acquire the material necessary for the reproduction of the ordinances from the two former privilege holders, Josse Lambrechts and Victor de Dayn.[61] On 23 Augustus 1577, the privilege for printing currency edicts was transferred to the Antwerp printer Guillaem van Parijs in agreement with Plantin.[62] A few months before, the two men had printed a joint edition of a royal decree addressed to the Council of

54 On these indexes, see: Jesus M. De Bujanda (ed.), *Index d'Anvers 1569, 1570, 1571* (Sherbrooke/Geneva: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance/Droz, 1988).

55 Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, I, p. 72.

56 The petition is edited in: *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, II, pp. 247–248, nr. 247.

57 For the different editions, see: *PP*, nr. 1970–1975.

58 The original reads: "*om temogen alleene drucken tgene dat der munte aengaert*". See Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 59, nr. 321.

59 Rouzet, *Dictionnaires des imprimeurs*, pp. 108–109.

60 Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 39, nr. 183.

61 The original text reads: "*à gros fraiz et dépens recouvert a acheté les formes figures et patrons de plusieurs espèces dor et dargent de divers coings et aultres vieus cles et instrumens dont feuz maistres Josse Lambrechts et victor de dayn*" (ARB, CPE, 1276, 40; Auguste Voisin, *Josse Lambert, imprimeur, graveur, poète et grammairien gantois du XVI^e siècle* (Ghent: L. Hebbelynck, 1842), p. 46. Hendrik I vanden Keer's father, Pieter vanden Keere, bought Josse Lambrechts' workshop and woodcuts, which he rented to Jan Cauweel until 1556, when Henri I vanden Keer began his activities (Rouzet, *Dictionnaires des imprimeurs*, p. 108).

62 The original reads: "*om alleene te mogen drucken d'affeyten nopende de munte by consente en Inde plaeste van christoffel plantin*". See Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 64, nr. 360.

Brabant regarding the rates of golden and silver coins in the Low Countries, for the period from 1 July until Christmas 1577.[63]

The Birth of the Dynastic Monopoly

Michiel van Hamont died on the night of October 24 to 25, 1585. He had no children. Three printers immediately applied for his lucrative position of official court printer: Jan I Mommaert, from Brussels, Guillaem van Parijs, from Antwerp, and Rutger Velpius, from Louvain.[64] Jan I Mommaert's hopes of obtaining this position rested on his close friendship with Michiel van Hamont (who had notably served as a witness at his wedding).[65] In his petition, he argued that he had always remained a Roman Catholic and had gone to Salamanca to join the King's party.[66] For his part, Guillaem van Parijs insisted on his orthodoxy, specifying that he had never printed any banned books or books offending the King and had not taken part in the troubles that shook Antwerp.[67]

One printer, however, had even better claim to prove he was a loyal servant of the crown: Rutger Velpius. Velpius' close ties with the authorities are undoubtedly the reason for his designation as printer of his Majesty. By 1578, he had

63 The decree was printed in Dutch and French: Philip II, *Placcart sur le faict et tollerance du pris et cours de la monnoye d'or et d'argent és pays de pardeça / Placcaet op tstuck ende tollerancie vanden prijs ende loop vande goude ende silvere munte, inde landen van herwertsovere* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin and Guillaem van Parijs, 1577), *PP* nr. 2015–2016; USTC 80847, 412694.

64 Only the petitions of Mommaert and van Parijs are still kept: ARB, CPE, 1276, 9. On Mommaert, see: Rouzet, *Dictionnaires des imprimeurs*, pp. 152–153; César Manrique Figueora, 'Los impresores bruselenses y su producción dirigida al mercado hispano, siglos XVI–XVII. El caso de la imprenta del Águila de Oro de Rutger Velpius, Hubert Anthoine-Velpius y la imprenta de los Mommaert', *Erebea. Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales*, 2 (2012), pp. 205–226.

65 Brussels, Archives of the City, Our Lady of the Chapel, Parish registers, Marriage records, 1575–1598, fol. 30r.

66 ARB, CPE, 1276, 9: "*Tousiours maintenu en la religion Catholicque romaine, et suyvi le party de votre majeste en espaigne en votre ville de Salamanca*".

67 ARB, CPE, 1276, 9: "*Sans avoir Imprimer quelque livres defendu ou aultre chose quelconque contre sa Majeste … et quil est toujiours demoure catholique nonobstant les troubles en Icelle ville nagueres advenues*". Jasper van der Steen has shown that local officials also used to claim their loyal background to the King or to the Church as arguments in their petition to obtain a noble title or an appointment. See: Jasper Van Der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 118–119.

already received a monopoly on all *placards* from the Council of Brabant.[68] At this time, Brussels was ruled by hardline Calvinists, which meant that Hamont was no longer able to print Habsburg ordinances.[69] In May 1580, Alexander Farnese, Governor of the Spanish Low Countries, moved his court to Mons, in Hainaut. The relatively small city became the seat of government, which led to an urgent need for a printer to publish royal decrees. The town council managed to attract Rutger Velpius from Louvain by offering him a significant amount of money and a house near the market place to establish his venture.[70] Velpius set up Mons' first printing press, which was entirely dedicated to the Habsburg Catholic cause.[71] When Farnese moved to Brussels, after defeating the Calvinists on 10 March 1585, Velpius followed him. His appointment as official court printer was a reward for his fidelity and service. He established his printing house near the Palace of Coudenberg, the seat of the government.

Less than a year later, in November, Rutger Velpius together with Guillaem van Parijs were granted the privilege to reproduce all currency edicts promulgated by the crown. At the same time, Guillaem van Parijs obtained the exclusive right to reproduce 'all the booklets with woodcuts'.[72] Directly afterwards, Rutger Velpius and Guillaem van Parijs published – in French and in Dutch – a joint edition of the currency edict promulgated in Antwerp on 10 October 1585. This document was issued to regulate the currency situation after the period of troubles (1577–1584).[73] Guillaem van Parijs died a few months later in 1586.

68 Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 70, nr. 399. On Velpius, see: Rouzet, *Dictionnaires des imprimeurs*, pp. 230–232; Manrique Figueora, 'Los impresores bruselenses', pp. 205–226; Pierre Delsaerdt and Yann Sordet (eds.), *Lectures princières et commerce du livre. La bibliothèque de Charles III de Croÿ et sa mise en vente* (2 vols., Paris: Édition des Cendres, 2017).

69 On the Calvinist regime in Brussels – surprisingly little studied, compared to other towns like Ghent of Antwerp –, see: Olivier Cammaert, 'L'iconoclasme sous la République calviniste à Bruxelles', in Monique Weis (ed.), *Des villes en révolte. Les 'Républiques urbaines' aux Pays-Bas et en France pendant la deuxième moitié du XVI^e siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 47–52.

70 Christine Piérard and Pierre Ruelle, *Les premiers livres imprimés à Mons: fac-similés de la 'Kakogeitnia' de Libert Houthem et du 'Renart decouvert' attribué à Jean Richardot, sortis des presses de Rutger Velpius, en 1580* (Mons: Société des bibliophiles belges, 1966); Afonso, 'L'imprimé officiel', p. 56.

71 The catalogue of Velpius' Mons press includes the official ban of outlawry issued by Philip II against William I, Prince of Orange, printed in 1580 by Velpius: *Sommaire et substance du ban et proscription contre Guillaume de Nassau, prince d'Oranges*, USTC 13596.

72 The original reads: "*imprimer les livrets de monnoyes qui se feront avec les figures*". See ARB, CPE, Private Council, 1276, 52; Van den Branden, 'Drukoctrooien', p. 71, nr. 402.

73 Philip II, *Ordonnance et placcart sur le faict de la monnoye, ayant cours es pays de pardeça* (Antwerp: Guillaem van Parijs and Rutger Velpius, [1585]), BB IV 543 O 175, USTC 80855; Philip II, *Ordonnancie ende placcaet op t'feyt van der munte loop hebbende inde landen van herwaetsover* (Brussels: Rutgerus Velpius and Guillaem van Parijs, 1585), USTC 414846.

His widow, Mechtelt Van den Wouwere, recovered his privilege and continued collaboration with Velpius.[74] Together, they printed the extension of the previous ordonnance, proclaimed on 9 January 1587.[75] In 1595, Mechtelt van den Wouwere sold her venture to the Antwerp printer Hieronymus Verdussen, who had received his first *octroi* in 1589.[76]

Rutger Velpius and Hieronymus Verdussen founded two dynasties of printers who succeeded in turning the printing of official acts into a family monopoly. The two men and their successors requested the renewal of their status as official printers at least every ten years. Rutger Rescius and his son-in-law Hubert I Anthoine worked together from 1601 onwards. They received an extension of their grant for a period of 10 years on 17 August 1609.[77] Rutger Rescius died around 1614–1615. Hubert I Anthoine succeeded him and asked to renew his grant on 9 August 1625.[78] On 7 November 1634, Hubert II Anthoine obtained the right to print, for a period of ten years, all the edicts, statutes and regulations issued by the court, as his predecessors had been doing for sixty years.[79] This privilege was accorded for another ten-year term on 9 May 1645, on 9 February 1658, and again on 27 March 1666.[80] After the death of Hubert II Anthoine at the end of October 1670, his son Marcel Anthoine-Velpius obtained

74 Rouzet, *Dictionnaires des imprimeurs*, p. 168.

75 Philip II, *Ordinantie ende placcaet nopende tfeyt vander munten* (Antwerp: widow Guillaem van Parijs and Rutger Velpius, 1587), BB IV 543 O 182, not recorded in USTC; *Ordinantie ende placcaet nopende tfeyt vander munten* (Antwerp: widow Guillaem van Parijs, 1587), USTC 413776; *Ordinantie ende placcaet nopende tfeyt vander munten* (Brussels: Rutgerus Velpius, 1587), USTC 413779.

76 Prosper Verheyden, 'Drukkersoctrooien in de 16e eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor Boek – en Bibliotheekwezen*, 8 (1910), p. 225, nr. 162. On Verdussen, see: Rouzet, *Dictionnaires des imprimeurs*, pp. 233–234; Stijn van Rossem, 'The Bookshop of the Counter-Reformation revisited: the Verdussen Company and the Trade in Catholic Publications, Antwerp, 1585–1648', *Quaerendo*, 38 (2008), pp. 306–321 and Stijn van Rossem, *Het gevecht met de boeken. De uitgeversstrategieën van de familie Verdussen* [*Antwerpen 1589–1689*] (University of Antwerp, Unpublished PhD dissertation, 2014).

77 ARB, CPE, 1276, 134. Micheline Soenen made a mistake in her inventory of the archives of the Spanish Private Council. She erroneously thought that this privilege was granted for 6 years: *Inventaire analytique des documents relatifs à l'impression et au commerce des livres* (*1546–1702*) *contenus dans les cartons 1276 à 1280 du Conseil Privé espagnol* (Brussels: State Archives of Belgium, 1983), p. 24, nr. 134.

78 ARB, CPE, 1277, 93. On Hubert I Anthoine and his family, see: Paul E. Claessens, 'Deux familles d'imprimeurs brabançons: les Velpius et les Anthoine-Velpius (1542 à 1689)', *Brabantica*, 2 (1957), pp. 333–347; Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs*, pp. 1–2; Renaud Adam, 'Une enquête dans les milieux du livres à Bruxelles en avril 1689', *Histoire et civilisation du livre. Revue internationale*, 14 (2018), pp. 53–64.

79 ARB, CPE, 1278, 77.

80 ARB, CPE, 1278, 77; 1279, 94; 1280, 36.

the same privilege for ten years.[81] He died seven years later without heir, and was buried on 30 March 1677.[82] Four days later, on 4 June 1677, Jean-Théodore Anthoine-Velpius addressed a petition to the Privy Council asking to succeed his brother.[83] On 16 May 1689, following the death of Jean-Théodore Anthoine-Velpius, the position of official court printer passed to Eugène-Henry Frickx.[84] The situation was the same for the Verdussen family that had systematically sought to renew its privileges.[85] In the mid-seventeenth century, they also obtained an official monopoly for printing almanacs, forbidding anyone to print these ephemera in the Low Countries.[86]

The zeal with which these two families ensured that their privileges were renewed shows how much these monopolies brought them secure and regular incomes. They also had the advantage of working for only one client. They were, therefore, less affected by all the problems related to the normal trade of books (storing books, sending books to booksellers, dealing with colleagues at book fairs, etc.).

It would appear that the government would pay the wage in monthly instalments. The archives of the Council of Finance keep records of payments of 302 guilders and 12 stuivers to Hubert II Anthoine-Velpius on 26 March 1643 and on 21 April 1643; which represents an annual payment of around 3600 guilders and 150 stuivers.[87] Sometimes remuneration was delayed, as the state was not always very prompt to pay its debts. For example, Hubert II

81 Brussels, Archives of the City, St Gudula, Parish registers, Death certificates, 1669–1683, fol. 66v; ARB, Spanish Private Council, 1280, 36.

82 Brussels, Archives of the City, St Gudula, Parish registers, Death certificates, fol. 243r.

83 ARB CPE, 1280, 36.

84 ARB, CPE, 1280, 10. On this printer and his family, see: Paul E. Claessens, 'Deux familles d'imprimeurs brabançons: les Mommaert et les Fricx (1585 à 1777)', in *Brabantica*, 3 (1958), pp. 217–219; Claude Sorgeloos, 'Les réseaux commerciaux de Guillaume Fricx, imprimeur et libraire à Bruxelles (1705–08)', in Adam (ed.) *Urban Networks and the Printing*, pp. 1–37; Claude Sorgeloos, 'Travaux et clients de Guillaume Fricx, imprimeur et libraire à Bruxelles (1705–1708)', *in Monte Artium. Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium*, 6 (2013), pp. 141–166.

85 ARB, CPE, 1276, 118; 1277, 118; Van Rossem, *Het gevecht met de boeken*, pp. 69–79.

86 Stijn Van Rossem, 'The Struggle for Domination of the Almanac Market: Antwerp, 1626–42', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 106 (2012), pp. 63–99.

87 ARB, Council of Finance, 268. I would like to thank Nicolas Simon (Royal Academy of Belgium – Catholic University of Louvain) for drawing my attention to these archives. By way of comparison, in 1650, the amount of annual wages for an enterprise of the size of Plantin-Moretus amounted to 17.792 guilders; the equivalent of 9 kilos of gold. See Charles Verlinden (ed.) *Documents pour l'histoire des prix et salaires en Flandre et en Brabant* (3 vols., Bruges: De Tempel, 1959–1972), II, p. 1060.

Anthoine-Velpius wrote in 1660 complaining that his salary had not been paid between 18 October 1659 and 1 July 1660.[88]

The possession of monopolies ensured the economic viability of these ventures. All petitions made by these families refer to the investments they had to make to obtain the right of printing royal ordinances and, implicitly, the need for them to obtain the grant to get a return on these investments. Hieronymus Verdussen II mentioned in his petition of 31 August 1643 that he had already gone to great expense, and he still had to pay every day to cut engravings and woodcuts.[89] Hubert Anthoine-Velpius II asked in 1660 for an increase of his salary because of the increase in the price of paper and the cost of his employees' wages.[90] In another example, when Marcel Anthoine-Velpius died unexpectedly, the family business almost collapsed. The petition of 4 June 1677 sent to the Privy Council explained that if they lost the monopoly on royal edicts:

> this poor family would be completely ruined, not knowing what to do with its handpresses and all its utensils, most of which are used only to print ordinances, tariffs and other items from His Majesty. These cost their ancestors so much money, forcing them to commit and sell everything they had to buy the house they occupy near the court so that they could print the hasty things that hurry there, having since had to mortgage their house for more than four thousand guilders in order to continue the service of His Majesty.[91]

88 ARB, Council of Finance, 268. The situation seems to be the same in the Dutch Republic. The official printer of the State General and of the State of Holland, Hillebrant II van Wouw, was also facing non-payment of his wage. This is why he resigned his office in 1669. He thought that he would be richer if the States would pay their debts. On this case, see Pettegree and der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, p. 195.

89 ARB, CPE, 1278, 118: "*Es grandz fraiz … qu'il a fait et faict encore journellement a faire tailler les figures es monnoys*".

90 ARB, Council of Finance, 268: "*demandé davantage que ses predecesseurs en office, nonobstant que les papier et le travail est en ce temps beaucoup plus cher qu'il n'estoit il y a cincquante et plus d'années*".

91 ARB, CPE, 1280, 36: "*Cette pauvre famille seroit entierement ruinée, ne sachant que faire de l'Imprimerie ni de tous les ustensils d'Icelle qui ne servent la plupart que pour Imprimer des Placcarts, tariffs et aultres pieces touchant le service de sa Majesté qui ont cousté tant d'argent a leurs ancestres, et que mesmes Ils ont estés obligés de s'engager et a vendre tou ce qu'ils avoient pour achapter la maison qu'ils occupent pres de la cour affin d'estre plus a la main pour Imprimer les choses pressées qui s'y depeschent, ayant depuis du charger laditte maison de plus de quatre mil florins afin de pouvoir continuer le service de sa Majesté*".

This petition also testifies that the members of these families carefully preserved privileges granted by the authorities. Copies of all the previous petitions made by the Velpius-Anthoines were attached to this petition. There were also exceptions to the monopolies obtained by this family. For example, on 12 December 1587, Charles Michel received the authorisation to print all edicts promulgated in Mons by order of the King.[92] The printer Jan Scheffer II obtained the same privilege for his own town, 's Hertogenbosch, on 21 April 1580, and 4 May 1596.[93]

Despite the prohibitions, counterfeits appeared on the market. In response, wronged typographers did not hesitate to file complaints with the Privy Council. Between 19 December 1613 and 28 March 1614, the firm Velpius-Anthoine sued Jan Vanden Steen III, from Ghent, because he had printed an ordinance regulating hunting, issued on 13 Augustus 1613.[94] Vanden Steen argued that, as official printer of the Council of Flanders, he had the authorisation to reprint the ordinance. The Privy Council rejected Vanden Steen's argument.[95] Thirty years later, in 1640, Hubert Anthoine-Velpius II filed a complaint against François de Waudré, from Mons, because he had just published an edict on the exemptions for elite heavy cavalry.[96] François de Waudré exposed himself not only to the confiscation of the copies, but also to a fine of three carolus guilders for each copy printed or sold. The fine was divided between the state and the plaintiff. Printers were therefore the real "drivers" of the implementation of the law and the suppression of this type of fraud.[97]

Other families than the Velpius-Anthoines and the Verdussens obtained monopolies from civil and religious authorities: the Vanden Steens, from Ghent, were official printers of the Council of Flanders till the mid-seventeenth

92 ARB, CPE, 1276, 61.

93 ARB, CPE, 1276, 44, 91.

94 Albert and Isabella, *Translaet van het edict ende ordinantie vande eetzhertoghen, Op het stuck vande jachte* (Ghent: Jan vanden Steene III, 1613), USTC 1024659; Albert and Isabella, *Edict et ordonnance sur le fait de la chasse /Translaet van het edict ende ordonnantie vande Erts-hertoghen op het stuck van de jachte* (Brussels: Rutger Velpius and Hubert Anthoine-Velpius I, 1613), USTC 1004499, 1514847.

95 ARB, CPE, 1276, 353.

96 ARB, CPE, 1278, 217. See also: Afonso, *Imprimeurs, société et réseaux*, pp. 152–153. References of the edict: *Placcaert ons heeren des conincx. Nopende de exemptien ende vrydommen vande benden ende compaignien van ordonnantien / Placcart sur les exemptions et franchises des Bendes et Compaignies d'Ordonnances* (Brussels, Hubert Anthoine-Velpius II, 1640), USTC 1511645, 1511648. The Waudré's impression is not recorded in USTC or in Hippolyte Rousselle's *Annales de l'imprimerie à Mons, depuis 1580 jusqu'à nos jours. Bibliographie montoise* (Mons: Masquillier & Lamir, 1858).

97 Hieronymus Verdussens was also involved in a trial for illegal competition (23 June 1618). See: ARB, CPE, 1277, 227.

century; the Plantin-Moretusses enjoyed a monopoly on several liturgical books until the end of the *Ancien Regime*; the Mommaerts were official printer of the State of Brabant, etc.[98] The different levels of power (municipality, provincial councils, etc.) have therefore provided many printers with the opportunity to secure permanent resources. It is easy to understand why printers have endeavoured to obtain exclusivity for printing to these types of publication.

Conclusion

The introduction of the printing art in the Low Countries did not provoke an immediate revolution in the regulations of the book trade and in the promulgation of laws. The central authorities began to use this medium to spread their ordinances and edicts at the end of the fifteenth century. During the reign of Charles V, the government became fully aware of the benefits of printing legislation. This period corresponds to a strengthening of central authorities and an increase in legislation. At that time, the Council of Brabant and, later, the Privy Council began granting sole rights of printing ordinances and other documents issued by these bodies. The protection afforded to selected printers also made it possible to strengthen control over their activities. Privileges were backed by sanctions so that they could be effective. Punishment for infringements usually consisted of confiscations of the pirated copies with an addition of a fine for each copy illegally printed. At the beginning, monopolies were normally privileges of very limited duration. Circumstances changed under Philipp II with the creation of the titles of official court printer and official currency edict printer. Exclusive rights to reproduce legal acts were given to this office holder for longer periods. It was a very lucrative office because it provided its holder with secure financial resources. In order to safeguard the existence and the prosperity of their venture, some printers implemented protective strategies to maintain these privileges within their family. The Velpius-Anthoines in Brussels managed to transform their status as official court printer into a dynastic monopoly, and the Verdussens did the same in Antwerp for currency edicts. Beyond financial capital, the possession of these privileges conferred significant social and symbolic capital. They were rewarded for the quality of their work and appeared to be close to the government.

98 Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, I, p. 266; Micheline Soenen, 'Impression et commerce des livres aux XVI^{e} et XVII^{e} siècle. Réflexions en marge d'un inventaire des cartons du Conseil Privé espagnol', *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique*, 56 (1985), pp. 83–84.

The analysis of relations between printers and authorities – be they central or local – certainly deserves further study. Other investigations should be conducted on a broader scale in a more systematic manner, especially from the point of view of bibliographical analysis. The market for official prints deserves to be better known. Indeed, political and religious powers contributed to stimulate typographical activities and to modify the editorial landscape of the Low Countries, especially in the French-speaking cities with a restricted commercial outlet.[99] Studying strategies developed by printers to obtain and maintain monopolies on official printing would make a significant contribution to our understanding of social practices around lobbying and petitioning in early modern Europe. One should also look at the business horizons of these official documents: who is the audience? what was the use of these documents? is the production homogeneous in its typographical form and in time? A question also remains: under what conditions did these documents reach us? Knowledge of early modern legislation through the study of print is clearly a field of research that is only in its infancy and deserves further investigation.

99 Afonso, 'L'imprimé officiel', pp. 53–76.

CHAPTER 4

Rural Officials Discover the Printing Press in the Eighteenth-Century Habsburg Monarchy

Andreas Golob

In 1794, the widespread newspaper *Graz Peasant News* (*Grazer Bauernzeitung*) contained a peculiar announcement. In a mixture of baroque long-windedness and bureaucratic formulae, it told its readers that the local ruler, Count Dismas von Stubenberg, had convened all his "vassals" to renew their allegiance to him as their landlord.[1] Published in the *Graz Peasant News*, the news of this feudal ritual could easily transcend the local sphere, and potentially reach subjects all over the Habsburg Monarchy, such as the craftsmen or soldiers belonging to the class at which the newspaper was aimed. This newspaper notice at one glance demonstrates the tensions between Enlightenment and feudal tradition that were inherent to the late eighteenth-century Habsburg Monarchy: while the rise of newspapers such as the *Graz Peasant News* was premised on Enlightenment ideals, the same newspapers reported on the renewal of feudal allegiances, a medieval ritual that was remarkably long-lived in rural Central Europe.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Habsburg reforms aimed to deprive landlords of their longstanding, financial, judicial and social privileges to gain direct access to the rural population.[2] This goal was not fully and permanently achieved until the revolution of 1848. The most important, general and lasting achievement of the 1780s was the obligatory regulations of the special training for newly employed officials in all administrative spheres, including seigneurial estates. These administrators gradually replaced officials who

1 Leopold Xavier Löw (on behalf of Dismas Herr von Stubenberg), '1. Convoc. der herrlich von Stubenbergischen Lehensvasallen', *Graz Peasant News* (hereafter GPN) 49 (19 June 1794), [p. S5]. In case of non-paginated parts of newspapers, the page numbers are given in square brackets; 'S' in front of the page number stands for supplement ("Anhang"), 'A' for advertising supplement ("Beilage"). Peter Burke supplied the (literal) translation into "Graz Peasant News" used throughout this contribution, see *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), p. 364.

2 Ernst Wangermann, *From Joseph II to the Jacobin Trials. Government Policy and Public Opinion in the Habsburg Dominions in the Period of the French Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 3.

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004448896_006

had been trained on the job and who were increasingly seen as the weak links or even opponents of enlightened administration. This 'modern' professionalisation and specialisation which Habsburg central authorities forced upon feudal structures strengthened subjects' rights and, albeit very cautiously, curtailed the landlords' power.

This chapter investigates the relationship between the Enlightenment reforms of rural administration and the printing press, concentrating on those rural areas in which print had barely made an impact before the 1780s. On the basis of theoretical manuals and with the help of articles as well as advertisements in newspapers, I analyse how seigneurial clerks and civil servants in former monastic estates used print communication to reform rural administration. In doing so, this case study contributes to two fields of study. First, research in Central Europe, which also strove to include Italian Habsburg holdings and the Austrian Netherlands, has recently shown great interest in administrative practices in general, but the use of media in this field is still widely uncharted.[3] Surveying the media use of seigneurial clerks and administrators of state properties is also rewarding for media history in general, because comparable analyses on the early-modern history of print tended to concentrate on higher ranking governmental, noble, clerical and municipal authorities or on urban representatives of the legal profession.[4] The analysis also contributes

3 Thomas Winkelbauer, *Robot und Steuer. Die Untertanen der Waldviertler Grundherrschaften Gföhl und Altpölla zwischen feudaler Herrschaft und absolutistischem Staat (vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zum Vormärz)* (Vienna: Verein für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich, 1986), pp. 185–206 and 225–238; Thomas Winkelbauer, 'Instruktionen für Herrschaftsbeamte und grundherrliche Ordnungen in den österreichischen und böhmischen Ländern', in Josef Pauser, Martin Scheutz and Thomas Winkelbauer (eds.), *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.–18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch* (Vienna/Munich: Oldenbourg, 2004), pp. 409–426; Michael Hochedlinger and Thomas Winkelbauer (eds.), *Herrschaftsverdichtung, Staatsbildung, Bürokratisierung. Verfassungs-, Verwaltungs- und Behördengeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Vienna/Munich: Böhlau/Oldenbourg, 2010); Anita Hipfinger etc. (eds.), *Ordnung durch Tinte und Feder? Genese und Wirkung von Instruktionen im zeitlichen Längsschnitt vom Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Vienna/Munich: Böhlau/Oldenbourg, 2012); William D. Godsey, *The Sinews of Habsburg Power. Lower Austria in a Fiscal-Military State 1650–1820* (Oxford: University Press, 2018); Rachel Renault, *La permanence de l'extraordinaire. Fiscalité, pouvoirs et monde social en Allemagne aux XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2017).

4 Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets. Single-sheet Publishing in the First age of Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), esp. the chapters in part 3. Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World. Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2019), esp. pp. 9, 313–314 (on the legal profession). As a rare exception to this rule: Elizabeth Andrews Bond, 'Science, Technology, and Reform in the French Countryside: The Role of Provincial Officials in the eighteenth-century Press', *French History and Civilization*, 7 (2017), pp. 39–50.

to the growing research on advertising papers, which usually contained official announcements. Studies in this field have focused on prominent official newspapers which represented central governments and their branches. Urban media enterprises have dominated scholarly discussions.[5]

Throughout the chapter, the *Graz Peasant News* will represent the periodical press. Like its competitors, this newspaper profited from the so-called 'extended freedom of the press'. This period of press freedom was shortlived as the War of the First Coalition (1792–1797) brought back a stricter press surveillance.[6] Although its editor, Michael Hermann Ambros (1750–1809), could neither profit from personal wealth nor from any privileges, his newspaper survived ten years from 1786 to 1796 and even a ban from February to May 1792. The newspaper was highly regarded by contemporaries, and has been acknowledged by media historians as well.[7] Although widespread in the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole, the stronghold of *Graz Peasant News* was Graz, the capital city of the Duchy of Styria. While Graz was the third largest city of the Habsburg Empire, the rest of the Duchy was mainly a rural province with some Alpine parts, which explains the newspaper's self-proclaimed agricultural identity.[8] Styria's agricultural character reflects the situation of most of early modern Central Europe and can serve as a representative case study from both an administrative and editorial perspective.

5 Gerhardt Petrat, 'Das Intelligenzblatt – eine Forschungslücke', *Presse und Geschichte*, II (1987), pp. 207–231; Sabine Doering-Manteuffel, Josef Mančal and Wolfgang Wüst (eds.), *Pressewesen der Aufklärung. Periodische Presse im Alten Reich* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001); Pascale Cancik, *Verwaltung und Öffentlichkeit in Preußen. Kommunikation durch Publikation und Beteiligungsverfahren im Recht der Reformzeit* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), part 2. Also see: Gilles Feyel, *L'annonce et la nouvelle. La presse d'information en France sous l'Ancien Régime (1630–1788)* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000) and Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News. How the World Came to Know About Itself* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 76–95.

6 Thomas Olechowski, *Die Entwicklung des Preßrechts in Österreich bis 1918. Ein Beitrag zur österreichischen Medienrechtsgeschichte* (Vienna: Manz, 2004), pp. 89–104.

7 Heinrich K. Caspart, *Michael Hermann Ambros. Ein österreichischer Journalist zwischen Aufklärung und Reaktion. Ein Beitrag zur österreichischen Mediengeschichte* (2 vols. Vienna: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1991); Holger Böning, 'Grazer Bauernzeitung', in Holger Böning and Reinhart Siegert (eds.), *Volksaufklärung. Biobibliographisches Handbuch zur Popularisierung aufklärerischen Denkens im deutschen Sprachraum von den Anfängen bis 1850*, vol. 2: *Der Höhepunkt der Volksaufklärung 1781–1800 und die Zäsur durch die Französische Revolution* (Stuttgart/Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2001), cols. 427–428; Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, p. 364.

8 For an outstanding, predominantly topographical, but also factual description from the period of interest see: Joseph Carl Kindermann, *Repertorium der Steyermärkischen Geschichte, Geographie, Topographie, Statistik und Naturhistorie* (Graz: Miller, 1798).

In what follows, I will first outline the governmental and administrative spheres in Habsburg Styria, before proceeding to the analysis of the role of print in the Austrian administration. Thereafter, I will sketch how print was adopted to establish a canon of administrative literature and to create a forum for the exchange of ideas in the profession. The chapter will also show how bureaucrats used *Graz Peasant News* to manage their tasks, and how they represented themselves in media. Finally, I will discuss both the editor's commitment to the government (and through that to his own profits), and his cautious criticism of the shortcomings of rural administration in the Habsburg Empire.

At the Forefront of Administration: Generalists in Print

Two spheres of power still co-existed and competed in late eighteenth-century Habsburg Styria. Landowners dominated the Styrian Estates that consisted of clergy, peers, knights and a small, disproportionate representation of the towns. Exerting their financial, judicial and social power over their subjects, the landlords maintained their own governmental and administrative structures which came into conflict with Habsburg attempts to strengthen central government and administration. This conflict had already escalated in the struggle between Protestants and Catholics.[9] Although the Habsburgs had overcome opposition in the Estates and had rigorously recatholicised the country by the early seventeenth century, the landlords' position remained strong. Around 1680, legislative action tried to assist peasants and to instrumentalise them to attack ruthless seigneurs.[10] However, these laws were rarely fully executed until Maria Theresa introduced new administrative structures in 1749. All dominions, except for the Austrian Netherlands and Hungary, received a regional authority called "Repräsentation und Kammer" and renamed "Gubernium" in 1760.[11] These branches of the Habsburg central government served as pivots between the court and its decisions on the one hand and the lowest executive level of the counties ("Kreise") on the other. Civil servants in the county administrations eventually advocated legislation in favour of peasants and attracted the landlords' resentment. Seigneurial officials were finally obliged to undergo

9 Regina Pörtner, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe. Styria 1580–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), on the role of print esp. consult pp. 216–217.

10 Erich Zöllner, *Geschichte Österreichs. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Vienna/Munich: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik/R. Oldenbourg, 1990), pp. 279–280, 314–315.

11 Between 1784 and 1791, Graz was the seat of a Gubernium not only for Styria, but also for Carinthia and Carniola.

specialist, formal, at least semi-academic training. Officials in larger seigneurial entities were even instructed to perform tasks for the central government, when new recruiting districts ("Werbbezirke") were established since 1770.[12] Private landlords had actually hired as well as paid these men to serve them in the first place. Besides, however, they also had to care for a wide range of state-administrative affairs like taxation, recruiting or requisitioning. This shows how closely the two spheres were entangled.

Both spheres of government and administration in Styria began embracing print in the sixteenth century by publishing laws, instructions and propaganda. Viennese printers produced the first printed legislative documents of the central government for Styria. In the 1550s, the Styrian Estates profited from print as a means to push their political agenda. Eventually, the Habsburg authorities seized control in 1585 by appointing a court printer who would be given an exclusive privilege in 1600. This monopoly contributed to the victory of Counter-Reformation, and was vigorously defended until the advent of Josephinian reforms. Only in 1780, after the court printer lost his privileges, was it possible to establish other print shops in the region.[13] The tightly controlled printing press in Styria had an effect on the periodical press. The first printed, regularly issued newspaper which also communicated legislative steps as an integral part of the news section dates from 1639.[14] Government advertisements and other official announcements are absent in the Austrian newspapers before the 1720s, when the *Viennese Diary* (*Wiener Diarium*) became the dominant advertising newspaper in the Habsburg Monarchy.[15] Due to demographic growth and its central position in regional administration and supra-regional commerce, the municipality of Graz began to use the periodical press in the mid-1740s. In the mid-1760s, other municipalities, especially those where county administrations had their seats, followed suit. Beyond Graz,

12 Especially for Styria, but also applicable to the whole Habsburg Monarchy: Manfred Straka, *Verwaltungsgrenzen und Bevölkerungsentwicklung in der Steiermark 1770–1850. Erläuterungen zur ersten Lieferung des Historischen Atlasses der Steiermark* (Graz: Historische Landeskommission für Steiermark, 1978), pp. 28, 31–33. See Winkelbauer, *Robot*, pp. 211–219 (also on advantages for landlords who could get rid of renitent subjects through recruitment into the army).

13 Anton Durstmüller, *500 Jahre Druck in Österreich. Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der graphischen Gewerbe von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 1: *1482 bis 1848* (Vienna: Hauptverband der Graphischen Unternehmungen Österreichs, 1981), pp. 31, 38, 76–83, 164–170, 349–353.

14 Durstmüller, *500 Jahre Druck*, p. 164.

15 Walter Uibelacker, 'Die Entwicklung des Anzeigewesens in der Wiener Presse 1703–1848', *Jahrbuch des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, 2 (1940), p. 28. For Styria, consult the volumes 1721, 1745, 1746, 1765 and 1778 of the *Graz Mercury* (*Grazer Merkur*).

in the countryside, authorities were hardly interested in using the press as a means of communication. Only a tiny minority of the administrators of large seigneurial estates did so in the late 1770s, and the still prominent monastic estates, even the most economically important ones, entirely eschewed the periodical press in conducting their administrative business.

Yet things began to change around the turn of the century, when the professionalisation of rural administration went hand in hand with an increase in the use of print. The rise of printed professional manuals is one sign of this change. Written by experienced peers, such manuals demonstrate the wide scope and complexity of everyday administrative business. In Styria, the head of the county of Graz ("Kreishauptmann"), Christoph von Schwitzen (1755–1796), compiled such a manual in 1787. Unsurprisingly, Von Schwitzen was a representative of the Habsburg authorities, who used the printed book to educate the autodidacts in seigneurial administrations. His handbook encompassed diverse entries dealing with procedures of civil as well as criminal law, with military affairs, policing, and almost every conceivable aspect of everyday life such as rural economics, healthcare and accounting, and even proto-psychological methods to explain laws or governmental needs to ordinary people.[16] To accomplish all these tasks, officials had to be confident in their use of formal, correct and plain German.[17] In 1805, Cajetan Wanggo (1762–1823) published a manual in which he added recent legislation to the already wide range of information provided by Schwitzen.[18] A seigneurial clerk himself, Wanggo regretted that his predecessor had neglected the important aspect of seigneurial administration of justice, which was carried out by landlords and their officials.[19] Intriguingly, he did not only recommend technical literature in this field, but also psychologically and socially revealing criminal stories, compiled and literarily framed by August Gottlieb Meißner (1753–1807).[20]

In subsequent years, Wanggo became one of the busiest Styrian authors, with an impressive list of well-received publications. Even during his early

16 Kristoph Schwizen, *Versuch einer Anleitung für Junge Herrschafts-Beamte in Oesterreich, zur Kenntnis einiger der besten Bücher die von den Hauptgegenständen einer Herrschaftsverwaltung handeln* (Graz: Widmanstetter, 1787), pp. 8–9.

17 Schwizen, *Versuch einder Anleitung*, p. 7.

18 Cajetan Wanggo, *Anweisung zur Kenntniß einiger der besten Geschäftsbücher, für angehende Beamte in österreichischen Herrschafts-Kanzelleyen auf dem offenen Lande* (Graz: Tanzer, 1805), pp. V–VI.

19 Wanggo, *Anweisung zur Kenntniß*, pp. V–VI.

20 Wanggo, *Anweisung zur Kenntniß*, p. 34. For Meißner: Alexander Košenina (ed.), *August Gottlieb Meißner, Ausgewählte Kriminalgeschichten. Mit einem Nachwort* (St. Ingbert: Röhrig Universitätsverlag, 2004).

career, he ranked prominently among Styrian-born writers.[21] His career is a reminder that administrators in these years joined established publishing professionals, such as clerics and scholars, as published authors. About two dozen of Wanggo's colleagues, most of them his contemporaries, published at least one book. Not all of these seigneurial and civil servants became known for their specialist publications. Some of them began their artistic career in private or state administrative service. Examples include Franz Xaver Hysel (1770–1841), who eventually became an important figure in the local musicians' scene as a composer and music teacher, and the playwright Johann von Kalchberg (1765–1827), also editor of *Graz Citizen News* (*Grätzer Bürgerzeitung*).

The changing relationship between print and rural administration caused a generation gap, which increased towards the end of the eighteenth century. Schwitzen complained that older officials often opposed using printed aids. Instead, they preferred procedures they had learned on the job and which had been practiced for ages, following the same 'jogtrot'. For Schwitzen, alluding to a successful contemporary satirical novel featuring an all too compliant judge, such conservatism only produced "Schlendrianisten" (dawdlers).[22] He did, however, recognise the problems of introducing print in the education of officials. Adequate and useful instructional books were often too expensive. Therefore, the experienced administrator proposed book sharing, and did not shy away from recommending cheap, unauthorised reprints of original works published in the German cities.[23] Schwitzen's propagation of print did not fall on deaf ears. Roughly fifteen years later, no fewer than 192 colleagues subscribed to Wanggo's manual on procedures in recruiting districts. In 1818, the second edition even attracted 356 subscribers.[24] Around this time,

21 Johann Baptist von Winklern, *Biographische und litterärische Nachrichten von den Schriftstellern und Künstlern, welche in dem Herzogthume Steyermark geboren sind, und in, oder außer demselben gelebt haben und noch leben. In alphabetischer Ordnung. Ein Beytrag zur National-Litterärgeschichte Oesterreichs* (Graz: Ferstl, 1810). Winklern's scope neglected for instance teachers who often came to Styria from another region of the Habsburg Monarchy. They played an important role in Styrian-based (!) literature, as well, see the extensive bibliography in: Walter Pietsch, *Die Theresianische Schulreform in der Steiermark (1775–1805)* (Graz: Pädagogisches Institut in Steiermark, 1977), pp. 245–263. In Winklern's compilation clerics are clearly overrepresented, probably due to the compiler's predominant use of ecclesiastic networks to receive information.

22 Schwizen, *Versuch*, preface (not paginated). He referred to: [Franz Xaver Huber] *Herr Schlendrian, oder der Richter nach den neuen Gesezen. Ein komischer Roman* (Berlin: s.n., 1787). See Leslie Bodi, *Tauwetter in Wien. Zur Prosa der österreichischen Aufklärung 1781–1795* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 1995), pp. 296–311.

23 Schwizen, *Versuch*, preface, pp. 31, 11, 20–27.

24 Cajetan Wanggo, *Practische Anleitung die Werbbezirks-Geschäfte in Oesterreichs deutschen Erblanden nach Vorschrift der ergangenen Gesetze zu besorgen. Ein Handbuch zum*

Styria's rural bureaucracy seems to have embraced the possibilities of print to communicate within the profession.

In the administration's communicative practices to a general audience, too, the 1780s saw a breakthrough of periodical print. Two ordinances imposed procedures which had been exercised in large municipalities of the Habsburg Monarchy before the 1780s, but in the rural context these procedures were almost completely new. In bankruptcy proceedings, threefold notifications via printed media became obligatory by a decree of 14 June 1784.[25] Two years later, the public auctions that might result from such cases had to be announced in the same way.[26] By using print, absent creditors could be reached and the circle of prospective bidders widened, and consequently competition as well as gains would increase. For the local population, announcements would have to be posted at three different prominent locations if the auctioneer considered it useful.[27] These locations had to be watched to avoid vandalism. In inheritance cases, too, the periodical press was on the rise, but on a voluntary basis. Searches for heirs and rightful claimants of all kind (for instance of bonds) through printed adverts became common in the 1780s.[28]

The problems and limitations associated with the practice of communicating official announcements in print were also critically evaluated. Before the legislative steps discussed above, regular practice had already revealed problems. It proved to be risky, for instance, to summon an accused person via the newspapers. Privacy matters were at stake, and the person summoned had the right to complain if a more discrete way of reaching them would have been possible.[29] One manual cited a real case which featured a claimant

Gebrauche für die dermahligen Vorsteher der ländlichen Bezirks-Commissariate, und zugleich ein Hülfsbuch für jene, welche einst bey diesen Ämtern angestellt zu werden wünschen (Graz: Tanzer, 1800). Second edition in 1818. Both editions offer detailed subscription lists.

25 Johann Nepomuk Neuhold, *Praktische Einleitung zum allgemeinen in allen k. k. österreichischen Erblanden, im Königreich Hungarn, und den damit vereinten Provinzen bestehenden Verfahren in Rechtssachen*, vol. 2 (Graz: Leykam, 4th edition, 1787), pp. 15–16, and for the Hungarian lands p. 155.

26 N.N., *Dritter Nachtrag und Fortsetzung des vermehrten Handbuches der Gesetze und landesfürstlichen Verordnungen vom ersten May 1786 bis ersten May 1787* (Graz: Miller, 1787), pp. 245–246.

27 Johann Sigmund Rizy, *Anmerkungen zur allgemeinen Gerichtsordnung für Böheim, Mähren, Schlesien, Oestereich ob und unter der Enns, Steyermark, Kärnthen, Krain, Görz, Gradiska, Triest, Tyrol, und die Vorlande, und zur allgemeinen Konkursordnung für eben diese k. k. teutschen Erbländer*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Hörling, 1786), pp. 106–107 and N.N., *Dritter Nachtrag*, p. 246.

28 Neuhold, *Praktische Einleitung*, vol. 1, pp. 204–205.

29 Rizy, *Anmerkungen*, p. 143.

who argued that a newspaper announcement could not have reached him during his absence abroad in the 1760s. Instead of publishing a newspaper announcement, he argued, the authorities should have traced his route by observing the passports he had obtained. On this basis, the case was indeed reviewed in 1791.[30]

The impact of newspaper announcements was still disputed in the 1780s after the geographical spread of newspapers had improved and the density of their network in the Habsburg dominions had increased considerably. Optimistic advocates of announcements in the periodical press could also point to the educational reforms of the mid-1770s which had already brought some success, even in rural areas.[31] An anonymous follower of the Habsburg 'chief administrator' Joseph von Sonnenfels (1732–1817) admitted that the Austrian style of announcements was certainly not perfect, but he was convinced that it was clear as well as plain enough to be understood even by peasants. In this respect, examples in *Vienna News* (*Wiener Zeitung*) compared favourably to newspapers of Hamburg or Jena, which would be cluttered with Latin expert terminology.[32] However, more pessimistic authors doubted whether newspapers could successfully inform peasants about legal action, especially in more mountainous settings.[33]

Administrative Announcements in the Periodical Press

Announcements consisted of formulas in a specific bureaucratic German. They followed models given in the aforementioned manuals, communicated deadlines for claims and potential losses which would result from missed deadlines.[34] These phrases guaranteed reliance and linked practices to the underpinning laws.[35] A negative effect of this practice was that announcements became quite long-winded, even when they used more 'modern' and plain formulae. It

30 Christoph von Keßler, *Theoretisch-praktischer Unterricht für angehende Beamte, und für Jene, die Geschäfte bey den Stellen zu betreiben haben* (Vienna: Gräffer Jr., 1791), pp. 324, 328.

31 Pietsch, *Schulreform*, pp. 48–54, esp., 52.

32 N.N., *Anhang zu dem Werke über den Geschäftsstil des Hrn. Hofraths und Professors von Sonnenfels. Herausgegeben von einem seiner Zuhörer* (Vienna: Kurzböck, 1787), p. 124.

33 Georg Scheidlein, *Erklärung des Oesterreichischen Provinzialrechtes*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Gassler, new and revised edition, 1804), p. 40.

34 E.g. Alois Senitzer (on behalf of Aflenz State Property), 'Vorladung', *GPN* 1 (3 January 1791), [p. S2]. St. Lambrecht State Property, 'Citatio der Johann Georg Dietmayrschen Gläubiger', *GPN* 12 (10 February 1791), [p. S5].

35 Especially with reference to the legal system of the Habsburg hereditary lands: Karl Johann Marx (on behalf of Herberstein Seigneury), 'Vorrufung der Anton Müllerischen Gläubiger', *GPN* 82 (13 October 1791), [pp. A3–4].

is interesting to note that these advertisements were as elaborately designed as the rest of the newspaper text. Professional terms in Latin were principally printed in Roman typeface. Fraction numbers might also be printed with special types, and sometimes even square measures were specially marked. These characters and symbols could be principally found in sample books for the production of calendars.[36] Pragmatically, mere amendments at the bottom of the original notice announced further or extended deadlines.[37] Repeated announcements which needed money and working time showed how committed and reliant officials were.[38] In most cases, only the relevant office is eventually given as a reference. Seigneurs seldom signed announcements themselves, as for instance Count Herberstein did when he reminded merchants and artisans that his recently deceased janitor had not been allowed to act as an agent for financial transactions and mentioned a lawyer as a contact person for pending payments and future contracts.[39] The advertisements, however, displayed a considerable number of clerks who self-consciously added their name at the end of their notifications. In *Graz Peasant News*, 38 civil servants of state properties and seigneurial clerks came into public view this way.

Cooperation between different branches of administration proved to be necessary due to overlapping boundaries of seigneuries, parishes and state authorities. This was especially the case for different types of auctions. Deadlines and time-consuming correspondence within the awkward administrative system had to be taken into account. No fewer than three ecclesiastical and five secular seigneuries were involved, for instance, when vineyards, situated near Maribor in Southern Styria and belonging to the ecclesiastical authority of St. Andrä in Carinthia, were sold.[40] Rarely, newspapers were explicitly mentioned as a means to execute business.[41] In one case, the commissioner regretted that there was no interest despite his announcement in *Graz Peasant*

36 E.g.: Johann Nep[omuk] Painsipp (on behalf of Burgau Seigneury), 'Licit. Jos. und An. Wagnerisches Haus etc.', *Graz News* ("*Grätzer Zeitung*", hereafter: *GN*), 60 (26 July 1791), pp. 1215–1216; cf. the last page of this non-paginated catalogue of types: Wenzel Johann Crabat, *Specimen Characterum Latinorum Existentium in Pragensi Typorum Fusura* (Prague: Crabat, 1761).

37 Alois Senitzer (on behalf of Aflenz State Property), 'Licit. Aloys Klinzische Realitäten', *GN* 60 (26 July 1791), p. 1216.

38 E.g.: St. Martin Seigneury, 'Edikt', *GPN* 61 (1 August 1791), [pp. S5, A3] and again *GPN* 79 (3 October 1791), [pp. A1–2] (Johann Muhr; Joseph Eißner; Mathias Tillinger).

39 Johann Gundacker Graf zu Herberstein, 'Erinnerung an Handelsleute und Professionisten', *GPN* 55 (11 July 1791), [pp. A1–2].

40 Franz Xaver Radetzi (on behalf of Maribor Parish Church), 'Weingärten zu verkaufen', *GPN* 71 (5 September 1791), [p. S6].

41 Jakob Mittersdorf (on behalf of the Market Town of Gleisdorf), 'Edikt', *GPN* 20 (10 March 1791), [p. S4].

News.[42] Exceptionally as well, collaboration with an inquiry office can be traced.[43] Some clues in obligatory announcements about bankruptcy proceedings also point at informal communication between officials and creditors. An administrator, for instance, advised creditors to mediate meagre charges instead of launching the complex and expensive official procedure which would have considerably reduced the bankruptcy assets.[44] On the other hand, creditors' requests were taken into account when an official allowed an unusual fourth session for an auction.[45] The highly public procedure in bankruptcy matters obviously also generated a public stigma, because debtors' failures became widely known and because their property was on display. Indirectly, this assumption might be ascertained by the wording in the announcements of voluntary liquidations, which probably aimed at making a living after professional life. Auctioneers of this kind were anxious to stress their voluntary decision prominently, even right at the beginning of the notification.[46]

Inheritance cases are most elucidating when it comes to the necessity of voluntary, public, wide-reaching announcements. Travelling artisans, merchants, pilgrims, and particularly soldiers provided examples for professional, voluntary or forced mobility.[47] The latter were the most prominent category due to the last Austro-Ottoman War, waged between 1788 and 1791. Especially *Graz Peasant News* played an extraordinary part in this confrontation as a leading "war newspaper", composed on the basis of about eighty correspondents along the frontline, and read in field camps as well as garrisons.[48] In many cases, this

42 Market town of Gleisdorf, 'Lizitazion', GPN 27 (4 April 1791), [p. A4]. More general on the periodical press and on the tedious work of publication in a time of bear markets during exhausting wartime in the same, still undetermined case: Idem, 'Lizitazion', GPN 37 (9 May 1791), [pp. A3–4].

43 Pirkwießen Seigneury, 'Eine Mauthmahlmühle in Bestand zu verlassen', GPN 15 (21 February 1791), [p. S8].

44 Anton Alois Königshofer (on behalf of Feistritz Seigneury), 'Konvokazions-Edikt', GPN 58 (21 July 1791), [pp. S2–3].

45 Johann Zechner, Sebastian Lang and Ignaz Brunader (on behalf of the market town of Weiz), 'Edikt. Lizit. Johann Strohmayrisches Haus samt Bäkensgerechtigkeit', GPN 60 (28 July 1791), [pp. A2–3].

46 E.g. Gottlieb Anton Aust (on behalf of Wolkenstein Seigneury in Irdning), 'Verkauf eines Färberhauses, und dazu gehörigen Gründen', GPN 17 (28 February 1791), [p. S7].

47 E.g.: Franz Wolfgang Marx (on behalf of Eggenberg Seigneury), 'Vorrufungs Edikt', GPN 55 (11 July 1791), [p. S8]; St. Martin Seigneury, 'Edikt', GPN 61 (1 August 1791), [p. A3] (Joseph Eißner): a commoner missing on his journey to Rome (!); St. Marx Seigneury in Dornau, 'Vorrufungs-Edikt', GPN 24 (24 March 1791), [p. S5] (Gregor Kollaritsch).

48 Andreas Golob, 'Die Grazer Bauernzeitung – eine 'vergessene' "ungarsche Provinzialzeitung"? Ein Mosaikstein zur Zeitungsgeschichte Ungarns am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 131:1 (2015), pp. 25, 35.

category of searches for individuals may also be interpreted as an attempt to pronounce the absent person dead to finalise the inheritance procedure, particularly when individuals were missing for over 33 years.[49] Sometimes, they demonstrate how wars separated family members and probably left a multitude of orphans behind.[50] Information on the missing person was often scarce, however, even though officials sought to offer 'right and reliable' information and used internal as well as external channels to close the cases correctly.[51] Relatives were not always informed about where their absent family members were, and hearsay played a considerable role.[52] In some notifications, some details and their sources emerge: places of recruitment were given, and the consulted relatives were listed.[53] An administrator of a state property, for example, found out that forty years earlier (!) a veteran had sent his two minor sons to a subject of a monastery that became state property in 1785. Even the sons' professions were recorded.[54] In another case, two known steps in a clerk's career were cited.[55]

Similarly, information on auctions of natural produce and lease contracts highlight the officials' remarkable responsibility in both the private and state economy. Since these announcements were usually shorter, they were also cheaper to place (see below). The use of print media in these cases also led to confrontations with local tenants. They had to face formerly unknown supra-regional competition, especially as far as lease contracts were concerned. As a compromise, option rights for the bidders from the surrounding area could be granted if they (probably joining efforts) succeeded to match the highest offer.[56]

49 E.g. St. Lambrecht State Property, 'Citatio Balthauser Fritz', *GPN* 47 (13 June 1791), [p. S7].

50 E.g. Joseph Eugen Weiß (on behalf of Gleichenberg Seigneury), 'Citat. der Gebrüder Jakob, und Michael Klement', *GPN* 27 (4 April 1791), [p. A3]; St. Martin Seigneury, 'Edikt', *GPN* 61 (1 August 1791), [p. S5].

51 Franz Joseph Mlaker (on behalf of Pfannberg Seigneury), 'Convocation', *GPN* 10 (3 February 1791), [p. S4].

52 E.g. Marx, 'Vorrufungs Edikt'. Franz Xaver Rigler (on behalf of Neuberg an der Mürz State Property), 'Vorruffungs-Edikt' [sic!], *GPN* 7 (24 January 1791), [p. S8]: "as rumour has it".

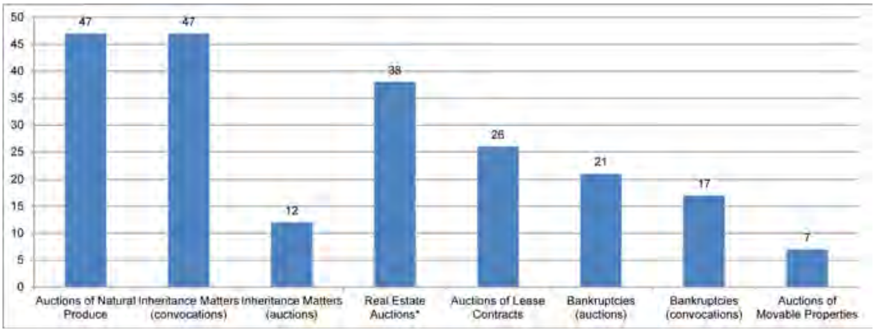
53 St. Marx Seigneury, 'Vorrufungs-Edikt'.

54 Joseph Hoffer (on behalf of Pöllau State Property), 'Kundmachung', *GPN* 95 (28 November 1791), [pp. S7–8].

55 Johann Dominik Krescher (on behalf of Pleterje State Property), 'Vorrufung des Franz Mlacker', *GPN* 1 (3. January 1791), [p. S2].

56 Esp. State-Property Administration in Rottenthurn, 'Getreidzehend-Versteigerung von der k. k. Staatsherrschaft Steinhof', *GPN* 22 (19 March 1795), [p. A1].

TABLE 4.1 Official announcements in *Graz Peasant News*, 1791 and 1792



*Former monastic properties: 24; voluntary auctions: 6; undefined: 8.

Bureaucratic Virtues and Enlightened Commitment on Public Display

Rural administration became visible in the press in many ways. Job applications of aspiring functionaries, for instance, were instrumental in the professionalisation process. The advertisers, who remained anonymous, left the task of establishing contact with interested landlords to the editor's office. These advertisements reveal how ideas of ideal administrators evolved during the period, because applicants described their skills, credentials, and even financial background (required to provide securities) to appeal to prospective employers. A young nobleman, for instance, mentioned a relevant 'internship' and his capability of providing security to obtain an occupation as a seigneurial clerk.[57] Applicants also described their own character. In one self-description, the aspirant who offered a list of his personal and professional virtues claimed to be righteous, unselfish, mindful as well as loyal, and able to carry out his tasks precisely and swiftly.[58] While the press served as an intermediate between rural administration and its growing professionalising workforce, it thus also helped to shape an image of the ideal functionary.

Newspapers also testified to the public commitment of officials because they increasingly contained contributions by local administrators. Alois Senitzer, for instance, was an administrator of a state property in a small market town named Aflenz, which had previously belonged to prestigious St. Lambrecht monastery. In this remote and mountainous region he used newspapers as a means to display his professional duties. Incited by his 'human duty', he shared

57 N.N., 'Dienst-Anbietung', *GPN* 61 (1 November 1792), p. S470.

58 N.N., 'Ein Mann von Rechtschaffenheit', *GPN* 1 (3 January 1791), [p. S2].

his knowledge on the treatment of horses with glandular disorders.[59] After criticising that most farmers relied on hearsay and information in outdated unscientific booklets, he recommended cheap, secure and predominantly dietetic remedies, proven by his own experience and even experiments. This official's enlightened impetus is also evident in another case where he appears as a supervisor of the local school. In this position, he got into an argument with the parish priest who refused to reveal the teacher's income as a parish clerk.[60] This additional income would have saved a portion of the salary that the state provided. Later, Senitzer even established a private school for girls, which was widely recommended in 1796.[61] Instructed by his sister, who also contributed to Habsburg war efforts by providing clothing for military hospitals, girls could learn how to sew and knit.[62] These activities would improve their families' revenues. Opening hours were flexible, allowing parents to employ their children at home when they needed them. While conservative historians who sided with the church have evaluated state administration in Senitzer's state properties (1786–1802) negatively, the newspapers cited him approvingly.[63]

The Supportive Role of Newspapers

Joseph II's 'extended freedom of the press' should not only be judged against the background of human rights and 'liberal' motives.[64] In his authoritative manual, Sonnenfels mentioned newspapers as rumour-mongers as well as objects of censorship, and he bemoaned that most advertising supplements were incomplete, though he conceded that the latter might be valuable if maintained properly and if merchants and craftsmen used them more

59 Aloys Senitzer, 'Eine Kurart für die Drüsen der Pferde', *GN* 60 (26 July 1791), pp. S595–596.

60 Josef Riegler, *Aflenz. Geschichte eines obersteirischen Marktes und Kurortes* (Aflenz Kurort: self-publishing, 1990), p. 239. For Senitzer's similar state services in St. Lambrecht: Walter Brunner, *St. Lambrecht. Geschichte der Marktgemeinde* (St. Lambrecht: self-publishing, 2011), p. 467.

61 Gubernium Steiermark, 'Bekanntmachung einer schönen Handlung', *GPN* 42 (26 May 1796), [p. A1]; *GN* 126 (30 May 1796), [p. A1]; also: Gubernium Steiermark, 'Gubernial-Kundmachung', *Graz Ciziten News* 119 (20 May 1796), [p. A1].

62 For the patriotic deed: Andreas Leykam, '[without title]', *GN* 32 (6 February 1794), [p. 4].

63 Brunner, *St. Lambrecht*, p. 467 (who mentions disabled women as teachers); Riegler, *Aflenz*, p. 47.

64 Wolfgang Duchkowitsch, *Absolutismus und Zeitung. Die Strategie der absolutistischen Kommunikationspolitik und ihre Wirkung auf die Wiener Zeitungen 1621–1757* (University of Vienna, unpublished PhD dissertation, 1978), pp. 478–480 (in the chapter "Ausblick auf die Kommunikationspolitik Josephs II").

systematically.[65] More generally, paternalistic Austrian Enlightenment sought to use privileged periodical press products as a channel to reach, to educate, and to manipulate subjects. Apart from forming this official mainstream, competition in newspaper production was explicitly welcomed to boost economy.[66] For the state, the freed market finally generated revenues from stamp duties which haunted newspaper editors from 1789 to 1791, from income taxes, and from shipping fees, collected by the state-run post offices. In this competitive situation, advertisements and subscription fees played a considerable role, in particular for newspaper editors who could not dispose of privileges as official provincial newspapers did. This was especially true of *Graz Peasant News* as one of the most successful privately funded newspapers.

Ambros aimed at officials with several of his cost-free services. The voluntary inclusion of laws in his newspaper supplements highlights the editor's motives behind the scene.[67] On the one hand, the editor obviously strove to complete his newspaper. By including laws into his newspaper, he appealed to subscribers with professional interest for whom the newspapers could serve as a useful collection of provincial laws.[68] On the other hand, regulations around 1790 provided that newspapers which offered free governmental announcements were granted an exemption from the stamp tax.[69] As the protocols of the provincial censorship agency show, Ambros indeed submitted a request to receive this tax exemption.[70] However, the censorship agency had previously stated that newspaper editors in Inner Austria greatly profited from the increase in subscribers due to information on legislation. Therefore, it could not be interpreted as an unselfish initiative worthy of an exemption, and Ambros had to pay the stamp tax.

65 Joseph von Sonnenfels, *Grundsätze der Polizey- Handlung- und Finanzwissenschaft*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Kurzböck, 3rd edition, 1777), pp. 59, 62–63, 97, 269 and vol. 2 (Vienna: Kurzböck, 5th augmented and revised edition, 1787), p. 330.

66 Styrian Provincial Archives (Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, hereafter StLA), Gubernium, Fascicle No. 40-1784-1808 (Box No. 1047), unofficial draft without file number (24 December 1788).

67 Michael Hermann Ambros, 'An Liebhaber der Grazer Bauernzeitung', *GPN* 99 (12 December 1791), subscription advertisement on a separate sheet: aimed at the general readership – esp. for officials: Michael Hermann Ambros, 'Nachricht an das Steyermärkische Publikum', *GPN* 61 (1 November 1792), p. S467.

68 Cf. N.N., 'Dreyzehn Jahrgänge der Grätzer Zeitung zu verkaufen', *GPN* 40 (18 February 1800), [p. A3].

69 For the stamp tax in general: StLA, Gubernium, Fascicle No. 40-1784-1808, File No. 13736 ex 1789 (29 March 1789). For the official position on exemptions: StLA, Gubernium, Fascicle No. 40-1784-1808, File No. 24253 ex 1789 (12 September 1789).

70 StLA, Gubernium, Index, Fach IVa, No. 11447 ex 1791.

In late 1791 and early 1792, the compiled lists of food prices from all prominent agricultural and commercial centres of the Habsburg Monarchy constituted a unique selling proposition. It is true that comparable lists of prices in newspapers were not new, but their regional scope had been limited to the country where the newspaper was issued and they had almost exclusively concentrated on grain prices. Therefore the supra-regional endeavour in *Graz Peasant News* clearly enabled the fight against abusive speculation. When Ambros presented this extraordinary project, he had landowners and their clerks in mind.[71] The great response of correspondents, especially in the fertile Hungarian holdings of the Habsburg Monarchy, points to the necessity of this initiative in a period of high inflation after a demanding war campaign all over Southeast Europe. The significance of this commitment must not be underestimated, given that Habsburg enlightened despotism tried to control everything from the top and restricted participation from below whenever possible.

Although primarily aimed at the general readership, the editor's excerpts from over fifty advertising papers of the Habsburg Monarchy and beyond are of interest as well, because state properties and seigneuries were well represented. No fewer than 142 relevant notifications (out of 483) can be found, stemming from state properties as far away as Moravia or even from foreign seigneuries in Prussia. This collection of short and essential notices on diverse proceedings might be understood as a supra-regional 'meta-advertiser'. Inheritance cases played a considerable role and were displayed under a special heading. In this connection, Ambros himself commented that convocations of local courts in provincial newspapers were sometimes insufficient in reaching eligible heirs.[72]

The editor also directly addressed officials in paratextual announcements and tried to ease their business, particularly by allowing clearings at the end of a quarter, half or entire year instead of payments for each single announcement which would have been tedious for administrators in remote areas. Specimen copies would be sent to the advertisers, and immediate publication as well as regular repetition was promised.[73] Right after having overcome the

71 Ambros, 'An Liebhaber', *GPN* 99 (1791). See: Andreas Golob, 'Frühes Korrespondenzwesen. Michael Hermann Ambros und sein Grazer Zeitungsunternehmen', in Matthias Karmasin and Christian Oggolder (eds.), *Österreichische Mediengeschichte*, vol. 1: *Von den frühen Drucken zur Ausdifferenzierung des Mediensystems* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2016), pp. 134–135.

72 Michael Hermann Ambros, 'Glüksrubrik dem Wohl der Menschheit gewidmet', *GPN* 85 (24 October 1791), [p. S7].

73 Michael Hermann Ambros, 'An das bekantmachende Publikum', *GPN* 99 (12 December 1791), [pp. A2–4].

ban, Ambros tried to regain officials as important customers.[74] Later in 1792, cost-free announcements for all Styrian advertisers would be granted upon the condition that customers would publish their advertisements in *Graz Peasant News* first.[75] The texts of the free advertisements had to be short as well as precise – conditions which excluded official notifications on bankruptcies or inheritance matters. At the same time, the editor confirmed that *Graz Peasant News* was the leading newspaper in Inner Austria and in the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole. In this amendment, the editor himself explicitly stressed that officials who represented Styrian state properties could use this service in the ongoing wave of liquidation of former monastic estates.[76] It seems that this generous offer eventually did not materialise, as comparisons with the three other Graz newspapers in the last two months of 1792 reveal. Advertisers who used more than one newspaper commissioned the press products at roughly the same time in this period, as well. Slight delays or advantages, respectively, can rather be linked to different days of newspaper release. This practice of multiple announcements continued until the local newspaper landscape was reduced from four to two. When the publisher of *Graz News* announced the unification of *Graz Peasant News* and *Graz Citizen News* with his own newspaper in 1796, he explicitly argued that official and private administrations would save a considerable amount of money, because they only had to pay for one announcement instead of three.[77]

Besides certainly extraordinary but only seemingly philanthropic offers, Ambros also appears as a businessman in his newspaper. Advertisements of the editor's own print shop are particularly relevant. Like his colleagues in the printing business, he advertised forms as well as aids for the Josephinian administration, and it seems that this branch of a printer's enterprise was quite important for survival. Apart from Ambros, two of his Graz colleagues combined services for officials with periodical printing as financial backbones, whereas only two further printers also regularly produced books besides newspapers and forms.[78] In an encompassing list, Ambros himself offered 27 forms

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74 Michael Hermann Ambros, 'Nachricht', *GPN* 16 (24 May 1792), p. S122.

75 Michael Hermann Ambros, 'Nachricht an das Steyermärkische Publikum', *GPN* 60 (29 October 1792), p. S461.

76 Ambros, 'Nachricht an das Steyermärkische Publikum', *GPN* 61 (1792).

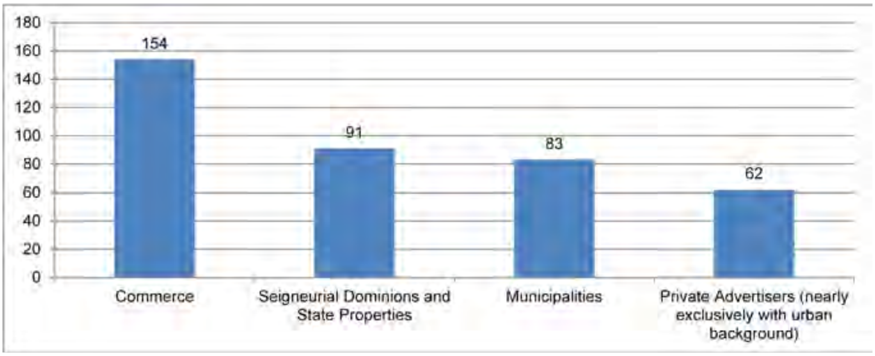
77 Andreas Leykam, 'Nachricht des Verlegers der Grätzer-Zeitung', *GPN* 51 (27 June 1796), p. 406.

78 Anton Tedeschi, 'In der Tedeschischen Buchdrukerei im grossen von Jakominischen Gebäude Nro. 360, ist stets zu haben', *GPN* 1 (3 January 1791), [p. 8], [Anton] Tedeschi, 'Nachricht', *GPN* 34 (28 April 1791), [p. A2] (printer of the *Newspaper for Ladies and Other Women* ("*Zeitung für Damen und andere Frauenzimmer*") 1792 and 1793); Franz Georg Schröckenfuchs, 'Nachricht', *GPN* 29 (11 April 1791), [p. S4] (printer of *Graz Peasant News*

or account books, respectively, and he promised to complete any commission within one week.[79] Officials in remote areas were even offered preview copies of any item before they decided to place orders. At the end of the announcement on his own account, the editor lastly recommended an Inner-Austrian writing-calendar ("*Innerösterreichischer Schreibkalender*") which, amongst other things included useful advice on agriculture as well as health care, dates of all fairs in the Habsburg Monarchy and, last but not least, "charts for officials".

Finally, income from advertising sales to rural entities can only be estimated. The fees mentioned offer useful clues. According to the title pages of 1795, "shorter advertisements" cost 34 kreutzer (kr.), whereas 51 kr. were due for "longer ones" and "official notifications". When thirteen lines, which equal the shortest official announcement recorded, are proposed as a limit between the two categories, we arrive at an estimate of 91 guilders (fl.) for the year 1791. In comparison to income from subscription fees which yielded at least 7,700 fl. in 1788 from subscribers outside Graz alone, this appears to be a negligible lump sum.[80] The modest figure, however, meant a considerable share of the revenues from advertisements as a whole, second only to contributions from merchants.

TABLE 4.2 Estimated contributions of the advertisers in *Graz Peasant News*



before Ambros opened his own print shop in 1791; from 1792 to 1794 printer of *Graz Citizen News*). The 'actual' book (!) printers Widmanstetter and Leykam published the *Graz Mercury* and *Graz News*, respectively.

79 Michael Hermann Ambros, 'Tabellen-Ankündigung', *GPN* 64 (11 August 1791), [p. A1].

80 On the basis of data offered by the editor and backed by Graz post office when asked to give detailed information on dispatched newspaper issues for fiscal reasons, cf. StLA, Gubernium, Fascicle No. 40-1784-1808, unofficial draft without file number (24 December 1788). All together 1,100 subscribers received their issues by post in this year. The post office earned one guilder per subscription, seven guilders remained for Ambros (on the basis of the cheapest possible fee).

Biting the Hand That Feeds: Satire in *Graz Peasant News*

While generally supportive of the administration both in its function and in its content, the *Graz Peasant News* also voiced criticism of Englightened bureaucracy. Such criticism played a remarkable role in satirical literature in the Habsburg Monarchy in the late eighteenth century, the most prominent example being the trilogy of a fictitious judge with the telling name "Schlendrian" (see above, footnote 22). While literary genres of the Josephinian era have been subjected to thorough analysis, the contribution of newspapers in this field of satirical criticism in the Habsburg Monarchy of the 1780s has not been considered yet, because newspapers have only been interpreted as austere newsmongers (what they had indeed been until the mid-1780s). Yet the *Graz Peasant News* evidently partook in the vogue for satire. A satirical mind himself, Ambros predominantly used so-called 'mottos' as teasers for his newspaper issues. In 1791 and 1792, a significant number of them ridiculed different types of notables. These rhymes were critical of wealth without virtue, of priests, physicians and even princes. The seigneurs were also frequently subjected to this mild form of criticism. Occasionally, the mottos alluded to frictions in the relationship between landlords and peasants, the only and indirect traces in the newspaper of officials failing to arbitrate between these parties.[81]

Apart from criticism of the judicial system, which overlapped with the duties of the analysed section of officials, there were only a few directly relevant references. For instance, a leading official answered a recommendation of an aspirant's "head" (that meant his mental skills) with the comment that the young man only needed an arse to sit down.[82] An inexperienced local judge, just sworn into office, asked God to let him "guess" the best decision.[83] In another stanza, an administrator pondered on the brains of his donkey, because the animal always found its way back to the stable after having overcome his thirst.[84] In contrast, it was implied, the notable would get drunk at any given opportunity.

81 For the ideal of "good harmony": Cajetan Wanggo, *Gedanken über das Verhältniß zwischen den Gutsherren und ihren Beamten* (Graz: Tanzer, 1816), p. 25; also: Cajetan Wanggo, *Grundsätze, die Unterthanen zum Gehorsam gegen vorgesetzte Beamte, und überhaupt zur Befolgung der Gesetze anzuleiten. Angehenden Beamten in herrschaftlichen Kanzelleyen gewidmet* (Graz: Tanzer, 3rd extended edition, 1816), pp. 11–12, 49–52. The first edition had appeared in 1790. For conflicts see: Winkelbauer, *Robot*, pp. 181–184.

82 N.N., 'Der Empfehlende', *GPN* 41 (23 May 1791), [p. 1]. The obscene word was abbreviated as "A …".

83 N.N., 'Stoßgebeth eines neugewählten Dorfrichters', *GPN* 9 (30 January 1794), p. 65.

84 N.N., 'Niklas der Verwalter', *GPN* 25 (25 June 1792), p. 193.

TABLE 4.3 Notables criticised in mottos, 1791–1792

Seigneurs	9
Notables in general	7
Newly wealthy without virtues	7
Princes	5
Judges	4
Physicians	4
Priests	3
Officials	2
Ministers	2
Master craftsmen	1

Reports of real incidents were rare, probably due to close observation from the local censorship authority which recorded complaints against Ambros when he expressed criticism against local civil servants.[85] To cite an extraordinary example, a travelling correspondent portrayed a clumsy, small, obese local official in the northern coastal region of the Adriatic, that is, quite far away from the office of the newspaper.[86] On a solemn occasion, this disgrace to his profession sought to hold a parade with armed peasants, but miserably failed. After he had given himself liquid courage, he was lifted onto a seemingly dull horse to muster his guard of honour. However, his subjects confused him with their many shortcomings and, eventually, he even forgot the order to fire. Thus, the peasants fired at their own convenience, of course by no means simultaneously. At the second attempt of the gun salute, the by then furious official fell from his shying horse and caused laughter among peasants and audience. Such farcical stories hardly made the newspaper into the watchdog of local bureaucracy.

Conclusions

This chapter has argued that print was instrumental in the reform of rural administration in the Habsburg Empire around 1800. Print in general and the periodical press in particular did not gain significant momentum in rural administration in the Duchy of Styria before the 1780s. This late impact of the

85 Alluded to in StLA, Gubernium, Index, Fach IVa, entries Nos. 1000 and 4490 ex 1789.
86 N.N., 'Graz den 7. Juli', *GPN* 54 (7 July 1794), pp. 427–428.

medium can be explained with reference to general patterns that are representative of large parts of rural Central Europe. Here, the economic environment was markedly different from the interconnected network of commercial cities of Western and Southern Europe in the early modern period that dominate histories of the press. In the second half of the sixteenth century, fierce regional competition had still allowed a Styrian printing business. However, after the Habsburg Counter-Reformation had defeated the Protestant opposition in the Styrian Estates, this potentially promising, commercial source of encompassing medialisation was replaced with a monopoly for a privileged court printer. Only in the early eighteenth century did Graz, as the most important city in the country, reach a level of development which demanded a medialisation of commercial and administrative announcements in the periodical press. In more modest urban settings and in very few large and progressive seigneuries, such developments did not occur before the mid-1760s and the late 1770s, respectively.

Eventually, the Habsburg central government initiated the breakthrough of print in rural administration by introducing structural changes and through legal action in the mid-1780s. Officials in the countryside were ordered to participate in the increasingly dense network of the periodical press. Obligatory, formal, professional training of seigneurial officials accompanied these ordinances and was embedded in general educational reform. Moreover, the dissolution of monasteries significantly enlarged the ranks of committed Josephinian officials in rural areas. Roughly within a generation, this professional circle embraced print in general to store useful, vocational knowledge and to communicate examples of best practice. The periodical press was not only used in the cases covered by the ordinances of the central government, but also to ease other parts of every-day business, to acquire employment in this expanding section of the rural job market and to publicly present the profession as agents of enlightenment. As a consequence, most inhabitants of the Styrian countryside, and their landlords, experienced the advantages and disadvantages of this way of communication for the first time.

The example of the *Graz Peasant News* indicates that enlightened Austrian bureaucrats and newspaper editors were mostly allies. Despite the fact that the periodical press also kept a critical eye on their partners, which it expressed in mild satire, they generally supported one another, to their mutual benefit.

Acknowledgements

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PART 2

Printing for Government

CHAPTER 5

Printing for the Reformation: The Canonical Documents of the Edwardian Church of England, 1547–1553

Celyn Richards

> The Council are always intent upon consolidating
> the new doctrine by the dissemination of new books
>
> FRANÇOIS VAN DER DELFT, Imperial ambassador in London, to Charles V on 29 May 1547[1]

The reign of Edward VI ushered in a period of defiant evangelicalism in England. Imperial ambassador François van der Delft wrote to Charles V in worried tones just months into the reign about the surging evangelicalism that followed Edward's accession. The publication and compulsory provision of new official church documents spearheaded the Edwardian reformation.[2] Between 1547 and 1553, the regime introduced five new official publications to be purchased by every parish church in the realm: Archbishop Cranmer's *Homilies* and Erasmus' *Paraphrases* (31 July 1547), the *Order of Communion* and the *Catechism* (8 March 1548), and the *Book of Common Prayer* (January 1549 and November 1552).[3] These publications, along with the Henrician Great

1 Quote taken from Martin A.S. Hume and Royall Tyler (eds.), *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain in the Archives of Simancas and Elsewhere* (9 vols., London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1862–1912), pp. 90–93. This paper is derived from a doctoral thesis completed at Durham University, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, via the Northern Bridge doctoral training partnership and the International Placement Scheme. Research was conducted at the Huntington Library, San Marino California.

2 John Craig, 'Erasmus or Calvin? The Politics of Book Purchase in the Early Modern English Parish', in Polly Ha and Patrick Collinson (eds.), *The Reception of Continental Reformation in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 40.

3 Cranmer's *Homilies* and Erasmus' *Paraphrases*: Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations* (3 vols., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), I, pp. 393–403:

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004448896_007

Bible, became the canonical texts of the Edwardian church. The political and religious elite initiated the reformation, and the newly-empowered evangelical faction pressed its advantage.

Print played a central role in this process. The regime sponsored specific printers by creating official positions and issuing patents and privileges. The religious policies of the regime also facilitated wider growth in the industry by creating a climate of evangelical freedom, which allowed printers to produce an outpouring of reformist tracts. English printing grew disproportionately during Edward's tenure. Every Edwardian year saw more titles printed than in any Henrician year and total output throughout the reign, 1212 titles, almost doubled that of the preceding seven-year period.[4] The canonical church publications played a critical role not only in underpinning the regime's religious policies but also in stimulating the print industry.[5] By examining these publications in the context of print production, this essay establishes their importance as investments by the crown and as financing for a select few of England's printers.

It has been well established that England's reformers were committed to using print to spread evangelicalism.[6] Just as the wider European movements for reform used the printing press to spread their protestations against the Roman Catholic Church and to spread their theologies, England followed suit.[7] Influential patrons sponsored polemical literature, and the regime facilitated growth in the industry by openly supporting evangelicalism and choosing not to censor the printers of evangelical works.[8] Printers in England responded to

31 July 1547. *The Order of Communion* and the *Catechism*: Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, I, pp. 417–418: 8 March 1548. *Book of Common Prayer*: 2 & 3 Edward VI c.1; 5 & 6 Edward VI, c.1.

4 Between 1547 and 1553, the USTC lists 1212 titles printed in England, compared to 667 titles between 1540 and 1546. The term 'titles' is used throughout this essay in accordance with the USTC. A 'title' represents any printed item that varies from another, see Phillip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 313–316.

5 Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), pp. 306–309; Craig, 'Erasmus or Calvin?', p. 40.

6 David Loades, 'Books and the English Reformation prior to 1558', in Jean-Francois Gilmont (ed.), Karin Maag (trans.), *The Reformation and the Book* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 282–283; Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stewart Realms, 1485–1603* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 138–139; Catharine Davies, *The Defence of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. ix–x.

7 Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 101–104, 109, 127–129.

8 Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), p. 7; Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); John N. King, *English Reformation*

the shift of the religious landscape with a flurry of evangelical works in these years, which increased English printed output to unprecedented levels.[9] The regime also actively participated as a patron of the print trade creating the largest commissions of these years. Stephen Alford observed correctly that much of the evangelical printing in the Edwardian years was 'not necessarily a rigid and inflexible form of 'state-sponsored' print'.[10] In the specific case of the canonical church documents, however, this is exactly what it was. The regime contracted these works to top-tier London printers and budding provincial printers to support the production of high-quality works and promote the expansion of printing beyond the confines of the capital.

This policy of mandatory church documents was rooted in Henrician proclamations, which had obligated every parish church to purchase the Great Bible.[11] What was new under Edward VI was the extent of this policy. The regime introduced five new publications in a bid to implement religious change incrementally and universally. The indicators that these works provide of the regime's theological outlook at key moments in the reign remain disputed and create a discussion that is beyond the confines of this study.[12] What is critical to this examination, however, is the scale of the production of these works and their effect upon the printing trade. The canonical church documents account for a total of sixty titles. Print runs are estimated to have numbered in the thousands, with over twenty thousand prayer books published in total.[13]

Literature: The Origins of the Protestant Tradition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501–1557* (2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Andrew Pettegree, 'Printing and the Reformation: the English exception', in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 157–179; Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

9 MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, p. 84; Ryan M. Reeves, *English Evangelicals and Tudor Obedience, c.1527–1570* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 97–99; John N. King, 'The Book trade under Edward VI and Mary I', in Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (7 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), II, pp. 164–165.

10 Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the reign of Edward VI*, p. 134.

11 R.W. Heinz, *The Proclamations of Tudor Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 188; Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations,* I, pp. 296–297: 6 May 1541.

12 The major branches of the discussion on Edwardian religious change are championed by Eamon Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, *Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 469, 472 and by MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, pp. 87–96.

13 Loades, 'Books and the English Reformation prior to 1558', pp. 282–283; W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King, the Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 158–161; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 259; David

Since proclamations obligated every parish church and swathes of the clergy to purchase these new publications, England's over nine thousand parishes represented a vast market.[14] The new regulations also secured a scheme for payment that demanded funds be provided in equal measure by the churches and their parishioners.[15] Such commands secured both consumers and funding, which allowed printers to budget more effectively. Budgeting was essential for a printer's business, since failing to estimate demand effectively could be financially disastrous. Overestimating demand could tie up capital in slow-moving or immovable stock, whilst underestimating demand might require a second print run, prompting further composition, typesetting, and proofreading.[16] Official commissions, then, allowed for sustainable printing shops.

The level of popular support for the reformation under Edward VI remains a contentious historiographical issue.[17] Nevertheless, parochial studies by John Craig have shown that many churchwardens complied with Henrician and Edwardian orders to purchase official books.[18] In the light of this, print runs for the canonical documents were likely as large as print houses could feasibly manage. By examining the canonical church publications as products of the press, the essay seeks to highlight the level of investment made by the Edwardian government and to establish the amount of printing that was generated by this investment.

Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 245.

14 John Craig, 'Forming a Protestant Consciousness? Erasmus' Paraphrases in English Parishes, 1547–1666', in Hilmar M. Pabel and Mark Vessey (eds.), *Holy Scripture Speaks: The Production and Reception of Erasmus' Paraphrases on the New Testament* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), pp. 317–318.

15 Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, I, pp. 393–403: 31 July 1547: '… the charge of which books shall be ratably borne between the parson or proprietary and the parishioners aforesaid; that is to say, the one half by the parson or proprietary and the other half by the parishioners …'; Craig, 'Forming a Protestant Consciousness?', p. 317; Craig, 'Erasmus or Calvin?', p. 40; Susan Powell, 'The Secular Clergy', in Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (eds.), *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain, 1476–1558* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014), p. 172.

16 Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: the Making of John Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 19–20.

17 Davies, *The Defence of the Reformation*, pp. 231–232; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 493; Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 270–272.

18 Craig, 'Erasmus or Calvin?', pp. 39, 44–45; Craig, 'Forming a Protestant Consciousness?', p. 325.

The Production of the Canonical Works

In order to establish the scale of the regime's investment in the printing trade, we must examine the canonical documents as books rather than texts. The canonical works ranged from twenty-page octavos, up to large six-hundred-page folios. The smaller works, the *Homilies*, the *Order of Communion* and the *Catechisms* were printed in octavo or quarto and were short, seldom illustrated and relatively straightforward printing jobs. The larger works, which are the chief focus on this essay, required far greater efforts, technical assurance and capital to be invested.

Whilst the *Homilies* were read aloud to parishioners, the *Paraphrases* and the Great Bible were both to be 'set up in some convenient place within the said church that they have cure of, whereas their parishioners may most commodiously resort unto the same, and read the same'.[19] They were illustrated extensively and decorated with woodcuts, initials and a wider variety of typefaces. The *Book of Common Prayer*, the shortest of this list, required over three hundred pages (seventy-five sheets per copy), whilst a *Paraphrases* folio required at least six hundred pages (150 sheets). Printers also produced the *Book of Common Prayer* in smaller formats, but as churches were ordered to provide folio editions, only these can be considered canonical. By comparison, Peter Blayney's research found that the average Edwardian octavo required only 9.5 edition sheets (9.5 sheets per copy), whilst the average Edwardian book required 18.5 sheets per copy.[20] The large canonical works would have been produced in bigger print runs than the smaller works to avoid the painstaking task of resetting type and printing afresh.[21] Each edition would occupy presses for months at a time, particularly if its printer hoped to fulfil the enforced demand. Establishing these press times and the scale of these projects is critical to learning just how heavily the regime invested in the print trade.

It is difficult to gauge just how profitable the large canonical church documents were for the regime's printers. Although we lack archival material to establish print runs, sales and prices, some information can be gleaned from official proclamations and churchwardens' accounts. During Henry VIII's reign, the maximum price for the Great Bible was enforced at 10s. unbound

19 W.H. Frere and W.P.M. Kennedy (eds.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation* (3 vols., London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1910), II, pp. 117–118.

20 Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London*, p. 833.

21 Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, David Gerard (trans.), *The Coming of the Book. The Impact of Printing 1450–1800* (London: Verso, 1997), p. 216; Daniell, *The Bible in English*, p. 120.

and 12s. bound.[22] A similar 1549 proclamation established the maximum price for the *Book of Common Prayer*: unbound at 2s. 2d., bound in forel at 2s. 10d., sheepskin at 3s. 3d., and calf leather at 4s.[23] A complete print run for the Great Bible, even very conservatively estimated at 1200 copies, sold entirely unbound, could retail for up to £600, and a print run of the *Book of Common Prayer* could be sold in its entirety for £130. A larger print run of two thousand volumes could reap a final gross return of £1,000 and £216 respectively. If sold at the crown-mandated maximum prices, the folio bible could charge 0.3d. per sheet unbound and 0.37d. per sheet for a bound edition. The *Book of Common Prayer*, according to the official proclamation, could be sold at 0.35d. per sheet for an unbound copy, or 0.64d. per sheet bound in calf leather.

During Edward's reign, Yatton parish church in Somerset secured a Bible for 11s. (0.34d. per sheet), though St Alphege, London paid 26s. (0.8d. per sheet), over double the price initially allowed by the now-expired Henrician proclamation.[24] The churchwardens of St Andrew Hubbard's in Eastcheap paid 4s. (0.64d. per sheet) for their copy of the second *Book of Common Prayer*, while St Mary, Devises paid 4s. 8d. (0.7d. per sheet).[25] There was no official maximum sale price listed for Erasmus' *Paraphrases*, but the prices paid by the parishes of St Mary's At Hill and Boxford Suffolk (5s. each) would place the price per sheet at 0.4d. The churchwardens of Yatton, Somerset paid 6s. 4d. for their copy of the *Paraphrases*, taking the per sheet price over 0.5d.[26] These prices indicate that the larger the book, the lower the price per sheet. This may indicate economies of scale relating to the price of paper and production, but must also reflect the same for binding costs. Frances R. Johnson's research into early modern English book prices indicated an average price of 0.45d. per sheet for the 1560s, which sits directly between the bound and unbound prices for the *Paraphrases*.[27]

22 Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, I, pp. 296–298: 6 May 1541.

23 Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, I, pp. 464: 3 June 1549.

24 J. Charles Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the fourteenth century to the close of the seventeenth century* (London: Methuen & Co, 1913), p. 117.

25 Clive Burgess (ed.), 'Churchwardens' Accounts: nos 151–180', in *The Church Records of St Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap c1450–c1570* (London: London Record Society, 1999), f. 64; Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 112.

26 Henry Littlehales (ed.), 'Churchwardens' accounts: 1547–8', in *The Medieval Records of a London City Church St Mary At Hill, 1420–1559* (London: Trübner, 1905), pp. 385–388; Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, pp. 118–119; Peter Northeast (ed.), *Boxford Churchwardens' Accounts, 1530–1561* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1982), pp. xv, 54.

27 Francis R. Johnson, 'Notes on English Retail Book-prices, 1550–1640', *The Library*, 5 (1950), pp. 89–90, cited in Jennifer Winters, *The English Provincial Book Trade: Booksellers*

These gross sales figures, of course, do not account for the cost of production. Printers had to account for raw materials, production overheads, staff payments, and any reduction in wholesale price to distributors and booksellers. The costs and charges of such projects are difficult to estimate, but they must be outlined where possible to establish how much work they generated and the potential for profit that they represented.

Work Generated

Pressmen of the period are estimated to have been able to complete 1250–1500 sheets, recto and verso, per day.[28] Evenden and Freeman's study of John Day's *Acts and Monuments* establishes as a general pattern that staff in printing houses could work twelve-hour days, across a six-day working week (Monday to Saturday), amounting to seventy-two hours per week.[29] A consistent six-day week could not be sustained across an entire year, though the evangelical regime did reduce the number of fast days and saints' days observed between 1547 and 1553.[30] The following equation allows us to estimate the number presswork days that a print run of each of the large canonical church documents would take using one press.

$$\text{Days of presswork at one press} = \frac{(\text{print run size} \times \text{sheets required per publication})}{\text{complete sheets per day}}$$

Combining these estimates and the minimum number of sheets required for folio editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* (75), *Paraphrases* (150) and a Great Bible (390) we see the following results:

Stock-Lists, c.1520–1640 (University of St Andrews, Unpublished PhD dissertation, 2012), p. 90.

28 Pettegree, 'Printing and the Reformation', p. 159; Pettegree estimates that pressmen could produce 1,300 copies of a single sheet, recto and verso, per day, based upon Jean Francois Gilmont, 'Printers by the Rules', *The Library*, 6 (1980), 129–155.

29 Evenden and Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, pp. 12–13.

30 This has allowed Evenden and Freeman to continue the use of an average working week of 6 days and 12 hours per day. In terms of designated rest days provided by religious holidays, see Philip Williamson, Alasdair Raffe, Stephen Taylor and Natalie Mears with Lucy Bates (eds.), *National Prayers: Special Worship since the Reformation* (4 vols., Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), I.

TABLE 5.1 Sheets required and press time for the canonical church documents

1549 *Book of Common Prayer*

Print run size	Sheets each	Total sheets	Minimum press days	Maximum press days	Working weeks
1200	75	90,000	60	72	10–12
1500	75	112,500	785	90	12.5–15.5
2000	75	150,000	100	120	16.6–20

Erasmus' *Paraphrases*

Print run size	Sheets each	Total sheets	Minimum press days	Maximum press days	Working weeks
1200	150	180,000	120	150	20–24
1500	150	225,000	150	180	25–30
2000	150	300,000	200	240	33.2–40

Folio Bible

Print run size	Sheets each	Total sheets	Minimum press days	Maximum press days	Working weeks
1200	390	468,000	312	374.4	52–62.4
1500	390	585,000	390	468	65–78
2000	390	780,000	520	624	86.6–104

In presswork alone, two thousand copies of the *Book of Common Prayer* could feasibly occupy a single press for over four months. The requisite nine thousand copies for the realm's parish churches generated eighteen months of presswork on a single press. The *Paraphrases* required double the number of sheets and thus twice the presswork. Of course, expecting comprehensive production, investment and compliance from a single print run is unfeasible. One print run of nine thousand copies would tie up too much capital in immovable stock and would leave compositors idle for days at a time. Neither England's printers nor its reformers had this luxury. The fact that Erasmus' *Paraphrases* has seven variant titles, the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* has thirteen, and the 1551 *Book of Common Prayer* has sixteen in the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* is suggestive of smaller print runs put together piecemeal.

Printers operated multiple presses.[31] As leading printers in the English context and the primary printers of the canonical church documents, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch were each likely operating between three and five presses. From a two-press print house, a 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* could take as few as thirty or as many as sixty press days (or between five and ten weeks) for a more conventional print run size. For the *Paraphrases* or a complete folio bible, the time required at the press increases significantly. If Whitchurch were running three presses concurrently on the *Paraphrases* project, the requisite nine-thousand copies would mean the project was at the press all year.[32] The longest Edwardian folio bible, produced in 1549 by Thomas Raynald and William Hill, was 1576 pages (394 sheets).[33] As smaller-scale printers, Raynald and Hill would not have been operating as many presses as Grafton or Whitchurch. Even using our lower estimate of print-run size and two presses, this bible would have required between 157 and 190 days of presswork, amounting to at least six or seven months.

Jean-François Gilmont's 'Printers by the rules' established that pressmen and compositors worked together in teams.[34] Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas Freeman calculated that compositors could set seventeen lines of John Day's 1570 edition of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* per hour; a single sheet in seventeen hours and, therefore, around four sheets in a little under a working week.[35] We can only use these estimates as a guide, as the typographical arrangement of all publications varied, but they offer support to our estimates. If printing a *Book of Common Prayer* required the setting of 75 sheets, the *Paraphrases* 150 sheets, and a folio bible 390 sheets, two compositors could complete the setting of these works in approximately 9–10 weeks, 18–20 weeks, and 48–56 weeks respectively. These figures suggest that composition could be

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31 Evenden and Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, pp. 8–9: 'In London, in May 1583, there were twenty-two printing houses, four had three presses, John Day and Henry Denham each had four presses, Christopher Barker and John Wolfe both had five presses … Only four printing houses – fewer than one-fifth of the total – had over three presses, and only one printing house, that of Christopher Barker, the Queen's Printer had (legitimately) five presses'.

32 Nine-thousand copies required 1,350,000 printed sheets, which falls between 900 and 1,080 press days, spread over three presses amounting to between 300 and 360 press days.

33 USTC 504299.

34 Gilmont, 'Printers by the Rules'.

35 Evenden and Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, p. 19.

completed in a comparable timeframe to the required presswork across two presses providing that print runs exceeded 1200 copies.

Costs and Overheads

The overheads for projects such as these were high. Paper was notoriously expensive and comprised a large proportion of the raw materials required. Little direct evidence for the price of paper in the English context during Edward's reign remains, though having to import paper likely raised prices beyond European norms.[36]

In 1550, Thomas Stanbridge sued Humphrey Powell at the King's Bench for £13 6s. 8d. for failing to pay for one hundred reams of 'good quality and saleable paper'.[37] In the absence of other archival evidence, we can extrapolate this figure to the canonical church works to provide an estimate, with the caveat that we cannot be sure of the quality of the disputed paper.[38] This figure equates to just under 32s. per ream (one ream = 500 sheets), or 0.06d. per sheet. Whilst Powell's was 'good quality' paper, it is likely that our printers purchased paper of higher quality but also that they enjoyed some scale advantages by purchasing such large quantities. Fewer than ten of Powell's titles printed before this court case survive, many of which were short octavos. Grafton and Whitchurch, meanwhile, were highly productive and proficient veterans of the trade and were printing these canonical works on behalf of the Church and Crown.[39]

At the price of paper paid by Powell, two thousand copies of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* (150,000 sheets of paper) would require three hundred reams, and thus over £40 of investment in paper alone. Using the maximum sales price outlined in the Edwardian proclamation of 3 June 1549 (unbound for 2s. 2d.), this same print run could ultimately net a total of up to £216 13s. 4d. This paper cost accounts for less than twenty per cent of the gross retail of the book. With the quality of paper required for these works in mind, it is reasonable to

36 Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, p. 112 states that in 1543 Paris paper cost between 10 and 30 sols per ream; Evenden and Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, p. 10; Pettegree, 'Printing and the Reformation', p. 159.

37 Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London*, p. 614.

38 Unfortunately, none of Humphrey Powell works could be examined at the Huntington to compare paper quality.

39 Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London*, p. 670. Blayney lists Whitchurch then Grafton as producing the most edition sheets of the reign.

expect that the outlay on paper absorbed between twenty and thirty per cent of the total gross returns for the *Book of Common Prayer*.[40]

A second outlay that we must consider is wages. At least seven individuals were required to run two presses in this period: two pressmen and one compositor per press and a single corrector. During the mid-sixteenth century, Christopher Plantin's presses averaged four and a half individuals to a press, before reducing this number to four or fewer after 1566.[41]

Henry Wansborough estimated the income of an average labourer during this period as approximately 6s. per week, whilst the National Archives predict the wage of a skilled labourer in 1550 at 4s. per week.[42] These figures must form only the minimum benchmark for our calculations. Compositors and correctors needed sufficient education in order to read the texts that they worked on, and the canonical texts required more aptitude than an average text. Evenden and Freeman have claimed that these requisite skills would have allowed print house workers to secure higher salaries, though they have not provided a reasonable expectation for what this might be.[43] If we take the higher estimate as a pressman's wage and increase pay by one third for compositors and correctors, we have a conservative weekly running cost of 28s. for four workers of a single press, and 48s. for seven individuals working two presses.

In order to understand the economic realities associated with these projects, we can compare potential gross revenue against the estimated outlay on paper and wages. These figures highlight how expensive paper was. Our minimum estimates show the cost of paper for any of these publications amounts to almost double the labour costs. Nonetheless, the total cost of these two major contributing expenses represents only one-third of the anticipated retail value of the print run.

The calculations above consider only the costs of creating these specific works and do not include operational costs.[44] One substantial outlay was the

40 Jean-François Gilmont, *Bibliographie des éditions de Jean Crespin, 1550–1572* (2 vols., Verviers: Librairie P.M. Gason, 1981) I, p. 54 cited in Evenden and Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, p. 10: Gilmont estimated forty per cent of the cost of the book.

41 Gilmont, 'Printers by the rules', p. 154.

42 Henry Wansbrough, 'History and Impact of English Bible Translations', in Magne Sæbo (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/ Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation* (5 vols., Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008) II, p. 548; *The National Archives* maintains 4s. was six days wages for a skilled labourer from 1500–1570, changing only in 1580 at [http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/, Accessed 24 November 2018].

43 Evenden and Freeman, *Religion and the Book*, p. 11.

44 Churchwarden accounts for compliance with the demands to purchase and for prices paid for the canonical church documents would offer clearer information here. Information

TABLE 5.2 Paper and wage costs for the canonical church documents

Title	Print run size	Maximum gross retail	Paper costs	Paper (sheets)	Wages per week	Press days 2 presses	Weeks required	Total wages
Book of Common Prayer	1200	£130	£24	90,000	48s.	30–36	5–6	£12–£14 8s.
	2000	£215	£40	150,000	48s.	50–60	9–10	£21 12s.–£24
Paraphrases	1200	n/a	£48	180,000	48s.	60–72	10–12	£24–£28 16s.
	2000	n/a	£80	300,000	48s.	100–120	18–24	£43 4s.–£57 12s.
Folio Bible	1200	£600	£124	468,000	48s.	156–188	26–32	£62 8s.–£76. 16s.
	2000	£1,000	£208	780,000	48s.	260–307	44–51	£105 12s.–£122 8s.

rent of premises. Rising publisher William Seres paid £4 per annum to lease his St Paul's churchyard property in 1549, with the option to purchase at £80, whilst a record for Grafton's printing house rent remains for 1562, which stood at £6 13s. 4d.[45] Presses also had to be maintained, and those printers who commissioned new type and illustrations had to pay accordingly. Type was often imported from the continent, and this remained an area where England represented a small part of a wider European book world.[46] Printing

on payments for type, illustrations and staff wages would also offer more clarity, but little has survived in archival material in the English context.

45 Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London*, p. 1003; Carol Kazmierczak Manzione, *Christ's Hospital of London, 1552–1598, "A Passing Deed of Pity"* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1995), p. 133.

46 Pamela Robinson, 'Materials: Paper and Type', in Gillespie and Powell (eds.), *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain*, p. 71; A.F. Johnson, cited in 'Printing in England from William Caxton to Christopher Barker, An Exhibition: November 1976–April 1977', *Virtual Exhibitions of Special Collections material*, at [http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/printing/, Accessed 12 November 2018]; Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents and Patronage: the Life and Career of John Day, Tudor Printer* (University of York, Unpublished PhD dissertation, 2002), p. 129.

houses added to their type and illustration stock incrementally, which meant that investment could vary dramatically year-on-year. They also reduced their prices to book wholesalers, who had to make a profit. With all of these factors to account for, printers needed to maintain a significant margin between paper and wage costs and retail price. Nonetheless, these figures suggest a potential mark-up of some sixty to seventy per cent possible between the cost of paper and wages and the final retail price of the canonical church documents. These works, whilst incredibly demanding to produce, generated vast amounts of presswork and injected substantial capital into the trade.

Few, if any, printing projects were comparable to the larger canonical church documents in the Edwardian period. By creating these projects, the Crown and the Church of England were leading patrons of the English book world. There were bigger publications in the period, including Nicolas Hill's folio editions of *The Workes of Chaucer* (1550) and the bible (1551), each printed for a syndicate of publishers based around Paul's Cross.[47] However, without the huge crown-enforced demand underpinning Hill's projects, print runs were likely far closer to industry convention. If Hill produced two thousand copies of his Bible, the *Paraphrases* project would have required more sheets and presswork, providing Whitchurch fulfilled at least sixty per cent of the mandated demand.

In 1550, John Day printed five works by Thomas Becon in octavo.[48] Becon's lure as an author was sufficient for Day to secure a patent for the printing of his works on 25 March 1553.[49] These five publications combined required one hundred sheets, or just two-thirds of the paper needed for Whitchurch's *Paraphrases*.[50] Providing that Whitchurch produced enough copies for even

47 Editions of *The works newly printed* of Chaucer: (London: Nicolas Hill for Richard Kele, 1550), USTC 504408; (London: Nicolas Hill for Thomas Petyt, 1550), USTC 504409; (London: Nicolas Hill for William Bonham, 1550), USTC 504415; (London: Nicolas Hill for Robert Toy, 1550), USTC 504436; Editions of *The Byble*: (London: [Nicolas Hill] for Thomas Petyt, 1551), (London: [Nicolas Hill] for Thomas Petyt, 1551), USTC 504570; (London: John Wight, 1551), USTC 504643; (London: Robert Toy, 1551), USTC 504644; (London: John Walley, 1551), USTC 515045; (London: [Nicolas Hill] for William Bonham, 1551), USTC 518678; (London: [Nicolas Hill], at the cost of Richard Kele, 1551), USTC 518679; (London: Nicolas Hill for Abraham Veale, 1551), USTC 518466.

48 Day printed *The fortress of the faithful*, USTC 504365, 504383, *The flour of godly praiers*, USTC 504369, *The jewel of joye*, USTC 504392, *The principles of Christen religion,* USTC 516002, and *The governans of virtue*, USTC 518397.

49 *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office* (5 vols., London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1924–1926), V, p. 43.

50 Day's edition of *The governans of vertue* exists only in fragments, but his 1560 sextodecimo edition of the same work survives, USTC 505709. In the absence of the 1550 edition, the sheet count from the 1560 edition has been used.

half of the parish churches, Day would have had to have printed over six thousand copies of each Becon edition in order for the projects to be of a comparable scale. Indeed, the nine thousand copies of the *Paraphrases* represent a total sheet count that would exceed five hundred copies of every work printed or published by John Day during the reign.[51]

Without the regime's support, even the most ambitious printer would surely have printed far fewer copies of the canonical works than Whitchurch did. The significance of the regime's role is difficult to understate. These projects were created and supported by those at the heart of the regime and their policy to house a copy in every parish church made the English Church and Crown critical investors in English printing.

The Official Printers of Canonical Church Documents

Four printers were permitted to print the canonical documents of the Edwardian Church. The regime issued patents to Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch (22 April 1547), John Oswen (7 January 1549) and Humphrey Powell (18 July 1550) to ensure that these works would be circulated widely across Edward's kingdom.[52] In order to establish how far the canonical church documents went to initiate growth or prosperity, we must consider the printers themselves. This section will highlight that, in specific circumstances, the canonical church documents could underpin thriving printing enterprises.

As Table 5.3 shows, the canonical documents were largely the preserve of Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. These printers worked closely together throughout the period, and they represent the top tier of English printing hierarchy throughout the 1540s.[53] Grafton and Whitchurch were already in receipt of royal support prior to Edward's accession. They were recruited by Thomas Cromwell to produce the 'Matthew' Bible in 1537 and, with their proficiency proven, they stewarded the production of the

51 Between 1550 and 1553, John Day printed or published seventy-two works in London. Day produced the overwhelming majority of his works as octavos, which ensures the sheet count is significantly reduced. Among Day's works in this period, there was only one folio (USTC 504663). Peter Blayney records 2190 edition-sheets contributed by Day, for which five hundred copies of each would require 1.1 million sheets, whilst the nine thousand *Paraphrases* copies would require 1.3 million sheets; Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London*, p. 667.

52 *Patent Rolls Edward VI*, I, p. 100, 269; John Roche Dasent etc. (eds.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (46 vols., London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1890–1964), III, p. 84.

53 Lotte Hellinga, 'Printing', in Hellinga and Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, III, pp. 105–106.

TABLE 5.3 The patent-holding printers of the canonical church documents

Printer	Title	Total number of titles[a]
Richard Grafton	*Homilies*	4
	Order of the Communion	2
	Catechism	1
	Paraphrases	
	1549 *Book of Common Prayer*	6
	1552 *Book of Common Prayer*	9
Edward Whitchurch	*Homilies*	5
	Order of the Communion	
	Catechism	
	Paraphrases	8
	1549 *Book of Common Prayer*	5
	1552 *Book of Common Prayer*	10
John Oswen (Worcester)	*Homilies*	1
	Order of the Communion	
	Catechism	
	Paraphrases	
	1549 *Book of Common Prayer*	2
	1552 *Book of Common Prayer*	1
Humphrey Powell (Dublin)	*Homilies*	
	Order of the Communion	
	Catechism	
	Paraphrases	
	1549 *Book of Common Prayer*	
	1552 *Book of Common Prayer*	1

a The sixty titles in question include the fifty-five listed as being printed by four official patent holders shown in table 5.3 along with titles by non-patent holders with single titles of the *Order of the Communion* printed by John Day (1548), Thomas Raynald and William Hill (1548), two *Catechisms* by Nicolas Hill for Gwalter Lynne (1548) and a folio Great Bible by Stephen Mierdman (1553).

inaugural Great Bible in 1539. The Great Bible project led to nine folio titles during Henry's reign.[54] Grafton and Whitchurch also received a patent for the printing of English service books and the English Primer in 1545, which was renewed swiftly under Edward VI and validated for another seven years.[55] They became the printers of choice for the Edwardian Church and Crown: one of these two names appeared on fifty of the sixty total canonical church documents, and one of these two individuals printed at least one edition of each qualifying publication. The regime's chosen printers produced no Great Bible folios under Edward's rule, which suggests a high level of compliance with the Henrician regulations.[56] This high compliance must have been a valuable precedent when beginning work on the new canonical documents.

The roles undertaken by printers of official church works made them confidants of the regime. By necessity, each had access to draft copies and printers' sheets prior to their release. This is particularly noteworthy between 1547 and 1553, as Edwardian religious change occurred rapidly and was contested consistently. The 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, after all, had led to rebellion and contributed to the fall of the Duke of Somerset. In 1552, the Council reminded Grafton of his obligations, demanding that he 'stay in any wyse from uttering any of the bookes of the Newe Service and … not to put any of them abrode untill certaine faultes therein be corrected'.[57] Given the hostile reception of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, and the 'black rubric' controversy surrounding the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* even prior to its release, this confidentiality clause is of particular importance.[58] Cyndia Susan Clegg's examination of the first Elizabethan *Book of Common Prayer* has uncovered a draft copy for

54 Daniell, *The Bible in English*, pp. 200–203 suggests that there was a transfer of staff along with materials in this repatriation process in the 1540s; USTC 503073, 503272, 503237, 503234, 503235, 503153, 503233, 518561, 503151.

55 Tamara Atkin and A.S.G. Edwards, 'Printers, Publishers and Promoters to 1558', in Gillespie and Powell (eds.), *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain*, p. 39; Peter Blayney, 'William Cecil and the Stationers', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *The Stationers' Company and the Book Trade 1550–1990* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), p. 15.

56 Alec Ryrie, 'Counting sheep, counting shepherds: the problem of allegiance in the English Reformation', in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 88; Ronald Hutton, 'Local Impact of the Tudor Reformations', in Christopher Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 118.

57 Dasent, *Acts of Privy Council*, IV, p. 131: 27 September 1552.

58 MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant*, p. 100; John N. King, 'Paul's Cross and the implementation of Protestant Reforms under Edward VI', in W.J. Torrance Kirby and P.G. Stanwood (eds.), *Paul's Cross and the Culture of Persuasion in England, 1520–1640* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 142.

parliamentary use, which originated as an Edwardian print run produced by Richard Grafton.[59] With religious policy developing so quickly under Edward, there was scope for small-batch printing when documents were under revision. Clegg's study has also made clear that variant issues made up of different pieces of existing stock joined with freshly printed material were in limited circulation. Editions such as these suggest that Grafton's workshop produced even more official print than is included in short title catalogues.

Edward Whitchurch was the most prolific printer of the canonical church documents. They were a core component of his output, making up twenty-eight of his total eighty-eight publications, including at least one in six of the seven years in which Edward reigned. His canonical output focused on larger volumes: five quarto titles of Cranmer's *Homilies*, eight folio titles of Erasmus' *Paraphrases*; five folio 1549 *Books of Common Prayer*; and ten 1551 *Books of Common Prayer* (seven folios, two quartos and one octavo).[60] The scale of these projects had a marked impact on Whitchurch's opportunities to engage in other projects. In 1547, the only canonical church document from Whitchurch's presses was Cranmer's *Homilies*. This work required 160 quarto pages on average, which was a significant but manageable project, particularly as Grafton's presses were also printing the same work to fulfil demand. This allowed him to complete a 672-page octavo New Testament in the same year.[61] By contrast, in 1548, Whitchurch printed the inaugural edition of *Paraphrases* without Grafton's help. Fulfilling church demand would have been a daunting task and Whitchurch curtailed his other projects accordingly. He produced psalters, a catechism, and Catherine Parr's *Lamentations of a Sinner*, each fewer than 275 octavo pages (eighteen sheets).[62] In the following two years, Whitchurch's attention to the canonical church documents varied dramatically. In 1549, he produced eighteen titles in total, including five of the *Book of Common Prayer*, a quarto bible, and the second volume of Erasmus' *Paraphrases*. In 1550, without any canonical works to print, his total output fell to fifteen titles, but he was able to focus upon a large folio of Giovanni de Vigo's *The Most Excelent*

59 Cyndia Susan Clegg, 'The 1559 Books of Common Prayer and the Elizabethan Reformation', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 67 (2016), pp. 94–121. This work would have fallen under Grafton's remit of King's Printer for Statutes &c. as it was not released for general service use.

60 Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London*, pp. 684–685, Blayney describes the misleading 'repetitive dating' provided in Whitchurch's *Paraphrases* publications which account for matching publication dates.

61 USTC 516450.

62 USTC 503922, 503943, 503984, 503996, 504091, 515966, 518560, 504134, 504135.

Worckes of Chirurgery and an octavo edition of Jean Calvin's Geneva Book of Common Prayer.[63]

Whitchurch's business followed and supported the regime's religious policies; if he had new canonical church documents to print, he shaped his business around them, and if not, he was free to explore other commercial ventures. As the canonical document projects became less prominent as the reign developed, Whitchurch built a strong core of publications by adding the lucrative metrical psalters by Thomas Sternhold.[64]

Unlike Whitchurch, Richard Grafton was awarded a formal office by the regime. From 1545, Grafton had been styled 'Printer to the Princes Grace', and he was elevated to 'King's printer of all books of statutes, acts, proclamations, injunctions and other volumes issued by the king' on 17 April 1547.[65] This office underpinned Grafton's business, accounting for over half of his over two hundred total titles between 1547 and 1553. The separate church service books patent he shared with Whitchurch was also of great importance. Of the sixty canonical church document titles, twenty-two came from Grafton's presses.[66] The staggered release of these works ensured a steady flow of publications, and thus progress for both Edward's reformation and Grafton's business. These twenty-two titles combine with Grafton's 112 publications as King's printer of statutes &c. to account for sixty-four per cent of his total Edwardian output. Grafton's publications were crucial for the regime, and his service book patent was crucial for his business.

Grafton's official commissions directly affected his opportunities to embark upon other substantial projects. Grafton's largest independent project of the reign was Edward Hall's *Chronicle*, which he produced in both 1548 and 1550.[67] The 1548 edition was a fine 1168-page publication executed to a very high standard. Only in a year when Grafton was not taking on a substantial church work could he have completed such a project. During the first year of the reign, Grafton busied his presses with activities relating to his appointment as the King's printer of all books of statutes &c. However, in 1548, his presses were free as Whitchurch completed the *Paraphrases* project alone. It is no coincidence

63 USTC 504548, 504424. Whitchurch had produced *The Excelent Worckes of Chirurgery* in 1543, USTC 503456.

64 Thomas Sternhold's metrical psalms are believed to have been printed by Whitchurch first in 1549 (3 titles), followed by 1551 (3 titles), 1552 (1 title), 1553 (5 titles).

65 *Patent Rolls Edward VI*, I, p. 187.

66 Three quarto and one octavo edition of the *Homilies*; five folios and one quarto of the first *Book of Common Prayer*; ten folios of the second *Book of Common Prayer*; four quartos of the *Order of Communion*; and one quarto Church of England *Catechism.*

67 USTC 504075, 504077, 504475, 517734.

either that Grafton completed his second *Chronicle* edition in 1550, the year between the successive *Book of Common Prayer* projects.

These two printers served the evangelical regime devotedly, and the canonical church documents took priority over all other projects. In 1550, with the first *Book of Common Prayer* and *Paraphrases* projects behind them and with no canonical works to produce, both printers were in a position to take on ambitious private projects. This indicates not only that the lack of church works freed their presses but also that the profits allowed them to expand other avenues of their business.

The Regional Alternatives

Grafton and Whitchurch did not hold a monopoly on Edwardian Church works. The regime supported two provincial printers in an attempt to disseminate official print in areas less readily served by the London industry. Edwardian printing was overwhelmingly concentrated in London, with over ninety-five per cent of printing occurring in the capital.[68] This centralisation was a distinctive characteristic of the sixteenth-century English book world, where provincial printing efforts had consistently failed to make inroads.

In spite of this, the evangelical establishment believed that provincial printers could play a role in the battle for religious uniformity. In 1549, John Oswen, who had recently relocated his Ipswich press to Worcester, was entrusted with the publication of church and service books for Wales and the Marches. The Crown also supported Humphrey Powell, paying his relocation costs to Ireland and granting him the right to print church documents. These patents led John N. King to create and confer titles of 'King's Printer for Wales' and 'King's Printer for Ireland' upon Oswen and Powell, respectively.[69] However, these titles overstate the privileges they received as official appointments. The printing of service books attached a legitimacy and prestige to these provincial printers but did not amount to an official post comparable to the one held by Richard Grafton. For Oswen and Powell, the canonical church documents represented a comparatively small number of works as their total print output remained small. The historical significance of these patents, however, far outstrips this output. The regime granted them believing in the power of print to expedite religious change in resistant provinces. Both Ireland and the South

68 Provincial printing occurred in four locations under Tudor rule during Edward's reign: Ipswich (1548), Canterbury (1549–1553), Worcester (1549–1553) and Dublin (1550).

69 King, *English Reformation Literature*, p. 102.

West had resisted the evangelical religious change early in the reign, and the regime underwrote these works to promote evangelical printing.

John Oswen printed defiantly evangelical works. He produced polemic by Jean Calvin, Antoine de Marcourt, and Peter Moone from Ipswich in 1548.[70] Following his relocation to Worcester in 1549, he continued in this vein, producing works by Henry Hart, John Hooper, Thomas Lever, Matteo Gribaldi, and Heinrich Bullinger and Huldrych Zwingli.[71] The canonical church documents account for only four of Oswen's thirty-one titles printed during the Edwardian years, one edition of the *Homilies* (1549), two titles for the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* and one edition of the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer*. The canonical church documents were not the mainstay of Oswen's business, but these works account for a substantial portion of his works. By sheet count, the *Book of Common Prayer* projects represent three of the four largest books produced by Oswen in Worcester, surpassed only by his 1550 quarto New Testament project.[72]

Oswen also used his service book patent to print more widely, including a quarto Great Bible Psalter (1549) and two quarto New Testaments (1550). This privilege highlights that the regime encouraged Oswen's provincial press to act as a bastion of evangelicalism in a social and commercial hub of the traditionally conservative South West and Wales.[73] This region was under the watchful eye of the regime, which soon radically reshuffled the episcopal landscape, depriving conservative bishops and installing evangelicals in their stead.[74] The reward Oswen received was his privilege, which helped to create a sustainable enterprise founded upon polemic and canonical publications.

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70 USTC 503961, 503962, 503983, 503994, 504049, 504059, 504092.

71 USTC 504255, 504629, 504912, 504674, 504445, 504577, 504582, 504545, Gribaldi was an Antitrinitarian, but Oswen's publication of Bullinger's anti-radical tracts may have saved his standing with the regime. Cyndia Susan Clegg, 'The authority and subversiveness of print' in Leslie Howsam (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 133.

72 The *Book of Common Prayer* projects required 264 and 352 pages, respectively (or sixty-six and eighty-eight sheets), while the 1550 New Testament required 732 pages (or ninety-two sheets).

73 Robert Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation: English Urban Experiences 1540–1640* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 19–22, 30 states Worcester was a provincial centre rather than a provincial capital.

74 The bishoprics of Gloucester and Worcester were united under John Hooper, Miles Coverdale was awarded the see of Exeter, Robert Ferrar (a former chaplain to Lord Protector Somerset) was awarded St David's, and John Harley (a former royal chaplain-in-ordinary) was consecrated Bishop of Hereford. See Barrett L. Beer, 'Episcopacy and Reform in Mid-Tudor England', *Albion*, 23 (1991), pp. 231–252.

The privilege issued to Humphrey Powell in 1550 to produce official church works in Ireland had similar motivations behind it but proved less fruitful. Powell, who began his career in London, produced eleven titles between 1548 and 1550 from his shop in Middlesex.[75] It is not known why Powell was chosen as the printer to relocate to Ireland, but the *Acts of Privy Council* show a £20 contribution made on 18 July 1550 towards his setting-up costs.[76] Powell's patent was tied to this relocation, and his press produced the inaugural, and only surviving, Irish imprint of the reign: a 1552 *Book of Common Prayer*. Powell appears to have continued life in Ireland; he printed *A brief declaration of certain articles of religion* in 1566, though no other publications from his press have are recorded in the USTC.[77]

Ireland remained an unwilling participant in the Reformation.[78] On 26 August 1552, Archbishop Cranmer wrote to William Cecil that 'though in Englande there bee mannye meete men for th'archbushoprickes of Irelaunde, he knows very few who would be persuaded to go thither' and bishops of Ireland consistently complained of accusations of heresy.[79] With clergymen unwilling to accept relocation to Ireland, it seems an undesirable assignment for a businessman hoping to profit from selling evangelical church documents. Conservative resistance was difficult to subdue in Ireland, and the regime supported Humphrey Powell's relocation in a bid to do exactly that. Whilst only short-lived and seemingly unsuccessful, Powell's funding offers insight into the regime's perception of the importance of the printed word.

The Edwardian government supported provincial presses in locations where evangelicalism faced significant opposition. The dispensations they provided were expected to play a role in supporting the printers' enterprises and the

75 A.F. Pollard, 'Powell, Humphrey (*d.* in or after 1566)', rev. Anita McConnell in ODNB, available online at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22650, (Accessed 3 May 2018).

76 Dasent, *Acts of Privy Council*, III, p. 84.

77 USTC 506501.

78 Peter Marshall, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 187.

79 T.J.J. Cartwright, James Macmullen Rigg, and Sophia Crawford Lomas (eds.), *Calendar of the Manuscripts of Marquis of Bath preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire* (5 vols., London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1907), II, pp. 11–15: 26 August 1552: Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury to Sir William Cecil; John Strype (ed.), *Ecclesiastical memorials relating chiefly to religion, and the reformation of it, and the emergencies of the Church of England, under King Henry VIII, King Edward VI and Queen Mary* (3 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822), II, pp. 905–1035; Hans Claude Hamilton (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth 1509–1573* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1860), p. 96: December 1548: Edward Staple, Bishop of Meath to [unknown].

presses, in turn, were expected to support the regime. The establishment saw more profitable results in terms of both print and preaching in the South West and Wales than in Ireland.[80] This policy incentivised relocation to these two provincial markets but, in terms of galvanising growth in the print industry, the canonical church documents provided little work. Successful print houses required access to extensive distribution networks and, more importantly, a large, active and literate population. Oswen and Powell's locations and patent terms limited these factors and thus their potential for growth. Nonetheless, the regime's support of these presses once again highlights the Edwardian regime as an active participant in the print world. The canonical documents were a central policy in the Edwardian reformation, and the regime was willing to support Oswen's business and establish Powell's Ireland enterprise in a bid to achieve its reformation.

Conclusion

The canonical church documents were key publications of the Edwardian reformation, created to strengthen evangelicalism in England. The regime prompted the largest printing projects of the period, owing to their policy to mandate purchase by, at minimum, every parish church in the realm. This essay has outlined how these projects injected significant capital into the book trade and generated months of presswork. The *Paraphrases* project alone might have occupied three to four presses for an entire year to fulfil the demand that was created. This project represented more work than many print houses completed during the entire reign.

These works were central to the output of the regime's chosen printers, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, who responded to their commissions with some of the finest printed editions of the period. By ensuring funding and buyers, the regime kept their printers' presses profitable, which also laid sound financial foundations for Grafton and Whitchurch to expand their businesses. Whilst Humphrey Powell and John Oswen also received official support, their enterprises were less successful. Limited by operating from smaller provincial centres with fewer readers, these newcomer provincial printers were swimming against strong currents. Oswen achieved some success, but these commercial factors limited his chance to grow a large business.

80 Ben Lowe, *Commonwealth and the English Reformation: Protestantism and the Politics of Religious Change in the Gloucester Vale 1483–1560* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), Chapters 7 and 8.

Despite challenging economic conditions, the Edwardian years represented a period of prosperity for the English book trade. The regime instigated some of this advancement through the canonical documents. Grafton and Whitchurch were England's preeminent printers, printing the most sheets and arguably the best-quality works of the reign. This productivity and production quality were linked directly to these canonical works, which demanded much from their print houses, but also helped to secure their success and fund other private projects.

CHAPTER 6

Newspapers and Authorities in Seventeenth-Century Germany

Jan Hillgärtner

After the first newspaper was established in Strasbourg in 1605, printers across the Holy Roman Empire, pursuing financial profit, were quick to jump on the bandwagon of the new medium.[1] It was not uncommon for several printers in one city simultaneously to set up a newspaper of their own; a situation that often led to assiduous legal battles between printers, local authorities and occasionally even the Habsburg administration in Vienna. Sometimes, such legal battles led to a ban. In Frankfurt, for example, the Imperial postmaster-turned-newspaper publisher Johann von den Birghden successfully demanded a ban of the *Diarium Hebdomadale*, a periodical started by Thomas Schönwetter in 1620 that threatened von den Birghden's local monopoly in Frankfurt.[2] Though many such disputes were waged, however, remarkably few led to similar results, ending the existence of a title. By and large, throughout the empire, authorities were surprisingly tolerant toward sensational, biased or downright wrong reporting, and cases that led to the ban of a title, such as von den Birghden vs Schönwetter, were remarkably rare.

Preventive censorship, the most effective measure to prevent the distribution of unwelcome information, was only practiced in Stuttgart, where John Frederick, Duke of Württemberg employed his royal librarian and archivist Johann Jakob Gabelkover as corrector of the newspaper.[3] Elsewhere, political elites did little more than protest after a message had already been distributed. Yet such cases, too are sparse. In general, authorities in the Holy Roman Empire appeared not to meddle in the business of newspapers unless they were prompted to by outside forces, such as foreign powers or rivalling

1 Johannes Weber, 'Straßburg 1605. Die Geburt der Zeitung', *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, 7 (2005), pp. 3–26.

2 Wolfgang Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur. Reichspost und Kommunikationstevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), pp. 386–387.

3 For a description of the editorial practices in the *Zeittungen*, see Johannes Weber, 'Kontrollmechanismen im deutschen Zeitungswesen des 17. Jahrhunderts. Ein kleiner Beitrag zur Geschichte der Zensur', *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte,* 6 (2004), pp. 56–73.

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004448896_008

authorities.[4] This was also the case with von den Birghden, who had complained about his competitor's newspaper directly to Emperor Ferdinand II, thus forcing the issue.

Most scholarship devoted to the interplay between rulers and periodicals in Germany tends to emphasise their oppositional relationship, on the assumption that periodicals posed a threat to the arcane sphere of policymaking and demanded scrutiny.[5] As Johannes Weber has pointed out, however, the liberal if not lax attitudes towards newspapers on the part of the nobility problematises that point of departure.[6] Self-censorship, guided by newspaper publishers' keen sense of the boundaries maintained by local elites, may help to understand this tension. Privileges were another way for authorities to control the content of the newspapers without requiring preventive censorship. Yet privileges worked only on a local level; imperial privileges were almost impossible to manage, because the Emperor relied on local cooperation to enforce his conditions. Thus when the Breslau printer Georg Baumann obtained an imperial privilege for his newspaper in 1629, he was cautioned by the imperial administrator that it 'should be subject to censorship either by the council or an imperial magistrate'.[7] However, when an imperial letter of 20 April 1639 instructed the city council of Breslau to 'stop the trade [and publication] of newspapers and other infamous works and editions', this did little to stop the publication of newspapers in the city.[8] Whereas the strong and legally binding

4 The same was true in the Dutch Republic where the authorities largely steered clear of the newspapers business. Indeed, it is noteworthy that in the Dutch Republic, the circulation of English newspapers and the portrayal of Dutch authorities in the eighteenth century appears to have caused more concern in the political sphere than Dutch-language periodicals printed at home and their reporting. See Jeremy Black, 'The United Provinces and the British Press, 1725–37: Newspaper Abuse and Diplomatic Complaints', *Quaerendo*, 17:2 (1987), pp. 128–136. See also: Joop Koopmans, 'Dutch Censorship in Relation to Foreign Contacts (1581–1795)', in Joop Koopmans, *Early Modern Media and the News in Europe. Perspectives from the Dutch Angle* (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2018), pp. 282–302.

5 Jürgen Wilke, 'Pressezensur im Alten Reich', in Jürgen Wilke (ed.), *Massenmedien und Journalismus in Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Gesammelte Studien* (Bremen: Edition Lumière, 2009), pp. 77–92; Elger Blühm and Rolf Engelsing, *Die Zeitung. Deutsche Urteile und Dokumente von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1967).

6 Weber, 'Kontrollmechanismen im deutschen Zeitungswesen', pp. 56–73.

7 'von der Kammer oder einem kaiserlichen Rathe Censur geübt werden [sollte]'. Quote taken from Weber, 'Kontrollmechanismen im deutschen Zeitungswesen', pp. 13–14. Translations are my own unless stated otherwise.

8 '[Die] Krämerei mit Zeitungen und solchen famos Schriften und Traktaten gänzlich [verbieten]', cited after Willy Klawitter, 'Aus der Frühzeit der schlesischen Zeitungen', *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 3 (1954), p. 78. No issues of Baumann's newspaper have survived. The first surviving newspaper printed in Breslau was the *Neu einlauffende Nachricht von Kriegs- und Welt-Händeln*, printed by Gottfried Jonisch in 1665 and then again from 1690 to 1700. It is

condemnation of Schönwetter in Frankfurt resulted in the ban of his newspaper, this was not the case elsewhere.

This article suggests a wholly different perspective is required to fully understand the relationship between rulers and the early newspaper. By analysing two cases in which the rulers sought not to stifle reporting or ban a periodical but employ the new media genre for their own purposes, it shows that rather than oppositional forces, German newspapers could also be instruments of power, as they were to be in France.[9] This argument has severe implications for our understanding of the rise of the newspaper. Historians of the press tend to link the emergence of the newspaper and the proliferation of the new genre to economic reasons: printers and publishers understood that the audience's desire, if not curiosity, to read about the latest events could be addressed with a product such as the newspaper.[10] I will argue, however, that political reasons were just as important and that some rulers understood that they could exert control over their subjects through the newspaper and use the new medium to shape a positive image of themselves and their policies. As we shall see, Emperor Ferdinand II was amongst those who embraced this opportunity.

Communicating the Official Standpoint: The *Ordentliche Postzeittungen*

In 1622, the Vienna printer Matthäus Formica published a new newspaper: the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen*.[11] Karl Holter was the first to observe that this periodical, Formica's second, was devoted entirely to reports from the court

likely that a newspaper was printed in Breslau prior to 1665 as Gottfried's son Christopher Jonisch requested a newspaper privilege in a second petition in 1650.

9 For the Dutch case see Helmer Helmers, 'Foreign News in Times of Domestic Crisis: the Truce Conflicts, the Thirty Years' War and the Rise of the Dutch Newspaper', in Alexander Wilkinson and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *Negotiating Conflict and Controversy in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019), pp. 253–268. For France, see Stéphane Haffemayer, *L'information dans la France du XVII^e siècle. La Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1663* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002).

10 Johannes Weber, 'Der große Krieg und die frühe Zeitung: Gestalt und Entwicklung der deutschen Nachrichtenpresse in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, 1 (1999), pp. 23–61.

11 The earliest surviving issues date from 1623 but we can safely assume that the periodical was already in circulation two years prior to that. See Jan Hillgärtner *The German Newspaper 1605–1650. A Bibliography* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, forthcoming).

in Vienna and that it might have been actively supported by Ferdinand II.[12] Unlike other European newspapers at this time, with their haphazard reporting stemming from all corners of Europe, the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen* reported exclusively on domestic news: matters from Vienna and its environs. This section will analyse the contents of this extraordinary newspaper, showing that it was nothing less than a state newspaper.

The reporting focussed strongly on matters of importance to the Habsburg Empire, and by far the largest proportion of reporting covered the latest events from the imperial capital. News ranged from the latest occurrences at the Emperor's court down to social matters in Vienna, including crime, the development of prices and coinage, and recent news on the harvest. The reporting was strongly biased and catered to the sentiments of the Habsburg rulers. It shone a positive light on the Emperor and his court by focussing on the well-functioning administration and the power of the Emperor to influence international politics. Ferdinand II was at the centre of every report, and news typically conveyed the image of a sought-after ruler with international influence. The *Ordentliche Postzeittungen* listed in great detail the foreign visitors to the court; princes, diplomats and merchants alike. It also contained regular updates on the whereabouts of the Emperor whenever he left Vienna for his travels around Europe.

The *Ordentliche Postzeittungen* focussed on matters of importance to the Habsburg administration. The hot topic of 1621/22 was the Diet of Sopron (Ödenburg) where Emperor Ferdinand II met with the Hungarian Estates to discuss the terms of a possible Hungarian involvement in the Thirty Years War on the Habsburg side.[13] Securing Hungarian support for the Habsburg cause was crucial to Ferdinand. Gabriel Bethlen, who deeply opposed Habsburg autocracy, had an efficient and well-trained standing army at hand that had already engaged the Emperor in minor skirmishes from 1619 onwards. The six surviving issues of the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen* for 1622, dating from late April to mid-July, devoted almost all their attention to the meeting in Sopron. As could be expected from a periodical printed right in the heart of the Habsburg Empire and under the guise of authorities, the Emperor was portrayed as the one taking initiative in the negotiations, who usually had the upper hand and dictated the topics of discussion. This put a strong spin on the

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12 Karl Holter, 'Aus der Geschichte des Wiener Zeitungswesens im 17. Jahrhundert', *Zeitungswissenschaft,* 15 (1940), pp. 238–244.

13 Géza Pálffy and Alan Campbell, 'Crisis in the Habsburg Monarchy and Hungary, 1619–1622: The Hungarian Estates and Gábor Bethlen', *The Hungarian Historical Review*, 2:4 (2013), pp. 733–760.

facts, since Ferdinand actually arrived at the diet as a supplicant. Following the military successes of Bethlen in the aftermath of the Battle at White Mountain, the Prince of Transylvania was free to accept or reject the terms of a possible alliance between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Empire. It was by no means the case that Ferdinand could dictate the terms of an agreement, let alone expect there to be a positive outcome of the diet in the form of a contract between the Hungarian estates and the Habsburg Empire.

In the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen*, however, the Emperor took centre stage in all reports in the surviving issues of 1622. The newspaper highlighted Ferdinand's status by drawing attention to Bethlen's gift to the emperor. The horse in fine bridle and headgear, the newspaper stressed, was estimated at a value of 100,000 taler, and honoured the giver as well as the receiver. In fact, the diet at Sopron proved to be tough bargaining. Neither Bethlen Gabor nor the Emperor came significantly closer to their goal of winning the support of the Hungarian Estates. Ferdinand made several journeys to Sopron, softening his demands and making ever more concessions to the Estates to win their support. This, evidently, was a problem for the Ordentliche *Postzeittungen*. While it was impossible to avoid the topic altogether, it reduced its reporting of the Diet of Sopon to a minimum. To compensate for the lack of news, the periodical reported on festivities that had taken place at Vienna. Thus issue number H, from May 1622, ran the story of the staged marriage of two of Ferdinand's favourite court dwarves in Vienna. The report stated that:

> On 1 [May] the marriage between the two dwarves was held in the chamber of his Imperial Majesty.... The meal was held in the large hall in the presence of six pairs of giants [regular sized people] … there were a hundred times more waiters than guests. Jonas [the dwarf] has played the constable … and occasionally played the violin so badly that everyone had to cover their ears. The bride looked very unhappy … yet the spectators were delighted.[14]

14 Den 1. Dits/ ist deß Welschen Zwergs vnd Welschen Zwergin Hochzeit bei Hof gehalten worden/ die Copulation bei Jhr: Kay: May: im Zimmer/ … beschehen/ die Tafel war auff dem großen Saal mit 6. baar Mannß und Weibs Persohnen dergleichen Risen besetz/ der Auffwarter waren Hundertmal mehr als die zu Tisch saßen/ der Jonas hat daß Ober-Hofmaister Ampt versehen … bald ein straiff durch die Geigen gethan/ daß man die ohren zuhalten müssen/ die Jungfraw Braut war sehr trawrig/ … die Spectatores vnd Zuseher desto fröhlicher'. *H. Ordentliche Postzeittungen* (Vienna: Matthäus Formica, 1622), p. [1].

The prominent space in the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen* devoted to the dwarf marriage contrasts starkly with other German newspapers. Of the 12 different newspapers in 1622, all other newspapers largely revolved around the Diet at Sopron, and the one that mentioned the dwarf marriage devoted only one sentence to it.[15] The news from Vienna reported in the other newspapers painted a considerably less rosy picture of the situation in the imperial capital in the summer months than the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen* did. One of the reoccurring topics was the lack of food in the city, in particular the high prices for meat, which enraged the local population. A number of newspapers printed outside Vienna reported on these calamities and mentioned the growing resentment towards the Imperial administration.[16] Ferdinand's demand to garrison troops at the Hoher Market Square was met with staunch resistance by the 'disobedient' and 'rebellious' residents, which was broken only by sheer force of arms.[17] There was no place for this kind of news in the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen*.

To understand just how much the coverage in the Viennese newspaper differed from that of most other periodicals, it is worthwhile to take a closer look at the reporting from November and December 1632.[18] Two news items dominated in German newspapers at this moment: the death of the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus and the aftermath of the Siege of Maastricht. Gustavus Adolphus had just unexpectedly died on the battlefield in Lützen outside Leipzig on 6 November and his fate as well as the outcome of the battle and movements of Swedish and Imperial troops in Saxony were the central point of reporting. Other reports revolved around the negotiations following the capture of Maastricht. In August, the Dutch stadtholder Frederick Henry had brought the city under control of the Dutch States, which had led to a series of negotiations between the United Provinces and the Spanish Habsburgs. All periodicals of the time devoted considerable space to these two important

15 Von den Birghden's reported on the marriage in just one sentence within the digest of Viennese news in *Num. XVI. Vnvergreiffliche Postzeittungen* (Frankfurt: Johann von den Birghden, 1622), p. [2]. The other reports can be found in issue 16 of the *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1622).

16 Among them were Elias Holwein's *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (issues 12 and 13) and Johann von den Birghden's *Frankfurter Postzeitung* (issues XXV to XXVII).

17 'vngehorsam' and 'Rebellische funcken', *Wöchentliche Zeitung aus mehrerley örther. Ao. 1622. No: 19* (Hamburg: Johann Meyer, 1622), p. [1].

18 For a more detailed study on the reporting around the death of Gustavus Adolphus in pamphlets and newspapers see Jan Hillgärtner, 'The King is Dead. German Broadsheets Printed on the Death of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles I', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets. Single-sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017), pp. 295–315.

events, the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen*, by contrast, seemingly devoted a lot less attention to those events.[19]

In many ways our understanding of the function of the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen* is restricted by the poor survival of the periodical.[20] Nevertheless, it stands to reason that beyond its propagandistic function, it also served as an official means of communication within the Habsburg Empire. On a more or less regular basis, Formica printed official decisions concerning the value of coins and weights, taxes and the set prices for food and transport. Issue Vvv of November 1623, for example, reported the devaluation of coins prominently on the first page. 'On 21 [November], the following decision has been made with regards to coins: all coins shall be valued according to the Bavarian system and a lowering of prices will take effect on 3 or 4 December …'.[21] This announcement was not unusual in the period, when the debasement of money served to meet the expenses of the Thirty Years War. Leading to a sharp devaluation across all of Germany, it was an important matter for anyone in the Holy Roman Empire, especially those who wished to trade with Vienna.

The *Ordentliche Postzeittungen* was meant to be disseminated and enjoyed a wide distribution within the Habsburg Empire.[22] It regularly contained social news from Vienna at the end of each issue throughout its first years of existence. This section was populated with news of the coming and goings of

19 Due to the poor survival it is impossible to discern if the newspaper reported on these matters at all. The surviving eight issues show a more domestic focus. Even when the Emperor and his army obtained a victory, these victories received little attention in the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen*. For example, in issue of 20 March only six lines of text described the Imperial victory over the Swedish army at Bamberg.

20 Only 445 issues of the newspaper have come down to us from the period before 1701, representing just over eight percent of all issues of this periodical that must have been printed. The *Ordentliche Postzeittungen* appeared between 1622 and at least 1672, presumably without any interruption, in one weekly issue. Later, its frequency was increased to two weekly issues. Given this periodicity, we can safely assume that at least 5433 issues must have appeared in the seventeenth century. This survival rate is on the lower end, compared to other periodicals of the time, of which often twenty to fifty percent survived.

21 'Den 21.hat man wegen der Müntz geschlossen/ vnd wie verlaut solle so woll die Müntz als auch die Victualien und Wahren allerdings nach Bayrischer Ordnung geschetzt vnd gesetzt werden/ die Calierung solle auf den 3. oder 4. Decemb. gewiß beschehen'. *Vvv. Ordentliche Postzeittungen* (Vienna: Matthäus Formica, 1623), p. [1].

22 Evidence for the wide distribution of the newspaper can be gathered from the fact that copies of the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen* have come down to us in nineteen libraries across Europe, ranging from the British Library in London to the Russian State Archive in Moscow. This is an extraordinarily wide distribution, compared to other newspapers of the time that more often than not survive only in a handful of libraries and archives. On the distribution see the author's forthcoming *The German Newspaper 1605–1650. A Bibliography*.

international dignitaries and diplomats as well as with estimations of the size of their entourage.[23] The section was not visually distinguished from the other parts of reporting. It is plausible to think that Formica added this section with the intention of entertaining readers, rather than to provide straightforward reporting on political, military and economic matters.

Given the tight censorship regulations and the distribution of information in Vienna, we can safely assume that the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen* was subject to close scrutiny.[24] Formica was the first printer of a newspaper in Vienna and had been equipped with a privilege to publish a newspaper alongside his local competitor Gregor Gelbhaar in 1615.[25] The university was tasked with exercising the censorial control over the newspapers. The close connections he made with the Imperial chancellery at the very beginning of his career as a printer, when he inherited his workshop from his mother, presumably made him all the more likely to publish a periodical partial to the interests of his sponsor. His two newspapers were perhaps the first newspapers of the seventeenth century destined to disseminate the Habsburg perspective and portray the Emperor in a positive way. However, the reports chosen for inclusion did not all strictly follow the principles of sober reporting of matters concerning the upper echelons of society.

Besides its flattering picture of the court, the newspaper also offered entertainment news. Issue I 14 from March 1628 reported on the celebrations around carnival in Vienna. As part of these festivities, 'butchers dressed up as peasants' and staged a parody wedding right at the Burgplatz in the very centre of Vienna. The celebrations included a banquet that descended into chaos when plates and cutlery were thrown across the square and the butchers competed in pulling a goose.[26] Such staged traditional peasant's wedding were a common feature of upper German and Austrian carnival culture and as such

23 The issue from 29 March 1625 for example reported the arrival of a Polish prince in Graz, whose travels to Vienna the newspaper would cover over the course of the following weeks.

24 On press censorship in Vienna in the seventeenth century, see Helmut W. Lang, 'Österreiche Zeitungsverlagsgeschichte im 17. Jahrhundert', in Paul Raabe (ed.), *Bücher und Bibliotheken im 17. Jahrhundert in Deutschland* (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co, 1980), pp. 137–138.

25 Norbert Bachleitner, Franz M. Eybl and Ernst Fischer (eds.), *Geschichte des Buchhandels in Österreich* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), p. 25. It appears however that Gelbhaar did not immediately begin publishing his newspaper and that Formica and his successors remained without competition on the Viennese market for newspapers until the 1640s.

26 'Fleischhacker allhie einen Auffzug gleich einer Bawren Hochzeit gehalten', *Ordentliche Zeitungen I 14* (Vienna: Matthäus Formica, 1628), p. [1].

not immediately a noteworthy matter.[27] It seems in this case the report on the chaotic wedding was included to provide entertainment for readers from afar. Other entertainment news in the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen* included announcements of public festivities such as fireworks, dance performances, or horse racing. Such announcements suggest that Formica also anticipated a middle class readership in or close to Vienna.

The *Ordentliche Postzeittungen* was a remarkable periodical in the context of the first half of the seventeenth century in many ways. Focussing almost exclusively on Viennese and courtly matters, it was unusually biased by the standards of the time.[28] Its proximity to the Habsburg court meant that its reporting was severely restricted by the imperial government. Elsewhere, printers often sought the support of their local council or administration, and it is more than likely that this was also the case for the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen*. It was not uncommon that they delivered a number of copies free of charge to the council in return for a privilege that banned other local printers from publishing their own newspaper.[29] Such partnerships were, officially at least, limited to economic terms. Rather than being the mouthpiece of the ruler, publishers were expected to abstain from reporting local events.[30] The *Ordentliche*

27 Parodies and staged weddings were common in Viennese and southern German carnival festivities, see Hans Schuhladen, 'Faschingshochzeiten als Spielformen', *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (1991), pp. 61–102.

28 See my forthcoming *News in Times of Conflict. The Development of the German Newspaper, 1605–1650* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2021) for a discussion of partial reporting. 'Bias' and 'partiality' are difficult concepts in the context of early modern newspapers. Newspapers could be expected to contain overtly biased reports and it was not uncommon that one issue covered the same event from two very different angles. This was a safety mechanism on the part of the printers who by including all incoming reports sought preempt all possible allegations of partiality against them. See Jörg Jochen Berns, "Nochmals Zur 'Parteylichkeit'. Entstehensbedingungen, Kriterien, Geltungsbereich', in Astrid Blome and Holger Böning (eds.), *Presse und Geschichte. Leistungen und Perspektiven der historischen Presseforschung* (Bremen: Edition Lumière, 2008), pp. 67–75.

29 Perhaps the best studied example for the practice of trying to squeeze each other out of the market was the series of legal disputes between Johann Meyer and Hans Jakob Kleinhans in Hamburg in the 1630s. See Carsten Prange, *Die Zeitungen und Zeitschriften des 17. Jahrhunderts in Hamburg und Altona. Ein Beitrag zur Publizistik der Frühaufklärung* (Hamburg: Christians, 1978), pp. 85–89.

30 Johannes Arndt, 'Die europäische Medienlandschaft im Barockzeitalter', in Irene Dingel and Matthias Schnettger (eds.), *Auf dem Weg nach Europa. Deutungen, Visionen, Wirklichkeiten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), pp. 32. Printers also preemptively excluded local and domestic reporting from their periodicals. Candid or politically charged reporting could always land printers in legal troubles and avoiding local reporting was done with the intention to avoid getting into trouble with their respective local council or ruler.

Postzeittungen was clearly based on a different kind of relationship. It is safe to assume that Formica received some form of compensation for the publication, either through direct payment, guaranteed buying of issues or indirectly through further business with the court in Vienna.

Newspapers as Tools of Communication: The *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung*

The *Offentliche Postzeittungen*, the propagandistic mouthpiece of Ferdinand II, clearly shows the value of newspaper to rulers, and thus prompts the question whether perhaps rulers also started their own newspapers. Johannes Arndt categorically rejected this possibility for the Holy Roman Empire.[31] He argued this on the grounds of an analysis of the business practice of the well-known Strasbourg printer Johann Carolus, who turned his handwritten newsletter service into a printed newspaper in 1605. Carolus was driven by an entrepreneurial spirit, eager to safeguard the economic success of his *Relation aller fürnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Relationen*. Carolus specifically highlighted the high costs he had incurred when he petitioned the council with the goal to obtain a privilege for his periodical that would free him from local competition. He stressed that: 'after [I] acquired the presses of Tobias Jobin, I have invested considerable capital for printing the newspaper'.[32] The newspaper had commercial value for him and having a local monopoly would have surely helped securing a steady income. Yet whereas the world's first newspaper may have been inspired by commercial motivations, the world's second newspaper was not. In 1609, Duke Henry Julius of Braunschweig Wolfenbüttel cooperated with Johann Adolph von Söhne to establish the *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung*. This newspaper served an official function for the duke's court and began his career started as a prolific printer of funeral sermons and panegyric literature.[33] As his relationship with the duke evolved, he switched to official

31 Johannes Arndt, *Herrschaftskontrolle durch Öffentlichkeit. Die publizistische Darstellung politischer Konflikte im Heiligen Römischen Reich 1648–1750* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 2013), pp. 94–95.

32 'Nach dem Ich vor dißem die Wochentlichen gewissen Avisen/ hab ich Zu etwas ergötzlichkeit des uncostens/ so ich Jährlich darfür Außlegen/ unnd Anwenden muß … Unnd ich aber vor der Zeit/ weylandt Thobiae Jobins seligen Truckerey hoch unnd theuer an mich erkaufft', cited after Weber, 'Straßburg 1605', p. 6. I relied on the quotation provided by Weber here.

33 Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachraum. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), p. 1017.

print. His print shop existed alongside the ducal workshop ran by Johann Stange, to whom Henry Julius commissioned all of his jobs until at least 1613. A relationship between Henry Julius and von Söhne must have already existed in 1608, since the printer was officially tasked to print the *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* from the beginning of the following year.[34] After this, von Söhne increasingly geared his publishing programme to the needs of the court as he started to print official documents such as edicts and proclamations.

Von Söhne had no role in editing the newspaper. He was merely commissioned to print the handwritten newsletters to which Henry Julius had a subscription. Such commercial newsletters, also known as 'avvisi', served as the main providers of news before the rise of the printed newspaper. Their prohibitive price made them unaffordable for large parts of society, however.[35] Printed newspapers, distributed at a lower price than the newsletters, had a much wider potential audience. The goal of Henry Julius's commission was predominantly to speed up the dissemination of news within his duchy. In order to do so, the duke simply provided von Söhne with the weekly handwritten newsletter which the latter then printed.[36] Von Söhne's newspaper, then, stood in stark contrast to both Johann Carolus's *Relation* and Matthias Formica's *Ordentliche Postzeittungen*. Carolus had no official affiliation and his income depended on how well his editions sold in Strasbourg and beyond. Formica was a propagandist for the imperial court, and may have reaped the financial benefits from that position, but he himself was responsible for the title. Von Söhne, on the other hand, was merely the printer of an aviso edited elsewhere, presumably in Augsburg.

This arrangement has important implications for the way in which we should envisage the circulation of news in the duchy. The handwritten newsletters which Söhne printed had circulated at court. Thus, when the printed issue of *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* appeared, the Duke's inner circle already

34 It was a curious decision of the duke to turn to von Söhne to publish the newspaper rather than to rely on the service of Stange. The reasons behind this decision are yet to be established.

35 Mario Infelise, 'From Merchants' Letters to Handwritten Political Avvisi: Notes on the Origins of Public Information', in Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (eds.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe. Vol. III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 33–52. For Germany and a transnational approach see Katrin Keller and Paola Molino (eds.), *Die Fuggerzeitungen im Kontext: Zeitungssammlungen im Alten Reich und in Italien* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2015).

36 Martin Welke, 'Vom Elend der pressehistorischen Forschung in Deutschland. Dargestellt am Beispiel des Wolfenbütteler "Aviso"', in Volker Bauer and Holger Böning (eds.), *Die Entstehung des Zeitungswesens. Ein neues Medium und seine Folgen für das Kommunikationssystem der Frühen Neuzeit* (Bremen: Edition Lumière, 2011), pp. 151–152.

knew about its content. The *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* was meant to circulate among court associates outside Wolfenbüttel. Most, presumably, were distributed within the Duchy. Every week from 1609 until at least 1615, privy councillor Erich Klack sent copies to the burgomaster of Salzwedel.[37] Other copies of the paper were owned by Heinrich Albrecht von Gadenstedt, another Wolfenbüttel councillor.[38] But the newspaper also ended up beyond the ducal territory. Martin Bütemeister, secretary of the legal court, regularly sent copies of the newspaper to Curt von Steinberg, a relative of the Görtz-Wrisberg family. This family of lower gentry resided outside the Duchy of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and we can assume that this was not a singular case in which the newspaper found its way to readers outside the domain of the dukes at Wolfenbüttel.

Henry Julius' first and perhaps only goal with the newspaper was to facilitate the flow of information within his duchy. He had certainly felt a sense of how important it was for the functional elites in his duchy to stay abreast of the latest news. In contrast to Formica's newspaper then, the *Aviso Relation* served no ideological purpose, neither did it strive to convey a positive image of the duke. The newspaper was meant for local distribution and the duke had no need to win the allegiance and support of the readers in the administration of the duchy.

We can begin to get a sense of the nature of reporting in the Wolfenbüttel newspaper when we consider how von Söhne obtained the news content: the reports contained in the *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* in all likelihood came from a commercial newsletter service based in Augsburg that also provided other courts and subscribers with a regular news digest.[39] Neither von Söhne nor a ducal editor seemed to have tampered with the original text in any way save for some minor redactions concerning language and spelling.

The fate of the newspaper within the duchy of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel remains largely obscure. After Julius Adolph von Söhne died in 1616, his widow continued to print the newspaper before the workshop was eventually taken over by Elias Holwein in the same year.[40] Ten years later, Holwein moved to

37 Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, p. 366.

38 Wilhelm Hartmann, 'Wolfenbüttel als Druckort des "Aviso", der ältesten periodisch gedruckten Zeitung', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch*, 31 (1959), pp. 275–276.

39 Welke, *Vom Elend der pressehistorischen Forschung in Deutschland*, pp. 151–152. On the mechanics of news transmission in these newsletter centres see Wolf-Dieter Otte, 'Johann Martin Hirt und die Augsburger Agentur 1647–1661', in Jochen Brüning and Friedrich Niewöhner (eds.), *Augsburg in der Frühen Neuzeit. Beiträge zu einem Forschungsprogramm* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1995), pp. 39–118.

40 Reske, *Die Buchdrucker*, pp. 1017–1018.

Celle, but maintained a workshop in Wolfenbüttel from which he printed mainly official editions for Duke Frederick Ulrich. The last known issue of the *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* dates from 3 April 1624.[41] Since seventeenth-century newspapers have suffered considerably high attrition rates, it is probable that the *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* continued for some time after 1624.

As in many other cases, the new medium of the printed newspaper did not replace established media in seventeenth-century Germany. Newspapers, whether printed by order of a duke, as was the case in Wolfenbüttel, or received in conjunction with diplomatic letters, did not become the sole purveyor of news.[42] Augustus the Younger, second degree successor of Duke Henry Julius inherited and maintained an extensive network of correspondents across Europe who regularly sent him news from their respective places. An account drawn up in 1666 revealed that he sent 1700 thaler per year to his correspondents across Germany and Europe.[43] This was a considerable sum and his successors sought to reduce the cost of newsgathering.

The *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* was an addition to the information network put in place to facilitate the exchange of news within the duchy. Printing the weekly issues did not seem to have enjoyed the greatest priority at the court and in the workshop. Evidence suggests that the newspaper occasionally appeared on different days of the week in Wolfenbüttel.[44] This was a stark contrast to the periodicals published by printers with no association to governmental bodies. Their reputation as reliable purveyor of newsprint was tied to their ability to deliver regularly. For instance, some of the periodicals produced in Frankfurt and Hamburg were distributed across the entire Holy Roman Empire. In order to reach their readers in time, their printers needed to deliver the copies at set times to the postal offices from which they would be distributed further

41 Behringer speculates that the newspaper was discontinued in 1627 after a failed Imperial attempt to besiege the city had resulted in the destruction of Holwein's workshop. However, he seems to have re-established himself fairly quickly as he printed no fewer than 16 editions in 1628, two more than in 1626, the year preceding the siege. See Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, p. 361.

42 On the practices of courtly information see Ina Timmermann, '"Nachdem unns itzo abermahls beyliegende Zeittungen zue kommen". Höfisches Nachrichtenwesen zwischen geschriebener und gedruckter Zeitung am Beispiel hessischer Landgrafen am Ende des 16. und zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts. Dokumente aus dem Hessischen Staatsarchiv Marburg', in Astrid Blome (ed.), *Zeitung, Zeitschrift, Intelligenzblatt und Kalender. Beiträge zur historischen Presseforschung* (Bremen: Edition Lumière, 2000), pp. 137–159.

43 Elger Blühm, 'Die deutschen Fürstenhöfe des 17. Jahrhunderts und die Presse', in August Buck, Georg Kauffmann, Blake Lee Spahr and Conrad Wiedemann (eds.), *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Vol. 3* (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell, 1981), p. 595.

44 Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, pp. 135–158.

afield by stagecoach, carrier or barge. These printers had to make sure that the copies that were meant to be sent further afield were ready at the time when stagecoaches or barges left the city. If they failed to print in time, the copies reached their intended readers with some delay that would surely have caused consternation.

Conclusion

Of the vast majority of the 109 German-language newspaper titles published between 1605 and 1650 that we can still trace to this day, few had such close ties to the authorities as the *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* and the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen*. The Viennese newspaper represented an outstanding and in many ways unique case of imperial propaganda furthering the agenda of the emperor. Readers undoubtedly sensed the strong pro-Habsburg bias of the *Ordentliche Postzeittungen*, and whether or not the periodical would have survived on the free market remains a question. As purveyors of news, periodicals owed their attractiveness to the reading public in part to their credibility and the relative absence of highly biased and partial reporting. The earliest days of the periodical can in many ways be considered a trial and error period and Duke Henry Julius experimented with the possibility of rapid news dissemination throughout his Duchy. While Ferdinand embraced the newspaper as a tool to construct his public persona as well as shape and maintain his reputation, the Duke in Wolfenbüttel seems to have purely focussed on the practical aspects of the newspaper. The regional distribution of the *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* did not inspire further efforts to spread the duke's reputation abroad. Seen in the wider context of German newspapers, these two newspapers seem to have been outriders. Elsewhere, the relative independence of newspapers contributed in no small part to the long-term success of the genre.

CHAPTER 7

The Politics of Print in the Dutch Golden Age: The Ommelander Troubles (c. 1630–1680)

Arthur der Weduwen

In December 1642, alarming reports spread throughout the Dutch Republic. A military incursion in Groningen, in the north-east of the country, ravaged the countryside. A small but ferocious band of soldiers, some seventy in total, tore through villages and farms, plundering, raping, taking hostages and throwing pregnant women off a dyke. Although the Dutch Republic was a state that depended on commerce, it was also a country that was almost continually at war throughout the seventeenth century. However, this episode of warfare was not part of a conflict between the Dutch and a foreign power, but between contesting political factions within the Dutch state. The December raid in Groningen was not an account of a foreign invasion, but of an instance of violence committed by Dutch soldiers against Dutch citizens. This was one sad, but recurring event, which took place as part of the Ommelander Troubles.

This particular instance of violence has come down to us thanks to a publication by the Council of Ommelanden, the representative assembly of nobles and landholders of the Groningen countryside. On 9 December 1642, they published a placard against the city of Groningen, accusing the magistrates of that city of sponsoring the vicious raid. In eight short paragraphs, the Ommelanders claimed that Rudolph Schuringh, one of the magistrates of the city, had led the excursions into Ommelanden territory, and that he had employed a company of garrisoned soldiers in the pay of the States General, thereby using 'weapons of the generality … against their own lords and pay masters'.[1] At the end of the placard, the Council of Ommelanden called upon their citizens to capture Schuringh, and answer the call to arms to protect their 'fatherland' whenever church bells were rung (see figure 7.1).

The Ommelanden broadsheet is a chilling text, portraying some of the horrors inflicted upon the Groningen countryside by a band of marauding troops. It is also a remarkable piece of official print, representing a public attack by

1 *De Heeren van den Omme-Landen tusschen d'Eems ende Lauwers, doen te weten: alsoo Rudolph Schuyrinck heeft verstoutet deselve Omlanden te invaderen* ([Groningen: s.n., 1642]), USTC 1122292.

 DOI:10.1163/9789004448896_009

DE Heeren van den Omme-Landen tusschen d'Eems ende Lauwers / doen te weten: Alsoo der Stads-Olderman Rudolph Schuyrinck, na verscheyde gewelden en Vyantlijcke in vallen in den Ommelanden gedaen / sick in't begin van Octobi jongst wederom heeft verstoutet deselve Omlanden met gewapender handt ende Volck te invaderen, vrye Wateren ende Stromen te infesteren. Hebbende niet alleene een Omlander Schipper met Schip ende Goet. Op't Reit-diep, in de Swalue / binnen de Limiten deser Provintie met Musquetten, Roers, ende geweer, geabordeert, gevangen, gevanckelijck na Groningen gebracht, ende inde ketenen gelegt. Maer heeft oock verscheyden Omlander In-gesetenen by ende ontrent het Reit-diep woonende / ende met Visschen sick erneerende hare Visscher-stocken op-ghetrocken.

Boven dien te Lande / ende na derselver Huysen sick begevende / heeft derselver aldaer liggende-Visch gereetschap aen-getast. Derselver Schepen d'anckers ende touwen af-ghekapt ende laten drijven: Vis-karren ende Visch gerooft, ende na Groningen gebracht. Bevruchte Vrouwen (soeckende haer Goedt te beschermen) boven van den Dijck af-ghestoten. Met andere foulen ende ghewelden meer.

Hebbende daer toe gebruyckt niet alleene Wapenen ende Volck by hem selve daer toe aen-ghenomen ende gehuyrt; Maer oock dat meer is / Generaliteyts Wapenen ende Volck van Oorloge, jae selve van de Compagnien alhier in Guarnisoen. Tegens hare eygen mede-Meesters ende Betaels-Heeren.

Zijnde soo verre ghekomen dat deselve eenighe dagen daer nae ten selven eynde heeft aen-genomen ende geworven een Compagnye van ontrent t'seventigh Man / om op Scheepen te werden verdeelt.

Het is notoir dat het recht van Wapenen, is een recht van Souverainiteyt ofte Majesteyt.

Indien d'Olderman tegens d'een ofte ander In-gesetenen heeft actie ofte fraude. Magh deselve instellen by wege van rechte, Soo ende daer sulcx behoort.

Maer onder praetext van Stapel-recht ofte anders sick te begheven tot feitelijcke Acten, aen-halen van Schepen, vangen ende aen-tasten van Personen ende Goederen. Op Straten, Wateren, ende Stromen, te arméren eenigh Volck, late staen te misbruycken Generaliteyts Wapenen, ende Volck van Oorloge. In eene vrye Regeringhe ende Staet: Teghens een vry Volck ende Provinciael Lidt. 'Tzy met consent van een particulier Magistraet ofte niet: Daer mede is de Provinciale Hoogheyt gevioleert: De publijcke vrede ende ruste geperturbeert: De Unie in-gebroken. Hare Hog: Mog: iterative Sententien van de Jaren 1597 ende 1599. Mitsgaders Mandament pœnael van den Jare 1600 daer op gevolgt / ghecontraveniëert. Waer door oock (by aldien in tijds niet yver ende ernst daer teghens niet en wert versien) der Omlanden Vryheyt, Regeringe, ende welvaert met voeten sal werden getreden. Ja de Ingesetenen selve sullen werden gemaeckt tot een Stads ofte Oldermans roof ende spot. Omme naer appetijt / onder d'een ofte d'ander schijn / te werden aen-getast, ende nae Groningen gebracht.

T'welcke de Ommelanden behertighende / hebben goet gevonden ende ghe-resolveert / niet alleene dat deselve Olderman Schuyrinck, op wat plaetse die in den Omme-landen is te bekomen / ter oorsake van sulcx sal werden aen-getast, ende in versekeringe gebracht: Maer oock dat alle soodane Faiten ende Proceduyren met contrarie Wapenen ende Faiten sullen werden afgeweert ende gestraffet. Versoeckende tot dien eynde / ende niet te min ordonnerende allen Ionckeren, Hovelinghen, Richteren, Rechtsdienaren ende Ingesetenen der Omlanden van wat staet ofte conditie die zijn. Om 'tselve te doen / ende sick daer toe te laten ghebruycken / soo wanneer 'tselve eenigsins van selfs voor-vallet / ofte door ghelupt van klocken / ofte anders daer toe sullen werden vermaent: Onder belofte / dat alle ende een yder by den Omme-landen in alles dien aen-gaende sullen werden gevrijt, mitsgaders kost ende schadeloos sullen werden gehouden. Ende ter contrarie doende / daer voor werden aen-gesien ende gestraffet.

Houdende onder-tusschen met de Burgerye ende Inghesetenen vander Stadt / die sick met soodane rooven ende gewelden niet en menghen / alle vrendschap / Neeringe ende verkeeringe / als Ledematen van een Lichaem ende Provincie. Aldus in den Om-landen al-omme ghepubliceert den Anno 1641.

Ter Ordonnantie der Heeren voorsz.

FIGURE 7.1 The Ommelander broadsheet of 9 December 1642, condemning the attacks of the Groningen magistrate Rudolf Schuringh
GRONINGER ARCHIEVEN, GRONINGEN

one legal authority upon another. For much of the seventeenth century, the northern Dutch province of Groningen was consumed by a turbulent conflict between the two constituent parts of the provincial States. The two authorities – the magistrates of Groningen and the rural Council of Ommelanden – regularly plunged their province into civil war. This struggle was violent, fought by arms and unlawful arrests; but it was also a war of words, dominated by repeated volleys of printed declarations, resolutions and ordinances. Far from appealing only to their own supporters, both sides continually addressed the citizens of their opponents, and made concerted efforts to dominate the public sphere. Printed declarations were proclaimed and affixed provocatively in contended political spaces. Printers producing official ordinances were intimidated, and their equipment was confiscated. Both the magistrates and the Ommelanders claimed indignantly (and repeatedly) that their authority was undermined by printed libels and placards issued by their opponents; and both authorities adopted the same public strategy to air their grievances. Every stage of the conflict involved a renewed round of declarations and counter-declarations, as neither side was willing to grant their opponent the last word.

The municipal and provincial archives in Groningen contain multiple stacks of official print, a corpus of a couple of hundred extant printed placards and pamphlets issued by the two authorities, devoted to this bitter and persistent public struggle at the heart of the Dutch Republic.[2] I first encountered these sources during my PhD research, investigating the communication practices of Dutch authorities in the seventeenth century.[3] I initially conceived this study of political communication as an exchange between authorities and their citizens. But it soon became clear that Dutch authorities published and disseminated official letters, declarations, resolutions and ordinances that did not directly address their citizens, but rather attacked or insulted their domestic opponents. This involved an exchange between two opposing legal authorities; an act of communication, which would, in theory, be maintained in the closed circuit of political decision-making that excluded the average Dutch citizen. It is well established that Dutch authorities made real efforts to withhold political information from the public. Their aversion to the publication of political pamphlets, as evidenced by numerous placards and ordinances targeting

2 Groninger Archieven, Groningen (GAG), Ommelander Archieven, inv. 374, 758–888; Staten Archief, inv. 475, 866–867; Archief van de stad, inv. 298–313.

3 This article is predominantly based on a chapter of my PhD thesis, defended at the University of St Andrews in 2018 and entitled *Selling the Republican Ideal. State Communication in the Dutch Golden Age*.

seditious print, has also been frequently noted.[4] The reverse, however, has not yet been appreciated: that the authorities of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic were very finely attuned to the benefit of conducting political business before the eyes of their citizens whenever it suited them to do so. In this article I wish to sketch out why this phenomenon has not received the scholarly attention that it deserves, and how we can refine our understanding of the interactions between political elites and print culture in the Dutch Republic. The remarkable episodes that took place as part of the Ommelander Troubles offer an ideal avenue to explore the politicisation of print during the Dutch Golden Age, and allow us to incorporate a more nuanced perspective on the importance of public communication to our conception of the early modern period.

Public Politics in the Dutch Republic

The Dutch Republic, like most early modern states, was an undemocratic political system. In theory, almost all inhabitants of the Dutch Republic had no political voice. The state was dominated by a tiny, exclusive class of regents, who made up the seven sovereign provincial States of Gelderland, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overijssel and Groningen.[5] Their prerogative of policy-making could not be formally questioned. The regents negotiated with one another behind closed doors in city hall chambers and the rooms of the central government complex in The Hague, the *Binnenhof*.

4 Ingrid Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden: de vrijheid van drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw* (Den Haag: Sdu, 1998), especially pp. 23–86, 371–390; Simon Groenveld, 'The Mecca of Authors? States Assemblies and Censorship in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse (eds.), *Too Mighty to be Free: Censorship and the Press in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1987), pp. 63–86, here p. 74; Guido de Bruin, *Geheimhouding en verraad: De geheimhouding van staatszaken ten tijde van de Republiek (1600–1750)* (Den Haag: Sdu, 1991), pp. 355–443; Eric Platt, *Britain and the Bestandstwisten. The Causes, Course and Consequences of British Involvement in the Dutch Religious and Political Disputes of the Early Seventeenth Century* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), p. 158.

5 The best overviews are Robert Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen in Nederland tot den val der Republiek*, ed. H.T. Colenbrander (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1901) and S.J. Fockema Andreae, *De Nederlandse Staat onder de Republiek* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1985).

Secrecy was the assumed norm in government business, but it was never perfectly practised.[6] The confederal composition of the Dutch Republic ensured that a regular flow of political information was maintained between and within the seven provinces. Without the consent of all provinces, federal policy-making could cease. Within the provinces, the sentiments of any of the voting cities, nobles or factions would have to be taken into consideration to arrive at a consensus; it was essential that all political participants shared their opinions with one another. The representatives of these provincial assemblies had to confer with their own municipal councils, travelling back and forth to decide upon negotiation strategies and potential concessions. The complex layers of governance in the Dutch Republic meant that Dutch authorities 'were never able to secure a system of secrecy regarding all affairs of state'.[7]

Beyond the confines of the city hall or the *Binnenhof* there was a lively trade in political information, in part to satisfy the needs of the administrators involved in the political processes of the Dutch state, but also to satiate the curiosity of a literate and inquisitive public. The Dutch Republic was home to the most bookish, educated and literate population of early modern Europe. By the middle of the seventeenth century, literacy rates in the urban centres of the Dutch Republic reached up to 70% for men and 40% for women.[8] The Dutch Republic was the centre of the European book trade, and home to the greatest concentration of booksellers, printers and engravers in the world, catering not only to a large international scholarly audience, but to an enormous domestic market for religious, recreational and political literature.[9] Many publishers made handsome profits dealing in news pamphlets, political songs, poetry and prints. The widespread availability of political pamphlets not only broadened public political participation, but also normalised the discussion of political issues amongst the broader citizenry.[10]

6 De Bruin, *Geheimhouding en verraad*. See also Joachim Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg, 1529–1819* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 38.

7 De Bruin, *Geheimhouding en verraad*, p. 15.

8 Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *1650. Bevochten Eendracht* (Den Haag: Sdu, 2000), p. 237 and Michel Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium: Popular Print and Politics in the Netherlands, 1650–72* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 60.

9 Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World. Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019); Lotte Hellinga, etc. (eds.), *The Bookshop of the World. The role of the Low Countries in the book-trade, 1473–1941* ('t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2001); C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, etc. (eds.), *Le Magasin de l'Univers. The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

10 An argument made effectively also in Jason Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Although they refused to admit it publicly for fear of blemishing their carefully cultivated reputation, the regents of the Dutch Republic understood that political stability depended on repeated public communication. Implementing the resolutions agreed upon in the *Binnenhof* required the active consent of the citizens upon whom they were imposed. The regents were obligated to announce their decisions throughout the country, so people were aware of the law, and could assist in its enforcement. This the regents organised through overlapping systems of public communication in the form of solemn proclamations, performed from the balustrade of city halls and from the pulpits of churches, additional announcements made by town criers doing the rounds of a city, and the distribution, generally by affixing, of printed placards.[11] The sheer extent of these communication circuits are only now coming to light, and their reach is often remarkable. More than one hundred different political jurisdictions published printed placards in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. Some, like the city of Amsterdam, produced at least two hundred publications a year.[12] Municipal councils like those of Leiden and Utrecht would hold proclamations every three or four days, in an attempt to demonstrate their authority and regulate the affairs of their citizens with increasing oversight.[13]

In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, it was anathema to suggest that politics should involve the people over whom the regents governed.[14] Yet

11 For some examples see Arthur der Weduwen, '"Everyone has hereby been warned." The Structure and Typography of Broadsheet Ordinances and the Communication of Governance in the Early Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 240–267.

12 Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, 'What was published in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic?', *Livre. Revue Historique,* (2018), pp. 1–22, here pp. 4–7.

13 See for example Het Utrechts Archief, Archief van de Raad (stadsbestuur van Utrecht) 1577–1795, inv. 153–1 and 153–2, and Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Stadsarchief II, inv. 14–22.

14 E.H. Kossmann, *Political Thought in the Dutch Republic: Three Studies* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2000), pp. 44, 77, 137, 182; A.Th. van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, Religion and Society in seventeenth-century Holland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 142; Wyger R.E. Velema, *Republicans: Essays on Eighteenth-Century Dutch Political Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 35–43. See also G.O. van de Klashorst, H.W. Blom, and E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, *Bibliography of Dutch Seventeenth Century Political Thought: An Annotated Inventory, 1581–1713* (Amsterdam/Maarssen: APA/Holland University Press, 1986). Some contemporary examples are: Simon Stevin, *Vita Politica. Het Burgherlick leven* (Leiden: Franciscus Raphelengius, 1590), USTC 422851, p. 27 and Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn, *Disquisitiones politicae, of overwegingen van staet en bestiering* (Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz and Pieter Arentsz, 1669), pp. 355–356.

the authorities were deeply concerned about their public reputation. In the absence of a long tradition of hereditary rule, the legitimacy of government, whether it was in Groningen, Amsterdam or Zeeland, rested on the virtues of the regents.[15] Public perception of government was inextricably tied to its effectiveness. Without the support of a large, permanent police force, rule of law relied on the active cooperation of large groups of citizens.[16] It was for this reason that the authorities did not limit themselves to their 'regular' systems of public communication. The regents of the States General, the provincial States, and numerous city councils also tried to influence perceptions of their government by indirect means of communication. They influenced the supply of news to raise morale by leaking confidential news reports or missives, often to trusted printers and newspapermen; they organised, in cooperation with the Reformed Church, thanksgiving- and prayer-days to articulate their designs from the pulpit; and they promoted artistic representations of their successes by direct patronage or by distributing rewards to loyal painters, engravers and publishers.[17]

Volatile political times called for more subversive, if not malicious means of communication. In recent years, scholars of the Dutch Republic have paid close attention to the fierce pamphlet wars that engulfed the state in the crisis years of 1617–1618, 1650 and 1672. In these exceptional years, individual regents often engaged in the publication of anonymous libels, the fabrication or leaking of sensitive political information, and targeted censorship to steer the

15 Jan Hartman, Jaap Nieuwstraten and Michel Reinders (eds.), *Public Offices, Personal Demands: Capability in Governance in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009).

16 Henk van Nierop, 'Popular participation in politics in the Dutch Republic', in Peter Blickle (ed.), *Resistance, Representation and Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 272–290.

17 There is not yet a comprehensive overview which treats all of these indirect strategies of communication, but numerous examples can be found in N.C. Kist, *Neêrland's Bededagen en Biddagsbrieven* (2 vols., Leiden: Luchtmans, 1848–1849); Donald Haks, *Vaderland en Vrede: Publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013); Michiel van Groesen, *Amsterdam's Atlantic. Print Culture and the Making of Dutch Brazil* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017); Helmer Helmers, 'Onder schyn van trek tot vrede. Politieke spanningen in de Nederlandse vredespubliciteit', in Raymond Kubben (ed.), *Ginder 't vreêverbont bezegelt. Essays over de betekenis van de vrede van Breda, 1667* (Breda: Van Kemenade, 2015), pp. 65–77; Helmer Helmers, 'Public diplomacy in Early Modern Europe. Towards a New History of News', *Media History*, 22 (2016), pp. 401–420; Jill Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in Word and Image, 1650–75* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010). See also Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, pp. 226–228, 244–247.

outpouring of vitriolic pamphlets towards their opponents.[18] Perhaps the most famous example of such pamphleteering took place in 1650, when *Stadhouder* William II attempted to blacken his opponents in the States of Holland over a conflict concerning the size of the Dutch army. Already in December 1649, William had confided in his cousin William Frederick, the *Stadhouder* of Friesland, that he would have his advisors 'make pamphlets and pasquilles against those who endanger the country and seek to return it to Spain, which will excite and stir the public'.[19] During the summer of 1650, several confidants of William were responsible for handing out subversive texts to printers in The Hague, most notably the brothers Willem and Johannes Breeckevelt. The most virulent publication they produced presented the articles of a fictitious alliance between Amsterdam and the English Commonwealth, signed 'in secret conferences' in London.[20] According to this tract, the Commonwealth promised Amsterdam 10,000 soldiers and twenty-five warships to subjugate its opponents in the Dutch Republic and depose William as *Stadhouder*, whose father-in-law, King Charles I, had been executed by the Commonwealth the year before.

When William II had his advisors 'make pamphlets and pasquilles' against his opponents in 1650, he did so under the guise of anonymity. It is only thanks to archival evidence, and the interrogation under torture of the printer Willem Breeckevelt, that we know of William's involvement with pamphleteering in 1650. But the authorities of the Dutch Republic were also capable of criticising one another publicly without any surreptitious means. It was, in fact, more common for the regents to attack their domestic rivals through the publication of official placards and resolutions than to engage in anonymous

18 Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium*, especially pp. 132, 141–147; Roeland Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie: Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), especially pp. 81–83, 101–105, 147–155; Femke Deen, David Onnekink and Michel Reinders (eds.), *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

19 Simon Groenveld, '"Een enckel valsch ende lasterlijck verdichtsel." Een derde actie van Prins Willem II in juli 1650', in Simon Groenveld, M.E.H.N. Mout and I. Schöffer (eds.), *Bestuurders en geleerden* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1985), pp. 113–125, here p. 113.

20 *Articulen, gesloten, ende geaccordeert, tusschen de republique van Engelandt ende de stadt Amsterdam* (S.l.: s.n. [=Den Haag: Willem Breeckevelt], 1650), USTC 1031160. See also USTC 1505286, 1505292 and 1516461. See Groenveld, '"Een enckel valsch ende lasterlijck verdichtsel"', as well as Marika Keblusek, *Boeken in de hofstad. Haagse boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), pp. 130–132; Olga van Marion, 'Verboden in de Gouden Eeuw. Schrijvers, drukkers en hun strategieën', in Marita Mathijsen (ed.), *Boeken onder druk. Censuur en pers-onvrijheid in Nederland sinds de boekdrukkunst* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), pp. 31–44, here pp. 32–33, 36, and Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie*, pp. 101–105.

pamphleteering. Although this is a strategy of communication that has never been studied as a specific phenomenon, examples are plentiful. During the Remonstrant crisis of the 1610s, the magistrates of several Contra-Remonstrant towns published in print their objections to the unorthodox course of action taken by the States of Holland, embarrassing their fellow regents.[21] In 1600, Frisian magistrates from two rural districts set up their own rival States assembly in Franeker after disagreements on new taxation measures. To support their position, they published numerous declarations against their opponents in Leeuwarden over the next two years.[22] In 1668, the magistrates of Zierikzee publicly denounced their opponents in the States of Zeeland for recruiting additional companies of soldiers despite the disagreement of Zierikzee and Goes, two members of the States. This they did also by publishing printed resolutions and letters.[23]

One of the worst outbreaks of domestic political discord took hold of Overijssel in the middle of the 1650s. During this period the States of Overijssel was split on the issue of the appointment of a new bailiff of Twente, a large rural district in the east of the province.[24] One of the factions was led by the towns of Kampen and Zwolle, the other by Deventer; both factions claimed to represent the authentic provincial States, and accused the other of sowing discord. Over several years the factions printed numerous open letters and counter-resolutions to justify their conduct and denounce the 'bitter, calumnious and stinking' declarations of their opponents.[25] The declarations were

21 *Verclaringe vande heeren burgermeesteren van Amstelredam, Enckhuysen, Edam, eñ Purmereynde, Waer by hare E.E. verthoonen hoe verre d'authoriteyt van een christelijcke hooge overicheyt geexerceert behoort te werden* (Amsterdam: Marten Jansz Brandt, 1618), USTC 1007138.

22 Lodewijk Mulder (ed.), *Journaal van Anthonis Duyck, Advokaat-Fiscaal van den Raad van State (1591–1602)* (2 vols., Den Haag/Arnhem: Martinus Nijhoff & D.A. Thieme, 1862–1864), pp. 589–590, 716–717. *Alzoo eenen yderen bekent is dat die ghedeputeerde van Oostergoe ende Westergoe* ([Franeker: Gillis van den Rade], 1600), USTC 427245, and *Oversettinghe vanden recusatie der Hove ofte Rade Provinciael van weghen den Ghedeputeerde Staten van Oostergoe ende Westergoe overghesonden* ([Franeker: Gillis van den Rade], 1600), USTC 427246.

23 *Gravamina, ofte 17 pointen van bezwaernis, by de heeren regeerders der stadt Ziericzee; tegens de heeren Staten van Zeelant gemoveert, op den 24. november 1668* (Rotterdam: Johannis Redelijckhuysen [=S.l.: s.n.], 1669).

24 Herbert H. Rowen, *John de Witt, Statesman of the True Freedom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 74–75.

25 Historisch Centrum Overijssel, Stadsbestuur Zwolle, inv. 4967; Staten van Overijssel, inv. 696, 1485–1486. This conflict is now covered in great depth by Jan Haverkate in his recent PhD thesis, defended at the Free University of Amsterdam, entitled *Spindoctors van de Gouden Eeuw. De eerste pamfletoorlog van Overijssel (1654–1675)*.

published with full legal paraphernalia, as each side claimed to represent the true States of Overijssel. This paper war culminated in bloodshed in 1657, when troops financed by the Kampen-Zwolle faction besieged Hasselt, a town that had allied itself with Deventer to spite its neighbour Zwolle and accrue greater political recognition in the province. After a short but intense bombardment Hasselt surrendered, news having arrived that a relieving force from Deventer had been scattered by their opponents.

The publicity strategies employed by Dutch authorities in their domestic quarrels with their opponents were realised through established channels of political communication. Legally registered ordinances, formal proclamations and printed placards were essential facets of the daily communication practices of the state. This openness, so far from the dignified aristocratic secrecy of the regents, was a prominent feature of political conflict in the Dutch Republic, and especially in Groningen, during the period of the Ommelander Troubles. The two competing authorities there required their public – at home in Groningen and throughout the country – to rally behind their cause. Lampoons and satirical libels may produce a chuckle or a laugh, but for real political support the authorities of Groningen had to inform and persuade their citizens in the best way they knew how. Far from shutting out their citizens, the magistrates of the city and the Ommelanders employed the engagement of the public as their most potent political tool.

A Province Divided

The geopolitical characteristics of Groningen were unlike those of any other province in the Dutch Republic. It was known to most metropolitan Hollanders at this time as a strange, distant and stubborn place; the province was, in many ways, characterised by 'cultural isolation'.[26] It was furthest removed from the urbanised heart of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht. Its eastern and southern borders (connecting Groningen with East Frisia and the Dutch province of Drenthe) were composed of marshlands; in the west the province shared a narrow passable land border with Friesland. Although a maritime province, Groningen did not possess a seat of the Dutch Admiralty, and played a minor role in the rich shipping trade of the Dutch Republic. Groningen was one of

26 Jan van den Broek, *Groningen, een stad apart. Over het verleden van een eigenzinnige stad (1000–1600)* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2007); A. Th. van Deursen, 'Cultuur in het isolement: Groningen', in his *Hartslag van het Leven. Studies over de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1996), pp. 153–180.

the least urbanised provinces of the country: its single eponymous city, located at the heart of the province, housed around 20,000 inhabitants.[27] It towered above the surrounding villages and boroughs that made up the rest of the province; but unlike in Holland or Zeeland, the urban community did not dominate a voiceless countryside. The politics of the States of Groningen was balanced between the city of Groningen on one side, and the three surrounding rural districts of the Ommelanden (Hunsingo, Fivelingo and Westerkwartier) on the other. The Council of Ommelanden was composed of representatives of the landholders of the three districts: the *jonkeren* (low nobility), *hoofdelingen* (chieftains), *eigenerfden* (landowners) and *volmachten* (representatives of multiple small landowners).[28] Although the delegates of the Ommelanden sent to represent the Council at the States were predominantly from the *jonker* class, anyone with at least twelve hectares of land could present themselves at the Ommelanden assembly, the *Landdag*, and cast their vote. In contrast to the city of Groningen, ruled by a traditional oligarchic council, the Ommelanden *Landdag* could be influenced by hundreds.

Coming together at the States of Groningen, the Ommelanden and the city both had one vote on all matters of provincial government. But the priorities of the two parties were divergent in many economic and political affairs. Matters of taxation, tolls, fishing and hunting rights, as well as other financial privileges, were hotly disputed by the two sides. To the irritation of the Ommelanders, the city of Groningen took immense pride in its history as a Free Imperial city of the Holy Roman Empire; the more radical Groningers even claimed absolute sovereignty over the entire province, calling their rivals the 'Ommelanden of Groningen'. In defiance, the Ommelanders entitled themselves the 'Ommelanden between Ems and Lauwers' (the two rivers delineating their territory).[29] Most contentious was the *stapelrecht*, the right by which the city claimed tax on all goods passing through the province. Imposed since the late fifteenth century, the staple right was maintained with the enthusiastic support of the merchants and guilds of the city. Given the marshy landscape of the province of Groningen, the begrudging Ommelanders had little choice but to pay the Groningers their dues, or else export their goods via the North Sea.

27 Meindert Schroor, *Rurale metropool: bevolking, migratie en financiën van de stad Groningen ten tijde van de Republiek (1595–1795)* (Groningen: Nederlands Agronomisch Historisch Instituut, 2014).

28 Meindert Schroor, 'Interne staatkundige verhoudingen in Stad en Lande', in M.G.J. Duijvendak, etc. (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Groningen II: Nieuwe Tijd* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2008), pp. 211–229, here pp. 218–220.

29 Van den Broek, *Groningen, een stad apart*, p. 99.

The struggle was complicated by the encroachment of the magistrates of Groningen into the countryside. The bourgeois elite of the city bought up estates in the country, acquired landed titles, invested in the drainage of marshlands, and subsequently raised dues and tolls from reclaimed territories.[30] The city of Groningen exercised jurisdiction over vast swathes of land beyond their walls: the districts of the Oldambt, Gorecht and Westerwolde (located to the south and east of the city) all fell under the rule of the city (see figure 7.2). The city, in effect, governed half the Groningen countryside. But this infiltration could go both ways. Most *jonkers* owned properties in the city of Groningen: while the Ommelander aristocracy took great pride in their country manors (*borgen*), many were wealthy individuals, some worth as much as 100,000 *gulden*, and they retained a substantial urban presence.[31] The city provided a means to spend and be seen. Furthermore, because the city was situated at the centre of the province, the Council of Ommelanden maintained their official assembly (the Ommelander House) on the Schoolstraat in Groningen, a minute's walk from the city hall (see figure 7.3). While the Ommelanders sometimes convened outside Groningen – in the small towns of Aduard, Appingedam or Winsum – they could generally be found at the heart of opposition territory. The magistrates of Groningen frequently disrupted the Ommelander *Landdag* in the city. In 1676 they would go as far as to arrest a leading Ommelander *jonker*, Osebrant Jan Rengers van Slochteren, as he came out of a States of Groningen meeting in the city, accusing him of treason. This intervention would spark yet another outburst of violence across the province.

Groningen was an isolated province, but it did boast a sophisticated internal infrastructure. By the end of the seventeenth century, Groningen had a network of canal barges to rival that of Holland, with a major route stretching across the province from west to east, and numerous offshoots flowing north, connecting many peripheral towns to central Groningen.[32] The ease with which citizens in Groningen could travel through the province, and the inevitable encounters between rival city burghers and Ommelanders would only increase tension between the two camps.

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30 Hidde Feenstra, *Spinnen in het web. Groningse regenten in relatie tot het omringende platteland tijdens de republiek* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2007).

31 Johan de Haan, 'Ommelander jonkers', in IJnte Botke, etc. (eds.), *Het grote geschiedenisboek van de Ommelanden* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2011), pp. 54–75; W.J. Formsma, R.A. Luitjens-Dijkveld Stol and A. Pathuis, *De Ommelander borgen en steenhuizen* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1973), pp. 30–35; Hidde Feenstra, *De bloeitijd en het verval van de Ommelander adel (1600–1800)* (University of Groningen, PhD dissertation, 1981).

32 Jan de Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: Passenger transportation in the Dutch Economy (1632–1839)* (Utrecht: H&S, 1981), pp. 30–35.

FIGURE 7.2 The province of Groningen, with the three Ommelander districts of Hunsingo, Fivelingo and Westerkwartier
GRONINGER ARCHIEVEN, GRONINGEN

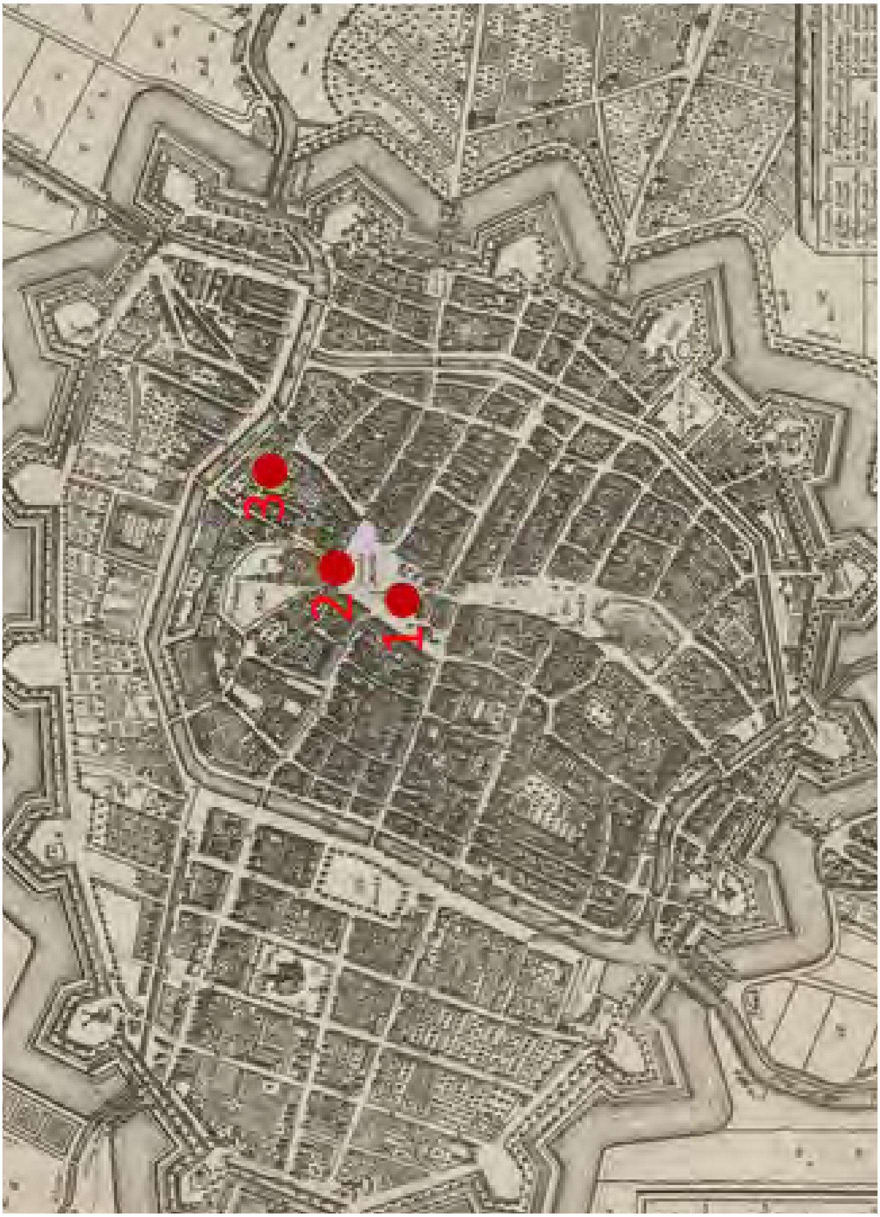


FIGURE 7.3 The city of Groningen, depicted on a map by Salomon Savery (1652), with the locations of the Groningen city hall (1), the *Provinciehuis* of the States of Groningen (2) and the *Ommelanderhuis* (3)
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

Troublesome History and a Turbulent Conflict

How did this peculiar political settlement come to be? For much of the seventeenth century, the Ommelanders did not even wish to share their provincial government with the urban Groningers. Their grievances stemmed from the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, when the city expanded aggressively into the countryside, subjugating most of the surrounding Ommelanden and imposing their hated staple right. The city observed closely the divisions within the Ommelanden, exploiting the differences between the nobility and landowners. The tables turned when the Ommelanders declared themselves for the Dutch Revolt against Habsburg authority, while the city, under the leadership of *Stadhouder* Count Rennenberg, declared for the King. Groningen remained under Habsburg control until 1594, when the city was taken by the forces of the States General. The gleeful Ommelanders, instrumental in the siege of the city, hoped for significant concessions and a diminution of the commercial privileges of the city; they advocated for a separate province, with Groningen itself to be ruled as a military enclave by the States General.

The proud Ommelanders were to be disappointed. The States General wished to maintain a bulwark against Habsburg aggression in the north, and required the powerful city and its defences to do so. The terms of the 1594 reduction were extremely lenient: all past injuries were to be forgotten (article 1), and the city was 'to be and remain undiminished in its privileges, liberties, customs and freedoms' (article 3).[33] The terms also formulated the constitution of the States of Groningen, establishing the equality between the city and the Ommelanders. Because of its function as a constitutional charter, the terms of the reduction became a rallying point for any future conflict in the province. As far as we know, the text was reprinted in Groningen in three different editions in 1646, and again in 1660 and 1678.[34]

The terms of reduction were frequently contested, as were many other economic privileges, including toll rates and fishing rights.[35] Aside from the

33 *Articulen ende conditien vant verdrach gesloten by Graef Wilhelm van Nassau uyt naeme der heeren Staten Generael der vereenichde Nederlanden: mette stadt Groeninghen ende tgarnisoen opt overgeven vander selver stadt* (Den Haag: Aelbrecht Hendricksz, 1594), USTC 415489, f. A2.

34 See for example *Poincten ende conditien gemaeckt tusschen zijne Excellentie den here Prince Mauritz van Orangien ende de Stadt Groeningen ter andere sijden* (Groningen: weduwe Edzard Huysman, 1660).

35 See especially the numerous cases covered in GAG, Ommelander Archieven, inv. 758–888. Also Meindert Schroor, 'Heroriëntatie op de unie en op Holland', in M.G.J. Duijvendak, etc. (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Groningen II*, pp. 152–209, here pp. 159–161.

welcome additional income that these privileges brought in, these claims became battlegrounds because they represented a struggle for authority, fought on the part of the Ommelanders for greater autonomy, and by the Groningers for the maintenance of their power over the countryside.

Authority is inextricably tied to public demonstrations of power. With each major outbreak of conflict in Groningen, both sides articulated their claims to authority to a wider public. By the 1640s, printed broadsheets, pamphlets and fliers had come to play a fundamental role in the development of the struggle. The most violent bout of conflict opened on 22 November 1639, when the magistrates of Groningen published an ordinance against *jonker* Sebo Huninga (see figure 7.4).[36] Huninga was a *jonker* of the Oldambt, one of the rural territories under the sovereignty of the city. With Huninga's urging, the Oldambt declared itself independent, and elected representatives to attend the Ommelander *Landdag* in Appingedam. The magistrates despatched the printed sentence condemning and banishing Huninga across the province, and tried in vain to arrest him in the Oldambt. Huninga fled to Ommelander territory while the landowners of the Oldambt began to arm themselves. Desperate for allies, they appealed to the Ommelanders for assistance. On 11 December, the Council of Ommelanden published a broadsheet that declared that Huninga was under their protection; they also announced that they considered the Oldambt a land of 'free people', whom they would gladly incorporate into Ommelander territory (see figure 7.5).[37]

This public provocation established a norm of political communication that would dominate the conflict in Groningen for the remainder of the seventeenth century. Every sentence, declaration or ordinance published by one of the authorities would be followed by a response from their opponent. It was imperative that the rival authorities of Groningen responded to one another in kind. The secretary of Groningen, Bernard Alting, highlighted the importance of proclamations when he claimed that Groninger sovereignty over the Oldambt was proven 'by the fact that for the last hundred years no ordinance,

36 *Sententie van borgemeesteren eñ raedt in Groningen, tegens Sebo Huninga* (Groningen: Hans Sas, [1639]), USTC 1021672. On this episode of the conflict see Meindert Schroor, 'Ontwrichting en oligarchisering: het midden van de zeventiende eeuw', in M.G.J. Duijvendak, et. al. (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Groningen II*, pp. 230–243, here pp. 231–235 and Marjolein 't Hart, 'Rules and Repertories: The Revolt of a Farmer's Republic in the Early Modern Netherlands', in Michael P. Hanagan, Leslie Page Moch and Wayne te Brake (eds.), *Challenging Authority: The Historical Study of Contentious Politics* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp. 197–212.

37 *De Heeren Gecommitteerde Raden der Omlanden doen te weten: alsoo ons is geremonstreert hoe dat borgemeesteren den E.E. Sebo Huninga deden vervolgen; soo ist, dat wy protesteren, nemende de selve Huninga in onse protectie* ([Groningen: s.n., 1639]), USTC 1122316.

SENTENTIE
van
Borgemeesteren eñ Raedt
In
GRONINGEN,
Tegens
SEBO HVNINGA Wt de Geerte in den Oldambte.

Tot GRONINGEN
Gedruckt by HANS SAS Boeck-drucker Ordinaris.

FIGURE 7.4 The magistrates unleashed the worst round of conflict with their condemnation of Sebo Huninga in 1639
UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, GRONINGEN

De Heeren Gecommitteerde Raden der Omlanden, tuſſchen d'Eems ende Lauwers, ſoo Ordinaris als Extra-ordinaris, in deſen expreſſe gelaſtet: DOEN TE WETEN:

ALſoo Ons / door eenige Gecommitteerden uyt den Olde-Ampten / is geremonſtreert; Hoe dat Borgemeeſteren ende Raedt der Stadt Groeningen / den E. E. SEBO HUNINGA, eerſt met geſochte appræhenſie, daer nae met openbare ende in druck gepubliceerde Edicten ende vermeynde Sententie, beden verbolgen; ter cauſe van eenighe Remonſtrantien / by hem / in qualiteyt als Volmacht vande Kerſpelen ende Ingeſetenen der Olde-Ampten / ter Vergaderinge van hare Ho: Mogenth. als oock der Heeren gedelegeerde Rechteren gepræſenteert; Zijnde de ſelve gheremonſtreerde Doleances veroorſaeckt / door verſcheydene Attentaten, ſtrijdende / niet alleene tegens de nature van een Vry Volck, maer oock tegens Recht ende alle wel-gereguleerde moderate Regieringe / ghelijck ſy voor hare Hoog: Mog: ende alle onpartijdige Rechteren præſenteren te bewijſen: Behalven dat hier toe de Ingeſetenen der Olde-Ampten voornamelijck mede hadden gedreven / dat Borgemeeſteren ende Raedt / onlangs / door eenighe Gecommitteerde uyt haer E: Middel / d'Olde-Ampten hadden willen doen onder-teeckenen ſeeckere Acte van Souverainiteyt, daer inne ſy luyden ſouden verclaren / niemandt anders te erkennen / noch te houden voor hunne Souverainen, als Borgemeeſteren ende Raedt der Stadt Groeningen / met excluſie van allen anderen / ende in Specie d'Omlanden: Dat oock hare Hoog: Mog: by Appointement van den 17. Septemb. Stylo novo laeſt leden / heeft gelieft te verſtaen / dat de Supplianten / ter oorſaecke van dien / behoorden te blijven ongemoleſteert; Alle twelcke by ons met rijpen Rade wel erwogen zijnde / ende daer by ghesien / oock attentivelijck geleſen / de geproduceerde Edicten / ende vermeynde Sententie / tegens voor-genoemde HUNINGA in druck gepubliceert; waer inne Borgemeeſteren ende Raedt niet en ſchroomen / ſich als Superieurs, ('t welck is / nae haer meninge / Souverains over d'Olde-Ampten) te qualificeeren / ende den Titul van Majeſteyt ſich aen te nemen; door dien ſy HUNINGA op-leggen het Crimen van gequetſte Hoocheyt tegens haer begaen te hebben; jae eene immemoriale Poſſeſſie van ſoodane ge-imagineerde Superioriteyt ſich te adſeriberen, ende boven dien met verſcheyden Acten van Opperſte Hoocheyt d'Olde-Ampten ſoecken te beſwaren: Sulcx dat deſe Proceduren / niet ſoo ſeer reſpiteren de Perſoone van gemeldte HUNINGA, als wel de Hoocheyt van 't Landt ende Provincie / de welcke niet by het eene ofte ander Lidt / maer (volgens hare Ho: Mog: uyt-gedruckte Sententien /) by de geſamentlijcke Staten van Stadt ende Lande is beſtaende, tot infractie van de welcke / deſe Proceduren t'eenemael zijn tenderende / by aldien daer tegens met behoorlijcke middelen niet en werde verſien; Dat Wy oock uyt de Remonſtrantien by gedachten HUNINGA aen hare Hoog: Mog: als oock aen de Heeren gedelegeerde Rechteren over-gelevert / (waer op Borgemeeſteren ende Raedts vermeynde Sententie is gevellet /) de Fauten hem te laſte ghelept niet en konnen vernemen; kan oock voor Burger van de Stadt (uyt de welcke hy over twee Jaren ſijn Domicilie heeft verandert / ende in de Olde-Ampten is gaen woonen /) volgens der Stadt Groeningens eygen Ordonnantien / niet werden gehouden, ende ſulcks al zijnde / echter niet en ſoude zijn gehouden in ongefondeerde Saecken / ſtreckende tot ſijn eygen / ende veeler goede Ingeſetenen deſer Provincie / jae ſelfs der geheeler Provincie on-verdraechlijck nae-deel, der Stadt gepretendeerde Hoocheyt te defenderen; Maer (gelijck alle andere Ingeſetenen van Stadt ende Lande) verplichtet ende verbonden zijn tot defenſie ende hooghſtandt van de geſamentlijcke Regieringe ende Hoocheyt van Stadt ende Lande voorſz geroert: Ende ter contrarie doende / grotelijcks te beſchuldighen / ende ghestraft behoorde te worden: Zynde dan deſe Actien ſtrijdich / teghens de Vryheyt van't Landt, teghens de Unie der vereenichde Nederlanden, tegens de Souverainiteyt der Provincie van Stadt ende Lande, teghens de Natuyrlijcke ende aller Volcker Rechten; jae tenderende tot de totale vilipendentie van hare Hoog: Moog: ende der ſelver Hoge Reſpect. SOO IST, dat Wy / genootſaeckt zijn wel opentlijck te proteſteren / tegens alle 't gene Borgemeeſteren ende Raedt / in deſen / tegens de Hoocheyt der geſamentlijcke Staten van Stadt ende Lande / tegens de Perſoone van SEBO HUNINGA ende de Olde-Ampten / ſich aen nemen / oft hen wijders ſullen willen aen nemen: Ende vorders / terwijlen de gemelte HUNINGA by de Sententie uyt Stadt ende Lande werdt gebannen / verclaren Wy de ſelve Sententie / in de ſelve deelen / voor Nul ende crachteloos: Nemende de ſelve HUNINGA, de andere mede Volmachten ende Inghezetenen der Olde-Ampten in onſe Protectie ende Sauve-guarde; ſonder dat Wy ſullen connen gedogen / dat yets feytelijck daer tegens ſal mogen werden geattenteert ofte gedaen: Willende vorders onſchuldich zijn aen alle inconvenienten de welcke uyt het wijdere vervolgh van deſen / 't zy tegens wel-gemeldte HUNINGA, ofte andere Mede-Volmachten ende Ingeſetenen der Olde-Ampten / ofte eenichſins anders ſullen comen te ontſtaen. Actum Groeningen den elfden Decembris / Anno 1639.

O. TAMMINGA, vidit.

Ter Ordonnantie der Heeren voorſchreven.

Abſente Secretario, S. GOCKINGA.

FIGURE 7.5 The Ommelanders immediately came to Huninga's rescue, and took up the fight for a free Oldampt in a series of placards like this one, published on 11 December 1639

GRONINGER ARCHIEVEN, GRONINGEN

constitution, law, edict, decree or placard has been issued and published in the Oldambt except for those by the city of Groningen'.[38] As soon as one of the parties staked their claim in a public space, their opponent was required to issue a response or else relinquish their political authority.

Usually ordinances were published and affixed only in the jurisdiction where the respective authority exercised their right, but these back-and-forths ignored all legal boundaries between the Groningers and the Ommelanders. Both sides appealed to their own citizens and those of their opponents: messengers from the city proclaimed ordinances outside the city's jurisdiction, while their Ommelander colleagues affixed broadsheets across the Oldambt and the Groninger cityscape.[39] A Groninger placard of 5 January 1643, prohibiting the implementation of an extraordinary tax issued by the Ommelanden on 9 December 1642, was directed firstly to all subjects of the Ommelanden, and secondly to all citizens of Groningen. Invariably, these cross-jurisdictional proclamations were rapidly denounced by the opposite side. On 26 August 1646, the Council of Ommelanden issued an ordinance against a Groninger placard of 8 August, and urged Ommelander officers to prosecute all individuals who 'distribute, affix or try to affix' the Groninger placard as 'disturbers of the common peace and defilers of the Ommelander freedoms and rights'. The officers were then to destroy the broadsheets.[40] On other occasions, the magistrates of Groningen retaliated in similar fashion, burning in public a contested Ommelander placard.[41]

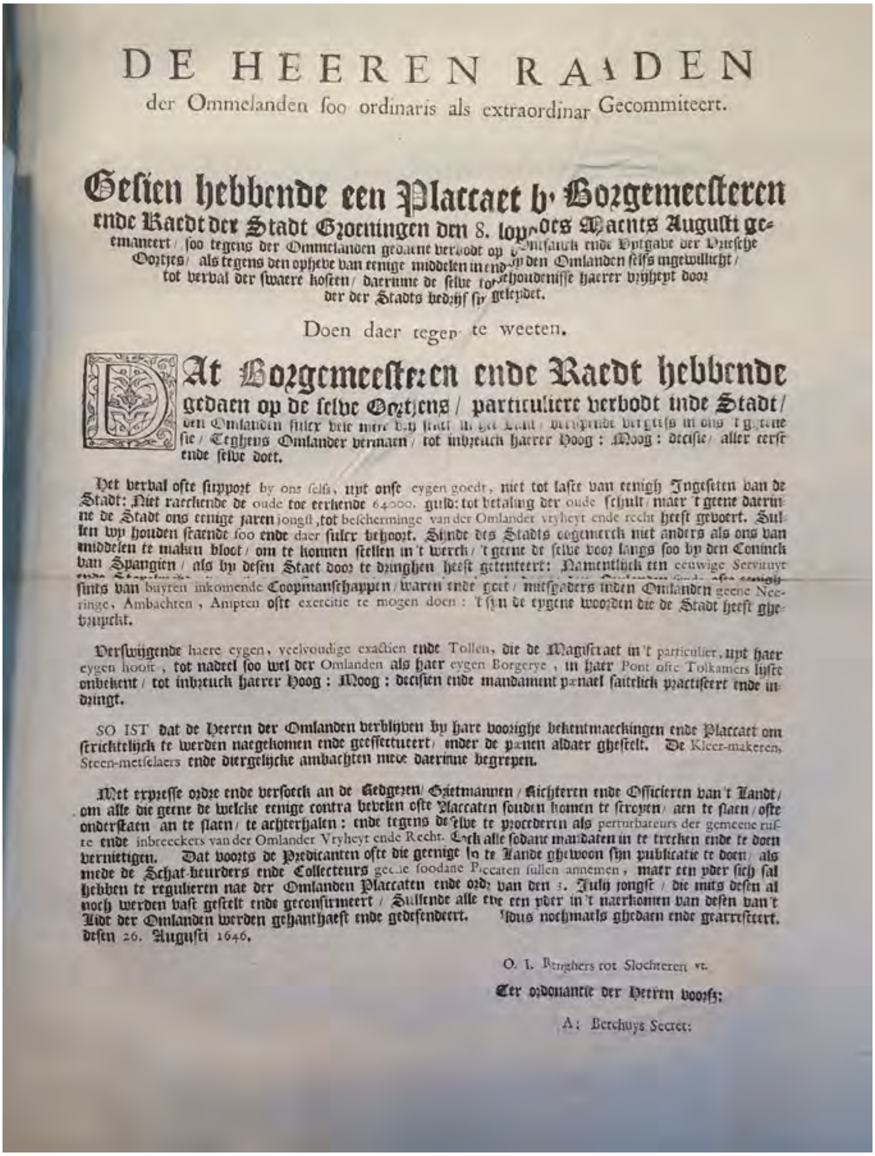
Pasted up, distributed and read out all around the province, the competing broadsheets presented the authorities with the means to attract attention to their cause and justify their policies. The citizens of Groningen received illuminating insights into the nominally secretive political debates between the two authorities. On 18 August 1647, the Ommelanders published a lengthy two-sheet placard, entitled *The origins and present state of the provincial unrest, portraying: 1. The injustice of the magistrates of Groningen, with which they mislead their own citizens, and insult the country. 2. What serpent lies under the magistrates'*

38 Bernard Alting, *Der Old-ambten dependentie, van de stadt Groningen* (Groningen: Hans Sas, 1643), USTC 1026102, p. 43.

39 See for example *Placcaet van borgemesteren ende raadt in Groningen tegens twee onbevougde placcaten van den Ommelanden* (Groningen: Hans Sas, [1646]) and *Borgemesteren ende raedt in Groningen: alsoo eenige weynige jonckeren, buyten onse kennis te doen affigeren seecker placcaet* ([Groningen: s.n., 1651]).

40 *De Heeren raaden der Ommelanden soo ordinaris als Extraordinaris gecommiteert. Gesien hebbende een placcaet by borgemeesteren der stadt Groeningen den 8. Lopendes maents Augusti geemaneert* ([Groningen: s.n., 1646]), USTC 1532080.

41 *Op het verbranden van het nieuwe Omlander reglement* (Groningen: Jan Collen, 1671).



DE HEEREN RAIDEN
der Ommelanden soo ordinaris als extraordinar Gecommiteert.

Gesien hebbende een Placcaet b' Borgemeesteren ende Raedt der Stadt Groeningen den 8. lop. des Maents Augusti geemaneert, soo tegens der Ommelanden gedaene verbodt op [illegible] ende Uytgabe der Vriesche Oortjes, als tegens den ophebe van eenige middelen in end[illegible] den Omlanden selfs ingewillicht, tot verval der swaere kosten, daerinne de selve tot [illegible] houdenisse haerer vryheyt door der der Stadts bedryf sy geleydet.

Doen daer tegen te weeten.

DAt Borgemeesteren ende Raedt hebbende gedaen op de selve Oortjens, particuliere verbodt inde Stadt, den Omlanden sulcx vele meer [illegible] verspreyde [illegible] in ons 't [illegible] sie, Teghens Omlander vermaen, tot inbreuck haerer Hoog: Moog: decisie, aller eerst ende selve doet.

Het verval ofte support by ons selfs, uyt onse eygen goedt, niet tot laste van eenigh Ingesetenen van de Stadt: Niet raeckende de oude toe eerkende 64000. guld: tot betaling der oude schult, maer 't geene daerinne de Stadt ons eenige jaren jongst, tot bescherminge van der Omlander vryheyt ende recht heeft gevoert. Sullen wy houden staende soo ende daer sulcx behoort. Synde des Stadts oogemerck niet anders als ons van middelen te maken bloot, om te konnen stellen in 't werck, 't geene de selve voor langs soo by den Coninck van Spangien, als by desen Staet door te dringhen heeft getenteert: Namentlijck een eeuwige Servituyt [illegible] sints van buyten inkomende Coopmanschappen, waren ende goet, mitsgaders inden Omlanden geene Neeringe, Ambachten, Ampten ofte exercitie te mogen doen: 't syn de eygene woorden die de Stadt heeft ghebruyckt.

Verswijgende haere eygen, veelvoudige exactien ende Tollen, die de Magistraet in 't particulier, uyt haer eygen hooft, tot nadeel soo wel der Omlanden als haer eygen Borgerye, in haer Pont ofte Tolkamers lijste onbekent, tot inbreuck haerer Hoog: Moog: decisien ende mandament pœnael feitelick practiseert ende indringt.

SO IST dat de Heeren der Omlanden verblijven by hare voorighe bekentmaeckingen ende Placcaet om strictelijck te werden naegekomen ende geeffectueert, onder de pœnen aldaer ghestelt. De Kleer-makeren, Steen-metselaers ende diergelijcke ambachten mede daerinne begrepen.

Met expresse ordre ende versoeck an de Redgers, Grietmannen, Richteren ende Officieren van 't Landt, om alle die geene de welcke eenige contra bevelen ofte Placcaten souden komen te strooyen, aen te slaen, ofte onderstaen an te slaen, te achterhalen: ende tegens de selve te procederen als perturbateurs der gemeene ruste ende inbreeckers van der Omlander Vryheyt ende Recht. Oock alle sodane mandaten in te trecken ende te doen vernietigen. Dat voorts de Predicanten ofte die geenige [illegible] te Lande ghewoon syn publicatie te doen, als mede de Schat-beurders ende Collecteurs geene soodane Placcaten sullen annemen, maer een yder sich sal hebben te reguleren nae der Omlanden Placcaten ende ordre van den 3. July jongst, die mits desen al noch werden vast gestelt ende geconfirmeert, Sullende alle ende een yder in 't naerkomen van desen van 't Lidt der Omlanden werden gehanthaeft ende gedefendeert. Idus nochmaels ghedaen ende gearresteert, desen 26. Augusti 1646.

O. I. Berghers tot Slochteren vt.

Ter ordonnantie der Heeren voorsz:

A: Berchuys Secret:

FIGURE 7.6 Responding in kind: the Council of Ommelanden condemn a Groninger placard of 8 August 1646
GRONINGER ARCHIEVEN, GRONINGEN

efforts, in which they revealed in some detail the arguments advanced in the meetings of the States of Groningen.[42] The Ommelanders closed with a warning to all citizens of the province that it was the magistrates who had colluded with the King of Spain, and the Ommelanders who had fought for liberty.

The solemn decorum normally associated with the publication of the law was largely abandoned in the chaos of the Groningen conflict. Instead the public was exposed to the internal divisions of their regents and the relentless struggles for dominance between different factions. On 26 February 1657, the Council of Ommelanden published a placard against the magistrates of Groningen, denouncing their opponents and accusing them of disrupting the assembly of the States of Groningen.[43] This was followed two weeks later by another Ommelander broadsheet, which claimed that the last placard was produced by 'restless people' who did not have the authority to speak on their behalf.[44] This public misstep by the divided Ommelanders was eagerly exploited by the magistrates: on 17 March they issued an ordinance in which they announced that

> we have received two different placards or manifests issued by the Council of the Ommelanden dated 26 February and 14 March … which demonstrate the notorious divisions and dissent in the Ommelanden … and so we have been forced to note in the register of provincial resolution that it is impossible to deliberate with the Ommelanders when they are so divided and disunited….[45]

The repeated cycle of conflict in Groningen reverberated throughout the Dutch Republic. An important clause in the terms of reduction of 1594 was that all future differences between the Ommelanden and the city were to be resolved 'through determination and judgement of the gentlemen of the States General, or their commissaries' (article five). Public opinion in The Hague was therefore crucial to the success of the Ommelander or Groninger cause, and

42 *Oorsaecke ende toestant onser provintie on-ruste* (S.l.: s.n., [1647]), USTC 1036013.

43 *De heeren van den Ommelanden tusschen d'Eems ende Lauwers doen te wieten: alsoo wy met groot leedtwesen moeten aensien, dat de provinciale regieringe van justitie ende politie is onbestelt gebleven tot schaede ende ondienst der provincie* ([Groningen: s.n., 1657]).

44 *D* [*sic*] *Heeren van de Ommelanden tusschen den Eems ende Lauwers. Doen te wieten. Also ons is ter handt gekomen seker seditieus placcaet by die name van het corpus der Ommelanden uytgegeven* ([Groningen: s.n., 1657]).

45 *Borgemeesteren ende raedt in Groningen doen te wieten. Alsoo ons zijn ter hant gekomen twee verschillende placcaten ofte manifesten, by d'heeren van d'Ommelanden geemaneert* ([Groningen: s.n., 1657]).

both parties endeavoured to rally supporters to their banner. Both sides sent frequent delegations to the States General, but also to their neighbours at the States of Friesland, or to the *Stadhouder*, urging them to declare their position. In the later 1630s, the magistrates of Groningen maintained a permanent agent in The Hague, Willem van der Gracht, who was paid a pension of 200 *gulden* a year to represent his paymasters and report back on the mood in The Hague.[46]

Agents like Van der Gracht were crucial to the lobbying process in The Hague. The delegates from the city of Groningen and the Ommelanden formally submitted supplications to the meetings of the States General, presenting their cause verbally before providing copies of their propositions for discussion.[47] But to bring the urgency of their petitions to attention, agents and delegates could press their missives and pamphlets into the hands of regents on the Binnenhof. On missions beyond their own province, the Groningers and Ommelanders sustained their publicity campaign: their ordinances and remonstrances were often reprinted in The Hague. In November 1677, the Ommelanders paid an unspecified sum to Roeland van Kinschot, a councillor of the High Court of Holland, for the publication of declarations and tracts.[48] Such reprints were generally broadsheet or pamphlet ordinances, copied faithfully from the originals printed in Groningen.[49] Shorter pieces were reinforced by lengthy justifications: in 1640 Sebo Huninga's *Bewys vande vryheyt ende independentie der vrije Oldampten* (Evidence of the liberty and independence of the free Oldampt), a 150-page tract, was published in Rotterdam. The publications were initially distributed for free; others made their way into the hands of booksellers in Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. Publishers like Hendrick Laurensz and Johannes Verhoeve stocked ordinances and pamphlets published by both sides of the conflict, as well as the interventions of the States General.[50]

46 GAG, Archief van de stad, inv. 332, f. 388v.

47 See for example *Verscheyden resolutien van de Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenigde Nederlanden* of 1652 (S.l.: s.n., 1652): 'on Wednesday 8 May 1652, there was presented and read at the assembly of the States General the written proposition of the gentlemen commissaries of the Ommelanden …'

48 GAG, Ommelander Archieven, inv. 411, f. 22v.

49 An example is *Die Heeren van den Omlanden, doen te weten: Alsoo het door hem selve is bekendt, dat het recht van tollen die souverainiteyt, dat is d'eenparige provinciale hoogheyt en[de] regeringe van Stadt ende Landt toekomt* (Den Haag: Isaac Burchoorn, 1642), USTC 1122317.

50 *Catalogus variorum & insignium librorum Hendrici Laurentii P.M. bibliopolæ Amsterodamensis* ([Amsterdam]: erfgenamen Hendrick Laurensz, [1649]), USTC 1022549; *Catalogus variorum, insigniorum librorum officinae Johannis à Waesberge* (Utrecht: Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge, 1609 [=1660]); *Catalogus variorum insignium librorum*

All too often the conflict placed the regents of Holland and the other provinces in a difficult position. Due to the balance between the Ommelanders and the city, it was rarely possible to please both, as the States General had found shortly after the reduction of 1594. Furthermore, the conflict in the north-east of the country provided an ideal means for disgruntled statesmen to fight out altogether different battles. In 1676 and 1677, when a new bout of warfare broke out, the States of Friesland and the *Stadhouder* of Friesland and Groningen, Hendrik Casimir II, came to the rescue of the magistrates of Groningen, who had been reprimanded by the States General and *Stadhouder* William III. The Frisians and Hendrik Casimir had a bone to pick with the States General and William III, and published several letters and resolutions declaring their indignation with their colleagues. Hendrik Casimir also affixed placards across the Ommelanden invalidating the ordinances of the States General. The Ommelanders had the placards ripped down, and printed a furious letter to Hendrik Casimir (their own *Stadhouder*), accusing him of making the Ommelanders 'slaves' of Groningen, and of deriding the memory of his ancestors. Hendrik Casimir, somewhat shaken by the audacity of the Ommelander letter and its violent imagery, published a response in which he questioned whether it had been produced by a rogue delegate of the Council. With the threat of William III's troops being sent to the province, Hendrik Casimir and the Frisians retreated.

The conflict in Groningen has scarcely been noticed by scholars of the Dutch Republic, but in its time it generated significant national interest. In 1678, a quarter of the content of the *Hollandse Mercurius*, a hugely popular annual review, was devoted to the conflict between the city of Groningen and the Ommelanders.[51] The fact that the *Hollandse Mercurius* usually limited itself largely to international political affairs demonstrates the impact of the struggle on the national media. The literature of the conflict has survived very well, because it was collected by contemporaries. Seventeenth-century auction catalogues reveal several libraries that were stocked with bound volumes of 'political tracts of the city of Groningen and Ommelanden', or other

incompactorum officinae Johannis Verhoeve (Den Haag: Johannes Steucker, 1662); *Verzeichnus vieler schönen ungebundenen in Teutsch und Niederländischen Sprache Bucher* (Amsterdam: erfgenamen Johannes Janssonius, 1665).

51 *De nieuwe Hollantse Mercurius, verhalende van oorlog en vrede 'tgeen in en omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden, en by gevolge in geheel Europa, in't jaer 1677 is voorgevallen. Acht-en-twintigste deel* (Haarlem: Abraham Casteleyn, 1678), pp. 98–154.

publications on the struggle.[52] Some of these bound volumes survive in library collections today.[53]

The terms of the reduction of 1594 ensured that the States General was bound to be involved in the provincial rivalries of Groningen. Yet there was another reason for the national interest in the conflict. The nature of the Dutch union ensured that each of the seven provinces held one vote at the States General concerning all matters pertaining to foreign policy and the national defence budget. When the two authorities of Groningen were at loggerheads (over what must have seemed to the regents in The Hague like trivial rural matters), the other provinces could not rely on Groningen to offer a coherent opinion on federal policy. In a letter of 22 May 1677, William III of Orange wrote that

> It causes us much grief to have seen for the last two years the province of Stad and Lande [Groningen] in such a state, that it can present no help or assistance to the general union, and even obstructs [the union], leaving the contributions to the general means for the maintenance of the army to be carried by the other provinces, to the detriment of the generality …[54]

William was frustrated because a few nobles in the Ommelanden and the bourgeois peat dealers of Groningen could easily undermine his international political designs. The contest between the Ommelanden and the burgomasters was a constant reminder of the disunity of the state, of the stubbornness of its inhabitants and the unsuccessful efforts of the *Stadhouder* and the States General to resolve the troubles.

Profitable Strife

The printers and booksellers of Groningen had no complaints. They secured significant business from the conflict, and they played an important role in

52 *Bibliotheca Oizeiliana* (Leiden: Jacobus Hackius, 1687), pp. 183–184; *Catalogus Bibliothecae Insignis Quam Magno Studio Et Sumptu Sibi Comparavit Praenobilis ac Generosus Vir, Dn. Reinoldus Alberda* (Groningen: Cornelis Barlinckhof, 1692), pp. 31–34, 42–43, 50–51; *Catalogus Variorum & Insignium Librorum, Praecipue Juridicorum, Nobilissimi Dom. Guilhelmi Ploos ab Amtsel* [*sic*] (Utrecht: Dirck van Ackersdijck, 1667), f. B2v; *Gatalogus* [*sic*]*, Variorum & Insignium Librorum, Clarissimi Viri, D. Marci Boeraven* (Leiden: Franciscus Hackius, 1645), USTC 1122152, p. [21].

53 See for example Universiteitsbibliotheek, Groningen, vol. Backer 297.

54 Cited in *De nieuwe Hollantse Mercurius*, p. 130.

its development. Before the 1640s, only two printers, Hans Sas and Nathanael Roman, had plied their trade in Groningen.[55] Around 1650, not coincidentally around the height of the Ommelander conflict, there were no fewer than nine print shops in the city. The authorities of Groningen were some of their most important customers. Groningen publishers were some distance removed from the great centres of the international book trade, and rarely took on significant projects that could rival competitors in Amsterdam, Leiden or Frankfurt. Instead, they looked to the professors and students of the local university and the secular authorities for most of their business: more than 80% of the known output of Groningen printers in the seventeenth century is composed of official or academic print. In years of heightened conflict, such as 1677, almost every single book published in Groningen concerned the political crisis between the magistrates and the Ommelanden.[56] The largest portion consisted of broadsheets and pamphlets, delivered directly to the authorities for distribution.

Because the conflict was often a debate concerning privilege and custom, publishers also provided reprints of historic ordinances and compendia of placards on the conflict.[57] When arguing for the Ommelander cause in 1677, the secretary of the Council of Ommelanden, Henric Piccardt, cited interventions of the States General of 1599, 1660, 1662, 1663, 1667, 1610, 1615, 1628, 1640, 1645, 1649 and 1650.[58] A Groninger placard of 5 January 1643 was accompanied by an annotated reprint of the 1599 States General ruling in order to reinforce the argument that the Ommelanders had not fulfilled their financial obligations to the province. The contending parties (and the bewildered regents throughout the rest of the country) had to keep track of the ever-extending narrative of conflict, and their need for reference copies was satisfied by the grateful printers of Groningen.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, Hans Sas was the most important printer-publisher active in the city. He opened a print shop in 1607,

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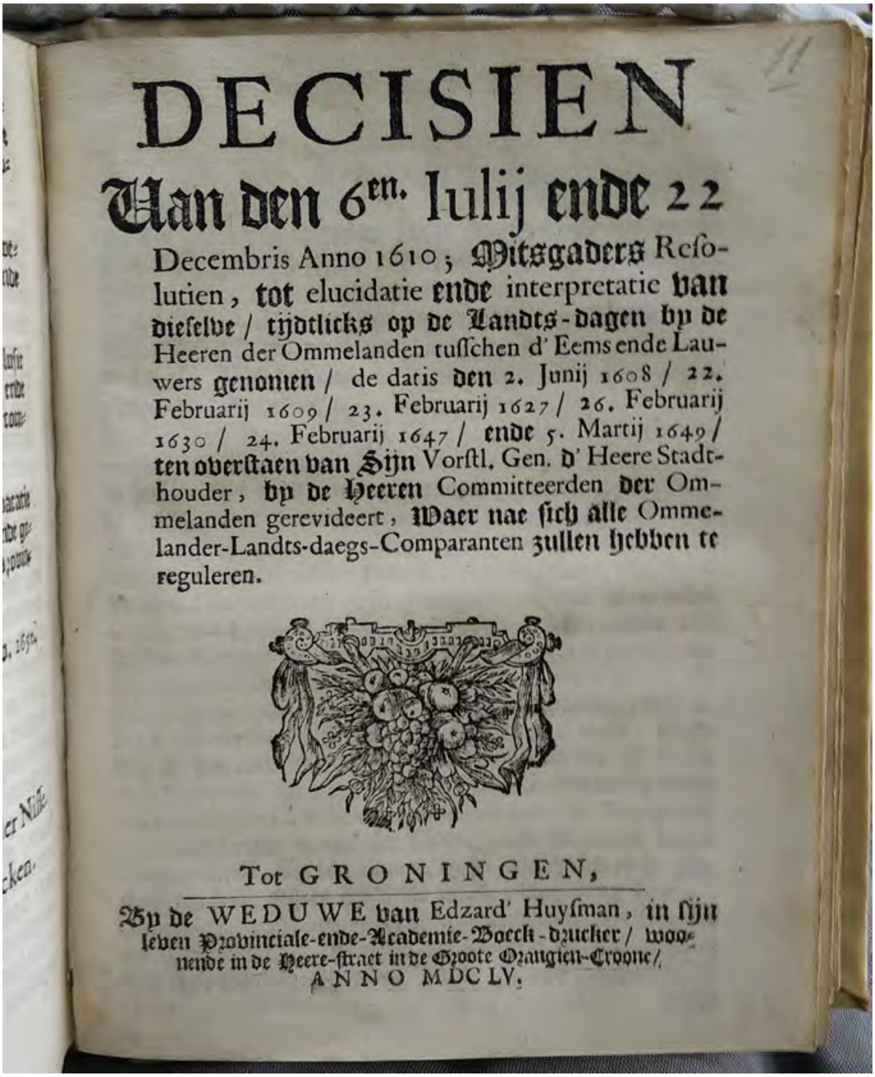
55 Harry van der Laan, *Het Groninger Boekbedrijf. Drukkers, uitgevers en boekhandelaren in Groningen tot het eind van de negentiende eeuw* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2005), pp. 33–51.

56 Out of 38 works known to have been printed in Groningen in 1677, 34 concerned the political crisis.

57 *Copulaten van remonstrantien, memorien acten, resolutien, missiven, protesten, en andere stucken gedient hebbende in het different tusschen beyde leden van stadt Groningen ende Ommelanden* (Groningen: Cornelis Barlinckhof, 1677) and the *Verzameling van missiven, copulaten e.d. van de Staten Generaal aan de burgemeester en raad van Groningen, 1677* ([Groningen: s.n., 1677).

58 Cited in *De nieuwe Hollantse Mercurius*, p. 127.



DECISIEN
Van den 6en. Iulij ende 22 Decembris Anno 1610; Mitsgaders Reſolutien, tot elucidatie ende interpretatie van dieſelve / tijdtlicks op de Landts-dagen by de Heeren der Ommelanden tuſſchen d' Eems ende Lauwers genomen / de datis den 2. Junij 1608 / 22. Februarij 1609 / 23. Februarij 1627 / 26. Februarij 1630 / 24. Februarij 1647 / ende 5. Martij 1649 / ten overſtaen van Zijn Vorſtl. Gen. d' Heere Stadthouder, by de Heeren Committeerden der Ommelanden gerevideert, Waer nae ſich alle Ommelander-Landts-daegs-Comparanten zullen hebben te reguleren.

Tot GRONINGEN,
By de WEDUWE van Edzard' Huyſman, in ſijn leven Provinciale-ende-Academie-Boeck-drucker / woonende in de Heere-ſtraet in de Groote Orangien-Croone / ANNO MDCLV.

FIGURE 7.7 The printers of Groningen were happy to accommodate the contesting authorities with numerous reprints of historic ordinances and resolutions
UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK, GRONINGEN

and remained in Groningen until his death in 1651. He was appointed *stadsdrukker* (printer to the municipality) by the magistrates, *Statendrukker* (States printer) by the States of Groningen, and he became the first academy printer of the University of Groningen. When he died he was honoured by a funeral service directed by the university.[59] Until the arrival of Nathanael Roman in 1629, Sas was the only printer in Groningen; clearly a valued and respected member of the community, he was also paid well. The magistrates usually paid him around 1,000 *gulden* a year for the delivery of placards, books and stationery.[60] When the magistrates of Groningen published their first volley of declarations against the Ommelanders in 1639, they naturally turned to Sas for his services.

Until the end of the eighteenth century no printers would establish themselves in the rural Ommelanden. It is therefore all the more remarkable that the Ommelanders were so quick to respond to their opponent's declarations in print. All Ommelander placards, ordinances and resolutions had to be printed right under the noses of the magistrates of Groningen. During the 1640s it was Hans Sas, the esteemed printer of the town, who also provided the Ommelanders with their ordinances. While he was happy to receive Ommelander cash, it is no surprise that Sas, or any other Groningen printer after him, never placed his imprint on the publications of the Council of Ommelanden. That might have been one provocation too many for the magistrates.

After the death of Hans Sas, the printer Jan Claessen became the new *stadsdrukker*, while Edzard Huisman received the privilege of *Statendrukker* and academy printer. The Ommelanders maintained their habit of having their ordinances printed with the *Statendrukker*. Judging by the sums paid by the Ommelanders, only a fraction of their declarations and ordinances have survived. The Council of Ommelanden paid Edzard Huisman close to 400 *gulden* in 1651, and over 1,000 *gulden* in 1652. The widow of Edzard Huisman, who took over his positions in 1654, received no less than 7,000 *gulden* from the Ommelanders between 1659 and 1666.[61] These were significant payments. While they clearly preferred the Huismans, the Ommelanders did not restrict themselves to their services. On 17 November 1677, the Ommelanders paid out 1,000 *gulden* to 'several printers' for the publication of declarations and tracts.[62] Other statements in their account books reveal that these 'several printers' included Samuel Pieman, as well as the *stadsdrukker* Cornelis

59 *Rector Academiae* [funeral oration for Johannes Sas, 29.09.1651] (Groningen: s.n., 1651).
60 GAG, Archief van de stad, inv. 332, f. 397v.
61 GAG, Ommelander Archieven, inv. 397, f. 19r; inv. 398, f. 16v; inv. 399, f. 18r; inv. 401, f. 18v; inv.402, p. 20v; inv. 403, f. 20r.
62 GAG, Ommelander Archieven, inv. 411, f. 22v.

Barlinckhof.[63] Typographical analysis suggests that Frans Bronchorst, the *stadsdrukker* who succeeded Jan Claessen, also printed for the Ommelanders.[64] The Ommelanders had no qualms approaching printers who usually published their opponent's declarations; this strategy may have been a deliberate attempt to spread the patronage of the Council. The magistrates of Groningen, fighting on home turf within the safety of their walls, were more consistent in their choice of *stadsdrukker*; but even they sometimes called upon Rembertus Huisman, the States and Ommelander printer after the death of his mother, for the printing of ordinances in the 1670s.

To the printers of Groningen, the Ommelander conflict was a welcome financial windfall. As the Groningen account books reveal, the authorities rewarded them generously. But the print shop could also become a site of the struggle, or worse, a bargaining chip in the conflict. On 8 September 1660, the magistrates of Groningen published an ordinance in which they accused the regents of the Ommelanden of obstructing a recent ruling of the provincial States, aimed at curbing rural (Ommelander) taxation.[65] The Ommelanders had visited the printer of the States (the widow of Edzard Huisman) and told her not to print any copies of the placard. Given that the widow was also the printer of the Council of Ommelanden, one can imagine that she could easily be persuaded. As usual, however, the Groningers played the same game. On 30 July 1677, the Ommelanders complained to the States General that the magistrates of the city had assaulted a printer who produced a placard for them. They wrote that

> A certain individual, a Frisian of birth, but resident in Groningen, who was recently appointed official printer of the Ommelanden, was arrested [by the magistrates] for printing an Ommelander placard, and his equipment and furnishings were confiscated and taken to the city hall, to ruin his livelihood and family.[66]

63 GAG, Ommelander Archieven, inv. 390, f. 23v; inv. 411, f. 24r.

64 Compare for example the typography and woodcut initials of a 26 April 1662 Groningen ordinance with a 13 September 1656 Ommelanden broadsheet: *De heeren borgemeesteren ende raedt in Groningen, sijnde in ervaeringe gekoomen, hoe dat jonckeren uyt den Omlanden onlanghs in Den Haeghe, aen haere Ho: Mog: hebben voorgedraegen seecker concept nopende d'ampliatie van het Omlander reglement* ([Groningen: Frans Bronchorst, 1662]) and *Sententie der heeren gecommitteerde richteren ende arbiters der Ommelanden tusschen d'Eems ende Lauwers, gepronuncieert tegens Roeleff Fockens* ([Groningen: Frans Bronchorst, 1656]).

65 *De heeren borgemeesteren ende raadt in Groningen, doen te weten* [*Reactie van het bestuur van de stad Groningen op beschuldigingen in een door de Ommelanden uitgevaardigd plakkaat*] ([Groningen: s.n., 1660]).

66 *De nieuwe Hollantse Mercurius*, p. 147.

Rembertus Huisman, the printer affected, must have been shaken by the whole affair. The arrest was a political retaliation, one of the many blows inflicted by the Groningers and Ommelanders upon their opponent. The magistrates quickly released Huisman, however, and returned his possessions. He was, after all, the printer not only of the Ommelanden, but of the States of Groningen. When the conflict subsided, the magistrates would require his services too. When the two parties had come to an informal peace, they once again presented themselves as the united States of Groningen, exercising sovereign rule over all the inhabitants of the province. Their solemn placards and ordinances, printed by Huisman, betrayed nothing of their divisions. This thin veneer of dignity, covering decades of public strife, would have fooled few in Groningen.

Conclusion

States across early modern Europe frequently attacked one another publicly through placards. From the emergence of the Dutch state in the later sixteenth century, the States General had issued ordinances denouncing the Spanish Habsburg crown, contesting their claims on territory, or appealing to citizens in the Southern Netherlands for assistance in the liberation of their homeland.[67] The Habsburgs generally responded to such publications in kind. The proclamation of declarations of war, an essential element of early modern politics, also offered authorities opportunities to justify their conduct and highlight the wrongdoings of their enemy. As Helmer Helmers has recently demonstrated, early modern states and diplomats had ample means available to protect their own public reputation and subvert that of their opponents. The statesmen of the Dutch Republic, brought up in a decentralised republican state with a contested political constitution, were certainly not foreign to such tactics: they were 'among the first to develop what we might call an institutionalized public diplomacy', a form of communication which often relied on the technology of the printing press.[68]

67 See for some examples, *Placcaet, ende ordonnantie van retorsie, der hoogh ende moghende heeren Staten Generael daer by alle commercien met den vyandt werden verboden* (Den Haag: weduwe en erfgenamen Hillebrant van Wouw, 1625), USTC 1032818 and *Placaet van retorsie, teghen de ongefondeerde pretensien vanden koningh van Spaignen, op het Quartier ende Meyerije van 'sHertogen-bosch* (Den Haag: weduwe en erfgenamen Hillebrant van Wouw, 1636), USTC 1019944.

68 Helmers, 'Public diplomacy in Early Modern Europe', p. 407.

In the confederal Dutch Republic, with its plethora of competing jurisdictions, authorities employed similar strategies of communication to resolve their domestic conflicts. The authority of the city councils and provincial States were inextricably tied to perceptions of their performance as guardians of the confederal union. By publishing in print their nominally secret deliberations, letters and resolutions, Dutch authorities offered the public a glimpse into the closed chambers of the States or the city hall. Through this they hoped to embarrass their opponents publicly, forcing them to issue a response or be left with a blemish on their reputation; at the same time they sought to defend their own honour, a task greatly complicated by the appropriation of similar tactics by their opponents. Each advantage could be exploited for gains elsewhere: the demotion of a political rival, concessions of economic privileges, or simply public humiliation. Throughout the seventeenth century, alliances and patronage networks in the Dutch Republic were constantly shifting, and never solidified into defined political parties.[69] For this reason the magistrates of Groningen and the Council of Ommelanden battled in public for the attention of their peers throughout the Dutch Republic as much as their own citizens.

These communication strategies encouraged a burgeoning print trade. The printers, publishers and booksellers of Groningen were grateful for the patronage of the local authorities, and were happy, in many instances, to cater to both sides of the conflict. Although the printing shop itself could turn into a space of political conflict, the print trade benefited hugely from the communication strategies employed by the regents. The role of printers was also crucial to the amplification of the conflict throughout the Dutch Republic. The circulation of printed declarations from Groningen to The Hague and beyond extended the sense of participation to citizens beyond the immediate confines of the province. This was a battle which was fought not only in the Groningen countryside or market square, but in the bookshops of The Hague, Amsterdam and other cities. In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, the conduct of politics had become inseparably tied to the business of books.

69 D.J. Roorda, *Partij en Factie. De oproeren van 1672 in de steden van Holland en Zeeland, een krachtmeting tussen partijen en facties* (Groningen: Wolters, 1978).

PART 3

Patronage and Prestige

Chapter 8

The Rise of the *Stampatore Camerale*: Printers and Power in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome

Paolo Sachet

More than any other early modern power, the sixteenth-century Catholic Church is generally identified with a strict, if not reactionary policy towards printing. As part of its struggle against the Reformation, the papacy developed a vast and centralised system of ecclesiastical censorship. While it failed to be as universal as originally envisaged, it had serious ramifications on the culture of Catholic countries, beginning with Italy. An ever-growing number of studies is devoted to this subject, benefiting from the opening of the archive of the Roman Inquisition in 1998 and from the ground-breaking critical edition of the Indexes of Forbidden Books.[1] By contrast, almost all of the Church's attempts to harness printing as a means of communication in support of its own cause have been largely overlooked. This observation is especially true for the very heart of Catholicism, the city of Rome. In the capital of the Papal States, however, cardinals and popes did employ local publishers to print an array of scholarly books to challenge Protestantism mostly in the patristic and historiographical fields. As I have illustrated elsewhere, these innovative attempts took place long before the establishment of the Typographia Vaticana in 1587.[2]

1 To cite only the most relevant contributions, see Gigliola Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo: la censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura (1471–1605)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997), as well as her *Proibito capire: la Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005); Vittorio Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice: la censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2006); Peter Godman, *The Saint as Censor: Robert Bellarmine between Inquisition and Index* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2000); Ugo Rozzo, *La letteratura italiana negli Indici del Cinquecento* (Udine: Forum, 2005). For the broader picture, see María José Vega, Julian Weiss and Cesc Esteve (eds.), *Reading and Censorship in Early Modern Europe* (*Conference Proceeding, Barcelona, 11–13 December 2007*) (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2010); Sandro Landi, *Stampa, censura e opinione pubblica in età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011); and Hubert Wolf, *Index: der Vatikan und die verbotenen Bücher* (Munich: Beck, 2006). I wish to express my gratitude to Claudia Daniotti, Stephen Parkin and the editors of this volumes for their insightful suggestions and to David Speranzi for his help in tracing two rare bulls in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence.

2 See Paolo Sachet, 'A Humanist Printer Moves from Venice to Rome: The Curial Patronage of Paolo Manuzio', in Cristina Dondi etc. (eds.), *La stampa romana nella Città dei Papi e in Europa* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2016), pp. 217–233; Paolo Sachet, 'La

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This paper aims to shed light on another little-investigated aspect of the use of movable type by the Roman Curia in the late Renaissance, by focussing on the publication of ephemera rather than erudite books. Revisiting a well-established historiographical *topos*, it will examine the early days of the Apostolic Chamber's printer (*stampatore camerale*), a new figure entrusted with disseminating official documentation. According to conventional wisdom, a stream of Apostolic printers starting with the Silbers in the 1510s and continuing with Francesco Calvo and the Blado family have been identified. This assumption, based on no evidence and dated literature, has been uncritically reverberated by distinguished scholars of Roman Renaissance printing, including Francesco Barberi and Emerenziana Vaccaro.[3]

A closer look at sources provides a very different picture. On the one hand, I will question the accepted reconstruction of the events by showing the risks in building a firm chronology upon uncertain dates, such as those related to official broadsheets. On the other, I will analyse some key published and unpublished archival acts and draw attention, for the first time, on printers' networks and the internal politics of the papal Curia. Such wide-ranging documentation will show how the innovative office of *stampatore camerale* resulted from a considerably slower process than previously thought, shedding light on the intermediary role of high offices in the relation between printers and rulers. Dynamics were marked by sheer competition and political patronage, in which the heads of the Apostolic Chancery and Chamber played a crucial part. In fact, the formalisation of the *stampatore camerale* took place as late as the spring of 1550, when Julius III eventually acknowledged Blado's services and assigned the publication of official material by means of a privilege, granted only to him. In doing so, the pope paved the way to the integration of the *stampatore camerale* into the papal administration, turning printing into an affair of state.

Chiesa davanti ai Padri: Erasmo, gli umanisti riformati e la patristica cattolica romana tra Rinascimento e Controriforma', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 54:2 (2018), pp. 389–419; and my book *Publishing for the Popes: The Roman Curia and the Use of Printing (1527–1555)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020), where I discuss in details the earlier, scattered bibliographical studies on the topic and anticipate part of this contribution.

3 Emerenziana Vaccaro, 'Documenti e precisazioni su Antonio Blado ed eredi', *Bollettino dell'Istituto di patologia del libro*, 9 (1950), pp. 48–85, at pp. 51, 57. Francesco Barberi, 'Blado, Antonio', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (*DBI*), X, 1968, pp. 753–757, at p. 753; his 'Calvo, Francesco Giulio', *DBI*, XVII, 1974, pp. 38–41, at p. 39; and his essays collected and republished in *Tipografi romani del Cinquecento: Guillery, Ginnasio Mediceo, Calvo, Dorico, Cartolari* (Florence: Olschki, 1983), pp. 19–20 and, less assertively, at p. 84.

Early Printers, 'Red Tape' and the Papacy

With the arrival of Sweynheym and Pannartz and other German typographers, Rome and its surroundings were the cradle of Italian printing in the 1460s and 70s.[4] However, support for and interaction with this new mode of communication came mainly from a few high-ranking curial prelates, such as the bishops Giovanni Andrea Bussi and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo and the Cardinals Bessarion, Cusa, Torquemada and Todeschini Piccolomini, rather than from the papacy as an institution.[5] Nor should the occasional granting of privileges to protect some works from piracy be seen as a well-thought political, cultural or religious policy on the part of the Curia; as was the case within other privilege-granting bodies across early modern Europe, the whole process usually started with a plea from the individual printer or the author of a specific work, not from the upper ranks.[6] At the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth, papal interest in printing generally leaned towards regulation rather than exploitation, as the threatening implications of an almost unlimited and unmediated access to knowledge started to become

4 For a general overview of the development of priting in Rome, see Francesco Barberi, 'Librai e stampatori nella Roma dei Papi', in Francesco Barberi, *Per una storia del libro: profili, note, ricerche* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981), pp. 197–235, at pp. 197–211 and Gian Ludovico Masetti Zannini, *Stampatori e librai a Roma nella seconda metà del Cinquecento. Documenti inediti* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1980). For the years before 1527, see in particular Concetta Bianca etc. (eds.), *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento: aspetti e problemi: atti del seminario, 1–2 giugno 1979* (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di paleografia, diplomatica e archivistica, 1980); Massimo Miglio (ed.), *Scrittura, biblioteche e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento: atti del II seminario, 6–8 maggio 1982* (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di paleografia, diplomatica e archivistica, 1983) and Massimo Miglio, *Saggi di stampa: tipografi e cultura a Roma nel Quattrocento*, ed. by Anna Modigliani (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2002); Paola Farenga (ed.), *Editori e edizioni a Roma nel Rinascimento* (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2005); Cristina Dondi etc. (eds.), *La stampa romana*.

5 See the recent overview provided by Concetta Bianca, 'Le strade della "sancta ars": la stampa e la curia a Roma nel XV secolo', in Dondi et al. (eds.), *La stampa romana*, pp. 1–8.

6 See Maria Grazia Blasio, *"Cum gratia et privilegio": programmi editoriali e politica pontificia Roma (1487–1527)* (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 1988); and for a broader perspective, based on different sources, see Jane C. Ginsburg, 'Proto-Property in Literary and Artistic Works: Sixteenth-Century Papal Printing Privileges', *The Columbia Journal of Law & the Arts*, 36 (2013), pp. 345–458. On privileges elsewhere in Europe, see Edwige Keller-Rahbé, Henriette Pommier and Daniel Régnier-Roux (eds.), *Privilèges de librairie en France et en Europe – XVI^e^–XVII^e^ siècles* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2017), including the Venetian case analysed by Angela Nuovo, 'Naissance et système des privilèges à Venise du XV^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle', pp. 331–347, which can be integrated with Sabrina Minuzzi (ed.), *The Invention of the Author: The Privilegio di Stampa in Renaissance Venice* (Venice: Marsilio, 2017). See also Erika Squassina and Andrea Ottone (eds.), *Privilegi librari nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2020).

apparent for the Church's political and religious authority. The interventions of Innocent VIII in 1487, of Alexander VI in 1501 and of Leo X in 1515 moved in this direction: building a system of preliminary censorship in which printing licenses known as *imprimatur* were issued by local bishops or, in the Eternal City, by the Master of the Sacred Palace.[7]

It was only in the early sixteenth century that the papacy began to interact with the technology of movable type more and more consistently in order to serve an immediate purpose, i.e., spreading its proclamations more quickly, cheaply and broadly. This bureaucratic use is hardly surprising given the pope's two-fold identity as both a temporal and spiritual authority. Just as his political orders needed to be disseminated throughout his temporal domain, so too, did his religious pronouncements have to reach the faithful throughout his spiritual domain, which was depicted as ostensibly global ('Urbi et orbi'). No other European ruler either enjoyed the benefices or had to shoulder the burdens of a theocracy that produced a comparable quantity of official material. Bulls, briefs, indulgences, *motu propri*, taxes, laws and *bandi*, as well as statutes, rules and constitutions for lay guilds and religious orders were constantly promulgated by different authorities, from the pope himself to the various bodies comprising the intricate Roman bureaucratic system, such as the Apostolic Chamber, the Chancery, the Datary, the tribunals of Penitentiary, Sacra Rota and Signatura as well as the Commune of Rome (also known as Popolo Romano).[8]

7 Frajese, *Nascita dell'Indice*, pp. 15–35, stresses the very limited effect of these first regulations. Nevertheless, they marked an extremely important turn, if one considers the development of the control over printing established in the following decades and centuries by the Catholic and Protestant churches, as well as by European lay rulers; see references in footnote 1 and Mario Infelise, *I padroni dei libri: Il controllo sulla stampa nella prima età moderna* (Rome/Bari: Laterza, 2014).

8 For an historical overview of the papal administration, see Fernando de Lasala and Paulius Rabikauskas, *Il documento medievale e moderno: panorama storico della diplomatica generale e pontifica*[!] (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana and Istituto portoghese di Sant'Antonio, 2003), esp. pp. 222–266. Current bibliographical standards make it difficult to pinpoint the exact amount of printed material produced by the early modern Curia, since authorship is either regarded as anonymous or variously (if not randomly) attributed to 'Catholic Church', the reigning pope or a specific department of the papal bureaucracy. Nevertheless, USTC statistics show how the Stamperia Camerale, the official administrative press established in the early seventeenth century, is by large the most productive firm in the first two centuries of Western printing, with nearly 100 editions averagely issued every year between 1605 and 1650 (https://ustc.ac.uk/results?q0=0,0,1&qp=1&qs0=11 accessed on 05/04/2020). See Flavia Bruni, 'In the Name of God: Governance, Public Order and Theocracy in the Broadsheets of the *Stamperia Camerale* of Rome', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 139–161.

These texts could normally be fitted onto a single broadsheet, and printed rapidly in large quantities with little effort. These advantages were important, since the area of impact, so to speak, of papal documentation was often extraordinarily vast, requiring remarkably high print-runs. From Rome bulls travelled throughout Europe. It is clear that no single printer in the Eternal City had the wherewithal to supply the entire continent. But here the interests of other European entrepreneurs came to the Church's aid. The universality of this type of ephemeral documents was a very appealing feature for early printers, who were in constant need for opportunities to recoup their investments as quickly as possible. The trade in papal proclamations and other local administrative commissions has correctly been identified as a way of providing printers' business with a steady, regular income and workflow.[9] It is no coincidence that Gutenberg and other early printers were publishing indulgences as early as the mid-1450s.[10]

The Roman pontiffs were not the first to centralise administrative publications by appointing a single, trusted printer in the capital city to carry out this work. The only two earlier cases are to be found in England and France, while, on the Italian peninsula, this practice only became more established in the second half of the sixteenth century.[11] For reasons that still require further research, the pioneer in the field was the ruler of a then peripheral area of Europe: Henry VII of England. He granted the title of the King's official printer to William Faques as early as 1504. Two years later, Richard Pynson, a more experienced entrepreneur, managed to obtain the role for himself and developed it systematically, receiving a regular salary. On ascending to the throne in 1509, Henry VIII renewed his reliance on Pynson, who continue to act as the privileged royal printer until his death in 1529, *de facto* expanding his monopoly into the production of indulgences and works of state propaganda thanks to the support of Cardinal Wolsey. By February 1530, Thomas Berthelet had taken

9 Peter Stallybrass, '"Little Jobs": Broadsides and the Printing Revolution', in Sabrina A. Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (eds.), *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst /Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 315–341. For the methodological challenges posed by conservation problems and the ensuing disproportion of seventeenth-century extant specimens, see Ugo Rozzo, *La strage ignorata: i fogli volanti a stampa nell'Italia dei secoli XV e XVI* (Udine: Forum, 2008) together with two insightful articles: Andrew Pettegree, 'Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print. Typology and Typography', in Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets*, pp. 1–32 and Flavia Bruni, 'Early Modern Broadsheets between Archives and Libraries: Toward a Possible Integration', Pettegree (ed.), *Broadsheets*, pp. 33–54.

10 E.g., USTC 743954–743955. See Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, pp. 11–25.

11 Angela Nuovo, 'Stampa e potere. Sondaggi cinquecenteschi', *Bibliologia*, 1 (2006), pp. 53–85.

over; from then on, the office of the King's (or Queen's) printer never ceased to exist.[12] The French Kings had also granted similar kindred titles sporadically since 1487, but according to Elizabeth Armstrong their meaning seemed to be related to 'the recognition of an already achieved distinction', with no material benefit resulting from them. Only beginning between 1559 and 1561 did official proclamations began to be entrusted by law to a privileged printer, such as Jean Dallier, Michele de Vascosan and, above all, François Estienne.[13]

In Rome, it appears that a handful of printers, such as Eucharius and Marcellus Silber, Johann Besicken, Giacomo Mazzocchi and Etienne Guillery, controlled the publication of administrative material from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards. Based on limited surviving documents, we can infer that they shared this profitable sector of the local market in a somewhat haphazard fashion. It is worth noting that most broadsheets do not carry any imprint information. Colophons were probably deemed unnecessary for two reasons. First, the printing location was obviously Rome, and pronouncements already ended with a date, often showing the name of the official who had been tasked with the compilation – the *segretario ai brevi* for papal briefs, the *custos* for the Chancery and the notary for the Apostolic Chamber. Secondly, these editions were intended for immediate consumption: within a few days from promulgation they were normally distributed in print and attached on church doors or in other relevant meeting places. Modern attribution to a specific printer relies on the detailed analysis of types and decorative title borders. As Tinto convincingly demonstrated, the two Silbers were responsible for the majority of the extant bulls, *bandi* etc. which were issued before the Sack of Rome in 1527.[14] They can be rightfully regarded as the most prominent pub-

12 See Pamela Neville-Sington, 'Press, Politics and Religion', in Lotte Hellinga and Joseph B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, III: *1400–1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp. 576–607, summing up her Ph.D. dissertation, *Richard Pynson, King's Printer (1506–1529): Printing and Propaganda in Early Tudor England* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1990); for a broader picture see Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, *Publishing, Politics and Culture: The King's Printers in the Reign of James I and VI* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Lotte Hellinga, *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London: The British Library, 2010); Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell, *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain (1476–1558)* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2014).

13 Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer: An Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus: Revised Edition* ([Abingdon]: Sutton Courtenay, 1986), pp. 117–118, 155–156, from which the quotation in text is taken, and her *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System, 1498–1526* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

14 Alberto Tinto, *Gli annali tipografici di Eucario e Marcello Silber (1501–1527)* (Florence: Olschki, 1968).

lishers of contemporary papal 'red tape', and this prominence was probably due to some special relationship they had established with particular powerful individuals within the Curia.

However, when they placed their imprint on the productions, neither the Silbers nor the other printers made explicit reference to any institutional link whatsoever with the pope or the Apostolic Chamber. This reflects the simple fact that no such official connection yet existed. It would thus be misleading to consider either Eucharius and Marcellus Silber or even Giacomo Mazzocchi as official printers, as, rather surprisingly, many authorities in the field repeatedly did.[15] The only way in which they can be vaguely regarded as forerunners of the *stampatore camerale* is that they succeeded in obtaining a commercial primacy over competitors in a relatively open market, though this does not imply that they were officially sanctioned. Between 1505 and 1523, only Mazzocchi and Guillery styled themselves with an official title in the colophons of their publications, but they did so to indicate their (presumably competitive) activity as 'Romanae Academiae bibliopolae', i.e., the chief booksellers to the University of Rome, the *Studium Urbis*.[16]

Francesco Minizio Calvo: The Rise and Fall of a Humanist Publisher

By the mid-1520s, the Roman printing scene had drastically shrunk. In this context, the Curia began to formalise a privileged relationship with a single printer. Two northern Italians were able to profit from this new situation: Francesco Minizio Calvo and Antonio Blado. Unlike other promising colleagues, namely Ludovico degli Arrighi and Demetrios Doukas, they both managed to survive the sack in 1527 unscathed and could exploit the lack of serious competitors in the following decade. Contrary to his brother Michele in Venice, Francesco

15 Valentino Romani – in his 'Per lo Stato e per la Chiesa: la tipografia della Reverenda Camera Apostolica e le altre tipografie pontificie (secc. XVI–XVIII)', *Il Bibliotecario*, (1998), pp. 175–192, at p. 175 and his 'Tipografie papali: la Tipografia Vaticana', in Massimo Ceresa (ed.), *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: II: La Biblioteca Vaticana tra Riforma Cattolica, crescita delle collezioni e nuovo edificio (1535–1590)* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2012), pp. 261–279, at p. 265 – is more prudent on the matter, while Masetti Zannini, *Stampatori e librai*, p. 167 went as far as stating that a 'Stamperia camerale' existed from the very beginning of Blado's printing activity in 1516.

16 Fernanda Ascarelli, *Annali tipografici di Giacomo Mazzocchi* (Florence: Sansoni, 1961), esp. nos. 1 and 158, and Francesco Barberi, 'Stefano Guillery e le sue edizioni romane (1506–1524)', in Barberi, *Tipografi romani*, pp. 9–55, at pp. 13–14, 16, 20. Evangelista Tosini, a third university bookseller in the early sixteenth century, paid for the publication of Ptolemy's *Geography* in 1507 and 1508 (USTC 851474 and 851481).

Tramezzino never opened a print shop in Rome. Instead, he remained a prominent bookseller in the city, while Valerio Dorico, who began as a music publisher, went back to issuing a variety of books as late as 1531–1532. Only six years later, he was able to expand his activity in association with his brother, Luigi.[17]

When compared with his earlier and immediate predecessors, including the learned Giacomo Mazzocchi, Francesco Minizio Calvo's profile as a scholar is outstanding. Probably born in Menaggio (Como), he was a gifted humanist and bookseller in Pavia in 1516. Travelling throughout Europe, he met important members of the European humanist circles such as Alciato, Minuziano, Amaseo, Egnazio, Erasmus, Rhenanus, Amerbach, Froben and Grolier. For a couple of years, he also sympathised with Luther's ideas. In 1520–1521, he settled in Rome, where he relied on the support of Paolo Giovio and Gian Matteo Giberti. At the time these two men were employed in the service of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who was the powerful head of the Chancery (*vicecancellarius*) under his cousin Leo X. Soon Calvo became acquainted with Giulio de' Medici and opened his own print shop in 1523, the same year Giulio de' Medici was elected as Pope Clement VII. Giberti was quickly put in charge of the Datary and emerged as Clement VII's diplomatic mastermind; Calvo benefitted from Giberti's promotion. During this time, he published a dozen comedies – including plays by Ariosto, Bibbiena, and Machiavelli – and some classical and humanist literature, such as works by Plutarch, Galen, Erasmus, Politianus and Giovio.[18] Beginning in January 1524, he also started to print numerous bulls and pronouncements of the Chancery and the Apostolic Chamber, gradually taking over from Marcellus Silber as the leading printer of this type of material. For a few months, Silber and Calvo both continued to publish the same broadsheets separately, but soon Silber's firm faced an irreversible crisis.[19]

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17 See respectively: Alberto Tinto, *Annali tipografici dei Tramezzino* (Venice/Rome: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1966), esp. pp. XII–XIII; Francesco Barberi, 'I Dorico, tipografi a Roma nel Cinquecento (1526–1572)', in Barberi, *Tipografi romani*, pp. 99–146 (originally published in 1965), and, briefly, Lorenzo Baldacchini, 'Dorìco, Valerio e Luigi' in Marco Menato, Ennio Sandal and Giuseppina Zappella (eds.), *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori italiani: il Cinquecento*, I: *A–F* (Milan: Editrice bibliografica, 1997), pp. 388–391. On Arrighi and Doukas see the entries in Menato, Sandal and Zappella (eds.), *Dizionario dei tipografi e degli editori*, pp. 41–45 and 401–403.

18 The detailed catalogue of his output is given in Francesco Barberi, 'Le edizioni romane di Francesco Minizio Calvo', in *Miscellanea di scritti di bibliografia ed erudizione in memoria di Luigi Ferrari* (Florence: Olschki, 1952), pp. 57–98, at pp. 64–98 (a short-title version can be found his *Tipografi romani*, pp. 78–97, at pp. 89–97). For Calvo's life, see Barberi's *DBI* entry mentioned above, with earlier bibliography.

19 Tinto, *Gli annali di Eucario e Marcello Silber*, nos. 320–330. See also Barberi, 'Le edizioni di Calvo', p. 58 for a few collaborations between the two about 1522, with Calvo still acting as a publisher.

As a result, Calvo achieved a prominent role in the small world of contemporary Roman printing. He was a learned man with the technical expertise and, most importantly, the right connections with the Roman establishment. In the paratext of Calvo's books, Giberti's name crops up several times as either a dedicatee or a patron, and we know that, in his capacity of *probibliotecharius,* Giberti made sure Calvo could borrow books from the Vatican Library.[20] In light of the prelate's later engagement with official printing in his diocese of Verona, these are crucial pieces of evidence.[21] On the one hand, they confirm his role as the main patron of Calvo's enterprise; on the other, they suggest that it was probably thanks to Giberti that the Curia eventually officially recognised Calvo's primacy. In the final sentences of a papal proclamation written in the Italian vernacular and dated 24 January 1527, Calvo's name is accompanied by a new title, that of *impressore apostolico*.[22] Since no payment to Calvo can be traced in the papal account books, and this is, as far as we know, the first and only occurrence of the title in print, it is probable that the title was more honorific than the indication of a proper office. In a contract of March 1527, he is mentioned as « calcografus apostolicus », and Alciato addressed him in similar terms in a letter he wrote in September 1530.[23]

Not even the vicissitudes of the sack of Rome in 1527 created a significant setback for Calvo and his enterprise. He escaped the Landsknechts' massacre

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20 Cf. Giovanni Mercati, 'Su Francesco Calvo da Menaggio primo stampatore e Marco Fabio Calvo da Ravenna primo traduttore del corpo ippocratico in latino', in Mercati, *Notizie varie di antica letteratura medica e di bibliografia* (Rome: Tipografia poliglotta vaticana, 1917), pp. 47–71, at pp. 52, 56 and Barberi, 'Le edizioni di Calvo', nos. 4, 14, 20, 39–40, 59, 66, 68–69, 86, 93, 120 (probably plus nos. 2, 46, 67 and 128–129).

21 On the two Veronese episcopal presses founded by Giberti from 1529 onwards, see Adriano Prosperi, *Tra evangelismo e controriforma: Gian Matteo Giberti (1495–1543)* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969), pp. 217–234; Lorenzo Carpané and Marco Menato, *Annali della tipografia veronese del Cinquecento*, I (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1992), pp. 21–23; Cristina Stevanoni, 'Il greco al servizio della riforma cattolica: per uno studio della tipografia di Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio e di G.M. Giberti a Verona (1529–1532)', in Nikolaus M. Panayotakis (ed.), *Origini della letteratura neogreca: atti del secondo Congresso internazionale 'Neograeca Medii Aevii', Venezia 7–10 novembre 1991*, II (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, 1993), pp. 606–632; Cristina Stevanoni, 'La grande stagione dei libri greci', in Ennio Sandal (ed.), *Il mestier de le stamperie de i libri: le vicende e i percorsi dei tipografi di Sabbio Chiese tra Cinque e Seicento e l'opera dei Nicolini* (Brescia: Grafo, 2002), pp. 83–110, esp. nos. 34 and 35; and Ennio Sandal, 'Scrittura devota ed editoria religiosa nella bottega dei Nicolini da Sabbio', in *Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia*, (2004), pp. 247–277. The last two scholars interpret Giberti's enterprise as an unproblematic part of the so-called 'Catholic reformation', a point of view open to debate.

22 USTC 822964, seemingly lost, and Barberi, 'Le edizioni di Calvo', no. 88.

23 Barberi, 'Le edizioni di Calvo', pp. 60–62 (drawing kindred conclusions about the difference between Calvo's title and that of *stampatore camerale*) and Mercati, 'Su Francesco Calvo', pp. 55–56.

by taking refuge, along with Jean Grolier's son, in the residence of the Spanish bishop Cassador. Six months after the sack his press was again operational, printing a new bull by which Clement VII revoked all the concessions he had granted during his imprisonment.[24] In contrast to Calvo's activities, the papacy took more time to recover, with the papal court in Orvieto and the actual government of Rome in the hands of a legate, Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggi. From Cesar Grolier's diary we known that the printing of the famous bull *In coena Domini* was entrusted to Calvo by the legate Cardinal Campeggi.[25] The power vacuum helped Calvo to strengthen his position as the sole reliable and experienced printer in town, as can be traced in the official publications he still managed to produce at a growing pace, between 1528 and 1529. The conditions to become more than a publisher of administrative broadsheets were increasingly favourable, if only the Curia had been prepared to use the printed word to launch a counterattack on the millenarian, Imperial and Reformed propaganda which was canvassing the pillage as a sign of God's wrath.[26]

Clement VII had more pressing concerns than orchestrating a campaign in print, ostensibly failing to grasp the extent to which negative publicity was damaging his public image both on the Italian peninsula and beyond the Alps. He succeeded in reasserting his political role, making peace with his enemy Emperor Charles V, recovering part of the territories he had lost and even obtaining the return of de' Medici family to Florence. Yet he remained unresponsive to the threats posed by pamphlets like Alfonso de Valdés's renowned *Diálogo de las cosas acaecidas en Roma*, *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón* and *Apologia altera refutatoria*.[27] While the dialogues were first printed in Spanish as anonymous editions probably by the Nicolini brothers in Venice between 1529 and 1530, the *Apologia* was also printed in Basel with a false imprint showing Rome as the place of publication in 1528. The printer responsible for this

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24 USTC 822962.

25 Barberi, 'Le edizioni di Calvo', p. 60 and nos. 98, 101–104, 107.

26 See Ottavia Niccoli, *Profeti e popolo nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Rome/Bari: Laterza, 1987), pp. 224–239 and Massimo Firpo, 'Il sacco di Roma del 1527 tra profezia, propaganda politica e riforma religiosa', in Massimo Firpo, *Dal sacco di Roma all'Inquisizione. Studi su Juan de Valdés e la Riforma italiana* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1998), pp. 7–60, at pp. 49–60. For a broader picture of the phenomenon: André Chastel, *Le sac de Rome, 1527: du premier maniérisme à la Contre-Réforme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984) and Ottavia Niccoli, *Rinascimento anticlericale: infamia, satira e propaganda in Italia tra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Rome/Bari: Laterza, 2005).

27 Respectively, USTC 342890, 342889 and 861671.

wilful degradation of the papal authority was Johann Faber aus Emmich, concealed under the pseudonyms 'Emmeus' and 'Nicetas Pistophilus'.[28]

1530 marked a watershed in Calvo's short career as an officially designated printer. Just after Giberti had been dismissed from his role as Clement VII's chief political advisor, the number of Calvo's commissions from the Curia plummeted.[29] This further reinforces the hypothesis that Calvo's enterprise and his connections with the Roman establishment depended largely upon Giberti's own fortune in the papal hierarchy. Calvo's last official publication dates from September 1530, though he kept printing other books over the course of the following years.[30] Even after he had fallen ill with gout in November 1533, he ostensibly reissued Maximilianus Transylvanus's exotic epistolary report on the Moluccas. Significantly, in this last of his Roman editions, he decided to maintain the original dedication to Giberti, who is still addressed as the head of the Datary.[31]

Antonio Blado: The Long Road to Becoming a *Stampatore Camerale*

Meanwhile, a new star was rising in the background: Antonio Blado. A printer from Asola (Mantua), Blado had been active in Rome since 1516, developing a profitable business with a strong focus on popular books. His publications included guides to Roman churches and monuments in different languages (*Mirabilia Urbis*), pasquinades, almanacs and prophecies, devotional, didactic, medical, music and chivalric books, political and religious orations as well as early anti-Protestant pamphlets.[32] In strong contrast with Calvo, prior to 1530

28 See USTC 612463 and 861671, referring to the same edition described differently in VD16 and EDIT16: no copy with the Basel imprint has yet been traced.

29 Elena Bonora, *Aspettando l'imperatore: principi italiani tra il papa e Carlo V* (Turin: Einaudi, 2014) provides the most updated picture of the political context after the Sack of Rome.

30 USTC 809907.

31 USTC 841639, unknown to Barberi, 'Le edizioni di Calvo'. In respect of the edition carried out ten years earlier, coincidentally in November 1523, this one is exceedingly rare and shows a wholly reset text from gathering B onwards. Inspected Copy: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. F1 e.42.

32 His output was carefully reconstructed by Giuseppe Fumagalli, Giacomo Belli and Emereziana Vaccaro, *Catalogo delle edizioni romane di Antonio Blado asolano ed eredi (1515–1593)* (4 vols, Rome: Presso i principali librai, 1891–1961). For his biography, see Barberi, 'Blado, Antonio', together with: Giuseppe Fumagalli, *Antonio Blado tipografo romano del sec. XVI* (Milan: Hoepli, 1893); Vaccaro, 'Documenti e precisazioni', Marco Menato and Giuliano Tamani, 'Blado, Antonio', in Menato, Sandal and Zappella (eds.), *Dizionario dei tipografi*, I, pp. 147–149; and Valentina Sestini, 'Blado, Antonio', in Rosa

he only occasionally ventured into publishing humanist works, preferring to invest in short, cheap books intended for wide circulation – most of which have probably been lost. Papal and curial pronouncements fitted Blado's business model very well. The fact that he printed a good number of them from the mid-1520s shows that Calvo did not enjoy any exclusive rights in their production.[33] In 1530, the proportion of official publications issued by Calvo and those printed by Blado reversed in favour of the latter. Ultimately, Blado, rather than Calvo, became the printer who was the first appointed *stampatore camerale*, with a privilege granting him the monopoly for this ephemeral material.

Nevertheless, the process leading to Blado obtaining this position was considerably more problematic than has usually been thought. Since it took some twenty years, it needs to be thoroughly examined in all its complexity. Earlier scholarship tended to emphasize a continuity between the roles held by Calvo and Blado, but such a view is misleading and, more importantly, is not sustained by the evidence. For instance, Barberi suggests that, when Calvo moved to Milan around 1534, he passed his typographical equipment on to Blado, along with the appointment as a 'papal printer'. While the first assumption is entirely correct, as the two printers' use of the same typefaces makes clear, the second is based on no ascertainable grounds at all and seems to contradict what Barberi himself has pointed out elsewhere about the elusive nature of Calvo's title.[34] Even supposing there was such a transition, it is unlikely that it would have been a smooth one. Blado certainly did not wait for Calvo to leave the city in 1534 and was already in open competition with him four years before that. In August 1530, he started to receive payments from the Apostolic Chamber for printing papal proclamations.[35]

These overlaps and changes seem to mirror the remarkable shift in power taking place in the upper echelons of the Curia in the aftermath of the sack of the city. While Giberti left Rome for Verona, the newly-created Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, the pope's nephew, immediately rose to prominence and replaced Giberti as one of the main patrons of arts and letters.[36] Blado was

Marisa Borraccini, etc. (eds.), *Dizionario degli editori, tipografi, librai itineranti in Italia tra Quattrocento e Seicento* (Pisa/Rome: Fabrizio Serra, 2013), I, pp. 147–152. On Mazzolini, see Michael Tavuzzi, *Prierias: The Life and Works of Silvestro Mazzolini da Prierio (1456–1527)* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

33 E.g., USTC, 822908, 822924, 822933, 822938, 822970, 836331.

34 Barberi, 'Blado, Antonio', p. 753 and Barberi, 'Calvo, Francesco Giulio', p. 39 with his 'Le edizioni di Calvo', p. 62.

35 Vaccaro, 'Documenti e precisazioni', pp. 57, 73.

36 Guido Rebecchini, *"Un altro Lorenzo": Ippolito de' Medici tra Firenze e Roma (1511–1535)* (Venice: Marsilio, 2010). On the later development of the *cardinale nipote*, see Antonio

directly involved in the academies of *Vignaiuoli*, *Virtuosi* and *Nuova Poesia*, which were held at the cardinal's court and in the house of Giovanni Gaddi, another prominent figure of the Florentine milieu in Rome. It was through Gaddi (and almost certainly thanks to de' Medici) that Blado managed to obtain, on 23 August 1531, the extraordinary ten-year papal privilege to print all Machiavelli's works – his first important commission in terms of learned literary works.[37] To Blado's advantage, Ippolito de' Medici became head of the Chancery in 1532.

Interestingly, around October 1530 the name 'Platyna' appeared in Blado's colophons, ostensibly making reference to the first perfect of the Vatican library Bartolomeo Sacchi (Platina), who was a close relative of Blado. By inserting this name, Blado may have wanted to emphasise his origins and revive his family network at an opportune moment. Agostino Spinola, a grand-nephew of Sixtus IV from the Riario branch, had been appointed as head of the Apostolic Chamber. His papal ancestor had been a key patron of Sacchi; by invoking his name, it may be that Blado hoped to receive the same support by the newly-appointed Spinola.[38]

Blado continued to benefit after a change in papal leadership in 1534 with the election of Paul III and his connections within the Curia and the Roman cultural milieu were not lost even upon the sudden death of Ippolito de' Medici in August 1535. A large part of de' Medici's entourage started to serve the 15-year-old new Cardinal nephew Alessandro Farnese. Cardinal Farnese

Mennitti Ippolito, *Il tramonto della curia nepotista. Papi, nipoti e burocrazia curiale tra XVI e XVII secolo* (Rome: Viella, 2008).

37 Only the *Discorsi*, *Historie* and *Principe* were issued: USTC, 839309, 839312–839313. Six months later, Pope Clement VII granted a similar privilege to Bernardo Giunta, who had already started publishing these works in Florence with the consensus of Machiavelli's heirs (cf. USTC, 839296, 839302, 839314). See: Adolf Gerber, *Niccolò Machiavelli: Die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Übersetzungen Seiner Werke Im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Gotha: Perthes, 1912), *passim*; Pio Paschini, 'Note alle prime edizioni del Machiavelli', *Atti dell'Accademia degli Arcadi*, n.s., 6–7 (1930), pp. 67–77; and Roberto Ridolfi, *Vita di Niccolò Machiavelli: settima edizione italiana accresciuta e riveduta* (Florence: Sansoni, 1978), pp. 514, 531, 598. For what little is known about the two academies, see Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia* (5 vols., Bologna: Cappelli, 1926–1930), IV, p. 86; V, pp. 141, 478–480, as well as Chiara Quaranta, *Marcello II Cervini (1501–1555): Riforma della Chiesa, Concilio, Inquisizione* (Bologna: il Mulino, 2010), p. 76, nn. 105–107, and Enrico Garavelli, '"L'erudita bottega di messer Claudio": nuovi testi per il *Reame della Virtù* (Roma 1538)', *Italique*, 16 (2013), pp. 111–154. I consider them as separate circles, following Guido Rebecchini, *'Un altro Lorenzo': Ippolito de' Medici*, pp. 216–219.

38 Augusto Campana, 'Antonio Blado e Bartolomeo Platina', in his *Scritti. I: ricerche medievali e umanistiche*, ed. by Rino Avesani, Michele Feo and Enzo Pruccoli (2 vols., Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2012), I, pp. 283–293, originally published in 1947. The relevant 1530 edition by Blado is USTC 814183.

had immediately 'inherited' most of de' Medici's lucrative benefices and the management of the Apostolic Chancery. Blado's name appears in print for the first time as *impressor cameralis* (printer of the [Apostolic] Chamber) in a group of three bulls about the Order of Knights of St Peter, the last of which was propagated by Paul III – but not necessarily printed – in December 1535.[39] Although this is normally taken as a *terminus post quem* for Blado's activity as official printer, we should bear in mind that bulls were reissued every now and then and there is no certainty about the precise date of printing. This is a case in point with regard to the pitfall of such a practice. Significantly, shorter versions of Blado's '1535' edition of the three bulls about the Order of Knights of St Peter, comprising only the first two pronouncements originally issued by Leo X and Clement VII about 1521 and 1526, also circulated with the same subscription by Blado. Nevertheless, no one would consider them as early evidence of his official role in the 1520s.[40] The woodcut of Paul III's coat-of-arms with the black fleur-de-lys at sig. G2^{r} also suggests that the 1535 bull edition was printed later. Blado started to use this image – usually within an elaborate wreath – no earlier than 1543–1544, while his output of the mid-1530s often bears the wreathed version with the white fleur-de-lys.[41] Finally, it is noteworthy that all these documents were reprinted around 1561, together with a new bull by Pius IV concerning the Knights. On this occasion Blado used the same wording to describe himself as *impressor cameralis*.[42]

Once we take 'December 1535' off the table, it is necessary to look for another, sounder date as the earliest evidence of Blado's official appointment. Thus, it is essential to follow his steps for a little longer. As early as July 1536, Blado was entrusted with a four-year privilege for the printing of the breviary, which

39 USTC 848690.

40 USTC 848685–848686.

41 In particular, one can compare the bulls related to the ecumenical council between 1536 and 1545. Although they generally have no printing date, the rapidly-changing scenario, which eventually led to the opening of the assembly in Trent, guarantees that such delicate pronouncements were printed and circulated very closely to their date of promulgation and then quickly superseded Cf. USTC 860880, 860882–860884, 860886 with USTC 860887–860888, 860891.

42 Cf. USTC 848693 and 848692. In all its complexity as a source, MS 255 in the Biblioteca dell'Archivio di Stato of Rome may provide another pointer to the possibility that all these bulls showing Blado as *impressor cameralis* were issued long after 1535. As the original title label reveals, this eighteenth-century manuscript volume appears to be an inventory of the former archive of the *Stamperia Camerale*. It lists chronologically the official documents produced by the different official presses until 1694 according to their date of promulgation. While most proclamations are recorded as single items, the bulls related to the Order of St Peter are mentioned only once and collectively at f. 32r, under the date 25 August 1561.

had recently been revised and reformed by Cardinal Quiñones. He published the first edition himself, while, together with two partners, he subcontracted the publication of the second edition to the Venetian branch of the Giunta family.[43] When Cardinal Spinola died in 1537, luck was again on Blado's side, since the newly-appointed *camerlengo* was the other grand-son of Paul III, Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza di Santa Fiora, who was to remain in power for over 25 years.

From Santa Fiora's appointment on, it was just a matter of time for Blado to see his privileged commercial relationship with the Curia, and the Apostolic Chamber in particular, to be officially recognised and protected by law. Scholars have debated the date when this took place, but Fumagalli is correct in arguing that it could not have happened earlier than 1549.[44] The second known occurrence of the official title crops up in a bull promulgated in October 1538, but printed with what look like later types employed by Blado and heirs. Shortly afterwards, as we learn from the Chamber's account books, Blado started to receive a regular monthly stipend, precisely in his capacity as 'Camerae Apostolicae impressor/stampator'.[45]

Nevertheless, over the course of the following decade he used the title in his own publications inconsistently. In a preface addressed to Cardinal Sforza di Santa Fiora in 1559, Blado recalled that, upon receiving the *camerlengo*'s mandate, he had begun to act as the sole official printer some fifteen years earlier, i.e., 1544/45.[46] On a closer examination, this assertion sounds too hasty, if not openly misleading, since in the mid-1540s curial documents were still occasionally published by other printers, such as Girolama Cartolari.[47] In any case, by May 1547, Blado was allowed (or felt confident enough) to sign a

43 John Wickham Legg, *The Second Recension of the Quignon Breviary: Following an Edition Printed at Antwerp in 1537 and Collated with Twelve Other Editions* (2 vols, London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1908–1912), and his 'An Agreement in 1536 between Certain Booksellers of Rome and Venice to Bring out the Second Text of the Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Quignon: With Introduction, List of Editions, and Bibliographical Notes', *The Library*, 13 (1913), pp. 323–348. For the historical context, see also Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 23–27.

44 Fumagalli, *Antonio Blado*, pp. 60.

45 USTC 853172. Vaccaro, 'Documenti e precisazioni', pp. 73–74; in the payment order of 24 May 1539, he was also addressed as 'bullarum suae santitatis[sic] stampator' (Rome, Archivio di Stato, *Mandati camerali*, vol. 871, f. 176r).

46 Fumagalli, *Antonio Blado*, pp. 38–39. Retrospectively, Blado's heirs successfully went as far as to present him as the official printer since either 1528 or even the reign of Leo X.

47 Barberi 'La tipografia romana di Baldassarre Jr. e Girolama Cartolari (1540–1559)', in *Tipografi romani*, pp. 147–163 (originally published in 1951), at pp. 154–155.

full-length book – Ambrogio Fracco's *Sacrorum Fastorum libri XII* – with the pompous inscription 'S.D.N. Papae et Camerae Apostolicae Typographum'.[48] In his further step forward to obtain an official role, he likely benefitted from the recent appointment of Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese, another of the pope's grandsons, as head of the Penitentiary, a key department of the Curia which had been in control of the Pucci family for more than 25 years. Getting closer and closer to obtaining the full control over official publications, Blado was able to expand his grip beyond the boundaries of the Eternal City, publishing, at least as far as we know, the statutes of two municipalities located in the environs, such as Sezze and Rieti.[49]

The real turning point took place during the first months of 1550, following Paul III's death and Julius III's election. With a *motu proprio* signed on 10 March, the new pontiff acknowledged the long-standing service provided by Blado, who was by then about 65-years old, as printer of the Apostolic Chamber and Chancellery ('Camera et Cancelleria impressor') under Clement VII and Paul III. In this capacity, Julius rewarded him with a fixed monthly salary of 4 *ducati* starting from the day of his own election (7 February 1550), and granted a universal privilege, valid for two years after the publication of all Blado's Latin and vernacular editions, explicitly including broadsheets. A month later, Cardinal Sforza of Santa Fiora transmitted the order to the treasurer of the Apostolic Chamber, who took note in the account book of the new arrangement for Blado's pay.[50] The role of official printer had finally been created. As a result, only Blado was responsible for and allowed to print all current bulls, pronouncements, *bandi*, charters, *avvisi* and regulations. However, he also continued to undertake major publications as a private entrepreneur, while occasionally using his official title in their colophons or title-pages too. The role, which fitted so well into the Church's hierarchy that it soon became as venal as other offices, was passed on to Blado's heirs until 1594 and granted the family business a constant cash flow. The popes were assured that their proclamations and other official material would be issued smoothly and efficiently for a relatively small amount of money (roughly 36 *scudi* per year).

48 USTC 830470.

49 USTC 856127, 852558.

50 Romani, 'Per lo Stato', p. 176 passingly mentioned this crucial document, which is found in Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Cam. Ap., Div. Cam.*, vol. 161, f. 41r–42r. The privilege was originally envisaged to last for three years, as the correction of 'triennium' in 'biennum' makes clears.

Conclusion

The emergence of an official printer to the papal administration was a much slower and more problematic process than has been generally assumed. The contacts between a few Rome-based printers and the Curia before the spring of 1550 are largely due to the temporary commercial primacy these printers managed to exert and the network of prelates supporting them. Even the most suited candidate for the position of *stampatore camerale*, Antonio Blado, took 15 years to attain the longed-for papal appointment, though he was acting as the *de facto* printer of the Apostolic Chamber. Nevertheless, officiality is not a matter of interpretation, especially not at the time. The formal creation of the role occurred only with Julius III's resolution in 1550 and cannot be anticipated to 1535 on the basis of the alleged earliest appearance of the related title in the imprint of a proclamation made in that year, but likely reprinted later on. Postdating is never without consequence. In this case, it sheds new light on the importance of the pontificates of Paul III and Julius III as well as on the personalities who were interested in helping Blado to achieve prominence, and who progressively centralised administrative publications into his hands. In this respect, Paul III's grandsons emerged as key figures in their capacity as heads of Apostolic Chamber, Chancellery and Penitentiary. These were the departments of the papal administration which benefitted the most from a quick, efficient and economical strategy to disseminate their numerous proclamations in print.

The Roman case illustrates well how the relationship between print and power can be mutually influential. Some particularly enterprising printers aimed to monopolise the market of administrative publications and secure cash flow through permanent commissions; for this, they had to win the support of rulers and ministers. In their turn, early modern suzerains and their officers turned to printers more and more frequently in their attempt to enhance the distribution of their pronouncements aimed to expand their grip on subjects and to increase control over their lands.

Yet the much belated appointment of Blado is also a potent reminder of the power of bureaucracy, especially in courts where a spoils system was significantly hindered by the usually lifelong nature of the most important administrative tasks, as was the case in the Curia. The more complex the government administration was, the longer it would take for a specific printer to turn his position of prominence into an official role, as this entails persuading a larger number of high officials. Exceptional networking skills and continuous adjustments to the change in leadership were essential components of this laborious process.

Appendix: A Chronological Overview of the Editions Cited

USTC 743954
Chappe, Paulinus, [*Indulgentia for contributions to the war against the Turks, 1454–1455*] ([Mainz: Printer of the 42-line Bible [=Johann Gutenberg], 1454–1455]).

USTC 743955
Chappe, Paulinus, [*Indulgentia for contributions to the war against the Turks, 1454–1455*] ([Mainz: printer of the 31-line indulgence and of the 36-line Bible, 1454–1455]).

USTC 851474
Ptolemy, *Geographiae* (Rome: Bernardino Vitali for Evangelista Tosini, 1507).

USTC 851481
Ptolemy, *Geographiae* (Rome: Bernardino Vitali for Evangelista Tosini, 1508).

USTC 836331
Innocent VIII and Alexander VI, *Bulle super fundatione officii dominorum collectorum plumbi* ([Rome: Antonio Blado, after 1516]).

USTC 848685
Leo X, *Bulla erectionis Collegii dominorum militum sancti Petri de Urbe* (Rome: Antonio Blado, [1521]).

USTC 822908
Clement VII, *Bulla contra homicidas* ([Rome: Antonio Blado, 1524]).

USTC 822924
Clement VII, *Bullae duae tramsumptae per R.P.D. episcopum Vigorniensem* ([Rome: Antonio Blado, 1524]).

USTC 822933
Clement VII, *Bando contra li sudditi soi Duchi, Marchesi, Conti, Baroni et altri Signori* ([Rome: Antonio Blado, 1526]).

USTC 848686
Clement VII, *Bulla erectionis officii dominorum Militum sancti Petri* (Rome: Antonio Blado, [1526]).

USTC 822938
Clement VII, *Bulla in qua Mons Fidei erigitur pro christianae fidei defensione* ([Rome: Antonio Blado, 1526]).

USTC 822962
Clement VII, *Bulla per quam gratias et expectativas revocat* ([Rome: Francesco Minizio Calvo 1527]).

USTC 822964
Clement VII, *Clemente vescovo servo de' servi di Dio a futura memoria* ([Rome: Francesco Minizio Calvo 1527]).

USTC 861671
Valdés, Alfonso de, *Apologia* (Rome: Emmeus apud Nicetas Pistophilus [i.e. Basel: Johann Faber aus Emmich], 1528).

USTC 822970
Clement VII, *Breve super locationibus, pensionibus, & censibus domorum, vinearum, casalium* ([Rome: Antonio Blado, 1529]).

USTC 809907
Clement VII, *Regula Cancellarie super extensione consensuum in resignationibus* (Rome: [Francesco Minizio Calvo], 1530).

USTC 342889
Valdés, Alfonso de, *Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron* ([Venice: Giovanni Antonio Nicolini and brothers, 1530]).

USTC 342890
Valdés, Alfonso de, *Dialogo en que particularmente se tratan las cosas acaecidas en Roma en año de M.D.XXVII.* ([Venice: Giovanni Antonio Nicolini and brothers, 1530]).

USTC 839309
Machiavelli, Niccolò, *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1531).

USTC 839296
Machiavelli, Niccolò, *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio* (Florence: Bernardo Giunta, 1531).

USTC 839313
Machiavelli, Niccolò, *Il principe* [*et alia*] (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1531).

USTC 839312
Machiavelli, Niccolò, *Historie* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1532).

USTC 839302
Machiavelli, Niccolò, *Historie fiorentine* (Florence: Bernardo Giunta, 1532).

USTC 839314
Machiavelli, Niccolò, *Il principe* [*et alia*] (Florence: Bernardo Giunta, 1532).

USTC 841639
Transylvanus (von Sevenborgen), Maximilianus, *Caesaris a secretis epistola, de admirabili & novissima Hispanorum in orientem navigatione* (Rome: Francesco Minizio Calvo, 1533).

USTC 848690
Leo X, Clement VII and Paul III, *Bulla erectionis officii dominorum militum sancti Petri* (Rome: Antonio Blado [1535]).

USTC 860880
Paul III, *Bulla indictionis sacrosancti generalis Concilii* ([Rome: Antonio Blado, 1536]).

USTC 830470
Fracco, Ambrogio Novidio, *Sacrorum fastorum libri XII* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1537).

USTC 860882
Paul III, *Bulla indictionis sacrosancti generalis Concilii* ([Rome: Antonio Blado, 1537]).

USTC 860883
Paul III, *Bulla prorogationis sacrosancti generalis Concilii* ([Rome: Antonio Blado, 1537]).

USTC 860884
Paul III, *Bulla novae prorogationis sacrosancti generalis Concilii* ([Rome: Antonio Blado], 1538).

USTC 853172
Paul III, *Bulla super confirmatione facultatum Collegii scriptorum archiuii Rom. Curiae* (Rome: Antonio Blado [1538]).

USTC 846680 and 848691
Paul III, *Bulla Collegii militum s. Pauli* (Rome: Baldassarre Cartolari, 1541).

USTC 860886
Paul III, *Bulla sacri oecumenici Concilii Tridenti celebrandi* ([Rome: Antonio Blado], 1542).

USTC 860887
Paul III, *Bulla declaratoria suspensionis sacrosancti generalis Concilii, et revocationis legatorum* ([Rome: Antonio Blado, 1543]).

USTC 860888
Paul III, *Bulla sacri oecumenici et generalis Concilii, ad quartam dominicam in quadragesima proxime futura celebrandi, seu prosequendi* ([Rome: Antonio Blado, 1544]).

USTC 860891
Paul III, *Bulla novae monitionis et requisitionis poenalis praelatorum, & aliorum vocem in Concilio habentium* ([Rome: Antonio Blado, 1545]).

USTC 856127
Statuta, sive constitutiones civitatis Setiae (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1547).

USTC 852558
Statuta, sive constitutiones civitatis Reatae (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1549).

USTC 848692–848693
Leo X, Clement VII, Paul III and Pius IV, *Bulla erectionis collegii dominorum militum sancti Petri de Urbe* (Rome: [Heirs of] Antonio Blado, [1561]).

CHAPTER 9

State and Church Sponsored Printing by Jan Januszowski and His Drukarnia Łazarzowa (Officina Lazari) in Krakow

Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba

One of most prominent printing-houses in Krakow, the capital of print in early modern Poland-Lihuania, was an enterprise best known by its Latin name: Officina Lazari. The ownership of the Drukarnia Łazarzowa, as it was called in Polish, stayed within a single family for almost a century, making it one of the most stable printing houses in the region. Despite its prominence, relatively little is known about Drukarnia Łazarzowa's operations. The business history of the workshop, as well as the owners efforts to make the press viable thanks to the support of powerful individuals is scarcely studied. This article seeks to add to our knowledge about the relationship between Officina Lazari and contemporary authorities, both lay and ecclesiastical. It analyses the state and church-sponsored printing produced by Drukarnia Łazarzowa between 1577 and 1587, arguing that during that period its owner, Jan Januszowski (1550–1613) was able to secure the workshop's position by profiting from his connections with state and church authorities.

Beginning with a brief introduction on the dynamics of book production in sixteenth-century Krakow, the article will focus on analysing the initial decade of Januszowski's printing activity. In order to understand both Janusowski's ambitions and his connections to state authorities and church prelates, I will first discuss his background and education. Next, I will give examples of books Januszowski produced thanks to the patronage of highly placed individuals. Though the printer also received royal commissions, I will concentrate on the church patronage that the Drukarnia Łazarzowa obtained. As we shall see, Januszowski devoted huge efforts to receive commissions for printing post-Tridentine liturgical books, resulting in the appearance of the most illuminating and best-documented example: a monumental missal financed by the bishop of Warmia. The wealth of archival evidence about the realisation of this particular edition makes it possible to reconstruct the dynamics of a production process for a massive volume, whose printing was commissioned and paid for by a potent prelate.

Krakow, the Book Centre of Poland-Lithuania

By the 1450s, when printing began in Europe, Krakow was an established place of power, learning and trade. It was a major urban centre in the largely rural region: the seat of secular and church authorities and (with the university founded in 1364) a city linked by a network of intellectual connections with other European kingdoms. Well situated at a junction of trade routes, it also remained an important economic hub. As such, Krakow constituted a vibrant market for books: the city was a natural distribution point for books imported from the printing dominions of Western Europe, and it developed its position as a centre of book production simultaneously.[1] The first presses operated in Krakow as early as 1473, and in the sixteenth century, the city became the principal printing centre in its region of Europe, dominating other publishing towns, which were more modest than the capital of the multinational, multi-ethnic and multilingual state of Poland-Lithuania. Already in the fifteenth century, printers in Krakow produced books in Latin and in Old Church Slavonic (printing the earliest books in Cyrillic script). In the sixteenth century they started to print in Polish and other European vernaculars (producing the first books in Hungarian in the world), as well as in Greek and in Hebrew. Surviving material documents the broad range in the output of the Krakow presses, and the extent of local printers' experience with books addressed to different audiences.[2]

During the sixteenth century, more than twenty printing offices were active in the city. Among these was an enterprise operating in Gołębia Street – *in platea Columbarum*. The ownership of the firm, established ca. 1517 by Hieronim

1 Janina Bieniarzówna and Jan Małecki, *Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII* (Krakow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1984); Maria Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1986), pp. 329–392, pp. 489–508; Jan Małecki, 'Rola Krakowa w handlu Europy Środkowej w XVI i XVII w.', *Zeszyty Naukowe Akademii Ekonomicznej w Krakowie*, 70 (1974), pp. 174–175; Jan Pirożyński, 'Der Buchhandel in Polen in der Renaissance-Zeit', in Hubert G. Göpfert etc. (eds.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buchwesens im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985), pp. 267–294; Jan Pirożyński, 'Zagadnienie eksportu polskiej książki na zachód Europy w XVI wieku w świetle ówczesnych targowych katalogów i bibliografii', *Sobótka*, 3–4 (1982), pp. 249–258; Monika Jaglarz, *Księgarstwo krakowskie XVI wieku* (Krakow: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 2004); Renata Żurkowa, *Księgarstwo krakowskie w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* (Krakow: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 1992).

2 Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Kraków', in Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa (ed.), *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, vol. 1: *Małopolska*, part 1: *Od XV do XVI wieku* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1983) (henceforth quoted as *Drukarze* 1, 1), pp. 105–115.

Wietor, remained within the inheritance of a single family: Wietor's widowed wife Barbara, then her new husband Łazarz Andrysowic, and finally Jan Januszowski, who was the son of Barbara and Łazarz. In the seventeenth century, the printing office was to be inherited by Januszowski's sons' (who never became seriously interested in printing books themselves) and then was finally sold. Managed by Jan Januszowski from 1577 onwards, Drukarnia Łazarzowa became one of the most prominent printing houses in Krakow – both in terms of the number of editions and quality of printing.[3] Januszowski's ambitions to produce beautiful books and to print significant texts were apparent as early as the first decade of his activity as a printer (1577–1587) – the years of King Stefan Batory's (Báthory István) reign over the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1576–1586) – right after the young master-printer inherited Drukarnia Łazarzowa from his father. To understand Januszowski's position as he started his career as a printer, it is important to note two things. First, that a vital part of Januszowski's inheritance was an extensive social network built by his predecessors. Second, that Januszowski started the business with an upbringing that was rather unusual for the son of a craftsman.

Januszowski inherited a printing house with long-standing traditions, one that had already been active for 60 years, and that was an important site on the map of sixteenth-century Krakow.[4] By the time of Januszowski's management, its previous owners had produced over 900 editions, which survive to the present day (while a great number must have perished over the intervening five centuries). They had developed various relations with the Krakow University's authorities and scholars, with local intellectuals, and with the town elite as well as with the Church dignitaries and state officials. These connections undoubtedly helped the young printer to garner the support needed for his own publishing ventures. We know that Januszowski was recommended to

3 Drukarnia Łazarzowa managed by Jan Januszowski printed over 400 known editions in almost 9,000 sheets. See Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Januszowski Jan', in *Drukarze* 1, 1, p. 69–99; Renata Żurkowa, 'Januszowski Jan', in Jan Pirożyński (ed.), *Drukarze dawnej Polski,* vol. 1: *Małopolska*, part 2: *Wiek XVII–XVIII*, vol. 1 (Krakow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2000), pp. 250–257; Renata Żurkowa, *Łazarzowa Drukarnia*, in J. Pirożyński (ed.) *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, vol.1: *Małopolska*, part 2: *Wiek XVII–XVIII*, vol. 2 (Krakow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2000), pp. 411–412.

4 Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba, 'In Platea Columbarum. The Printing House of Hieronim Wietor, Łazarz Andrysowic and Jan Januszowski in Renaissance Krakow', *Publishing History*, 67 (2010), pp. 5–37. For details concerning the production of Wietor, Wietorowa and Andrysowic see as well: Anna Mańkowska and Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Wietor Hieronim', in *Drukarze* 1, 1, pp. 325–352; Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa and Anna Mańkowska, 'Wietorowa Barbara', in *Drukarze* 1, 1, pp. 352–357; Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa and Anna Mańkowska, 'Andrysowic Łazarz', in *Drukarze* 1, 1, pp. 124–137.

prospective patrons as a descendant of outstanding printers who had served the predecessors of potential backers as if these relationships could be heritable, and he himself used his lineage to obtain new commissions.[5]

Januszowski was not just a craftsman's son brought up in the workshop of his father. As a teenager, Januszowski had received instruction at the court of Emperor Maximilian II in Vienna and at Krakow University. At the beginning of 1570, he worked as a scribe writing letters in the private chancellery of Zygmunt August (Sigismund Augustus the Jagiellon, 1520–1572).[6] Joining the Jagiellonian court meant that the printer's son encountered intellectuals and statesmen either employed by the chancellery or working for the monarch from a very early age. After Sigismund Augustus died in 1572, Januszowski set off to study law in Padua, supported with both the money he inherited from his mother, and a grant from Mikołaj Firlej, an influential nobleman, who would later become the voivode of Krakow. Januszowski returned to Krakow just before the newly elected King, Stefan Batory, was crowned in 1575. Upon his return, he soon re-joined the royal chancellery and remained in service, close to the king and state affairs, until his father died in 1577. Both his university education and the time he spent at court certainly broadened the craftsman's son's horizons, and stimulated intellectual ambitions of a prospective printer, who was also a prolific writer and translator.[7] Importantly, Januszowski established a network of contacts during his formative years. When he left the royal court in 1577 for the printing shop, he could rely on these connections to obtain commissions and privileges and, as a result, to develop the position of his enterprise.

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5 Letter by Tomasz Płaza to Marcin Kromer on 6 November 1582, Archiwum Archidiecezji Warmińskiej w Olsztynie (further as AAWO), call no AB D 35, f. 52v; Letter by Jan Januszowski to Bishop Marcin Kromer on 19 November 1585, AAWO, call no AK, Ab 5, f. 189–189v.

6 On royal chancellery and court in Poland see: Marek Ferenc, *Dwór Zygmunta Augusta. Organizacja i ludzie*, (Krakow: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Historia Iagellonica, 1998); Mirosław Korolko, *Seminarium Rzeczypospolitej Królestawa Polskiego. Humaniści w kancelarii królewskiej Zygmunta Augusta* (Warsaw: Wiedza Powszechna, 1991); Leszek Kieniewicz, 'Sekretariat Stefana Batorego. Zbiorowość i kariery królewskich sekretarzy', in Anna Izydorczyk and Andrzej Wyczański (eds.) *Społeczeństwo staropolskie*, vol. 4 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986), pp. 33–61; Waldemar Chorążyczewski, 'Początki kancelarii pokojowej za Jagiellonów', in Waldemar Chorążyczewski and Wojciech Krawczuk (eds.), *Polska kancelaria królewska między władzą a społeczeństwem* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2008), pp. 33–46.

7 About Januszowski's formation and his activity as a writer and a translator see Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba, *Czionką i piórem. Jan Januszowski w roli pisarza i tłumacza* (Krakow: Universitas, 2007). On other printer-intellectuals see Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, 'The Early Printer as a "Renaissance man', *Printing History*, 3 (1981), pp. 6–16.

The Importance of Staying Connected

In Poland-Lithuania, Januszowski was not 'the average small printer, who could not make the contacts that won wealthy patrons'.[8] Both printed books and archival documents demonstrate the support Januszowski received from lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries, with whom he had first made acquaintance in Vienna, in Padua, in the chancellery, or at court. There is not enough space here to mention all the names and elaborate on the nature and results of Januszowski's connection with them.[9] Suffice to say that the printer's main patron was Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), who was the most powerful man in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the time of Batory's reign. Zamoyski held two of the most important state offices: he was both Grand Chancellor of the Crown (that is of Poland, as Lithuania had its own chancellors and army commanders) and Commander-in-Chief. He had forged a spectacular political career as Batory's most trusted advisor. Even if it was the king who distributed grants, to obtain the royal favour one needed a proper recommendation and the support of a person who had direct access to the monarch.[10] In the 1570s and 1580s, the person closest to the king was Jan Zamoyski, who controlled the internal affairs of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and dominated Stefan Batory's patronage policy.

As early as 1578, Zamoyski had seen to it that Januszowski was granted a privilege that made him a servant of the king (*servitor*), and a royal printer.[11] This act had important practical implications, as it excluded the printer from any municipal jurisdiction, reserving law enforcement for the king. The same privilege gave Januszowski the sole right to print all books he chose to produce for ten years and banned his competitors from copying his imprints. The document also confirmed Januszowski's right to reprint works once produced by his

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8 Robert M. Kingdon, 'Patronage, Piety, and Printing in Sixteenth-Century Europe', in Robert M. Kingdon, *Church and Society in Reformation Europe* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985), p. 31.

9 Kiliańczyk-Zięba, *Czcionką i piórem*, pp. 19–24; pp. 70–74.

10 Wojciech Tygielski, 'A faction which could not loose', in Antoni Mączak (ed.), *Klientelsysteme im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: R. Oldenburg Verlag, 1988), pp. 177–201, here pp. 192–193. See as well: Wojciech Tygielski, *Politics of patronage in Renaissance Poland: chancellor Jan Zamoyski, his supporters and the political map of Poland, 1572–1605*, transl. Paweł T. Dobrowolski (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 1990), a shortened version of a monograph published by the same author as *Listy, ludzie, władza. Patronat Jana Zamoyskiego w świetle korespondencji* (Warsaw: Viator, 2007).

11 Maria Juda (ed.), *Privilegia Typographica Polonorum. Polskie przywileje drukarskie 1493–1793* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2010), nr. 54.

father, Łazarz Andrysowic (unless they were deemed heretical).[12] Januszowski set about printing some of the titles explicitly mentioned in the privilege immediately. Other books listed in the document were potential ideas for future publication, and would not be printed until decades later. For example, *Icones regum et principum Poloniae* mentioned in the 1578 privilege, was only published in 1605 as *Ikones książąt i królów polskich*.

Unfortunately for Januszowski, his 1578 privilege was not a permanent arrangement for treasury-sponsored editions. These (from 1577) were reserved for another Krakow printer favoured by Zamoyski, Mikołaj Szarfenberger, who was authorised to produce constitutions, the king's ordinances, decrees and law collections.[13] Nevertheless, in subsequent years Januszowski's acquaintance with the elite active at the royal court certainly helped him obtain commissions for a number of state-sponsored books. These included both large folio volumes like *De verae et falsae Ecclesiae discriminae* by Batory's court preacher Stanisław Sokołowski (1537–1593), as well as smaller books like *Disputatio de putredine* by the king's physician Simon Simoni (1532–1602).[14] It is relatively easy to trace the financial support of the king through the presence of a traditional formula on the book itself (such as 'sumptu et impensa regia' on the title page of Sokołowski's work).

Sometimes, though – and it is difficult to say how often and why – a royal commission to publish a particular title was not mentioned in the printed volume. That this must have been the case is suggested in editions like *Iudicium de libro quem Lutherani vocant concordiae* by Roberto Bellarmino, issued by Drukarnia Łazarzowa in 1586.[15] The king's commission and the monarch paying for production is not indicated as such in the volume. Instead, it is attested by archival documents: first by a letter from Stefan Batory where the king commissions Januszowski to print 'librum patris Bellarmini' and to send him 200 copies, second by a receipt issued by Januszowski confirming that he has received the money to produce the book.[16]

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12 Jan Ptaśnik, *Monumenta Poloniae typographica* (Lviv: Ossolineum, 1922), pp. 147–148; Juda, *Privilegia*, pp. 10–11.

13 Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa and Anna Mańkowska, 'Szarfenberger Mikołaj', in *Drukarze* 1, 1, pp. 264–283.

14 Stanisław Sokołowski, *De verae et falsae Ecclesiae discriminae* (Krakow: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1583) USTC 242453; Simon Simoni, *Disputatio de putredine* (Krakow: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1583) USTC 242491.

15 Roberto Bellarmino, *Iudicium de libro quem Lutherani vocant concordiae* (Krakow: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1586) USTC 242586.

16 On the 12 of July 1586 Batory wrote from Grodno in today's Belarus to the treasurer Hiacynt Młodziejowski: "librum patris Bellarmini, quem volumus, ut istic Cracoviae elegantioribus typis excudi curet, nobisque 200 exemplaria mittat. Qua de re transiget cum Januszewski

FIGURE 9.1 Stanisław Sokołowski, *De verae et falsae Ecclesiae discriminae* (Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1583)

Close to the Church and Its Reformed Books

Januszowski was unable to break Szarfenberger's monopoly on state subsidized editions, and treasury sponsored books remained only occasional projects for his workshop.[17] However, he had a good understanding of the opportunities that printing books on the commission of the church authorities could give him. Naturally, he issued books authored or financed (or both) by local ecclesiasts.[18] To boost the sale of these books he advertised that these were recommended by high-ranking prelates. For example, when a volume of catholic sermons *Postilla ortodoxa* by Marcin Białobrzeski (ca. 1530–1586) produced in 1581 proved slow to sell, he had the first sheet of the copies still in stock replaced by a newly printed one that contained mandates by Piotr Myszkowski (ca. 1510–1591), the Bishop of Krakow, and Stanisław Karnkowski (1520–1603),

typographo" (Ptaśnik, *Monumenta*, pp. 361). On 9 September 1586 Januszowski confirmed that he had received the money from the officials of the treasury as was ordered by Młodziejowski (Ptaśnik, *Monumenta*, p. 361).

17 Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Januszowski Jan', p. 79.

18 For example, a series of books printed in Drukarnia Łazarzowa was published by Stanisław Karnkowski, the prelate of Poland (e. g. *Powinność chrześcijańska* of 1582, whereabout of a copy once kept in the National Library in Warsaw are unknown; Hanibale Roselli, *Pymander*, libri III, IV and V of 1584–1586).

the Archbishop of Gniezno, who both ordered their priests to improve their preaching with the use of the sermon collection printed by Januszowski.[19]

Januszowski was also appreciative of the opportunities offered by having a share in the printing of newly reformed liturgical books – volumes revised following the recommendations of the Council of Trent (held between 1545 and 1563). The period after the Council of Trent was crucial for the romanising of the Western liturgy, even if this process had been continuous from the twelfth century onwards. The Council recommended the unification of the liturgy, a revision of liturgical books according to Roman use, and finally the universal adoption of the Tridentine books.[20] The reform of liturgical books and other Catholic texts was still underway when the Council ended. The new breviary was promulgated in 1566, and the missal in 1570. Other texts, such as a catechism and book of hours, had also been revised.[21] The uniform imposition of the Roman liturgy by the local churches was possible thanks to the medium the Catholic reformers had at their disposal – the printed book. The Church authorities in Rome sought to control and supervise the production and distribution of revised texts. They required that the clergy and the faithful could only use the new, approved versions, and they granted privileges to print the reformed texts to chosen printers. For the printers who obtained such monopolistic privileges, this meant producing thousands of copies of texts in huge demand, as well as a predictable, substantial profit.[22] Thus, Januszowski used his connections with local ecclesiastics to obtain the rights and commissions

19 *Privilegia*, pp. 92–94. The additional sheet contained as well letters from King Stefan Batory and Queen Anna Jagiellon to the author; both thanked Białobrzeski for copies received. See Magdalena Komorowska, '"Large Volumes Bought by the Few": Printing and Selling Postils in Early Modern Poland', in Shanti Graheli (ed.) *Buying and Selling. The Business of Books in Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 241–242.

20 Pierre-Marie Gy, 'L'Unification liturgique de l'Occident et de la liturgie de la Curie Romaine', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 59 (1975), pp. 601–612. Liturgical matters, and in particular the reform of the breviary and missal were discussed at the 25th session of the Council. See as well Cristina Dondi, 'Books of Hours. The Development of the texts in printed form', in Kristian Jensen (ed.), *Incunabula and their Readers*, (London: British Library, 2003), pp. 56–57.

21 For an overview of the process see e.g. Niels Kroogh Rasmussen, 'Liturgy and Liturgical Arts', in John W. O'Malley (ed.), *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research* (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1988), pp. 273–297; Karen Lee Bowen, *Christopher Plantin's Book of Hours. Illustration and Production* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1997), pp. 63–64, Robert M. Kingdon, 'The Plantin breviaries: a case study in the sixteenth-century business operations of a publishing house', in Kingdon, *Church and Society*, pp. 133–150.

22 Bowen, *Christopher Plantin's Book of Hours*, p. 63.

to produce new liturgical books for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – a potentially very lucrative business.

The favoured printers for the task – most notably Christophe Plantin – were chosen early on.[23] Naturally Januszowski did not hope to compete with any of them, but to win the privilege to produce distinct versions of the new service books specially modified for Polish use. This was an achievable goal, since in their quest for the unification of the liturgy, the Catholic reformers had realised that local traditions were strong in many regions. For this very reason, Pius V made it possible for dioceses that had had their own liturgical books for longer than 200 hundred years to continue performing their rituals according to local rites. This was the case in the earliest Polish dioceses, where both manuscript and printed books reflected long-existing and highly-developed local traditions. The bishops, the synods and the specialists who debated liturgical matters at the time opted for the adoption of the Roman use, but with respect for the particularities of the ecclesiastical provinces in Poland.[24] This attitude naturally implied that the respective volumes should be edited and then printed.

In the Polish Kingdom, the most energetic reformer of the liturgy in the Catholic Church was undoubtedly Marcin Kromer (1512–1589), the Bishop of Warmia. Kromer inspired and co-authored *Agenda sacramentalia* (1574) and *Agenda ceremonialia* (1578), which combined both the recommendations of the Council of Trent and local rites.[25] These books were acclaimed by Polish bishops and used widely in the ecclesiastical province of Gniezno.[26] Subsequently, Kromer published a breviary (1581), and made his assistants work on a missal that would conform to both local traditions and the standards of the Roman Curia.[27] At the same time, at the beginning of the 1580s, the archbishop of

23 Léon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, vol. 1: *Christophe Plantin and the Moretuses. Their lives and their world* (Amsterdam: Vangendt & Co, 1969), pp. 65–70.

24 Paweł Sczaniecki, *Służba Boża w dawnej Polsce. Studia o Mszy świętej, seria druga* (Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha 1966), pp. 142–145.

25 *Agenda sacramentalia* (Cologne: Maternus Cholinus, 1574) USTC 609588; *Agenda ceremonialia* (Cologne: Maternus Cholinus, 1578) USTC 609575.

26 Władysław Nowak, 'Geneza Agendy biskupa Marcina Kromera', *Studia Warmińskie*, 6 (1969), pp. 173–209.

27 *Breviarium Varmiense* (Cologne: Maternus Cholinus, 1581), not in USTC. Only three surviving copies, kept in the following libraries: Biblioteka Instytutu Północnego, Olsztyn, Linköpings Stadsbibliotek and Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek.

Gniezno, the primate of Poland, Stanisław Karnkowski, chose a group of liturgists to edit a missal for the whole of his province.[28]

It is difficult to say when Januszowski started to establish contact with people who could commission the further production of Polish liturgical books in Krakow, using his printing shop rather than having them printed in Cologne. The earliest trace of such efforts comes from 1582, in a letter from Tomasz Płaza (ca 1512/1530–1593), a parish priest in Krakow, who had assisted Kromer's various ventures since the 1550s and was the bishop's trusted factotum.[29] Acting as the prelate's representative, Płaza managed and supervised the printing of Kromer's works in Germany and elsewhere. He described his dealings on behalf of the bishop in informative letters sent to the prelate, of which over 250 are known to have survived until the present day.[30] In 1582, Płaza recommended Jan Januszowski to Kromer, saying that he 'is a good man and an exceptional printer'.[31] In the same letter, Płaza informed Kromer that he had accompanied Januszowski to see the Archbishop Stanisław Karnkowski, the prelate of Poland, and that the printer was well prepared to produce liturgical books. Around the turn of the year, the idea to print liturgical books with Januszowski must have taken root among the dignitaries. Januszowski was promised the commission to produce breviaries and missals for the ecclesiastical provinces of Gniezno and Lviv with the financial support of the bishops.[32] In May 1583, the King, Stefan Batory, signed a privilege reserving to Januszowski the right to print the reformed missals and breviaries aimed at Polish-Lithuanian dioceses and to sell them throughout the Commonwealth.[33] Januszowski energetically prepared his workshop for the anticipated enterprise. In the same year, 1583, he took out a loan from Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki (1522–1587), a Krakow cathedral canon, and it is quite probable that he invested the money mostly in the founts

28 Władysław Nowak, 'Biskup Marcin Kromer jako liturgista', in Stanisław Achremczyk (ed.), *Marcin Kromer i jego czasy (1512–1589)* (Olsztyn: Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego, 2012), pp. 174–176 (the same text published in *Komunikaty Warmińsko-Mazurskie*, 212 (2012), pp. 571–594).

29 Wacław Urban, 'Płaza Tomasz', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 26 (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1981), pp. 778–780; Janusz Małłek, 'Wstęp', in Marcin Kromer, *Historyja prawdziwa o przygodzie żałosnej książęcia finlandzkiego Jana i królewny polskiej Katarzyny* (Olsztyn: Pojezierze, 1974), pp. XIII–XV.

30 Krystyna Stasiewicz, 'Korespondencja Tomasza Płazy z Marcinem Kromerem', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 33 (1978), pp. 167–185.

31 "Jest dobry człowiek i typograf osobliwy". See letter by Tomasz Płaza to Marcin Kromer on 6 November 1582. AAWO, call no AB D 35, f. 52v.

32 Stanisław Bodniak, 'W oficynie „architypografa". Rzecz o kłopotach Januszowskiego', *Silva Rerum*, 5 (1930), pp. 138–143, here p. 139.

33 *Privilegia*, pp. 97–98.

of roman type as well as musical types, with which he planned to print the liturgical volumes.[34]

However, his business became complicated. The prelates who had previously declared that they would edit the missal and the breviary for Poland-Lithuania and have it printed with Januszowski did not proceed with the work. Correspondence between all the involved parties suggests that Stanisław Karnkowski, the primate of Poland, hesitated to take the initiative and financial responsibility.[35] Instead, Karnkowski proposed that the council of Poland (*synod*) decide about the production of breviaries and missals for the province of Gniezno. The bishop of Krakow Piotr Myszkowski (ca. 1510–1591) procrastinated, and asked the canons of Krakow cathedral to resolve the matter themselves.[36] The chapter did not want to act, and the canons sent letters to Karnkowski and other bishops urging them to decide about the printing.

While waiting for the missal and the breviary for Poland-Lithuania to be edited and submitted to him, Januszowski used his connections in the circle of Catholic reformers to keep his presses busy. In 1584, he signed a contract to produce an *Agenda* for the Moravian diocese of Olomouc. The production was commissioned and paid for by Bishop Stanislav Pavlovský (ca. 1545–1598), a prelate of Silesian origin, whose links to Poland were particularly strong because of his diplomatic activities.[37] Details concerning the production of the work have been preserved in documents compiled in the episcopal chancery. These sources inform us that the bishop's secretary, and one of the works' editors, Johannes Jerger, was sent with a manuscript copy of the book to Krakow two months before Christmas in 1584. The first part of *Agenda* (*Agenda Sacramentalia*) in 1,040 copies was ready within three months, and the second part (*Agenda Cerimonialia*) was issued in 600 copies in 1586. Production costs amounted to over 2471 florins, including golden coins bearing Pavlovský's coat

34 Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Januszowski*, p. 73.

35 Tomasz Płaza's letters to Marcin Kromer, Jan Januszowski's letters to both the Warmia bishop and his secretary, epistolary exchange between the Krakow Bishop Piotr Myszkowski and the canons of the Krakow Cathedral.

36 Letter by Piotr Myszkowski to Krakow Cathedral Chapter on 30 August 1583, Archiwum Kapituły Krakowskiej w Krakowie, call no LA 24, f. 227r.

37 See Jaroslav Pánek, 'Biskup Stanisław II Pawłowski, Polacy i Czesi (Prałat, polityk i mecenas pośrednikiem pomiędzy dwoma sąsiednimi narodami)', in Henryk Gmiterek and Wojciech Iwańczak (eds.), *Polacy w Czechach, Czesi w Polsce: X–XVIII wiek* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS 2004), pp. 89–101; Jakubec Ondřej (ed.), *Stanislav Pavlovský z Pavlovic (1579–1598). Biskup a mecenáš umírajícího věku* (Olomouc: Muzeum umění, 2009).

of arms, which were gifts received by Januszowski for himself, his wife and their three sons.[38]

In printing the *Agenda*, Januszowski could use the typographical and woodcut material that he had acquired to print the missals and breviaries for Poland-Lithuania. He also experimented with the visual appearance of the volume, for example by abandoning black letter for roman and italic characters. These typographical solutions recurred in the next liturgical volume Drukarnia Łazarzowa issued: *Missale Varmiense*.[39]

The Missal and Its Patrons

Missale was a commission by Marcin Kromer, the Bishop of Warmia. The plan for Januszowski to print liturgical books for the Commonwealth was devised around 1582. At the beginning, and even up to the early months of 1586, Januszowski and his protectors hoped that the printer would work on the missal for all the dioceses under Gniezno's jurisdiction and the missal for Warmia, an autonomous bishopric, at the same time. The plan was to have the larger part of the text in the missals to be identical, which meant that the production costs could be shared by the bishops, making the whole enterprise less expensive for the ecclesiasts and more profitable for the printer. Kromer had already proceeded in a similar way when he had produced his liturgical books in Cologne.[40] However, Kromer grew rightly impatient with the other Polish bishops and with the primate Stanisław Karnkowski for delaying their decisions, and he eventually commissioned *Missale Varmiense* independently with Januszowski.[41]

The history of this publishing venture can be reconstructed thanks to surviving archival documents, mainly the letters Bishop Kromer received from Tomasz Płaza, his long-time assistant. Kromer resided in Warmia and Płaza

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38 Ladislav Zavadil, 'Die alte Olmützer Agenda vom Bischof Stanislaus', *Zentralblatt Für Bibliothekswesen*, 1889, pp. 452–455; Karl Lechner, 'Nachtrag zur Olmützer Agenda des Bischofs Stanislaus Pawlowsky', *Zentralblatt Für Bibliothekswesen*, 1897, pp. 175–179.

39 *Missale Varmiense diligenter recognitum et correctum* (Krakow: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1587) USTC 240295.

40 Nowak, *Geneza*, pp. 200–205.

41 He was empowered to do so, as his diocese, that formerly belonged to the Riga ecclesiastical province, after its decomposition was a subject to Rome only and not to the archbishop of Gniezno. See: Wiesław Müller, 'Struktura organizacyjna diecezji rzymskokatolickich w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku', in Marian Rechowicz and Zygmunt Sułowski (eds.), *Księga tysiąclecia katolicyzmu w Polsce* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL, 1969), p. 95.

lived in Krakow. It was Płaza who recommended Januszowski to the bishop and later on managed *Missale Varmiense*'s production and distribution, regularly reporting to Kromer about the process. A handful of letters Januszowski wrote to Płaza and to Kromer, and those the Krakow Bishop Piotr Myszkowski addressed to his canons provides evidence for further developments. There is also a draft of a contract prepared by Januszowski, and a final agreement signed in 1586 by the printer, Płaza (acting as Kromer's proxy) and Marcin Glicjusz z Pilzna, *canonicus Cracoviensis*, who was a liturgist committed to the cause of post-Tridentine reform. Sources of secondary importance are a diary compiled in 1580 in Krakow by Maurycy Paweł Henik, Kromer's secretary, the *Acta actorum* of the Krakow cathedral chapter, a draft of Kromer's epistle to the Krakow canons, as well as Januszowski's letters to the chancellor Jan Zamoyski written in 1599, where the printer reminiscences about his enterprises from years earlier. Together, these documents give us an unusually detailed insight into how the production of *Missale Varmiense* was planned, organised and paid for. As such, they constitute the kind of evidence extremely rare for early printed books produced in Poland.

It was eventually decided that Januszowski would print *Missale Varmiense* in 1584. Almost a year later, in June 1585, Płaza, acting as a middle man and the manager of the publishing process, reported to Kromer that he and Januszowski 'were ready for the missal', yet the bishop and his collaborators in Lidzbark Warmiński did not have a complete text to despatch to Krakow.[42] While Płaza and the printer waited for the manuscript, they were planning the book's layout. Kromer was sent specimen pages of the envisaged edition and '*principum Agendae Olomucensis*', certainly as proof of the Krakow workshop's technical abilities and the proposed design for the missal.[43] At the same time, Płaza suggested that the bishop should have the missal printed with 'the bigger letter', which was more expensive, but 'more useful for old priests as well as young ones'.[44] He also revealed that the ultimate sources for the visual appearance of the planned missal were books produced in Antwerp, no doubt in Christoph Plantin's workshop.[45] However, no contract was signed, perhaps

42 See letter by Tomasz Płaza to Marcin Kromer, June 1585, AAWO, call no AB D 35, f. 81r: "Typograf jest gotów do drukowania Mszału".

43 See letter by Tomasz Płaza to Marcin Kromer on 25 October 1584, AAWO, call no AB D 35, f. 73r.

44 Letter by Tomasz Płaza to Marcin Kromer, June 1585, AAWO, call no AB D 35, f. 81r: "Będzie droższy egzemplarz niźli on mniejszym pismem, ale pożyteczniejszy kapłanom młodym i starym".

45 Letter by Tomasz Płaza to Marcin Kromer on 25 April 1586, AAWO, call no AB D 35, f. 90v: "typis istis quorum exemplar mitto ad instar Antverpiensis imprimet missale".

because Kromer, Płaza and Januszowski still hoped for the primate Karnkowski and other bishops to join them in the publishing enterprise.

Not only did this never happen, but the work of the trio was put to a halt by the Krakow cathedral chapter in the spring of 1586. The canons declared they were afraid that the publishing of the missal might become a cause of papal disgrace, and warned Płaza and Januszowski not to begin printing without the consent of their general council held in May and until receiving a resolution of the Krakow Bishop Piotr Myszkowski.[46] In letters he wrote in April 1586, an anxious Januszowski tried to persuade Płaza and his master, the bishop, to let him start the work 'when the day is long', if only by commissioning the paper for the edition.[47] At the same time, Płaza reported to Kromer that he did not want the printer to go to any further expense 'because God knows if your highness will not change your mind and send the missal elsewhere or if the Krakow bishop will not forbid the printing'.[48] Kromer intervened with an irate letter to the canons. The Krakow ecclesiasts expressed their consent for the missal to be printed and the work continued. In June 1586, Płaza gave the printer the money to commission the paper for the volume. In August, a contract to print the book in 400 copies was signed (even if the printer consistently proposed producing 500). In the same month, Kromer received the first printed sheets of the missal. The work went swiftly, and the whole book was ready just after Christmas 1586, at the very beginning of January 1587.

A wealth of epistolary evidence, along with the survival of secondary sources, reveals that the printing of *Missale Varmiense* was a cooperative venture: a multifaceted, dynamic process, spread over a period of about five years, hindered by the financial limitations of the commissioners, the ill will of the Church authorities, or even bad transport and weather conditions. More interestingly, since the documents that tell the story of how *Misssale Varmiense* was created are, for the most part, letters – ego-documents or *Selbstzeugnisse* – they reflect the human dimension of a printing and publishing enterprise.[49] They give us

46 See letter by Tomasz Płaza to Marcin Kromer on 25 April 1586, AAWO, call no AB D 35, f. 90–91r.

47 See Bodniak, 'W oficynie …', p. 142; Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba and Katarzyna Gara, 'Listy Jana Januszowskiego do Marcina Kromera i Tomasza Płazy dotyczące produkcji *Missale Varmiense* (1587) w Drukarni Łazarzowej', *Terminus*, 20:3 (2018), pp. 383–401.

48 Letter by Tomasz Płaza to Marcin Kromer on 25 April 1586, AAWO, call no AB D 35, f. 90r: "jeśli też vmcz nie odmienisz woli swojej a nie poślesz gdzie indzie, jeśli biskup nie dopuści drukować".

49 For the history and use of these terms see Michael Mascuch, Rudolf Dekker and Arianne Baggermann, 'Egodocuments and History: a Short Account of the Longue Durée', *The Historian*, (2016), pp. 11–56; Waldemar Chorążyczewski and Agnieszka Rosa, 'Egodokumenty – egodokumentalność – analiza egodokumentalna – spuścizna

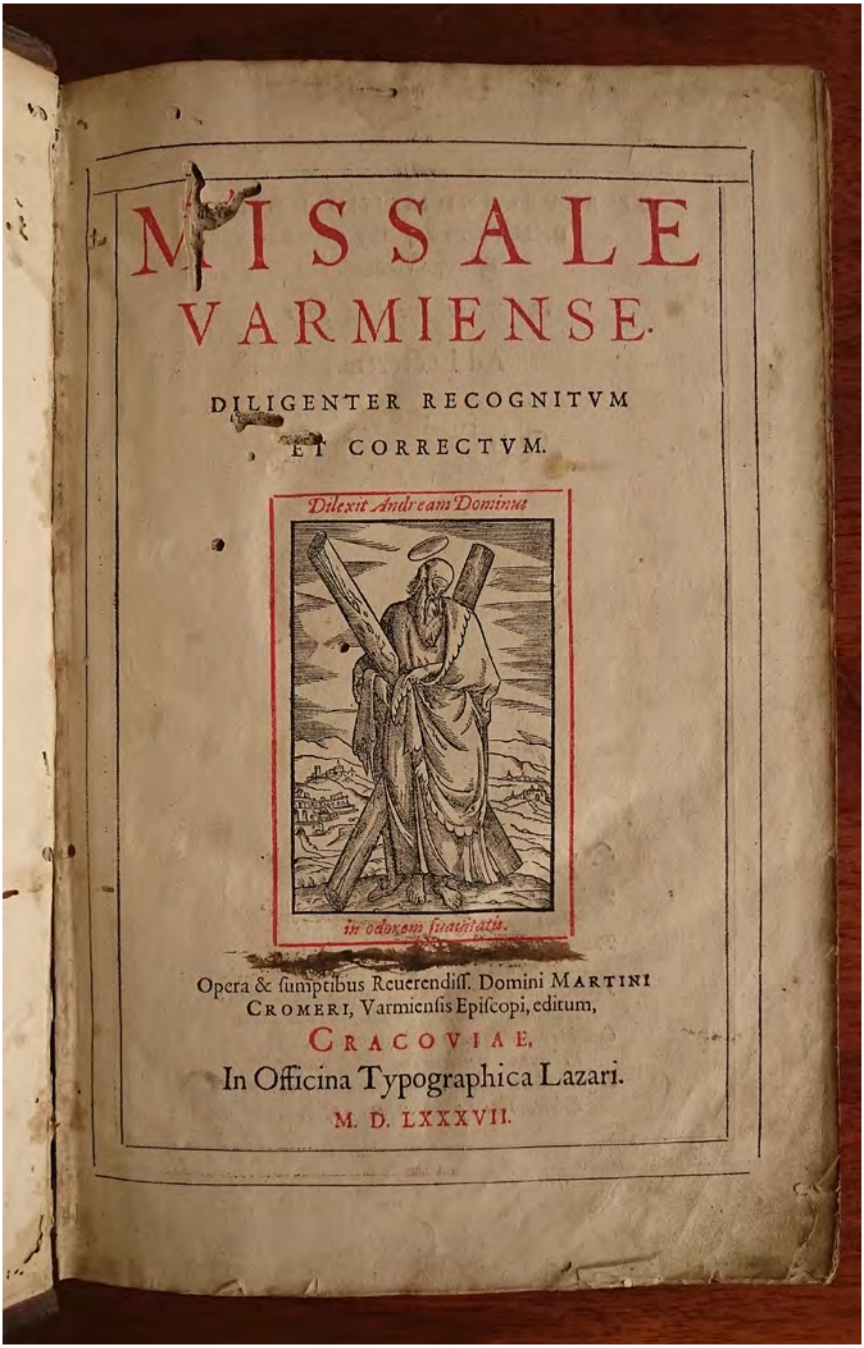

FIGURE 9.2 Marcin Kromer (ed.), *Missale Varmiense diligenter recognitum et correctum* (Kraków: Drukarnia Łazarzowa, 1587)

a fairly good idea of the interactions among the people engaged in the process of printing a major volume: their ambitions, expectations, worries and joys. They expose the social relationships within the small group – personal, direct, and patron-client interactions. They leave no doubt that the social standing of Januszowski the printer was low compared not only with the bishop, whom he could only address in humble Latin supplications, but also in comparison with the other ecclestiasts he worked with. These were Tomasz Płaza – Kromer's factotum, and Marcin Glicjusz z Pilzna – the Krakow cathedral canon, who were both Januszowski's supporters in the period when he sought to secure a commission for printing liturgical books. Januszowski had neither power nor agency; the capital at his disposal was substantial enough to invest in new founts of type, but he would not commission the paper for the missal without money from his backers. Wealth, status and power were with Kromer; Płaza – the bishop's middleman – emanated these qualities only thanks to his close relationship with the prelate.

Januszowski, the printer, and Płaza, who managed the publication process, worked under a lot of stress. They kept waiting and adapting. They waited for Kromer's decision on where to produce the missal. Then, they waited for the canons' of the Krakow cathedral and for Bishop Myszkowski's consent to begin the printing. They received the manuscript from Kromer in bits and pieces, and the money also came in piecemeal. The correspondence was irregular, and the recurrent rumours about Kromer's death caused additional stress. Płaza repeatedly rejoiced in his letters to Kromer that the bishop was still alive (Kromer eventually died in 1589). Finally, the letters reflect Januszowski and Płaza's pride in the results of their labours. Happy that Kromer was also content with the missal, his assistant wrote: 'these missals and your other books will commemorate you better than any rich property you could buy'.[50]

Płaza, a local resident, spent a lot of time in Drukarnia Łazarzowa, correcting and revising text sent to Krakow by Kromer. In his personal letters to the bishop, Płaza praised the commitment and competence of the printer, and commented on the amount of labour Januszowski invested in the publication of *Missale Varmiense*. It seems that Januszowski was working to build his reputation as a specialist printer of liturgical books and perhaps, thanks to

egodokumentalna', in Waldemar Chorążyczewski, Arvydas Pacevičius and Stanisław Roszak (eds.) *Egodokumenty. Tradycje historyczne i perspektywy badawcze* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2015), pp. 11–21.

50 See letter by Tomasz Płaza to Marcin Kromer. January 1587: AAWO, call no AB D 35, f. 85r: "więtszą pamiątkę vmcz tymi mszałami i inszymi księgami po sobie zostawisz, a niźlibyś kupił jakie bogate imienie".

Kromer's recommendation, to attract the patronage of other prelates. However, Januszowski's apparent success with the Warmia missal and the satisfaction of his benefactors did not result in a Church commission to print the breviaries and missals for Poland-Lithuania with Drukarnia Łazarzowa. The sudden death of the printer's royal protector, Stefan Batory, and the turbulent time of the double election, which gave the Polish throne to both the Swedish prince Sigismund Vasa and archduke Maximilian of Habsburg, definitely discouraged the prelates, who were reluctant to invest in the production of the reformed liturgical volumes from the very beginning.

Januszowski, ever resilient, approached the bishops gathered in Warsaw in 1587 during the *interregnum* after Batory's death, and reminded them of the arrangements that had been made 'to print new missals and graduals for all Poland'.[51] As late as 1589, the council of Poland (*synod piotrkowski*) confirmed Januszowski's privilege to print liturgical books for the Commonwealth. In October of the same year, Januszowski was paid in advance by the Bishop of Kujawy Hieronim Rozrażewski 'to print breviaries, missals and other liturgical books in his dioecesis'.[52] In April 1590, King Zygmunt III Waza (Sigismund Vasa) recognised Januszowski's sole right to print all kinds of books needed by the clergy.[53] Yet the results of Januszowski's negotiations with the episcopate must have been unsatisfactory; neither the missals nor the breviaries for the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania were ever printed in Drukarnia Łazarzowa in Krakow. Płaza was right when he reported to Kromer in May 1588, three months after the new King Zygmund III Waza was crowned in the Krakow cathedral: 'Januszowski, the printer, is angry with the bishops for having wronged him and failed with the missals. We will not see the missals for this province'.[54]

51 Bodniak, *W oficynie*, pp. 140–141.

52 Paweł Sczaniecki, *Służba Boża w dawnej Polsce. Studia o Mszy świętej, seria druga* (Poznań: Ksiegarnia Sw. Wojciecha, 1966), p. 146.

53 Januszowski obtained the right to print "libros usibus cleri necessarios, quos alioqui a peregrinis et remotis officinis typographicis petere cogebatur, utpote missalia, breviaria, agenda, antiphonaria, gradualia, psalteria et alia", *Privilegia*, nr. 73, pp. 102–104.

54 Letter by Tomasz Płaza to Marcin Kromer May 1587, AAWO, call no AB D 35, f. 133v: "*Dominus* Januszowski *typographus* rozgniewał się, iż go biskupi zawiedli i omylili z strony mszałów … Nie doczekamy się mszałów *pro hac provincia*".

Conclusion: Complaints and Rewards

Januszowski remained bitter about the failed venture for years to come, accusing the prelates of failing to honour their agreements.[55] When Stefan Batory died and Jan Zamoyski fell out of favour with the new king, Januszowski complained about the lack of patrons who could provide the financial basis for much of the important publishing enterprises he wished to undertake: 'There is no patron, maecenas, promotor for me … *Eheu, fatum Janussovii*!'.[56] Deciding to what extent his laments were sincere and justified still demands scholarly attention. After all, Januszowski obtained some reward for his labours on behalf of his highly placed backers. In 1590, he became 'architypographus regius and ecclesiasticus', a title that no doubt echoed Plantin's title. At the same time, a royal privilege reserved Januszowski the right to print both liturgical books and state publications. More importantly, two years earlier, in January 1588, the newly crowned King Zygmund III Waza, had elevated this craftsman's son to the nobility. In the 'gentry nation' that Poland was, this was an enormous social advancement, possible only for the most talented and conscientious and the best connected.

Throughout his career as a printer, Januszowski consciously emulated his successful colleagues active in most vibrant centres of print in Europe. Producing books for a provincial and an outlying market, Januszowski could not equal the enormous output of the most prosperous printers. Nevertheless his state and Church sponsored publications – *Missale Varmiense* in particular – exemplify well the potential of his workshop. At the same time the evidence provided by both the books printed by Januszowski and archival sources sheds important light on how an early printing office's fortunes related to or even depended upon patronage, support and sponsorship from those with wealth and power.

55 Letter by Jan Januszowski to Jan Zamoyski on 20 July 1599 quoted in Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Z dziejów polskiej książki w okresie Renesansu. Studia i materiały* (Wrocław: Ossolineum 1975), pp. 296–298.

56 Jan Januszowski "patrona, mecenasa i promotora nie masz…. Eheu, fatum Janussovii". See the letter by Jan Januszowski to Jan Zamoyski on 19 May 1599, quoted in Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Z dziejów*, p. 300.

CHAPTER 10

Ferdinando de' Medici and the *Typographia Medicea*

Caren Reimann

When studying the political impact of printing and publishing in early modern Europe, printing in the so-called 'exotic languages' (Syriac, Chaldean, Ethiopic, Persian, Arabic etc.) may not be the first topic that comes to mind. Nevertheless, these publications were, despite their rather limited audience in Europe, of great interest to scholars, as well as to members of royal dynasties and church dignitaries. For Europe's most powerful individuals, it was a prestigious engagement to support the innovative technology of printing in Arabic and Syriac, as well as the pioneering philological work that accompanied it. It was also a zealous endeavour, as these publications were meant to help with missionary activities in the East.[1]

The first edition of the Syriac New Testament, published by Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter (1506–1557) serves as a case in point.[2] Preparing the text for print was a long and complicated process: apart from Widmanstetter, scholars such as Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi (1469–1540), Guillaume Postel (1510–1581) and Moses of Mardin (d. 1592) were involved in the editing process. The manuscript, once it had reached Europe, travelled from Rome to Venice to Paris and was finally published in Vienna in 1555. This would not have been possible without help from Emperor Ferdinand I (1503–1564), to whom Widmanstetter dedicated the edition.[3] In his dedicatory letter Widmanstetter claimed that Ferdinand, as a Christian ruler, had the obligation to promote

1 In case of the Syriac New Testament historian Robert Wilkinson argued that Widmanstetter wanted to provide the Eastern Churches with liturgical books. Widmanstetter also thought that the text could serve to convert Muslims and Jews. See Robert J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation. The first Printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Boston/Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 4.

2 See *Ketābā d-ewangelyōn qaddīšā de-māran w-alāhan Yešuʿ mešiḥā; syriacae linguae. Jesu, Christo eiusque matri virgini atque judaeis omnibus, Christianae redemptionis evangelicaeque praedicationis tempore, vernaculae et popularis prima elementa. Quibus adiectae sunt Christianae religionis solennes, quotidianaeque precationes* (Vienna: Michael Zimmermann, 1555) USTC 607924.

3 See Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation*, p. 179.

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the Christian faith and the production of Christian texts for members of the Eastern Churches.

This article examines the unique case of *Typographia Medicea,* a Roman printing shop that was not just supported by a high-ranking member of a ruling noble house, but was actually founded by one. In his quest for personal prestige and political power, Ferdinando de' Medici (1549–1609), Cardinal and later Grand Duke of Tuscany, established a press in Rome in 1584 that would publish both Arabic and Syriac books. In this article, I will explore how Ferdinando used his connections to promote the print shop and support its activities as well as how he planned to use the printing shop to reach his political and monetary goals.

Only four years after establishing the printing house in Rome, Ferdinando became the next Grand Duke of Tuscany and had to leave Rome. The director of the printing shop, Giovanni Battista Raimondi (d. 1614) disseminated the narrative that Ferdinando did not sufficiently intervene in the *Typographia's* business after he had left Rome and was no longer even interested in the printing shop.[4] Reporting this indifference towards the business decreased its political influence, which increased its financial struggles and, according to Raimondi, meant the ambitious operation failed. The *Typographia Medicea* produced only about 25 editions in the 30 years of its existence.

Researchers have reiterated Raimondi's argument, as there seemed to be few sources that showed the direct involvement of Ferdinando in the printing shop after 1587 and almost none that are related to the trade in printed books.[5] I argue that this approach needs to be discussed further, since some sources do show that Ferdinando, although indirectly through agents and intermediaries, kept a very close eye on Raimondi's activities. Ferdinando relied on the complex social structure within the Roman clerical environment to control his investment in the *Typographia Medicea*.

The sources on the printing shop are extensive. Six *fondi* in the Florentine State Archive contain material that was collected from the printing shop after

4 See Archivio di Stato Firenze (hereafter: ASF), Mediceo del Principato (hereafter: MdP) 3299, f. 280r–281v. This undated document was written by Raimondi and adressed to an anonymous person at the Florentine court. He might have considered that it would eventually reach the Grand Duke and make him reconsider his actions towards the printing shop. From its contents a date close to 1590 seems probable.

5 See Kaled El Bibas, 'La Stamperia Medicea Orientale', in Patrizia Vallario (ed.), *Un Maestro Insolito. Scritti per Franco Cardini* (Florence: Vallecchi Ed, 2010), p. 216 and Eckhard Leuschner, *Antonio Tempesta; Ein Bahnbrecher des römischen Barock und seine europäische Wirkung* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2005), pp. 355–364.

Giovanni Battista Raimondi's death in 1614.[6] Additional material on the printing shop is kept in The Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze and the Roman State Archive, amongst other institutions. Researchers such as Antonino Bertolotti, Sara Fani, Margherita Farina and Alberto Tinto have made these sources accessible.[7] While their studies provide a broad view of the background of the printing shop, they have not included some important sources. The c. 150 letters written by the Florentine senator Donato dell'Antella (1540–1617) to Raimondi are crucial to reconstructing the activities of intermediaries on behalf of Ferdinando. These letters have not been included in any of the major publications on the *Typographia Medicea*, but they are invaluable in contextualising the economic decisions that Raimondi made for the printing shop. These letters also allow to study the as yet overlooked trade in the books the *Typographia* produced and the involvement of Ferdinando de' Medici in this trade. It is possible to shed light on the connection between printed books in Arabic and Syriac and the political power that could be generated through trading in them and using them as gifts through the study of the archival records on the *Typographia Medicea*.

Establishing the *Typographica Medicea*

As is evident from its name, the printing shop was founded in 1584 by Ferdinando de' Medici, son of Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Ferdinando was the younger brother of Francesco and became Cardinal at the early age of fourteen, though he was never consecrated as a priest. This turned out in his favour when his brother died unexpectedly in 1587 and Ferdinando renounced his post within the Roman curia to return to Florence as the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Various researchers have tried to establish the reasons as to why Ferdinando founded the printing shop, arguing that he acted out of financial interest, since he was always short on money and the director of the business, Giovanni Battista Raimondi, stated that selling the books to be printed would result in enormous revenues.[8] Being able to appoint Raimondi as the director of this business was advantageous in itself. He was a renowned scholar and also a

6 See ASF, Miscellanea Medicea (MM) 717–722.

7 See amongst other publications on this topic: Antonino Bertolotti, 'Le tipografie orientali', *La Rivista Europea*, Vol. XI (Florence, 1878) pp. 217–268; Sara Fani and Margherita Farina (eds.), *Le vie delle lettere. La Tipografia Medicea tra Rome e l'Oriente* (Florence: Mandragora, 2012); Alberto Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea Orientale* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 1987).

8 See Vera Valitutto, 'Presentazione', in Fani and Farina, *Le vie delle lettere*, p. 7.

member of Ferdinando's household. As such, he could be expected to act according to the intentions of his master.[9] Another reason for Ferdinando to establish the *Typographia* might have been the prospect of being viewed favourably by Pope Gregory XIII.[10] Before the press was established, Gregory XIII made Ferdinando 'protector of the patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria and the king of Ethiopia'.[11] These important figures governed the most prominent of the 'eastern churches', in which Arabic and Syriac were used. Raimondi, who wanted to stress Ferdinando's personal and financial engagement in the printing shop, wrote that Ferdinando embraced and carried out this office as the protector of the patriarchs and the king willingly. Trying to be of even more use to the Holy Pontiff, Ferdinando assured the Pope that he would personally pay for any costs that might result from this office. According to Raimondi, he subsequently established and financed a printing shop of the foreign languages in Rome in order to assist his role as protector.[12]

The foundation charter of the printing shop, however, highlights Raimondi's own involvement in the foundation of the *Typographia Medicea*. This document states that Raimondi promoted the establishment of a printing shop to produce texts in Arabic and Syriac. Raimondi's stated reasoning was that the printing shop would not only be profitable and lead to a promotion of the sciences, but the business would most of all help to promote the Catholic faith.[13] The foundation charter also makes clear that it was the Cardinal's

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9 At least from 10 January 1580 onwards Raimondi was a member of Ferdinando's household and received a salary from Francesco Bellotti, the treasurer see ASF, MdP 61619, f. 428r.

10 See Angelo Maria Bandini, *Lettera del canonico Ang. Mar. Bandini sopra i principj, e progressi della Biblioteca Laurenziana* (Florence: Allegrini, Pisoni, e Comp., 1773), p. 85 and Guglielmo Enrico Saltini, 'Della Stamperia orientale Medicea e di Giovanni Battista Raimondi. Memoria compilata sui documenti dell'Archivio Centrale di Stato', *Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani* (Florence: G. P. Vieusseux, 1860), No.4, pp. 257–308.

11 Copy of a letter by Giovanni Battista Raimondi to Gabriele Paleotti, the first part is dated 28 January 1593, the second part was written shortly after: ASF, MM 719_24, f. 1r.

12 ASF, MM 719_24, f. 1r: 'Il Gran Duca di Toscana, essendo ancora Cardinale, fu fatto protettore dalla felice memoria di Gregorio XIII dei Patriarchi d'Antiochia et d'Alessandria, et del Re d'Ethiopia per trattare con loro di cose di stato et di religione, et li fu dato ancora consequentemente la protettione et cura del negotio delle lingue dei quei paesi, cioè Arabica, Chaldaica et simile, il che non solo abracciò et esequi volontieri, ma per far cosa piu grata à quel Santo Pontefice volse cio fare a sue spese, come tuttavia fa, pero che per servitio di detto negotio fece erigere una stamparia in Roma delle lingue straniere …'

13 See ASF, MM 719_1, f. 1r: 'Essendoci stato Proposto da m. Giovambatista Raimondo una Impresa di stampa in lingua Arabica et Caldaica … Et Havendo Considerato non tanto l'util Pecunario che se ne potesse conseguire, et la facilità che si accresce alla Notitia Delle Scientie, Quanto al Poter con tal occasione Aprirsi la strada all'Aumento della fede'.

private enterprise: while the Pope expressed his endorsement of such an operation, it was Cardinal de' Medici who financed the business. Thus, the *Typographia Medicea* was never an official Vatican printing shop like the *Stamperia Vaticana*.[14] The entire enterprise, and Raimondi, therefore could not rely on the curia's established trading and commercial contacts; they were wholly dependent on Ferdinando's patronage.

The Production of the First Editions

Upon becoming Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1587, the Roman printing shop no longer served as a tool to increase Ferdinando's reputation amongst his fellow cardinals and other Roman dignitaries. He decided that it would be useful to move the *Typographia* to Florence.[15] While most other members of his Roman household followed Ferdinando to Florence, Raimondi refused to move. He argued that the *Typographia Medicea* absolutely had to stay in Rome by referring to the extremely close ties the business had to have with the papal censors and with editors and translators who were well versed in the 'exotic languages'. All these figures were part of the Roman clerical hierarchy and could not easily leave the city. Raimondi even warned Ferdinando that, in his opinion, moving the printing shop to Florence would put them at the risk of losing the whole market to competitors, who would use their proximity to the curia to their advantage.[16]

His arguments were to some extent convincing: Ferdinando refrained from his initial plan to transfer the printing shop to Florence. The Grand Duke, however, did cut his spending on the project significantly, seriously jeopardising the publication of the first editions. It took the *Typographia* six years to publish its first edition, the 1590 edition of the Arabic gospels.[17] This first

14 See Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea Orientale*, p. 58. Raimondi even wrote a *memoriale*, addressed to Clement VIII in which he offered suggestions on the reorganisation of the *Stamperia Vaticana*, which in terms of productivity was facing serious problems. See Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (BNCF), II.V.157, f. 1–6.

15 See Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea Orientale*, p. 66.

16 See letter by Giovanni Battista Raimondi to Belisario Vinta, secretary to Ferdinando de' Medici, on 13 August 1588 in ASF, MM 719_18.

17 *Evangelium sanctum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi conscriptum a quatuor evangelistis sanctis idest, Mattheo, Marco, Luca, et Iohanne* (Rome: Typografia Medicea Orientale, 1590) USTC 806525.

FIGURE 10.1 Arabic gospels, title page, in *Typographia Medicea*, 1590, Rome
STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN, KUNSTBIBLIOTHEK

publication was followed by a bilingual edition of the same texts in Arabic and Latin in 1591.[18]

Other editions include the *Alphabetum Arabicum* and *Alphabetum Chaldaicum*, both relatively small publications issued in 1592, and two Arabic grammars, published in the same year.[19] Significantly more important, both in size and impact, were the Arabic editions of Al-Idrisi's *De geographia universali* (1592), Avicenna's *Canon* (1593) and Euclid's *Elementa* (1594).[20] Further works in Arabic and Syriac followed, but the production of the *Typographia Medicea* slowed down in the following years due to limited financial resources.

As early as 1590, Raimondi wrote desperate letters to the Florentine court, even claiming that the workers were leaving the printing shop, and that those too old or too poor to leave in order to look for more reliable employers 'died of despair'.[21] He also reminded Ferdinando that leaving the business in its current state, not having finished its major publications, would inevitably lead to the loss of a huge sum of money and also negatively affect the reputation of the Medici family and the Holy See. In the same letter, Raimondi hinted at the fact that the Grand Duke was possibly ill-informed about the prospects of the business, since he was not in Rome anymore. In order to provide the Florentine court with more reliable information, Raimondi set out to promote the positive financial future that the *Typographia Medicea* could expect once its major

18 *Evangelium Iesu Christi quemadmodum scripsit Mar Mattheus unus ex duodecim discipulis eius* (Rome: Typografia Medicea Orientale, 1591) USTC 801540.

19 *Alphabetum Arabicum* (Rome: Typografia Medicea Orientale, 1592) USTC 806711; *Alfabetum Chaldaicum et ratio legendi etc.* (Rome: Typographia Medicea Orientale, 1592), unique copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, Sig. 34.6.E.23.1; [*Grammatica arabica dicta Kaphia autore filio Alhagiabi*] (Rome: Typografia Medicea Orientale, 1592) USTC 836127; *Grammatica arabica in compendium redacta, quae vocatur Giarrumia* (Rome: Typografia Medicea Orientale, 1592) USTC 836126.

20 *De geographia universali. Hortulus cultissimus, mire orbis regiones, provincias, insulas, urbes, earumque dimensiones & orizonta describens* (Rome: Typografia Medicea Orientale, 1592) USTC 807510; *Libri quinque canonis medicinae. Quibus additi sunt in fine libri logicae, physicae et metaphysicae. Arabice nunc primum impressi* (Rome: Typografia Medicea Orientale, 1593) USTC 811611; *Euclidis elementorum geometricorum libri tredecim. Ex traditione doctissimi Nasiridini Tusini. Nunc primum Arabice impressi* (Rome: Typographia Medicea Orientale, 1594) USTC 828486.

21 ASF, MdP 3299, f. 280r: 'perchè con haver loro sospesa la provisione per questi sei mesi decorsi, et il donativo di questo Natale passato, del quale ci haveva fatta gratia S.A.S. [Ferdinando de' Medici], si è causato per non haver loro alcuno con che sostentarsi di fare delli debiti, et alcuni non assuefatti à patire et di poco animo per la propria vecchiezza, come ms. Roberto [Granjon], di desperatione ne si sono morti, havendo lassato molto debito in collo à me [Raimondi] …'. The letter is not dated, for more information see footnote 4.

publications were finished.[22] He stated that positive reactions to the editions that were currently being printed had already reached Rome from Syria, Egypt, Persia and Constantinople. In the last case, a privilege for the sale of books in the Ottoman Empire had even been obtained from the Ottoman sultan.[23] Even more favourable was the reaction that Raimondi reported having received from Morocco; the king himself had allegedly seen some printing proofs, such as the first pages of the works of Euclid and Avicenna and desired the finished products greatly.[24]

It may have been due to Raimondi's predictions of excellent sales that made Ferdinando's decision to allow Raimondi to stay in Rome and continue his activities as director of the *Typographia Medicea*. Alternatively, the Grand Duke may have made been motivated by the realization that closing down the printing shop before the editions of the works of Al-Idrisi, Avicenna and Euclid were finished would indeed cause a loss of reputation for the Medici family. Yet he cut the financing of the printing shop significantly, and from then on it was strictly supervised by Medici representatives.

In the following years, Raimondi and his collaborators tried to establish and use commercial connections with North Africa, the Near, Middle and Far East, as well as the major European book fairs to sell the books printed in the *Typographia Medicea*. The archival records of these connections, their preliminary preparations, such as choosing book agents, and the limited sales that followed offer details of why the proceeds remained far lower than Raimondi's projections: the production of the books was slower – and more expensive – than expected, book agents disappeared or provided unfaithful accounts and some books were even stolen by one of the printing shop's own employees.[25]

22 ASF, MdP 3299, f. 280r–281v.

23 This document was later printed and added to some copies of the edition of Euclid's *Elementorum geometricorum*. An Arabic manuscript copy as well as an Italian translation are preserved in ASF, MM 719_13.

24 ASF, MdP 3299, f. 280r–281v: 'Le speranze che si hanno dell'esito di detti libri, et delli tre altri già finiti et di quanti altri sene facessero sono fondate non nell'opinione nostra solamente, ma nelli avisi che sempre si sono havuti in favore di detto esito da Soria, d'Egitto, da Persia, et da Costantinopoli, da dove ancora in favore di detto esito, per quello che si havrebbe potuto dubitare, si è havuto un privilegio dal Gran Turco. Et similmente da Barbaria, dal Regno di Fez et di Marocco, et dal Re istesso, il quale havendo ancor lui viste le mostre delle stampe et li primi fogli dell'Euclide, et dell'Avicenna che si stampano adesso, et delli altri gia stampati, li cerca li desidera, et li sollecita ...'.

25 In 1593 Matteo Neroni, the *proto* of the *Typographia Medicea* was found guilty of illegally printing copies of the products of the printing shop, stealing and selling them at a considerable lower price than the price charged by Raimondi. See Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR), Tribunale Criminale del Governatore, Processi 1505–1599, f. 380–478. For information on the other aspects see documents in ASF, MM 717–722.

Ferdinando's Continued Involvement

According to Raimondi, Ferdinando had invested a total of 40,000 *scudi* in the printing shop by January 1593.[26] It is improbable that he would leave such a business without close supervision, especially, since the printing shop, apart from missionary and scientific goals, set out to earn money.[27] Apart from Raimondi's extremely positive reports on the prospects of the printing shop, no detailed or extensive reports on the business have been preserved. Neither are there extant documents that could cast a light on how Ferdinando assessed the business. And yet, there must have been a steady stream of information providing the Grand Duke with details on this matter, since the archival records provide information on the network that Ferdinando established to control the activities of the printing shop.

Ferdinando instructed the Florentine senator Donato dell'Antella to check on Raimondi's activities since the foundation of the *Typographia Medicea*. Dell'Antella was renowned for his incorruptible bookkeeping as Ferdinando's *maestro di casa* in Rome.[28] When Ferdinando left Rome, dell'Antella accompanied him to Florence but this transfer did not end his engagement with the printing shop. Dell'Antella did not travel back to Rome to control the accounts of the printing shop. Instead, he and Raimondi corresponded via letters. Almost 150 of dell'Antellas letters, dating from March 1588 to July 1596, have been preserved. Unfortunately, this corpus only includes his letters to Raimondi; Raimondi's letters to dell'Antella appear to have been lost.[29] Dell'Antella and Raimondi discussed the administration and financing of the *Typographia Medicea* and its printing projects. These letters reveal how much of the daily business of the printing shop was based on trial and error or on the advice of outsiders. One case in which these deficits were especially obvious was the sale of the finished products. Trading in Arabic and Syriac books was an international and long-distance business, one that required knowledge of trade routes and custom systems, as well as a network of reliable contacts. Neither Raimondi nor dell'Antella had experience in any of these areas.

Ferdinando de' Medici further relied on the Florentine ambassador in Rome, Giovanni Niccolini to check on the spending of the printing shop. Raimondi received regular payments from the Florentine court through Niccolini. He

26 See ASF, MM 719_24, f. 1r.

27 These aspects were already mentioned in the foundation charter of the printing shop, see ASF, MM 719_1.

28 Letter by Cipriano Saracinello to Giovanni Niccolini on 4 December 1592 in ASF, MdP 3621_2.

29 ASF, MM 721.

never had access to larger sums of money – 150 *scudi* was the average payment per month.[30] While there are few payments that were dedicated to specific purchases (mostly paper and wages), Raimondi was strictly required to send accounts of all expenditures to the Florentine court. In 1592 dell'Antella even remarked a single missing *scudo* in Raimondi's calculation – indicating that the Grand Duke required perfect accounts of his investments in the printing shop.[31]

After 1587, on his own Raimondi had no influence in the curia. The printing press business was also constantly threatened by the possibility that the pope might decide to open up a papal printing shop dedicated to printing in the 'exotic languages'.[32] The Grand Duke provided Raimondi with a political support system to advance the interest of the printing press. Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti (1522–1597) and Cardinal Francesco Maria Bourbon del Monte (1549–1627) repeatedly intervened on behalf of Raimondi and the *Typographia Medicea* in the curia, in some cases even presenting Raimondi's projects to the pope directly. For example, Raimondi noted in his diary that on 28 January 1593 Cardinal Paleotti presented the project of the polyglot bible to Pope Clement VIII.[33] The interventions of this cardinal on behalf of the polyglot bible project date back at least to 1589. In this year, dell'Antella mentioned the opportunity to use Paleotti's influence at the Holy See to draw the pope's attention towards this enormous project.[34] The cardinal also informed Raimondi about current developments in the curia that could be of importance for the *Typographia Medicea*.[35]

The reason that Paleotti assisted Raimondi and the printing shop was not motivated by his interest in the polyglot Bible alone, but also because Ferdinando de' Medici ordered him to do so. Before leaving Rome, Ferdinando

30 Letter by Donato dell'Antella to Raimondi on 1 June 1590: ASF, MM 721_35.

31 Letter by Donato dell'Antella to Raimondi on 13 June 1590: ASF, MM 721_84, f. 168r.

32 It certainly explains why Raimondi was strongly opposed to the idea of lending Arabic type to the Jesuits, who wanted to print books for the Maronites in the 1580s. See the letter by Raimondi to Cardinal Mondovi, c.1585–87, ASF, MM 719_15.

33 ASF, MM 718_25, f. 4r: 'A 28 di Gennaro 1593 parlo al Papa l'Illustrissimo Cardinale Paleotto per la Bibbia da stampare in molte lingue'.

34 See letter by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 1 July 1589, ASF, MM 721_8.

35 On the occasion of the papal election in November 1591 dell'Antella wrote to Raimondi: 'Ma l'informatione è Necessaria, et Aiutissimo senza dubbio sarebbe l'illustrissimo Paleotto …', hinting at the possiblity to gain inside information on the new pope's plans. See letter by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 16 November 1591 in ASF, MM 721_62.

had asked Paleotti to act as a *protettore* of the *Typographia Medicea*.[36] Nevertheless, this arrangement did not seem to have been openly communicated. Dell'Antella was preoccupied with the idea that the pope (in this case Innocent IX) might feel deceived once he found out that Cardinal Paleotti acted on behalf of Ferdinando de' Medici for a business that was owned by the Grand Duke.[37]

The second person who assisted Raimondi was Francesco Maria Bourbon, Cardinal del Monte. Del Monte was even more closely connected to Ferdinando de' Medici than Paleotti, as he had been Ferdinando's assistant and member of his household for some years. After Ferdinando renounced his position as cardinal, del Monte was appointed as his successor, and his close ties to the Medici family – who also regularly paid him a salary – were well known in Rome.[38] This relationship explains why Ferdinando stayed informed on the business of the *Typographia Medicea* and why Raimondi was instructed by dell'Antella to answer del Monte's potential questions truthfully.[39] Using these two important Roman figures in order to control Raimondi's activities, but also to assist him, was relatively easy for the Grand Duke, as this network was already established.

Establishing International Trading Networks

In contrast to his vast personal networks in the curia or the Roman society, Ferdinando de' Medici had limited experience in commercial trading, let alone trading in books printed in Arabic and Syriac. However, in contrast to many other fields of commerce with which he was engaged, such as the trade in luxury fabrics or precious stones, the associates organising the trade in his

36 Letters written by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 16 November 1591, ASF, MM 721_62, f. 124v and on 30 September 1589 in ASF, MM 719_22, f. 1r.

37 See the letter by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 16 November 1591 in ASF, MM 721_62, f. 124v–125r: '… mi risolverci gia, a creder' che fussi a proposito che ne seguissi l'effetto, dubitando, che potendo S.S.ta [the pope] sapere che questo è negotio del Gran Duca, et che da S.A. [Ferdinando de' Medici] fu pregato l'Illustrissimo Paleotto a contentarsi di tenerne protetione, potrebbe forse parerli che si procedessi per via non ordinaria'.

38 Victor Ivo Comparato, 'Francesco Maria Bourbon del Monte', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (hereafter DBI) 13 (1971).

39 Letter by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 26 January 1589, ASF, MM 721_5, f. 9.

name – Giovanni Battista Raimondi and Donato dell'Antella – did not have much experience either.[40]

Surprisingly enough, the products of the *Typographia Medicea* seemed to attract merchants and potential book agents on their own. As early as 1589, some German merchants, offered to transport products of the *Typographia* to the important fair in Frankfurt and to sell them there in the name of the printing shop.[41] In the same year, the Jewish merchant Jacob Levantino from Ancona reached out to Raimondi, offering to take some copies of the Medicean editions via Ancona to Ragusa (Dubrovnik).[42] He planned on reselling the books there to one of his fellow merchants, who would then be able to sell them in the Ottoman Empire.[43] This route was cheaper than bringing the books to the Ottoman Empire directly, as merchants from Ragusa had to pay considerably lower taxes than those from other places.[44] Some months later, two merchant brothers, residing in Pisa and Florence visited the *officina* in Rome and offered to take the finished books and even unfinished publications via Livorno to Morocco. They promised to take the editions to the royal court, where they traded regularly.[45] All of these actions seemed to indicate a great interest in the Arabic books printed in Rome, and an equally large potential for revenues. Nevertheless, the engagement of these merchants is peculiar, considering that, when they contacted Raimondi, no edition of the *Typographia Medicea* had yet been finished. In fact, in most cases, printing had barely begun.

It is worth looking at one of these cases in more detail. Donato dell'Antella noted that the two brothers trading with Morocco were called Diego and

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40 For example, Ferdinando de' Medici had Filippo Sassetti sent him luxury textiles and weapons from China, India and Malabar. See letter from Filippo Sassetti to Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici in November 1585, ASF, MdP 5113_2, f. 651. On 23 January 1586 Sassetti wrote to Florence that he had met Giovanni Battista Britti in Goa. Britti travelled as a book agent for the *Typographia Medicea* and as an ambassador for Cardinal Ferdinando to Ethiopia. See letter in ASF, MdP 5037, f. 553. Both agents clearly acted independently and only met by chance.

41 Unfortunately, the names of these merchants are never mentioned in the sources. They are mentioned for the first time in letter by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 26 January 1589, ASF, MM 721_5, f. 9r.

42 This merchant was mentioned for the first time in a letter by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimon on 25 November 1589 in ASF, MM 721_29, f. 54r.

43 Letter by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 15 February 1591, ASF, MM 721_72, f. 144r.

44 See Angelo Tamborra, *Gli stati italiani, l'Europa e il problema turco dopo Lepanto* (Florence: Olschki, 1961), p. 18 and Halil Inalcik: *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300–1600* (New Rochelle: Caratzas/Orpheus, 1989), p. 136.

45 Letter by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 12 October 1590, ASF, MM 721_46.

Rodrigo Marchienna or Marcena.[46] Diego and Rodrigo had another brother called Juan, and were in all probability of Spanish-Jewish descent.[47] Their family emigrated from Cordoba to Morocco, most likely to escape the political situation and religious persecution in Spain. While keeping their financial ties with Morocco, Diego and Rodrigo immigrated to Italy in the 1580s. While Diego was living as a Christian in Pisa (in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany), Rodrigo settled first in Florence and later in Venice. The family left substantial traces in written records from the last decades of the sixteenth century, as they were connected to several noble dynasties. Both brothers not only had commercial contacts with Morocco but also acted as agents of the Moroccan sultan, Ahmad al-Mansur (died 1603).[48] When questioned about the religious identity of Rodrigo in the year 1612, a certain Ludovico Lopez attested that, to his knowledge, Rodrigo traded with Morocco for a long time and that he was 'commissioner and representative of his Majesty the king of Fez and Morocco in Venice'.[49] This testimony confirms the close ties the Marchienna family had with the Moroccan court. Additionally, when Rodrigo's son Alonso or Abraham was kidnapped from Cadiz by an English ship in 1596, the Moroccan sultan wrote to Queen Elisabeth I, requesting the release of Alonso, offering to pay the necessary ransom personally.[50] Alonso also received support from another ruler in securing his freedom. Ferdinando de' Medici wrote to the Earl of Essex advocating for the release of Alonso, explaining that Alonso's uncle, Diego, was a citizen of Pisa and thus his subject.[51]

Juan Marchienna, the third brother who stayed in Morocco, was also involved in diplomatic missions. He acted as an agent on behalf of the Moroccan sultan in Spain, and on behalf of Ferdinando de' Medici in Spain and Morocco.

46 Letter by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 27 October 1590, ASF, MM 721_47, f. 93. Some slightly divergent dictions were used throughout the sources.

47 Gerold Necker, *Humanistische Kabbala im Barock: Leben und Werk des Abraham Cohen de Herrera* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2011), p. 226.

48 Necker, *Humanistische Kabbala*, pp. 225–226.

49 State Archive of Dubrovnik, Diversa de Foris, ser. 34, vol. 24, f. 215r–217v. As cited by Neckar, *Humanistische Kabbala*, p. 255.

50 Neckar, *Humanistische Kabbala*, pp. 55–56; 224–225.

51 Letter by Ferdinando de' Medici to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, on 6 September 1597: ASF, MdP 292, f. 70: 'Diego di Marcena Portughese ma hoggi vassallo mio come habitatore di molti e molti anni nella mia città di Pisa ha costì uno Alonso Nugnez de Herrera suo nipote fatto prigione in Cadiz in compagnia d'altri et è detto Alonso nato in Fiandra. Et sicome è questo che paghi qualche cosa per la sua liberazione, così vorebbe essere separato dalli altri, et che il suo ricatto a parte fusse facilitato, trovandosi anco il padre con si poca facultà, che non può concorrere con li altri et ha voluto per intercessore come nipote di un mio vassallo …'.

Taking these lofty connections into consideration, the judgement of scholars Rachid El Hour, Mercedes Garcia-Arenal and Fernando Rodrìguez-Mediano that the family Marchienna acted as key figures in the Moroccan-Italian relations while keeping their own financial interests in mind does not seem to be an exaggeration.[52]

Despite their connections in the Mediterranean trade, Donato dell'Antella (and presumably also Raimondi) did not initially trust the abilities of the Marchienna brothers as merchants. Dell'Antella requested some friends to provide further information on these merchants and only then concluded that they might be acceptable as agents for the printing shop, even if they were uneducated.[53] In October 1590, Raimondi gave copies, including some unfinished ones, of editions from the Medicean press to the Marchienna brothers, who left Livorno in December of the same year. A list of the prices for the books at their destination is preserved.[54] These prices were calculated especially for the sale of the Medicean editions in Morocco. While the list completely omits Christian works, it gives inexpensive prices for Arabic grammatical tracts. The 'Giarrumia' was to be sold at three *baiocchi*, while the 'Cafia' was at one *scudo* to 15 *baiocchi* slightly more expensive. Arabic 'scientific' works (such as the works of Euclid and Avicenna) were more costly, with prices set at six and twelve *scudi* respectively, despite being not yet completed.

The Marchienna brothers continued to act as merchants as well as mediators between Morocco and Tuscany, and were held in high esteem by the Grand Duke, as can be seen in some letters of reference issued by Ferdinando in 1594 and 1595 on behalf of Diego Marchienna.[55] Their close ties to Ferdinando de' Medici are also evident during the aforementioned negotiations concerning the release of Diego's nephew from English captivity.[56] In the matter of the *Typographia Medicea* editions, there is reason to infer that they were either asked by Ferdinando to act as distributors for the press in Morocco, or decided to do so in order to be of service to the Grand Duke. The brothers not only approached the printing shop before the first editions were finished, but they

52 Rachid El Hour, Mercedes Garcìa-Arenal and Fernando Rodrìguez-Mediano (eds.), *Cartas Marruecas; Documentos de Marruecos en Archivos Españoles* (*Siglos XVI–XVII*) (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2002), pp. 70–71.

53 Letter by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 27 October 1590, ASF, MM 721_47, f. 94r.

54 Letter by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 12 October 1590, ASF, MM 721_46.

55 ASF, MdP 287, f. 21 and f. 52.

56 Letter by Ferdinando de' Medici to Earl of Essex, on 6 September 1597 in ASF, MdP 292, f. 70.

stayed in the service of Ferdinando de' Medici even after the sale of Arabic books in Morocco proved either impossible or at least unprofitable.

The same phenomenon can be seen in the aforementioned case of the merchant Jacob Levantino, who tried to sell copies of the Medicean works in Ragusa around 1592. Even after this contract with the *Typographia Medicea* had failed, Ferdinando de' Medici still issued letters to the officials of Ragusa, declaring that Jacob, in his trading activities, acted in his name and should be provided with all necessary help.[57] Like the Marchienna brothers, these merchants had approached the *Typographia Medicea* even before the editions were finished, indicating they might have done so at the urging of Ferdinando de' Medici. The Grand Duke may have encouraged merchants, who already had some ties with the grand ducal court, to trade in the newly printed books in Arabic in order to help turn a profit as soon as possible. Nevertheless, no surviving sources state that Raimondi or dell'Antella were aware of the connections that the merchants might have had to Ferdinando's court. In both cases, they checked on the background and experiences of the merchants and discussed their proposed trade routes and asking prices in detail.

Nevertheless, sources seem to indicate that the revenues dell'Antella and Raimondi expected were never realized. The collaboration with the Marchienna brothers was mentioned for the last time in a letter of 25 January 1591. In this letter dell'Antella described how he was repeatedly asked by some of his friends what happened to the books that were sent to the 'Re di Feza', and that he could not give any other answer to this question than to shrug his shoulders.[58]

The End of Ferdinando's Involvement with the *Typographia Medicea*

Once it became clear that the projected quick revenues from the sale of the Medicean editions would most likely not be realised, the Florentine administration began actively searching for other ways to utilise the books. One of the possibilities was to use the prestigious and expensive books as presents for renowned scholars, who were thought to value such gifts highly. One of these scholars was the Jesuit Francesco de Toledo (1532–1596), who, in August 1593, received a copy of the Arabic gospels, the works of Avicenna and Euclid and

57 Letter by Ferdinando de' Medici to the 'signoria di Ragugia' on 20 July 1592, ASF, MdP 283, f. 93v and f. 156v.

58 Letter by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 25 January 1591, ASF, MM 721_71, f. 141r: 'Et più volte in questo proposito mi è stato domandato quel sia seguito dei libri che si mandorno al Re di Feza sopra di che io non so risponder' altro salvo che ristrignermi nelle spalle'.

was especially grateful to have received a very rare printing proof of the planned polyglot Bible. He called this last gift 'a very beautiful and marvellous thing' according to Giovanni Niccolini.[59] Niccolini advised Belisario Vinta, secretary to the Grand Duke, that Ferdinando could present a wider range of friends and benefactors with these books. He concluded that utilising the books as prestigious gifts would put the high sums Ferdinando invested in the printing shop and the production of its editions to a good use: 'So that in the end it would not have been such a high investment and will return to his highness in terms of his personal reputation'.[60] The ambassador added that, should Ferdinando be willing to use the books in this way, he would be happy to arrange for it to be done accordingly. The case of Niccolini, in addition to the already mentioned cardinals Paleotti and del Monte, shows that Ferdinando's representatives in Rome were preoccupied with the unprofitable printing shop. They were actively seeking ways to use or free the capital that was bound in this business, and sent reports on this matter to Florence regularly.

Around 1596, when it was clear that the sales of the copies would remain quite low, making it near to impossible to ever recover the cost of printing these books, Ferdinando sold the *Typographia* to Raimondi, or – in Raimondi's words – made him buy the business, because 'the great lords have long hands'.[61] However, Raimondi could not pay the whole sum for the printing shop, and thus a particular arrangement was made. The important production material of the *Typographia Medicea* (especially the matrices produced by the master-punch cutter Robert Granjon [c. 1513–1589]) remained in Raimondi's possession, and most of the already printed books were put in storage. If Raimondi was able to sell copies of these books, he had to report the revenue to the Florentine

59 Suzanne B. Butters, 'The Uses and Abuses of Gifts in the World of Ferdinando de' Medici (1549–1609)', *I Tatti Studies on the Italian Renaissance*, 11 (2007), p. 284 and p. 330.

60 ASF, MdP 3306, n.f, as cited in Butters, *The Uses and Abuses of Gifts*, p. 330: 'questo proposito non voglio lassar' di dire a Vostra Signoria che alli giorni passati a me fu detto, et messo in consideratione che sarebbe stato bene, poiché Sua Altezza con tanta spesa ha eretto questa stamperia et finito già di stampare questi tre libri, che per honore et gloria sua, si doverrebbe donarne di ciascun' libro uno a tutti li cardinali, ambasciatori et altri particolari amici di Sua Altezza, il che finalmente non sarebbe grande spesa, et tornerebbe in reputatione dell'Altezza Sua et dell'opera che si fa, però se all'Altezza Sua parrà che si faccino dare come ho detto, faccimelo sapere Vostra Signore et in che modo, se legati o non, et in che forma'.

61 ASF, MM 719_27. Especially interesting is f. 9: Raimondi explains that the great social and financial differences between the seller (Ferdinando de' Medici) and the buyer (himself) made it impossible for him to properly negotiate during the sale.

ambassador in Rome, Giovanni Niccolini (1544–1611).[62] Niccolini would than collect most of the money in order to reduce Raimondi's debt. Through this method of controlling the sales of the copies, Ferdinando made sure that Raimondi used all financial assets available to pay back his debt to the Grand Duke. But even after focussing on printing sponsored editions of Latin works, none of his editions were ever a financial success.[63]

Raimondi did not succeed in maintaining the aforementioned relationships with the merchants or the two cardinals after he bought the printing shop from Ferdinando de' Medici. He was thus unable to access their social circles after 1596. Neither Paleotti nor del Monte intervened in the curia in Raimondi's interest once the printing shop was no longer the possession of the Grand Duke. Raimondi also did not try to send individual merchants in the name of the printing shop to Morocco or other countries after 1596. The very few documents that deal with the trade in books that can be dated from 1596 onwards seem to indicate that Raimondi employed professional merchant families, who maintained branch offices in various countries of the Near East and North Africa and could add the Medicean books to their general merchandise. One family repeatedly named in this context is the family Agudi. This important merchant family owned branches at many important North African and Middle Eastern trading centres.[64]

Conclusion

Upon purchasing the workshop, Raimondi changed its name from *Typographia Medicea* to *Typographia Linguarum Externarum*. Despite the change of name, the printing shop was still seen as close to the Medici family, and Raimondi's

62 See for a copy of the act of sale: ASR, 30 Not. Cap., Uff. 36, Camellus, vol. 12, f. 407–410 and f. 413–415. For further information, see Saltini, 'Della Stamperia orientale', p. 279.

63 Even Raimondi's Latin publications were equally huge printing projects – financially and literally. For example, the printing shop published the reformed *Graduale*, also called *Canto Fermo* (1614/15), an edition whose mere size made other printers shy away from the task. A reformed *Pontificale* (1596 and 1611) and *Caerimoniale* (1600) were also published. These works were supported by the curia and supervised by a congregation of cardinals but since their support was not sufficient a *congregatione* of private investors for the production of these editions was founded. See ASF, MM 719_42 and ASF, MM 722_2b. Nevertheless, Raimondi also succeeded in publishing a final edition of an Arabic grammar, called *liber Tasriph* in the year 1610.

64 Letter by Donato dell'Antella to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 7 August 1593, ASF, MM 721_119, f. 236r. and Edoardo Demo: *Mercanti di Terraferma. Uomini, merci e capitali nell'Europa del Cinquecento* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2012), pp. 45–49.

constant financial struggles threatened to cast a bad light on Grand Duke Ferdinando. As a result, Raimondi's work in the shop was closely watched. After Ferdinando's death in 1609 his son, Cosimo II (1590–1621), or rather Cosimo's mother, Cristina di Lorena (1565–1636), decided to buy the *Typographia* again. In January of 1610, the previous contract was revoked and the *Typographia* became once again a business of the Medici family.[65] In this context, Cosimo's secretary, Belisario Vinta, also mentioned that the business might prove to be useful, once there would be a 'nuovo signore Cardinale Medici'.[66] A cardinal from the Medici family could have once again used the printing shop as an asset to gain power and influence in the curia. However, this perspective could not be realised, since Raimondi died in 1614, one year before Carlo de' Medici (1596–1666) was elected cardinal. The business of the *Typographia Medicea*, did not survive Raimondi's death, and was shut down. Raimondi's ultimate goal was the publication of an enormous polyglot *Biblia Pontificia* in ten languages with their respective Latin translations, which would also contain illustrations. This work would have surpassed Plantin's *Biblia Regia*, but was never realised.[67]

The sale of the printing shop to Raimondi was followed by a great shift in the political and economic network available to him in Rome. Resources, such as the access to the curia via cardinals connected to the Medici family, were no longer at his disposal and had to be replaced with new contacts in order to re-establish the printing shop and attract new sponsors. That Raimondi was supported as well as supervised by several of Ferdinando's officials shows that from 1587 to 1596 the *Typographia Medicea* was by no means 'abandoned' by Ferdinando de' Medici, nor isolated from the Florentine court. Consequently,

65 For the letters that were exchanged in this context consult ASF, MM 719_39.

66 Letter by Belisario Vinta to Giovanni Battista Raimondi on 17 January 1609, ASF, MM 719_39_5: 'et se, come il mondo vuole, si haverà presto in cotesta corte un nuovo signore Cardinale de'Medici, V. S. [Raimondi] havera cumulativamente un'altro Benefattore …'.

67 Around 1610 Raimondi prepared a list of texts to be published 'once the necessary funds will be available'. This list comprised of 67 titles in seven languages and contains many bilingual or polyglot texts. See ASF, MM 719_49. Raimondi described the actions that Ferdinando de' Medici took towards the publication of this bible as follows: 'Anzi, per far magior servitio al detto Pontefice; et soi successori et alla Christianità tutta li [Ferdinando de' Medici] venne in pensiero di fare stampare la Biblia in tutte le sopradette lingue et in quant'altre più si potesse, et cossì fece venire d'Egitto, di Soria, di Persia et d'altre provincie d'Oriente con molta spesa, tempo et travaglio i sacri testi della Biblia in molte delle sopradette lingue …'. As a result, according to Raimondi, manuscripts containing the biblical texts in Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac, Arabic were found, bought and prepared for print. 'Perfect' manuscripts in Persian, Armenian, Ethiopic and Croatian were not as easily located and as Raimondi drew up his account, his agents were still looking for them: ASF, MM 719_24, f. 1.

we must revise Raimondi's narrative that Ferdinando did not intervene in the business of the printing shop after he had left Rome and was not interested in the *Typographia*. The Grand Duke tried to assist Raimondi in ordering cardinals that were connected to his family to 'protect' the business. He tried to make his trading connections accessible to the printing shop via merchants and agents that were attached/affiliated with his household. His officials were also actively searching for ways to make use of the books printed as gifts and reported on this matter to the grand ducal court. The *Typographia Medicea* was surely not a minor business, neither in the scale of its financial engagement nor in the scale of its social prestige. Although, the close network that the Grand Duke employed in Rome served ends other than simply supporting Raimondi's activities, he also constantly utilised his power to control him and his investment.

CHAPTER 11

Royal Patronage of Illicit Print: Catherine of Braganza and Catholic Books in Late Seventeenth-Century London

Chelsea Reutcke

In 1662, the English Parliament passed *An Act for preventing the frequent Abuses in printing*.[1] Among its many provisions, the act prohibited the printing or importation of any texts opposed to the Church of England, including books with Catholic content. Proscribed works were confiscated and either destroyed or 'damasked' (i.e., over-printed) for waste paper, while the printers and booksellers faced fines, confiscation of equipment and imprisonment.[2] That same year, Catherine of Braganza, newly arrived in London, appointed Theodore Sadler as her bookseller-in-ordinary, instructing him to procure for her a list of Catholic devotional books.[3] He submitted receipts to the exchequer for seven Roman breviaries, two psalters of Beata Maria hymns, a Roman missal, fifty 'bookes for a night hearing of mass' and an Iberian rubric.[4] Even more books arrived from France.[5] These orders served to set up Catherine's Catholic chapel, which had been promised to her in her marriage contract to Charles II.[6] Together with books ordered by Henrietta Maria, the Queen Mother, a significant number of Catholic books entered into these sanctioned Catholic spaces of London.[7]

1 'Charles II, 1662: An Act for preventing the frequent Abuses in printing seditious treasonable and unlicensed Bookes and Pamphlets and for regulating of Printing and Printing Presses', in John Raithby (ed.), *Statutes of the Realm* (11 vols., s.l.: Great Britain Record Commission, 1819), V. 428–435. Hereafter 14 Car. II. c. 33.

2 Charles Robert Rivington, *The Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers* (Westminster: Nicholas and Sons, 1883), pp. 33–41.

3 Donald F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade 1641–1700* (3 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), I. 1662.5? [*sic*], hereafter *CCLBT* [all references will be presented as dates: dd.mm.yyyy].

4 The National Archives, *State Papers* [hereafter SP] 29/55 f.46; Peter Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza, 1662–1692', *Early Music*, 29 (2001), p. 573.

5 *CCLBT*, I. 21.10.1662; SP 29/67 f.131; SP 29/67 f.133.

6 L.M.E. Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance and the English Merchants in Portugal 1654–1810* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 175.

7 *CCLBT*, vol. I, 20.11.1662.

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The new queen occupied a grey area with regard to the laws governing religion in Restoration England, including those concerning print. Unlike other Catholics in England, she could legitimately order Catholic books for her chapel and private use, just as she had done in the spring of 1662. Yet, on at least two occasions, the activities of Catherine's booksellers linked her to networks of illicit Catholic printing. She also directly intervened to protect an unlicensed printer from prosecution. Moreover, by the mid-1670s, her residence at Somerset House had become the centre around which the illicit Catholic book trade organized itself. Catherine operated as the heart of a grand network of Catholic print. She leveraged the power afforded her by her status and her marriage treaty to foster and protect the English Catholic population of London through print.

While much scholarly work has been devoted to the relationship between the state and the London book trade, it has focused on Charles II's censorship activities, particularly the suppression of nonconformist and Whig print.[8] In contrast, his queen's activities in relation to the book trade have not been given their full due.[9] This parallels the general historical treatment of Catherine of Braganza as both passive and ineffectual, particularly with regard to her barrenness. However, Adam Morton has qualified this view by arguing that, while her role as a political agent was less overt than that of Henrietta Maria, it was in no way non-existent. Both Morton and Edward Corp seek to give Catherine agency by emphasizing her promotion of a 'Baroque Catholic culture'.[10] Other

8 Michael Treadwell, 'The Stationers and the Printing Acts at the End of the Seventeenth Century', in Donald F. McKenzie, John Barnard, and Maureen Bell (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (7 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), IV, pp. 755–776; J. Walker, 'The Censorship of the Press during the Reign of Charles II', *History,* 35 (1950), pp. 219–238; Philip Hamburger, 'The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press', *Stanford Law Review,* 37 (1985), pp. 661–765; Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch (eds.), *Roger L'Estrange and the making of Restoration culture* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008); Maureen Bell, 'Offensive Behaviour in the English Book Trade 1641–1700', in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), *Against the Law: Crime, Sharp Practice and the Control of Print* (New Castle/London: Oak Knoll Press & The British Library, 2004), pp. 61–79.

9 One exception is Dorothy Kim, 'Female Readers, Passion Devotion, and the History of MS Royal 17 A. Xxvii', *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History*, 15 (2012), pp. 188–189.

10 Adam Morton, 'Sanctity and Suspicion: Catholicism, conspiracy and the representation of Henrietta Maria of France and Catherine of Braganza, Queens of Britain', in Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Adam Morton (eds.), *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c.1500–1800* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 177–178; Edward Corp, 'Catherine of Braganza and Cultural Politics', in Clarissa Campbell Orr (ed.), *Queenship*

studies have looked at how she attempted to assert her identity through her chapel music.[11]

While these arguments often focus on high court culture, this article looks instead towards the wider population. After all, recusants of all ranks attended London's Catholic chapels.[12] Catherine had been sent to England with the understanding that she should serve as the 'focal point' for *all* English Catholics, not just those in the court.[13] For the majority of this Catholic population, recusant and church papist alike, their faith required breaking the law.[14] Therefore, the queen's role in illegally providing for this illicit population must be considered. Catherine's goals and her willingness to trespass against the statutes approved by her husband emerge from this analysis of the power relationship between the queen and print.

Catherine the Catholic Patroness

Contemporaries recognized the queen's ability to provide protection and patronage to those producing Catholic books. In 1663, following her arrival in England, the Benedictines Arthur Crowther and Thomas Vincent released a second abridged edition of their handbook for the Arch-Confraternity of the Rosary entitled *Jesus, Maria, Joseph: or, The devout pilgrim of the ever blessed Virgin Mary*.[15] Their confraternity had resided in London since the 1650s, eventually settling at Cardigan House in Lincoln's Inn Fields.[16] Crowther and

in Britain 1660–1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 53–73.

11 Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel of Catherine of Braganza', pp. 570–587.

12 James Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660–1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 22–23.

13 Shaw, *Anglo-Portuguese Alliance*, p. 175, 183 note 19. According to Shaw, the Biblioteca Ajuda in Lisbon contains several letters to this effect.

14 For more on church papists, see Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in early modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewster, 1999).

15 Arthur Crowther and Thomas Vincent, *Jesus, Maria, Joseph: or, The devout pilgrim of the ever blessed Virgin Mary. In his holy exercises upon the sacred mysteries of Jesus, Maria, Joseph. With the charitable association for the relief of the souls departed. Published for the benefit of the pious Rosarists, by A.C. and T.V. religious monks, of the Holy Order of S. Bennet* (Amsterdam: s.n., 1663), English Short Title Catalogue (hereafter ESTC) R213436.

16 Anne Dillon, "To seek out some Comforts and Companions of his own kind and condition': The Benedictine Rosary Confraternity and Chapel of Cardigan House, London', in Lowell Gallagher (ed.), *Redrawing the Map of Early Modern English Catholicism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), p. 274.

Vincent dedicated the book to 'her most sacred Majesty, Catherina, Queen of Great Britain', and the frontispiece featured a large portrait of her alongside her coat of arms.[17] The book was printed in Amsterdam and then smuggled into England.[18] In the dedication, the Benedictines stated, 'we conceive our selves to stand more engaged to your Majesty, than many other' and that 'our very subsistence depends (after God) … Upon your Patronage and Protection'.[19] Crowther and Vincent felt the arrival of a new Catholic queen had altered their fortunes, and their book was an attempt to flatter Catherine and win her approval.

Dedications formed part of the language of expectation by the English Catholic populations at home and overseas, in which authors laid out their vision of the new queen. Thomas Hawkins had used a similar tactic when he dedicated his translation of Nicolas Caussin's *The Holy Court* in 1626 to Charles I's new bride, Henrietta Maria.[20] They had cause to hope, as Catherine herself had a fondness for rosarists and upheld the veneration of Mary. In 1669 Catherine established her own confraternity of the rosary under the control of the Dominicans at the Chapel Royal of St James's Palace.[21] That same year a pamphlet appeared in London detailing the method of saying the rosary 'as it was said in Her Majesties chappel at St James'.[22] Although Catherine's confraternity followed the Dominican method, she still had ties to Crowther's Benedictine house. She knew Crowther, as he had formed part of the

17 Crowther and Vincent, *Jesus, Maria, Joseph*.

18 There has been some debate as to whether or not the imprint is false. Dom Connolly and Anne Dillon argue that 'Amsterdam' might have referred to Cardigan House, which housed the Confraternity. However, no other illicit Catholic work printed in London contained such grand frontispieces, indicating that this element at least must have been produced abroad. See Dom Hugh Connolly, 'The Benedictine Chapel of the Rosary in London (circa 1650–1681)', *Downside Review*, 52 (1934), pp. 324–326. Anne Dillon also states that the 1657 edition of the book came from a secret press in Cardigan House, but she makes no indication whether this might have been the same for the 1663 edition: Dillon, 'The Benedictine Rosary Confraternity', p. 276.

19 Crowther and Vincent, *Jesus, Maria, Joseph*, dedicatory epistle.

20 Anna-Marie Linnell, 'Becoming a Stuart Queen Consort: Nuptial texts for Henrietta Maria of France and Catherine of Braganza, Queens of Britain', in Watanabe-O'Kelly and Morton (eds.), *Queens Consort*, p. 155; Nicolas Caussin, *The holy court. Or the Christian institution of men of quality. With examples of those, who in court have flourished in sanctity. By Nicolas Caussin of the Society of Iesus. Written in French, & translated into English by T.H.* (Paris [St. Omer]: [English College Press], 1626), ETSC S107628, USTC 3012543.

21 Dillon, 'The Benedictine Rosary Confraternity', p. 284.

22 *The method of saying the rosary of Our Blessed Lady. As it was ordered by Pope Pius the fifth, of the Holy Order of preachers. And as it is said in Her Majesties chappell at St. James.* ([London]: s.n., 1669), ESTC R220205.

committee that had chosen the Benedictines for the queen's chapel.[23] Whether or not Crowther and Vincent received their desired patronage is uncertain, but Catherine did possess a personal copy of the 1663 edition of *Jesus, Maria, and Joseph*, which she had bound with her coat of arms.[24] This seems to indicate some degree of positive reception.

The pattern of authors calling for Catherine' protection in print persisted throughout her time as queen. In 1672, Thomas Godden, the queen's chaplain for the past decade, addressed the dedicatory epistle of his new pamphlet to the queen.[25] He wrote:

> Madame, The Book, before which I presume to fix Your Royal Name, being the Product of some Hours defalkt [*sic*] from Your Majesties Service, and the Subject of it Polemical, set me for some time at dispute with my self, whether I should let it venture to knock at Your Closet-Door [Due to her own practices] … some Treatise of Divine Love … would suit much better with that Better Part, which you have chosen with Mary, than a Book of Controversy. Here then my thoughts were at a stand, how to make my Address without Offence I must be guilty of a greater Trespass, should I doubt of obtaining either Your Pardon or Protection.[26]

In this passage, Godden invoked the queen's patronage and, more explicitly, a desire for her protection. The work for which Godden wanted her forgiveness and protection, entitled *Catholicks no Idolaters*, was a defence of Catholicism against the polemicist Edward Stillingfleet.[27] Godden described his struggle in putting forth a controversy, recognising the queen's preference for internally-directed spiritual works. She herself was a devout religious reader, often 'retired most part of the day at her devotions and reading'.[28] Charles II's acquisitions for the royal library often included devotional texts that would appeal to her.[29] Godden made no attempt to obscure his identity, signing

23 David John Peter Baldwin, *The Politico-Religious usage of the Queen's Chapel, 1623–1688* (University of Durham, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, 1999), p. 88.

24 Ushaw College Library, Ushaw IV.D.8.18.

25 Thomas Godden, *Catholicks no idolaters, or, A full refutation of Doctor Stillingfleet's unjust charge of idolatry against the Church of Rome* ([London]: s.n., 1672), ESTC R16817.

26 Godden, *Catholicks*, 'To the Queen', f. a2r–v.

27 Edward Stillingfleet, *Discourse concerning the idolatry practiced in the Church of Rome, and the hazard of salvation in the communion of it.* (London: Robert White, for Henry Mortlock, 1671), ESTC R28180.

28 Lady Tuke to Mary Evelyn, 20 March 1681[–2], British Library, Evelyn MS ME6, quoted in Kim, 'Female Readers', p. 188.

29 Kim, 'Female Readers', pp. 191–192.

the epistle with 'T.G'. However, outside of printed rebuttals, he faced no repercussions for his pamphlet. Unlike the rosarist handbook, Godden's work was printed in London, yet the wardens made no searches nor arrests. Instead, the work successfully circulated throughout London and beyond.[30]

Catherine's role as the foreign Catholic queen in England made her the default centre of Catholic culture and patronage in London. The dedications demonstrate that there was an expectation of both support and protection for new texts aimed at English Catholic audiences. The rest of this article will turn to two case studies in which illegal printing occurred within the queen's sphere of influence. The examination of these cases shows the extent to which Catherine took on this role, and what boundaries she was willing to cross in order to fulfill it.

The Queen's Bookmen

On 4 October 1669, the Stationers' Company recorded 'This day … there were taken several Sheets of a Catholique Book from Winter the Printer'.[31] After arresting John Winter, the Stationers' Company wardens confiscated the sheets and 'partly demolished' one of his presses.[32] However, before further action occurred, the Company received a warrant from Lord Howard, Almoner to Queen Catherine. In it, she testified that she had:

> given and Granted Lycense and Authority to John Winter Printer in this Citty of London, to Print for her Majestys use; A Pious Book, Intituled, A Liturgical discourse of the holy Sacrafice of the Masse.[33]

Catherine followed up this declaration with a request 'that the said Winter might be Spared and not prosecuted', after which the Stationers' Company returned Winter's presses and damasked goods.[34] The queen not only revealed that she had commissioned the book from Winter, but she also intervened to shield him from punishment.

The warrant also frames Catherine's, and thus Winter's, actions as legitimate. Despite her claim that she had granted him license for this work, no

30 The pamphlet was part of the library collection of the Jesuit community in Holbeck: see Hendrik Dijkgraaf, *The Library of a Jesuit community at Holbeck, Nottinghamshire (1679)* (Cambridge: LP Publications, 2003), p. 186.

31 *CCLBT*, vol. I, 04.10.1669.

32 *CCLBT*, vol. I, 04.10.1669.

33 *CCLBT*, vol. I, 15.10.1669.

34 *CCLBT*, vol. I, 10.1.1670, 07.03.1670.

formal license survives, nor did she have the ability to license texts.[35] No text by that title was registered with the Stationers' Company. Moreover, both the content and the choice of printer make clear that the book was never intended to be printed legally and casts doubt on Catherine's assertion that she had 'ordered [Winter] to give public notice of this [warrant]', or at least that she had done so officially.[36]

Winter represented one of four unlicensed master printers operating in London.[37] He had obtained his own print-house through marriage in 1667.[38] The Licensing Act had attempted to regulate the print trade by requiring all printers and booksellers to register for a license with the Company of Stationers. It reinforced the limit of twenty master printers set by a Star Chamber decree in 1637 with a short list of exceptions.[39] By remaining unlicensed, Winter not only thumbed his nose at the Company but also maneuvered with less oversight, albeit with a greater risk of searches. Unlicensed printers were ideal for illicit publications, and a master printer could produce such texts in larger numbers. If Catherine sought the book legitimately for her chapel, she would hardly have needed to employ Winter. Catherine, perhaps assisted by those around her, presumably chose Winter as the printer for the *Liturgical Discourse* for his resources and discretion.

The book in question, *A Liturgical Discourse*, was a new text by the Franciscan Richard Mason (religious name Angelus à Sancto) that related directly to the situation of English Catholics.[40] While not overtly polemical, it promoted Catholicism over the Church of England, which rendered it seditious. Mason acted as chaplain to the Arundells of Wardour, a leading recusant gentry family that first served in the court of Henrietta Maria and then Catherine of Braganza.[41] The book's first part and an abridgement thereof were printed secretly in London in 1670 and 1675 and contained dedications to Lord and

35 14 Car. II. c. 33, § 2.

36 *CCLBT*, 15.10.1660.

37 Michael Treadwell, 'Lists of Master Printers: The Size of the London Printing Trade, 1637–1723', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Aspects of Printing from 1600* (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1987), p. 159; *CCLBT*, vol. I, 07.10.1668.

38 Treadwell, 'Master Printers', p. 168, n. 19.

39 Treadwell, 'Master Printers', pp. 142–148.

40 Angelus à Sancto Francisco, *A liturgical discourse of the holy sacrifice of the Mass. Wherein is contained a summary explication of the several parts, rites, and ceremonies thereof; out of the Scriptures, tradition, councils, and Holy Fathers: conformable to the use and practice of our Holy Mother the Church. The second part* ([London]: s.n., 1669), ESTC R32056.

41 J. Anthony Williams, 'Mason, Richard [*name in religion* Angelus à Sancto Francisco] (1599/1600–1678), Franciscan friar', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter *ODNB*] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), accessed 22 August 2017.

Lady Arundell, respectively.[42] Arundell had sought to propagate Catholicism in England and served as one of the key witnesses of the secret treaty of Dover, making him a strong ally and patron.[43] Through her retainers the Arundells, the queen had patronage ties to the author. Either Mason or the Arundells might even have commissioned the printing of the specific texts. If that was the case, the queen's personal involvement in Winter's defense demonstrated an intent to protect those under her care.

Though Winter still endured some punishment, he escaped prosecution relatively unscathed. This must have been particularly vexing to the Stationers' Company, as October represented the third occasion within a year in which Winter had been found printing popish books. He received a fine in May for printing an unnamed popish book in large octavo, and in June the Company caught him printing sheets of *A journal of meditations for every day in the year*.[44] Composed by the Jesuit Nathaniel Bacon (alias Southwell), it had circulated as a Latin manuscript several decades earlier. In 1669, Edward Mico (alias Harvey), a fellow Jesuit, translated and expanded the book into English.[45] Like the *Liturgical Discourse*, it represented a new work emerging from an English press for an English audience.

The queen had not interceded for the *Journal of Meditations* as she later did for the *Liturgical Discourse*. However, there is still a strong case to be made for Catherine's involvement in the production of the text. Winter had no other overt ties to the Catholic community, and he never faced accusations of popery – a catch-all indictment for anyone not sufficiently Protestant in the accuser's eyes. Moreover, with timing too exact to be coincidental, on the same day as the search of Winter's shop, the Company also investigated the premises of Theodore Sadler. This was the same Sadler who had served as Catherine's bookseller in 1662, when he provided books for her Chapel Royal at St James's Palace. Under interrogation, Sadler gave as his defense that he was 'Bookseller unto the Queens Majesty', indicating that he had continued in that position throughout the 1660s.[46] Thus two bookmen with independent but direct ties to the queen were investigated alongside one another. Indeed, during the

42 Angelus à Sancto Francisco, *A liturgical discourse of the holy sacrifice of the Mass … The first part* ([London]: s.n., 1670), ESTC R32055; idem, *A liturgical discourse … abridged and accommodated to the pious use of devout Christians* ([London]: s.n., 1675), ESTC R217659.

43 Gabriel Glickman, 'Christian Reunion, the Anglo-French Alliance and the English Catholic Imagination, 1660–72', *English Historical Review*, 128 (2013), pp. 268, 280, 286.

44 *CCLBT*, vol. I, 08.06.1669.

45 Thompson Cooper, 'Bacon, Nathaniel (1598–1676)', *ODNB*; Roger Baxter (ed.), *Meditations for every day in the year* (New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1884), p. 7.

46 SP 29/261 f.21.

investigation, Winter and Sadler's cases consistently appear together in the State Papers and Stationers' Company Records.[47]

Theodore Sadler's shop contained several popish books. The Company found nineteen copies of *A devout method of hearing the mass* (also referred to as *The brief method*).[48] They also found a work, likely in unbound sheets, called *The passing bell of controversy*, which Sadler claimed he only used as wallpaper and had never sold.[49] Once more, the works were intended for an English-speaking Catholic audience. Sadler claimed he received the books from a Frenchman representing the superintendent of Somerset House, who denied this, hinting at an even wider network of overlapping Catholic patronage.[50] If Sadler spoke the truth, his interview reveals the deep connections between Catherine's court and Somerset House.[51]

Despite the denial from Somerset House, the links between Theodore Sadler and both the queen consort and a Catholic residence not yet under her domain has various implications. In 1669, Henrietta Maria nominally possessed the royal residence, although she had not set foot in England since 1665 when she left for France, and would not do so again before her death in Colombes in September of 1669.[52] The Queen Mother might have been absent, but Somerset House would still have been occupied by influential Catholics. Sadler demonstrates that the patronage networks of Somerset House and of Catherine of Braganza already overlapped two years before the queen took up residence.[53] In becoming consort, Catherine had taken on the mantle of being the centre of the various patronage networks.

47 SP 29/261 f.21, f. 40; SP 29/450 f.129.

48 *CCLBT*, vol. I, 04.06.1669, 08.06.1669; SP 29/261 f.21; *A brief and devout method or manner of hearing masse. Wherein.* [*sic*] *are propounded, pious considerations on the most parts of the masse: much conduceing* [*sic*] *to the understanding thereof, and to raise affections correspondent to its mysteries*. ([London]: s.n., 1669), ESTC R225660.

49 SP 29/261 f.40. The title likely refers to *The passing-bell of controversy in point of religion, &c.* ([1650–1670]). An incomplete work containing this running title is held at Queen's College Library, Oxford: Upper Library 59.E.23. Not listed in ESTC.

50 SP 29/261 f.40. The interpretation of the abbreviation as superintendent rather than superior comes from Henry Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 260.

51 Curiously, in the Stationer's Company warden's notes on the interview, he had originally written that the books came from St James before crossing it out and writing Somerset House, SP 29/261 f.40.

52 Miller, *Popery and Politics*, p. 20; Leech, 'Musicians in the Catholic Chapel', p. 572.

53 Henry Arundell also tied Catherine to Somerset House as he served as Henrietta Maria's Master of the Horse until her death. Peter Sherlock, 'Arundell, Henry, third Bardon Arundell of Wardour (bap. 1608, d. 1694), *ODNB*.

The prosecutions of Sadler and Winter indicate that Catherine actively fulfilled this role for all those who served the Catholic cause. The repercussions that Winter and Sadler faced initially appear as cases of textbook enforcement of the Licensing Act. Both men forfeited the seized works, which were then 'damasked'.[54] However, the Licensing Act also empowered Justices of the Peace to 'to commit such Offenders to Prison' and inflict additional fines or punishments.[55] Such punishments had been carried out against the unlicensed dissenting printer John Darby.[56] Neither Sadler nor Winter faced prison for this instance involving in Catholic books, nor did they receive additional fines. Both the queen's intervention on behalf of Winter as well as Sadler's invoking of her name offered these bookmen a degree of protection. In contrast, the accused papist Robert Everard faced imprisonment for his attempt to have a piece on the situation in Ireland printed.[57] Furthermore, both the Stationers' Company and Roger L'Estrange, surveyor of the press, had been attempting to seize Winter's workshop.[58] That they did not do so after October should not be underestimated.

The Queen's intervention in Winter's case represents her most explicit attempt to protect a bookman in her employ. She leveraged her permission to supply her chapel against the laws that the Stationers' Company was tasked to enforce. For both Sadler and Winter, she was able to diminish the severity of the punishment faced for breaking the Licensing Act. However, the destruction of the physical books also points to the limits of her abilities. Despite her involvement, these books were not considered official commissions in the eyes of the Stationer's Company.

The 1669 incidents reveal the direct involvement of Catherine of Braganza in the illicit printing of Catholic books in London. It also highlights the larger network of Catholic patronage at work in London. These networks extended not only into the gentry, but also further into the London book trade. The cases of

54 14 Car. II. c. 33, § 6; *CCLBT*, vol. I, 05.07.1669. The act of damasking, or defacing by stamping or marking, provided the Stationers' Company with a ready source of income. At this time, it did not represent an intense state-sponsored attempt to control the press as it would after the appointment by Bishop Compton in 1676. Rivington, *The Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers*, pp. 33–35; Juliet Fleming, 'Damask Papers', in Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (eds.), *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 180–182.

55 14 Car. II. c. 33, § 13, 15.

56 *CCLBT*, vol. I, 1666?, 09.07.1669; Walker, 'Censorship', pp. 226–227, 235. The severity of Danby's punishment derived from the greater threat perceived from dissenters in the 1660s.

57 *CCLBT*, vol. I, 20.12.1668, 01.?.1669.

58 Treadwell, 'Master Printers', pp. 147–149; *CCLBT*, vol. I, 03.08.1668.

Winter and Sadler represent an early attempt by Catherine to foster a domestic Catholic print network in London. As time progressed, these networks continued to grow around the person and household of the English queen.

Somerset House Circles

After 1670, Somerset House became Catherine's primary royal residence. Although she continued to live at the various palaces, her chapel and household all relocated to Somerset House. Catherine's inheritance of the palace after the death of Henrietta Maria strengthened her role as the primary arbiter of the direction of English Catholic culture. In the following years, Catholics also became more prominent at court.[59] She reacted to these changes by taking firmer control of her own household and council.[60] The changes occurring at Somerset House should be seen in connection with her own wishes and desires. This includes the role that Somerset House came to play in Catholic print culture.

Over the following decade, those involved in producing English Catholic books concentrated themselves around the revitalized and consolidated heart of Catholic London (see fig. 11.1). By the mid to late 1670s, multiple printers and booksellers, often with connections to each other, had set up shop within the neighbourhood of Somerset House. This placed the bookmen in the same area as other public and hidden sites of Catholicism, including Cardigan House and Weld House.[61] The Portuguese, Spanish and French all used the latter as an ambassadorial residence at various times, and it possessed a Catholic chapel. Somerset, Cardigan and Weld Houses all had close connections with Catholic print culture and possessed many Catholic books. Cardigan House held the libraries of both the earl of Cardigan and Fr Thomas Vincent Sadler.[62] Not only did Weld House contain the ambassadorial libraries, but at least one resident, the Carmelite William Joseph Travers, also engaged in the illicit printing of

59 Morton, 'Sanctity and Suspicion', p. 178; Corp, 'Catherine of Braganza', pp. 57–58. This included the replacement of Barbara Palmer with Louise de Kérouaille as Charles II's mistress and in 1673, the reveal of the Duke of York's conversion and his marriage to Mary of Modena.

60 Morton, 'Sanctity and Suspicion', p. 178.

61 Dillon, 'The Benedictine Rosary Confraternity'; 'Site of Weld House', in W. Edward Riley etc. (eds.), *Survey of London* (53 vols., London: London City Council, 1900–2020) V, pp. 93–97; Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 230–232.

62 Connolly, 'The Benedictine Chapel', p. 323; Dillon, 'The Benedictine Rosary Confraternity', p. 276.

FIGURE 11.1 Map showing the location of printers and booksellers of Catholic texts in relation to Somerset House 1660–1670 (*above*) and 1670–1685 (*below*) when Catherine of Braganza controlled the royal residence as Consort. Stationer's Hall and St James' Palace are given as additional reference points. Inset of *Morgan's Map of the Whole of London* [London, 1682] (London: London Topographical Society, 1904)
DIGITAL COPY, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, GEOGRAPHY AND MAP DIVISION

further Catholic material.[63] However, by and large, Somerset House dominated in its ties to the illegal book trade.

Somerset House also became a frequent hiding place for banned texts. As Dorothy Kim describes, 'Catherine was covertly, and against the King's law, keeping contraband items at her private chapel'.[64] These were separate from the books Catherine had been permitted to order in 1662 when she had equipped her chapel. Travers himself hid books in the private room of the queen's confessor after receiving word that his library would be searched.[65] The notorious Catholic bookseller Matthew Turner, his brother-in-law Moore, and another bookseller named Dod secreted away books in the stable loft in 1676.[66] These men had no official roles connecting them to the royal residence, yet they could access secure locations. Given the scrutiny applied to foreign and especially Catholic queens, Catherine's entourage would not have risked granting this permission without her consent. In the opening stages of the Popish Plot, Titus Oates again connected Turner and Moore to Somerset House and accused the latter of hiding £500 worth of popish books at Somerset House.[67] Oates could not prove these allegations, but his statements nevertheless demonstrate that the tradition of hiding books at the queen's residence, particularly by Turner and Moore, was an established one.

Somerset House served as more than a receptacle for seditious books. In 1676, Catherine's involvement as a patron of illicit print again came to the fore with the arrest of her bookseller-in-ordinary, Anthony Lawrence. On 21 July, the Privy Council ordered that he be brought into custody for printing a Catholic book entitled *The Great Sacrifice of the new Law*.[68] The Council deemed this book particularly dangerous because it provided a translation of the Roman Mass into English. The case surrounding *The Great Sacrifice* escalated when Lawrence produced a warrant for the work 'under the hand and seal' of Dom Francisco de Melo.[69] De Melo served as Lord Chamberlain to the queen. Furthermore, he acted as the Portuguese ambassador to England from 1663 to 1667 and again from 1671 to his death in 1678.[70] In brief, the Council had

63 Walter Joseph Travers, 'Autobiography of Father Bede of St. Simon Stock (Walter Joseph Travers)', in Benedict Zimmerman (ed.), *Carmel in England: A History of the English Mission of the Discalced Carmelites, 1615 to 1849* (London: Burns & Oates, 1899), pp. 241–246.

64 Kim, 'Female Readers', p. 189.

65 Kim, 'Female Readers', p. 244–255.

66 *CCLBT*, vol. II, 09.08.1676.

67 *CCLBT*, vol. II, 11.01.1678.

68 *CCLBT*, vol. II, 21.07.1676. Lawrence also acted as a printer and binder.

69 *CCLBT*, vol. II, 21.07.1676.

70 Susana Varela Flor, 'D. Francisco de Melo Manuel da Câmara: biografia, património, estatuto social e fidelidades (1626–1678)', *Análise Social*, 215 (2015), p. 360.

discovered that Catherine's lord chamberlain and ambassador to her home kingdom had commissioned her bookseller to print a seditious popish book.

De Melo's dual positions as lord chamberlain and ambassador allowed him a great deal of flexibility. When the Privy Council attempted to question him about his warrant for *The Great Sacrifice,* he responded that he could not answer without leave from his prince, the Portuguese king.[71] He thus manipulated his domestic and international roles to suit his objectives, which included the printing of Catholic books beyond *The Great Sacrifice*. A later deposition indicated that he 'caused several Popish Books to be Printed in English'.[72] He also had his own patronage ties. The author, a priest named James Dymock, was closely connected to de Melo, receiving from him both friendship and patronage. The priest even used the Portuguese embassy as a base to smuggle books and correspondence.[73] He expressed his gratitude towards de Melo by dedicating *The Great Sacrifice* to the ambassador.

On the surface, *The Great Sacrifice* centred around de Melo. He had the connection to the author, issued the warrant, and, as Catherine's Lord Chamberlain, would have known her bookseller. However, de Melo derived much of his power from his relationship to the queen. She provided his wages and on occasion even helped pay his debts.[74] He had formed part of her initial entourage in 1662, and they had affection for each other.[75] They shared the same mission to foster English Catholicism. De Melo later faced a backlash for his role in the *The Great Sacrifice* scandal. The Portuguese king chastised the ambassador not for commissioning the publication, but rather for doing so too early, before the situation of Catholics was firmly secured.[76] As such, de Melo's actions and those of Catherine of Braganza should be viewed as intertwined. The absence of her name on the records does not exclude her involvement.

The dedication of *The Great Sacrifice* compared the translation done by the author to the work done by de Melo's embassy to care for the people, indicating that the book might have been intended in part for the Portuguese embassy chapel.[77] In contrast, Edward Carpenter stated that the mass book

71 Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance*, p. 176.

72 Francisco de Faria, *The examination of Francisco de Faria delivered at the bar of the House of Commons* (Dublin: s.n., 1680), p. 2, ESTC R220211.

73 John Callow, 'Dymocke [Dymock], James (d. 1718x25)', *ODNB*.

74 Varela Flor, 'D. Francisco de Melo', p. 368.

75 Varela Flor, 'D. Francisco de Melo', pp. 361, 366.

76 Faria, *The examination of Francisco de Faria*, p. 2.

77 Dymock, *The Great Sacrifice*, dedicatory epistle, a2r–v.

was for Catherine's household.[78] However, the print license provided by de Melo called for nine hundred copies: an improbably large number for the legitimate congregation of either chapel. Anthony Marevile, de Melo's secretary, claimed the warrant had been altered from the original one hundred copies.[79] Even if he lied, Marevile's claim identified one hundred copies as the usual number suitable for a chapel – in which case, the figure of nine hundred certainly applied to a much larger population. If Marevile spoke the truth, then another member of the print network had seized upon the chance to increase the order. However, the reactions of the Privy Council to the text indicate that this book would never have been permitted, and that Marevile likely lied.

Catherine served as the focal point around which the illicit Catholic print trade organised itself. It would not have done so if there had been no encouragement or expectations from the queen. Her involvement with John Winter in 1669 proves that she did not just inherit these Catholic networks after she acquired Somerset House. Instead, her acquisition of her own private residence, staffed and filled with Catholics, changed the nature of the Catholic print networks already in place. Anthony Lawrence embodied the new patterns. He practiced Catholicism, operated in the geographical vicinity of Somerset House and worked alongside other Catholic bookmen. Lawrence was recorded as a recusant in 1674; Catherine's retention of him as her bookseller followed her developing pattern of hiring gentry and lay recusants to serve in her household.[80] His bookshop was on Exeter Street, across the Strand from the queen's residence.[81] He was not the only one to follow this pattern, and though he was the only one formally employed by the queen, he also served as a gateway to the wider community.

Further explorations into Anthony Lawrence's trade connections reveal how deeply interwoven Catholic book networks had become. During questioning, Lawrence named another Catholic involved in the production and distribution of *The Great Sacrifice*: a Catholic publisher named James Thompson.[82] A close neighbour of Lawrence's, the two men had collaborated previously on another

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78 Edward Carpenter, *The Protestant Bishop: Being the Life of Henry Compton, 1632–1713 Bishop of London* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), p. 68.

79 Shaw, *The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance*, p. 176.

80 'Middlesex Sessions Rolls: 1674', in John Cordy Jeaffreson (ed.), *Middlesex County Records* (London: Middlesex County Record Society, 1892), pp. 45–57; Shaw, 'The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance', p. 175; 'Establishment of Her Majesty Queen Catherine, Consort of King Charles II', in J. Cyril M. Weale (ed.), *Registers of the Catholic Chapels Royal and of the Portuguese Embassy Chapel 1662–1829* (London: John Whitehead & Son LTD, 1941), pp. xxix–xxxii.

81 Lawrence gave this address as well as his office as "book-seller in ordinary to Her Majesty" on the imprint for Nicole, *The Grounds of Soveraignty*; SP 29/383 f.245.

82 *CCLBT*, vol. II, 04.08.1676.

Catholic-authored text.[83] Thompson had a history of dealing in Catholic books from at least 1650.[84] This is likely the same Thompson described in a 1667 tract as boasting of having a shop in Somerset House where 'Popish Books and Popish Knacks are sold'.[85] If so, as with Theodore Sadler, the Catholic print networks connected with Catherine of Braganza and Henrietta Maria's households had many overlaps.

In a later 1678 investigation, Thompson had ties to the same Matthew Turner who hid books at Somerset House, as well as to another printer of Catholic works, Nathaniel Thompson.[86] Later, when Catherine was Dowager Queen, Thompson and Turner printed and sold the sermons from her chapels.[87] Turner had his own previous connection to the queen that connected her Somerset House circle to the networks she had developed in the 1660s. Theodore Sadler had taken Turner on as his apprentice in 1663, a year after he began serving as the queen's bookseller.[88] Turner, therefore, had been present for almost the entirety of Sadler's employment by Catherine. In 1673, he established his own book shop in Holborn, not far from Somerset House.[89] For the rest of Charles II's reign and all of James II's, Turner was the most well-known popish bookseller. Neither James Thompson, Matthew Turner, nor Nathaniel Thompson had stated ties to the queen. None of these men served officially as her printers or booksellers, nor did she intervene overtly in any of their cases. Yet, in exploring the careers of the prolific contributors to the illicit Catholic book market, the story continuously turns to Somerset House and the figure of Catherine of Braganza.

Though these networks display a continuity throughout the Restoration, Catherine's ability to provide patronage fluctuated with the political situation.

83 Pierre Nicole, *The Grounds of Soveraignty* [*sic*] *and Greatness* (London: s.n., 1675), ESTC R228404.

84 Joannes Maria Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Radboud University, 1979), pp. 54–56.

85 House of Commons, *Londons flames discovered by informations taken before the Committee, appointed to enquire after the burning of the city of London* (London: s.n. 1667), p. 10, ESTC R923. The tract also names a William Tompson, but this seems to be a different person and not a bookseller. The only other bookman named Thompson, Nathaniel, always denied accusations of Catholicism.

86 *CCLBT*, vol. II, 26.10.1678; ?.10.1678.

87 Two examples are *A sermon of judgement, preached before the Queen Dowager … Published by her Majesties order* (London: Nat[haniel] Thompson,1687), ETSC R8585; *A sermon preached before her Majesty, the Queen Dowager …* (London: Matthew Turner, 1686), ESTC R28856.

88 6 April 1663, *Records of London's Livery Companies Online* (*ROLLCO*), https://www.londonroll.org/home., accessed 22 August, 2017.

89 Plomer, *Dictionary of printers and booksellers*, p. 294.

At the onset of the Popish Plot, the Catholic print networks in London were widespread. Contemporaries saw both this and the role of Somerset House and the queen in the promotion and protection of these networks. As a result of the escalating panic over popery, in 1680 the queen closed up Somerset House and returned to her chapel at the more private St James' Palace.[90] At the same time, royal proclamations and parliamentary acts banned Catholics (other than householders and tradesmen) from London, forbade any Englishman to attend the popish ambassadorial chapels and excluded 'papists' from the book trade.[91] These decrees often proved to be unsuccessful; Turner, for instance, remained in business throughout the period.[92]

New patrons of Catholic print arose among the imprisoned lords Castlemaine, Arundel, and Powis, as well as their wives and the midwife Elizabeth Cellier. However, they authored not devotional but polemical pieces attacking the unlawful treatment of the Catholic lords and priests.[93] Printing of devotional works likely continued, but the state fixed its attention on the new circles. Nevertheless, the transformation of Catherine and her household into the 'protagonists' of the Popish Plot forced her to withdraw in her role as patron to the city's Catholics.[94] The forcible retreat of Catherine had altered the character of illicit Catholic printing in London. It would alter again in 1686, when James II's royal dispensations enabled the printing of hundreds of state licensed Catholic texts. Among those texts were several sermons and more 'published by her Majesties order'.[95] Catherine once more emerged as a promoter of Catholicism and print.

Conclusion

Catherine of Braganza represented one of the most visible consumers of Catholic print in Restoration England. She had the ability to legitimately order Catholic works, both for her library and to set up her chapel, as was outlined

90 Miller, *Popery and Politics*, p. 21; Simon Thurley, *Somerset House: The Palace of England's Queens 1551–1692* (London: London Topographical Society, 2009), p. 72.

91 Miller, *Popery and Politics*, p. 163.

92 Miller, *Popery and Politics*, pp. 164–168.

93 The most famous of which were Elizabeth Cellier's *Malice Defeated* (London: Elizabeth Cellier, 1680), ESTC R203665, and Castlemaine's *The compendium: or, A short view of the late tryals* (London: s.n., 1679), ESTC R5075; Penny Richards, 'A Life in Writing: Elizabeth Cellier and Print Culture', *Women's Writing*, 7 (2000), pp. 411–425.

94 Morton, 'Sanctity and Suspicion', p. 190.

95 *A sermon preached before her Majesty* (1686); *A sermon of judgement* (1687); *A sermon preach'd before Her Majesty* (London: John and Thomas Lane, 1687), ESTC R208680.

in her marriage contract. Yet, her greatest patronage of English Catholic print came not through approved orders for her chapel, but rather through support of illicit print. The seditious books that can be tied to Catherine or her household followed the pattern of focus on daily devotions and pastoral survival. These books were not just variations on the books that she ordered from Sadler in 1662. Several certainly could have been for her private reading and for those in her household, but they also fit the genre of works favoured by recusants. They instructed English Catholics on the performance of mass, recitation of the rosary and daily prayers and meditations. They continued a tradition of Catholic print in England from the sixteenth century, the attention fixed on maintenance of the existing Catholic community, especially when priests were unavailable.[96] Catherine was among the few in England with guaranteed access to priests, so her support for these works above and beyond her own needs suggests that she intended to support and sustain a wider Catholic audience.

Catherine's involvement in illicit publication despite and beyond her own legal allowance of Catholic books demonstrated her intention to supply devotional aids to a larger audience. By looking at the king's consort and those in her circle, what emerges is the promotion of print banned by the same laws Charles tried to use to regulate the press. At least two of her booksellers repeatedly participated in the domestic printing of Catholic books, and more cases might have escaped detection. Furthermore, Catherine provided the salary of the Portuguese ambassador, who in turn overtly funded prohibited Catholic print using her own bookseller. After acquiring Somerset House, she could offer financial support, storage locations, and access to further consumption networks. She also wielded enough influence to intervene occasionally to protect those bookmen acting on her behalf, if not from initial arrest, then from further repercussions. As Charles II and Parliament sought to censor sedition against government and the Church of England, his queen subverted these laws to support English Catholics, fulfilling part of her role as a Catholic consort, at least as it was seen in the eyes of Catholic Europe.

96 Alexandra Walsham, '"Domme Preachers"? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *Past and Present*, 168:1 (2000), pp. 72–123.

PART 4

Power of Persuasion

CHAPTER 12

The Papacy, Power, and Print: The Publication of Papal Decrees in the First Fifty Years of Printing

Margaret Meserve

Historians of early modern Europe have long remarked on the closely intertwined histories of printing and the Reformation.[1] Recent studies have cast new light on just how the new technology of print was adopted by the Reformers and contributed to the rapid spread of Luther's challenge to papal authority.[2] The picture that emerges is that of an enterprising group of theologians and scholars working in collaboration with equally enterprising printers to spread a revolutionary message to the European reading public. Using cheap formats like the broadside or the quarto pamphlet, publishing texts in both the high scholastic Latin of academic theology and in local vernaculars, and relying on images as well as text to convey their key points, Reformers and printers worked together to launch a momentous religious and social movement. Meanwhile, conventional wisdom has it, the papacy, the conservative and authoritarian institution on the receiving end of these printed critiques, stood by, unsure how to respond or unwilling to seize the same tools and engage in the same popularising discourse.

This somewhat simplistic account (which I admit I have further simplified here) overlooks the fact that at the start of the sixteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church presided over the largest and most elaborate communication apparatus in the western world.[3] The pope claimed spiritual jurisdiction over every Latin-rite Christian from Iceland to the Middle East and beyond; for

1 Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, David Gerard (trans.), *The Coming of the Book. The Impact of Printing 1450–1800* (London: N.L.B., 1976), pp. 287–319; Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and cultural transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Stephan Füssel, Douglas Martin (trans.), *Gutenberg and the Impact of Printing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 159–194.

2 Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) and his *Brand Luther: 1517, Printing, and the Making of the Reformation* (London: Penguin Press, 2015).

3 For a comparison with medieval China, see Patricia Ebrey and Margaret Meserve, 'Giving the Public Due Notice in Song China and Renaissance Rome', in Hilde De Weerdt and

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centuries, the papal chancery had been issuing documents (bulls, briefs, pardons, dispensations, confessional certificates, indulgences, and the like) to these far-flung communities.[4] Arguably it was the ubiquity of papal documents (and the economy of grace and pardon that brought them into being and which they in turn allowed to flourish) that prompted Luther to formulate his new theology in the first place.

The Church's communication system had expanded to exploit the new technology of printing from almost the very moment of its invention. The substantial but little-studied archive of early papal print, which is the subject of this article, is surprising for both its variety and its scale, and reveals that the late medieval Church, despite its conservative and authoritarian tendencies, was entirely ready to adopt the new technology of mass communication.[5] Nevertheless, the uneven way in which the new medium was used in its early years reveals something of the priorities and prejudices of the popes and their chancery officials in Rome, on the one hand, and those of papal commissioners or local clergy at work on the ground across the continent, on the other.

The Roman centre was slower to adopt print than was the European periphery. However, after a few decades of relatively sparse production, papal use of the press rose dramatically during the energetic and aggressive reign of Pope Julius II (1503–1513) and continued under his successor, Leo X (1513–1521), author of the first bulls to condemn Luther's theses and eventually, the pope who excommunicated him. During their two pontificates, dozens of papal bulls, briefs, *monitoria*, and other decrees were put into print by presses in Rome as well as abroad, in Latin but also in German, French, and Italian, often deploying a striking and innovative graphic as well as textual vocabulary. Thus there was plenty of papal print before the Reformation, and plenty of it after 1517, as well. How much of it was *effective* is another question. The story of the Renaissance papacy's energetic use of the press has intriguing implications

Franz-Julius Morche (eds.), *Political Communication in Chinese and European History, 800–1600* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), pp. 345–386.

4 For the workings of the medieval chancery see Thomas Frenz, *I documenti pontifici nel medioevo e nell'eta moderna* (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di paleografia, diplomatica e archivista, 1989); for its geographical reach: Gerhard Jaritz, Torstein Jørgensen, and Kirsi Salonen (eds.), *The Long Arm of Papal Authority: Late Medieval Christian Peripheries and their Communication with the Holy See* (Bergen/Budapest/Krems: Central European University Press, 2004); Kirsi Salonen and Ludwig Schmugge, *A Sip from the "Well of Grace": Medieval Texts from the Apostolic Penitentiary* (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009).

5 The topics sketched in this article are treated in more detail in Margaret Meserve, *Papal Bull: Print, Politics, and Propaganda in Renaissance Rome* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021).

for the larger history of communications technology. It may be that it was not their command of print that gave the Reformers their early advantage over Rome so much as a genuinely more persuasive rhetoric: that it was the message, not the medium, after all.

Papal Printing in the Fifteenth Century

The papacy was involved with the art of printing – albeit in an oblique way – from its earliest days. As Gutenberg brought the great work of his Bible to completion in the mid-1450s in Mainz, his shop had already started producing smaller works, possibly as a way of experimenting with and refining Gutenberg's new technique. These ephemeral pieces included two indulgences issued by Pope Nicholas V in 1454 for members of the faithful who contributed funds to a new crusade against the Turks, who had conquered Constantinople the previous year.[6] These were followed, in 1456, by a bull of Calixtus III encouraging further contributions to the crusade, a text which appeared in print in both Latin and in a German translation.[7] In 1459, the archbishopric of Mainz fell vacant, and two candidates vied for the position: one backed by Pope Pius II and one supported by the cathedral chapter and city. Each side used the press to publish letters supporting their claims and attacking the other candidate, including some seven bulls and briefs issued in the name of Pius II and printed by Gutenberg's partners in Mainz, Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer.[8] That

6 For the attribution of these unsigned early pieces to Gutenberg, who may have been operating two separate shops in Mainz, one with Johann Fust and one on his own: see Janet Ing Freeman and Paul Needham, *Johann Gutenberg and his Bible: An Historical Study* (New York: The Typophiles, 1988), pp. 62–65 and Füssel, *Gutenberg and the Impact of Printing*, pp. 25–29.

7 In this article I use ISTC numbers for incunabula and USTC numbers for items printed after 1500. The 30-line indulgence using the type of the 42-line Bible: ic00422400; the 31-line indulgence using the type of the 36-line Bible: ic00422600; Calixtus' *Bulla Thurcorum*: ic00060000 (Latin) and ic00060100 (German). See George Painter, 'Gutenberg and the B36 Group: A Reconsideration', in Dennis Rhodes (eds.), *Essays in Honor of Victor Scholderer* (Mainz: Karl Pressler Verlag, 1970), pp. 292–322; Janet Ing, 'The Mainz Indulgences of 1454/5: A Review of Recent Scholarship', *British Library Journal*, 9 (1983), pp. 14–31; Blaise Agüera y Arcas, 'Temporary Matrices and Elemental Punches in Gutenberg's DK type', in Kristian Jensen (ed.), *Incunabula and Their Readers: Printing, Selling, and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century* (London: British Library, 2003), pp. 1–12; Joseph A. Dane, *Out of Sorts: On Typography and Print Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), pp. 32–56.

8 Kai-Michael Sprenger, 'Die Mainzer Stiftsfehde 1459–1463', in Michael Matheus (ed.), *Lebenswelten Gutenbergs* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), pp. 107–141; Christian von Heusinger, 'Die Einblattdrucke Adolfs von Nassau zur Mainzer Stiftsfehde', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, (1962), pp. 341–352; Konrad Repgen, 'Antimanifest und Kriegsmanifest. Die Benutzung der neuen

dispute eventually led to violent conflict in the city of Mainz, which prompted many of the city's early printers to flee in search of other markets. Their number included many of the German printers who went on to set up shop in the city of Rome in the 1460s and 1470s.[9]

Papal bulls were thus some of the earliest texts to be printed, and their publication was closely bound up with contemporary political crises, both local and international; but no one could claim that Nicholas V or Calixtus III or Pius II commissioned or even knew that these documents were being printed in their name in the distant Rhineland. Enterprising local clerics and commissioners surely deserve the credit for their publication. Even after German printers brought the art of printing to Rome in the late 1460s, the papal curia only adopted the new technology in fits and starts. In the earliest years, there is little evidence that the popes or papal officials saw print as a tool of politics, polemics, or propaganda. But they did learn quickly.

What follows is a brief survey of papal printing drawn from the most comprehensive bibliographical databases including ISTC and USTC. A few preliminary comments are in order. Traditional cataloguing conventions will assign a wide variety of texts to a particular pope, naming him as the author of almost any document issued by the papal chancery during his reign. Pope Sixtus IV, for example, appears in ISTC as the author of some 351 editions printed during his lifetime, a tally that includes not only printed bulls conveying his decrees and pronouncements, but also indulgences issued in his name, books of chancery rules and regulations issued at the start of his pontificate, and even theological tracts that he wrote while a cardinal, well before his election to the papacy.[10]

Even papal bulls, despite being issued by the pope and sealed with lead and stamped with his private seal, may have been entrusted to print by different

Drucktechnik bei der Mainzer Stiftsfehde 1461/63 durch die Erzbischöfe Adolf von Nassau und Diether von Isenburg', in Johannes Helmrath, Heribert Müller and Helmut Wolff (eds.), *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert. Festschrift für Erich Meuthen* (Munich: Oldenbourg-Verlag, 1994), pp. 781–803.

9 For early German printers in Rome: Alfred W. Pollard in *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, Part IV (London: British Museum, 1916), pp. vii–xvi; Anna Modigliani, 'Tipografi a Roma, 1467–1477', in Massimo Miglio and Orietta Rossini (eds.), *Gutenberg e Roma: Le origini della stampa nella città dei papi (1467–1477)* (Naples: Electa, 1997), pp. 41–67; Arnold Esch, 'La prima generazione dei tipografi tedeschi a Roma (1465–1480): nuovi dati dai registri di Paolo II e Sisto IV', *Bulletino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo*, 109 (2007), pp. 401–418; Arnold Esch, 'I prototipografi tedeschi a Roma e a Subiaco', in *Subiaco: la culla della stampa. Atti dei convengi* (Subiaco: Iter Edizioni, 2010), pp. 53–62.

10 I.e., Sixtus IV, *De futuris contingentibus* and *De sanguine Christi et de potentia Dei*, both printed in Rome by Giovanni Filippo de Lignamine in the early 1470s and the latter reprinted in Nuremberg by Friedrich Creussner in 1473: is00560500, is00579000, is00580000.

entities. We know, in a few cases, that the pope directly ordered or at least commented on the printing of a bull; in other cases, it will have been the papal chancery that commissioned printing as part of its routine practice of publicizing certain initiatives: the many printed editions of bulls announcing the Jubilees of 1475 and 1500 would be examples of this sort.

On the other hand, a bull conferring privileges or indulgences on a church somewhere north of the Alps would almost certainly have been printed, locally, on the orders of the clergy associated with that church. Bulls announcing new indulgences, appointing local sellers of indulgences, or endorsing their campaigns were likewise put into print on the orders of local papal commissioners; dozens of documents connected to indulgence campaigns were printed across northern Europe, while exceptionally few were printed in Rome itself. In this article I am not interested in all papal documents put into print but rather with the papacy's intentional *use* of the press, evidence for which includes papal documents put into print on the orders of the pope himself (where this can be discerned); papal documents put into print in Rome and thus almost certainly on the orders of the papal chancery; and papal documents put into print elsewhere that reflect the pope's immediate political priorities. This last category includes documents issued in response to political events: for example, bulls of excommunication or interdict against opponents of the papacy; bulls stripping prominent clerical critics of their offices; bulls conveying threats of diplomatic sanctions or war against rival states; and bulls condemning theological opponents of the pope as schismatic or even heretical.

If we look at tallies from individual pontificates, some distinct patterns come into view. Printing came to Rome during the reign of Paul II (1464–1471), but his chancery seems to have patronised printers infrequently and then, mostly for everyday needs. Several editions of chancery rules, ordinances, and constitutions issued by Paul II were put into print by Roman presses, and his 1470 bull announcing the 1475 Jubilee was printed seven times in the papal city.

His successor, Sixtus IV (1471–1484), also saw several editions of his administrative rules and procedures published by Roman printers (some 27 editions of these manuals and collections of procedural advice were printed over the course of his reign), as well as three bulls concerning the 1475 Jubilee, six concerning his refoundation of the Ospedale Santo Spirito in the Borgo in 1478, and some seven bulls and indulgences encouraging contributions to the crusade against the Turks.[11]

11 All told, 51 editions of Sistine texts were printed in Rome during his reign. In addition to those listed above, there was one edition of a privilege for the church at Nördlingen, in Bavaria, which was also printed north of the Alps, and another eight "political" bulls and briefs, which are discussed below. One must be careful in assigning agency for the

The situation was markedly different abroad. Only a few of Paul II's documents were published in cities outside Rome, but several hundred bulls, indulgences, constitutions, and briefs were published outside Rome in Sixtus' name – in Germany, the Low Countries, northern Italy, England, and Spain.[12] We have records of some 231 editions of Sistine texts printed outside Rome, the vast majority of them printed in German lands.[13] To be sure, printing had spread widely in lands north of the Alps in these decades, so the high numbers represent the work of many print shops in many cities.

Sistine texts printed outside of Rome consist almost entirely of documents of local interest such as bulls and indulgences conferring privileges upon or indulgences to specific churches or convents, or bulls confirming the election or appointment of local church officials; or indulgences sold for the benefit of faithful souls and to fund the crusade against the Turks. Printing in support of the crusade reached a peak in the later years of Sixtus' pontificate. In 1480, an Ottoman army sacked Otranto in southern Italy and occupied its surrounding territory for more than a year, while the Ottoman navy besieged the Knights of St. John on Rhodes at almost the same time.[14] On Sixtus' orders, an energetic corps of mendicant indulgence preachers fanned out across Europe to promote and sell indulgences to raise funds for a new expedition against the Turks. Many of these officials turned to local printers to mass-produce not just the slips of paper bearing the text of the indulgence itself, but also various papal bulls and other documents confirming their credentials and advertising the spiritual benefits they had to offer.[15]

With the death of Mehmed II in the summer of 1481, the Turkish crisis seemed to subside, and the appearance of papal bulls in print declined as well. The reigns of Innocent VIII (1484–1492) and Alexander VI (1492–1503) saw modest, but steady production. Innocent's publications printed *in* Rome consist almost exclusively of administrative handbooks, regulations and rules (some 54 editions in total). Beyond Rome, production followed the same pattern as under Sixtus: most titles were printed in Germany, and a great many

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printing of these documents. All were issued by the papal chancery, but evidence that their printing was explicitly *commissioned* by chancery officials can only be assumed.

12 These include one edition of Paul II's chancery rules, one edition of his 1470 Jubilee bull, and two editions of a bull concerning a feast instituted in the province of Mainz.

13 Other Italian cities account for eleven of these editions; the Low Countries, ten; England, seven, Spain, fourteen, and the German-speaking lands, 189.

14 Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571). Volume II: The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1978), pp. 346–380.

15 Norman Housley, 'Indulgences for crusading, 1417–1517', in Robert Norman Swanson, (ed.), *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 277–307.

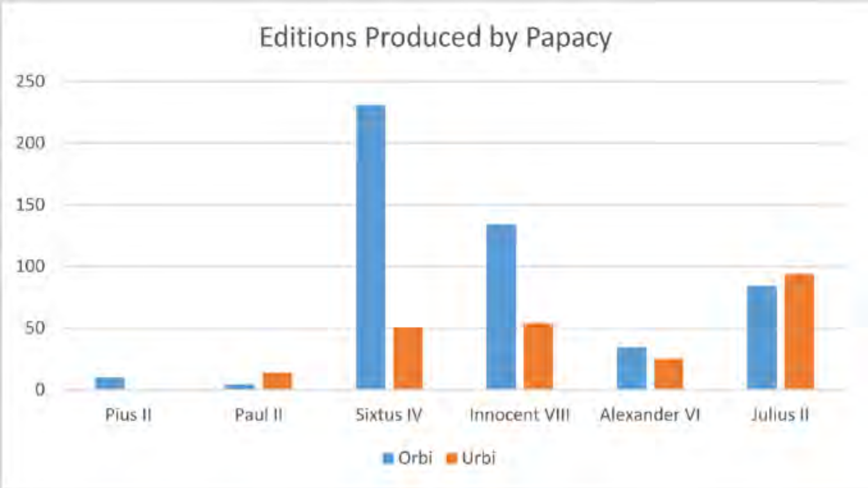
of them were either indulgences or texts promoting indulgences and the crusade against the Turks. A smaller number of bulls and briefs awarded privileges to or advertised indulgences available at particular churches, and a handful of German-language publications offered dispensations from fasting during Lent – the delightfully titled *Butterbriefe*. In the course of Innocent's (admittedly shorter) reign, only 134 editions appeared outside of Rome, compared to 231 under Sixtus IV. Even fewer texts were published in the name of Alexander VI (1492–1501): only 34 outside of Rome (almost all having to do with the crusade, the issue of new indulgences, and the announcement of the 1500 Jubilee), and another 25 in the city, almost all *Regulae cancellariae* and other administrative publications, or further announcements of and provisions for the Jubilee.

The chart below summarizes this data: editions printed in the name of each pope, published beyond Rome (*orbi*) in northern Italy, Spain, or countries north of the Alps (by local bishops, legates, and commissaries), as well as in Rome (*urbi*) and presumably on orders from or with the permission of the papal chancery. Almost every text printed outside Rome was concerned in one way or another with indulgences and dispensations on offer to the faithful, while the far smaller output produced within the city consisted mostly of manuals of regulations and rules for curialists and bulls having to do with the Jubilee. With a few exceptions (discussed in more detail below) hardly any texts printed before 1500 treated the issues perhaps most famously associated with the Renaissance papacy: few decrees concerning wars and or diplomatic disputes, dynastic politics, or cultural patronage, for example.

We might conclude, then, that the papacy certainly used the press in the fifteenth century, but not in a particularly original or interesting way: printers published books of rules and regulations for the papal bureaucracy in Rome, on the one hand, and pardons and graces for sale abroad, on the other. Beyond the sheer scale of the indulgence enterprise, there is not much that could be considered 'revolutionary' about these outputs. So when *did* the papacy begin to use the press as a tool of political communication? The answer lies in the final column of the chart. During the reign of Julius II (1503–1513), the number of papal documents printed in Rome (presumably, on curial orders) began not only to rise again but also to outstrip the number of documents published abroad in the name of the pope (i.e., documents published in other cities by other agents).[16]

16 Enumerating the production of Julian bulls, briefs, and legal publications is more difficult than for popes who reigned in the incunabular period. I derive my figures here from records in USTC, EDIT-16, the online catalogues of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and

TABLE 12.1 Editions produced by the papacy



	Pius II	Paul II	Sixtus IV	Innocent VIII	Alexander VI	Julius II
Urbi	0	14	51	54	25	94
Orbi	10	4	231	134	34	84

Moreover, during Julius' papacy, for the first time we see a substantial number of papal decrees printed in support of political initiatives: for example, Julius' campaigns to recover territory in northern Italy lost to rival powers during the French invasions of the 1490s; his attempts to assert the supremacy of his office over challenges from insubordinate cardinals and secular princes; and his effort to reform the church at the ecumenical council he convened at

the British Library, and the preliminary censuses of sixteenth-century editions attributed to or signed by Giacomo Mazzocchi, Eucharius and Marcello Silber, and Etienne Guillery: Fernanda Ascarelli, *Annali tipografici di Giacomo Mazzocchi* (Florence: Sansoni, 1961); Francesco Barberi, 'Stefano Guillery e le sue edizioni romane', in Berta Maracchi Biagiarelli and Dennis E. Rhodes (eds.), *Studi offerti a Roberto Ridolfi* (Florence: Olschki, 1973), pp. 95–145; Alberto Tinto, *Gli annali tipografici di Eucario e Marcello Silber (1501–1527)* (Florence: Olschki, 1968). On the difficulty of making attributions to these printers, who routinely shared types and woodcuts, see Martin Davies, 'Besicken and Guillery', in Denis V. Reidy (ed.), *The Italian Book 1465–1800, Studies presented to Dennis E. Rhodes on his 70th birthday* (London: British Library, 1993), pp. 35–54. My tally of domestic (*urbi*) production for Julius includes editions printed within the papal states (i.e. not only in Rome but also in Bologna and Forlì).

the Lateran in 1512. Such 'political' publications actually outnumber the publications of chancery rules, bureaucratic instructions, and more everyday legislative publications. And while foreign printers continued to publish papal documents of local interest under Julius (mostly indulgences and privileges for local churches), we also see, for the first time, regular republication abroad of the 'political' bulls that were first printed in Rome.

Thus, the figure of 84 foreign publications attributed to Julius is somewhat deceptive. This figure includes 51 bulls concerning indulgences or special privileges for local churches, the same sort of texts as were printed in great numbers under Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII.[17] But the remaining 33 publications treat political matters, including bulls of warning and excommunication against political rivals and bulls promoting Julius' council in Rome and condemning a rival assembly backed by King Louis XII of France. Most of these bulls were printed in their original Latin, but some also appeared in vernacular translations: in German, French, and Italian. Taken together with 59 editions of political bulls printed in Rome and another forty or so administrative bulls also printed in Rome during his reign, we arrive at a total of 127 editions of bulls printed in Julius' name and with the active or at least tacit support of the papal chancery. Subtracting the books of administrative regulations and instructions, we are still left with around 75 different editions of papal bulls concerning political affairs, by far the largest number of any Renaissance pope. Thus it was under Julius, some fifty years after the invention of printing with movable type and forty years after its arrival in Italy, that the papacy finally came regularly to use print as a medium for political discourse, diplomacy, popular persuasion, and the conduct of war.

Papal Politics in Print

Here, it may be useful to consider what I mean by "political" print. There had been *some* instances of political publication by the fifteenth-century popes. Sixtus IV used the press to publish not only administrative documents but also a few pieces of diplomatic and political propaganda. In 1478, he backed the infamous Pazzi conspiracy against the Medici regime in Florence. The plot

17 The vast majority of these were printed in Spain. USTC records 33 Spanish indulgences; nine similar documents printed in France or Francophone Switzerland (in Paris, Bourges, Geneva, Chambery, Annecy); five printed in German or German-speaking Swiss cities (Leipzig, Constance, Zurich); two in the Low Countries (Antwerp, 's-Hertogenbosch); and two in London.

fell apart after the ringleaders assassinated Giuliano de' Medici but failed to murder his brother Lorenzo, and the Florentines captured and killed several conspirators including Francesco Salviati, the archbishop of Pisa. A furious Sixtus IV then excommunicated Lorenzo, ostensibly for violating the ecclesiastical immunities of the archbishop of Pisa but in fact – and as Lorenzo himself memorably put it – for the crime of not allowing himself to be murdered.[18] On 4 June 1478, Sixtus had a bull of excommunication posted on the doors of St. Peter's in Rome (the traditional way of publishing ecclesiastical penalties of this sort) and within five days, copies of the text had been printed in the city.[19] In a letter of 9 June, the Milanese ambassadors in Rome described the bull as 'published and even printed' (*hora che le sonno publicate et a stampa*) and on 12 June, the Milanese ambassador in Venice reported that a copy of the printed bull (*processo delle … censure impresso a stampa a Roma*) had arrived there as well.[20]

Ineffabilis was the first salvo in a war of words that lasted all summer, with printed charges and counter-charges flying back and forth between Florence and Rome. Sixtus' bull had been entrusted to two different printing houses for publication; one produced it as a quarto pamphlet, some ten pages long, while a second press issued an edition in folio, its dense text filling three large pages of a single folded sheet.[21] Neither edition does much to announce its author or contents, although the folio edition does print the words *Sixtus iii Pont. Max.* as a sort of subscription at the end of the text. Even so, as the length of the

18 Lauro Martines, *April Blood: Florence and the Plot against the Medici* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 178–185; Marcello Simonetta, *The Montefeltro Conspiracy: A Renaissance Mystery Uncoded* (New York: Doubleday, 2008); Marcello Simonetta (ed.), *La congiura della verità* (Naples: La Scuola di Pitagora, 2012); Tobias Daniels, 'Die Pazzi-Verschwörung, der Buchdruck und die Rezeption in Deutschland. Zur politischen Propaganda in der Renaissance', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 87 (2012), pp. 109–120 and Tobias Daniels, *La congiura dei Pazzi: i documenti del conflitto fra Lorenzo de' Medici e Sisto IV* (Florence: Edifir, 2013).

19 Bull 1 June 1478 "Ineffabilis et summi patris providentia," edited by Daniels, *La congiura*, pp. 105–12, with analysis at pp. 23–28; Martines, *April Blood*, p. 177. The Milanese ambassadors in Rome wrote on 5 June that the promulgation had occurred the previous day: Nicolai Rubinstein (ed.), Lorenzo de' Medici, *Lettere*, vol. 3 (Florence: Giunti, 1977), p. 46. For 10 June, see Daniels, *La congiura*, p. 23, p. 27.

20 Quoted by Rubinstein in Lorenzo de' Medici, *Lettere*, 3.48. The bull was published in Naples on 14 June: Rubinstein, *Lettere*, 3.75, n. 2.

21 Bulla 1 June 1478 *Ineffabilis et summi patris providentia* [Rome: Johannes Bulle, after 1 June 1478] (is00545000); Bulla 1 June 1478 *Ineffabilis et summi patris providentia* [Rome:] Johannes de Monteferrato and Rolandus de Burgundia, [after 1 June 1478] (is00545500); Albano Sorbelli, 'La scomunica di Lorenzo de' Medici in un raro incunabolo romano', *L'Archiginnasio*, 31 (1937), pp. 331–335.

bull, its sensational rhetoric, and its patterns of distribution all suggest, the text was intended for a broader audience than just those Florentines whom it condemned. Sixtus himself wrote to Federico da Montefeltro in July 1478, explaining his publicity campaign: 'We have sent many ambassadors to the king of France with our arguments, and likewise we have sent others to other princes, such as the emperor, the king of Hungary, the king of Spain, and all the rest. Moreover our bull, which has been put into print before the whole world, will demonstrate the rightness of our cause'.[22] All told, nearly a dozen editions of Sistine bulls and briefs against Florence were published in Rome over the next two years, and more would follow from Sixtus in the course of the War of Ferrara, which he fought against Venice between 1482–4, and in his campaign to suppress a revival of the conciliar movement in upper Germany during these same years.[23]

But this early spate of political publications was short-lived. Innocent VIII and Alexander VI were less inclined to use the press to pursue political goals; in fact, examples of publications by these popes that might count as "political" are quite hard to come by. Innocent's condemnation of Pico della Mirandola's 900 theses was printed once in Rome.[24] His brief condemning the capture of Maximilian I by Flemish troops in 1488 was printed once in Germany (with the alarming title *Maledictio adversus Flamingos*).[25] Alexander VI was the subject of an ingenious press campaign organised by the reforming friar Girolamo Savonarola and his followers in Florence, who published dozens of vernacular tracts calling for reform in the church and castigating Pope Alexander for Italy's woes.[26] It is an extraordinary and hard-to-explain fact that only one example of a papal riposte to Savonarola survives in print: an Italian translation of Alexander's brief of 12 May 1497 concerning Savonarola's excommunication,

22 Sixtus IV to Federico da Montefeltro, 5 July 1478, in Alison Brown (ed.), Bartolomeo Scala, *Humanistic and Political Writings* (Tempe: Medieval and renaissance texts and studies, 1997), p. 159, n. 68: "Al re di Francia habbiamo mandato multi nuncii con nostre justificationi, similiter alli altri Principi, come lo è l'Imperatore, Re di Ungheria, di Spagna, e tutti li altri. Praeterea la Bolla nostra, *quale è stata posta in stampa a tutto il mondo*, dimostrerà nostra justificatione" (italics mine).

23 I discuss these early pamphlet wars in Chapters 3 and 4 of my forthcoming book *Papal Bull*.

24 *Bulla "Etsi ex iniuncto" condemnatoria libelli Conclusionum DCCCC Joannis Pici Mirandulani* (ii00108900).

25 *Mandatum apostolicum et maledictio adversus Brugenses et Flamingos* (ii00136750).

26 Donald Weinstein and Valerie R. Hotchkiss (eds.), *Girolamo Savonarola: Piety, Prophecy, and Politics in Renaissance Florence* (Dallas: Bridwell Library, 1994), pp. 65–71.

and this was printed in Florence, not in Rome.[27] In short, while Sixtus IV early on grasped the political possibilities of print, he was the only fifteenth-century pope to do so. The next phase of papal printing would only open with the reign of Julius II.

Print and Politics in the Reign of Julius II

Giuliano della Rovere was Sixtus IV's nephew and had been one of the old pope's closest political advisors. When he was elected Pope Julius II in the summer of 1503, he resumed his uncle's aggressive foreign policies as well as his liberal use of ecclesiastical penalties as a diplomatic tool.[28] Julius and his chancery also revived – and then dramatically expanded on – Sixtus' practice of issuing bulls against political opponents and rivals and broadcasting them through the medium of the press. Over the ten years of Julius' pontificate, dozens of bulls, briefs, and other ecclesiastical documents would appear in print at a steadily increasing rate. Alongside a constant stream of legal and administrative publications, there was, for example, Julius' bull against the Bentivoglio family of Bologna, issued during his campaign to reassert control over that and other cities in the northern papal states and printed twice in Rome in 1506.[29] There was a formidable *monitorium* against the people and clergy of Venice, printed at least fourteen times in the months after Julius joined the Italian league arrayed against Venice in the spring of 1509.[30] And four different printed bulls of warning, excommunication, and interdict were issued against Alfonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara, and the French armies then occupying Milan, printed in a total of sixteen different editions.[31]

In 1511, when a group of cardinals sympathetic to France withdrew from Rome and attempted to call Julius to account before a new council of the church at Pisa, the Julian chancery issued yet more bulls of excommunication and privation (stripping the cardinals of their ecclesiastical offices): a half dozen texts printed and reprinted in some 17 distinct editions.[32] Julius'

27 ia00369800. The text of this brief appeared in print again in several later editions alongside the text of the *processo* against Savonarola; this composite edition was printed twice in Florence, twice in Venice, and once in Rome.

28 Christine Shaw, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993). An excellent study of Julius' portrayal in European popular print is Massimo Rospocher, *Il papa guerriero: Giulio II nello spazio pubblico europeo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2015).

29 See entry 1.1. in the appendix.

30 See entry 1.3. in the appendix.

31 Entries 1.4–1.7 in the appendix.

32 Entries 2.2–2.7 in the appendix.

ultimate response to the Pisan *conciliabulum* was to convene a council of his own, Lateran V, which opened in Rome in 1512 and whose deliberations and decrees were published in even greater numbers. Including the bull announcing the council in July 1511, eight bulls were published before Julius' death in February, 1513, in 27 different editions.[33] The scale of Julian publication was thus far larger than Sixtus' or any other previous pope's. The total count of Julian bulls regarding political or ecclesiastical controversies surpasses 80 different editions of 23 different texts, printed not only within the papal states in Rome and Bologna but also in cities much further afield, including Venice, Ferrara, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Leipzig, Burgos, Paris, and Lyon.

In the satirical dialogue *Julius Exclusus*, long attributed to Erasmus, St. Peter describes Julius as a Jupiter on Olympus hurling the 'thunderbolts' of his bulls at anyone who displeased him.[34] These tallies of Julian printed bulls certainly support the image of a pope who did not hesitate to draw the spiritual sword against his enemies. But the bulls Julius hurled did not just fly directly to their targets, in the form of a manuscript document delivered in person. Printed for the whole of Europe to read, they performed a dual function, delivering both private, legal sentences and very public and embarrassing rebukes.

Even as he put far more of his decrees into print than any previous pope, Julius had no official printer; it was only in the middle decades of the sixteenth century that the position of papal printer was properly established.[35] In the first two decades of the sixteenth century, the papal chancery entrusted its documents to several different, independent printers in Rome, including Johannes Besicken, Eucharius and Marcello Silber, Giacomo Mazzocchi, Etienne Guillery, and Johannes Beplin.[36] These printers had their shops in Campo Marzio, in the narrow, busy streets around the markets at Campo de' Fiori and Piazza Navona,

33 Appendix, 3.1–3.7. For a discussion of their contents, see Nelson H. Minnich, 'The Images of Julius II in the *Acta* of the councils of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyons (1511–12) and Lateran V (1512–1517)', in his *Councils of the Catholic Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), study X.

34 Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly and Other Writings*, transl. Robert M. Adams (New York: Norton, 1989), pp. 145, 149–50.

35 The Roman printer Francesco Calvo called himself *impressore apostolico* in an edition of 1528; Antonio Blado, long established as a printer in Rome, signed himself *tipografo camerale* in 1535, a year after Calvo quit the city: Francesco Barberi, "Blado, Antonio," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 10 (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1968), pp. 753–57. See also Paolo Sachet, 'Il Contratto tra Paolo Manuzio e la Camera Apostolica (2 Maggio 1561): La Creazione della prima Stamperia Vaticana Privilegiata', *La Bibliofilía* 115 (2013), pp. 245–62 and *Publishing for the Popes: the Roman Curia and the Use of Printing, 1527–1555* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

36 Massimo Miglio, *Saggi di stampa: Tipografi e cultura a Roma nel Quattrocento* (Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2002); Concetta Bianca, 'Le strade della 'sancta ars:' La stampa e la curia a Roma nel XV secolo', in Cristina Dondi etc. (eds.), *La stampa romana nella città dei papi e in Europa*, (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2016), pp. 1–9.

many of them quite near the papal chancery in its old premises on the via dei Banchi, in what is now Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini. All of them did job work for the chancery at various times. Although Mazzocchi claimed a papal mandate or privilege in some of his editions, it does not seem to have had much of an effect: almost every papal document that was printed was printed in multiple editions, often simultaneously by several different Roman printers.[37]

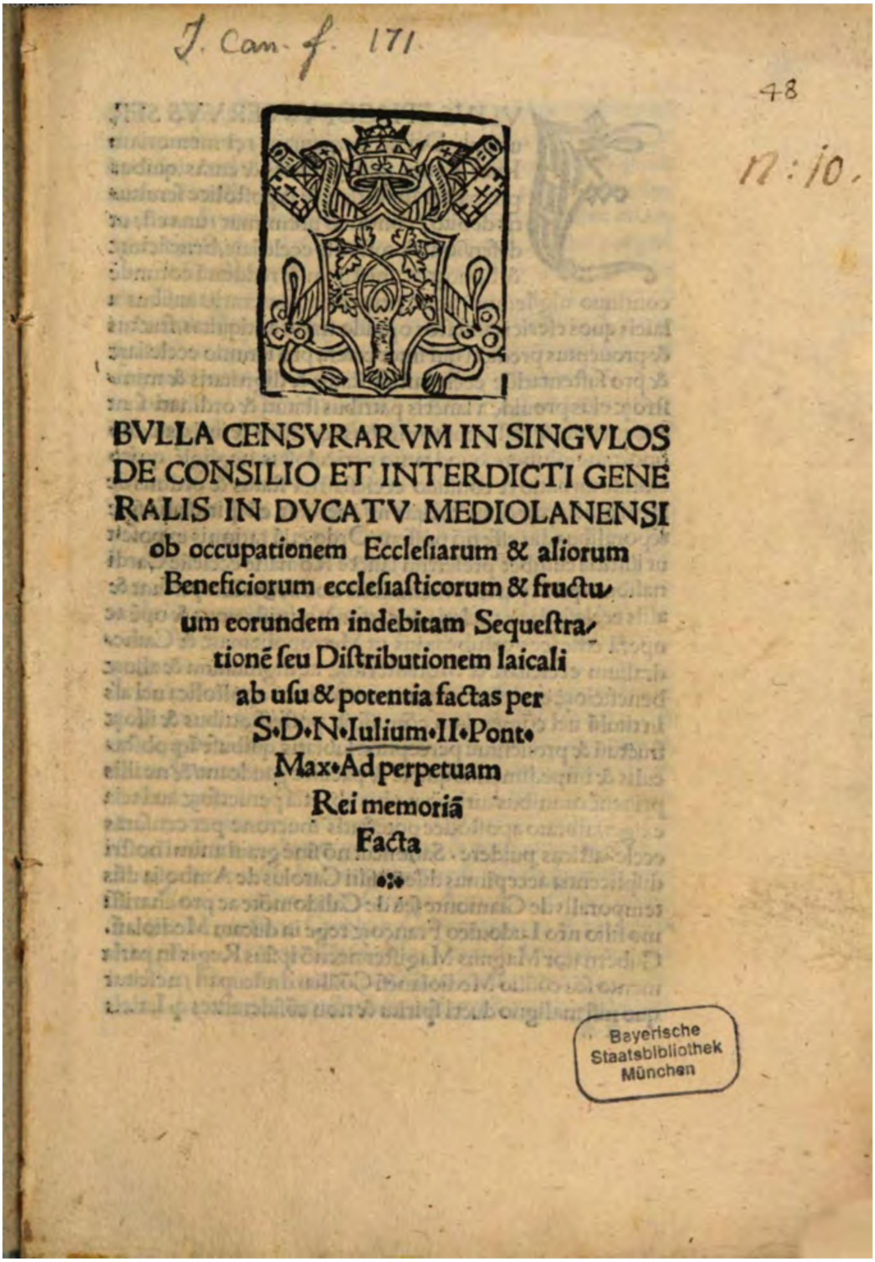
Under the della Rovere pope, there was not just an increase in the production of papal documents and a change in the kind of texts that appeared; there were also dramatic developments in the form and format in which they were printed. The printed bulls of previous popes were visually undistinguished. Either large bifolia or slightly longer, quarto pamphlets, they were usually printed in a single fount of type (usually gothic, and usually quite small), with little in the way of titles or other paratexts to announce their contents, and no visual or graphical elements at all.

Julian bulls, by contrast, were innovative in both form and content. Though produced by different printers, they were all small, pamphlet-size productions that feature distinct titles explaining their contents, and most of them included Julius' name in type and his papal *stemma* in woodcut on the first page, as well as the titles set in either large type or shaped type (or both); in most cases, the first page of the pamphlet functioned as a true title page.[38]

These design innovations make it worth recalling a few things about the documentary form of a papal bull. Technically, a bull is no more than a letter from the pope conveying some official decree, sentence, judgement, or law. Bulls could convey dire pronouncements, like a decree of excommunication, but they could also be far less combative documents, issued to elevate a bishop, canonise a saint, establish a university, or grant certain privileges or rights. What made a bull a bull was not its content, but its form. A typical medieval bull would have been written out on a single parchment sheet; the opening words would follow a set pattern, and the text would conclude with particular verbal formulae relating to the time, place, and circumstances of its signing. Graphic signs could be used to certify the authenticity of the document, such as exaggeratedly tall letters used in the opening sentence; a *rotula*,

37 E.g. *Monitorium contra Venetos* (Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, [1509]), fol. 12v: "Impressum … de mandato prelibati Sanct. D.N. domini Iulii divina providentia pape II."

38 Entry 1.1.a (appendix) has a simple title in the same type as the body of the text; some Roman editions of entries 1.2–1.3 (1508–9) feature a title in larger type and a small woodcut *stemma* inset into the start of the text; with entry 1.4., a bull against Alfonso d'Este published in August 1510, we see the for the first time full title pages featuring descriptive titles in large type, large woodcut *stemme*, and, occasionally, woodcut borders or frames. Most subsequent editions follow this pattern.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48

12:10.

BVLLA CENSVRARVM IN SINGVLOS DE CONSILIO ET INTERDICTI GENE RALIS IN DVCATV MEDIOLANENSI ob occupationem Ecclesiarum & aliorum Beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum & fructu-um eorundem indebitam Sequestra-tionē seu Distributionem laicali ab usu & potentia factas per S·D·N·Iulium·II·Pont· Max·Ad perpetuam Rei memoriā Facta

FIGURE 12.1 Julius II, *Bulla censurarum* [Rome, ca. 1510]
MUNICH, BSB, 4 F. 4 J.CAN.F. 171, FOL. 1R

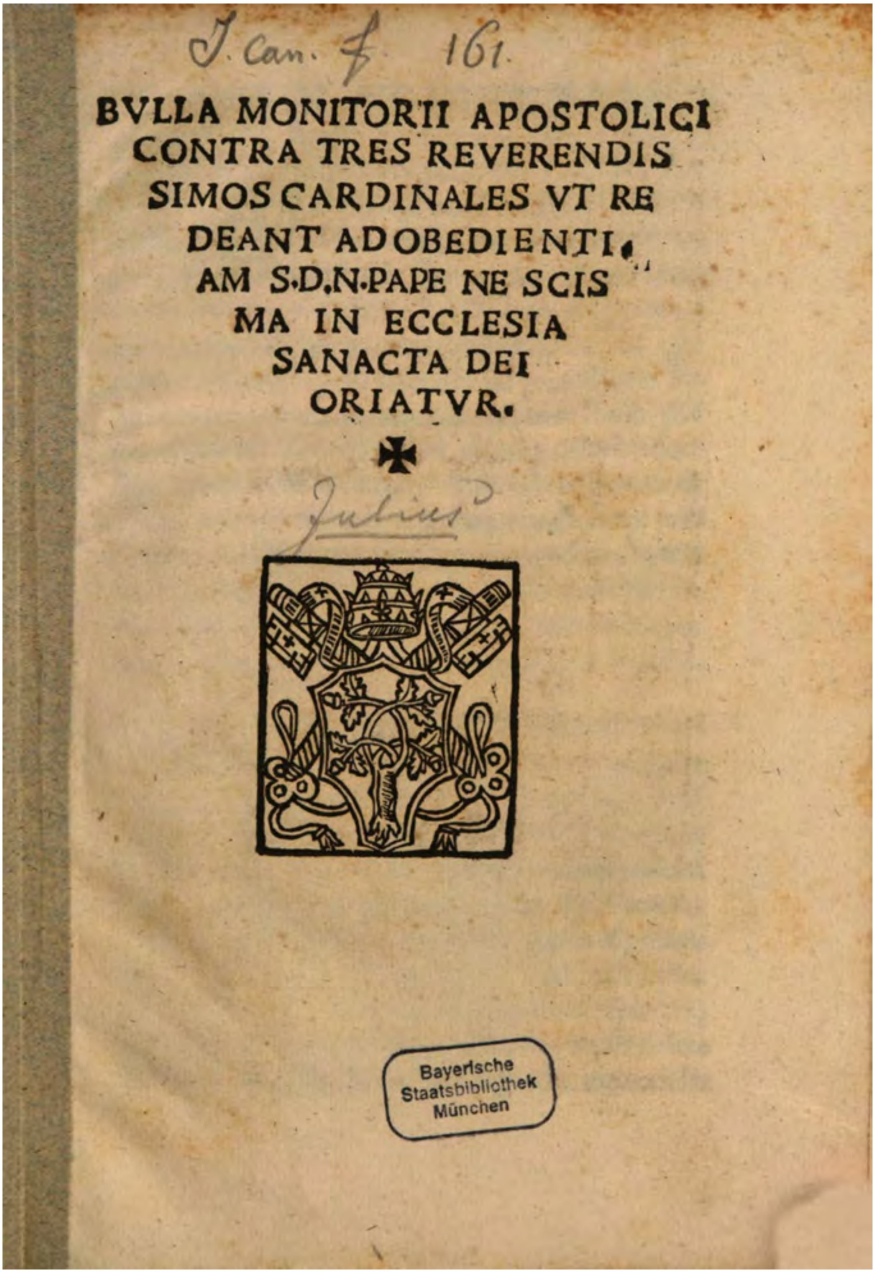


FIGURE 12.2 Julius II, *Bulla monitorii apostolici contra tres reverendissimos cardinales* [Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi or Etienne Guillery, 1511]
MUNICH, BSB, 4 J.CAN.F 161, FOL. 1R

or handdrawn circle containing the monogram of the current pope; and manuscript signatures applied by the pope, his secretaries, or cardinals. The parchment as a whole was sewn with special cords, usually of red and yellow silk, twisted together and then pressed inside a lead seal, or *bulla*, stamped with images of Peter and Paul and the name of the current pope. It was the *bulla* that made a document a bull.

There was much in the medieval bull that would have been difficult if not impossible to reproduce in print – the seal, the cords, special lettering, and so on. But the evolution in format from parchment sheet to printed pamphlet was not pre-ordained, nor did it have to be as dramatic as it was. The development of the Julian pamphlet, with its title page, woodcut *stemma*, varying sizes of type, and narrower text block, was a conscious choice, one made for the sake of portability, legibility, and visual impact.

Moreover, Roman printers regularly employed woodcut artisans, and could easily have commissioned cuts representing a Julian rota or a Peter-and-Paul seal. Mazzocchi, in fact, did develop a hybrid rota with a woodcut circle and monograms set in type, but it appears only once or twice in his entire *oeuvre*.[39]

Later in the century, Roman printers would introduce woodcut figures of Peter and Paul, placed on either side of the text in broadside bulls and decrees. During Julius' reign, however, printers chose (or perhaps, were instructed) to use Julius' personal *stemma*, not the figures of the apostles, as the authenticating image for each bull, and to give the papal arms far greater prominence on the cover of the pamphlet than earlier authenticating signs had held on the original document. The arms visually branded the front cover of the pamphlet (the page that would have been on most visible as the book was displayed in booksellers' stalls or as it passed from reader to reader) with the most recognisable emblem of the reigning pope. These images travelled, too: the Nuremberg printer Johann Weissenburger had a cut of the Julian *stemma* modelled so closely on that used by the Roman printer Marcello Silber that his editions have sometimes been mistaken for Silber's.[40] Weissenburger then had a second cut of the Julian *stemma* made, which he used in other editions of Julian bulls.[41] The Venetian printer Franciscus Lucensis printed a small della Rovere oak tree, on a plain shield, on the title pages of his Julian bulls, alongside the winged lion of St. Mark and some decorative mermaids – a politic move for a printer publishing in the independent republic.[42]

39 E.g. Appendix 2.1.a, 2.1.b.
40 Appendix 2.1.j, 2.2.d, 2.5.d, 2.7.d.
41 Appendix 2.1.j(var), 2.2.e.
42 See entry 1.4.d, 1.6.d.

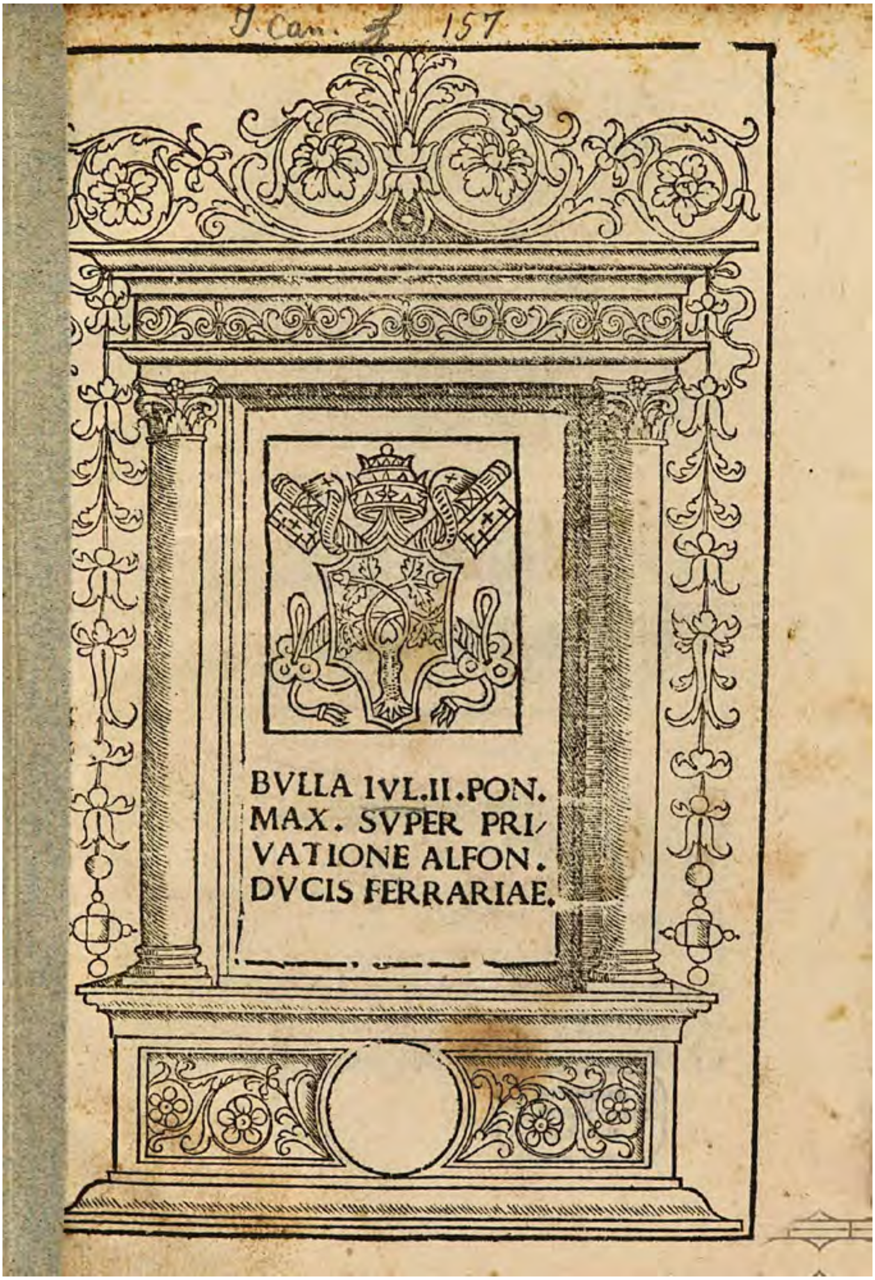
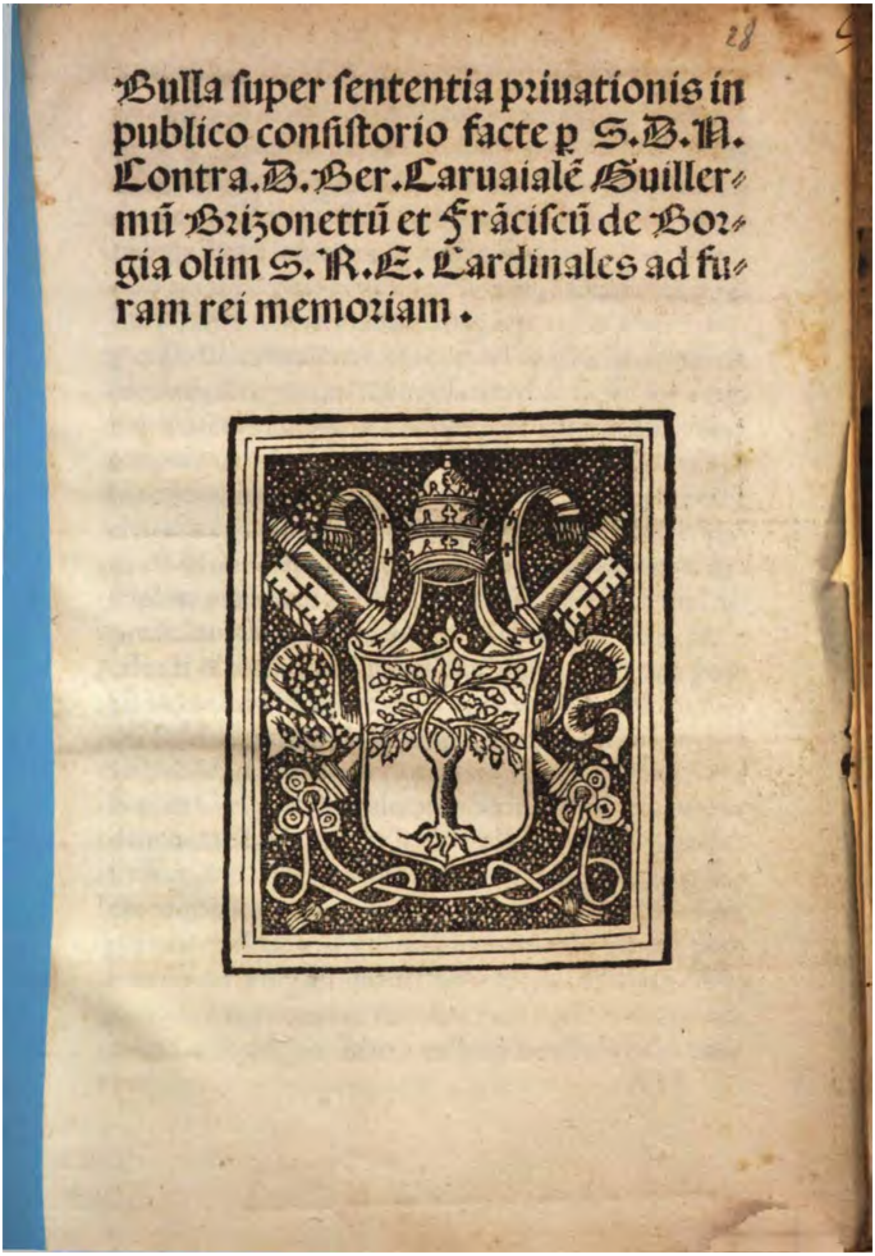


FIGURE 12.3 Julius II, *Bulla super sententia privationis* [Rome: Marcello Silber, 1511]
MUNICH, BSB, RES/4 J.CAN.F. 26#BEIBD.28, FOL. 1R


28

Bulla ſuper ſententia priuationis in
publico conſiſtorio facte p̄ S.D.N.
Contra.D.Ber.Caruaialē Guiller-
mū Brizonettū et Frāciſcū de Bor-
gia olim S.R.E. Cardinales ad fu-
ram rei memoriam.

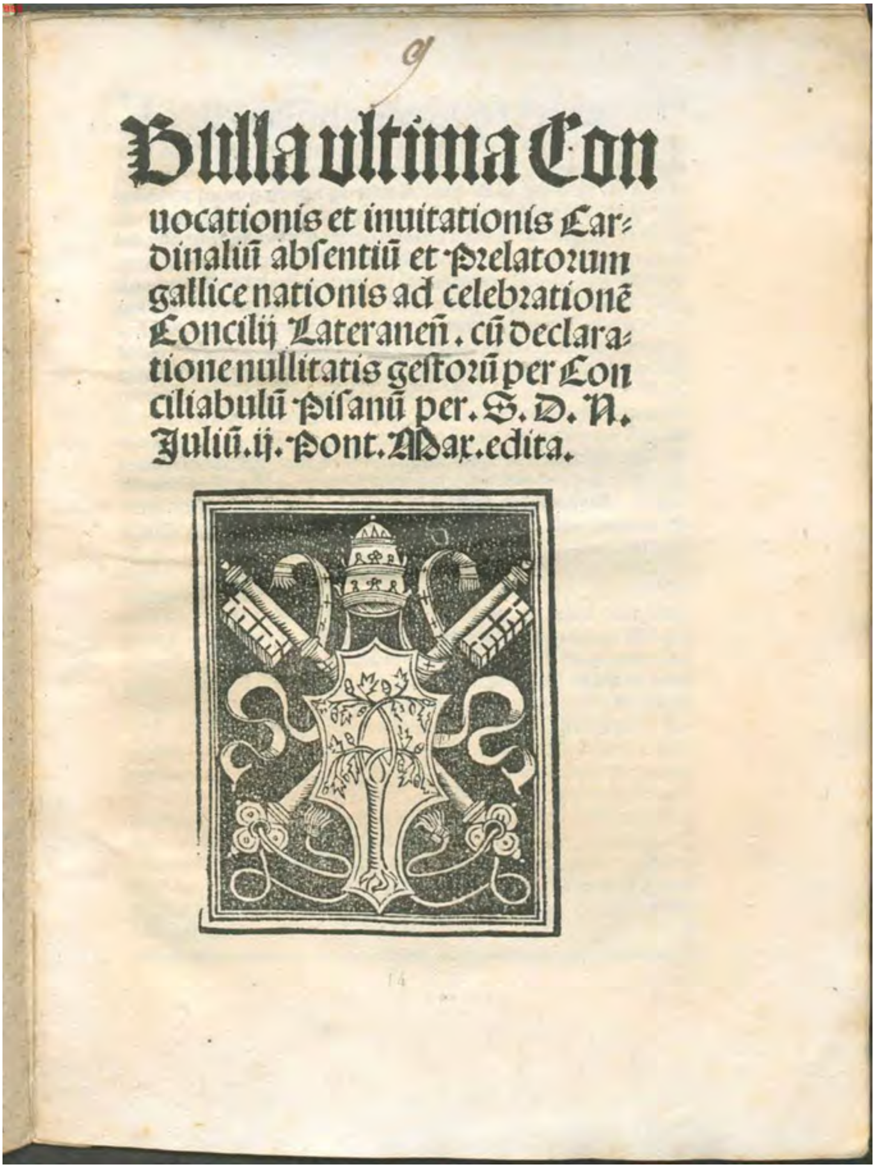
FIGURE 12.4 Julius II, *Bulla super sententia privationis* ([Rome: Etienne Guillery?, 1511])
MUNICH, BSB, RES/4 J.CAN.F. 26#BEIBD.28, FOL. 1R

FIGURE 12.5 Printed *rotule* in editions of Julius II, *Bulla intimationis* [Rome, 1511]

The quarto format also allowed the text of the bull to run to several pages, leaving room for more rhetorical amplification than a single sheet of parchment might. Some pamphlet bulls run to two or more quires. Thus the composers of the bull could expand dramatically upon their theme; from a compact legal proclamation, the bull grew to an extensive rhetorical production, in which the pope, speaking directly to the faithful, could elaborate on the political situation he was confronting and address discursive appeals to the emotions and sensibilities of a wider reading public. Julius' *Monitorium* against the Venetians, published in multiple editions in the spring of 1509 in the run-up to League of Cambrai's war against Venice, runs to sixteen pages in the gothic-type edition of Eucharius Silber, and 24 pages in Mazzocchi's edition printed in a larger roman font.[43] One German translation of the document is 32 pages long.[44] Mazzocchi's edition of the 1510 bull stripping Alfonso d'Este of his dukedom is also 32 pages long. The pope's 1511 bull convening the Fifth Lateran Council, published in eleven different Latin editions, fills anywhere from twelve to twenty pages; an Italian translation is sixteen pages long, while two editions of a German translation, published in Leipzig, run to twenty pages each.[45]

Alongside these steadily lengthening bulls, the Julian chancery also had new types of documents printed to support the pope in his various conflicts – documents of the sort that previous popes may well have issued in their own diplomatic conflicts, but not in print. For example, Julius issued numerous bulls of warning as well as sentence. His 1509 *Monitorium* against Venice

43 Appendix 1.3.a–f.
44 Appendix 1.3.i.
45 Appendix 2.1.a–n.


9

Bulla ultima Con
uocationis et inuitationis Car-
dinaliū absentiū et Prelatorum
gallice nationis ad celebrationē
Concilij Lateraneñ. cū declara-
tione nullitatis gestorū per Con
ciliabulū Pisanū per. S. D. N.
Juliū. ij. Pont. Max. edita.

14

FIGURE 12.6 Julius II, *Bulla ultima convocationis et invitationis* [Nuremberg: Johann Weissenburger, 1512]
MUNICH, BSB, 4 CONC. 102, FOL. 1R

conveyed dire threats against the Venetians: they had thirty days to relinquish their claims to certain cities in the Romagna or else Julius would level the interdict on the city and make preparations for open war.[46] Similar bulls of warning were published in 1511, directing a group of schismatic cardinals to abandon the Pisan council and restore their obedience to Julius or be stripped of their titles and offices; and in 1512, warning the bishops in France to keep their distance from the French king's schismatic assembly or face loss of office and excommunication.[47] The propagandistic value of printing such threats was clear: giving his opponents fair warning that their behaviour could incur dire spiritual and temporal penalties, and then publicizing that threat as widely as possible, the pope hoped to leverage public opinion to force his opponents – whether Venetians or cardinals or clergy – to back down before proceeding to much more severe decrees of interdict or demotion. Alternately, the bulls may have been intended to offer a set of conditions which their targets would very likely reject – thus providing Julius with legitimate *casus belli* against the Venetians, and a legitimate reason to excommunicate the schismatic cardinals and clergy. In all three cases, the pope's warnings were not heeded and in the latter two cases, further bulls pronouncing more serious penalties soon followed them into print.

As policy measures, then, *monitoria* were not successful, but as pieces of public relations, they rather were: they broadcast to as broad an audience as possible the fact of the pope's righteous anger, the depravity of his opponents' behavior, and the severity of the penalties they faced. Print thus provided support for a complex ecclesiastical strategy involving exploding offers and the pressure of public opinion. After demoting and excommunicating the rebel cardinals, Julius composed a brief explaining his actions to the Christian princes and this, too, was published in numerous editions, both in Rome and north of the Alps, to justify the papal sentence and appeal to the faithful for support.[48] These were tactics that future popes would deploy with increasing frequency against political as well as doctrinal opponents, including Luther.

Another innovation was the recycling or reissue of older bulls and documents. In the controversy over the rival councils of Pisa and Lateran V, Julius was fighting a number of parallel battles. Louis XII was seeking to solidify his diplomatic and political presence in Italy, where the French controlled Milan and threatened to overtake the entire peninsula, but Louis was also trying to

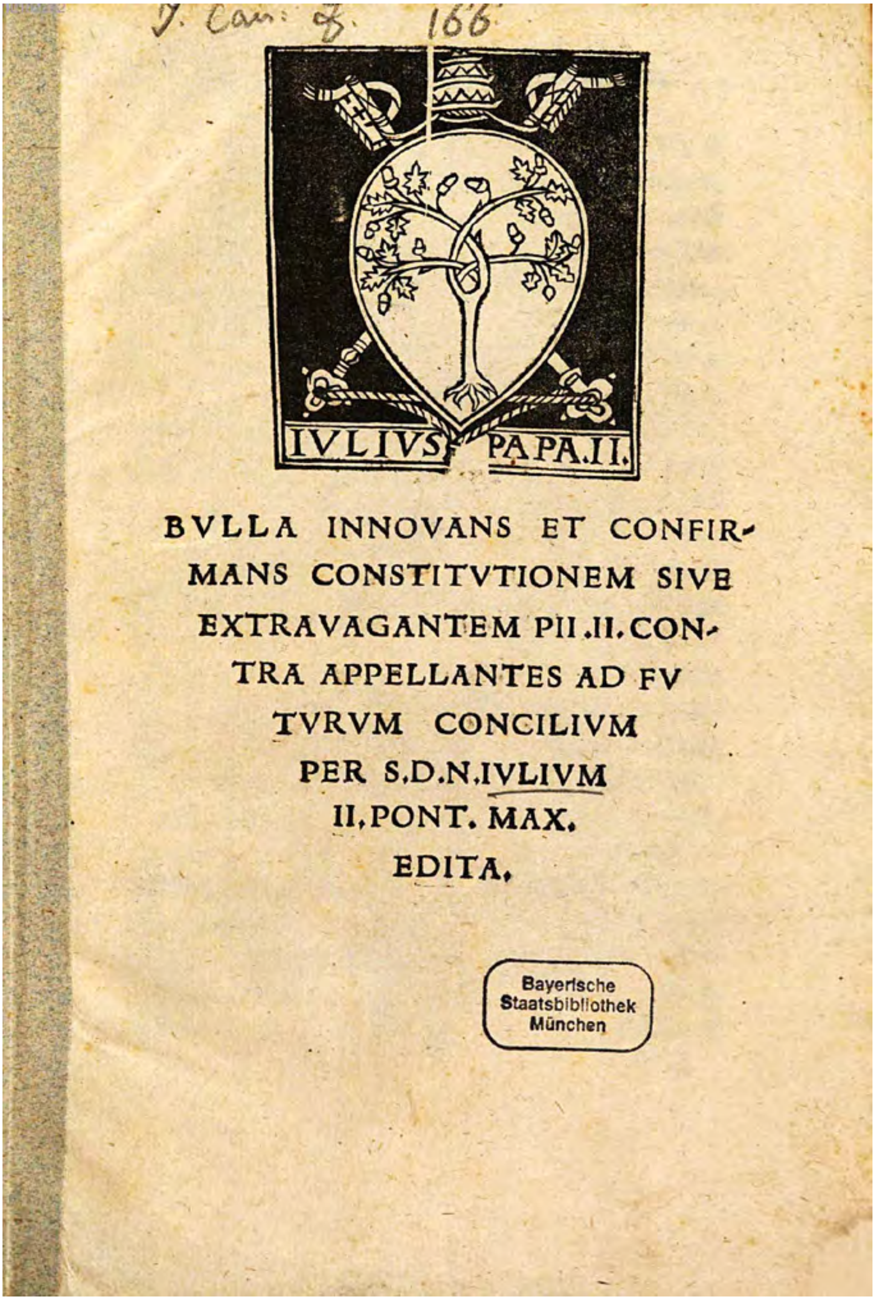
46 Appendix 1.3.
47 Appendix 2.2; Appendix 2.6.
48 Appendix 2.5.a–d: three editions printed in Rome by Mazzocchi and Guillery and one in Nuremberg by Weissenburger.

secure more control over the church in France – over revenues and appointments, for example, and rights that might allow the establishment of something like a Gallican church. In promoting a new council at Pisa, Louis and the cardinals who adhered to him sought to place serious restrictions on the pope's authority over ecclesiastical affairs in France as well as his claims to arbiter political affairs in Italy.[49] In response, Julius issued multiple bulls against the adherents of the Pisan council and to further push back against its claims, the Julian chancery also dug into the archives, reissuing and then printing earlier documents issued against earlier challengers: for example, Pius II's 1460 bull *Execrabilis*, outlawing appeals to a general council by anyone other than the pope; Louis XI's 1462 renunciation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (an earlier attempt by a French king to carve out Gallican privileges for the church in France); a decree of the Council of Constance, in which the right to call a future council was vested exclusively in the pope; and even the *Donation of Constantine*, the supposed foundation of all papal claims to temporal power over the Roman Empire in the west.[50] These reissues of earlier ecclesiastical legislation (real or confected) appeared in the same types and formats as the new bulls.

Finally, the Julian chancery extended its branding in print to the more prosaic category of administrative bulls, the same documents as had been issued in print by every pope since Paul II, to establish or reinforce the policies and principles under which their administration would operate. Julius published bulls condemning simony in future papal elections, regulating the payment of fees by episcopal appointees, and setting out the privileges and immunities allowed to different ranks of curial officials. He published regulations for the colleges of scriptors and abbreviators, a code of practice for the chancery in general, a reform of curial offices, an attempt to reorganize the prosecution of legal cases within Rome, regulations for the drawing up of wills and bequests of property, and bulls condemning bandits, thieves, and anyone violating the immunities of ecclesiastical personnel. Such publications had been

49 Nelson H. Minnich, '*Rite convocare ac congregare procedereque*: the Struggle between the Councils of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyons and Lateran V', in his *Councils of the Catholic Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), study IX.

50 For the 1460 bull consult entry 1.8 in the appendix; for the letter of Louis XI see *Littere clare memorie Ludovici XI Francorum regis Christianissimi super abrogatione pragmatice sanctionis in quarta sessione sacroscancti Lateranensis concilii publice lecte et recitate* [Rome: Marcello Silber, 1512], USTC 838702. For the decree of the Council of Constance, consult Appendix 2.1.a and reprints, fol. 8v: "Constitutio Concilii Constantiensis de auctoritate et potestate sacrorum generalium conciliorum temporibusque et modis eadem convocandi et celebrandi" and for the *Donatio Constantini*, published in Rome in three different editions between 1504 and 1513, see USTC 826855; 955616; 801952.



J. Can. f. 166

IVLIVS PAPA.II.

BVLLA INNOVANS ET CONFIRMANS CONSTITVTIONEM SIVE EXTRAVAGANTEM PII.II.CONTRA APPELLANTES AD FVTVRVM CONCILIVM PER S.D.N.IVLIVM II.PONT. MAX. EDITA.

FIGURE 12.7 Julius II, *Bulla innovans et confirmans constitutionem ... Pii II contra appellantes ad futurum concilium* [Rome, 1510]
MUNICH, BSB, 4 J.CAN.F. 166, FOL. 1R

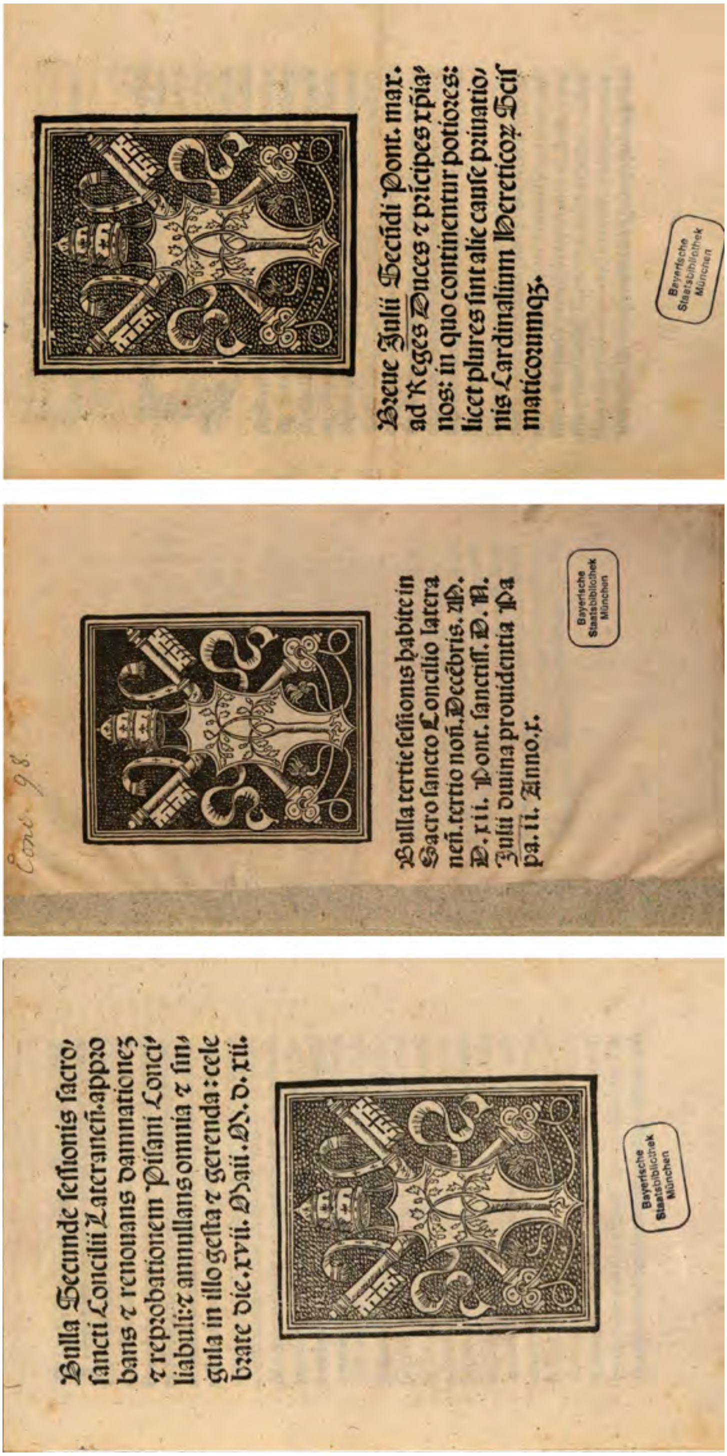


FIGURE 12.8 Julius II, bulls and a brief for the Fifth Lateran Council, all printed in Rome by Marcello Silber, 1511–12
MUNICH, BSB, 4 CONC. 97A; 4 CONC. 98; 4 J.CAN.F. 151, ALL FOL. 1R

commonplace since the popes returned to Rome from Avignon and resumed the government of the papal states. What was new, once again, was the format. Julius saw his administrative bulls published in quarto, with title pages bearing the Julian coat of arms and a title in larger type indicating the contents of the pamphlet: precisely the same format as his political bulls.

Julius' various rhetorical, legal, and presentational strategies reached their apex in the suite of fourteen different bulls, printed in 43 different editions, which he issued in connection with Lateran V. The Julian chancery published these over the last seventeen months of the pope's life, from his *Bulla intimationis* announcing the council on 18 July 1511 to the *Cedula quintae sessionis* published on 16 February 1513, just five days before Julius' death.[51]

Julian bulls proclaiming the council, attacking and excommunicating opponents of the council, and publicizing the work of the council (from positive reform measures to yet more sanctions against political opponents), appeared in print alongside dozens of other editions of orations, sermons, and speeches delivered by clerics at the Council. Several Roman printers produced series of these bulls, although Marcello Silber seems to have been the most frequent and possibly the original publisher; each used his own consistent visual and textual apparatus. These collections of printed texts carried the deliberations and the very *fact* of the council far beyond its meeting rooms at the Lateran, underscoring its legitimacy and superiority over any rival assembly.

Conclusion

The length of Julian bulls, the innovations in their visual presentation, and the multiplying types of document that were put into print all suggest how innovative the Julian papal chancery, and the printers it contracted with, could be in their use of the new technology. Printing changed the way bulls read, how they looked, and how they were used, as they increasingly were directed not just against other political actors but also to the court of public opinion. In this sense, we might say print functioned here in a truly "revolutionary" way – or at least, that the Julian chancery was revolutionary in the way it used the technology to transform both the content and the form of a highly traditional medieval document.

And yet, if we consider the message conveyed by Julian publicity campaigns, they still had at their heart a highly traditional, even retrograde vision of the church, its leadership, and their relationship to the faithful. Julius

51 Appendix 2.1., 3.1–3.7.

flooded Europe with printed publications that insisted on the ecclesiology of previous centuries, based on the principles of papal supremacy over cardinals and temporal princes, on the one hand, and salvation by works (specifically, the purchase of indulgences), on the other. Subsidiary concerns included the defeat of the infidel, the pope's absolute authority over his vassals in the papal states, and the subordination of the council to the pope. These were the ideas that papal print broadcast to the European reading public at the start of the sixteenth century. Even Lateran V, ostensibly convened to reform the church in head and members, was more immediately motivated by Julius' desire to quash the French king's challenge to his authority and his rival council at Pisa. The Lateran documents that were printed focused on process: on the need for every cardinal to adhere to Julius' council; on the pope's precedence over secular rulers; and on his exclusive right to call a council in the first place and to condemn rival assemblies.

Lateran V continued after Julius' death; Leo X presided over another four years of meetings, with many more decrees and declarations printed, now in pamphlets bearing the familiar arms of the Medici pope. The council closed just seven months before Luther released his 95 theses to the public. The story of that document's publication lies beyond the scope of this study, but it is worth remembering that in 1520, when Leo issued the bull *Exsurge domine* condemning the German theologian, the text quickly appeared as a quarto pamphlet from a Roman press, with an explanatory title and the pope's coat of arms; it was copied by other printers and released in multiple editions across northern Europe.[52] Luther, on receiving his copy, threw it on the fire.

The Reformers' use of the press would soon outstrip that of the papacy's. Lutheran propaganda was more varied and versatile; it drew on vernacular narrative traditions and potent visual vocabularies; above all, it touched on genuine concerns among the European faithful that papal propaganda had failed to address over the previous fifty years. The popes had printed dozens of papal bulls declaring their supremacy in matters both spiritual and temporal; their critics would broadcast attacks on these same claims and practices, using the same medium, to devastating effect. There can be no doubt that the papacy used the press, often in innovative ways, years and even decades before the Reformation. But the constraints of their own ecclesiology kept them from using the new technology in any but the most traditional ways.

52 Leo X, *Bulla contra errores Martini Lutheri et sequacium* (Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1520), USTC 837884. Reprinted at least eleven times by printers in Paris, Leipzig, Erfurt, Cologne, Rostock, Strassburg, Antwerp, and Landshut: see entries in USTC under the title *Bulla contra errores*.

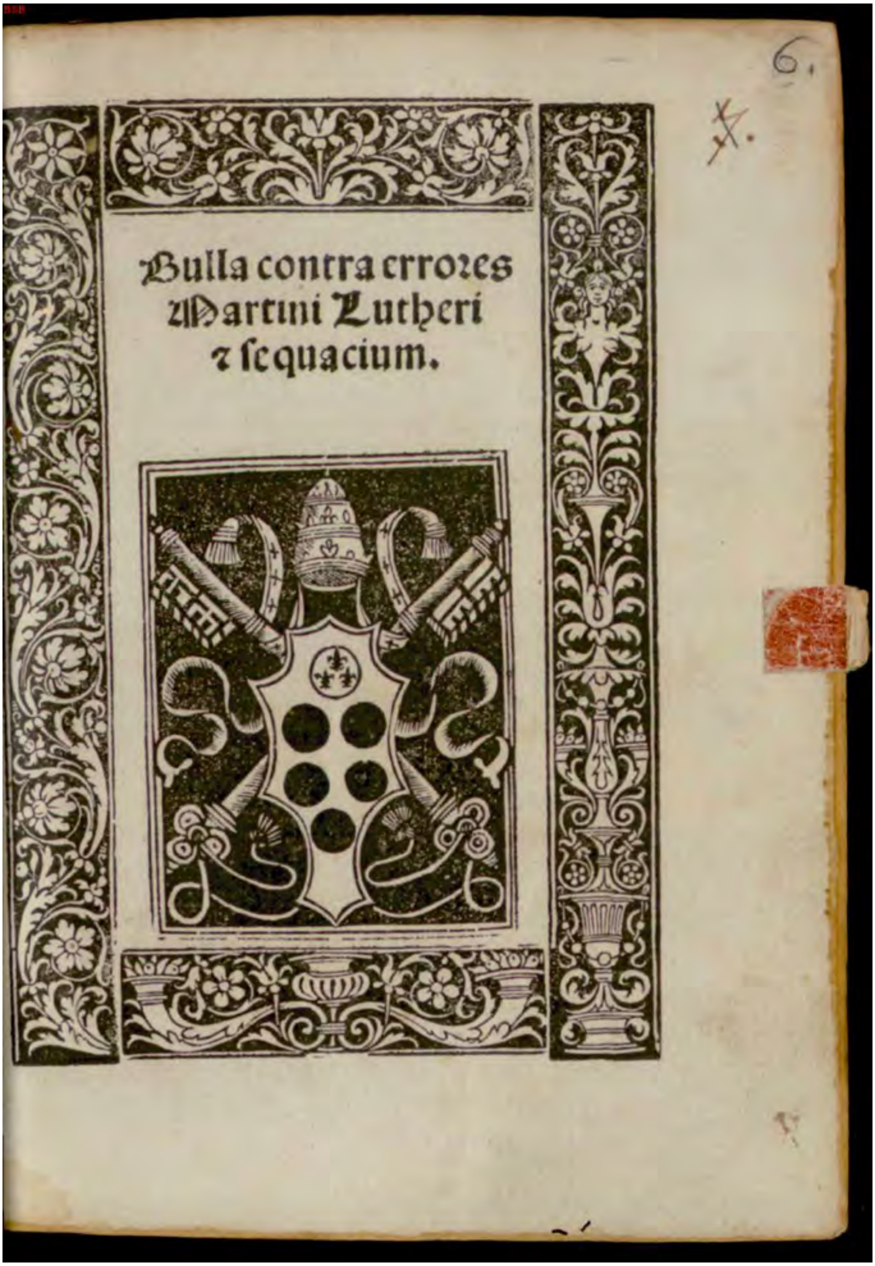


FIGURE 12.9 Leo X, *Bulla contra errores Martini Lutheri et sequacium* [Rome, 1520]
MUNICH, BSB, RAR. 1477#BEIBD.6, FOL. 1R

Appendix: Printed Political Bulls of Pope Julius II

Abbreviations

BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BL	British Library in London
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich
Casanatense	Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome
Roma N	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma

1 Bulls against Bologna, Venice, Ferrara

1.1 BULL AGAINST GIOVANNI BENTIVOGLIO (10 October 1506)[53]

Bulla Iulii Pape ii edita contra Johannem Bentivolum in civitate Bononiensi libertatem ecclesiasticam occupantem

a) Rome: Johannes Besicken, 12 November 1506. 6 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.961(2); R.I.IV.1414(9); Casanatense Misc. Rara 79; Roma N Misc. Val. 1875.31(6).
EDIT-16 43484, USTC 762404

b) Rome: Johannes Beplin de Argentorato, 12 November 1506.[54] 6 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.1811(24); BAV Stamp.Ross.4315 (int. 2); Roma N Misc. Val. 1875.31(7).
EDIT-16 54241, USTC 762651

1.2 BULL *IN CENA DOMINI* (20 April 1508)

Bulla in cena Domini

a) [Rome: Eucharius Silber, 1508]. 4 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.1811(12b); Stamp.Ross.4222(1); Roma N 1875.31(10)
EDIT-16 51370, USTC 762561

b) [Rome: Etienne Guillery, 1508]. 4 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV Stamp.Ross.4222(2); Casanatense, Misc. Rara 26 (var)
EDIT-16 51254, USTC 762555

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53 Neither edition provides the date for the bull, for which see Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 6.277.

54 This edition is signed 12 November 1506 but both the type and the woodcut deployed are not found in Beplin editions again until 1510, suggesting this may be a falsely dated reprint of Besicken's edition, printed later in Julius' reign.

1.3 BULL OF WARNING AGAINST VENICE (27 April 1509)

Monitorium contra Venetos

a) Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, [1509]. 12 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.1414(8); Roma N 1875.31(12)
EDIT-16 51232, USTC 762550

b) Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, [1509]. 12 leaves
Inspected copy: BAV R.I.IV.2121(2)
EDIT-16 51230, USTC 762549

c) Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, [1509]. 12 leaves
Inspected copy: Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria A.5.Tab.1.I.2.73/3
EDIT-16 54240, USTC 762650a

d) Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, [1509]. 10 leaves
Inspected copies: BSB Res/4 Eur. 330.23; BL 697.e.34
EDIT-16 77500, USTC 765068

e) [Rome, Eucharius Silber, 1509]. 8 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV Stamp. Ross. 4312(1); BSB J.can.f. 176
EDIT-16 54421, USTC 762662

f) [Rome, Eucharius Silber, 1509]. 8 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.961(3); Roma N 1875.31(11)
EDIT-16 43489, USTC 762407

g) [Nuremberg, Georg Stuchs, 1509]. 10 leaves
Inspected copies: BSB, J.can.f. 276.7; Res/4 A.gr.b. 1150
VD16 ZV 23163, USTC 676387

h) Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, 1509. 10 leaves
Inspected copy: Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
VD16 K 250, USTC 676386

Bebstliche vermanung widder die Venediger

i) Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, 1509. 16 leaves
Inspected copy: BSB J.can.f. 244b
VD16 K 253, USTC 615400

Die paepstlich büll, proceß, bann unnd anathema so unnser allerhailigister vatter Pabst Julius, wider das groß commun der Venediger

j) [Augsburg: Johann Otmar, 1509]. 10 leaves
Inspected copy: BSB Rar. 148
VD16 K 252, USTC 637011

k) [Augsburg: Johann Otmar, 1509]. 10 leaves
Inspected copy: BSB 2.J. can. F. 141
VD16 K 251, USTC 637012

La monicion, excommuniment, anathematisation et malediction contre les Veniciens

l) Lyon: Noël Abraham, [1509]. 8 leaves?
USTC 64980

m) [Paris: Michel Le Noir], 1509. 8 leaves
USTC 64981

Admonitione contra li Venetiani

n) [Ferrara?, s.n., 1509]. 8 leaves
Inspected copy: BL 8032.d.52
EDIT-16 43487, USTC 762406

1.4 BULL STRIPPING ALFONSO D'ESTE OF HIS DUKEDOM (9 August 1510)

Bulla Iulii II. Pont. Max. super privatione Alfonsi ducis Ferrariae

a) Rome: Jacobus Mazochius, 1510. 16 leaves.
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.961(4); R.I.IV.1414.(6); R.I.IV 2121(3); Roma N 1875.31(14)
EDIT-16 43492, USTC 762409

b) [Rome: s.n., 1510]. 10 leaves.
Inspected copy: BSB 4.J.can.f.158
EDIT-16 54129, USTC 762639

c) Bologna, s.n., 1510. 8 leaves
Inspected copy: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
EDIT-16 54038, USTC 762636

d) Venice: Franciscus Lucensis, [1510]. 10 leaves.
Inspected copy: BAV R.I.IV.1811(20)
EDIT-16 75196, USTC 763321

Summario dela scomunicha de Ferrara

e) [Rome?: s.n., 1510]. 4 leaves.
EDIT-16 71957, USTC 763117

1.5 Bull of Interdict against Milan (9 October 1510)

Bulla censurarum in singulos de consilio et interdicti generalis in ducatu mediolanensi ob occupationem ecclesiarum et aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, et fructuum eorundem indebitam sequestrationem, seu distributionem, laicali abusu e potentia factas

a) [Rome: Marcello Silber, 1510]. 6 leaves.
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.961(6); Casanatense Vol. Misc. 2059.14(14) (var)
EDIT-16 75197, USTC 763322

b) [Rome: Marcello Silber, 1510]. 4 leaves.
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.1811 (23); Roma N 1875.31(15).
EDIT-16 51272, USTC 762557

c) [Rome? s.n., 1510]. 4 leaves.
EDIT-16 76404, USTC 764261

d) [Rome, Eucharius Silber?, 1510]. 6 leaves.
Inspected copy: BL 697.f.39.
EDIT-16 76405, USTC 764262

e) Leipzig, Martin Landsberg, [1510]. 6 leaves.
Inspected copies: Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt; Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek, G/68/480
VD16 K 239, USTC 617357

1.6 Bull against Alfonso d'Este, Charles d'Amboise, and the Captains of French Army (14 October 1510)

Bulla declarationis incursus censurarum et penarum contentarum in bulla privationis Alphonsi Estensis tunc ducis Ferrariae, contra Magnificum dominum Carolum de Ambosia de Ciamonte magnum magistrum et nominatim contra reliquos capitaneos et *duces exercitus Christianissimi regis Francorum, et generaliter contra omnes qui in defensionem et auxilium dicti Alphonsi Estensi contra S. D. N. et sanctam Romanam ecclesiam militant, et eius terras et loca hostiliter invaserunt, et depredati sunt.*

a) [Rome, Marcello Silber, 1510]. 6 leaves.
Inspected copies: BAV. R.I.IV.961(5); Stamp.Ross.4314(1) (var); R.I.IV.1811(21) (var); Casanatense, Vol. Misc. 2059.14(15) (var)
EDIT-16 43491, USTC 762408

b) [Rome: Marcello Silber, 1510]. 4 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.1414(7); R.I.IV.1811(22); Roma N 1875.31(16)
EDIT-16 51276, USTC 762559

c) [Rome: Etienne Guillery, 1510]. 4 leaves
Inspected copy: BAV Stamp.Ross.4315(3)
EDIT-16 51371, USTC 762562

d) Venice: Franciscus Lucensis, 15 November 1510. 4 leaves.
Copies: BAV R.I.IV.1681(8), BL 1481.aaa.27.
Not in EDIT-16 nor in USTC

e) Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, [1510]. 6 leaves.
Inspected copy: Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
VD16 ZV 21528, USTC 617365

1.7 BULL AGAINST THOSE GIVING QUARTER TO REBELS (4 November 1510)

Bulla interdicti ecclesiastici contra receptatores rebelium et exititiorum terrarum Ecclesie infra quinquaginta miliaria a locis originis illorum distantibus per S. D. N. Iulium II. pont. max. edita.

a) [Rome, Marcello Silber? 1510]. 4 leaves.
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.1681(6); R.I.IV.1811(19)
EDIT-16 75195, USTC 763320

1.8 BULL RENEWING "EXECRABILIS" (1 July 1509)

Bulla innovans et confirmans constitutionem sive extravagantem Pii II contra appellantes ad futurum Concilium per s. dominum nostrum Iulium II Pont. Max. edita.

a) [Rome?: s.n., after 17 December 1510].[55] 4 leaves.
Inspected copies: S: BAV R.I.IV.1811(14); R.I.IV.961(8); Roma N 1875.31(13)
EDIT-16 51814, USTC 763320

b) [Rome?: s.n., after 17 December 1510]. 6 leaves.
Copy: BSB 4 J.can.f.166
Not in EDIT-16 nor in USTC

1.9 BULL *IN CENA DOMINI* (17 April 1511)

Bulla lecta in cena Domini continens multorum excommunicationes, suspensiones &c. per s. d. n. Iulium II pont. Max. edita et in calce eiusdem bulle executio.

a) [Rome or Bologna? : s.n., 1511]. 6 leaves.
Inspected copy: Roma N
EDIT-16 54211, USTC 836658

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2 Bulls Against the Pisan Council

2.1 BULL ANNOUNCING THE FIFTH LATERAN COUNCIL (18 July 1511)

Bulla intimationis generalis concilii apud Lateranum per s. d. n. Julium Papam II. edita

a) Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, 31 July [1511]. 10 leaves.
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV 2107(1); Roma N 1875.31(18) (var)
EDIT-16 13918, USTC 837537

b) Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, [1511]. 10 leaves.
Inspected copy: Roma N
EDIT-16 52714, USTC 837535

c) [Rome: Etienne Guillery?, 1511]. 8 leaves.
Inspected copy: Casanatense Misc. Rara 24
EDIT-16 13917(= 54246), USTC 837540 (= 837534)[56]

55 Includes notes on the circulation and public display of the document, the latest dated 17 December 1510.

56 Both in EDIT-16 and USTC the two different records refer to the same edition.

d) [Rome: s.n., 1511]. 10 leaves
Inspected copies: Roma N, Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria
EDIT-16 51298, USTC 837538

e) [Rome: s.n., 1511]. 8 leaves
Inspected copy: Pavia Biblioteca Universitaria
EDIT-16 77489, USTC 765058

f) [Rome: s.n., 1511]. 6 leaves
Inspected copy: Roma N
EDIT-16 59054, USTC 837536

g) Bologna: Benedictus Hectoris, 25 August 1511. 10 leaves.
Inspected copy: Bologna Comunale dell'Archiginnasio
EDIT-16 13915, USTC 837529

h) Venice: Gregorius de Gregoriis, [1511]. 8 leaves.
Inspected copy: BL 697.f.37
EDIT-16 13919, USTC 837539

i) Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, 1511. 10 leaves
Inspected copy: Berlin Staatsbibliothek
VD16 K 241, USTC 617371

j) [Nuremberg: Johann Weissenburger, 1511].[57] 8 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV Inc. V.110 (6) (*olim* R.I.V. 1344); R.I.IV.2116(4); BAV R.I.IV.1803(4) (var)
VD16 K 242, USTC 617369

k) Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea, 1511.
USTC 347569

Bolla de la notitia del concilio de Roma a Santo Joane Laterano, fata per el santissimo signor nostro Julio papa secundo.

57 This is a composite volume of seven Julian bulls having to do with the Pisan and Lateran councils, signed A-G^4, Aa^4 with the printer's colophon on sig. Aa4^v. The *Bulla intimationis* occupies quires A-B. Each subsequent bull fills a separate quire, and as they are more frequently found (and catalogued) separately than bound together, I list them as separate editions here.

l) Venice: s.n., after 4 October 1511.[58] 8 leaves.
Inspected copy: BAV R.I.IV 2107(2)
EDIT-16 13916, USTC 837533

Bulla der aussatzunge und verküdunge eins gemeynen concilii; so tzu Rhom in Sant Johan Lateran kirchen sall gehalten werden, durch unsern heyligisten vater Julium Babst den andern gemacht und ausgangen.

m) Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, 1512. 10 leaves
Inspected copy: Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek
VD16 ZV 15992, USTC 617366

n) Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, 1512. 8 leaves
Inspected copy: Zwickau, Ratschulbibliothek
VD16 ZV 8856, USTC 617367

2.2 Bull Warning Three Cardinals to Return to Obedience (28 July 1511)

Bulla monitorii apostolici contra tres reverendissimos cardinales ut redeant ad obedientiam S.D.N. pape ne scisma in ecclesia sancta dei oriatur

a) [Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi or Etienne Guillery, 1511]. 8 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.961(8b); Casanatense Vol. Misc. 2059.14(16); Roma N 1875.31(19); BSB 4 J.can.f 161 (var)
EDIT-16 51234, USTC 836659

b) [Rome: Marcello Silber, 1511]. 4 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV Stamp.Ross.4312(2); BSB 4 J.can.f. 162; BAV R.I.IV.1414(2) (var).[59]
EDIT-16 51283, USTC 83661

c) [Rome? s.n., 1511]. 4 leaves
Inspected copy: Parma, Biblioteca Palatina
EDIT-16 78982, not in USTC

58 EDIT-16 attributes this to Mazzocchi but the Venetian printer has copied the colophon from an earlier Mazzocchi edition. On fol. 8v is printed "concessa benigna licentia dal reverendissimo monsignor legato apostolico in Venesia. M.cccccxi. a di iiii. otobrio."

59 Woodcut *stemma* very similar, possibly identical, to that used in 1.1.b above, an edition signed by Beplin.

d) [Nuremberg: Johann Weissenburger, 1511]. 4 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV Incun.V.110(11) (*olim* R.I.V.1344); Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek 999/Patr.544k(2)
Not in VD-16 nor in USTC.[60]

e) [Nuremberg: Johann Weissenburger, 1511]. 6 leaves
Inspected copy: Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek B 999/Patr.544k(3)
Not in VD-16 nor in USTC.[61]

2.3 Bull of Privation against René de Pre (24 October 1511)

Bulla super sententia privationis Renati de Pria, olim Card. S.R.E. Bayocensis per S.D.N. facte in consistorio publico ad futuram rei memoriam

a) [Rome: Etienne Guillery?, 1511]. 12 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV Stamp.Ross.4312(3); R.I.IV.1414(5); Casanatense Misc Rara 23; Roma N 1875.31(24)
EDIT-16 50609, USTC 836665

2.4 Bull of Privation against the Three Cardinals (24 October 1511)

Bulla super sententia privationis in publico consistorio facte per S.D.N. contra D. Bernardum Carvaialem, Guillermum Brizonettum et Franciscum de Borgia olim S.R.E. cardinales ad futuram rei memoriam

a) [Rome: Etienne Guillery? 1511]. 12 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV Stamp.Ross.4312(4); R.I.IV.1414(1); Roma N 1875.31(23)
EDIT-16 51375, USTC 836664

b) [Rome: Etienne Guillery?, 1511]. 12 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.961(9b); Roma N 1875.31(22); Casanatense Misc. Rara 22
Not in EDIT-16 nor in USTC

60 This edition is signed C^4 and is likely part of the composite Weissenburger edition described in 2.1.j above. Facsimile at https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11301890_00002.html.

61 This edition, by the same printer as the previous (almost certainly Weissenburger), is signed A^6 and is unquestionably an independent edition: https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb11301895.html.

2.5 BRIEF TO THE CHRISTIAN PRINCES CONCERNING THE PRIVATION OF THE CARDINALS (24 October 1511)

Breve ad reges duces et principes christianos in quo continentur potiores (*licet plures sint alie*) *causae privationis cardinalium hereticorum scismatorumque*

a) [Rome:] Giacomo Mazzocchi, on or after 25 October 1511.[62] 4 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV, R.I.IV.1414(3); R.I.IV.961(9); R.I.IV.1811(15); Roma N 1875.31(20)
EDIT-16 51235, USTC 836655

b) [Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1511]. 2 leaves
Inspected copy: Roma N 1875.31 (21)
EDIT-16 51237, USTC 836657

c) [Rome: Etienne Guillery, 1511]. 2 leaves
Inspected copies: Casanatense Misc. Rara 55; BSB 4 J.can.f. 152.
EDIT-16 43495, USTC 836656

d) [Nuremberg: Johann Weissenburger, 1511]. 4 leaves.[63]
Inspected copies: Copies: BAV R.I.IV. 2116(3); Inc. V. 110(12) (*olim* R.I.V.1344)
Not in VD16 nor in USTC.

2.6 BULL OF WARNING TO BISHOPS OF FRANCE PARTICIPATING IN THE COUNCIL OF PISA (3 December 1511)

Bulla monitorii et declarationis incursus privationis et aliarum penarum contra prelatos gallice nationis hic expressos, qui intervenerunt in pisano conciliabulo cum scismaticis.

a) [Rome: Johannes Beplin or Marcello Silber?, 1511]. 6 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.961(10); Roma N 1875.31(25); BSB 4. Conc. 142 (var)
EDIT-16 51317 (= 43497), USTC 836662 (= 83663)[64]

62 Fol. 4v: "Nullus hoc Breve imprimere audeat nisi post diem Octava a kalendis Novembris computandam, sine licentia secretarii nostri domestici Sigismundi. De mandato prefati Magnifici domini Secretarii impressi ego Iacobus de Mazochis."

63 Signed F4. Likely part of the composite Weissenburger edition described in 1.10.j above.

64 Both in EDIT-16 and USTC the two different records refer to the same edition.

2.7 FINAL NOTICE TO CARDINALS AND BISHOPS OF FRANCE TO ATTEND THE LATERAN COUNCIL (13 April 1512)

Bulla ultima convocationis et invitationis cardinalium absentium et prelatorum gallice nationis, ad celebrationem concilii Lateranensis cum declaratione nullitatis gestorum per conciliabulum pisanum per s.d.n. Iulium II pontificem maximum edita

a) [Rome: Johannes Beplin? 1512]. 4 leaves.
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.1414(10); Roma N 1875.31(30) (var)
EDIT-16 13928, USTC 837554

b) [Rome: Marcello Silber? 1512]. 4 leaves
Inspected copy: Rome, Biblioteca dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana
EDIT-16 13929, USTC 837555

c) [Rome?: s.n., 1512]. 4 leaves
Inspected copies: Roma N, Bologna Biblioteca Universitaria
EDIT-16 51299, USTC 837556

d) [Nuremberg?: Johann Weissenburger? 1512]. 4 leaves
Inspected copy: BSB 4 Conc. 102
VD16 K 249, USTC 617382

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3 Bulls of Lateran V

3.1 BULL POSTPONING THE OPENING OF THE COUNCIL (17 April 1512)

Bulla prorogationis generalis concilii apud Lateranum

a) [Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi or Etienne Guillery?, 1512]. 2 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.2107(5); Roma N 1875.31(33)
EDIT-16 13920 (= 51381), USTC 837543 (= 837542)[65]

65 Both in EDIT-16 and USTC the two different records refer to the same edition.

3.2 BULL OF THE 2ND SESSION, CONDEMNING THE COUNCIL OF PISA (17 May 1512)

Bulla secunda sessionum in sacrosanctum concilii Lateran. approbans et renovans damnationem et reprobationem Pisani conciliabuli, et annulans omnia et singula in illo gesta et gerenda

a) [Rome: Marcello Silber, 1512]. 4 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.961(11b); Roma N 1875.31(34)
EDIT-16 13923, USTC 837548

b) [Rome: Marcello Silber, 1512] 4 leaves
Inspected copy: BAV R.I.IV 2107(9)
EDIT-16 13925, USTC 837547

c) [Rome: Marcello Silber, 1512]. 4 leaves
Inspected copy: BL
EDIT-16 65992, USTC 837550

d) [Rome: Marcello Silber, 1512]. 4 leaves
Inspected copy: Biblioteca dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana
EDIT-16 13924, USTC 837549

3.3 BULL OF INTERDICT AGAINST FRANCE (13 August 1512)

Bulla interdicti generalis in universo regno Francie et translationis nundinarum ex Lugduno ad civitatem Gebenensem ex causis in bulla contentis

a) [Rome: Johannes Beplin?, 1512]. 4 leaves
Inspected copy: BSB 4 J.can.f. 163
EDIT-16 43500, USC 836667

b) [Rome: Etienne Guillery?, 1512]. 4 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV.1414(4); BSB 4 J.can.f. 164
Not in EDIT-16, USTC?

3.4 BULL OF THE THIRD SESSION (3 December 1512)

Bulla tertiae sessionis habite in sacro sancto concilio lateranensi tertio nonis decembris MDXII pontificis sanctissimi D.N. Julii divina providentia papa II anno X

a) [Rome: Marcello Silber, 1512]. 4 leaves
Inspected copy: BAV R.I.IV.2107(10)
EDIT-16 13927, USTC 837552

b) [Rome: Marcello Silber?, 1512]. 4 leaves
Inspected copy: BAV R.I.IV.961(12)
Not in EDIT-16, nor in USTC

3.5 BULL OF THE FOURTH SESSION (10 December 1512)

Bulla quarte sessionis habite in sacrosancto concilio Lateranensi quarto idus decembris MDXII pontificatus s.d.n. domini Julii divina providentia pape secundi anno decimo

a) [Rome: Marcello Silber? 1512]. 4 leaves
Inspected copy: BAV R.I.IV.961(12b).
EDIT-16 13921, USTC 837545

b) [Rome: Marcello Silber? 1512]. 4 leaves
Inspected copy: BAV R.I.IV.2107(13)
EDIT-16 13922, USTC 837544

3.6 DECREE ISSUED IN THE FIFTH SESSION (16 Feb. 1512 (= 1513))

Julii secundi pontificis maximi decretum sanctissimum in quinta sessione sacri concilii Lateranensis de creatione summi pontificis approbatum

a) [Rome: Marcello Silber? 1513]. 6 leaves
Inspected copies: BAV R.I.IV. 2107(5); Stamp. Ferr. IV.8898(12); Roma N 1875.31(26) (var)
EDIT-16 13931 (= 13932 = 79204), USTC 837558 (= 8387559)[66]

3.7 DOCUMENT ISSUED IN THE FIFTH SESSION CONCERNING THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION (16 Feb. 1512 (= 1513))

Cedula quintae sessionis prorogationis in causis reformationis et pragmatice sanctionis habite in sacrosancto concilio Lateranensi quartodecimo kalendis martiis MDXII pontificis sanctissimi domini nostri d. Julii secundi anno X

a) [Rome: Marcello Silber? 1513]
Inspected copy: BAV R.I.IV.2107(15)
EDIT-16 13930, USTC 837557

66 In EDIT-16 the three different records refer to the same edition, in USTC the two different records refer to the same edition.

CHAPTER 13

Pictures and Power: The Visual Prints of Frans Hogenberg

Ramon Voges

On 19 February 1582, François-Hercule de Valois was inaugurated as the new duke of Brabant outside the city walls of Antwerp.[1] Subsequently, his ceremonial entry into the city took place.[2] The summer before, the States General of the Netherlands had declared that the previous duke of Brabant and sovereign of the Low Countries, Philip II of Spain, had forfeited his right to rule.[3] The States had justified Philip's deposition in the *Plakkaat van Verlatinge* by claiming he had violated the old liberties, privileges and rights of the provinces. In constructing this argument, the privileges of the duchy of Brabant from the year 1356 played a central role.[4] These privileges were called *Joyeuse Entrée* after the solemn entry ritual during which the new ruler had to swear to uphold them. The charter provided that a ruler could be deprived of his right to power if he acted contrary to them. The States General had finally decided to offer François-Hercule, brother to the king of France and already the duke of Anjou and Alençon, to become their new sovereign.[5] After nearly one hundred years, the Low Countries were once again ruled by a prince of the house Valois, the old rivals of the Habsburg dynasty.[6]

1 See Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots. The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 304–311. Some parts of this paper were first presented at the symposion of the Rijksmuseum in Antwerp in 2017, some at the trilateral conference Villa Vigoni, Italy, in 2018. For this volume they were extended and elaborated. I wish to thank all commentators.

2 For these rituals, consult Margit Thøfner, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2007), pp. 51–57.

3 For a critical edition of the Plakkaat, consult M.E.H.N. Mout (ed.), *Plakkaat van Verlatinge 1581. Faksimile-uitgave van de originele druk: 'Charles Silvius, Ghesworen Drucker der Staten 's Landts van Hollandt'. Inleiding, transcriptie en vertaling in hedendaags Nederlands* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1979).

4 Pieter A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de Pamfletten 1566–1584* (Utrecht: H&S, 1983), pp. 149–151.

5 For the negotiations with Anjou consult Mack P. Holt, *The Duke of Anjou and the Political Struggle During the War of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 128–140.

6 Holt, *The Duke of Anjou*, pp. 166–169.

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004448896_015

François-Hercule, or Anjou, as most of his contemporaries simply called him, was obliged upon his first official and peaceful entry into a city to swear to respect the rights and liberties that Philip was supposed to have broken. The deposition of the old sovereign and the founding of a new polity took place in the guise of old privileges, traditions and rituals.[7] It did not last long, as Anjou lost no time alienating large parts of the political elite. Just one year after his inauguration, dissatisfied with his limited power, Anjou attempted a coup d'état in Antwerp. He failed utterly. The violent episode in Antwerp became known as the French Fury, and Anjou fled the Low Countries in June 1583.

Ancient privileges and rituals had been at the centre of these conflicts ever since they began, yet in the last decades of the sixteenth century, something had changed fundamentally. For the first time in the history of the Low Countries, visual prints played a vital role in these struggles for power and authority.[8] As Alastair Duke has pointed out, prints conveyed not only news on the ongoing political and military conflicts, they also often advertised the arguments of the warring parties.[9] Print in general, with or without visual elements, was used on both sides to win over the public or to strengthen their support. Even by buying a pamphlet, contemporaries could underline their affiliation with the political viewpoint expressed in it as though pinning on a corresponding badge.[10] Print was especially crucial when and where direct face-to-face communication was too dangerous.[11] That is why the rebels made use of printed tracts, pamphlets and news sheets as a means of substituting direct interactions. While it took the Habsburg regime quite a long time to adjust to these new developments,

7 Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts and Civic Patriots*, p. 311; also Anne-Laure van Bruaene, 'Spectacle and Spin for a Spurned Prince. Civic Strategies in the Entry Ceremonies of the Duke of Anjou in Antwerp, Bruges and Ghent (1582)', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 11 (2007), pp. 262–284; Thøfner, *A Common Art*, pp. 125–141; as well as Emily J. Peters, 'Printing Ritual: The Performance of Community in Christopher Plantin's *La Joyeuse & Magnifique Entrée de Monseigneur Francoys … d'Anjou*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61:2 (2008), pp. 370–413.

8 Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012); Alastair C. Duke, 'Dissident Propaganda and Political Organization at the Outbreak of the Revolt of the Netherlands', in Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 137–156; Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 214–218.

9 Alastair C. Duke, 'Posters, Pamphlets and Prints: The Ways and Means of Disseminating Dissident Opinions on the Eve of the Dutch Revolt', in Pollmann and Spicer (eds.), *Dissident Identities*, pp. 157–177.

10 See Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 215.

11 See Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, p. 155.

recent research considers the new media to have been one of the driving forces of the Dutch Revolt.[12] Anjou's inauguration as well as many other rituals have already been examined by historians in this context.[13] By focusing on the visual representations of these rituals, this essay will analyse an aspect of the media war that is less studied: how visual images affected political discourse.

In the following, I will analyse how the visual reports of Frans Hogenberg represented three different events. As accounts of political, religious and military conflicts, I argue, Hogenberg's prints wielded power themselves and played a crucial role in the political communication on the Dutch Revolt. By emphasising, criticising or even refuting claims to power, they acted as power brokers as well. To develop my argument, I will briefly describe the corpus of the Hogenberg prints and the circumstances under which they were produced. Then I will analyse three of Hogenberg's prints concerned with events that contemporaries considered to be crucial moments in the Dutch Revolt and the Eighty Years War.[14]

Hogenberg's Visual Reports

The cartographer, etcher and publisher Frans Hogenberg left the Low Countries in the 1560s and settled in the Free Imperial City of Cologne at the end of the decade.[15] At that time, Cologne was a centre of the European book market not only for Catholic pastoral works and theology but also for irenicism.[16] While the Imperial city succeeded in remaining neutral in the ongoing conflicts in the neighbouring Low Countries, Hogenberg managed to build up a successful and flourishing workshop.[17] He contributed to most of the maps in Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* and made a fortune with a complementary project: the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, an atlas presenting views and maps

12 See e.g. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts and Civic Patriots.*

13 See Van Bruaene, 'Spectacle and Spin for a Spurned Prince'.

14 For an analysis of all of the Hogenberg prints, see Ramon Voges, *Das Auge der Geschichte. Der Aufstand der Niederlande und die Französischen Religionskriege im Spiegel der Bildberichte Franz Hogenbergs* (*ca. 1560–1610*) (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

15 Voges, *Das Auge der Geschichte*, pp. 38–53.

16 Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 257; Wilfried Enderle, 'Die Buchdrucker der Reichsstadt Köln und die katholische Publizistik zwischen 1555 und 1648', in Georg Mölich and Gerd Schwerhoff (eds.), *Köln als Kommunikationszentrum. Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Stadtgeschichte* (Cologne: DuMont, 2000), pp. 167–182.

17 Hans-Wolfgang Bergerhausen, *Köln in einem eisernen Zeitalter 1610–1686* (Cologne: Greven, 2010), p. 10.

of all the major cities in the world.[18] Its first edition appeared on the book market in 1572.[19] Apart from Hogenberg, his co-worker Simon van der Neuvel, or Novellanus, and the Cologne scholar and cleric Georg Braun were involved in its publication.[20] Throughout his career, Hogenberg showed no aversion to working together with partners across the widening confessional divides. Even though Hogenberg's attendance of some forbidden underground meetings of Lutherans had caused him problems with the city authorities of Cologne, he belonged to the very few immigrants from the Low Countries who were allowed to stay in the metropolis. After his death in 1590, his son Abraham took over the workshop and continued his father's work.

In 1570, a decade before Anjou swore the oath in Antwerp, Hogenberg had published three series of visual reports on the Conquest of Tunis by Charles V, the French Wars of Religion and the first years of the Dutch Revolt.[21] He continued to produce broadsheets depicting recent events, most of them concerning political and military conflicts in an area reaching from the Ottoman Empire to the British Isles. However, Hogenberg devoted about three quarters of his visual reports to the French Wars of Religion and the Dutch Revolt.[22] In addition to maps and city plans, Hogenberg's workshop published about 250 broadsheets during Frans's lifetime and another 170 under the guidance of his son Abraham. From 1570 to 1631, the workshop released approximately 420 visual reports. They were sold both as single broadsheets covering recent events and, later, as compiled series.[23]

Hogenberg's visual reports could be bought in his Cologne workshop, but, like other broadsheets, they were also offered for sale on the Frankfurt book

18 Modern editions of the *Civitates*: Raleigh Ashlin Skelton and A.O. Vietor (eds.), *Civitates Orbis Terrarum. 1572–1618. In Six Parts* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1965); a newer edition is available Stephan Füssel (ed.), *Städte der Welt – Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne: Taschen, 2008).

19 Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne: Philips Galle and Frans Hogenberg, 1572) USTC 622654.

20 Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, 'Introduction', in Skelton and Vietor (eds.), *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, I, pp. viii–xiv.

21 Fritz Hellwig (ed.), *Franz Hogenberg – Abraham Hogenberg. Geschichtsblätter* (Nördlingen: Verlag Dr. Alfons Uhl, 1983), pp. 1–10, pp. 18–51 and pp. 106–130.

22 For an overview Fritz Hellwig, 'Einführung', in Hellwig (ed.), *Geschichtsblätter*, pp. 32–43.

23 This becomes evident by studying the catalogues in Bernhard Fabian (ed.), *Die Messkataloge Georg Willers. Herbstmesse 1564 bis Herbstmesse 1573* (Hildesheim/New York: Olms, 1972), p. 366, 443, 506 and 531f.; additionally several different editions of the prints have survived, so that one can clearly distinguish between single broadsheets and different series, see Ursula Mielke and Ger Luijten (eds.), *Frans Hogenberg, Broadsheets. Vol. 2: Text* (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision, 2009).

fair and touted by itinerant tradesmen.[24] What distinguishes the Hogenberg prints from the vast majority of other contemporary accounts of the recent past is the emphasis they put on the visual depiction of the portrayed events.[25] Hogenberg had decided to etch the broadsheets. Since the manufacturing process of broadsheets with etched images was more complicated and time consuming than that of handwritten letters or printed news sheets, they could not be published as quickly as other news media.[26] Evidently, therefore, people did not buy the Hogenberg reports because they were looking for first-hand information. Sources like the family chronicle by the Cologne magistrate Hermann Weinsberg suggest that he purchased them instead because they offered the impression of viewing the actual events.[27] People like Weinsberg spent on average 2 Albus (the hourly wage of a craftsman in a free Imperial city) per sheet as they hoped to get a reliable and accurate depiction of the occurrences.[28]

Since political communication in the late sixteenth century relied heavily on direct face-to-face situations like ceremonies, rituals, plays or processions, Hogenberg's visual reports provided an opportunity not only to capture these ephemeral events, but also to comment on them from a distanced point of view. This raises the question of how Hogenberg and his co-workers represented acts of political communication in their visual prints.

Judicial Murder

To eradicate heresy, to break the opposition of the nobility and to restore order, Philip II pursued at first a strategy of exemplary punishments.[29] For this task he sent as his executioner Don Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the duke of Alba, to the Netherlands. Two prominent victims of this strategy were Lamoral, the

24 The first evidence concerning the Frankfurt book fair is *Die Messkataloge Georg Willers*, p. 366.

25 For the following see also Ramon Voges, 'Augenzeugenschaft und Evidenz. Die Bildberichte Franz und Abraham Hogenbergs als visuelle Historiographie', in Sybille Krämer, Sibylle Schmidt, and Ramon Voges (eds.), *Politik der Zeugenschaft. Zur Kritik einer Wissenspraxis* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2011), pp. 159–181.

26 For the printing process see Ad Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching 1400–2000. A History of the Development of Manual Intaglio Printmaking Processes* (Houten: Hes & de Graaf, 2012).

27 Manfred Groten (ed.), *Gedenkboich. Liber Senectutis* (Institut für geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande der Universität Bonn, n.d.), p. 589. Available online http://www.weinsberg.uni-bonn.de/.

28 Voges, *Das Auge der Geschichte*, p. 86, pp. 319–336.

29 Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, pp. 30–32.

FIGURE 13.1 Frans Hogenberg, *The Beheading of Egmond and Hoorn* (ca. 1570), etching
RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM RP-P-OB-78_463

count of Egmond, and Philippes de Montmorency, the count of Hoorn, both members of the Order of the Golden Fleece and descendants from the highest ranks of the nobility.[30] They were executed in Brussels on the Grand Place on 5 June 1567.

The corresponding Hogenberg print shows the scaffold located at the centre of the sheet. The executioner swings a sword back to behead Hoorn who is kneeling blindfolded on a cushion. Egmond's dead body is already hidden under a cloth at the left margin of the place of execution. Dignitaries are standing at the right upper corner of the scaffold. The square in front of Brussels' town hall is not taken up by the usual bystanders, but by Spanish *tercios*, identified as mercenaries of Philipp II by flags bearing the Burgundian St Andrew's cross. Their pikes and arquebuses frame the execution scene. Soldiers even fill the streets leading to the square. The ubiquity of the mercenaries creates an overwhelming effect. The only civilian spectators in the scene are found on the

30 For the following see Voges, *Das Auge der Geschichte*, pp. 234–238.

opposite side of the square above the arcades of the Brussels town hall, identified by the asymmetrical position of its tower.

The viewer watches the scene from a cavalier's perspective. He or she is positioned at the same height as the spectators standing on the town hall's balcony. This position creates the impression that the onlooker would watch the event from a window of one of the surrounding buildings. Yet the Brussels town hall faces the *Maison du Roi*. The building, commonly known as *Broodhuis*, served not only as the meeting place of several guilds but also housed the royal court. After Alba's mercenaries had brought Egmond and Hoorn to Brussels, they kept them imprisoned in that very building. The visual report positions its onlookers at the same spot where the *grand seigneurs* spent the last minutes of their lives before their execution. The beholder takes the place of the next convicts who would be led to the scaffold like Egmond and Hoorn. The free space in front of the wood structure contributes to the impression that it is the onlookers turn to ascend the scaffold next.

This integration of the audience is intensified by a rider on a horse who seems to look from the steps to the scaffold straight at the onlooker outside the picture. Hogenberg's visual report shows the rider as a viewer of the actual viewer. The onlooker is watched how he or she is watching the depicted occurrence. This eye contact positions the viewer as a part of the picture; the beholder is drawn right into the scene. The rider can be identified as Jan Grouwels, who was, because of his red wand of office, commonly known as Spell or Spelleken.[31] He was the provost of the marshal and thus concerned with administering justice. Many of Hogenberg's contemporaries disliked him for two reasons: he was considered to be cruel when prosecuting confessional dissidents and he had a reputation for arresting innocents in order to blackmail their families. In Hogenberg's print, Grouwel personifies a nefarious and ruthless officer of Alba, the 'Iron Duke'. In other words, the Hogenberg print expresses a situation of a twofold threat. On the one hand, Alba's mercenaries have replaced the citizens on the most important public space in Brussels. On the other hand, the visual report integrates the onlookers and threatens them with being the next to be executed.

The caption at the bottom of the sheet fosters this interpretation of the execution:

31 Alexandre Henne and Alphonse Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles. Tome premier, der Ausgabe von 1845* (Bruselles: Culture et Civilisation, 1968), p. 418.

> Private hate and old grudge, Thereof the Spaniards are full, Egmond and Hoorn, both from the Order [of the Golden Fleece, RV], Were murdered shamefully in Brussels, On June the fith day, Thousand, fivehundred and sixty eight, As soon was known, This is how their loyal help was rewarded.[32]

It asserts that the Spaniards were full of private hate and rancour. They dishonourably murdered the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, over whom Alba had no jurisdiction as they could normally only be judged by the chapter of the order. The caption suggests that Alba had not only illegally made an example of Egmond and Hoorn to warn the other members of the high nobility, but that he had also killed them out of personal dislike. While untrue, this argument was prevalent among Brussels burghers, as expressed, for instance, in the diary of Jan de Pottre.[33]

The *modus operandi* of ritual punishments like the public execution of Egmond and Hoorn aimed to reach a mutual agreement by violently excluding criminals from the body politic and by displaying this consent ostentatiously. Justice was not administered if no agreement between the authorities and their subjects could be reached. In this case, the punitive authorities appeared to be tyrannical because they offended the judicial fundament on which the political order relied.

The Hogenberg print exemplifies an extreme form of authority: autocratic rule in which every power broker is considered not a partner, but a rival for authority. Moreover, Hogenberg's depiction of the execution declares Egmond and Hoorn to be political martyrs. They died, the print insinuates, because they did not fight the Protestant movement vehemently enough, because they rebelled against the government by being moderate and by looking for compromise. This injustice falls back on Alba and his abetters. They have discredited themselves by their violent and tyrannical behaviour. With the execution of Egmond and Hoorn they show that the political system of mutual trust and reciprocal loyalty between sovereign and subjects has been violently abolished. The public beheading of Egmond and Hoorn was an attempt by Alba's regiment to re-establish the political order that had been disrupted by delinquents. Hogenberg transforms this demonstrative restoration of order into its

32 *Geschichtsblätter*, p. 118. All translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated. The end of a verse is indicated by comma.

33 Cf. Jan de Pottre, *Dagboek, 1549–1602. Naer het oorspronkelyk handschrift in de Koninglyke Bibliothkeet te Brussel berustende, Maetschappy der Vlaemsche Bibliophilen* (Ghent: C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1861), p. 30.

inverse: in fact, it is Alba and his Spaniards, the judge and his executioners, who disturb the political order, not their victims.

From *Postestas* to *Violentia*

The prints showing the subsequent Spanish military achievements in the Low Countries follow the same line of argument. This is evident especially in the case of exemplary punishments that affected entire cities. On 2 October 1572, after Alba had pursued William of Orange, the figurehead of the nobility's revolt against Alba's regime, the Spanish troops arrived at Mechelen.[34] A delegation of Mechelen's ruling elite welcomed the duke of Alba outside the city walls and submitted themselves in the name of the whole civil community. As the story goes, Alba ignored this sign of cooperation and decided to set yet another example: he allowed his troops to pillage the entire city, with the sole exception of the St. Rombouts Cathedral.

Two days later, he commissioned a broadsheet at the workshop of Christophe Plantin in Antwerp, justifying his course of action.[35] Since somebody had shot at him, Alba had no choice but to proceed militarily with the utmost severity ('par toute rigeur'). Every other city that would resist his troops and his authority would suffer the same fate. At Alba's request, Plantin produced just 150 copies of that broadsheet in Dutch and 100 copies in French.[36] In contrast to official announcements aiming at a public as broad as possible, Alba distributed the copies only among rebellious cities. That means the broadsheet not only justified Alba's sack of Mechelen: it also threatened all other civil communities and urged them to surrender to his rule. Initially his strategy was successful: the moment other cities heard that Mechelen was sacked, they sent delegations to Alba to capitulate in advance. Pillaging Mechelen and presenting its fate in print was just another form of exemplary punishment and therefore a convenient way of securing the recognition of his authority.

As in the case of Egmond and Hoorn, Hogenberg's workshop published a visual report of the sack, but this time shortly after the actual occurrence. The scenery can be divided into three sections. In the background, it shows how the Beggars under the *Prinsen-flag* are moving away from the city. In the middle ground, the beholder is looking at rows of houses, among them the

34 For the following see also Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, pp. 227–228.

35 *Declaration des ivste causes du saccaigement de la ville de Malines* ([Antwerp: Plantin]1572), USTC 4059.

36 Stensland, *Habsburg Communication*, pp. 58–59.

FIGURE 13.2 Frans Hogenberg, *The Sack of Mechelen* (ca. 1572), etching
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St. Rombouts Cathedral standing out as a prominent landmark. Its tower is jutting into the written name of the city. At the same time, the buildings form the backdrop for the different actions the beholder can make out. First, Alba's soldiers invade the city and begin to shoot. Then, they cross a bridge and enter the houses. The visual report shows the seizure of Mechelen as a transgression of boundaries; the city is deprived of being an enclosed, walled-in shelter. In the foreground, finally, the print depicts the extent and consequences of the sack of the city. A group of women and children is located in its centre. Their nudity implies the sexual violence they had to endure.[37] The position of the crying woman under the St. Rombouts Cathedral and the name of the city give the impression that the city is being personified.[38] Here, the mode of

37 For other depictions of rape as metonomy for the Dutch Revolt consult Amanda Pipkin, *Rape in the Republic, 1609–1725. Formulating Dutch Identity* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013).

38 For young women as personifications of cities see Thøfner, *A Common Art*, p. 55. For the complex interplay of bodies and allegorical personifications on stage: Sabine Schmitz, *La*

representation changes from realism to allegory. The message of the scene in the foreground, however, is verified by the topographical details in the middle ground: the army of Flanders raped the city of Mechelen.[39]

The caption consists of ten verses and an additional line providing the date of the seizure. The verses inform the audience about the immediate past before Alba had come to Mechelen and summarise what his troops did once they arrived: first, Alba seized the city of Mons, but then turned to Mechelen as it was held by the Prince of Orange. He allowed his soldiers to sack the city.[40] The caption locates the event in a temporal context and qualifies the deeds of Alba and the Army of Flanders as an overthrow of the civic polity.

The static picture creates temporality by showing different stages of the event in distinct spaces. As the eye of the beholder moves from one point to another, he or she gets the impression of watching an ongoing action. The spatial structure of the depicted city determines the temporal structure of the shown action. Additionally, the topographical details of the buildings offer a surplus that does not add anything to the narrative plot. For the actual sack visual details of the buildings are not important. However, this richness of details creates what Roland Barthes called a reality effect.[41] They connote, in other words, a mimetic representation of Mechelen. It is a rhetorical means of creating the illusion of realism.[42]

The combination of the temporal structure, the detailed topography and clearly identifiable actors – and their victims – presents the sack of Mechelen like a scene of a stage play.[43] In this case, the scene shows what is nowadays

Langue de Bruegel. Körper/Bilder als Chiffren Kultureller Identität im Französischsprachigen Theater der Spanischen Niederlande (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2011).

39 On the topoi of the *urbs capta* see Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts and Civic Patriots*, pp. 223–224. For iconographic traditions see for instance Neil Cox and Mark Greengrass, 'Painting Power: Antoine Caron's Massacres of the Triumvirate', *Past and Present supplement 7*, 214 (2012), pp. 241–274; Suzanne Boorsch, 'The Massacre of the Innocents after Francesco Salviati by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri', *Print Quarterly*, 16 (1999), pp. 266–273; Philippe Rouillard, 'Marc-Antoine Raimondi. Les Massacres Des Innocents', *Nouvelles de l'Estampe*, 179–180 (2001), pp. 13–32.

40 For this and the following quotes see *Geschichtsblätter*, p. 137: "Young and old had to live in despair as they all had to give their belongings to Alba".

41 Roland Barthes, 'Der Wirklichkeitseffekt', in *Das Rauschen der Sprache, Kritische Essays, IV* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2012), pp. 164–172.

42 Cf. additionally Gérard Genette, *Die Erzählung*, ed. Jochen Vogt, trans. Andreas Knop, 3., rev. a. corr. ed. (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2010), p. 106.

43 For the importance of theaters and stage plays see Anne-Laure van Bruaene, 'Harmonie et honneur en jeu: Les compétitions dramatiques et symboliques entre les villes flamandes et brabançonnes aux quinzième et seizième siècles', in Marc Boone (ed.), *Le verbe, l'image et les représentations de la société urbaine au Moyen Age. Actes du colloque*

called a 'massacre', a term coined in its modern sense in the second part of the sixteenth century.[44] Just one year after the fleet of the Holy League had secured a dashing victory against the Ottoman forces near Lepanto and just some weeks after the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in France, Hogenberg's visual report shows how a military inferiority was actually a moral superiority. His print gives its beholder the impression that he or she can watch with their own eyes the infamous actions of the Army of Flanders. At the same time, the visual rhetoric leaves no choice in which side to choose. The reality effect is therefore a subtle means of conveying a stereotyped image of Spanish soldiers. Hogenberg's visual report not only transferred the negative image of Alba to all mercenaries under Spanish command. It directly contradicts Alba's broadsheet and urges all other cities to close their gates in case Spanish soldiers are approaching.

Hogenberg's visual report about the sack of Mechelen was the first depiction of a massacre in the Low Countries.[45] In the course of the conflict, many sacks by the Army of Flanders were to follow, each represented in a print by Hogenberg's Cologne workshop.[46] Since Hogenberg omitted to represent how the rebels sacked cities, depicting massacres was a means of emotionally fostering the resistance against Spanish rule.

Joyous Entry

The *Joyous Entry* of Anjou as duke of Brabant was the first ritual entry of a new ruler into Antwerp since Philip II's 1549 *grand tour*.[47] It was modelled on the huge spectacle of the solemn rituals dating back to the reign of the Dukes of Burgundy in the late Middle Ages. These rituals used different media: speeches, music, *tableaux vivants*, theatre plays, processions and triumphal arches, and pictures. By the time of Anjou's *Joyous Entry*, both the seat of the States General and the residence of William of Orange were located in Antwerp. Hans Vredeman de Vries, a well-known artist, who was not suspected

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international tenu à Marche-en-Famenne du 24 au 27 Octobre 2001 (Antwerpen: Garant, 2002), pp. 227–238.

44 Cf. Ramon Voges, 'Macht, Massaker und Repräsentation. Darstellungen Asymmetrischer Gewalt in der Bildpublizistik Franz Hogenbergs', in Jörg Baberowski and Gabriele Metzler (eds.), *Gewalträume. Soziale Ordnungen Im Ausnahmezustand* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2012), pp. 29–69.

45 On earlier depictions of massacre see also Voges, *Das Auge der Geschichte*, pp. 301–303.

46 Cf. e.g. Ramon Voges, 'Macht, Massaker und Repräsentation'.

47 Cf. Bruaene, 'Spectacle and Spin', pp. 268–274.

FIGURE 13.3 Frans Hogenberg, *The Oath of Anjou* (ca. 1582), etching
RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM RP-P-OB-78_784-205

of being a religious or political radical and who was responsible for the fortifications of the city, prepared and conducted the *Joyous Entry*. Petrus Loyseleur de Villiers, William of Orange's court chaplain and one of the principal authors of the prince's *Apology*, had written the official book of commemoration.[48]

48 For the commemoration book cf. Helen Mary Carmichael Purkis (ed.), *La magnifique Entrée de François d'Anjou en la ville d'Anvers, facsimile reprint of the Antwerp edition from 1582 by Christopher Plantin, Renaissance Triumph*s (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976); for some cheaper and smaller reprints cf. *De blijde ende heerlijcke incomste van mijn-heer Franssois van Vranckrijck, … Hertogh van Brabant, van Anjou, Alensson, Berri, etc.in sijne zeer vermaerde Stadt van Antwerpen* (Antwerpen: Christoffel Plantijn, 1582), USTC 401946; *La ioyevse & magnifique entrée de Monseigneur Françoys de France … dvc de Brabant, d'Anjou, Alençon, Berri, &c. en sa tres-renommée ville d'Anvers* (Antwerpen: Christoffel Plantijn, 1582), USTC 4129; cf. Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) for an overview of the editions; for the *Apology* see esp. Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555–1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

On 22 February 1582, Anjou took an oath before the newly restored city hall of Antwerp to uphold every privilege and liberty mentioned in the so-called *Blijde Inkomst* charter of 1356.[49] If he did not act according to them, he would have forfeited his right to rule. Like the print about the sack of Mechelen, Hogenberg had printed the corresponding visual report shortly after the event.[50] The beholder looks from a perspective at the side of a stage, a *tableau vivant* and some spectators. In the middle of the picture, there are members of the civic militia, one of them holding up his hand in order to swear. In the background the façade of the restored city hall and another line of houses can be seen.

Hogenberg's picture shows several allegories and symbols that were utilised during the solemn ritual. The *tableau vivant* portrays the Maid of Antwerp as a personification of the city. The virtues *fortitudo* and *prudentia* are attributed to her. Concord sits enthroned behind *offensio* and *defensio*. She holds a pennant with wolf and lamb, the other two a pennant with pelican and with chick and hen.[51] The Maid of Antwerp faces Anjou at eye level. His accession to power is represented as a marriage between city and ruler. The stage on which Anjou is taking his oath – in front of the civic community as well as William of Orange and the city magistrates – looks like a triumphal arch. In the relief on their left side an eagle and the *leo belgicus* symbolise Anjous power, on the right side a cockerel sitting on a hen stands for vigilance and an ox bearing a yoke symbolises obedience.[52] In the foreground, members of the newly installed civic militia are standing with their banner as if to underline the defensibility of Antwerp.[53]

In Hogenberg's visual report, Anjou is neither the absolute ruler nor a person to worship and admire, but a partner in a legal contract based on mutual acknowledgement. The confident burghers of Antwerp owe him obedience and fealty only inasmuch as he fulfills their expectations: Anjou has to uphold their documented rights and liberties. He has to defend them militarily and save the city from harm. He has to act not only prudently and boldly, but also

49 See Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts and Civic Patriots*, pp. 311–318.

50 *Geschichtsblätter*, p. 233.

51 For a contemporary description of the wagon cf. *La ioyevse & magnifique entrée*, 36f.; for the iconography cf. Frank Deisel, 'Der Löwe, Die Kuh, Der Garten und der Orangenbaum. Zur Politischen Ikonographie der Niederländischen Gesellschaft und des Hauses Oranien', in Horst Lademacher (ed.), *Onder den Oranje Boom. Textband: Dynastie in der Republik. Das Haus Oranien-Nassau als Vermittler niederländischer Kultur in deutschen Territorien im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Hirmer, 1999), pp. 117–136.

52 The Latin inscriptions emphasise that Anjou was longed for and that God would prize these provinces that were given a just ruler, cf. again *La ioyevse & magnifique entrée*, p. 51.

53 For the organisation of the militia cf. Thøfner, *A Common Art*, pp. 126f.

selfless in the interest of the city. He has to solicit Antwerp's approval and win the burgher's favour. With his oath he expresses that he accepts these conditions, bearing witness in front of all the people present. Altogether they establish the new political order with Anjou at its top.

The print by Hogenberg dissolves the temporal and spatial boundaries of this ephemeral occurrence. It extends not only the range of the face-to-face medium *Joyous Entry* but also transcends the act of bearing witness among the people present. The print makes the occurrence permanent. In other words, Hogenberg's visual print puts more pressure on Anjou to live up to expectations. By showing how Anjou takes his oath, the beholder becomes a witness. As in the print about the execution of Egmond and Hoorn, the viewer takes part in the event, but this time he or she is establishing a new political order. Hogenberg's visual report adds and extends the original ephemeral face-to-face medium, and acts as its broker in bringing it to a far larger public.

Hermann Weinsberg, a Cologne burgher and long-time member of the city's magistrate, was one of the buyers of Hogenberg's prints.[54] He kept a personal chronicle in which he noted family affairs as well as major political events.[55] In one of his entries, he explains that on 23 March 1583 he had bought six prints made in Hogenberg's workshop for 12 Albus.[56] Weinsberg's entry is not only revealing because it gives crucial information about prices: Hogenberg's visual prints were sold for the standard business prices for single broadsheets.[57] It also reveals how a member of the urban elite of a Free Imperial city read Hogenberg's prints just one year after Anjou was inaugurated and took his oath in Antwerp. This moment is especially informative since, in the meantime, Anjou had become tired of the limitations of his authority and of the missing support from the northern provinces of the Low Countries. He had tried to seize power in Antwerp but his coup failed and he was driven out of the city.[58] Shortly before Weinsberg bought the six Hogenberg prints, Anjou had left the Low Countries for good.

54 For Weinsberg see the collective volume edited by Manfred Groten (ed.), *Hermann Weinsberg (1518–1597). Kölner Bürger Und Ratsherr. Studien zu Leben und Werk* (Cologne: SH-Verl., 2005).

55 For Weinsberg's process of gathering news and taken note of them see Eva-Maria Schnurr, '"Jedem anbringer gleub ich so bait nit". Informationsbeschaffung und Mediennutzung des Kölner Bürgers Hermann Weinsberg während des Kölner Kriegs (1582 bis 1590)', *Geschichte in Köln*, 56:1 (2009), pp. 171–206.

56 Manfred Groten (ed.), *Gedenkboich. Liber Senectutis* (Institut für geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande der Universität Bonn, n.d.), f. 396v–397r; for the prints cf. *Geschichtsblätter*, pp. 228, 231–233 and 237f.

57 See Duke, 'Posters, Pamphlets and Prints', p. 170.

58 Cf. for instance Hogenberg and Hogenberg, *Geschichtsblätter*, p 238.

In his entry, Weinsberg gives a short report on what he had learned from the prints: First the burghers of Antwerp had paid homage to Anjou. But as he tried to take the metropolis by force, he was expelled from the city. Weinsberg was satisfied with this development. He interprets the Hogenberg prints in the sense of self-confident civic republicanism: 'These sheets warn everybody not to trust foreign princes and they show what burghers can achieve if they stand united and stick together in concord'.[59] This is an interpretation of the events by Weisenberg, a proud burgher and member of the civic magistrate of a Free Imperial City who refuses to tolerate any interference of foreign powers into the internal affairs of independent cities.

Conclusion

Hogenberg's visual reports played an important role in political communication during the Dutch Revolt. The prints informed politically interested contemporaries like Hermann Weinsberg about recent events and developments in the struggle for power and authority. I have covered two principal issues in this essay: how the Hogenberg prints subverted legitimate *potestas* into illegitimate *violentia* on the one hand, and how the protagonists tried to re-establish a peaceful and functional polity on the other.

The visual reports by Hogenberg's Cologne workshop not only represented other media, especially the ostentatious rituals, but they also reacted to them, for instance in the case of the printed account of the sack of Mechelen. They acted as a broker of these mostly ephemeral media and emphasised, criticised or even inverted their political messages. By showing the occurrences either as a play on a stage or by integrating the viewer in the depicted scene, they appealed to the feelings of the beholder. At the same time, the Hogenberg prints addressed widely shared attitudes and opinions, for example by stressing the point of view of a proud civic community or accusing Alba of judicial murder. Although the visual reports look like factual and realistic representations, they make clear which side to choose in the ongoing conflicts. Both as news agents and as conveyors of messages they exercised power themselves, fostering support for the Dutch Revolt.

59 *Liber Senectutis*, fol. 397r.

CHAPTER 14

Collecting '*Toute l'Angleterre*': English Books, Soft Power and Spanish Diplomacy at the *Casa del Sol* (1613–1622)

Ernesto Oyarbide Magaña

During the summer of 1592, the Spanish-based English College of St. Alban was honoured by an important guest.[1] While conducting an official visit to Valladolid, King Phillip II called at the college in early August. He was received in great style by the rector and its students, who delivered welcome addresses in different languages as part of the entertainment.[2] A witness account of the day, published by the Jesuit Robert Parsons, related how the first student salutations were in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, all to the great enjoyment of the attendants.[3] After these salutations, speeches followed in languages far less familiar to the Spanish court: English, Welsh and 'Scotish', a language that was 'comonlie used in the courte and better parte of Stotland [sic]' and was 'not much different from the Inglis'.[4] Perhaps overly conscious of how strange these languages might sound to Spanish listeners, Parsons added that the remarks were brief and accompanied by ample gesticulation. It suggests that this audience was more accustomed to Hebrew, Greek and Latin. One can find further confirmation in the Jesuit's report, when he stated that just after the delivery of speeches in languages of the British Isles, deemed 'barbarous and peregrine to spanish eates', there followed 'other three that were presupposed to be understood by all or the most parte of them that were present'.[5] In this

1 This article was written with the support of the I + D + i Research Project "Poder y representaciones culturales en la época moderna: agentes diplomáticos como mediadores culturales de la Edad Moderna (siglos XVI–XVIII)" funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (MICINN) (Reference: HAR2016-78304-C2-2-P).

2 For more information about this visit, see Michael Williams, *St. Alban's College Valladolid: Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986). Also see Ana Sáez Hidalgo and Berta Cano-Echeverría (eds.), *The Fruits of Exile: Emblems and Pamphlets from the English College at Valladolid* (2 vols., Valladolid: Trustees of the Royal English College, 2009).

3 Robert Parsons, *A Relation of the King of Spaines Receiving in Valliodolid* ([Antwerp: Coninx], 1592), USTC 412829, pp. 32–36.

4 Parsons, *A Relation*, p. 40.

5 Parsons, *A Relation*, p. 41.

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particular case, he was referring to French, Italian and Spanish. While reading the Spanish translation of Parsons's report, one can observe a stronger feeling of disdain. Indeed, whereas in the English version it was simply remarked that French, Italian and Spanish were languages understood by all, the Spanish translator added a very colourful note: 'After the delivery of speeches in these strange and vulgar tongues, there followed others more courtly and placid'.[6]

During the early modern period, it is difficult to find Spanish opinions about the 'tongues' spoken in the British Isles, or Spanish perceptions of English culture in particular.[7] Parsons's account helps us to understand the cultural disconnect between Spain and England during the sixteenth century, after years of confrontations between Philip II and Elizabeth I.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, diplomatic ties gained renewed strength with the accession of James Stuart to the throne and the signing of the peace treaty of London in 1604. However, enmities ran deep, and Spain's cultural estrangement from England changed very little. Over the past decades, Anglo-Spanish scholars have taken great care to analyse the cultural side of the period's political events.[8] They have emphasised the ambivalence that characterizes England's reception of Spanish culture.[9] There is a reason for that ambivalence. During the period, the Hispanic Monarchy exercised great political power. As a result, it became a source of suspicion for other European polities.[10] Yet while the Spanish Crown inspired feelings of distrust, it also elicited admiration, if not envy. Distrust of Spanish culture therefore often went hand in hand with imitation and cultural transfer. English statesmen had to

6 Robert Parsons, *Relacion de un Sacerdote Ingles*, trans. by Pedro Madrigal (Madrid: Madrigal, 1592), USTC 338849, f. 49v: '[D]espués destas tres lenguas vulgares y estrañas, se siguieron otras tres más apacibles y políticas'. All translations are my own, unless indicated otherwise.

7 For a brief summary of Anglo-Spanish cultural relations over the past centuries, see Fernando Bouza, *Anglo-Hispana: Cinco Siglos de Autores, Editores y Lectores entre España y el Reino Unido* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2007).

8 Among these studies, one can cite Jocelyn Hillgarth *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000); Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Alexander Samson (ed.), *The Spanish Match*: *Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); John Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Anne Cruz (ed.), *Material and Symbolic Circulations between Spain and England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) and Barbara Fuchs, *Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

9 See Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy*.

10 See John Elliott, 'Learning from the Enemy', in *Spain, Europe and the Wider World, 1500–1800* (London: Yale University Press, 2009). p. 29.

set aside any misgivings they might have about Spain and accept that a good command of Spanish was essential for the surveillance of an ever-expanding power, and useful for emulating its strategies.[11] From the 1590s onwards, Spanish became a fashionable language in England, and more dictionaries began to be published.[12] Spanish tracts from the Iberian Peninsula were highly esteemed by Protestant divines for the purpose of controversy. Spanish works were in demand by literary authors seeking admirable stories to imitate and were acquired by sailors and natural philosophers for information about the "New World" overseas. From William Cecil and John Donne to Francis Drake and Richard Hakluyt, courtiers collected Spanish books.[13]

Despite extensive scholarly work to date, the evaluation of premodern Spanish views about England still requires further research. This might not be due to a lack of scholarly concern, but rather the result of having a smaller number of documented examples to work with. Indeed, fewer cases are known of Spaniards learning English or acquiring English books, and they seldom travelled to England except on official business or as prisoners of war. For essential information, the Spanish court relied heavily on the testimony of English exiles and their own envoys.[14]

It is within this context of asymmetrical cultural exchange that the library of Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, first count of Gondomar, gains great relevance.[15]

11 See John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604–1667* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 233–259.

12 Good examples are John Minsheu's *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (1599) and his *A Spanish Grammar, and Pleasant and Delightful Dialogues in Spanish and English* (1599). Nonetheless, as John Stoye remarks, most of the 'Hispaniolised' English courtiers never came to assume that Spanish, unlike French or Italian, was a language that gentlemen should learn to speak, despite a few colloquial phrases used every now and then in personal letters, plays or diplomatic reports. See Stoye, *English Travellers*, pp. 233–259.

13 Stoye, *English Travellers*, p. 235. Also see Gustav Ungerer, *Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature* (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1956).

14 Whenever the Spanish needed to conduct any transaction in English or decipher an English message, they would resort to 'Hispaniolised' English men, normally Catholic clerics and lay people but also merchants who could translate for them. See Elliott, 'Learning from the Enemy', p. 45.

15 Although Sarmiento was given the title of first count of Gondomar by Philip III only in 1617, this article, for the sake of clarity, will refer to him as 'Gondomar' regardless of the year. Unless otherwise stated, I will use the Gregorian Calendar, or new style, for all documents. The books, prints and manuscripts held in Madrid's *Real Biblioteca* will be cited with the abbreviation 'RB'. The dates and publishing places provided in parentheses for books discussed in this article correspond to the copy analysed at the Gondomar library (when available), and do not necessarily indicate the first time or place the book was published. For example, Gondomar had a copy of Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia* (Basel, 1570), even though the first edition was published in 1534 in that same city.

Gondomar is known for his notable role as the Spanish ambassador to London in the early seventeenth century (1613–1622).[16] The library in his house in Valladolid, which came to be known as the *Casa del Sol*, has also been praised as one of the richest repositories of early modern books in Spain. However, these two accomplishments are rarely considered together. This chapter will offer new insights into Gondomar's library within the context of his embassy to England. It will argue that Gondomar and his household often acquired English documents as part of the embassy's intelligence strategies. By examining the English sources at the *Casa del Sol*, this chapter aims to illustrate the political values that early modern ambassadors could ascribe to the collecting of local documents, such as portraits, maps, intercepted letters, manuscript reports and books. When compared to other language groups in Gondomar's collection, the small assortment of English items might seem less important. However, close analysis will show that Gondomar's documentary practices went beyond a mere collector's whim.

In recent decades, scholars have shifted the history of the book from its early focus on printed objects towards an all-encompassing study of the history of information, communications and media in its multiple forms and its multiple uses. As Elizabeth Yale noted, the field has opened new ways of thinking about major historical trends: the rise of national identities, the development of public and private spheres, the global entanglement between actors and institutions and the ever-increasing emphasis on data in what some have come to deem the 'knowledge economy'.[17] This chapter's analysis of the Gondomar library speaks to these interests.

'Une bibliotheque fort complete pour un gran seigneur'

Once deemed by John Elliott as the 'greatest specialist in English affairs' of the Hispanic Monarchy, Gondomar became one of the most important conduits of English news to Madrid during the Anglo-Spanish peace that lasted from 1604 to 1625.[18] He was appointed Spanish ambassador to London in 1612 and arrived in Portsmouth on July 1613. For the following ten years, Gondomar played an

16 Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955), p. 222; Miguel Ochoa Brun, *Historia de la Diplomacia Española* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1990–2006), VII, p. 84.

17 Elizabeth Yale, 'The History of Archives: The State of the Discipline', *Book History*, 18:1 (2015), p. 333.

18 John Elliott and José Peña (eds.), *Memoriales y Cartas del Conde Duque de Olivares* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2013), pp. 103–105.

important part in the furthering of English Catholicism and the prevention of privateering in the Americas. He also worked to maintain England's neutrality during the first stages of the Thirty Years' War by negotiating the marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Spanish *Infanta*. The highly exceptional survival of his library has also contributed to his notoriety amongst historians.

Gondomar's library is now mostly housed in Madrid's Royal Library.[19] Comprising around 6,500 items, it is one of the most important Spanish collections of early modern documents in different languages: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, Italian, French and English. The collection also includes around 18,000 letters, which were bound into books and incorporated into the library by the count's secretaries. With more than 400 relevant items, it is probably the richest Spanish holding of early modern English documents in the form of books, manuscripts, maps and printed portraits.[20] As we shall see, many of these items can be better understood in the context of Gondomar's diplomatic activities.

In an article focused on Renaissance libraries, Jeremy Lawrance traces the development of the Gondomar library and explains how the count gradually changed his book-collecting hobby into a much more systematic enterprise after moving into his Valladolid house in 1598.[21] That year marks the first time he issued a catalogue that comprised 677 titles in 720 volumes.[22] Over the following decades the library project was augmented with dedication. In

19 In its final form, the Gondomar library held twice the number of items than the private library of the Count-Duke of Olivares and the library of Philip IV in the Alcázar, each holding around 3,000 items. Most of Gondomar's collection is now kept in the *Real Biblioteca* in Madrid. Still, a good number of documents are also held in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* and the *Archivo General de Simancas*. Some items from the collection are now lost, but thanks to a library catalogue produced in 1623 we can still ascertain their past existence. For a more detailed understanding about the history of the Gondomar library, see Ian Michael and José Ahijado, 'La Casa del Sol: La Biblioteca del Conde de Gondomar en 1619–23 y su Dispersión en 1806', in María Luisa López-Vidriero and Pedro M. Cátedra (eds.), *El Libro Antiguo Español, III: El Libro en Palacio y otros Estudios Bibliográficos* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1996), pp. 185–200.

20 It is important to note that some titles were bound together into compendia, hence the difference between book titles and library items, especially in the case of manuscripts, portraits and maps. For a detailed list of Gondomar's English printed books in English and a cursory description of his English manuscripts, see 'Ex Bibliotheca Gondomariesi. Libros en Inglés', *Avisos de La Real Biblioteca* <https://avisos.realbiblioteca.es/index.php/Avisos/article/view/746> [accessed 17 March 2021].

21 Jeremy Lawrance, '"Une Bibliothèque fort complète pour un Grand Seigneur": Gondomar's Manuscripts and the Renaissance Idea of the Library', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 81:7–8 (2004), pp. 1071–1090.

22 RB II/2222, f. 112–133v.

this respect, Gondomar's diplomatic mission proved important in the final organisation of his library. The examination of archival sources at the *Casa del Sol* shows that the Spaniard acquired a substantial collection of English documents during his embassy in London. Numerous dispatches confirm that, from 1619 to 1622, he sent many of these to Valladolid.

Until today, no substantial effort has been made to study Gondomar's collecting activities as part of his diplomatic strategy. A prominent example of this kind of tactic can be first found in one of the most notorious anti-Spanish pamphlets that circulated in London during the early 1620s. In the *Vox Populi* series, the Protestant preacher Thomas Scott takes issue with Gondomar's collecting practices, transforming this apparently private pastime into a matter of state when he makes a fictional Gondomar say that:

> I have made it a principall part of my imployment, to buy all the manuscripts & other ancient and rare Authors out of the hands of the Heretiques, so that there is no great Scholler dies in the land, but my Agents are dealing with his bookes […] for I would labour what I might this way or any other way to disarme them.[23]

Scott's accusations were not groundless. While in London, Gondomar acquired books on English history, laws, customs, geography and travels, among other subjects. He also established a network of informants that kept him updated about events and helped him intercept letters from English officials. The *Casa del Sol* today still holds important documentary traces attesting to these activities.

An important detail for this chapter is that the assembling of the papers in Gondomar's library was influenced by various actors beyond the official owner. Within this perspective, a study of the Spanish embassy's household gains relevance. This is important, for instance, when it comes to Gondomar's knowledge of languages. Most scholars are of the opinion that he did not know English; and in the absence of any marginalia in his English books it is very difficult to claim otherwise. Hillgarth does claim that Gondomar learned to read and speak the language, but he does not provide substantial evidence for this statement.[24] This chapter contemplates the possibility, but also highlights

23 Thomas Scott, *Vox Populi, or Newes from Spayne* ([London: s.n.,]1620), USTC 3009305, f. D1r. Consulted via Early English Books Online <https://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2264192256> [accessed 17 March 2021].

24 Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain,* p. 458. For a document showcasing the Spanish ambassador's use of French and Latin, along with a clumsy attempt at English, see Gondomar's letter to the duke of Buckingham in Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*, pp. 171–173.

that, regardless of the case, Gondomar could have access to important English texts with the help of his language secretaries, who regularly dealt with many English peers and the Privy Council. Translation was a regular task at the Spanish embassy. Gondomar's library has mostly preserved Spanish versions of correspondence with English peers. Still, every now and then, one can find an English original with its Spanish copy preserved in the library's letterbooks, as is the case with an undated letter sent by Prince Charles to the count where he mentions his desire for a Spanish bride.[25]

Moreover, while in London, Gondomar acquired a good number of English books written in Latin and English. When needed, he could have accessed these sources with the help of his language secretaries. As Kevin Sharpe and others have pointed out, during the early modern period, the act of "reading" was constituted by a variety of practices other than the silent and personal activity we take for granted.[26] For instance, having a servant read to auditors was common in aristocratic circles.

In addition to providing translations, servants also played an important part in the upkeep of their master's library. From very early on, Gondomar enlisted the aid of his loyal Spanish steward, Diego de Santana, to help him with the purchase, cataloguing, and arrangement of his library in Valladolid. He also assigned its care to the German bibliographer, Stephan Eussem, who met Gondomar in London and followed him back to Spain at the end of his first embassy in 1618. During 1619, Eussem stayed at the *Casa del Sol* and started organising Gondomar's documents, which arrived from London through Bayona in Galicia.[27] In a letter dated 16 January 1618, Eussem recommends Gondomar to obtain a series of books that had been published since the start of his London embassy. Among these, the Plantin Polyglot Bible and 'les historiens Latins & grecs qu'y manquent'. Eussem also recommends Gondomar to purchase many volumes of Theodor de Bry's *Historiae India Orientalis*. The bibliographer considered these acquisitions important given that Gondomar's collection already held all the volumes of De Bry's *India Occidentalis*, or 'toute l'amerique' in Eussem's words.[28] Moreover, the bibliographer mentions the absence of Diego de Yepes's *Historia Particular de la Persecucion de Inglaterra* in the library and proposes to buy a copy. According to Eussem, acquisitions like these would allow everyone to claim that the *Casa del Sol* had 'une

25 See Prince Charles' letter to Gondomar, undated in RB II/2191, docs. 9 and 10.

26 For more information about early modern reading practices, see Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

27 Michael and Ahijado, 'La Casa del Sol: La Biblioteca del Conde de Gondomar', p. 188.

28 RB II/2134, doc. 94.

bibliotheque fort complete pour un gran seigneur'.[29] The bibliographer's letter suggests that Gondomar's collection had a specific strategy when it came to the acquisition of classical histories, books on the Americas and, more importantly for this article, books on the history of England.

For most of 1619, Eussem lived in Valladolid. However, he could not finish the library's inventory, as he had to depart to London again with the count in November of that year. In 1622, just as he completed his embassy, Gondomar brought more books and papers. He also enlisted Henry Taylor, one of the Spanish embassy's language secretaries, to finish what Eussem had started. In a letter dated 17 December 1622, Taylor makes some remarks about the library's contents:

> In truth, sir, there are too many books in Italian, and some of these are in duplicate 6 or 8 times. This is the case of Guicciardini's *History* and others. I have also found the Commines here in Italian, Latin, French and English; and your excellency has also many English books, and these are some of the best I have seen in history and other disciplines.[30]

Taylor would produce the final catalogue of the Gondomar library in 1623.[31] This inventory divides the library into different categories according to the item's language, its subject and format (e.g. printed or manuscript). The distribution starts with a listing of printed books according to a language hierarchy, with a priority given to those languages in which God revealed himself to the world. First come the printed books in Hebrew, which do not contain enough items to have subsequent sections. Then come the books in Greek, with five sections (Church fathers, histories, philosophy, poetry and Greek vocabularies). Third on the list are the printed books in Latin, a category containing forty sections. These eminent languages of classical knowledge are then followed by Spanish (twenty four sections), Portuguese (seven sections), Catalan, Italian (eighteen sections), French (four sections) and finally English, with four sections: history books, books 'on divine things', books on 'poetry, statutes and

29 RB II/2134, doc. 94.

30 *Biblioteca Nacional* (henceforth BN), MSS 18430 (4), f. 30r–v: 'Cierto tiene vuestra señoría muchissímos italianos y ay alguno de ellos pienso 6 ó 8 vezes duplicados, como es la Historia de sus tiempos, de Guicciardino y otros. Al Comines hele hallado aquí en italiano, latín, francés y ynglés; y libros también yngleses tiene vuestra señoría muchos, y los mejores que he visto tanto de históricos como de otros'.

31 The library is now studied through this catalogue, produced three years before Gondomar's death in 1626. See BN, MSS 13593 and MSS 13594. This article will use the '1623 Catalogue' abbreviation to cite items from the Gondomar library. An online version of the catalogue is also available: 'Inventario de La Biblioteca Gondomar (1623)', *Real Biblioteca* <https://inventarios.realbiblioteca.es/inventario> [accessed 17 March 2021].

other matters' and, finally, vocabulary books and dictionaries.[32] After this listing, the 1623 catalogue continues with a detailed inventory of manuscripts acquired by the count and bound together in books, which are again sorted by language and enumerated according to their amount. First come those works in Spanish, which constitute the majority of the group and are the only ones divided in thirteen sections. Then come the manuscripts in Latin, Italian, English and finally those in French, which constitute the smallest group.[33]

Collecting English Histories, Religious Tracts and Travelogues

The 1623 catalogue of the Gondomar library shows that Yepes's *Historia Particular de la Persecucion de Inglaterra* (1599) was eventually acquired and inventoried. The library also included Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Historia Eclesiástica del Cisma del Reino de Inglaterra* (1588–1594) and Antonio de Herrera's *Historia de la Reina Maria de Escocia* (1589).[34] When it came to learning about the history of England, most Spaniards from the period would usually resort to these Spanish sources.[35] In this respect, Ribadeneyra's work had a prominent role. As Freddy Domínguez has remarked, the *Cisma* was first published in 1588 across the most important printing centres of the Iberian Peninsula: Barcelona, Madrid, Zaragoza and Lisbon. It was also published at the Plantin Press in Antwerp. Moreover, royal support for this book was signalled by the inclusion of the Habsburg crest on the first pages.[36] However, from a historical point of view, these three histories had their limitations. In the case of Ribadeneyra's book, when it came to Spanish views on England, there was a propensity to conflate civil and ecclesiastical matters: the *Cisma* commented on recent Tudor history by denouncing Henry VIII's break from Rome and Elizabeth I's actions against English Catholics. Catherine of Aragon, Mary Tudor and Mary Stuart, in contrast, figure as saintly queens who had to

32 See 'Ex Bibliotheca Gondomariesi. Libros en Inglés', *Avisos de La Real Biblioteca* <https://avisos.realbiblioteca.es/index.php/Avisos/article/view/746> [accessed 17 March 2021].

33 See Andrés Escapa and José Luis Rodríguez, 'Manuscritos y Saberes en la Librería del Conde de Gondomar', in María Luisa López-Vidriero (ed.), *El Libro Antiguo Español: Coleccionismo y Bibliotecas* (Salamanca: Cátedra, 1998), IV, pp. 13–81.

34 1623 Catalogue, f. 23v–24r.

35 See José Manuel Prieto Bernabé, '"Recibida y Admitida de Todos …": La Lectura de la Historia en la Sociedad Madrileña del Siglo de Oro', *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia*, 65:221 (2005), pp. 877–937.

36 Freddy Domínguez, 'History in Action: The Case of Pedro de Ribadaneyra's Historia Ecclesiastica del Scisma de Inglaterra', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 93.1 (2016), pp. 13–38, esp. p. 35.

face extreme hardship due to their loyalty to Catholicism. Both Yepes' history of the persecution of English Catholics and Herrera's account of Mary Stuart's life repeated many of the tropes established by Ribadeneyra's work. These books, then, were tailored to the religiously political rhetoric of Philip II's 'holy' enterprise against Elizabeth I, the 'English Jezebel', and became an essential part of the propaganda that inflamed Spanish subjects to support the 1588 campaign.[37] While such religious and historical framing was very common in early modern historical writing, these books were of limited use for those seeking information about the years following the Armada campaign, especially after the accession of James Stuart to the throne. As a result, a Spanish ambassador who wished to know more about the recent history of England had to look elsewhere.

Gondomar seems to have been aware of the need for an updated historical scope that went beyond Spanish sources. The library at the *Casa del Sol* contains a representative corpus of historical works about England written in Latin and English that included some of the most important medieval chronicles and early modern developments in historical writing and chorography. Among other works, it holds copies of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie* (Paris, 1517), William of Newburgh's *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* (Paris, 1610) and Matthew Paris's *Flores Historiarum* (Frankfurt, 1600).[38] The library also had a copy of Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia* (Basel, 1570) and a copy of Paolo Giovio's *Descriptio Britanniae* (Venice, 1548). Even though these two latter authors were not English, they were of great importance for English historical writing. Gondomar also had works by the famous English antiquarian and historian William Camden, one of the most important scholars of the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods. One can still peruse the count's copies of Camden's *Britannia* (London, 1607), perhaps the most important English chorography of the times, and his *Annales,* the first official history of Elizabeth I (London, 1615).[39] The library also stored other histories of England that were only available in English. This is the case of Gondomar's copies of John Stowe's *Chronicles of England* (London, 1580) and his *Survey of London* (London, 1599). The collection also held John Speed's *The Historie of Great Britain* (London, 1611) and Francis Bacon's *History of Henry VII* (London, 1622).[40] While these are

37 See María Cristina Quintero, 'English Queens and the Body Politic in Calderón's "La Cisma de Inglaterra" and Rivadeneira's "Historia Eclesiastica del Scisma Del Reino de Inglaterra"', *Modern Language Notes*, 113:2 (1998), pp. 259–282.

38 1623 Catalogue, f. 95r–v.

39 1623 Catalogue, f. 95r–v. Copies available today under the references RB VI/20 and RB III/2548.

40 1623 Catalogue, f. 155r–156r.

just some examples among a longer list of English histories at the Gondomar library, they show that Gondomar acquired a collection of some of the most important specimens of early modern English historical writing during the early Stuart period.[41] They also give some substance to Gondomar's boast, in 1615, of having 'gained familiarity with the English nation through conversations with Englishmen [...] I have devoted myself with interest to their histories and annals for many years'.[42] Few diplomats could claim the same.

Gondomar's dispatches suggest that he endeavoured to immerse himself in what scholars like John-Paul Ghobrial have referred to as 'local knowledge'.[43] That is, insider and *in situ* information about the people, places and institutions of the country of diplomatic mission. In his *Whispers of Cities*, Ghobrial traces the efforts made by the English ambassador Sir William Trumbull in creating a diplomatic archive that would support his work as ambassador to the Ottoman Empire between 1687 and 1692. In this particular case, Ghobrial discusses the type of printed books that the Englishman took with him to Istanbul. One of these was Abraham de Wicquefort's *L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions* (1681). This work expressly advised diplomats that 'the chief study of those that design to be employed in embassies ought to be that of History', both ancient and modern. Accordingly, Trumbull also carried with him some editions of classical writers such as Pliny, Tacitus, and Seneca, along with histories of Turkey, like Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1679) and an updated version of Richard Knolles's *History of the Turks*, originally published in 1610. Trumbull also brought with him Turkish travelogues, like George Wheeler's *A Journey into Greece* (1682) and Guillaume-Joseph Grelot's *Relation Nouvelle d'un Voyage de Istanbul* (1681), among others.[44] According to Ghobrial, when Wicquefort advocated in *L'Ambassadeur* for the reading of history, what he meant was that ambassadors needed to be up-to-date on knowledge about past and recent events. On the same note, travelogues offered Trumbull valuable information about the geography and classical topography of the Ottoman Empire.[45]

41 For more information about the influence of these works, see Daniel Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

42 *Archivo General de Simancas* (henceforth AGS), Estado, 2594/80. Albert Loomie provides this English transcript of Gondomar's letter in his *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1973), II, p. xv.

43 See John-Paul Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1–18.

44 Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, pp. 30–41.

45 Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities,* pp. 37–38.

As pointed out by Noah Millstone, historical works and travel accounts had an analogous political value during the early seventeenth century.[46] It should come as no surprise to find that Gondomar not only had a repository of English historical works, but that he also endeavoured to acquire English books with geographical accounts, like Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (London, 1612), a topographical poem that describes England and Wales with a report of the history and traditions of its counties.[47] The *Casa del Sol* also held Robert Dallington's *A View from France* (1604), a survey that described the French political and social systems from an English point of view, and a copy of Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (London, 1617), an ethnographical account of the countries visited by this author: 'Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland and Ireland'.[48] However, the collection at the *Casa del Sol* preserved other type of English documents beyond historical books and travelogues.

With the help of his secretaries and his confessor, Gondomar regularly monitored English publications that touched on Protestant doctrines and confessional controversy. An early proof of this can be found in a letter sent to Francisco Ruiz de Castro, Spanish ambassador to Rome, on 20 December 1613. The document was sent with two works published in England that unfortunately are not mentioned:

> I send to your Excellency two books that have been published in accordance with the doctrines of this country. Verily, sir, when I see myself in a place where such things are written and said, I feel disconsolate [...] It might well be that news of these books have already reached you, but I find it more convenient that the fruits from this land reach you in duplicate, even if it is just to burn them as they deserve, rather than risking that His Holiness and your Excellency remain unaware of the things happening here.[49]

46 Noah Millstone, 'Seeing Like a Statesman in Early Stuart England', *Past & Present*, 223:1 (2014), pp. 77–127.

47 1623 Catalogue, f. 155r–156v. For Drayton's work, see RB VIII/1003. For Moryson's work, see RB V/1830.

48 1623 Catalogue, f. 155v. For more information about this work, see Andrew Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels: Travel and Colonial Writing in English, 1550–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). p. 46.

49 RB II/2168, f. 52v–53r: 'Dos libros que aquí se han impreso conforme a la doctrina del país embío a vuestra excelencia que, çierto señor quando me veo en tierra donde esto se escrive y donde esto se dize, me desconsuelo [...] Puede ser que estos libros ayan llegado ya allá, pero menos inconviniente tiene que llegue esta fruta desta tierra duplicada,

From early on, Gondomar endeavoured to keep a watch on English books that discussed religious matters. Notably among these books were those focused on King James's 1606 Oath of Allegiance, which led to a full-scale European debate on the nature of papal and secular power and the obedience of subjects. The establishment of this oath after the events of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 was of central importance in James's policy towards Catholicism throughout the rest of his reign. It required English Catholics to swear their loyalty to James and to deny the Pope's power to depose monarchs, causing an international controversy that lasted for years.[50] Gondomar secured permission from the Pope to read forbidden books and he kept on the lookout for English works produced on the oath, every now and then sending books to Madrid and Rome.[51] The 1623 catalogue also shows that the library held the *Complete Works* of King James in English and Latin (London, 1616 and 1619 respectively), along with a Latin copy of the Monarch's *Apologie* for the oath (London, 1609).[52] The library also preserved books written by the infamous apostate Archbishop, Marco Antonio de Dominis, who took refuge in London, and the Protestant divine Thomas Mocket, who was the author of the *Doctrina et Politica Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London, 1617), a compendium of Anglican texts and doctrines.[53]

The available evidence also shows that Gondomar implicitly supported the publication of English works that aimed to influence public opinion. For instance, under the auspices of the Spanish ambassador, the English Carmelite Simon Stock started publishing religious tracts in English that were written with the purpose of furthering the cause of Catholicism.[54] Notably among these was the book entitled *A Humble Appeale* (1620), where the author supplicates King James for more Catholic toleration. The count's library holds copies of the books written by the Carmelite and a manuscript tract 'on how to find ease, rest, repose and happiness' that is dedicated to Queen Anne,

aunque sea para quemarse, como ella mereze, que si no han llegado dexe de saver su Santidad y vuestra exçelençia lo que pasa aquí'.

50 For more information, see Johann P. Sommerville, 'Papalist Political thought and the controversy over the Jacobean oath of allegiance', in Ethan H. Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 162–184.

51 See Gondomar's letter to Paul V, 30 August 1613 in AGS, Estado, Libro 366, f. 1r–v.

52 1623 Catalogue, f. 157v and 178r.

53 1623 Catalogue, f. 178v–180r.

54 See Luca Codignola. *The Coldest Harbour of the Land: Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621–1649* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), pp. 6–13.

though the final printed version of this work by Stock was later dedicated to Prince Charles.[55]

Maps, Portraits and Intelligence Gathering

These are just some instances of Gondomar's book-collecting practices. However, the ambassador also had a great interest in collecting visual items. Previous scholars have remarked on the count's use of Spanish documents for his diplomatic duties. A famous example comes from his rivalry with Sir Walter Ralegh. In March 1616, the English privateer secured his release from the Tower of London by promising King James that he would lead an expedition down the Orinoco river in Guiana. Ralegh argued that he would claim a gold mine that was there for the taking, as it had not yet been claimed by the Spanish. Gondomar regarded Ralegh's campaign as a far-fetched project and as a threat to Spanish territorial integrity. Therefore, to convince King James about the futility of this quest, he referred him to a passage of Antonio de Herrera's third part of the *History of Philip II*. This work confirmed not only that Ralegh had already visited this region some twenty years earlier, but also that the area was claimed by Spain and that the evidence for a gold mine was ludicrous.[56] This episode is well-known by historians, but less known is that during the sending of dispatches about the Guiana crisis Gondomar also sent to Madrid an intercepted copy of Ralegh's own map of the region.[57] In this way, he used a Spanish historical reference to argue with King James and utilised a map produced by an English mariner to provide Madrid with a geographical understanding of Ralegh's threat. This was not the only cartographical material mentioned in the count's letters. On 12 August 1620, the Spanish sailor Bernardino de Castrillo, who was known for his role in the demise of Sir Francis Drake, wrote to the count thanking him for a book sent from London and asking him for English sea charts displaying the English coast and English trajectories to the

55 For Stock's printed books, written under different pseudonyms, see *Appeale to the Kings Maiestie* and the second part of *The Practise how to find, ease, rest repose and happines* in the 1623 Catalogue, f. 156v. For the material copies, see RB IX/3854 and RB IX/4576. For the manuscript version of the first part of *The Practise*, see 1623 Catalogue, f. 193v (material copy in RB II/3129).

56 Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart (ed.), *Correspondencia Oficial de Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar* (4 vols., Madrid: Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España, 1936), I, pp. 54–57.

57 Ciriaco Pérez Bustamante, *Españoles e Ingleses en América durante el Siglo XVII* (Santiago de Compostela: Paredes, 1928), pp. XV–XV and 5–15.

Americas. According to Castrillo, the English charts were different from the Spanish ones.[58]

Thus, in the right context, English sources could lead to tactical advantages. In this respect, Gondomar's library still preserves a good number of English maps, like Christopher Saxton's *Atlas* (London, 1579).[59] This was the first English-produced atlas of England and Wales, with thirty-five coloured maps. The Gondomar library also holds today two copies of John Speed's *Theatre of Empire of Great Britain*, each with sixty-six maps of the British Islands.[60] As mentioned above, early modern travelogues were highly esteemed by statesmen for the geographical and ethnographic information these provided. In a similar manner, even though maps were greatly prized for their decorative value, the strategic and military information these could provide also turned them into highly coveted items for princes, ministers and diplomats. For instance, it is well documented that Saxton's *Atlas* was amply used for its strategic information during the English Civil War.[61] What is more, from a transnational context, maps depicting lands others than one's own also became an important target for agents involved in espionage. Indeed, as Peter Barber has previously remarked, nowadays the British Library ironically appears to be richer in manuscript maps of some of the border regions of France than French archives; and a similar case could be advanced about British geographical sources stored in French collections.[62] Within this perspective, it follows that early modern printed maps of England could also have a strategic value for a Spanish diplomat, especially those that were not easily available in the Iberian Peninsula. In this respect, in Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*, the playwright denounces Gondomar for having a 'draught and platform' of the British lands and warns about the dangers this could bring.[63] Gondomar had, in fact, many English maps; and most in duplicate. His collection still holds more than a hundred English maps.

Gondomar's English maps are only a part of a good group of visual items in his library. During the early modern period, diplomatic agents sometimes

58 BN, MSS 18422, doc. 140, f. 191r–v.

59 For the material copy, see RB IX/7223.

60 1623 Catalogue, f. 95v and 156r. For the material copies, see RB V/904 and RB MAP/375.

61 Peter Barber, '"Procure as Many as You Can and Send Them over": Cartographic Espionage and Cartographic Gifts in International Relations, 1460–1760', in Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (eds.), *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 13–29.

62 Barber, '"Procure as Many as You Can and Send Them over"', pp. 13–29.

63 See Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chess* (London: Benn, 1966), 4.2.58–64.

enclosed printed portraits with dispatches and reports.[64] Letters in the Gondomar library show that he regularly provided information about the Stuart court's happenings. In 1616 rumours about the Overbury's murder scandal, for example, spread all around Europe. The poet Sir Thomas Overbury died in September 1613 as a prisoner in the Tower of London. His death was widely noted, but attributed to natural causes. In the late months of 1615, however, King James received information suggesting that Overbury had been poisoned and authorised an investigation. Further examinations led to the main plotters: the royal favourite, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and his wife Frances Howard. Both were put on trial during the first months of 1616. On 21 July of that year Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, the Duke of Infantado, wrote a letter to Gondomar thanking him for the portraits of the Somersets he had just received. Hurtado was an important administrator of foreign affairs at the Spanish court; and he took the opportunity to request more information about the case.[65] This was not the first time that Hurtado had received English portraits from Gondomar. On 16 April 1616, he wrote to the Spanish ambassador after receiving an image of Thomas More and stated: 'I thankfully kiss your Excellency's hands for the portraits of the holy martyr Thomas More. I will keep them as relics and as images of devotion'.[66] Before that date, we can also see Hurtado thanking the count for sending a portrait of George Villiers on 22 January 1616.[67] Through the sending of dispatches and the occasional handling of English printed portraits, Gondomar informed Madrid and Catholic Europe about the constant ups and downs of the Jacobean court.[68]

Examples like these ones help to support the idea that Gondomar's diplomacy was influenced by his collecting of local English documents with information about English history, customs, institutions, religious debates, etc. The Gondomar library was conceived not only as a source of recreation but also as a practical resource, a tool to enable its owner to fulfil the role of the grandee

64 For more information, see Tracey A. Sowerby, '"A Memorial and a Pledge of Faith": Portraiture and Early Modern Diplomatic Culture', *The English Historical Review*, 129.537 (2014), pp. 296–331.

65 RB II/2170, doc. 10.

66 'Besso las manos a V.S, por la merced que me ha hecho con los retrattos del santo mártir Thomas Moro, que las tendré por reliquia y por imágenes de devoción'. RB II/2170, doc. 151.

67 RB II/2170, doc. 140.

68 For more information about Gondomar's collection of English portraits within the context of the Overbury affair, see Pablo Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury y Doce Grabados Ingleses en la Librería del Conde de Gondomar', *Syntagma. Revista del Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura*, 2 (2008), pp. 17–58.

statesman.[69] In this respect, it shared a similar purpose with the library created by Sir Robert Cotton, which was accessible to scholars and statesmen alike.[70] As Noah Millstone has pointed out, the political reasoning of the period treated intercepted letters, secret documents and books or maps that were rare or curious as privileged forms of evidence. Unlike public actions or speeches, these more private documents helped bridge the difference between outward conduct and inward meaning. Dissimulation, deception, and fraud, after all, were pervasive features of life at court.[71] A good statesmen had to be aware of the problematic and puzzling nature of events and deploy a strategy to interpret the hidden purposes of a fellow courtier. Unveiling and interpreting secret information from documents was therefore an integral part of a statesman's duties. This interpretative lens also helps to further contextualise the whole collection of English documents in Gondomar's library, as a good number of these items were important sources of English "local knowledge" that was usually not available at the Spanish court, and thus could prove valuable as part of the count's intelligence-gathering strategies.

All in all, if Gondomar held '*toute l'amerique*' in his library, as the German bibliographer Eussem once claimed, it also appears that he wished to hold *toute l'Angleterre*, or at the very least a representative part of England's most important publications from the early Stuart Period. An analysis of the English collection at the *Casa del Sol* suggests that Gondomar assembled a series of local sources that were usually consulted by early modern English statesmen for their political wisdom. These works were valued during the period for their information about England, particularly during the last years of Elizabeth Tudor and what followed after the accession of James Stuart to the English throne. And yet, for this assessment of the books at the *Casa del Sol* to be complete, one issue must be noted: Gondomar seldom left marginalia in his collection of books, not even in works which we know for certain that he read, such as Herrera's *History of Philip II* and Botero's *Reason of State*.[72] Also, he rarely

69 Lawrance, '"Une Bibliothèque fort complète pour un Grand Seigneur"', p. 1075.

70 See Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586–1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979). Considering the many similarities between their libraries, it should come as no surprise that Gondomar and Cotton entered into a collaboration during the Spaniard's stay in London. However, most of their dealings had to do with manuscript documents, which falls beyond the scope of this collection of articles. My doctoral thesis offers further comment on this aspect. It will be available at the Oxford University Research Archive by the end of 2021: The First Count of Gondomar's Library and Diplomatic Practice (1613–1622).

71 Noah Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation and the Invention of Politics in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 145–146.

72 See María Luisa López-Vidriero, 'Asiento de Coronas y Distinción de Reinos: Librerías y Aprendizaje Nobiliario', in Oliver Noble-Wood and Jeremy Lawrance (eds.), *Poder y Saber.*

quoted sources in his correspondence. This offhanded treatment does not seem to have been uncommon amongst scholarly statesmen from the period, however.

Book Ownership and Power

In *Too Much to Know*, Ann Blair analyses the dynamics of early modern information management through a study of popular reference works in Latin. The introduction of the printing press brought a large-scale accumulation of texts and, as a result, early modern people had to develop new ways of storing, sorting, selecting and summarising information. In this endeavour, reference works played an important role.[73] Early modern reference works were very much used, but seldom annotated, a habit that aligns with Gondomar's documentary practices. The count's decision not to cite sources in his correspondence was also well within the scholarly tactics of the times. During the period, many individuals failed to quote their intellectual influences. Certainly, early modern authors did mention sources sometimes. But with varying levels of precision and usually when they expected that the citation would add to the strength of their argument, notably by adding the support of a recognised authority.[74] This might not have been the case for citing English authors to Spanish authorities, especially in a cultural environment that regarded English as a 'rare and vulgar tongue'. As a result, even while we know that the English collection at the *Casa del Sol* held items that were esteemed by English statesmen for their political wisdom during the period, it is much more difficult to ascertain which English books might have influenced Gondomar's diplomatic actions (and to what extent). In order to put this matter to rest, more research will have to be carried out with the thousands of letters holding relevant information about Gondomar's embassy that are still held in different Spanish archives.[75] Nonetheless, even if we cannot ascertain which of the English books in Gondomar's possession were actually read by him or his household, we can still complement the information we already have with the cultural and political expectations ascribed to book ownership during the period.

Bibliotecas y Bibliofilia en la Época del Conde-Duque de Olivares (Madrid: CEEH, 2011), pp. 223–248.

73 See the introduction to Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

74 Blair, *Too Much to Know*, pp. 242–244.

75 The thousands of letters with relevant information are scattered in Madrid's *Real Biblioteca*, the *Biblioteca Nacional*, the *Archivo General de Simancas*, the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* and the *Real Academia de la Historia*.

Indeed, as Hugh Amory once remarked, a modern bias that arose in the nineteenth century, and is still very much alive today, is that of seeing a book exclusively as a disembodied "text", an incorporeal entity of information that is either used through its reading or not used at all. After years as Senior Rare Book Cataloguer at Harvard's Houghton Library, Amory came to believe that most printed books have never been read. After all, printers throughout the ages have always speculated on the numbers of copies they would actually sell. Nonetheless, Amory is quick to add that unread books could still be powerful artefacts. Nowadays, there is a risk in taking printing and literacy too much for granted, and we sometimes forget that books are cultural artefacts in and of themselves. However, this was not the case during the seventeenth century, when there was more of a sense of wonder and 'an almost totemic reverence' for the book.[76]

As pointed out by Jeremy Lawrance, the library at the *Casa del Sol* endeavoured to become a privileged study for the 'gran seigneur' or the grandee statesman. In this respect, Gondomar's collection of English documents contributed to make of his library a remarkable source of 'local knowledge' about England that had no par in Spain. After the English courtier George Gage visited the *Casa del Sol* during a diplomatic mission to Spain in 1619, he decided to write to Gondomar and praise him for his collection as one 'fit for a prince'.[77] At first glance, this comment might appear like hyperbolic flattery. However, by 1623 the Gondomar library already had twice the amount of volumes that were available at some point in the personal library of Philip IV in Madrid.[78] Moreover, Gondomar's English collection amply surpassed the one in the Alcázar palace. In 1637, the royal library catalogue listed only fifteen items under the subject 'Histories of England and Scotland'; and none of these were published in London.[79]

According to the historian Fernando Bouza, Philip IV was similar to Gondomar in that he left almost no marginalia in his books. Yet, the Spanish king certainly engaged with his library for many years, as shown by his letters

76 Hugh Amory, 'The Trout and the Milk: An Ethnobibliographical Talk', *Harvard University. Harvard Library Bulletin*, 7:1 (1996), pp. 56–71.

77 RB II/2159, doc. 76.

78 Michael and Ahijado, 'La Casa del Sol: La Biblioteca del Conde de Gondomar', pp. 197 and 200.

79 As is the case with the *Casa del Sol*, the royal library also held copies of Ribadeneyra's *Cisma de Ingalaterra*, Yepes's *Persecución de Inglaterra*, Herrera's *Historia de María Estuardo*. See Fernando Bouza, *El Libro y el Cetro: La Biblioteca de Felipe IV en la Torre Alta del Alcázar de Madrid* (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2005), p. 95.

and the personal translations of some Italian histories, like Guicciardini's *History of Italy*.[80] As it appears, some early modern readers often made ample use of their libraries without leaving significant traces in their books. Sometimes, this might be due to a lack of engagement, but one should never forget that this could also be the result of a careful and almost reverential use applied to the books. This might be frustrating for the contemporary historian, but it made sense to early modern bibliophiles. Moreover, in his study of the royal library, Bouza also points out another reason for an apparently unread work: a book was sometimes acquired for future use. Philip IV once claimed that the books in his library should not be understood as a sign that he knew all their contents, but rather that he planned to learn about them with the passing of time.[81] The same can be said about the collecting practices of Luis Fernández de Córdoba, Duke of Sessa. Between 1619 and 1620 he endeavoured to acquire a bundle of documents that were previously owned by the influential protonotary of Aragon, Francisco Gassol, and also tried to obtain a set of manuscripts that belonged to the Jesuit historian, Juan de Mariana. In a letter to Father Hortensio Félix de Paravicino, Sessa further reflects on these 'papers' by explaining that these were 'dead, and nothing can revive them'. However, he also points out that these documents could prove useful in a future. Indeed, Sessa argued that 'their subject matter by chance applies to those of us not far from positions of responsibility in governments, and I am anxious to sift through them since this class of manuscripts does no harm to those of us who lead the active life'.[82]

During the early modern period, many members of the Spanish nobility strove to enrich their libraries with books and manuscripts that could further their (present or future) political interests; and the most coveted sources were those that others did not have. Also, the documents that were most esteemed were those that were curious and rare due to their manuscript format, or because they were published in places that had little contact with Spain, like London. It is true that the ownership of books as objects of ostentation has been a topic of mockery throughout the centuries. Still, scholars and statesmen from the early modern period strove to create libraries that functioned not merely as archival muniments, but also as memorials that aimed to preserve the past for

80 Bouza, *El Libro y el Cetro*, p. 156.

81 Bouza, *El Libro y el Cetro*, pp. 149–150.

82 English translation provided by Fernando Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 66–67.

the future and as monuments to a political prowess that was displayed through the ownership of information that others did not have.[83]

Apart from being a source of knowledge, the Gondomar library should be also understood as a symbol of power that was deeply rooted in the logic of its material circumstances. In this sense, as Fabien Montcher has described, collection management earned an important social significance during the times; and talking about its design and spatial context was as fundamental as talking about the books themselves. After all, a library's layout was considered to be a direct representation of the political prudence and good taste of its owner. A failure in the management of the collection was considered the product of bad political counsel.[84] Montcher also remarks that libraries were not only a repository of knowledge ready for action, but also an invaluable tool for public diplomacy.[85] Certainly, if individual books were regarded as trophies and useful resources for the future, so were complete libraries. One of the most remarkable examples of this circumstance comes from the destiny of the Heidelberg Library, a repository originally owned by Protestant forces that was appropriated by the Catholic League during the Thirty Years War and transferred to the Vatican so that the 'very fabric of heretical impiety could now be transformed into a weapon of the Catholic faith'.[86]

As previously discussed, the Protestant preacher Thomas Scott once denounced Gondomar for trying to acquire all the books being published in England. Scott's accusations show how early modern individuals often attributed great political importance to the ownership of individual books and to the creation of whole collections. Regardless of whether Gondomar accessed all the English documents he acquired, he still decided to assemble an assortment of works that were valued in early modern England for their political wisdom. This action can be regarded as a political act in itself, especially in the court culture of early modern Europe, a world deeply marked by the idea that dissimulation could be carried out through actions, speeches and even through the use of material artefacts like clothing (or books). Everything could become a tactic of political concealment.[87]

83 Eric Ketelaar, 'Muniments and Monuments: The Dawn of Archives as Cultural Patrimony', *Archival Science*, 7 (2007), pp. 343–357, esp. p. 352.

84 Fabien Montcher, 'Early Modern Bibliopolitics: From a Seventeenth-Century Roman-Iberian Perspective', *Pacific Coast Philology*, 52:2 (2017), pp. 206–218.

85 See Helmer Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe', *Media History*, 22:3–4 (2016), pp. 401–420.

86 See Jill Bepler, '*Vicissitudo Temporum*: Some Sidelights on Book Collecting in the Thirty Years' War', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 32:4 (2001), pp. 955–957.

87 Diego Rubio, *The Ethics of Deception: Secrecy, Transparency and Deceit in the Origins of Modern Political Thought* (University of Oxford, DPhil Thesis, 2016), p. 135.

As this article has endeavoured to show, the collecting of English local sources was an important part of Gondomar's diplomatic strategy. An analysis of the Spaniard's documentary practices brings to light a disregarded narrative about the circulation of books, the flows of information and the display of erudition for political purposes. Over the past years, early modern diplomatic studies have gone through a substantial period of reassessment. However, there remains a need to undertake a comprehensive study of the pre-Westphalian Spanish ambassadorial system from transnational and cultural perspectives. It is in this particular context that the Gondomar library becomes a privileged source for a study in cultural and public diplomacy. This early modern repository can only be properly understood when one starts seeing it as part of an effort to procure information mastery through the creation of a repository with selected knowledge ready for action. The mastery of information is a powerful goal, one that is very much alive today as it was in seventeenth century Europe. Though we might never be able to reconstruct this process completely from a historical standpoint, we can still see how individuals organised their documentary practices towards this ideal, be that real or dissimulated, through the collecting of books and other type of documents.

The *Casa del Sol* is a privileged gateway into the cultural policies conducted by early modern statesmen and probably the richest source of Spanish diplomatic intelligence about premodern England outside the walls of the General Archives of Simancas. What is more, it might surpass Simancas from the perspective of early modern English culture. More to the point of this article's beginning, Gondomar and his library present one of the most remarkable instances of Spanish interest in English culture, English books and the English language.

CHAPTER 15

Prohibition as Propaganda Technique: The Case of the Pamphlet *La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé* (1688)

Rindert Jagersma

Book censorship has a negative connotation. After all, it is the attempt of those in power to ban a certain message and to prevent it from spreading and influencing a larger audience. It hinders our freedom of expression, which is often associated with the freedom of the printing press. Early modern authors whose works clashed with the views and policies of secular or religious rulers often faced the censorship of the authorities who sought to hinder the dissemination of such texts at all costs. Yet censorship has a paradoxical effect – it attracts attention. Forbidden texts trigger people's curiosity. Early modern authorities were well aware of this, and frequently sought to execute bans as quietly as possible.[1] In the early modern Dutch Republic, authorities often quietly removed works from stores with such care that the suppression has left only a few traces in the archives. Discreet censorship was done precisely to prevent a ban from generating extra attention.[2]

In 1688, on the eve of the Dutch invasion of England in which stadtholder William III dethroned his Catholic father-in-law, James II, a pamphlet entitled *La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé* was banned in Holland. The attempted censorship of the pamphlet originated in the inner circle of stadtholder William III during the run-up to the successful invasion of England that would become known as the Glorious Revolution. However, the content of this pamphlet was pro-Orange and proclaimed its own propagandistic message, making

1 Jacob Cats, *Alle de wercken* (Amsterdam, 1658), STCN 09092553X, p. (Q3) Aa3r: "Een schrift dat niet en deught wort des te meer gesocht / En wat verboden is te grager opgekocht". [A book that is not honourable is bought all the more / And those that are forbidden are sought after even more eagerly]. All translations are my own unless indicated otherwise.

2 Ton Jongenelen, *Van smaad tot erger: Amsterdamse boekverboden 1747–1794* (Amsterdam: Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman, 1998), pp. I–XX; Ingrid Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de noordelijke Nederlanden. De vrijheid van drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw* ('s-Gravenhage: Sdu Uitgevers, 1998), pp. 102–107; Enno van Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid: een verhandeling over de verhouding van Kerk en Staat in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden en de vrijheid van meningsuiting in zake godsdienst, drukpers en onderwijs, gedurende de 17e eeuw* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1972), pp. 151–194.

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a ban on this specific pamphlet seem strange. In this article, I will show that the prohibition served two purposes. On the one hand, the Dutch Republic appeared to distance itself from the content to create goodwill amongst ambassadors and foreign rulers. On the other hand, by deliberately imposing censorship, it was an attempt to generate extra attention on the domestic market for the pamphlet, the dissemination of which was not actively stopped after the ban was issued.

While most studies exclusively concentrate on suppression, this article focuses on a spectacular case in which the authorities made use of the extra attention generated by the banning of books. It will show that in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, the measure of banning books (on foreign affairs) was used deliberately to generate extra domestic attention for the political content of those works. By proclaiming the apparent prohibition, those in power benefited from the dissemination, while pretending to be innocent of it toward foreign ambassadors.[3] Meanwhile, thanks to the attention generated, the public became curious about the content of the forbidden book. This article will demonstrate how the prohibition of a pamphlet could serve as a propaganda technique.

William III's Propaganda Machine in 1688

Although it has often been stated that propaganda played a key role in the Glorious Revolution, remarkably little research has been done on pamphlets written for the domestic market in the Dutch Republic leading up to this change of power.[4] I specifically focus on the involvement of the Prince

3 Helmer Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe', *Media History*, 22:3–4 (2016), pp. 401–420; Joop Koopmans, 'Dutch Censorship in Relation to Foreign Contacts (1581–1795)', in Joop Koopmans, *Early Modern Media and the News in Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 282–302; Inger Leemans, 'Censuur als onmacht. De omstreden Nederlandse publieke ruimte 1660–1760', in Marita Mathijsen (ed.), *Boeken onder druk. Censuur en pers-onvrijheid in Nederland sinds de boekdrukkunst* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), pp. 45–58; Olga van Marion, 'Verboden in de Gouden Eeuw. Schrijvers, drukkers en hun strategieën', in Mathijsen (ed.), *Boeken onder druk*, pp. 31–44.

4 Most attention has been paid to the famous *Declaration of Reasons* (1688) in which William III indicated his grounds for the invasion, see amongst others Wout Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III: een politieke biografie* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001), pp. 186–191; Arie Theodorus van Deursen, 'Propaganda: The Battle for Public Opinion', in J. North and P. Klein (eds.), *Science and Culture under William and Mary* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1992), pp. 23–37, here p. 27; John Carswell, *The Descent on England: a study of the English Revolution of 1688 and its European Background* (London: Barrie and Rockliff,

of Orange's inner circle in the creation of propaganda. Before examining this pamphlet and its ban as a sophisticated use of censorship as a propaganda tool, I will discuss the propaganda machine of William III and his attempts to make the European public believe that the newborn Catholic Prince of Wales was an imposter.

The success of the Glorious Revolution was partly determined by William III's propaganda, which both encouraged Dutch citizens to support the operation and tried to win the 'hearts and minds' of the English by presenting the invasion as a liberation. William was supported by a well-functioning network of propagandists, each with their own specialization. The network was led by William's best friend and right-hand man Hans Willem Bentinck (1649–1709). Correspondence in archives shows that Bentinck and his men were well informed on what information was useful for their propaganda and that they were well aware of their audiences.[5] They knew which rumours had to be reinforced, what to emphasize and what information should be undermined. The information that ended up in pamphlets originated with intelligences services and advisers. The latest works were immediately translated into multiple languages. A contemporary stated that 'neither art, money, nor pains are

1969), p. 85; K.H.D. Haley, *William of Orange and the English Opposition, 1672–4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953); Paul Hoftijzer, '"Such Onely as Are Very Honest, Loyall and Active": English Spies in the Low Countries, 1660–1688', in P.G. Hoftijzer and C.C. Barfoot (eds.) *Fabrics and Fabrications: The Myth and Making of William and Mary* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990), pp. 73–95; A.H. Huussen jr., 'Censorship in the Netherlands', in R.P. Maccubin and M. Hamilton-Phillips (eds.) *The Age of William & Mary: Power, Politics, and Patronage 1688–1702*, (Williamsburg: College of William & Mary, 1989), pp. 347–351; Emma Theresa Bergin, *The Revolution of 1688 in Dutch Pamphlet Literature: A Study in the Dutch Public Sphere in the Late Seventeenth Century* (unpublished PhD-thesis, University of Hull, 2006); Hans Willem Blom, '"Our prince is king!": The impact of the Glorious Revolution on Political Debate in the Dutch Republic', *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, 10:1 (1990), pp. 45–58; Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 24–31; Matthijs Wieldraaijer, *Oranje op de kansel. De beeldvorming van Oranjestadhouders en hun vrouwen in preken, 1584–1795* (PhD-thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2014); Richard Velthuizen, 'De verovering verslagen. Publieke reacties en propaganda in de Engelse en Hollandse pamflettenliteratuur tijdens de Glorious Revolution 1688–1689', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 8 (2011), pp. 97–114.

5 The University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Manuscripts Online Catalogue, 'Papers of Hans William Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland (1649–1709), statesman, in the Portland (Welbeck) Collection', GB 159 Pw A (hereafter University of Nottingham, Pw A). Inter alia: University of Nottingham, Pw A 2086; Pw A 2099/1-2; Pw A 2118/1-2; Pw A 2120/1-3; Pw A 2124/1-5; Pw A 2126/1-9; Pw A 2127/1-3; Pw A 2129/1-4; Pw A 2131/1-3; Pw A 2133; Pw A 2139/1-2; Pw A 2147/1-4; Pw A 2159/1-5; Pw A 2167/1-7; Pw A 2161/1-5; Pw A 2169; Pw A 2171/1-2; Pw A 2173/1-2; Pw A 2175/1-5.

omitted'.[6] The propaganda machine that revolved around William III was perhaps the most sophisticated in Europe.

William III had a considerable network operating in England. Diplomats Everard van Weede van Dijkveld (1626–1702) and Willem Hendrik van Nassau-Zuylestein (1649–1708) had established contact with opposition leaders, and due to the many English and Scottish Protestant exiles in the Republic, a whole network of sympathizers who favoured the dethroning of James II. The court in The Hague welcomed these sympathizers with open arms and made use of their knowledge, contacts and connections. Many of them became, to a greater or lesser extent, part of William III's intelligence service. Bentinck recruited a team of talented individuals sharing common political and religious interests.[7] Compared to surrounding countries, they formed a superior group of agents tied together by a common ideology. William was also a 'Meister propagandistischer Selbstdarstellung' who 'employed writers who understood the technique of propaganda, and … took advantage of the strong prejudice against everything papist'.[8] Kenneth Haley and John Carswell have shown how, as early as 1673, William made brilliant use of propaganda to raise the morale of his people. His propaganda machine, or in the words of Madame de Sévigné (1626–1696) 'lardonnerie hollandaise', evolved into the most sophisticated in Europe.[9] Whereas Louis XIV 'relied on display rather than subversion' William was able to use intelligence and propaganda as a much more versatile weapon.[10]

1688 marked the pinnacle of this achievement. As Lois Schwoerer argued, a propaganda war had never before been waged for a political goal with such

6 Lois G. Schwoerer, *The Declaration of Rights, 1689* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), p. 120.

7 David Onnekink, *The Anglo-Dutch Favourite: The Career of Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland (1649–1709)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 28.

8 Olaf Mörke, *'Stadtholder' oder 'Staetholder'? Die funktion des Hauses Oranien und seines Hofes in der politischen Kultur der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande im 17. Jahrhundert* (Munster: Lit, 1997), p. 302; Van Deursen, 'Propaganda: The Battle for Public Opinion', p. 35.

9 Carswell, *The Descent on England*, p. 25.

10 Carswell, *The Descent on England*, pp. 24–27; Helmer Helmers, '1685 and the Battle for Dutch Public Opinion. Succession Literature from a Transnational Perspective', in P. Kewes and A. McRae (eds.), *Stuart Succession Literature: Moments and Transformations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 95–113; Renaud Adam and Laurence Meunier, 'Une enquête de police dans les milieux du livre à Bruxelles en avril 1689', *Histoire et Civilisation du Livre: Revue Internationale*, 14 (2018), pp. 53–64; K.H.D. Haley, *William of Orange and the English Opposition, 1672–4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953); Henk van Nierop, *The Life of Romeyn de Hooghe 1645–1708: Prints, Pamphlets, and Politics in the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), p. 239.

great effect.[11] Within the broad range of printed media William's propagandists employed, pamphlets were perhaps the most prominent.[12] The famous *Declaration of Reasons* (1688), in which William legitimized the invasion, showcases the care and sophistication with which the propaganda campaign was prepared.[13] Secretly printed, and distributed with the aim of revealing its content at the exact moment when he would set foot on English soil, the *Declaration* sought to convince the English public that William was not a usurper, but their Protestant saviour.[14]

Entertaining the Nation

Pamphlets were used as mass media. Roeland Harms stated that 'seeking publicity was important in state forms where power was partitioned (as in the Republic) or where the existing political relations were under attack'.[15] A Dutch pamphlet even once declared: 'libels rule the nation'.[16]

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11 Lois G. Schwoerer, 'Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688–89', *The American Historical Review*, 82:4 (1977), pp. 843–874, here: p. 843.

12 In their correspondence Bentinck asked William III to allow him to reward those who used their pen for the justification of the stadtholder's cause. This request was made during the 'pamphlet war' of 1690. Nicolas Japikse, *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck eersten Graaf van Portland. Eerste gedeelte: het archief van Welbeck Abbey. Deel I* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927), p. 102. A few years later, in 1694, the Stadtholder-King William III himself wrote about this pamphlet war that a lot of people, including politicians, were involved. W.P.C. Knuttel, 'Ericus Walten', *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde. Vierde reeks, Deel I* (1900), pp. 345–455, here: pp. 442–444. About this pamphlet war: Rindert Jagersma, 'Het leven van de polemist, vrijdenker en pamflettist Ericus Walten (1662–1697)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 1 (2013), pp. 35–43, here pp. 36–41; Roeland Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie: massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), pp. 171–198.

13 Tony Claydon, 'William III's Declaration of Reasons and the Glorious Revolution', *The Historical Journal*, 39:1 (1996), pp. 87–108; Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, pp. 24–31, 64–74.

14 Machiel Bosman, *De roofkoning: prins Willem III en de invasie van Engeland* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 2016); Jonathan I. Israel, 'General Introduction', in Jonathan I. Israel (ed.), *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its World Impact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 1–43; Jonathan I. Israel, 'The Dutch role in the Glorious Revolution', in Israel (ed.), *The Anglo-Dutch moment*, pp. 105–162.

15 Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie*, p. 254.

16 The original quote: "Paskwillen vriend, regeeren 't land". [Le Francq van Berkhey], *Samenspraak tusschen Govert Bidlo, Romein de Hooge, en de Politieke kruijer, in de Acherontsche velden* (s.n., [1784]) STCN: 170106322, p. 4.

Pro-Williamite pamphlets were brief compared to Stuart counterpropaganda. William's chief propagandist, Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), hardly published pamphlets longer than twelve pages, and he would rather cut his text into three short pamphlets than publish a single long one.[17] By delivering these pamphlets free of charge to booksellers, who made pure profit by selling them, the Dutch ensured wide circulation. In terms of content, too, Dutch pamphlets outshone their English counterparts. William's pamphleteers knew that the public needed to be entertained. As secret agent and propagandist James Johnston wrote:

> If you intend to keep the nation in humour, you must entertain it by papers. The Spirit of a People is like that of particular persons, often to be entertained by trifles; particularly that of the English, who, like all islanders, seems to ebb and flow like the neighbouring sea. In the late fermentation about the Exclusion, the Excluders never lost ground till they lost the press.[18]

The sophistication of Orangist propaganda also appears in the fact that the anticipated invasion was never mentioned. The threat of a foreign ruler who would establish order to England would be damaging for William III. The question of the consequences that would arise if William III took the English throne as Mary's husband was also carefully avoided. Texts dealing with the politics of James II and the Catholic threat and 'suggestions of effective alternatives were better postponed until power had passed into other hands'.[19] According to Schwoerer, the Orangists deliberately 'aimed their propaganda at, and were successful in reaching, a broad spectrum of society – including literate, marginally literate, and, perhaps, even illiterate Englishmen far outside socially and politically elite categories'. She stated that 'scholars who regard the Revolution of 1688–89 as a *coup d'etat*, carried out by a very small number of people, have not understood the nature of the campaign William mounted'.[20] The language had to be clear and understandable, in order to encourage people to act in the Republic's favour.[21] 'In order to win the people over', an anonymous Dutch pamphleteer wrote, 'one must thoroughly know their tendencies, and what they think is of the greatest importance: without [such knowledge] we

17 Van Deursen, 'Propaganda: The Battle for Public Opinion', pp. 30–31.
18 Carswell, *The Descent on England*, p. 132.
19 Van Deursen, 'Propaganda: The Battle for Public Opinion', p. 35.
20 Schwoerer, 'Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688–89', p. 874.
21 Van Deursen, 'Propaganda: The Battle for Public Opinion', p. 30.

will never strike the right way to obtain victory'.[22] The Dutch stayed on message: to ensure the enduring attention and support of the people, new pamphlets were constantly issued.[23]

The Announced Birth of the Prince of Wales

One of the most successful actions of William III's inner circle was the effort to discredit the suddenly announced birth of James II's son and heir. This event caused William III to launch his most targeted and vicious propaganda campaign. After the succession of James II, Protestant England consoled itself by assuming the situation was temporary. First, there were laws that excluded non-conformists (including Catholics) from having a seat in parliament. Second, James only had two daughters, who were both raised as Protestants. The elder, Mary, was married to William III. The fact that James II did not have a son as a legitimate Catholic heir ensured that there was no chance of a Catholic dynasty. The possibility of a Catholic heir to the throne was a doomsday scenario for Protestant Europe. With the birth of a son, Mary Stuart's claim to the English throne would suddenly be undone, and Protestants feared a shift in the balance of power between Protestant and Catholic European nations. When Mary of Modena was unexpectedly pregnant, a fierce propaganda campaign at the expense of the unborn child's reputation – largely orchestrated from the Dutch Republic – was the result.

The announcement of Mary's pregnancy was so unexpected that the anti-Jacobean propagandists immediately took the chance to present it as a conspiracy in a flood of pamphlets. Readers could enjoy a variety of theories surrounding the pregnancy. Some pamphlets argued that the queen pretended to be pregnant by walking around with a pillow. Others gossiped that in the event the Queen was really pregnant and gave birth to a girl, Jesuits would swap her for a boy.[24] The pamphlet campaign was not about establishing the

22 "Om de menschen te winnen, moet men haar neigingen, en het geen sy meenen haar grootste belang te wesen, grondig kennen: zonder het zelve zullen wy noit de rechte weg inslaan om een gantsche winning te bekomen". *Het eenigste middel om de Test en penale wetten van Engeland af te schaffen en te vernietigen* (1688), STCN: 863186564, p. 5.

23 Van Deursen, 'Propaganda: The Battle for Public Opinion', p. 31.

24 Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III*, p. 190; Lisa Jardine, *Gedeelde weelde: hoe de zeventiende-eeuwse cultuur van de Lage Landen Engeland veroverde en veranderde* (Amsterdam: Arbeiderpers, 2008), p. 77; University of Nottingham, Pw A 2120/1-3 (21 December 1687); University of Nottingham, Pw A 2141/1-3 (16 February 1688); Van Deursen, 'Propaganda: The Battle for Public Opinion', p. 26.

truth; it was about making people doubt the truthfulness of the news. Thanks to a constant stream of printed matter, the propagandists in William's service had succeeded in convincing the English population that the newborn son of James (James Francis Edward Stuart, born 10 June 1688) was an imposter child.

The Orangists kept themselves busy with feeding and spreading these rumours. Informants each had their own channels to do this. In London, the Scot James Johnston (1655–1737) was one of William's most important secret agents.[25] Johnston was required not only to provide information but also to do 'impressions to rectify false reports'.[26] In other words, apart from being an agent, he was also a propagandist with the explicit assignment to distribute a specific type of information. Like no other, he emphasized the importance of an effective and uninterrupted flow of propaganda.[27] As Carswell writes, Johnston 'demanded to be consulted on every major move about publicity, and devoted much time to organizing the distribution of Williamite literature'.[28] Rumours, jokes, and remarks which Johnson heard on street were used in the propaganda.[29] For Johnston, ridicule was more effective than argument.[30] Entertainment, satire and false reporting were fundamental elements for Johnston.[31] He reported that although 'wise people say that there is no reason to believe that this is a true child', he emphasized immediately after the birth of the Prince of Wales that William III had to use humour in his own favour to keep the people believing in its illegality.[32]

In June 1688, Johnston was confronted with a draft of a pamphlet entitled *A Paper to shew that no man ought to believe that the child call'd the Prince of Wales is the Queen of England's Son, till it be made appear that he is indeed so after a fair and strict enquiry*. The pamphlet proposed that the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales should be examined by the English Parliament. Johnston commented that the text would have more impact because it would not be an official pamphlet of William III but would appear in the name of an (as

25 Van Deursen, 'Propaganda: The Battle for Public Opinion', p. 27; Bosman, *De Roofkoning*, p. 103; Carswell, *The Descent on England*, p. 131.
26 Carswell, *The Descent on England*, p. 131.
27 Carswell, *The Descent on England*, p. 132.
28 Carswell, *The Descent on England*, p. 132.
29 Carswell, *The Descent on England*, p. 132.
30 The University of Nottingham, Pw A 2129/1-4 (23 January 1688).
31 Schwoerer, 'Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688–89', p. 848.
32 The University of Nottingham, Pw A 2173/1-2 (18 June 1688).

yet unknown) individual.[33] This would exacerbate prevailing scepticism: it strengthened the suspicions of the doubters and convinced others.[34]

From messages sent by Johnston and the Dutch ambassador Aernout Citters in London to The Hague, we know that the rumours bothered James, who failed to counter William's propaganda. In late September 1688, James wrote that he knew what the people thought of him and that 'they talk of my sonne as if he were a suposed child, they that believe such a falcety must thinke me the worst man in world. I supose they judg of me by themselves, for els they could not thinke me capable of so abominable a thing'.[35] He saw himself compelled to gather testimonies from all those present at the birth of his son in a desperate attempt to convince his subjects of the heir's legitimacy.[36] It was striking that the infallible king had to respond to the rumours to defend himself. He could no longer ignore the accusations. The pamphlet with the testimonies contains no half-hearted references to the possible rumours. James II had noticed that rectifying this issue at all was almost impossible. The child was doomed to be seen as a changeling and a supposititious child. The public's faith in a made-up pregnancy was too deeply rooted to be replaced by the truth.

La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé

In September 1688, the French-language pamphlet *La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé* was published.[37] It was (directly) translated into Dutch twice, which was, surprisingly, not uncommon for a pamphlet in 1688.[38] The first translation, *De gefalieerde koning, en de prins tegen dank. Of Een klaar en bondig bewijs van de onweerdigheid van Jacobus de twede, om den koninglijken throon*

33 The University of Nottingham, Pw A 2086 (June 1688).

34 The University of Nottingham, Pw A 2167 (13 June 1688).

35 Richard Doebner (ed.), *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England, (1689–1693) together with her Letters and those of Kings James II and William III to the Electress, Sophia of Hanover* (Leipzig: Veit, 1886), p. 72.

36 *Depositions taken the 22d of October 1688 Before the Privy-Council and Peers of England Relating to the Birth of the (Then) Prince of Wales* (1688).

37 [Pierre Boyer], *La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé, ou Traité dans lequel on prouve … que le prince d'Orange étoit le … legitime successeur de Charles II* ([London], 1688]). STCN: 207207208.

38 W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek … Tweede deel. Tweede stuk. 1668–1688* ('s-Gravenhage: [Koninklijke Bibliotheek], 1895), pp. 406–461.

te bekleden, was printed in four different editions.[39] The second translation, of which we know only one edition, was *De geusurpeerde kroon, en de gesupponeerde prins*.[40] The names of the original author, as well the names of the translators, were intentionally omitted from the title pages.

The original pamphlet is one of the few pamphlets which was subjected to censorship in the Dutch Republic in 1688.[41] While the other pamphlets censored in that year opposed the Dutch Republic or the stadtholder, *La couronne usurpée* defended everything William III stood for. Although the pamphlet contained slander against James II, it was similar to many other works published in those months. Those works were all written and published with the approval of William III's inner circle. The content of the pamphlet contained information provided by the advisors. Despite this close connection to the Williamite network, the pamphlet was officially banned. The question is, of course, why?[42]

In the Dutch Republic, the content of the pamphlet contained hardly any grounds for prosecution. The text echoed all the arguments that Dutch pamphleteers had circulated in previous months: James II did not obey the law, he did not keep his word, he suffered from syphilis, Catholicism was a bloodthirsty religion full of errors and lies, the Jesuits whispered to the king that the Protestants in England must be exterminated, the Prince of Wales was an imposter child, and William III was a great, wise, devout, brave and noble Prince with an unquestionable right to the English throne. All in all, the content of the pamphlet added nothing new to the flood of Dutch pamphlets in the summer of 1688.

Verdict and Ban

According to the title page, the pamphlet was translated from the English version printed in London. This, however, is incorrect. In fact, the author, as we

39 [Pierre Boyer], *De gefalieerde koning, en de prins tegen dank. Of Een klaar en bondig bewys van de onweerdigheid van Iacobus de twede, om den koninglijken throon te bekleden* (Cologne, 1688). STCN 290736226. Also: STCN 863087353; 863087329; 86308723X. Knuttel 12982; 12983; 12984. Tiele 8669; 8670; 8671.

40 [Pierre Boyer], *De geusurpeerde kroon, en de gesupponeerde prins* (Vrystad, 1688). STCN 863087485. Knuttel 12985. Tiele 8672.

41 Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp. 387–388.

42 Jan Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche historie, vervattende de geschiedenissen der Vereenigde Nederlanden … Vyftiende deel, beginnende met het jaar 1679, en eindigende … in't jaar 1689* (Amsterdam, 1756), p. 450. STCN: 260604550; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, p. 71.

shall see, was Pierre Boyer (1619–c. 1703), a French refugee and preacher living in the Dutch Republic.[43] To smooth diplomatic relations with England, an investigation was started. It was likely instructed by the English envoy extraordinary Marquis d'Abbeville.

In their attempt to trace the unknown author, the Court of Holland decided on 17 September to interrogate the printer of the work.[44] Apparently, everything went smoothly. Not only did the court determine who the printer of the anonymously printed work was, the printer's testimony also established that Pierre Boyer was its author. The court decided to summon Boyer on 20 September to confront him with the printer's confession. Curiously, the court had already decided what to do when the author confessed: it would place him into custody and his arrest would be announced in the newspaper *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant*. His sentence was also predetermined: Boyer would be compelled to personally tear up a copy of his pamphlet in the presence of the court.[45] Of course, Boyer complied. Both the printer and the bookseller were forced to watch the symbolic punishment. The verdict showed that this was actually a show trial – a mere gesture to England and other foreign parties.

43 Pierre Boyer belonged to the Waldensians and was a well-known preacher in the Cévennes. John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 89. Boyer worked in the department Gard in southern France: Avèze (1651), Bagard (1654), Canaules (1665). In 1686 he could no longer stay in France, fled to the Dutch Republic, and ended up in The Hague. According to a spy, in 1683 he had "prêchait hardiment qu'on pouvait s'attaquer au roi, qui forçait les consciences". Charles Bost, *Les prédicants protestants des Cévennes et du Bas-Languedoc, 1684–1700* (Paris: Champion, 1912), p. 24; W. Gregory Monahan, *Let God Arise: The War and Rebellion of the Camisards* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 17–18; Bibliothèque Nationale de France: <https://data.bnf.fr/10691375/pierre_boyer/> (27 November 2018). The name Pierre Boyer is mentioned in a *Dénombrement de tous les Réfugiés*, a handwritten name list from 1686 of reformed preachers who had fled in the last twelve months to the Dutch Republic because of the persecution under Louis XIV. He is mentioned as "pred. te Canaules in de Cevennen, later gevestigd te 's Gravenhage" [minister from Canaules, Cévennes, who settled in The Hague]. H.J. Koenen, *Geschiedenis van de vestiging en den invloed der Fransche vluchtelingen in Nederland* (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1846), pp. 395, 397.

44 Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Hof van Holland, 1428–1811, 3.03.01.01 (hereafter NA, HvH), inventory number 285, f. 103v; NA, HvH, 5347.10 [Confession of Boyer, 20 september 1688]; NA, HvH, 5657 [Registers of criminal justice, 1663–1688]. Also see W.P.C. Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden, Beredeneerde catalogus* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1914), pp. 4 and 31–32, no 106.

45 "[A]enstonds te ontbieden, en hem sulcx voor te houden, en soo die bekent 't selve Tractaetie te hebben gemaeckt dat hij als dan in de Castellenije van den Hove sal werden gebraght, en sulcx in de Haerlemsche Courante te laten stellen, dat men oock dat Boeckje off Tractaetie selffs ter Rolle door Monsr. Boije sal doen lacereren, ende de Publicae, soo ras die gedruckt sal sijn en alle de Officieren toesenden". NA, HvH, 285, p. 103v.

On 20 September 1688, *La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé* was banned by the Court of Holland on the grounds that it was 'most disadvantageous for the state of the nation'.[46] Selling, distributing or reprinting was punished with a fine of one hundred *carolusgulden*. The attorney general made several unsuccessful attempts to seize all the copies.[47] As announced, the ban was also mentioned in the newspaper. The abovementioned translations were left alone, and their existence was not even mentioned in the corresponding trial documents. The *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant* (25 September 1688) stated that: 'this morning the Court of Holland condemned the author of *La couronne usurpée* to appear at the Court of Holland, and in the presence of the bookseller and printer who had printed the work, to tear up the aforementioned writing with his own hands, as has been done'.[48]

The sentence of bookseller, Johannes Aelberts, and printer, Matheus Roguet, of the anonymously printed *La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé*, was extremely lenient, as they got away with the 'punishment' of attending the tearing up of one single copy of the pamphlet.[49] Officially, even publishing anonymously was punishable by a fine and a public corporal punishment.[50] When the printer, Roguet, was asked why he had not mentioned the author and the publisher, and instead had pretended that the work was printed in London, Roguet simply replied: because that was the case with the original manuscript.[51] Even though several placards had repeatedly stated that

46 "[D]en Staet van den Lande ten hooghsten nadeeligh", NA, HvH, 5347.10.

47 "[D]at eenige gedrucckte Exemplaren van het selve Geschrifte, welcke den Procureur Generael niet heeft konnen saiseren, reets zijn verkocht, ende gedistraheert". Compare this with the firm measures taken against the anti-William III pamphlet *Hollands Koors*, prohibited around the same time on 2 October 1688. Knuttel, *Verboden boeken*, pp. 64–65; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp. 211–212.

48 Original quote: "'s Gravenhage den 25 september. Desen morgen heeft 't Hof van Hollant den Autheur van 't Geschrift, geinitituleert: La Couronne Usurpée, gecondemneert, te verschijnen ter Audientie van de Rolle van den Hove, om in 't aensien van den Boeckverkoper, voor wiens reeckening 't gedrukt is, en van den Drucker, die 't gedrukt heeft, het gem. Geschrift met eygen handen te lacereren; en is 't selve oock alsoo geëxecuteert". *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant*, 25 September 1688.

49 Both joined the booksellers guild in 1687, a year before the publication of *La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé.* Ernst F. Kossmann, *De boekhandel te 's-Gravenhage tot het eind van de 18de eeuw: biographisch woordenboek van boekverkoopers, uitgevers, boekdrukkers, boekbinders* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1937), pp. 1, 331.

50 Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp. 44–59.

51 Roguet also seems to be a fine example of a printer who preferred money over his own ideology. As a Roman Catholic he printed phrases like: "La Religion Romaine comme vous sçavés tres-bien, est une Religion pleine d'erruers & de mensonges C'est une Religion qui ne respire qua Sang, & que carnage, une Religion ennemie irreconciliable de l Église, & la cruelle persecutrice des fideles". *La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé*, p. 4. The fact that his pamphlet was printed in his print shop, of course does not mean that he was

including the name of the producer of printed matter was required by law, in the period 1650–1749, 48 per cent of the pamphlets appeared anonymously. In 1688, the placards were even more ineffective than in a regular year: 65 per cent of pamphlets appeared without the name of the printer or bookseller.[52]

What was the reason for the ban of *La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé*? The content of the pamphlet was not unique and not directly harmful to the Dutch Republic.[53] It was directed against England and its supposed heir and propagated the notion that the English throne belonged to William and Mary. Perhaps it was just bad timing. The pamphlet was published in the period in which Bentinck and his associates were busy preparing the invasion in complete secrecy.[54] It seems that the work of Boyer was specifically prohibited to distract attention from other businesses. The ban and punishment were a diversion to somewhat reassure England (and also France) on the eve of the upcoming invasion that the Dutch Republic had the best intentions.[55] Hence, the prohibition and condemnation were publicly proclaimed in the Dutch

involved in the typesetting, printing, correcting, nor that he even read the manuscript. It is possible that Rogue did not have known anything about the content, although this seems unlikely, because of his young age and the fact that he just started his print shop. Publishers and booksellers benefited from extensive debates and pamphlet wars. Often it is the question to what extent publishers worked from an ideology or from a financial point of view. Rindert Jagersma and Trude Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers by Means of Bibliographical Research', *Quaerendo*, 4 (2013), pp. 278–310. Goldie showed that English publishers "had marked but not rigid political bias". Mark Goldie, 'The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of Political Argument: An Essay and an Annotated Bibliography of Pamphlets on the Allegiance Controversy', *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, LXXXIII (1980), pp. 473–564, here pp. 492–493.

52 Rindert Jagersma, *Ericus Walten, pasquillemaker voor eene civile prijs. Productie, distributie en de consumptie van pamfletten rond 1690* (University of Amsterdam, PhD dissertation, 2021). As is well known, many pamphlets contained deliberate deceptions, such as 'printed in London', while typographic material indisputably shows that the printed material originated from, for example, The Hague or Amsterdam. Booksellers also acted as safe intermediaries between English spies and Orangists in The Hague, such as Meyndert Uytwerf. Speck, 'The Orangist Conspiracy against James II', p. 459. Speck transcribed his name as Clytvoerff.

53 Bergin, *The Revolution of 1688*, pp. 134–141. NA, 1.10.29 (Collectie Fagel), 2019, nr. 12.

54 Bosman, *De roofkoning*, pp. 130 ff.; Israel, 'General Introduction'; Israel, 'The Dutch role in the Glorious Revolution'; David Onnekink, 'The Revolution In Dutch Foreign Policy (1688)', in Femke Deen, Michiel Reinders and David Onnekink (eds.), *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 143–171; Charles-Édouard Levillain, 'French Diplomacy and the Run-up to the Glorious Revolution (1688): A Critical Reading of Jean-Antoine d'Avaux's Correspondence as Ambassador to the States General', *The Journal of Modern History*, 88: 1 (2016), pp. 137–138.

55 NA, 1.10.29 (collection Van Citters), 6 (verbaal 1688), pp. 194–204 (letter 11/21 September 1688).

newspaper *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant*, which was also read abroad. In that case, it was most likely part of a diplomatic move. Dutch pamphlet specialist W.P.C. Knuttel also mentioned that the verdict was 'the result of politeness to a foreign authority rather than a proof of oppression'.[56] Historian Michel Reinders took the example of Boyer to illustrate that '[p]unishments for pamphleteering usually included shame'.[57]

Involvement of William III's Inner Circle

A prohibition as a diplomatic manoeuvre was neither unexpected nor uncommon. However, even more than politeness towards foreign authorities, it was a tactical and political use of propaganda. When deliberating the original confessions, a few strange remarks stand out. These remarks point to the involvement of William III's inner circle, putting the ban in a different perspective.

During his trial, Boyer claimed that he meant no harm and that he had written the pamphlet with the best of intentions. Boyer himself had visited a 'Monsieur Ouwerkerk' for approval of the content. This was none other than Hendrik van Nassau-Ouwerkerk (1640–1708), a (bastard) grandson of Prince Maurice of Orange and second cousin and confidant of William III. Although Ouwerkerk was not at home, Boyer claimed that his request for approval was proof of his good intentions.[58] By mentioning Ouwerkerk, Boyer seems to imply that Ouwerkerk had knowledge of the pamphlet and perhaps was even involved in its production. The revelation of his name may be remarkable, but his involvement was not. Although they operated in the shadows, the writing of pamphlets was regularly initiated by politicians and ministers.[59]

Ouwerkerk was not the only name from William III's inner circle to pop up from the interrogations. Printer Roguet claimed that bookseller Aelberts had given him the manuscript with the announcement that it was at the order of the *raadspensionaris* himself.[60] Whether Grand Pensionary Gaspar Fagel (1634–1688), another confidant of William III, was indeed involved in the

56 Original quote: "uitvloeisel van beleefdheid tegenover een buitenlandsche autoriteit dan een bewijs van vervolgingszucht", see Knuttel, *Verboden boeken*, p. IX.
57 Michel Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium: Popular Print and Politics in the Netherlands 1650–72* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 38–39.
58 NA, HvH, 5347.10. Confession of Boyer, 20 September 1688.
59 Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie*, pp. 247–256; Weekhout, *Boekencensuur*, pp. 172–173; Maarten Hell, *De Amsterdamse herberg (1450–1800). Geestrijk centrum van het openbare leven* (University of Amsterdam, PhD dissertation, 2017), pp. 203–204.
60 "[D]at sij daer ordre toe hadden van den Heer Raedt Pensionaris". NA, HvH, 5347.10.

dissemination of the pamphlet is uncertain.[61] In an attempt to check this statement, the court confronted the bookseller, but Aelberts denied it, after which Fagel's name disappears from the procedural documents. There is no way to ascertain the statements made in the interrogations. Evidently, the author was not an *einzelgänger*, but how much value can we assign to the confessions? Were remarks that revealed the names of the people within William's inner circle based on truth? We know Ouwerkerk and Fagel were deeply involved in orchestrating a propaganda campaign against James II and that they provided authors with information.[62]

There is another testimonial on the apparent involvement of Ouwerkerk: that of Claude de Mesmes, comte d'Avaux (1640–1709), the famous and powerful French ambassador in the Dutch Republic. D'Avaux was a political opponent of William III. He openly interfered in Dutch politics and supported the city of Amsterdam in 1684 to obstruct William III. He was one of the best-informed ambassadors in Europe.[63] In a letter to the marquis de Louvois (1641–1691), Louis XIV's war minister, dated 3 September 1688, d'Avaux wrote that *La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé* was personally given to the bookseller by 'M. d'Overkerk', meaning Ouwerkerk. The letter was written two weeks *before* the Court of Holland first mentioned the French pamphlet (17 September). D'Avaux also gave a brief description of the pamphlet, which makes certain that he spoke of *La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé*. The actual title of the pamphlet d'Avaux mentioned was somewhat different (*Le Royaume usurpé; & l'Enfant supposé, contenant quatre Traités*), but the four main points of the content appear in the same order as on the original French title page – namely that James II was a usurper, William III was the rightful heir of the English crown, the English Parliament could dethrone the king, and the Prince of Wales was an imposter child.[64]

Both the author Boyer and the French ambassador d'Avaux pointed to Ouwerkerk, and Roguet spoke about the involvement of Fagel. This makes

61 There is no mention in the archives of Fagel that proves his direct involvement.

62 Levillain, 'French Diplomacy', p. 132; Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, pp. 24–31, 64–65; Carswell, *The Descent on England*, pp. 24–30.

63 Levillain, 'French Diplomacy'.

64 "Le Royaume usurpé; & l'Enfant supposé, contenant quatre Traités. Le premier, que le Roi d'Angleterre d'à présent est un Usurpateur. Le second, que le Prince d'Orange est le véritable héritier de la Couronne d'Angleterre. Le troisieme, que le Parlement d'Angleterre peut deposer le Roi d'à present. Et le quatrieme, que le Prince de Galles est un enfant suppose". Edme Mallet (ed.), *Négociations de Monsieur le comte d'Avaux en Hollande: depuis 1679 jusqu'en 1684. Tome sixieme* (Paris: Durand and Pissot, 1753), pp. 183, 212–213. Edme Mallet and Pieter le Clerq (eds.), *Negotiatiën van den heer graave d'Avaux, ambassadeur van het hof van Vrankryk, by de Staten Generaal. Zesde Deel* (Rotterdam, 1754), pp. 165, 168.

the association of the stadtholder's inner circle with Williamite propagandists clear and the prohibition of the pamphlet more intriguing, especially when we consider what d'Avaux wrote to France a month before the aforementioned letter (10 August).[65] D'Avaux stated that he did not want to believe that the Prince of Orange was involved in the dissemination of the slanderous rumours, but evidence clearly shows the opposite.[66] He had received two or three reports that confirmed involvement of the Prince of Orange, including one that suggested 'they' were truly planning to print a work to prove the deceit around the birth of the Prince of Wales.[67] Once the work had been sold and read, d'Avaux asserted, the prince would officially protest the content of this work.[68]

The involvement of William's inner circle clearly raises the possibility that the prohibition of Boyer's work was an act of propaganda. At first, the pamphlet was forbidden as a way of pleasing foreign diplomats and to show that something was being done about the flood of anti-English and anti-Catholic

65 The question is, to what extent was Pierre Boyer as a French preacher really aware of the larger political game in which he had taken part? We cannot prove that he was in league with William or that he was a hack, and we can only guess whether he had anticipated that his work would be banned. We do know that, in the end, he did not seem embittered by his punishment. Four years later, he dedicated his *Abrégé de l'histoire des Vaudois /The History of the Vaudois* to William III as king of England and hero of the Protestants. Cited from the English translation: *The history of the Vaudois. Wherein is shewn their original; how God has preserved the Christian religion among them in its purity … Peter Boyer … and newly translated out of French by a person of quality* (London, 1692). This is the English translation of the first edition: *Abrege de l'histoire des Vaudois* (The Hague, 1691). STCN 852679734.

66 "Quoique j'aye peine à croire que le Prince d'Orange osât avancer une calomnie si notoirement fausse, ni se charger de la honte d'une action si noire, néantmoins il sera facile de juger s'il y a lieu d'en douter lorsque j'aurai rapporté deux ou trois autres avis que j'ai eus qui confirment celui-ci: l'un est que l'on imprime actuellement un Livre pour prouver la supposition de la naissance du Prince de Galles; & qu'aussi-tôt qu'il sera imprimé & débité, le Prince d'Orange sera des protestations". *Négociations de Monsieur le comte d'Avaux en Hollande*, p. 185.

67 *Negotiatiën van den heer graave d'Avaux*, pp. 146–147.

68 Already in May 1688, d'Avaux had informed Paris that William III had given permission for the publication of printed material that stated that the Prince and Princess of Orange were the only legitimate heirs because Catholics were excluded from the throne: "Il n'en est pas de ce Libelle, ni de ceux de cette nature, comme de ces imprimés secrets, qui ne se vendent que fous main; ceux-ci sont publics & exposés aux boutiques, & se distribuent sans aucun ménagement; & le Roi d'Angleterre ne peut être trop attentif à découvrir les pratiques secrettes que le Prince d'Orange entretient avec les principaux membres du Parlement, & avec les premières perfonnes de sa Cour". *Négociations de Monsieur le comte d'Avaux en Hollande*, p. 149. D'Avaux reported that in the weeks before the publication of the pamphlet both William III and Fagel had called the Prince of Wales an *enfant supposé*. *Négociations de Monsieur le comte d'Avaux en Hollande*, pp. 183, 191 (10 and 20 August 1688).

pamphlets sold openly in the Dutch Republic – pamphlets that diplomats knew William's inner circle was involved in producing.[69] A letter from Dutch ambassador Aernout Citters suggests that James II himself might have been the person behind a complaint, after which the court decided to act. In a letter from Windsor (14/24 September 1688) to The Hague, Citters wrote that James II complained to him about the stream of scandalous pamphlets. In particular, he mentioned a pamphlet entitled *La couronne usurpée et l'Enfant supposé*. Several English ministers insisted that the Dutch ambassador write to the authorities in The Hague in order to suppress this pamphlet, and to offer a reward for the identity of the author and printer. Citters simply replied that this was useless, and that it was impossible to stop the dissemination of those pamphlets.[70]

Second, the prohibition of the pamphlet served as a diversion. D'Avaux as well as James II had complained at great lengths about the anti-English and anti-Catholic pamphlets.[71] The timing of the censorship was strange. William III had already decided to invade England, and preparations were at an advanced stage. Prohibition of one of the pamphlets would show good will for the sake of peace, and it would somewhat satisfy the ambassador and distract him.

Finally, censorship can have unintended consequences. The banning of books can backfire.[72] The supporters of William III knew that a forbidden pamphlet would sell.[73] They simply used the prohibition of the pamphlet to their advantage. Thanks to all the extra attention, the pamphlet would sell better, and the content would become publicly known.[74] The banning of the pamphlet was a publicity stunt and can be seen as a stealth marketing

69 NA 1.10.29 (collection Van Citters), 6 (Verbaal 1688), pp. 194–204: letter 11/21 September 1688.

70 NA 1.10.29 (collection Van Citters), 6 (Verbaal 1688), p. 206: letter 24/14 September 1688. Also see p. 202: letter 11/21 September 1688.

71 Levillain, 'French Diplomacy'.

72 S.C. Jansen and B. Martin, 'The Streisand Effect and Censorship Backfire', *International Journal of Communication*, 9 (2015), pp. 656–671.

73 Knuttel, *Verboden boeken*, p. 13, 110; Van Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid*, pp. 151–166.

74 This paradoxical effect of censorship was already noticed by Tacitus. Jansen and Martin, *The Streisand Effect*, p. 659. The American statesman John Adams (1735–1826) wrote that the strict measures that had been taken in Holland to ban the pamphlet *Brief aan het Volk van Nederland* (1781) had the opposite effect than what was intended. Banning the pamphlet caused that a text that would otherwise have become known in a small circle, was now being discussed everywhere in Europe. Hella S. Haasse, 'De vierde macht', in Hella S. Haasse, *Uitgesproken, opgeschreven. Essays over achttiende-eeuwse vrouwen, een bosgezicht, verlichte geesten, vorstenlot, satire, de pers en Vestdijks avondrood* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1996), p. 67.

campaign. The fact that the prohibition seems to have been a show trial could explain why the two different translations were not mentioned or specifically prohibited. Knuttel reported that it was strange how no mention was made of the two Dutch translations of the work in the trial documents.[75] Yet there is something noteworthy about the translations. Knuttel mentioned that *De geusurpeerde kroon* was a shortened edition, but the opposite is true.[76] Knuttel probably never saw the original text and could not compare both translations. *De geusurpeerde kroon* is in fact a literal translation of the French *La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé*. The other Dutch translation, *De gefalieerde koning*, is a much freer translation and an extended edition. Given the content of the additional text and the choice of words, I am inclined to identify the famous pamphleteer Ericus Walten as its translator and editor.[77]

Interestingly, it was not uncommon for non-Dutch pamphlets in 1688 to be translated by at least by two different translators. At least nineteen originally non-Dutch pamphlets were translated into Dutch at least twice, meaning that the message was spread further and repeated more often.[78] As the agent Johnston had advised, repetition of the same message nourishes prevailing doubt and strengthens suspicions, as was the case with *De gefalieerde koning*. By giving translations of the same pamphlet different titles, the translated

75 Knuttel, *Verboden boeken*, pp. 4 and 31–32. no 106. Despite the ban, *La couronne usurpée et le prince supposé* was already reprinted in 1689. Based on the two Dutch translations, two German-language translations were published: *Der Faliirte König* (based on the Dutch translation *De gefalieerde koning*) and *Die wider-rechtlich angemassete Cron, und der unter – oder beygeschobene Printz* (based on *De geusurpeerde kroon*).

76 Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling*, p. 449.

77 About Waltens work as an Orangist pamphleeter in 1688, see Jagersma, 'Het leven van de polemist'; Knuttel, 'Ericus Walten', pp. 345–455; Martin van Gelderen, 'In Defense of William III: Eric Walten and the Glorious Revolution', in Esther Mijers and David Onnekink (ed.) *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context* (London: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 143–156. The adaptation starts already on the title page. Walten translated the title a lot more freely. "De falieerde koning, En de Prins tegen Dank. Of en klaar en bondig bewijs van de onweerdigheid van jacobus de twede, om den Koninglijken Throon te bekleden: 't onwedersprekelijke Erfregt van mevrouw de Princesse van Oranjen, en het bedrog aangaande het supposeren van den sogenaamden jongen Prins van Walis. Tot Keulen, by Pieter Marteau, 1688." Walten added and removed passages, was fiercer about the bloodthirsty papists, and scattered much more with names and events from England. Details and specific aspects matches his other work. The same goes for his noticeable terminology, such as 'Hof van inquisitie' which is not mentioned in the original; but is mentioned in Waltens *Nieuw-Modische Getuigen*. Another big difference is that Walten speaks of the English as 'they', while the French preacher Boyer pretended to be an author living in England ('Our Nation', and 'we').

78 Even if the translators in different places were unaware of another translation, it indicates the appeal of the text.

pamphlets appeared different than others or even 'new', but their propagandistic message was the same.

Conclusion

Looking back on 1688, the English quickly noticed how the Prince of Orange's campaign had blinded them. Soon, they had to conclude that he was not the saviour that they had so eagerly hoped for. In the years after 1688, when the dust of the propaganda war had settled, authors reflected with a certain estrangement on the *Declaration of Reasons* and admitted how the manifesto had succeeded in 'debauching' the English public, making them forget their true allegiance and turn against their legitimate monarch.[79]

The Orangist campaign against the Prince of Wales was effective. The English envoy d'Abbeville called the successful nourishing of doubt regarding the legality of James II's son a 'dirty trick' and 'worse … and more unpardonable' than the entire invasion of England.[80] However, the campaign did not come out of the blue. On the contrary, the plan might have been much older and even been started years before the pregnancy was announced. In 1682, people feared that Charles II would be succeeded by his Catholic brother. Both brothers lacked male heirs, but in 1682, James's wife was pregnant. James II could possibly produce a male heir. However, it turned out to be a girl who died two months later. In *The Observator* (no. 194) of 23 August 1682, a commentary addressed to the Prince of Orange was written:

> If it had pleased God to give his Royal Highness the blessing of a son, as it proved a daughter, you were prepared to make a Perkin of him. To what end did you take so much pains else, by your Instruments and Intelligences, to hammer it into the people's heads that the Dutchess of York was not with child? And so, in case of a son, to represent him as an imposture; whereas you have now taken off the mask in confessing the daughter. I would have the impression of this cheat sink so far into the heads and hearts of all honest men, as never to be defaced, or forgotten.

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79 Jonathan I. Israel, 'Propaganda in the Making of the Glorious Revolution', in Susan Roach (ed.), *Across the Narrow Seas: Studies in the History and Bibliography of Britain and the Low Countries* (London: The British Library, 1991), pp. 167–177, here p. 172.

80 Schwoerer, 'Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688–89', pp. 853–854.

> For we must expect, that the same flam shall, at any time hereafter, be trumpt up again, upon the like occasion.[81]

The idea of spreading lies to deny that Mary of Modena was pregnant predated 1688.[82] In the case of the birth of a son, the claim that the newborn son was an imposter could then be made quickly and easily. In 1688, the fact that Mary's succession to the throne, the real fear of Catholics ruling England and a European war were at stake made the fierceness of the pamphlets and the number of pamphlets spreading false claims much greater. In 1688, John Wildman even wrote that eventually 199 out of 200 people believed that the queen was not really pregnant.[83]

The rumours arose immediately after the announcement of the pregnancy, but the plans were much older. The slander involving the Prince of Wales was an excuse for William III to defend the hereditary right to the throne of his wife Mary. It is clear that the myth of the imposter child was exploited by the Orangists, but it is unknown to what extent William and Mary had created and spread the rumours. The story was a gift for everyone in favour of preventing a Catholic dynasty. The issue of the Prince of Wales' birth and its legitimacy is not a question of whether the Prince of Wales was or was not the true son of James II; the very fact that this question was asked demonstrates the effectiveness of the propaganda.

81 Thomas Bayly Howell, *Cobbett's State Trials, Vol. XII* (London: Longman et all., 1812), pp. 157–158.

82 Rachel Weil, 'The Politics of Legitimacy: Women and the Warming-pan Scandal', in Lois G. Schwoerer (ed.), *The Revolution of 1688–1689: Changing Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 69.

83 *An Account of the reasons of the nobility and gentry's invitation of His Highness the Prince of Orange into England being a memorial from the English Protestants concerning their grievances: with a large account of the birth of the Prince of Wales, presented to Their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange* (1688), p. 11.

PART 5

Religious Authority

CHAPTER 16

Illustrating Authority: The Creation and Reception of an English Protestant Iconography

Nora Epstein

Tudor printer and publisher John Day established his dominance over the trade in English martyrologies and cemented a reputation for brazen Protestant polemics packaged in richly illustrated books with the publication of his 1563 book *Actes and Monuments*. While much ink has been spent on Day's effective use of paratext and illustrations to further his patrons' propagandistic endeavours, significantly less has been written about his most heavily illustrated texts: *Christian Prayers and Meditations* (1569) and the subsequent *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (1st ed. 1578).[1] While the two prayer books have too many textual and visual variations to be considered two editions of the same work, their shared content and means of creation makes it imprudent to examine them in isolation.[2] As the most densely illustrated Tudor prayer books, the little attention these works have received in the historiography

1 *Christian prayers and meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek and Latine* (London: John Day, 1569), USTC 39731; *A booke of Christian prayers, collected out of the auncient writers, and best learned in our tyme, worthy to be read with an earnest mynde of all Christians, in these daungerous and troublesome dayes, that God for Christes sake will yet still be mercyfull unto us* (London: John and Richard Day, 1578), USTC 508554, 509278, 511512, & 3003447. For *Actes and Monuments*: see Julian Roberts, 'Bibliographical Aspects of John Foxe', in D.M. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate Scolar Press, 1997) pp. 36–51; Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, 'Print, Profit and Propaganda: The Elizabethan Privy Council and the 1570 Edition of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs"', *The English Historical Review*, 119 (2004), pp. 1288–1307; and John King, *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

2 In recognition of their similarities, bibliographers have collectively referred to all five editions of these two books as 'Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book'. Some speculate that the anonymous compiler of *Christian Prayers and Meditations* was Queen Elizabeth (or John Foxe). See Erzsébet Stróbl, 'The Queen and Death: An Elizabethan Book of Devotion', in Kinga Földváry and Erzsébet Stróbl (eds.), *Early Modern Communi(cati)ons: Studies in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), p. 15; Jennifer Clement, 'The Queen's Voice: Elizabeth I's, Christian Prayers and Meditations', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 13:3 (2008), pp. 1–26. For the suggestion that Foxe compiled the work: Francis Douce, *Dance of Death* (London: W. Pickering, 1833), p. 147.

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characterises them as aberrations and oddities. However, when we contextualize the prayer books within Day's political network and print output, they appear particularly on-brand for this image-conscious book producer. For example, *Actes and Monuments'* prefatory address, *'Ad doctum lectorem'*, parallels and contrasts Day's martyrology against the most famous compilation of Catholic saints' lives, Jacobus de Voragine's *The Golden Legend,* (which author John Foxe attacks as being 'filled with prodigious portents and most empty and utterly vain fictions').[3] In the years between bringing to market the first two editions of this financially and politically profitable inversion of Catholic hagiographies, Day briefly turned his attention toward appropriating another lay devotional format: books of hours.

The most immediately noticeable feature of Day's two prayer books is their remarkable similarity to printed Catholic books of hours. Both textually and paratextually, the works clearly borrow from early-fifteenth-century private devotional aids, particularly those printed in Paris. Day's choice to assume the conventions of books of hours has led some scholars to position the works as Protestant didactics, masquerading in a comforting Catholic format in an attempt to appeal to popular pre-Reformation sensibilities. Eamon Duffy best expressed this sentiment when he claimed the 1578 book was 'in fact a Trojan Horse, harnessing the old forms to smuggle in the new religion'.[4] Other scholars have registered surprise at Day's use of a traditional Catholic format. Before unpacking the Protestant text, Richard L. Williams wondered how Day, an 'important figure in the evangelical wing of the English reformers … [and] printer of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*' could print 'the borders in his 1569 book that were so redolent of books of hours from the time of 'popery'.[5] However, when we situate Day's two illustrated prayer books within the context of *Actes and Monuments'* self-conscious use of the martyrological topos, the prayer books no longer seem surprising.

This chapter will argue that just as *Actes and Monuments* explicitly positions itself within the Christian literary tradition while inviting comparisons with famous Catholic hagiographies. Day's prayer books similarly employ a distinctive format to draw out a comparison by association. Moreover, the

3 John Foxe, *Actes and monuments* (London: John Day, [1563]), USTC 506152, sigs. B3^r–B4^r. Translation from John N. King, 'Literary Aspects of Foxe's Acts and Monuments', *The Acts and Monuments Online*. [https://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe/index.php?realm=more&gototype=&type=essay&book=essay12&anchor=prodigious#essay12] accessed 9 August 2017.

4 Eamon Duffy, *Marking of the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240–1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 171.

5 Richard L. Williams, 'Censorship and Self-Censorship in Late Sixteenth-century English Book Illustration', in Michael Hunter (ed.), *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 45.

abundant and shifting illustrations, which caused some scholars to disregard the five editions of these prayer books, are remarkable resources for studying the tensions surrounding religious images in early modern England. Tessa Watt, in her argument against Patrick Collinson's 'iconophobia' thesis, states that a more accurate description of the tightening limitations on religious images is not a sudden change in mentality but 'a continuing process of substituting acceptable images for unacceptable, albeit within increasingly constrictive boundaries'.[6] The tension Watt describes surrounding the ever-narrowing boundaries of image permissibility is palpable on the pages of Day's prayer books. Rather than deceiving the viewer into unwittingly digesting Protestant theology, they are unique examples of vigorously Protestant prayer books that, like their Catholic model, provided their readers with a rich compendium of iconography.

Patrons on the Page

Day was careful in his selection of images to print in these deluxe prayer books (as will be detailed below) but the choice of lay Catholic devotional format to refashion for the new church was obvious. For centuries, books of hours fostered a unique relationship between reader and text as practical aids to a spiritual necessity. Additionally, books of hours' established use and traditionally flexible content made them ideal vehicles for disseminating new beliefs while also suggesting historic continuity. Some of the English Reformation's earliest legislation acknowledged the influence of private devotional texts, and sought to control their contents.[7] Each of the post-Reformation Tudor monarchs, including Catholic Queen Mary, endorsed books of hours that supported their agenda and used devotional aids within their wider propaganda campaigns.[8] Unlike the many official or quasi-official English Protestant books of hours, *Christian Prayers and Meditations* did not simply adapt the texts of its Catholic predecessors: the 1569 book was the first to incorporate the abundant illustrative content found in many Catholic works.

6 Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 135; Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia* (Reading: University of Reading, 1986).

7 Charles C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529–1545): Their Publication and Connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953); Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, p. 147–170.

8 Helen C. White, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951); Duffy, *Marking of the Hours.*

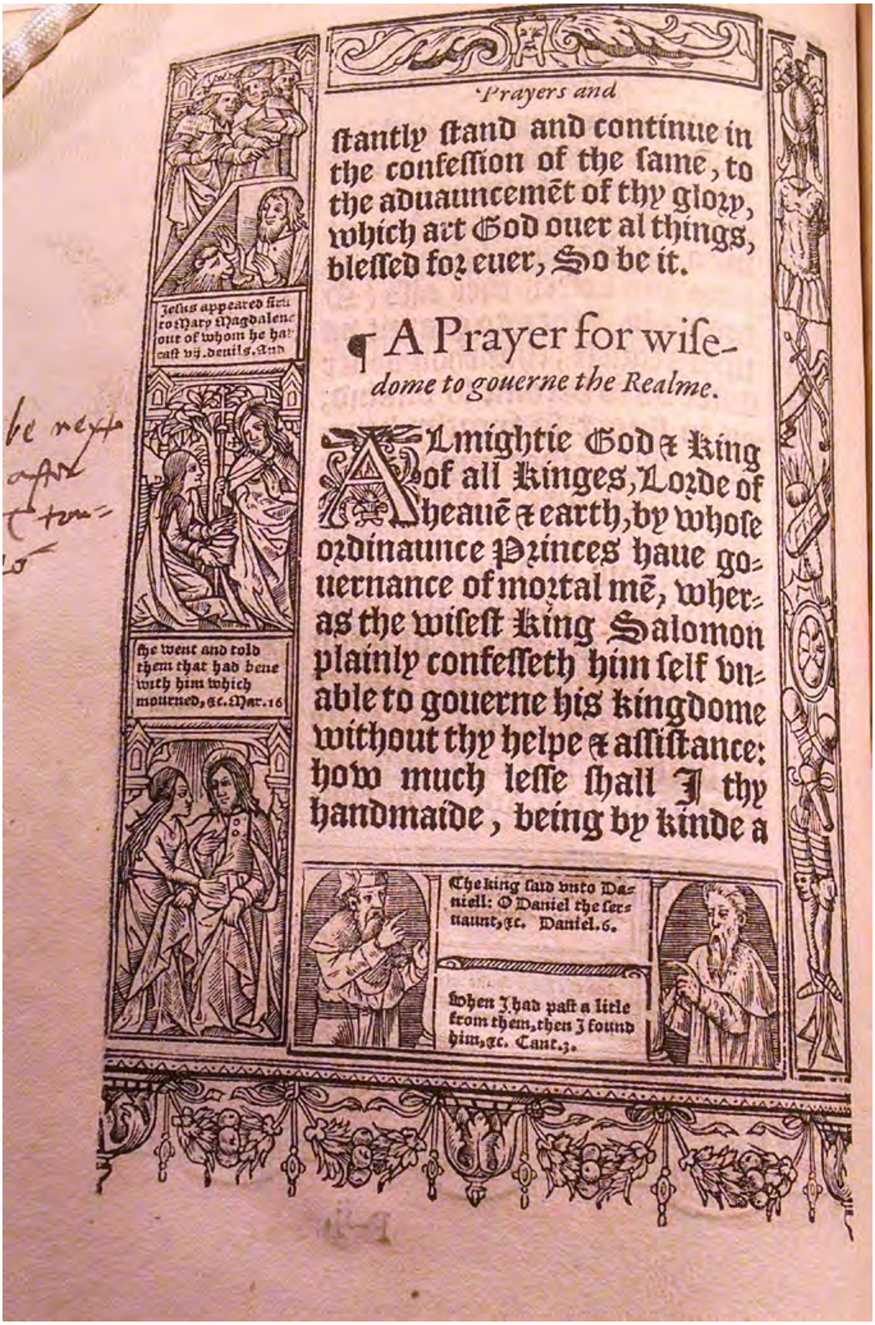
The visual scheme of the earlier book, *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, is expressed in elaborated borders that frame the devotions (see figure 16.1). Each border is composed of five cuts, the most prominent of which are the sidepieces closest to the finished book's fore-edge. These sidepieces repeat two highly conventional cycles frequently used in books of hours (or 'primers', as they were often called in England): the Life of Christ and the Dance of Death. In the Life of Christ cycle (repeated seven times in the work) each image associated with an event in Jesus' life is contextualised with a corresponding scriptural quotation and two depictions of Old Testament prefigurations. At the foot of the page are two patriarchs, who indicate to the reader the biblical source for the Old Testament prefigurations. Towards the end of the book, the Life of Christ cycle is replaced with a series of Dance of Death images, which depict the certainty of death by illustrating Death seizing various members of sixteenth-century society in descending order of rank.[9]

Nine years after the publication of *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, John Day's son Richard reused most of its illustrations in *A Booke of Christian Prayers*. Like its predecessor, *A Booke of Christian Prayers* is also a collection of devotions and images based on traditional books of hours. However, fresh from his disappointing work on the much-maligned third edition of *Actes and Monuments,* Richard exercised his Eton and Cambridge education by expanding the devotional content and framing his prayer book in a signed letter 'To the Christian Reader'.[10] Richard also set the work apart from the earlier *Christian Prayers and Meditations* by diversifying the illustrative content. The 1578 first edition of *A Booke of Christian Prayers* had four new border cycles: the Virtues, the Six Works of Mercy, the Five Senses and the Fifteen Tokens of Judgement, each with matching footpieces.

Given the religious and political environment of Elizabethan England, lay prayer books are valuable resources for exploring the long process of establishing new orthodoxy and of how contemporaries internalised the state-mandated faith. Day's richly illustrated prayer books were too expensive to have been intended for a large, popular audience, as the three shillings and

9 Douce, *Dance of Death*, pp. 147–148; Samuel C. Chew, 'The Iconography of "A Book of Christian Prayers" (1578), illustrated', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 3 (1945), pp. 297–301.

10 White, *Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, pp. 187–196; Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*, p. 152. Also see William Keating Clay, *Private Prayers put Forth by Authority During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge: The Parker Society, 1851). Clay meticulously identifies much of the source material for most of the prayers in *A Booke of Christian Prayers*. For John and Richard's contentious and litigious relationship, see the above-cited Evenden or C.L. Oastler, 'John Day, the Elizabethan Printer', *Oxford Bibliographical Society*, 10 (1975), appendix 1, pp. 65–69.


Prayers and

ſtantly ſtand and continue in the confeſſion of the ſame, to the aduauncemēt of thy glory, which art God ouer al things, bleſſed for euer, So be it.

¶ A Prayer for wiſedome to gouerne the Realme.

Almightie God & King of all Kinges, Lorde of heauē & earth, by whoſe ordinaunce Princes haue gouernance of mortal mē, wheras the wiſeſt King Salomon plainly confeſſeth him ſelf vnable to gouerne his kingdome without thy helpe & aſſiſtance: how much leſſe ſhall I thy handmaide, being by kinde a

Jeſus appeared firſt to Mary Magdalene out of whom he had caſt vij. deuils. And

She went and told them that had bene with him which mourned, &c. Mar. 16

The king ſaid vnto Daniell: O Daniel the ſeruaunt, &c. Daniel. 6.

When I had paſt a litle from them, then I found him, &c. Cant. 3.

FIGURE 16.1 *Christian Prayers and Meditations* (1569), sig P2v
ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

four pence price that the owner of a copy of *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (now in Harvard's Houghton Library) paid indicates.[11] However, the books' official backing, as well as their status as the only luxury printed illustrated prayer books of Elizabethan England, offers rare insight into the political process of establishing a Reformed religious iconography. Like many of Day's deluxe publications, it is likely that he understood the initial return on investment not in terms of success on the retail market, but in how the books bolstered his reputation and relationships. In printing these works, Day appropriated a traditional means of disseminating iconography to establish an English visual vocabulary that suited both the new orthodoxy and his powerful patrons.

Throughout his career, Day was under the patronage of some of the most influential people in English society. As Elizabeth Evenden has shown, Day's long-standing relationships with figures such as William Cecil, Robert Dudley and Archbishop Parker allowed him to secure valuable patents. These included the exclusive rights to publish bestsellers, such as *ABC with Little Catechism* and the English metrical psalms.[12] On the many occasions when other members of the Stationers' Company challenged Day's monopolies or ambitions for expansion, his powerful allies often proved crucial in protecting his interests.[13] Given the often perilous economics of early modern print, satisfying his patrons was essential to Day's success.

11 Houghton Library shelfmark: STC6431, this copy is also available on EEBO. A 1615 price inscription in another 1590 edition lists a 2 shillings and 1 pence price, National Library of Scotland shelfmark: Gray.449. Among the books included in Francis R. Johnson's often-cited 'Notes on English Retail Book-Prices, 1550–1640', *The Library*, 5 (1950), pp. 83–112, is an unbound copy of the 1581 edition of *A Booke of Christian Prayers.* Johnson noted a one-shilling price for Richard Day's book is sourced from the 1585 inventor stock list of Edinburgh bookbinder Robert Gourlaw. Although the price he cites is wholesale, Johnson explains that 'wholesale price in Scotland approximates so closely to the retail price in London' that we can take it as roughly equivalent to the price a Londoner would have paid. By his calculations, the price Johnson lists means that the 1581 *A Booke of Christian Prayers* sold for .32d a sheet, making it markedly cheaper than the 1.08d a sheet the owner of the Harvard copy paid. Tracing this valuation back to Johnson's original source, a 1836 printing of Gourlaw's inventory in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, we find that the work he identified as *A Booke of Christian Prayers* is listed in the inventory simply as 'Cristiane prayeris', which could be a short title for any number of devotional works. It seems clear that Johnson misidentified this work and that his listed price is not accurate.

12 Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*; Andrew Pettegree, 'Day, John (1521/2–1584)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Consulted online. [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7367, accessed 9 Aug., 2017]; Oastler, 'John Day', pp. 22–25.

13 In the case of this book, the records of the Stationers' Company contain a formal challenge against the printing of the 1578 work filed by the son of John Day's former partner, William Seres, on the basis that he had inherited the privilege to print primers from his father. The matter was settled in Day's favour on 28 January 1580. W.W. Greg and E. Boswell

Day used his patrons to secure his elevated position in the English print market and the works he produced reinforced those valued relationships. The dedication of *Actes and Monuments* begins with a woodcut capital C depicting the virgin Queen enthroned atop a vanquished pope and receiving homage from three men, mirroring the iconography of the Adoration of the Magi.[14] Instead of three kings, the figures in the capital are identified as John Day, John Foxe, and William Cecil.[15] From the outset Day's intentions are clear, it was the relationship between author, printer and patron that allowed the presentation of this Protestant martyrology to the Queen and her people. In Day's two prayer books, he was not nearly as explicit about the work's patronage, but nevertheless used his text and paratext to please his patrons while expressing the Crown's endorsement of the material within.

As Evenden explains, Day was operating between shifting spheres of influence over his long career and deftly maintained patronage among secular and sacred elites. The only known completed copy of *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, which now resides in Lambeth Palace Library, is thought to be Elizabeth's presentation copy given to her by Day's patron Archbishop Parker.[16] Reflecting the status of this gift, this presentation copy was elegantly hand-coloured by artists in Parker's Lambeth workshop.[17] While Parker undoubtedly played a crucial role in disseminating the 1569 book, it is the Queen's confidant, Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, whose patronage is most evident within the pages of Day's prayer books. An ornament featuring the heraldic device of Robert Dudley, the staked

(eds.), *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1576 to 1602 from Register B* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1930), pp. 9–10.

14 This woodcut capital was later used in 1577 on sig. I3^{r} of John Dee's *Perfecte Arte of Navigation* (USTC 508331) and in 1578 for Gabriel Harvey's *Gratulationum Valdinensium Libri Quatuor* (USTC 508571). Roy Strong posits the image of Elizabeth enthroned is based on a work attributed to miniaturist Levina Teerlinc. Roy Strong, *Gloriana, the Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Pimlico, 2003), pp. 55–57. Also see John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 154–158.

15 King suggests that the third figure is not Cecil, but Thomas Norton. See King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, p. 156. For the Cecil attribution, see Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*, p. 113–114.

16 Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*, p. 107. The Lambeth edition is the only copy in which the Litany was written entirely in the first person. William Keatinge Clay states, 'Whilst, therefore, the rest of the impression was printed for the public generally, this particular book must have been prepared expressly for the Queen'. Clay, *Private Prayers*, p. xxi.

17 Lambeth Palace Library, *Featured Image: Queen Elizabeth I Prayer Book*, [<http://www.lambethpalacelibrary.org/content/elizabethprayerbook> accessed 29 November 2018]; Stróbl, 'The Queen and Death', p. 15. For more on Parker's workshop of binders and illuminators, see Anthony Grafton, 'Matthew Parker: The Book as Archive' in *History of Humanities*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2017), p. 28.

FIGURE 16.2 Ornament featuring the heraldic device of the Earl of Leicester from *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (1578), sig. M2^{v}
BRITISH LIBRARY

bear and staff, encircled in a heart of grape vines, appears 18 times in the first edition of *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (see figure 16.2).

The royal arms and emblems associated with Tudor monarchs, such as roses, shamrocks, fleurs de lys and Beaufort portcullises are also woven throughout the works. Both prayer books feature a prefatory portrait of Queen Elizabeth having set aside the symbols of her authority – her crown, sceptre and sword – and kneeling in private prayer at a prie-dieu with a little book open before her (see figure 16.3).[18] This prefatory portrait, entitled *Elizabeth Regina*, echoes representations of the Old Testament kings, David and Solomon. To underscore this connection further, the epigraph cites 2 Chronicles 6:14, the prayer Solomon gave to dedicate to the completed Temple. The modelling of Elizabeth as a latter-day Solomon reverberates throughout the texts of both of Day's compilations and relates to the wider agenda of the works.[19] The association with the pious king Solomon seeks to legitimise the contemporary Church of England by claiming its own biblical prefigurations.

The *Elizabeth Regina* portrait is also positioned in the space often reserved for the portrayals of the Virgin in both print and manuscript books of hours.[20]

18 Most scholars refer to this image as a 'frontispiece'. However, because of its position on the verso of the leaf following the title page (a2^{v}), this paper is conforming to Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram's more general designation of 'prefatory portrait'. For more on this portrait, see King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, p. 114.

19 For more on casting Elizabeth as the new Solomon in Day's prayer books, see Linda Shenk*, Learned Queen The Image of Elizabeth I in Politics and Poetry* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 21–53.

20 Notable examples of illustrations of the Virgin used at the opening of a codex are *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy* (Flanders, c. 1475), *Book of Hours of Richard III* (London, c. 1420), and *The Hours of Lorenzo Strozzi* (Naples, 1478). This substation is not unique to these works, as Patrick Collinson states: 'It has been almost commonplace to observe that in Elizabethan England the image of the Virgin was replaced by that of the virgin queen in polite and even popular devotion'. Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia*, p. 23.

FIGURE 16.3 *Elizabeth Regina.* Prefatory portrait from *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (1578), sig. [fist] 1v
LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY, SHELFMARK [ZZ]1569.6

The placement and composition honours the piety of the Queen while providing viewers with an unimpeachable example of the proper use of the book in hand.[21] The depiction shows Elizabeth in her opulently decorated private chapel, but there is nothing in the room that would trouble even the most fervent of Elizabethan iconoclasts. This image is clearly a fiction. As we know from the work of Margaret Aston, the Queen's chapel was a site of continual iconoclasm and image restoration. Aston remarks that, over the course of many years, 'Elizabethan Polyeuctes … bravely undertook to destroy the idols in the royal pantheon', only to see the offending cross and candlesticks reappear.[22] Despite this imagined space, the badges of the monarch and her favourite express the agenda of the books while framing the devotional material with the trappings of authority.

While the visual rhetoric of authority in the work is clear and unwavering, the wider illustrative programme is far from stable. The shifting visual schemes of *Christian Prayers and Meditations* and *A Booke of Christian Prayers* makes them especially fertile sources for examining the changing mentality regarding religious images throughout their print run. In 1945, Samuel C. Chew noticed that when Richard Day reused the blocks from *Christian Prayers and Meditations* to make the first edition of his *A Booke of Christian Prayers* in 1578, he excised two images of Mary.[23] The two Pietàs featured in the 1569 *Christian Prayers and Meditations* were clearly no longer acceptable for the 1578 *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (see figure 16.4). Given the Pietà's strong association with the Cult of Mary and papal indulgences, their removal was almost certainly induced by a need to conform this state-sanctioned work to the current religious climate.

The first 1569 Pietà is accompanied by two Old Testament prefigurations from Ruth and Lamentations, while the second is shown with prefigurations of Joseph being lowered into the pit and Jonah cast overboard.[24] The Pietàs were replaced in 1578 by new cuts of the Entombment and the Maries visiting the Tomb (see figure 16.5).[25] The method of excising the Pietàs remains a matter of debate. Chew and others believe that the border images are woodcuts, and that each Pietà and two prefigurations were a single vertical woodblock.

21 For Elizabeth as a *user* of books in royal iconography, rather than depicted like her father and brother as active participants in book production and dissemination, see Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*, pp. 115–116.

22 Margaret Aston, *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 102–107.

23 Chew, 'Iconography', pp. 293–305.

24 *Christian Prayers and Meditations* (London: John Daye, 1569), USTC 39731, sig. e2^{r} and e2^{v}.

25 *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (London: John Daye, 1578), USTC 508554, sig. L1^{v} and L2^{r}.

FIGURES 16.4–16.6 (*left*) One of two Pietàs from *Christian Prayers and Meditations* (1569), sig. E2r. St Paul's Cathedral Library; (*middle*) Replacement Maries visiting the Tomb from *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (1578), sig. L2r. The British Library; (*right*) Upside down Entombment from *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (1590), sig. F1r
THE BRITISH LIBRARY

In contrast, Leslie Manhin Oliver and the bibliographers of *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram contend that the borders were composed of metalcuts produced by a process known as *polytypage.*[26] If the latter group is correct, the three images would have been cast separately, and only bound to each other once in the printer's matrix, allowing for easier alterations.

The new images were slotted into the same positions as their predecessors and are immediately recognisable as having been crafted by a different hand. In later editions, this micro-iconoclastic endeavour is made even clearer by the fact that, in the 1581, 1590 and 1608 editions, at least one of the replacement images was printed upside down (see figure 16.6). As Chew states, 'in comparing these embellishments in their original and altered forms we have before our eyes the process of uprooting and destroying "Romish" images'.[27] By making that very comparison, we see that what was deemed admissible in 1569 needed to be expurgated only nine years later.

Unlike the above case of iconoclasm within the pages of Day's devotional works, some iconographic boundaries did not take years to shift; rather, they shifted in the course of printing. Three of the blocks from *A Booke of Christian Prayer* received substantive alterations, and two of them are present in the 1569 work in both their altered and original forms. Prefiguring Jesus being pierced by the Holy Lance is an image depicting Eve being brought forth from Adam's side. In the image, God is depicted as an old, bearded man wearing a voluminous robe and bending down towards the supplicant Eve, while his left hand reaches out to Eve's shoulder and his right is blessing her. After several quires with the anthropomorphic representation of the God had been printed, suddenly, God's head is chunked out and replaced with a tetragrammaton in a cloud (see figure 16.7).[28] The block was cut with a diagonal incision that manages to excise God's face and right hand while keeping Eve intact. The substitution is rather clumsy: behind the recumbent figure of Adam, the viewer can still see God's billowing robes, and his left hand, still reaching toward Eve, has been disembodied. Out of the seven times this image is printed in the *Christian*

26 Leslie Mahin Oliver, 'The Procession of the Virtues in a Book of Christian Prayers' in *Harvard Library Bulletin*, VI (1952), p. 308; Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated, Books 1536–1603* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1998), p. 315.

27 Chew, 'Iconography', p. 300.

28 For more on the history of the tetragrammaton in English print, see David J. Davis, *Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures: Religious Identity during the English Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2013) pp. 143–177; Margaret Aston, 'Symbols of Conversion: Proprieties of the Page in Reformation England', in Michael Hunter (ed.) *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).

FIGURE 16.7 The Creation of Eve from *Christian Prayers and Meditations* (1569), sig. e1r and o4r
ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

Prayers and Meditations, three feature God as human, and four have the tetragrammaton replacement.[29]

This same disruption occurred twice more in the work. Following a similar procedure to the altered Creation of Eve woodcut, in the illustration of Moses taking off his shoes at God's request from Exodus 3, God was replaced with the tetragrammaton (see figure 16.8). Again, in the edited impressions, the

29 USTC 39731. God the Father is featured on sig. e1r, E1r, and Dd1r, while sig. i4r, o4r, K1r, and Ii1r have the tetragrammaton edits.

FIGURE 16.8 Moses before the burning bush from *Christian Prayers and Meditations* (1569), sig. A3^{r} and L4^{r}
ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

anthropomorphic God is still visible from the waist down.[30] Finally, all seven instances of the image of David praying to God from Samuel 2 have clearly had the same treatment, but no pre-edited version made its way into the work (see figure 16.9).[31]

30 USTC 39731. God the Father is featured on sig. A3^{r} and F3^{r}, while sig. a4^{r}, f4^{r}, l2^{r}, L4^{r}, and Ee3^{r} have the tetragrammaton edits.

31 USTC 39731, sig. b4^{r}, g3^{r}, m2^{r}, B3^{r}, G3^{r}, L4^{v}, and Ff2^{v}.

FIGURE 16.9
David praying about his return to Judah from *Christian Prayers and Meditations* (1569), sig. B4^{r}
ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

Uncommented on in the literature on Day's prayer books is the tiny anthropomorphic God handing Moses the Decalogue in the background of the Golden Calf cut.[32] This depiction of a bearded God avoided the editorial decapitation exacted on the images cited above, and remained unaltered in the subsequent editions of *A Booke of Christian Prayers.* Although this image escaped expurgation in the four print shops that used this cut from 1569–1608, the artists charged with colouring the Queen's personal copy caught the unwelcome guest and diligently blotted him out. In each of the above cases, the artists in Parker's Lambeth workshop skilfully blended any traces of the personified God

32 USTC 39731, sig. b2^{v}, g1^{v}, l4^{v}, B1^{v}, G1^{v}, M3^{r}, Aa1^{v}, and Ff1^{v}.

FIGURE 16.10 Hand-coloured Moses and the Golden Calf, with a manuscript Tetragrammaton covering God in a cloud
THE LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY, SHELF MARK [ZZ]1569.6

into the background, and, for some impressions, even delicately added manuscript tetragrammatons (see figure 16.10).

Aston's often-cited unpacking of the complex events surrounding the *Bishops' Bible* controversy provides insight into the iconoclasm in *Christian Prayers and Meditations*. The *Bishops' Bible* of 1568 was conceived by Archbishop Parker to provide a more authoritative English translation. Parker's Bible included 134 woodcut illustrations based on the work of German artist Virgil Solis, printed from blocks that Aston proved were brought to England from Cologne.[33] Solis' compositions were Lutheran in origin, but were also deemed acceptable for use in a series of Catholic Bibles. Aston describes a process remarkably similar to that of the refashioning of Day's books:

> … some of the blocks were carefully altered to suit the confessional demands of the Elizabethan Church.… Prints that included large depictions of God were reworked. The offending section was cut out, a plug of new wood deftly inserted into the block, and a wood-engraver filled the sometimes awkward space with the tetragrammaton.[34]

As in *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, the *Bishops' Bible's* Creation of Eve scene was modified by replacing the representation of God as a bearded ancient with a tetragrammaton.

The anxiety about depicting God the Father had long been stirring in England. Archbishop Cranmer's *Catechism* of 1548 attacks images of God as 'an olde man with a long hore berd', and between 1559 and 1560, one of the 11 Articles by the Bishops of Lambeth stated that the clergy should twice yearly preach that they 'utterly disallow … all kind of expressing God invisible in the form of an old man'.[35] Parker's purging fell in line with English Protestant tastes, but, to his critics' delight, his biblical iconoclasm was not entirely thorough. Several smaller woodcut images of the anthropomorphic God made their way into the first edition of the *Bishop's Bible*. The 1572 *A Second Admonition to the Parliamen*t featured a brutal attack on these images: '… in their last great Bible in the first edition of it, such a sight of blasphemous picture of God the father, as what they deserve for it, I will refer them to none other judge then their owne note uppon the 15 verse of the fourth of Deuteronomie …'.[36] The

33 Margaret Aston, 'The *Bishops' Bible* Illustrations' in Diana Wood (ed.), *The Church and the Arts* (Cambridge: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1992), p. 271.

34 Aston, 'The *Bishops' Bible* Illustrations', pp. 283–284.

35 Aston, 'The *Bishops' Bible* Illustrations', p. 280 ; Gerald Lewis Bray (ed.) *Documents of the English Reformation 1526–1701*, (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2004), pp. 349–351. USTC 504011, sig. C8v–D1r.

36 Aston, 'The *Bishops' Bible* Illustrations', p. 272. The note to which the critics refer was written by Bishop Alley to clarify God's words on Mount Horeb and read: 'Meaning that

Admonition closes by teasing its readers with an anonymous colophon, stating 'Thys worke is finished thankes be to God/And he only wil keepe us from the searchers rod. And though master [John] Day and [Humphrey] Toy watch & warde/ We hope the living God is our savegarde …'.[37]

The contemporary controversy surrounding the images in the *Bishops' Bible* sheds light on the similar changes made during the printing of *Christian Prayers and Meditations.* As Day's patron, Parker played an important part in the dissemination of *Christian Prayers and Meditations.* Evenden explains that, in 1568, shortly after Parker presented Elizabeth with a copy of the *Bishops' Bible,* the Archbishop presented her with the hand-coloured copy of *Christian Prayers and Meditations.*[38] The two books were published only months apart, and, although the criticism cited above was from 1572, it has been argued that outrage over the images in this high-profile book was also voiced immediately.[39] Therefore, while Day was in the midst of printing, it is probable that the outcry over the depiction of God was starting to break out. This contemporary public indignation could explain the apparent hastiness of the excisions of God's face.

There is material evidence to suggest that Day set about his iconoclasm immediately. In a work composed of three different paper stocks, an edited and unedited image of the Creation of Eve is printed on paper with identical watermarks, implying that the images were printed in a relatively short span of time.[40] Williams asserts that these changes are proof of Day's self-censorship, rather than censorship having been imposed upon him by outside authorities. If the deletion of the anthropomorphic God was the work of the body of clerical censors put in place in the Royal Injunctions of 1559, it is unlikely that they would have allowed the images of the human manifestations of God that were already printed to remain in the work.[41]

From these examples of iconoclasm within the pages of *Christian Prayers and Meditations* and *A Booke of Christian Prayers*, we see the complexities of Day's role as an image producer. Clearly, he was beholden to the limits on

plagues hang over them that would make any image to represent God by' USTC 506837, sig. D6r.

37 [Thomas Cartwright], *A second admonition to the parliament* ([Hemel Hempstead: John Stroud, 1572]), USTC 507415, sig. H5r. The colophon plays with Day's title as the Warden of the Stationers' Company and Toy's terms as Under-Warden in 1571. See Greg and Boswell (eds.), *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company*, p. 95; Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*, p. 79.

38 Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*, p. 107.

39 Williams, 'Censorship', p. 57.

40 Watermarks observed in the St Paul's Cathedral Library copy (Shelfmark.24A) of USTC 39731, sig. e1r and o4r.

41 Williams, 'Censorship', p. 57.

iconographic depictions that were already in place. In *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, this meant the speedy, if uneven, censorship of the image of God, and his replacement with a more abstract representation that emphasises the Word over a physical depiction. In *A Booke of Christian Prayers*, this tension manifests in editing blocks to exclude the images of the Pietàs, with their associations with idolatry and indulgences. However, Day's official status meant that he was not just reacting to changes in orthodoxy, but also actively involved in presenting acceptable images and establishing the new boundaries.

Fashioning the New Orthodoxy

Much of the Elizabethan discourse on the role of images in devotion conformed to the writings of Calvin. For Calvin and for the Elizabethan Church, it was the intent behind an image that marked it as idolatrous or permissible. Calvin simplifies this distinction by explaining the two classes of acceptable representations:

> historical, which give a representation of events, and pictorial, which merely exhibit bodily shapes and figures. The former are of some use for instruction or admonition. The latter, so far as I can see, are only fitted for amusement.[42]

However, in practice, the exact definition of an 'un-abused' image was vague, and, as we have already seen in this paper, subject to changes. Therefore, Day took great pains to cite the biblical and historical sources for the images in his prayer books while stressing their educational intention.

Starting on leaf M1, the visual scheme of the 1578 *A Booke of Christian Prayers*' borders shifts to a cycle portraying representations of the Virtues, which were not featured in the earlier *Christian Prayers and Meditations*. The Virtues were expanded from the traditional seven Christian Virtues typically found in the iconographic program of printed books of hours.[43] These borders personify each Virtue as a psychomachic figure trampling the embodiment of the corresponding vice underfoot.[44] This effective format for depicting spiritual conflict is used for 22 different Virtues throughout the work, and depicts battles such

42 John Calvin, Henry Beveridge (trans.), *Institutes of the Christian Religion: A New Translation* (Edinburg: Calvin Translation Society, 1845), Book 1, p. 113.

43 Oliver, 'Virtues', p. 303.

44 King, *Iconography*, pp. 118–122.

as 'Industry's' victory over 'Sloth' or 'Sobriety's' conquest over 'Voluptousnesse'. In the 1578 and 1581 editions, one of these images speaks directly to the danger of improper use of images in devotional practices.[45] The crowned figure identified as the 'Love of God' is portrayed as victorious over 'Idolatry' (see figure 16.11). Her depiction indicates that she was adapted from the traditional image of 'Charity' found in printed books of hours.[46] Unlike 'Charity', who typically is shown conquering a personification of 'Heresy', 'Love of God' is trampling the objects used in Catholic sacraments and rituals. Under 'Love of God's' feet, the viewer sees a bishop's crosier, chalice, scourge, rosary, Eucharist wafer, candlestick, crucifix and a pax that features an image of a figure praying. Directly below the defeated objects, the letterpress caption informs the reader that 'Idolatry, is Spirituall adultery'. The psychomachic rhetoric makes it abundantly clear that objects associated with Roman Catholicism and image worship are not viable ways to access true love of God.

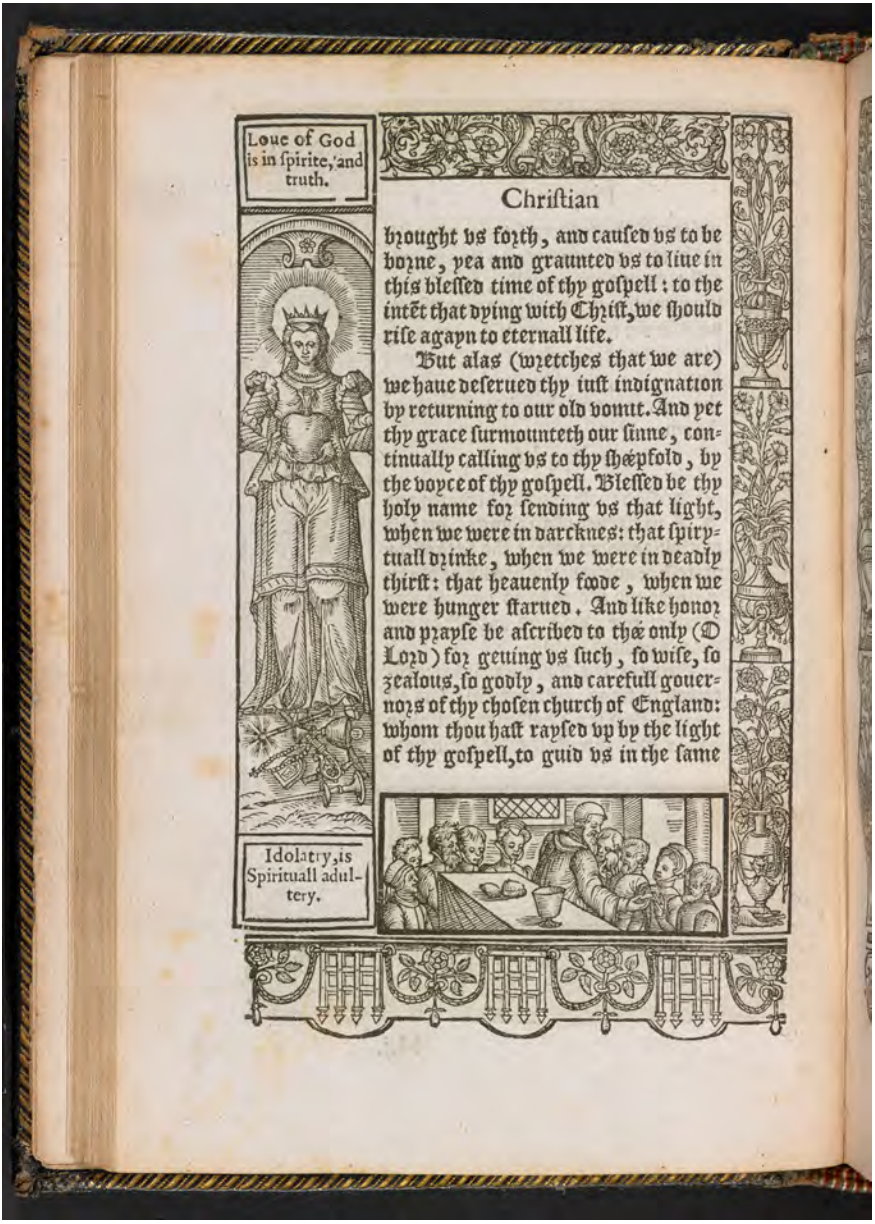
The page's pedagogical message does not end with the depiction of 'Love of God'. Accompanying the virtue every time she appears in the work is a footpiece that details the sacrament of Communion. In contrast to the defeated Catholic wafer, the minister in the footpiece hands out pieces of bread torn from a large loaf.[47] Similarly, juxtaposing the vanquished chalice, with its long stem and small cup that was intended for the priest's use during the sacrament, the footpiece depicts a wide-mouthed cup that the minister could share with parishioners in a Protestant service.[48] Both the cup and the loaf of common bread are placed upon a table completely bare of decoration within the body of an equally unadorned church. This adversarial and dependent pairing works to destroy the validity of the Catholic sacrament while presenting in its place a positive image of Protestant service. In effect, the viewer witnesses the

45 Expanding on Chew, Mahin Oliver notes that this image (and 'Knowledge of God' which will be discussed below) 'were lost from the book after the 1578 impression'. This is not entirely accurate: both these images are present on R1^{v} and R2^{r} of the 1581 edition, but are not found in the two later editions. Oliver, 'Virtues', p. 307. Chew, 'Iconography', p. 302.

46 Oliver, 'Virtues', p. 305.

47 Christopher Haigh explains that in the controversy and confusion over the use of common bread or unleavened wafers, traditionalists (including Queen Elizabeth and Parker) advocating for the customary wafers and hard-line Protestants sided with the 1552 Book of Common Prayer's call for 'bread be such as is usual to be eaten at the table'. By the time of this printing in 1578, conservatives had mostly conceded and Archbishop Sandys' metropolitan visitations of that year reinforced the use of common bread. Christopher Haigh, '"A matter of much contention in the realm": Parish controversies over communion bread in post-Reformation England', *History*, 88 (2003), pp. 393–404.

48 King, *Iconography*, p. 114.



Loue of God is in ſpirite, and truth.

Chriſtian

brought vs forth, and cauſed vs to be borne, yea and graunted vs to liue in this bleſſed time of thy goſpell: to the intẽt that dying with Chriſt, we ſhould riſe agayn to eternall life.

But alas (wretches that we are) we haue deſerued thy iuſt indignation by returning to our old vomit. And yet thy grace ſurmounteth our ſinne, continually calling vs to thy ſhéepfold, by the voyce of thy goſpell. Bleſſed be thy holy name for ſending vs that light, when we were in darcknes: that ſpirytuall drinke, when we were in deadly thirſt: that heauenly fóode, when we were hunger ſtarued. And like honor and prayſe be aſcribed to thée only (O Lord) for geuing vs ſuch, ſo wiſe, ſo zealous, ſo godly, and carefull gouernors of thy choſen church of England: whom thou haſt rayſed vp by the light of thy goſpell, to guid vs in the ſame

Idolatry, is Spirituall adultery.

FIGURE 16.11 'Love of God' and 'Idolatry' and Communion from *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (1578), sig. M1v
THE BRITISH LIBRARY

moment of victory in the battle over idolatry and is then presented with the ideal, purified result.

The 'Love of God' and Communion pair is not the only illustration within *A Booke of Christian Prayers* that presents an image of a Protestant sacrament. In the border directly preceding 'Love of God' is the related Virtue of 'Knowledge of God', who is shown with a burning taper and open book and is trampling 'Mahomet'.[49] Paired with 'Knowledge of God' is an image of the other gospel sacrament of Baptism. In the image, a swaddled infant is held over an unembellished baptismal font while the minister sprinkles water over its head. This representation is a conscious departure from the Sarum rite, which called for the immersion of the naked baby (see figure 16.12).[50] In each of these pairs, we see Day's attempt to construct a new set of images to direct devotions and edify his readers. These are not the meditative or venerable images found in previous books of hours; rather, they are strictly pedagogical.

In each of these sacramental images, the minister is shown wearing a surplice. The years preceding the publication of *A Booke of Christian Prayers* were plagued with controversy about the authority of the regulation of trivial aspects of the church, or *adiaphora*, and the outfitting of ministers was at the centre of the controversy.[51] The issue of ecclesiastical dress divided the clergy, with conservatives supporting the traditional vestments that the Queen and Archbishop Parker demanded be maintained. On the other side, nonconformists, such as Bible translator Miles Coverdale and Parker's successor Edmund Grindal, saw traditional clothing as a vestige of popery. By observing the surpliced ministers of the Communion and Baptism footpieces, the contemporary viewer is informed that *A Booke of Christian Prayers* was not just a Protestant work, but a conservative Protestant work.

Day's, and his influential patrons', conservative message is reiterated in the Dance of Death cycles towards the end of *A Booke of Christian Prayers*. For the most part, the images in the Dance of Death cycles were taken from *Christian Prayers and Meditations*. However, the earlier *Christian Prayers and Meditations* only illustrated secular figures. *A Booke of Christian Prayers* expanded the cycle by depicting the futile struggle of 14 new members of English society, including figures identified as 'Archbishop', 'Bishop', 'Doctor' and 'Preacher'.[52] As one might expect from the representations of the clergy in these sacramental

49 In respect of Muslim readers, this image is not reproduced here.

50 Eamon Duffy, 'Continuity and Divergence in Tudor Religion', in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *Unity and Diversity in the Church* (Cambridge: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1996), p. 202.

51 For an overview of the events of the vestments controversy, see Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2011). For the issue of *adiaphora* and its influence over the image debate, see Davis, *Seeing Faith*, pp. 45–69.

52 USTC 508554, sig. $Y3^v$–$Y4^r$.

FIGURE 16.12 Baptism from *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (1578), sig. R1v
THE BRITISH LIBRARY

images, the four ecclesiastical figures are outfitted in the conservative vestments. Yet again, the elaborate illustrations in the prayer book refashioned an iconographical trope to suit the new political and religious environment.

The images explored in this paper represent only a fraction of the massive illustrative content of the two books, but they are telling of the overall message of the work. While remarkably similar, the illustrations in Day's prayer books do not function like the prescribed meditative and devotional images in Catholic books of hours. In choosing the images to include in *Christian Prayers and Meditations* and *A Booke of Christian Prayers*, Day took measures to make sure that his readers did not see the illustrated borders as objects of veneration. He succeeded by ensuring that there would be little room for subjectivity. With copious biblical citations and prefigurations, controlled depictions of Protestant services, extant signs of editing and emblems of authority, the Reformed intentions of the images are clear. The images Day edited or substituted reflect the newly established boundaries of permissibility. Likewise, the pedagogical images Day added show how the reader was intended to understand the acceptable images he provided. With these tightly controlled illustrations, Day transformed the images in his borders from objects of reverence to reference.

Repetition and Reception

If, as I argue, Day was consciously appropriating the format of a book of hours to disseminate an acceptable English, Protestant iconography, it is worth examining how his readers interacted with and used the permissible images he published. Seventeenth-century antiquarian John Bagford praised Day's title pages because they were 'prented cut in vood finley designed [as was] his head peces and borders and tale peces with maney of his grat letters vsed in the dedications'.[53] Aside from comments like Bagford's, the visual and textual marginalia added by early modern readers are important sources for the reception of Day's images.[54] The amateur production of so-called 'doodles' and placement in the literal margins has led some historians to dismiss visual marginalia as the scratchings of bored children. However, when contextualized within the wider pictorial scheme and the illustrations they are frequently found near, a doodle suddenly becomes evidence of image reception.

In a copy of the 1578 *A Booke of Christian Prayers,* now in Northwestern University's theological library, one reader, Joshua Hilton, clearly spent a considerable amount of time looking at the 'finley designed' border images in his book. The visual marginalia he left behind show his copying of the key aspects that bind Jesus' instruction to 'take and eat' the bread at the Lord's supper with its Old Testament prefiguration of the Israelites receiving God's gift of manna (see figure 16.13). Although roughly executed, Hilton's copying of Jesus' hand passing the bread, and a bowl that an Israelite uses to catch manna, indicates that he saw and, more importantly, understood the images. On a later leaf, Hilton also copied an unidentified graver's mark hidden in most of the Life of Christ images.[55] A marginal note in a 1590 edition of *A Booke of Christian Prayers*, now in the British Library, shows a contemporary hand coping the textual warning against idolatry, which contextualises the Adoration of the Magi (and destruction of an idol) composition in the Life of Christ series. Perhaps noting the small, personified God in the Golden Calf prefiguration, which was noted above, the reader transcribed 'He shall breake downe there altars he shall destroy their images', reminding himself, and later readers, of the peril of misusing religious images.[56]

Looking beyond the material page, we see that these books were not only an attempt to shape the public image of Elizabeth and her church, but were also

53 Quoted from Oastler, 'John Day, the Elizabethan Printer', p. 2. Oastler cites, B.M. MS. Harl. 5910, II, f.12v.

54 For more on early modern marginalia see William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010) and his forthcoming *The Reader's Eye*.

55 Marginalia observed in Northwestern University Styberg Library's copy (Shelfmark: BV245.D27) USTC 508554, sig. I3v and Ee2v.

56 Marginalia observed in the British Library's copy of Richard Day, *A booke of Christian prayers* (London: Richard Yardley and Peter Short for the assigns of Richard Daye, 1590), USTC 511512, sig. C2v. Shelfmark: c.24.a.21.

FIGURE 16.13
Joshua Hilton's marginalia from *A Booke of Christian Prayers* (1578)
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY STYBERG LIBRARY, SHELF MARK: BV245.D27

used by owners to fashion their own public images. As Tara Hamling explains, from 1570 to 1640, the dramatic rise in construction and living standards created conditions that resulted in an increase in home building on nearly every level of the social scale.[57] For Day's elite readers, a well-crafted public image was essential to maintaining status, and social conventions dictated that rank be expressed with material displays of wealth.[58] This could prove problematic for committed Protestants, who were instructed to rejected vanity and conspicuous consumption. Many overcame these tensions by decorating their homes with images pulled from state-approved illustrated books.

Given the nebulous definition of acceptable images, the householder who patronised domestic decorations could inadvertently open himself, and his household, to idolatry or signify religious and political dissent if a poor selection was made. The stakes of choosing the correct subject become higher when one considers that the early modern English home was a semi-public space that reflected the social standing and godliness of the principal householder. By producing a vehemently reformed illustrated devotional work, Day provided a cornucopia of permissible images that could be adapted and reused in diverse media.

In her work *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, Hamling identified a number of adaptations of images from *Christian Prayers and Meditations* and *A Booke of Christian Prayers* into early modern English homes. Her research also suggests that it was the homeowner who dictated the decorative scheme of the household (and not the craftsmen and women who executed it), and that patrons mainly came from the mainstream Protestant majority who adopted the state-sponsored faith.[59] One such conformist was Mark Hawkings, a prosperous fish merchant from North Devon, who built a townhouse around 1635, featuring a parlour with an elaborate plasterwork ceiling depicting the Tree of

57 Tara Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 68.

58 Tara Hamling, 'The Appreciation of Religious Images in Plasterwork in the Protest Domestic Interiors', in Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams, (eds.), *Art Re-formed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 150.

59 Hamling, *'Godly' Household*, p. 20. Although significantly later, a 1688 contract between the Earl of Strathmore and Dutch artist Jacob de Wet directs that 15 ceiling panels will be painted with 'distinct stories of our blessed Saviour Confrome to the Cutts in a bible here in the house or the Service Book'. Patrick Lyon Strathmore and Alexander Hastie Millar (ed.), *The Book of Record, a Diary Written by Patrick first Earl of Strathmore and Other Documents Relating to Glamis Castle, 1684–1689*, (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1890), p. 104.

Jesse mined from the title page of Day's compilations.[60] While the Tree of Jesse has been altered in its transition to the Hawkings' ceiling, on both the title pages and the ceiling, the bearded patriarch's sleeve identifies him by name.

Day's richly illustrated prayer books also provided the iconography for the 1614 carved overmantel at Postlip Hall in Gloucestershire.[61] The fireplace overmantel displays an elaborate coat of arms flanked by two psychomachic figures that are nearly identical copies of the personifications of Virtues of 'Temperance' and 'Courage' in the margins of the *A Booke of Christian Prayer*. The only substantial difference between the two mediums is the omission of the vomit spewing from the figure of 'Intemperance', who lies defeated beneath the feet of 'Temperance'. This tasteful emendation is understandable when one considers that the overmantel is located in Postlip Hall's great chamber, a formal room used for dining in state.[62] Hamling also found that a composition from Day's prayer books was used in an overmantel in Devon, which copied the illustration of Elijah in the fiery chariot.[63] In each of these examples, we see not only the internalisation of the Protestant message of Day's images, but also the lasting influence and acceptance of his iconographic program and how it was used by owners in their own pious self-fashioning. Additionally, when transferred into a semi-public space home, the didactic message is opened not just for those who can afford a copy at the bookstall, but to an audience that encompasses every member of early modern households, including servants, apprentices and children.

The illustrations in *Christian Prayers and Meditations* and *A Booke of Christian Prayers* resonated for many centuries after they were created. As we saw with these plaster quotations, the iconographic scheme Day established was picked up by others seeking appropriate images. The reuse, copying, exchanging, selling, stealing or recycling of woodcuts and metalcuts was common practice in the early English printed book trade.[64] This economically

60 Hamling, *'Godly' Household*, p. 113. For more examples of printed images used to decorate overmantels, see Anthony Wells-Coles, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England, The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558–1625* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) and Tara Hamling, 'Guides to Godliness: From Print to Plaster', in Michael Hunter (ed.), *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 65–85.

61 Hamling, 'Guides to Godliness', p. 70.

62 Hamling, 'Guides to Godliness', p. 70.

63 Hamling, *'Godly' Household*, p. 234–235.

64 David J. Davis, 'Images on the Move: The Virgin, the Kalendar of Shepherds, and the Transmission of Woodcuts in Tudor England', *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History*, 12 (2009), pp. 99–132; David J. Davis, *Seeing Faith*; Ruth Luborsky, 'Connections and Disconnections between Images and Texts: The Case of the Secular Tudor Book Illustration', *Word and Image*, 3 (1987), pp. 74–83.

prudent practice emerged in response to the limited resources of English book producers, and meant that the iconographic programme that Day established would be seen not only by his own readers, but also by readers of a range of texts for centuries to come. Tracing these transferences allows us to see the reach of a printed image in England and the vast and interconnected network of printers who disseminated them.

In the sixteenth century alone, the images in Day's prayer books were used in ten surviving texts by six different printers.[65] Some of these diverse works include a Latin grammar by Robert Waldegrave in London, an edition of Bèza's *Propositions and Principles of Divinitie* also printed by Waldegrave but in Edinburgh, a theological disputation printed in Cambridge by Thomas Thomas and a collection of poems by Giles Fletcher, printed in Cambridge by John Legat.[66] The same year that construction began on the Hawkings' home, the 1634 edition of *Philaster* was printed with the Virtue of Patience that had first appeared in the 1578 *A Booke of Christian Prayers.*[67] As for the Queen Elizabeth prefatory portrait discussed above, in 1817, Thomas Frognall Dibdin was 'extremely well-persuaded, that this cut of Q. Elizabeth was preserved so late as 1652, and was used in the Benlome's *Theophila*, [Wing B1879] printed in that year'.[68]

Certainly, recycling images was common in the English book trade, but the remarkable scale of these repetitions suggests that more than convention was at hand. Whether on a printed page or a plaster ceiling, the images in *Christian Prayers and Meditations* and *A Booke of Christian Prayers* had established an iconography free from idolatrous connotations, and was therefore safe for copying. From the reception and repetition of the images, we see that, for the conforming majority, these books offered an approved iconographic scheme to inform, affirm and direct their devotions.

65 Luborsky and Ingram, *English Illustrated Books*, p. 324.

66 See USTC 510361, 511729, 511100 and 512374. According to McKerrow, by the time of John Day's death in 1584, Richard was already disinherited and did not receive any of his father's printing devices. By 1586, Day's woodcuts and metalcuts can be seen in the works of Waldegrave. Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland, 1485–1940* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1913), p. 169. He notes that the only major difference is the size of the Virtues, which he ascribes to the shrinking rates of various qualities of metals. Oliver, 'Virtues', p. 310.

67 Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Philaster, or love lies a bleeding* (London: William Jones for Richard Hawkins, 1634) USTC 3017078.

68 Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron* (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1817), p. 114. See sig. Hh1r of Wing B1879 for the Queen Elizabeth prefatory portrait.

Conclusion

Based on the books' unique positions as the only deluxe illustrated prayer books printed during the English Reformation, many scholars have chosen to view Day's works as curiosities or outliers. Similarly, their dependence on books of hours, especially in the border images, has led some to dismiss them as examples of religious continuity. This chapter, by contrast, has contended that, in Day's multifaceted iconographic content, the anxieties that surrounded the use of images in devotions are manifest. As we have seen, tensions about religious images did not just lead to an impulse to destroy; rather, Protestant image creators like Day reshaped, controlled and edited visual content to suit the new religious and political reality.

CHAPTER 17

Between Ego Documents and Anti-Catholic Propaganda: Printed Revocation Sermons in Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Germany

Martin Christ

In 1670, the revocation sermon (*Revocationspredigt*) of Georg Friedrich Habel came off the printing press in Leipzig. The text was based on a sermon Habel delivered on 4 January 1670, making it not only a revocation sermon, but also a New Years' sermon (*Neues Jahr / oder Revocation-Predigt*).[*,1] In it, he explained and justified his decision to leave behind the Catholic Church and to become a Lutheran. The sermon was reprinted six years after its first publication in a slightly altered version, with minor changes in the title and without a dedication. Apparently there was enough demand to merit printing this second version.[2] Johann Georg, also called Georgi, one of the most prolific printers in Leipzig at the time, printed both texts. So far as we know, this was the only work by Habel that was printed, and little is known about him aside from the information in his sermon.

Habel's sermon had a plain title page, without any illustrations, border decorations or other visual markers (see figure 17.1). The text was divided into several sections, and key features of the text, like the title of the sermon and Habel's name, were printed in a larger typeface, immediately drawing the reader's eye to them. The title stressed that Habel had left Popery behind and found his way to the only true church – the Lutheran one. The sermon is dedicated to the pastors and consistory of Dresden, who were in charge of ensuring the orthodoxy of Saxon Lutheranism. They also would have been responsible for testing Habel when he first expressed his desire to convert to Lutheranism.

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1 Andreas Franciscus Habel, *Neues Jahr/ Oder Revocation-Predigt: In welcher wohlgewogene Motiven oder Ursachen an Tag gegeben werden; warumb der Wiederruffende seinen alten Menschen des Papistischen Irrthumbs/ oder irrenden Pabstthumbs ausgezogen/ und sich im Geist der allein seligmachenden Evangelischen Religion verneuert hat* (Leipzig: Georg, 1670).

2 Andreas Franciscus Habel, *Neues Jahr/ Oder Revocation-Predigt* (Leipzig: Georg, 1676).

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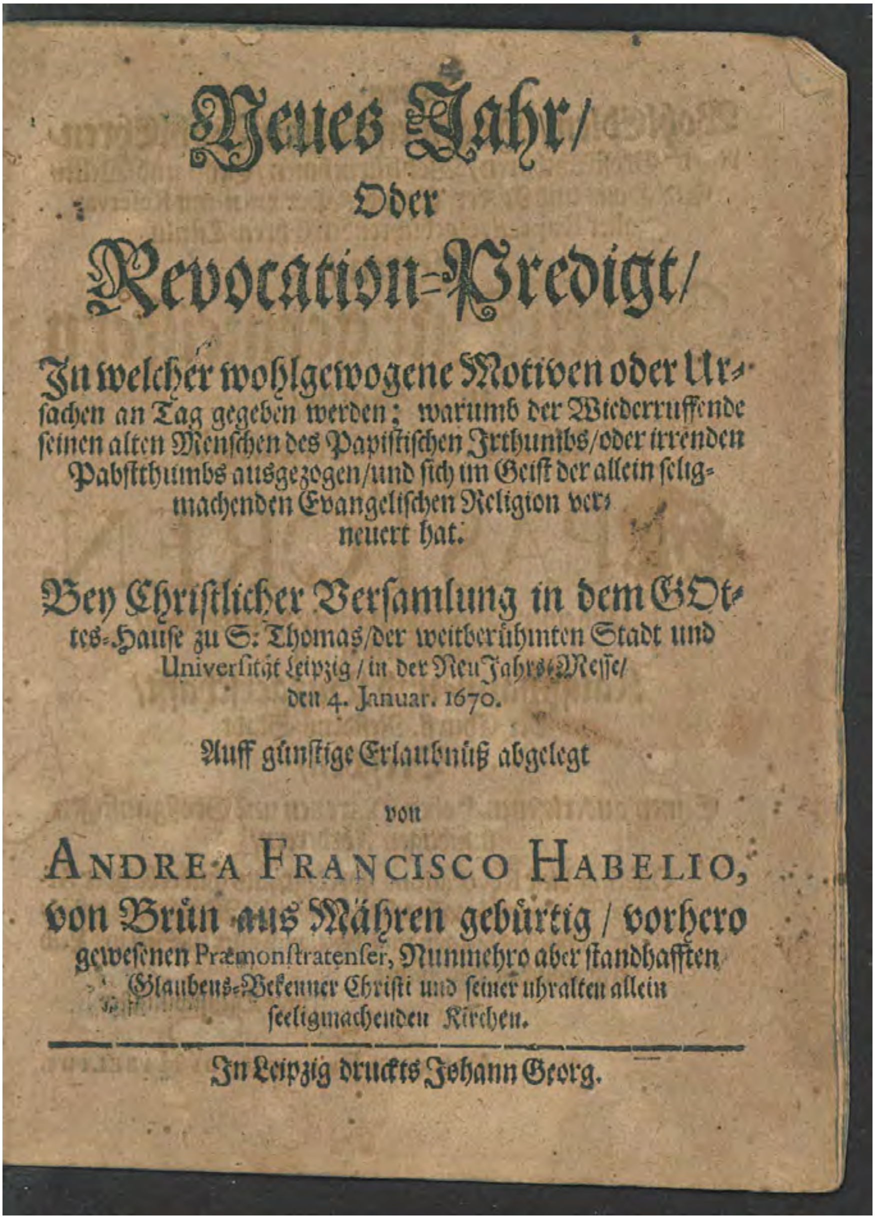
Neues Jahr/
Oder
Revocation-Predigt/
In welcher wohlgewogene Motiven oder Ur-
sachen an Tag gegeben werden; warumb der Wiederruffende
seinen alten Menschen des Papistischen Irthumbs/oder irrenden
Pabstthumbs ausgezogen/und sich im Geist der allein selig-
machenden Evangelischen Religion ver-
neuert hat.
Bey Christlicher Versamlung in dem GOt-
tes-Hause zu S. Thomas/der weitberühmten Stadt und
Universität Leipzig / in der NeuJahrs-Messe/
den 4. Januar. 1670.
Auff günstige Erlaubnüß abgelegt
von
ANDREA FRANCISCO HABELIO,
von Brün aus Mähren gebürtig / vorhero
gewesenen Præmonstratenser, Nunmehro aber standhafften
Glaubens-Bekenner Christi und seiner uhralten allein
seeligmachenden Kirchen.
In Leipzig druckts Johann Georg.

FIGURE 17.1 Title page of Andreas Franziskus Habel's *Neues Jahr/ Oder Revocation-Predigt* (Leipzig: Johann Georg, 1670)

They might even have been able to find a post for him, which was a big concern for recent converts, as they could no longer rely on their monastic infrastructure for board, money and food.[3]

In the sermon, Habel revoked his Catholic beliefs and attacked the Catholic sacraments and other key features of Catholicism. The sermon ends with a formal revocation, which Habel would have read out from the chancel for all those gathered in the church to hear.[4] He stressed the errors of his ways once again, identified himself as a former Catholic who had experienced the errors of Catholicism first hand, and promised to adhere to key writings of the Lutheran faith, like the Formula of Concord. Habel was part of a group of more than one hundred men who justified their conversion in this way.

Over the course of the seventeenth century, revocation sermons became a popular genre of writing for men who had left behind their Catholic beliefs and wanted to show their Lutheran credentials. While the sermons followed the same patterns when it came to their layout, attacks on the Pope or challenge to monasticism, they were also deeply personal ego-documents connected to an individual convert. The sermons were rarely longer than thirty pages and usually in quarto size. The first revocation sermon was delivered around 1600, the last one in the 1730s, making the lifespan of the genre coincide with the period of German history defined by political instability before and during the Thirty Years' War, and subsequent efforts to rebuild the country.[5] It transgresses the boundary of 1648 as a watershed moment, and instead emphasises the continuation of religious tensions after the war and throughout the seventeenth century.

The emergence of the revocation sermon was probably connected to broader political developments. The Regensburg Colloquy in 1601 was one of the last major meetings between Catholics and Lutherans, when they attempted to convince each other of their viewpoints and unify Western Christendom. The breakdown of these talks coincided with the first revocation sermons. With the permanent fragmentation of Western Christendom came the revocation sermons, which implicitly recognised these hardened boundaries. The outbreak of the Thirty Years' War resulted in further conflicts and polemical exchanges between Lutherans and Catholics. With this warfare came the displacement of large numbers of people, which also influenced conversions. These could be forced, when towns were conquered by European powers, or voluntary,

3 See Alexander Schunka, *Gäste, die bleiben. Zuwanderer in Kursachsen und der Oberlausitz im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 2006).
4 Habel, *Neues Jahr/ Oder Revocation-Predigt* (1670), unpaginated.
5 On the Thirty Years War more broadly, see Peter H. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Penguin, 2010).

when people fled and converted in order to be fully integrated into a new society. But, even after the Thirty Years' War, revocation sermons continued to be printed, particularly in the 1660s. Gradually, conversions became less contentious, resulting in fewer controversies revolving around conversions in the eighteenth century.

Conversions were a complex process and have become a significant area of research in the past fifteen years.[6] David Luebke and others have shown, for example, that conversions were closely tied to political, and not just religious considerations.[7] Alexander Schunka has explored the dynamics between conversion and migration, and argued that a broad range of motives contributed to the decision to change confession.[8] Other scholars have explored the importance of conversion within marriages, while further studies have shed light on the conversion of territorial rulers and princes and asked how they interacted with their subjects after the conversion.[9] All these studies show that conversions in early modern Europe are a valuable field of inquiry.

This chapter adds to this research by considering a particular kind of conversion narrative: the revocation sermon.[10] The research draws on around one hundred such conversion sermons, which were delivered in German towns between the beginning of the seventeenth and the middle of the eighteenth centuries. Most of the sermons were printed soon after the converts proclaimed their conversion in major Lutheran churches. These sermons are particularly valuable because they focus on conversions to Lutheranism, a field

6 See, for example, Ute Lotz-Heumann, Matthias Pohlig and Jan-Friedrich Missfelder (eds.), *Konversion und Konfession in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007); Kim Siebenhüner and Monica Juneja (eds.), *Religious Conversion in Medieval and Early Modern Societies*, special issue of *The Medieval History Journal* 12 (2009); Kim Siebenhüner, 'Glaubenswechsel in der Frühen Neuzeit. Chancen und Tendenzen einer historischen Konversionsforschung', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 34 (2007), pp. 243–272.

7 David M. Luebke etc. (eds.) *Conversion and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Germany* (New York/ Oxford: Berghahn, 2012).

8 Schunka, *Gäste, die bleiben*.

9 David M. Luebke and Mary Lindemann (eds.), *Mixed Matches. Transgressive Unions in Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2014); Eric-Oliver Mader, 'Fürstenkonversionen zum Katholizismus in Mitteleuropa im 17. Jahrhundert. Ein systematischer Ansatz in fallorientierter Perspektive', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 3 (2007), pp. 403–440.

10 For a linguistic analysis, see Sarah Rütter, *Konstruktion von Bekenntnisidentität in Konversionsschriften der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2014). There are some notable exceptions, for example Duane J. Corpis, *Crossing the Boundaries of Belief: Geographies of Religious Conversion in Southern Germany, 1648–1800* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2014).

which has received less scholarly attention than other kinds of conversions.[11] Broadly speaking, the converts justified and defended their decision to abandon the Catholic Church in these sermons. At the same time, they flattered important Lutheran princes and councilors, hoping to receive financial and logistical support.

A wide range of former Catholic clerics delivered revocation sermons. Most of them were former members of orders, and many of them from territories bordering on Saxony or other Lutheran territories. Bohemian monks, for example, came to Saxony and delivered their revocation sermons there. The list of converts spans all the major early modern orders, including Franciscans, Capuchins, Augustinians and Jesuits. The conversion of these men, some of them high-ranking in the Catholic hierarchy, were a boon for the Lutherans, who could claim a victory over the Catholics during a time when confessional tensions were high.

The converts wanted to prove that they had seen the error of their ways in these sermons.[12] Having their revocation sermons printed was a particularly appealing way for the recently converted men to show their piety, and was an opportunity to emphasise that the conversions were not linked to financial or political benefits, but rather inspired by the conviction that Lutheranism was the true religion. If anything, the converts frequently claimed in their sermons that the conversion led to a worsening of their financial situation, meaning that the only reason for their change of faith was theological. By harnessing the power of print, these revocation sermons could go beyond the people immediately involved in the conversion, as the printing of the sermon significantly increased its reach, providing an opportunity for the converts to show themselves as true Lutherans.

The Development of the Revocation Sermon

The first revocation sermons from the early seventeenth century proved to be crucial for the development of the genre.[13] Prefaces describe the process that a former Catholic cleric who wanted to convert had to undergo. He had to express his desire to convert, and, in a talk with the Lutheran theology faculty, explain his reasons for doing so. If the faculty was convinced, they gave him

11 See for example, Luebke etc. (eds.), *Conversion and the Politics of Religion*.
12 Schunka, *Gäste, die bleiben*, p. 335.
13 For example, Gottfried Rabe, *Christliche Revocation Predigt. Des Ehrwirdigen Godefridi Raben/ Gewesenen Augustiner Münchs/ und Predigers zu Prage bey S. Thomas auff der kleinen Seiten* (Wittenberg: Lehmann, 1601), USTC 2104295.

their blessings. The public act of conversion was a crucial aspect of the convert's journey and helped to legitimise his decision. The spread of conversion narratives in print was therefore an important aspect of a change in confession. The early sermons were templates for later converts, who used revocation sermons and employed a similar language and layout to the first individuals operating within this genre.

The term *Revocationspredigt* only appeared in the early seventeenth century. Before that, other clerics had justified their reasons for taking up a new faith in print, but they did not call their sermons a *Revocationspredigt*. Importantly, these were converts to Catholicism, like Caspar Franck in 1568 and Sebastian Flasch in 1576.[14] Both of them explained why they had left the 'Lutheran sect' to join the 'general Christian and Roman church'. In these sermons, the authors argued that salvation could only be found in the Catholic Church. Because the early converts to Lutheranism coined, or at least popularised the term revocation sermon, the term was mainly used by Lutherans. After these early printed sermons, including ones endorsed by the University of Wittenberg, Lutherans used called their sermons *Revocationspredigten* and emphasised it by printing it in a large typeface.

The sermons were initially spoken and performed as part of a Lutheran service and integrated into Lutheran worship. Gottfried Rabe, for instance, delivered his sermon on Misericordias, the Second Sunday after Easter.[15] Traditionally, the sermon on that Sunday centred on the topic of Christ as shepherd, which is exactly what Rabe preached on. Another example is Georg Friedrich Habel's sermon, with which this chapter started, doubled as a New Year's sermon.[16] Some of the converts explicitly referred to listeners, emphasising the spoken nature of the sermons.[17] In some sermons, other liturgical features like prayers or hymns are also mentioned, and show clearly how the convert was integrated into the Lutheran community. Printing these features was important for the converts, as they suggested that the converts were not only truly Lutheran, but that they could even be the central part of a Lutheran liturgy. It was essential that converts showed their integration into the liturgy, because they received their education in a Catholic context and for many

14 Caspar Franck, *Dilucida expositio justissimarum caussarum* (Ingolstadt: Weißenhorn, 1568), not recorded in USTC; Rütter, *Konstruktion von Bekenntnisidentität*, pp. 143–145. See also Ute Mennecke-Haustein, 'Konversionen', in Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling (eds.), *Die Katholische Konfessionalisierung* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlags-Haus, 1993), pp. 242–258.

15 Rabe, *Christliche Revocation Predigt*, title page.

16 Habel, *Neues Jahr/ Oder Revocation-Predigt*, title page.

17 Flaskamp, *Den eintzigen, festen und unbeweglichen Grund Des Glaubens*, p. 3.

decades had administered communions in one kind, lived a celibate life, and adhered to Catholic teachings.

Revocation sermons were not as numerous as other typically Lutheran publications, most notably the funeral sermon. Research on the funeral sermon has pointed to how Lutherans monopolised this genre of writing, and a similar process occurred with revocation sermons, though on a smaller scale. Like funeral sermons, the revocation sermon can be read in multiple ways: as a confession of faith and victory for Lutheranism over Catholicism, an opportunity to praise Lutheran dignitaries, and for them to emphasise their power or as ego-documents which relate personal biographies.[18]

It is notoriously difficult to trace the influence of printed works, and revocation sermons are no exception. There are some indications, like passing remarks in other works, which suggest that they were read. In terms of printers and collectors, the evidence is variable. Some of the revocation sermons went through as many as seven editions, and were reprinted on presses across the Holy Roman Empire.[19] These sermons also found their way into a range of libraries and survive in multiple copies. There are also revocation sermons for which there is only a single surviving copy, which may indicate sustained use. However, there are also some sermons that were only printed in one edition and I have not been able to find any reference to them in other works. Whether the sermons circulated widely or not seems to have depended on specific circumstances, for instance the position the convert held before his conversion, where and when he converted or whether there were any Catholic responses.[20]

Throughout the sermons, the authors attacked Catholicism and stressed in turn the Lutherans' righteousness. The description of the Pope as the Antichrist was a standard Lutheran trope, which became one of the defining features of early modern Lutheranism. By attacking Catholicism in this way, the converts followed long-established patterns that Martin Luther himself had used. Already in the early to mid-sixteenth century, the sacraments, the power of indulgences, saints, and pilgrimages, as well as papal infallibility were central points of attack. The authors of the revocation sermons took up these commonplace criticisms, positioning themselves in a long tradition of Lutheran

18 On funeral sermons, see, for example, Cornelia Niekus Moore, 'Mitteldeutsche Leichenpredigten als Spiegel des Zeitgeschehens', in Philip Hahn, Kathrin Paasch and Luise Schorn-Schütte (eds.), *Der Politik die Leviten lesen. Politik von der Kanzel in Thüringen und Sachsen, 1550–1675* (Gotha: Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, 2011), pp. 48–58.

19 For an overview, see the sermons printed in the German lands in VD17 and VD18, which list many of the revocation sermons and the number of editions. The library catalogue of the Saxon and university library (SLUB) references further revocation sermons.

20 Revocation sermons which led to Catholic responses include the one by Gottfried Rabe, Wenceslaus Altwasser and Ferdinand Franz Weinberger.

polemicists, which started with Luther himself. In the words of Alexander Schunka, 'revocation sermons had to be written according to certain rules and they corresponded closely with the legitimisation of confessions in general and the legitimacy of Lutheranism as a confession'.[21]

Converts attacked Jesuits particularly fervently. Antonius Flaskamp wrote that the Pope's 'loyal guards, the Jesuits, think they are not bound to the church fathers'.[22] Martin Schimschalck was even more explicit, writing that 'I know well that the turbulent Jesuits are the greatest enemies of the Christian faith, who with shouting and blasphemy topple everything they do not know'.[23] With their teachings, the 'crazy and senseless Jesuits create a fog in front of the eyes of the common people', telling them that they were not allowed to drink wine in the Eucharist.[24] The former Catholics hoped to discredit one of the most important features of early modern Catholicism and, at the same time, challenged one of the orders that was crucial in converting men and women to Catholicism.

The revocation sermons did not only have this anti-Catholic dimension; they also praised Lutheranism as the 'true religion'. One particularly common trope was that of papal darkness, which was superseded by the 'light of Lutheranism'.[25] In some of the sermons, the converts also made very specific

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21 Schunka, *Gäste, die bleiben*, p. 337: 'Revokationsschriften hatten also nach bestimmten Spielregeln abgefaßt zu warden, und diese korrespondierten aufs engste mit der Legitimation einer Konversion überhaupt und mit der Legitimität des Luthertums als Konfession'.

22 Augustinus Flaskamp, *Den eintzigen, festen und unbeweglichen Grund Des Glaubens, Zeigte In einer Christlichen Revocations-Predigt Nach Anleitung des am 2ten Advents-Sonntag gewöhnlichen Evangelii aus dem Luc. 21. Anno 1726. In der Hoff- und Stadt-Kirche der Neu-Stadt Hannover Bey Volckreicher Versammlung und grossem Gedränge vieler Zuhörer Augustinus Flaskamp, Vor Zeiten Prediger-Ordens viele Jahren durch gewesener Prediger* (s.l.: s.n., 1727), p. 21.

23 Martin Schimschalck, *Kurtze Revocations Predigt / Jn welcher Dem abgöttischen Pabsthum un[d] seinem gantzen verführischen Anhang offentlich abgesaget / hingegen dem Eckstein der wahren Evangelischen Lehr und Religion / welcher ist Christus Jesus / gepriesen unnd erklähret wird* (Leipzig: Guirin Bauch, 1658): 'Jch weis wol was die unruhigen Jesuiten / die allerärgsten Feinde des Christlichen Glaubens / welche mit ihrem schreyen und lästern alles was sie nicht wissen / über einen hauffen zu stossen'.

24 Schimschalck, *Kurtze Revocations Predigt*, 'Aber damit die tollen und unsinnigen Jesuiten / dem gemeinen Mann / einen Dunst vor die Augen machen / das sie solches nicht verstehen sollen / sprechen / das der Layen gar viel seyn die keinen Wein trincken / fürs ander / das an etlichen Orten keiner zu bekommen were / fürs dritte das offtermals die Bauren grosse Schweitzer bärte hetten / und gar leichtlich etwas darvon abtrieffeten / woran man grosse Sünde thete / were derowegen besser / das man das Kelch geben unterwegen liesse'; 'schlechte Argumente'.

25 For example, Wenceslaus Altwasser, *Ungegründetes Pabstthum / Samt einer gründlichen Erweisung* seines *wohlerwogenen billigen Abweichens von dem Irrlicht des Pabstthums*

references to important Lutheran tracts, like the Augsburg confession or Luther's catechism.[26] In this way, they hoped to show their own Lutheran credentials, and others could uphold them as examples of a good Lutheran.

The Structure of the Revocation Sermons

The overall structure of the sermon was clearly defined by the middle of the seventeenth century, and many of the sermons followed a similar pattern, which included a preface or dedication followed by an autobiographical part, a quote from Scripture, denunciation of Catholicism, including references to the Pope as Antichrist, the Eucharist, saints and pilgrimages and, finally, the formal revocation. As Sarah Horstkamp has shown regarding the conversions of Johann Wilhelm Freymüller and Thomas Strobel, converts copied from each other, suggesting that one conversion could influence how another person framed their turning towards Lutheranism.[27] Johann Samson's sermon, too, copied from the revocation sermon of Gottfried Rabe verbatim, including the phrase 'Furthermore, I denounce and condemn the malign Popery, including all other sects and groups that fight and argue against God and his word'.[28] The circulation of the printed sermons meant that converts influenced each other's language, rhetorical strategies, and figures of speech.

Most sermons contained a formulaic ending, in which the convert renounced his previous beliefs. In many ways, the whole sermon moved towards this climactic final passage in which the reasons for the conversion and corrupt nature of the Catholic Church were emphasised once more. For example, Christoph Grosspietsch's 1608 sermon, printed in Jena, ended with the words:

> [in front of this] large, Christian gathering (*Christlichen Volckreichen Versamblung*), I confirm that I was not forced, urged or instructed to make

zu dem hellleuchtenden Evangelischen Glaubens-Licht der wahren Lutherischen Kirchen Augspurgischer Confession (Jena: Johann Risio, s.d.).

26 Habel, *Neues Jahr/ Oder Revocation-Predigt.*

27 Sarah Horstkamp, 'Konversionsschriften zwischen Muster und Variation – zwei protestantische Fallbeispiele', in Jürgen Macha, Anna Maria Balbach and Sarah Horstkamp (eds.), *Konfession und Sprache in der Frühen Neuzeit: interdisziplinäre Perspektiven* (Münster: Waxman Verlag, 2012), pp. 90–97.

28 Johannes Samson, *Illuminatus Samson, Das ist: Erleuchtungs – oder Revocations-Predigt : Nach dem der Author Johannes Samson, gewesenen Franciscaner Münch ... mit dem* (*Titul*) *Herrn Doctore Anania Webero controvertiret ... Gehalten Den ersten Sontag in der Fasten/ welcher war der erste Martii lauffenden Jahrs 1648* (Frankfurt an der Oder: Koch, 1648), USTC 2103159.

> this revocation in front of the congregation of Christ, but I make it voluntarily, out of my own love of the truth I recognised. For this reason alone, I reject with my whole heart and whole soul, with all my conscience and all my powers one and all papal cruelties, whatever their name is. And I recognise the Roman Pope as an evil person (*Menschen der Bosheit*) and a child of corruption, who Daniel the Prophet and Paul the apostle predicted. Furthermore, I recognise that his teachings are against Christ, devilish, yes that they are the poison of the Whore of Babylon [mentioned] in Revelations.… I profess the Augsburg Confession, as it was presented to the powerful Emperor Charles V in 1530.… In future, I will work all the harder and avidly to show the truth and will endeavor to collect it and spread it. The Holy Spirit may confirm and strengthen this through his charisma, mercy and gifts in me through Jesus Christ our lord and savior in eternity. Amen.[29]

This kind of clear rejection and summary of important objections to Catholicism would have been the formal end to the conversion process, and the convert could then become a part of the Lutheran church.

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29 Christoph Grosspietsch, *Revocation Predigt, Am H. Pfingstdinstag, im Jahr 1608. In der Pfarrkirchen zu Jehna gehalten* (Jena: Lippold, 1608), USTC 2053776, pp. 45–47: 'dieser ansehlichen Christlichen Volckreichen Versamblung / das ich diesen öffentlichen Wiederruff vor der gantzen Gemeidne Christi / nicht gewzungen / gedrungen / oder auffgetragen / sondern freywillig aus einiger Liebe der erkandten Warheit hiemit verichte. Aus solcher allein verwerffe ich aus ganzem Hertzen / aus gantzer Seelen / aus gantzem Gemüht / und aus allen meinen Kräfften / alle und jede Bäpstische Grewel / mit was Namen die mögen genennet werden. Und erkenne den Römischen Bapst vor den Menschn der Bosheit / und das Kind des Verderbens / von dem Daniel der Prophet / und Paulus der Apostel geweissaget. Item ich erkenne auch / das seine Lehr sey Antichristisch / Teuffelisch / ja das Gifft der Babylonischen Huren / in der Offenbarung. Welche ich hiemit verwirff / verdam[m]e / verfluche und anathematizire / ja dero anathema maranatha imprecire. Hergegen steige ich frewdig und frolockend mit Zachaeo vom Feigenbaum / nimb frölich auff Christum in das Haus meines Herzens / das er dem Heil unnd alle Wolfahrt lasse wiederfahren. Ich nim jhn auff / wie er sich in den Prophetischen / apostolischen / Schrifften offenbahret hat. Bekenne mich auch zur unverfälschten Augspurgischen Confession / wie sie dem Grosmechtigen Keyser Carolo V. im Jahr 1530 praesentiret worden. Jch nehme auch an / alles was zu Erklärung derer in Formula concordiae begriffen. Jch stehe auch mit dem Zachaeo zu Christo sprechende / Herr so ich jemand betrogen hab / gieb ich es vierfältig wieder. Das ist: Hab ich in verganenen dreyzehn Jahren durch meine PRedigtenm die Herde Christi verfolget / So will ich ins künfftige desto fleissiger / embsiger und eifferiger die Warheit / deren fürzutragen / unnd durch solche sie zu samlen mich bemühen und befleissen. Welches der H. Geist durch seine Charismata Gnaden unnd Gaben in mir bestetigen und bekräfftigen wölle / durch Christum Jesum unsern Herrn und HEyland hochgelobet in Ewigkeit / AMEN. ENDE'.

The structure of the revocation sermon was so clearly defined that, in 1726, Augustinus Flaskamp apologised in the preface to his printed sermon that he had not stuck to this structure when he first delivered it, but, now that it appeared in print, he was able to do so.[30] Most of the sermons did not contain woodcut illustrations, though there are some exceptions, like some editions of Gottfried Rabe's sermon. Additionally, printer's marks had a prominent place in some of the sermons, for instance in that of Franciscus Albanus, which contains the printer's mark of the printer Samuel Seelfisch, showing Samuel anointing David.[31] The woodcuts were usually standard biblical motifs, like Christ protecting his sheep. Only rarely did the sermons contain a depiction of the convert himself, as was the case with Johann Ludwig Niclasi.[32]

The revocation sermons also followed an increasingly unified pattern in terms of their layout. The title page of the sermons usually contained the convert's name, a description of the sermon and in many cases the location and date of the sermon.[33] While some earlier revocation sermons contained the phrase revocation sermon buried somewhere in a long title, later examples started with the term, suggesting that, as the genre developed, it became more recognisable.

The revocation sermons were printed in a variety of towns, but printing presses in Saxony produced the greatest number of editions. Partly, this was because many of the sermons were delivered in important Saxon churches in Wittenberg, Dresden or Leipzig. The Saxon dominance in revocation sermons was also connected to a longer tradition of Lutheranism in that territory. By the seventeenth century, when most conversions took place, Saxony was already well established as an important Lutheran territory as well as a central European print centre.

However, it was not in the political centre of Dresden that most revocation sermons were delivered and printed, but rather in Wittenberg, where Luther had been a professor and lived most of his life. As Andrew Pettegree has shown,

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30 Augustinus Flaskamp, *Den eintzigen, festen und unbeweglichen Grund Des Glaubens* (s.l.: s.n., 1727), unpaginated.

31 Franciscus Albanus, *Francisci Albani Vangionis, SS. Theol. D. Gewesenen Pfarrherrns der Freyen Königlichen Bergstadt in Sanct JoachimsThal/ &c. Päbstische Anatomia : Darinnen Nach Ordnung der Eusserlichen Glieder des Pabsts/ das Römische Wesen/ wie es heutiges tages darmit eine beschaffenheit hat/ beschrieben wird* (Wittenberg: Seelfisch, 1636), USTC 2022620.

32 Joh. Ludwig Niclaßi, *Wohlverdientes Ehren-Gedächtnüs Dem Weyland Hoch-Ehrwürdigen und Hochgelahrten Herrn Herrn Joh. Ludwig Niclaßi, hochmeritirt- und wegen seiner sonderbahren Gaben sehr beliebt-gewesenen zweyten Stadt-Pfarrer in hiesiger Hoch-Fürstl. Residenz Darmstadt* (Darmstadt: Forter, 1730).

33 For example in Schimschalck, *Kurtze Revocations Predigt.*

Luther was instrumental in establishing the print industry in Wittenberg, and the converts benefitted from it.[34] After Wittenberg, Leipzig was the second most important centre for the printing of revocation sermons. Many of the print workshops were connected to Lutheran rulers. For example, Tübingen, where some sermons were printed, was the main university in the Lutheran Duchy of Württemberg.[35] Smaller presses in places like Olsse in Silesia or Wolfenbüttel also printed some of the sermons.[36] Wolfenbüttel in the North West of the Holy Roman Empire was a territory that had turned Lutheran in 1568, and, with the University of Helmstedt, it possessed a significant presence of Lutheran theologians and professors.[37] The printers who published the sermons also point to other Lutheran institutions that promoted the conversions by printing them. Johann Ulrich von Baumgarten's revocation sermon was printed by Herman Brauer in Bremen in 1686. Brauer was also the printer of the regionally significant Lutheran town school, which he advertises on the title page ('des Löbl. Gymn. Buchd.').[38]

Another feature that many of these towns share is that they had important Lutheran universities. Lutheran theologians had to test a person who came to their territory, and assess whether the newcomers wanted to convert for reasons of their faith and 'conscience' (*Gewissen*) or for more practical reasons, like an improvement of the living conditions. The theologians questioned the potential converts, and, in some territories, this led to the establishment of separate bodies whose whole purpose was the interrogation and catechising of the converts. In Saxony, there was even talk of separate housing for the newly arrived converts.[39] The printing of the revocation sermons enabled the converts not only to legitimise their conversions, but also to spread the news of their change of confession. By personalising their sermons, the converts made

34 Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther: How an Unheralded Monk Turned His Small Town into a Center of Publishing, Made Himself the Most Famous Man in Europe – and Started the Protestant Reformation* (London: Penguin, 2016).

35 See Richard Kirwan, 'The Conversion of Jacob Reihing: Academic Controversy and the Professorial Ideal in Confessional Germany', *German History*, 36 (2017), pp. 1–20.

36 Wenceslaus Altwasser, *Revocation Oder Wiederruffungs Schriefft: Welche bestehet in erklerung des schönen Spruchs des H. Apostels Petri/ in seiner Ersten Epistel am Ersten Capitel: fürnemblich auf Widerlegung des Bapstumbs gerichtet; Derohalben an das offentliche tage Liecht gegeben/ damit alle Evangelische Lutherische Christen inn ihrem rechten Glauben gesterckt/ und befestiget … werden* (Olsse: Bössemesser, 1611), USTC 2106978.

37 Jens Bruning and Ulrike Gleixner (eds.), *Das Athen der Welfen – Die Reformuniversität Helmstedt 1576–1810* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010).

38 Johann Ulrich von Baumgarten, *Kurtze Revocation Schrifft* (Bremen: Herman Brauer, 1686).

39 Schunka, *Gäste, die bleiben*, pp. 322–336.

them more authentic for their listeners and readers. This process led to some interesting variations in the revocation sermons, which the next part of this chapter focuses on.

Adapting the Revocation Sermon

Solely focusing on the shared features of the revocation sermon and portraying them as uniform would be too simplistic a characterisation. As with any genre, there were also significant variations in the revocation sermons, leading to opportunities to expand our understanding of conversions significantly. Most importantly, they were always, to a greater or lesser extent, autobiographical. While funeral sermons contain biographies of the deceased written by other people, in revocation sermons the authors had the opportunity to portray themselves as they pleased, providing a unique opportunity to justify their own beliefs.

Many of the sermons followed rhetorical strategies and employed shared tropes, but they could also draw on personal experiences. Some of the converts described specific experiences they had during their conversion process, for example that they were tempted into becoming a monk by a scheming abbot. In some of the accounts, parents contributed to the Catholicism of their children and encouraged them to join a monastery, while in others parents did not want their children to become a member of the order.[40] Ultimately, the converts came to see the error of their ways, many of them claiming that they had doubts for many years before eventually leaving the monastery.

The general outline of these conversion narratives is the same in most of the revocation sermons, but a closer analysis of the details and language used reveals that they contained personalised elements, and that not all sermons followed the same patterns. Even the structure could be altered depending on the preferences of the converts or their printers. Johannes Samson, for example, expanded his revocation into three sermons, which were bound together into a more than 100-page book in quarto format.[41] Johann Ludwig Niclaßi's revocation sermon was bound together with his funeral sermon, including an image of the deceased man.[42] Even in the title of the funeral sermon, readers

40 Rabe, *Christliche Revocation* Predigt, preface; Fridericus Tancklerus, *Exultans David, Seu anima fidelis ob de ictum Anti Christianum Goliathum triumphans. Kurtze Revocations-Predigt, Welche Fridericus Tancklerus In dem Kloster Grossen Bürlo in Stifft Münster 12. Jahr gewesener Bernhardiner Mönch …* (Lüneburg: Heinrich Jakob Kelp, 1703), preface.

41 Samson, *Illuminatus Samson*.

42 Niclaßi, *Wohlverdientes Ehren-Gedächtnüs*.

were reminded that Niclaßi used to be a Roman Catholic abbot, showing how important the conversion was in a person's biography.

A defining feature of Ludwig Augustus von Maccors' revocation sermon was marital and familial language. Maccors gave his sermon in 1729 in the main church of Wolfenbüttel. He described himself as a man who had wandered around like a bride left by her bridegroom, 'miserably and pitifully, poor, blind and bare'.[43] But now he was married to Christ and, like a bride, he had to fulfill certain responsibilities. One of them was to wear a white dress, a symbol of innocence, which was then contrasted with Christ's red blood. Papists could not marry Christ because they relied on human, not divine, commands, making them into the Babylonian whore.[44] Directed at his readers and listener, he wrote 'You shall be the bride of Jesus, the divine bridegroom'.[45] Maccors constructed his sermon idiosyncratically, likening himself to a woman and praying for Jesus to keep him as his bride. Moreover, compared to other sermons, Maccors emphasised that he converted on a specific day.

Martin Schimschalck, a Hungarian nobleman, gave his revocation sermon in Regensburg in 1654. His sermon was printed in Latin and translated into German in 1658. His vocabulary was more influenced by martial language. The Word of God had 'pierced his heart like a sword', and he approached a critique of Catholicism like a wood worker, felling a tree. He had to 'beat at' the root and stem.[46] He wrote further that, like a sailor, he had to reach the safe port of the Bible.[47] The Papists, on the other hand, were associated with domestic labour. Mockingly, Schimschalck wrote that they stoked purgatory 'in the Roman kitchens'.[48] This kind of gendered argument was diametrically opposed to Maccors' account, where the convert took on the feminised role of a bride.

A third revocation sermon revolved around yet another set of concepts. Walter Averdunck's revocation sermon from 1634 is notable for its imaginative language. He had been a Capuchin in Westphalia for nineteen years, and converted publicly in Frankfurt am Main. Although Averdunck also used biblical reference points, he tapped into popular stories, turns of phrases and

43 Ludwig A. von Maccors, *Die Liebreiche Vermählung Christi mit uns: Zum öffentlichen Zeugniß der göttlichen Liebe … Jn einer Revocations-Predigt … Jn der Haupt-Kirche B.M.V. zu Wolffenbüttel Dominica XX Trinit. Anno 1729. aus dem ordentlichen Evangelio vorgetragen* (Wolfenbütel: Christian Bartsch, 1729), p. 2: 'eine von ihrem Brautigam verlassene Braut elend und jämmerlich / arm / blind und bloß'.

44 von Maccors, *Die Liebreiche Vermählung Christi*, p. 13.

45 von Maccors, *Die Liebreiche Vermählung Christi*, p. 14.

46 Schimschalck, *Kurtze Revocations Predigt*, [p. 2].

47 Schimschalck, *Kurtze Revocations Predigt*, [p. 5].

48 Schimschalck, *Kurtze Revocations Predigt*, [pp. 5/6].

other kinds of narratives. When he became Catholic, he described himself as a bird or a fish, who sees a kernel or worm and 'hopes to find life in it, but instead finds death because it does not see the rope or fish hook'.[49] The Devil tempted him like 'a smart apothecary' who covered the 'poison with gold and white sugar … so that everyone had a great desire and appetite for it'.[50] In a similar way, Catholics over-sugared their ceremonies so that for many years, Averdunck did not notice. Like ostriches, who appeared to be birds but could not fly, so the monks seemed to be pious, though they were actually sinful.[51] Many of them went to the Pope, like 'flies and insects to a big heap'.[52] Like a salmon that moves into new water, he eventually hoped to leave the salty water that represented the monastic life.[53] His sermon was steeped in these kinds of comparisons and, although the general outline of the conversion is similar to many others, his language is distinctive.

Conclusion: The Decline of the Revocation Sermon

Conversions were connected to a range of actors who supported and promoted them, but could also challenge and ridicule them. From the early seventeenth century onwards, when Lutheranism had a distinctive shape, men and women converted to that faith. These conversions were rarely as spectacular as those by Catholics in the New World, which orders wrote about in their

49 Walter Averdunck, *Revocations Predigt Jn hochansehlichster Gegenwart Jhr Excellentz Herrn ReichsCantzlers / auch Fürsten / Grafen und Herren / und abgeordneten Legaten* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Anton Hummen, MDCXXXIV[1634]), USTC 2035245, p. 3: 'wie den Vögeln und den Fischen: wann die etwa ein Körnlein oder Würmlein sehen / so hoffen sie darinnen ihr Leben zu finden / finden aber den Todt / diweil siedes Garns und Angels nicht warnemen'.

50 Averdunck, *Revocations Predigt*, p. 4, 'der Teuffel gehandelt / wie ein kluger Apotheker / der auswendig das Gifft mir Gold und Zuckerweis dermassen lieblich und anmütig zu machen / das jederman darzu lust / und appetit hat'.

51 Averdunck, *Revocations Predigt*, p. 6.

52 Averdunck, *Revocations Predigt*, p. 12.

53 Averdunck, *Revocations Predigt*, p. 4: 'Man liset von den Salmen / wann sie einmal aus dem Meer / und gesaltzenem Wasser in den Rhein und andere süsse Wasser kommen / das sie darinnen so grossen Luft und Süssigkeit empfinden / das sie von dannen nimmermehr begehren heraus zu kommen. Als ich gedachte in den Capuciner Orden zu treten / verhoffte ich aus der Welt / als aus einem trüben gesaltzenen Meer zu frischen Wassern / und Heilbrunnen Israels zu gelangen / da die Brüder einträchtiglich beyeinander wohnen: Da habe ich lauter Bitterkeit unnd Haderwasser / das ist / Feindschafft / Zorn / Zanck / Zwitracht / Neid / Has / Mord / und dergleichen Werck des Fleishces: also einwütent und wallendes Meer gesehen[n] / dessen Wellen jm[m]er schändlichen unstat auswerfen'.

letters and travel accounts. But they nonetheless formed an important part of early modern Lutheranism, as they enabled theologians to show the power of Lutheranism against 'popery'. The active promotion of conversions shows that Lutherans wanted to convert Catholics and the available financial and logistical support suggests that this was an active effort by Lutheran theologians and princes.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, there were no more revocation sermons. It is likely that conversions had become less contentious by the eighteenth century. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, conversions were a major victory for the confession that a convert had recently joined. However, by the eighteenth century, the religious and political climate had changed. Now, new religious developments were on the rise and the Enlightenment had taken a more thorough hold of large parts of early modern Europe. Another reason for the decline of the revocation sermon was the inherent limitations of the genre. The fact that the revocations were performed as a sermon also meant that lay converts and women could not express themselves in this way.[54] Revocation sermons were not an adaptable genre, having a limited number of potential authors.

The changing political and religious dynamics of the eighteenth century also resulted in other ways of expressing conversion narratives, including new rhetorical tropes not suitable to be expressed in a sermon, but also different genres of writing. With new types of media, conversion narratives could be portrayed differently, for instance through autobiographical writings or longer accounts of personal journeys of discovery. While these genres also existed in earlier periods, the increased popularity of these other genres led to the decline of the revocation sermon.

At the same time, political actors and clerics no longer benefitted from the promotion of the revocation sermon in the same manner, as different priorities came to the fore in the eighteenth century. Just as the funeral sermon declined over the course of the early modern period, so did the revocation sermons, and this was partly linked to shifting political and religious landscapes, which influenced princes, dukes and important clerics, who found other ways of promoting conversions and expressing themselves.

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54 For example, Martha Elisabeth Zitter, *Gründliche Ursachen/ welche Jungfer Marthen Elisabeth Zitterinn bewogen/ das Frantzösische alias Weiß-Frauen Kloster in Erffurt/ Ursuliner Ordens/ zuverlassen/ und sich zu der waaren Evangelischen Religion zu bekennen : In einen Schreiben an ihre Mutter* (*Tit.*) *Frau Maria Margaretha jetzo* (*Tit.*) *Herrn Johann Hübners von Rosenberg/ Obr-Leutenants/ und Fürstl. Bamberg. Commendantens in Cronach Eheliebste/ Angezeiget* (Jena: s.n., 1678).

This is not to say that, in the eighteenth century, some kind of Enlightenment religious toleration necessarily led to more religious peace. Rather, the disappearance of the printed revocation sermons might indicate that religious conflict had moved to other genres. As Benjamin Kaplan and others have argued, the notion of the rise of religious toleration in the eighteenth century cannot be applied universally.[55] Indeed, the revocation sermons show that religious conflicts continued long after the Thirty Years War. But more research is needed to determine why revocation sermons were only delivered for around 130 years.

The printed revocation sermons show how a group of individuals used print to further their cause. In delivering and printing the sermons, the converts showed themselves as loyal Lutherans, who converted for the right reasons and had no intention of reverting to their Catholic beliefs. They openly attacked Catholic doctrine and practices, using their status as eyewitnesses to criticise Catholicism. At the same time, the sermons allowed for individual adaptations, especially in the language that the converts used. Printers could hope for a profit on a text that fit into the well-established format of the sermon, yet had more polemical potential than many ordinary sermons. Creating and using this genre of Lutheran writing gave the converts the opportunity to justify themselves not only to the people who listened to their sermon, but to a wider public.

55 Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2007), especially pp. 340–356.

CHAPTER 18

Learned Servants: Dutch Ministers, Their Books and the Struggle for a Reformed Republic in the Dutch Golden Age

Forrest C. Strickland

Reformed ministers played a pivotal role in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. As representatives of the public church, they took on a civic role helping to bind fragile communities together in shared belief and practice.[1] A minister preached multiple times a week, and, when possible, attended to the catechising of members and *liefhebbers*, and visited and comforted the sick and dying. Occasionally, he wrote books to edify believers even when he could not be physically present. Ministers helped shape their congregation's understanding of God, creation, and his expectations for their lives. Through these various forms, they 'supplied all the key terms necessary to understand existence in this world and the next'.[2] When executing his task faithfully, the minister mediated between his congregation and the cares of the ordinary world. From the pulpit to the deathbed, the ideal minister tirelessly encouraged and exhorted those in their flocks to pursue godliness.

While the public role of ministers is unavoidable in contemporary histories of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, little attention has been given to the books they consulted to fulfil their pastoral and public duties.[3] This is remarkable, because ministers were the largest group of academically trained

1 On the role of the Church and state formation, see Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Marc Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Heinz Schilling, *Aufbruch und Krise, Deutschland 1517–1648* (Berlin: Siedler, 1988).

2 Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 3.

3 For example, Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); A. Th. van Deursen, *De last van veel geluk. De geschiedenis van Nederland 1555–1702* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2006); A. Th. van Deursen, 'De Dominee', in H.M. Beliën etc. (eds.), *Gestalen van de Gouden Eeuw: Een Hollands groepsportret* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1995), pp. 131–155.

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professionals.[4] The minister's public role, moreover, ensured that his reading had a much greater impact on society than that of doctors or lawyers, who also valued reading. Ordinary citizens would have had far more personal contact with a minister than with any other university trained intellectual. Educated ministers were dispersed from the urban elite of Amsterdam, Leiden and Rotterdam to the smallest in-land villages of Overijssel or the sandy outposts of Zeeland, and one of the purposes of their libraries was to spread knowledge. Ministers regularly stepped into the public sphere to help bring about a more Reformed society. In their sermons and writings, they investigated the topics that most affected their congregants' lives – economics, law, military theory and history, science and medicine, or knowledge of distant lands – and offered a Reformed synthesis of such knowledge. Their libraries underpinned their efforts to bring about social and theological change, not least through printed publications. Persuading an often lethargic nation required untiring action, and print was a necessary and indeed powerful tool to help bring this about.

This essay seeks to reconstruct the all-important reading of ministers. To do so, it analyses a selection of auction catalogues of ministers' libraries. Throughout the seventeenth century, at least 457 ministerial book collections were auctioned, of which 261 printed catalogues survive.[5] These catalogues are valuable sources to help understand the intellectual background and inclinations of Dutch ministers and theologians during the seventeenth century, and to gauge how the texts they had acquired were used to affect everyday life. For this essay, I have transcribed and analysed fifty-five Dutch ministerial book collections with a total of 92,183 items. They show that ministers were avid readers on topics of immediate public importance – economics, medicine, astronomy and others – and sought to bring that knowledge to bear on the lives of their neighbours.

Men of Letters

In 1638, the Zeeland minister Godefridus Udemans published *'t Geestelyck roer van 't coopmans schip* [*The Spiritual Rudder of the Merchant's Ship*].[6]

4 On the numbers of ministers in the Dutch Republic, see F.A. van Lieburg, *Profeten en hun vaderland: De geografische herkomst van de gereformeerde predikanten in Nederland van 1572 tot 1816* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1996).

5 The remaining 196 auctions are inferred from other surviving records: advertisements in newspapers for the auction, magistrates' books that list civil decisions (including when auctions were approved) and similar sources.

6 Godefridus Udemans, *'t Geestelyck roer van 't coopmans schip* (Dordrecht [Gouda]: Boels [van der Hoeve], 1638) USTC 1019892.

A moderately popular ethical handbook on the Christian method of seafaring, it would go through three editions by 1655. *The Spiritual Rudder* was not an abstract devotional work, but discussed topics of immediate relevance to early modern sailors. It includes chapters on bankruptcy, payment of servants, the dangers of brandy and tobacco, the discovery of the Americas, the duties of naval officers and many more. Udemans exhorted all who would pursue commercial gains to cherish virtue and a godly reputation before material prosperity. With references ranging from the classical authors like Cicero and Plato, to the Bible and to the most popular political theorists of his day, Udemans made his case 'that *Commerce* is an *honest activity*, as long as it is pursued in justice and the fear of the Lord'.[7] Commerce, like all other aspects of life, should be governed by the application of Christian faith. Informed by his books, Udemans took up his pen to write about a topic of public significance and sought to bring about a more Reformed society. In the maritime mercantile province of Zeeland, which was also a bulwark of the Reformed faith, his message was tailored to his local audience.

Udemans' knowledge of sea-faring came from two sources: from the practical knowledge of his congregants who had sailed themselves, and from his books. Udemans' library was auctioned in the year of his death, 1649, with a pre-distributed catalogue to stoke interest amongst book buyers. The catalogue listed many books on economics, politics, war and foreign lands – all topics of use to a well-informed sailor.[8] Although Udemans' ownership in itself of course does not prove that he actually read the books, it indicates his wide interest in topics other than theology. This essay will show that to read such works was exactly what was expected of minister: it was a minister's duty to apply a Christian perspective on a wide range of subjects of interest to society at large, including trade, politics and science.

If a minister had studied at a university in the Republic, he received a thorough education in all theological topics: biblical studies (including Greek and Hebrew), church history and systematic theology.[9] But their education did not only prepare them to be theological commentators; universities equipped

7 Udemans, *'t Geestelyck roer*, f. 4: "dat de Koopmanschap is eene eerlijcke handelinge, als die maer gedreven wordt in de gerechtigheyt, ende vreese des Heeren" All translations are my own unless stated otherwise, italics are mine.

8 All catalogues cited as AC followed by the name of the owner are available at *Book Sales Catalogues Online – Book Auctioning in the Dutch Republic, ca. 1500–ca. 1800.*, advisor: Leiden: Brill, 2015 http://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online. AC *Godefridus Udemanns* (Middelburg: Jaques Fierens, 1649).

9 For a detailed examination of theological education in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century, see Hendrika Adriana de Bruijn, *Eerst de waarheid, dan de vrede: Jacobus Revius 1586–1658* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2012), pp. 71–87; H.H. Kuyper, *De opleiding tot den dienst des words bij de Gereformeerden* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1891).

them to be public intellectuals. In the Netherlands, Dutch ministers were first given an education in a wide variety of topics, often called the arts, that were understood as necessary and preparatory for their theological education. This preparatory study often took two years to complete. A typical course in theology included studies in political theory, jurisprudence, science and medicine, rhetoric, ethics, economics and geography as prerequisites. When they had completed their course of study, aspiring ministers were supposed to be men of letters, or, in the words of an eighteenth-century Dutch minister, 'erudite theologians'.[10]

As Udemans' case shows, Dutch ministers addressed Christians' day-to-day cares, and were expected to have a thorough understanding of topics that could be beneficial to their congregations. They understood this as part of a long Christian tradition. In his dedication to the directors of the East and West Indies Companies, Udemans cited the Church Fathers Cassiodorus and John Chrysostom and the medieval scholastic Thomas Aquinas in defence of commerce.[11] Other Protestant Reformers made a similar case for broad reading. The Zurich Reformer Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575) reminded readers of his *Ratio studiorum* that the Apostle Paul and the Church Fathers understood and made use of pagan authors.[12] Andreas Hyperius (1511–1564), professor of theology at Marburg, encouraged students to understand classical writers, mathematics, science, music, astronomy, economics, history, architecture and even agriculture.[13] John Calvin himself encouraged Christians to pursue their vocations with diligence and earnestness, because these were expressions of their worship of God. For Calvin, learning from other fields in addition to theology was not only acceptable, it was praiseworthy. 'If the Lord has willed that we be helped in physics, dialectic, mathematics and other like disciplines, by the work and ministry of the ungodly, let us use this assistance. For if we

10 Richard Muller, 'Calling, Character, Piety, and Learning: Paradigms for Theological Education in the Era of Protestant Orthodoxy', in his *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 118; Jona Willem te Water, *De theologo erudito* (Leiden: Sam. en Joh. Luchtmans, 1790). Cf. Joris van Eijnatten, '*Theologus Eruditus, Theologus Modestus*: The Early Modern Pastor as Communication Worker', in Theo Clemens and Wim Janse (eds.), *The Pastor Bonus: Papers read at the British-Dutch Colloquium at Utrecht, 18–21 September 2002* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 309–318.

11 Udemans, *'t Geestelyck roer*, ff. 3r–4v.

12 Muller, 'Calling, Character, and Piety', p. 107.

13 Andreas Hyperius, *De sacrae scripturae lectione ac meditatione quitidiana, omnibus omnium ordinum hominibus Christianis perquam necessaria, libri II* (Basel: Johan Oporinus, 1561), USTC 631410, pp. 45–80.

neglect God's gift freely offered in these arts, we ought to suffer just punishment for our sloths'.[14] Calvin celebrated the ability of these studies to enlighten the Christian mind.[15]

A century later, Dutch ministers and theologians echoed this same message. Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676), professor of theology at Utrecht, argued that ministers ought to be educated in 'logic, metaphysics, politics, ethics and physics, as a minimum, plus a little knowledge of cosmography and geography'.[16] In his oration inaugurating Utrecht's Illustrious School becoming a university in 1636, Voetius underscored the ways in which knowledge of a broad range of fields would be beneficial to the public good. Theology was the highest discipline because it investigated God, but history, optics, engineering, geography and hydrography were all useful in their own ways.[17] Guijlelmus Saldenus (1627–1694), a minister in Delft and Voetius' student, argued that portions of the Bible are difficult to understand without prior training in the 'liberal arts:' grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, mathematics, music, geometry and astronomy.[18] Herman Witsius (1636–1708), a professor of theology who taught at Franeker, Utrecht and Leiden, encouraged young ministers to 'consult in no cursory manner those who are masters in the sciences of logic, grammar, and rhetoric'. He compared learning from the 'school of nature' to the Israelites using the craftsmanship of the Gibeonites, 'whose work was to cleave wood and draw water for use of the sanctuary'.[19] Such topics added greater depth to a minister's understanding and aided them in the pursuit of godliness. The expectation was that ministers would understand a wide range of topics beyond the typical theological subjects.

14 John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. J.T. McNeill, trans. F.L. Battles (2 vols., Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), I, p. 275 (2.2.16).

15 Calvin, *Institutes*, p. 53 (1.5.2).

16 Gisbertus Voetius, 'Introductio ad Philosophiam Sacram' [Danielo Suavio, 2 July 1651], in his *Diatribae de theologia, philologia, historia et philosophia sacra* (Utrecht: Simon de Vries, 1668), p. 130.

17 Gisbertus Voetius, *Sermoen van de Nutticheydt der Academien ende Scholen, mitsgaders der Wetenschappen ende Consten die in de selve gheleert werden* (Utrecht: Aegidius and Petrus Roman, 1636) USTC 1029443.

18 Guiljelmus Saldenus, *De libris, varioquoe eorum usu et abusu, libri II* (Amsterdam: Henricus and Theodore Boom, 1688), p. 202.

19 Herman Witsius, *On the Character of a True Theologian* (Greenville, SC: Reformed Academic Press, 1994) p. 29.

Ministers and the Culture of Print

The library was an important asset for a minister who was expected to be an intellectual authority in his community. Heinrich von Diest (1593–1673), a professor at Harderwijk, wrote *De ratione studii theologici necessaria instructio* to aid his students in their pursuit of building a library.[20] In his disputation exhorting ministers to pursue a broad education, Voetius provided a list of books with which an eager trainee could begin. He included over ten theological books and six 'concerning practical philosophy, politics, and jurisprudence'.[21] This brief list came from his six-hundred page *Exercitia et Bibliotheca Studiosi Theologiae*, in which he covered most topics of intellectual investigation and offered a recommended reading list.[22] Voetius himself owned the largest known ministerial library that sold at auction during the seventeenth century, containing over 5,900 books.

A book was a tool in the culture of persuasion, and Dutch ministers were prolific users. One minister and professor of theology claimed that prior to writing and preaching, he had done the hard work of convincing himself of Scripture's meaning. In his final hours, he reflected 'that I was first persuaded my selfe of the truths of the Gospel which I preached to others'.[23] When that minister died, he left a book collection of 4,803 books behind.

Often catalogues of libraries owned by ministers divide the book collections into two broad categories: theology and miscellaneous. The average collection in my dataset that sold at auction was 1,138 books. Several auctions of collections of more than five-thousand books sold. Even if a collection was not large enough to warrant sale at auction, a minister without a library was hardly a minister at all. Church leaders reprimanded those ministers who did not make a concerted effort to develop themselves through books.[24] The ideal minister was a repository of knowledge, familiar with the biblical text and all other disciplines.

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20 Heinrich von Diest, *De ratione studii theologici necessari instructio* (Harderwijk: Nicolaes van Wieringen, 1634), USTC 1510759.

21 Voetius, 'Introductio ad Philosophiam Sacram', p. 135.

22 Gisbertus Voetius, *Exercitia et Bibliotheca Studiosi Theologiae* (Utrecht: Willem Strick, 1644), USTC 1029459.

23 Marie du Moulin, *The Last Houers, of the Right Reverend Father in God Andrew Rivet*, trans. G.L. (Den Haag: Samuel Brown, 1652), p. 16.

24 G. Groenhuis, *De Predikanten: De sociale positie van de gereformeerde predikanten in de Repuliek der Verenigde Nederlanden voor ± 1700* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1977), p. 165; J. Reitsma and S.D. van Veen (eds.), *Acta Der Provinciale en Particuliere Synoden, Gehouden in de Noordelijke nederlanden Gedurende de Jaren 1572–1620* (8 vols., Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1892–1899), II, p. 147.

One of the minister's responsibilities was the dissemination of information to his congregation, and, with the advent of the printing press making books far cheaper, that sphere broadened to the literate public. With high rates of lay literacy, Dutch ministers could potentially reach a broad audience beyond their local congregation.[25] A minister at the end of the seventeenth century stated that

> God has wonderfully compensated for both the brevity of a minister's life as well as the limited scope of his audience by having given man the wisdom to become acquainted with the art of printing. Now a single minister, even centuries after his death, is capable of preaching to an entire nation, yes, even to the entire world.[26]

Following Luther, Reformed ministers in the Netherlands made direct appeals to reading Christians and sought to persuade them to forsake theological error and ungodly actions.[27]

Indeed, the image of an orthodox minister railing against heresy and error through print is abundantly common, and many of their works were polemical diatribes written to combat the perceived theological error in other ministers' books.[28] Yet they were not only theologians, and commented on all aspects of life. As a result, ministers devoted themselves to reading about far more than theology. While Bibles, biblical commentaries, theological treatises and devotional works were the bulk of their collections, ministers' libraries would often include dozens, if not hundreds of books on topics that appear to have little to do with religious thought or devotion. Scientific and medical works,

25 On literacy in the Dutch Republic, see S. Hart, 'Enige statistiche gegevens inzake analfabetisme te Amsterdam in de 17e en 18e Eeuw', *Amstelodamum* 55 (1968), pp. 3–6; Willem Frijhoff and Marieke Spies, *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, trans. Myra Heerspink Scholz (Basingstoke, United Kingdom/Assen, The Netherlands: Palgrave Macmillan/Royal Van Gorcum, 2004), p. 236–237.

26 Wilhelmus à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service*, ed. Joel R. Beeke (4 vols., Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 1992–1995), I, p. cxiv.

27 Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther* (New York: Penguin Press, 2015).

28 For example, Gisbertus Voetius, *Politicae Ecclesiae* (4 vols., Amsterdam: Joannis à Waesberge, 1663–1676), IV, p. 378; Edwin Bezzina, 'The Practice of Ecclesiastical Discipline in the Huguenot Refugee Church of Amsterdam, 1650–1700', in Karen E. Spierling, Erik A. de Boer and R. Ward Holder (eds.), *Emancipating Calvin: Culture and Confessional Identity in Francophone Reformed Communities* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), p. 171; Frijhoff and Spies, *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, p. 266; Noel Malcolm, 'The Printing of the "Bear": New Light on the Second Edition of Hobbe's *Leviathan*', in his *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 381.

political theories like Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*, jurisprudence, handbooks on economics, military strategy and even books on agriculture – this diverse range of material regularly featured in ministerial collections. The meagre book collection owned by Thomas Laurentius, a Puttershoek minister, contained 189 books, including fourteen books on medicine. André Rivet owned almost three-hundred of these works, including almost ninety books on political theory, twenty on astronomy and another twenty on science and mathematics.[29] Bernard Somer in Amsterdam owned a particularly interesting collection of books on military theory, war and fortifications, twenty-three works in total.[30] Salomon Voltelen in Waspik owned fifteen. Udemans himself owned seven works on jurisprudence.[31] In their work, ministers offered interpretation and synthesis of such knowledge. They endeavoured to present a cogent, godly picture of the world.

Three genres of non-theological books (medical, economic and astronomical and cosmographical) most clearly indicate the purpose of ministers' reading such a broad range of works. The fields of medicine, economics and astronomy/cosmography had tremendous impact on ordinary life in the seventeenth century Dutch Republic. All three genres focused on aspects that shaped the lives of everyday Dutch citizens, and they were the three topics ministers studied the most, as evidenced by their book collections. The following sections will therefore analyse how ministers used books on medicine, economy and cosmology in their work.

The Minister-Physician

Illness and disease were a constant concern in early modernity, and this concern required pastoral care. This was especially so since quality medical care was hard to find. While municipal governments would often pay a physician a stipend to offer basic services to the poor, such local practitioners were often untrained surgeons or midwives who depended on medical books like the *Secreet-boek* by Carolus Battus, which was marketed to readers who only bought a few books.[32] Battus' prescriptions, based upon humoral theory, are

29 AC *André Rivet* (Leiden: Pieter Leffen, 1657).

30 *Catalogus variorum ac insignium librorum instructissimae bibliothecae Bernardi Someri* (Amsterdam: Henricum & Viduam Theodori Boom, 1685) Wolfenbüttel, HAB: BC Sammelband 9:20.

31 AC *Salomon Voltelen* (Dordrecht: Wittegaarts, 1697); AC *Godefridus Udemans*.

32 Carolus Battus, *Secreet-boeck waer in vele diversche secreten, ende heerlicke consten in veelderleye verscheyden materien uit Latijnsche, Francoysche, Hoochduytsche, ende*

unlikely to have done patients any good. One such prescription encouraged anyone with inflamed ears to use the vapour from sweet milk. Another encouraged rubbing with parsley to ease swelling. As A. Th. van Deursen noted, 'It is quite possible that people found these remedies useful. But their choice and operation rested entirely on faith'.[33] Works by Battus were listed in six ministerial catalogues.

In total, my database of ministerial libraries lists 1,515 medical books. Forty-nine out of the fifty-five minister's collections examined contain at least one medical book. Most ministers would own less than five works on the topic. Of the 343 books a minister in Cuyk owned, only one medical work is listed: *De medicina*, by the Roman teacher Serenus Sammonicus.[34] Johannes Boeken, a Lutheran minister in Rotterdam whose collection sold in 1698, owned only Thomas Bartholinus' *Anatomia* (Den Haag, 1655).[35] Daniel Demetrius (d. 1628), whose collection sold in 1628, owned two medical books; three sold amongst the collection of Jan Barentsz. (c. 1556–1609), a minister in Delft. For these ministers, a few books would have served the necessary purpose of providing home remedies without the need for calling a doctor and the ability to inform their congregations at the most basic level.

Thirty-seven ministers, however, owned more than five medical books. The size of these collections ranged from Thomas Laurentius' 189 books, which included fourteen medical books, to collections of nearly six-thousand books. Johannes Pechlinus (d. 1690), a Lutheran minister in Leiden, owned forty-five (his collection totalled 3,709); Jacobus Halsbergius (c.1560–1607) 120, and Balthazar Lydius (1576–1629) even 282.[36] For these ministers, the desire to own great numbers of medical books indicates an interest in the medical world that surpassed other terrains outside theology. Medical books were far more popular in their collections than scientific works on mathematics, physics, or similar topics.

The medical books that ministers owned tended to be utilitarian in nature, the most popular books being works by Galen and Heurnius (see table 18.1). Many of these books, more than forty percent, was printed before

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Nederlantsche authoren, te samen ende by een ghebracht zijn (Dordrecht: Abraham Canin, 1600), USTC 425118.

33 A. Th. Van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, Religion and Society in seventeenth-century Holland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 238.

34 *AC Paulus Leupenius* (Nijmegen: Gulielmus Meys, 1678).

35 *AC Johannes Boeken* (Rotterdam: Barent Bos, 1698).

36 *AC Balthazar Lydius* (Dordrecht: widow of Peeter Verhagen, 1629–1630), USTC 1021755, 1021757 and 1021756; *AC Johannes Pechlinus* (Leiden: Pieter van der Aa, 1690); *AC Johannes Halsbergius* (Leiden: Thomas Basson, 1607), USTC 1122231.

TABLE 18.1 Selection of well-known medical authors in Dutch ministerial book auction catalogues

Author	**Number of books**
Galenus	40
Johannes Heurnius	31
Daniel Senertius	27
Hippocrates	25
Jean François Fernel	24
Celsus	19
Johan van Beverwijk	17

the seventeenth century, making them slightly older than the rest of the collection. The enduring presence of sixteenth-century medical texts is not surprising, as two of the more popular medical authors died before or around 1600: Jean François Fernel died in 1558; Johannes Heurnius died in 1601. Furthermore, their collections almost exclusively list sixteenth-century editions of Galen, Hippocrates and Celsus.

Why did ministers collect these books? The most compelling reason was to offer care to their sick and dying congregants. Knowing that everyone in their flock would face death, ministers sought to understand the human body in its intricacies, so they could shepherd their flocks through the trials of sickness and dying. The well-known minister Franciscus Ridderus devoted an entire volume to synthesising the best medical books of the day in order to encourage Christians to die well. This work, framed as a dialogue between a minister, a sick man, a doctor and later a widow was entitled *Historisch Sterf-huys, ofte 'tsamenspraeck uyt heylige, kerckelijcke en weereltsche historien over allerley voorval ontrent siecken en stervende* [*Historical Dying House, or a Dialogue from Holy, Ecclesiastical and Secular Histories concerning death and dying*].[37] In it, Ridderus cited numerous medical authorities, many of whose works were included in the fifteen medical books he owned.[38] Ridderus' *Historical Dying House* presents an image of a minister who comforts the sick with Scripture and encouraging spiritual quotations from theologians like John Chrysostom,

37 Franciscus Ridderus, *Historisch Sterf-huys, ofte 'tsamenspraeck uyt heylige, kerckelijcke en weereltsche historien over allerley voorval ontrent siecken en stervende* (Rotterdam: Johannes Borstius, 1668).

38 *AC Franciscus Ridderus* (Rotterdam: Marcus van Rossum, 1683).

FIGURE 18.1 Pieter Holsteyn, title page of Ridderus' *Historisch Sterf-huys*, 1665
RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM, RP-P-1893-A-18048

Martin Luther and John Calvin. Yet, in addition to these spiritual guides, Ridderus' ideal minister also understood the advice and treatments given by the doctor and reiterated their advice. He referenced medical doctors of the day, like the influential Dordrecht physician Johan van Beverwijk. In the image on the title page to the 1665 edition, three adults and two children gather around a woman on her death-bed. One person, presumably the minister, appears to offer encouraging words to the dying woman.

The function of medical books appears in other sources as well. In 1670, a newspaper advertised a book on death and dying, claiming that comforters of the sick, ministers, and others would benefit from reading it. The book claimed to be 'useful for those who care for the sick, but also for ministers, theologians, heads of households or all those who sail at sea, or cannot serve formally in church'.[39] Medical books like these provided them with the necessary background to help the ailing come to terms with their condition.

There were also other ways in which ministers could employ their medical books. Godefridus Udemans was one minister amongst many who devoted time and energy to the physical well-being of his congregation. Udemans' catalogue lists a section of *Libri Medici*, ten books in total, including the *Schat der Gesontheyt* [*Treasure of Health*] by the famous Dordrecht physician Johan van Beverwijck and two works by the renowned physician to the French court, Jean François Fernel. Udemans used this medical knowledge to bolster his moral admonitions. When he denounced dancing as 'the bellows of indecency and instruments of frivolity', Udemans not only expressed his concern for the spiritual well-being of his reader, he also emphasized that dancing had ill effects on the body: 'Medical doctors show us that the violent shaking of the body is dangerous, particularly after a meal. Many dancers come down with pleurisy, blood diseases, or other illnesses because of exhaustion that results from dancing'.[40] Udemans certainly made selective use of medical research to support his religious aims, but he did not speak from a position of an uninformed, narrow-minded minister. Physicians such as Cornelis Bontekoe discouraged dancing for similar reasons to those mentioned by Udemans.[41] In

39 'Schat-Boeck der Onderwijsingen voor Kranck-Besoeckers, en Vertroostingen voor Krancken, niet alleen dienstigh voor Siecke-Troosters, maer oock voor Predicanten, Proponenten, Huysvaders, en die geene, die ter Zee varen, of onder 't kruys van aenspraeck niet konnen gedient werden'. *Oprechte Haerlemse Saterdaegse Courant* 49, 6 December 1670.

40 Godefridus Udemans, *The Practice of Faith, Hope, and Love*, trans. Annemie Godbehere, ed. Joel R. Beeke (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012), p. 365.

41 Anette Henriette Munt, *The Impact of Dutch Cartesian Medical Reformers in Early Enlightenment German Culture (1680–1720)* (University of London, PhD Thesis, 2004), p. 176.

such cases, medical knowledge could come to the aid of their understanding of piety.

They That Bear Silver

If sickness, dying and medicine were at the forefront of a congregant's mind, economics were a close second. When a Dutch minister considered economics, he was concerned first with the proper order of society. Economics in the early-modern era concerned far more than modern definitions of the field, it was about household management on various scales, foremost the literal family household. For ministers, therefore, economics was a holistic endeavour, of which wealth was only one part. It was the study of order and justice, beginning with the family unit and extending out to the rest of society. Less concern was therefore given to the internal machinations of Amsterdam's Exchange Bank than to the role of virtue in economic dealings.

Economic books were less popular than medical works. Thirty out of the fifty-five catalogues I have transcribed contained books on matters of finance, supply and demand, money, banking or other such concerns. Just over one-hundred of these books are listed in my transcribed corpus. The majority (87) were written in Latin; French and English are the most common vernacular texts present, with five each. Of those books on order, none were more popular than Barthalomaeus Keckermann's volume on politics and economics. Keckermann (c.1572–1608) began his treatise on order with the home.[42] The peace and concord of society, upon which human prosperity depended, began with a virtuous husband and a wife who showed honour to her husband. According to Keckermann, this familial structure was founded by God, and established the foundation upon which a just economic system was built.

There are two main groups of economics books listed in ministers' auction catalogues: general introductory texts on the household and texts that were topical to controversies on economic issues in the modern sense. Summative books on economics were largely dominated by Aristotle and discussions of his thought. Aristotle's *Politica & Oeconomica* is listed five times; there are four books commenting on Aristotle's economics, including two copies of John Case's *In Oeconomica Aristotelis*.[43] The most popular economic books, however,

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42 Barthalomaeus Keckermann, *Synopsis Disciplinae Oeconomicae* (Hanau: Wilhelm Antonius, 1610), USTC 2066747. This treatise is appended to his work on politics, *Systema Disciplinae Politicae* (Hanau: Wilhelm Antonius, 1608), USTC 2079757.

43 *AC Balthazar Lydius*; *AC Martin Ubbenius* (Leiden: Pieter Leffen, 1661).

mark out a public debate within the Dutch Republic and the Reformed church that spilled into a frenzied controversy. Books on usury, the practice of lending money for profit to the detriment of the recipient of the loan, dominate the genre. Nearly half (47) mention usury in the title. Claudius Salmasius, a professor at Leiden, was the most popular author mentioned in this category. His *De modo usuris* is listed fourteen times. One of his successors who also wrote on usury, Johannes Friedrich Gronovius was less popular, but well-represented in the corpus. His *De centesimus usuris* is listed five times.

The controversy over usury had a direct cause. In 1642, Utrecht magistrates asked the theological faculty for advice on the establishment of a lending bank. Citing scripture, civil law and examples from history, the theologians argued vehemently against the practice of loaning money at exorbitant rates. Usury, the theologians stated, 'drank the blood of the poor down to the very marrow'.[44] Such lenders were a cancer and a plague, ruining the city's poor. Publishing numerous tracts in Dutch, Voetius and several colleagues wrote to free the 'poor masses'.[45] He also composed several academic disputations on the evils of such practice to better train ministers to take up the fight as well. But by taking the debate out of the academy and addressing the people and the government directly through vernacular writing, Voetius sought to usher in a society that had no place for this economical practice.

In taking up usury as a topic of importance to theologians and ministers, Voetius took part in a discussion on usury that went back centuries in the Church. The morality of banking practices such as usury had long been debated in the Christian church.[46] Usury was an issue on which the first generations of Protestant reformers spoke out.[47] It was one that consumed much debate during the early modern era, as it was one that affected the lives of many ordinary citizens.[48] When Voetius denounced abusive banking practices, he had investigated the subject thoroughly. In addition to those instances when usury was discussed in shorter treatments by theologians throughout the Christian tradition, Voetius also investigated the other side of the issue. Of the fifteen or so

44 Quoted in Willem J. van Asselt, '"A Grievous Sin:" Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) and his anti-Lombard Polemic', in Jordan J. Ballor, et. al. (eds.), *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Muller on the Maturation of a Theological Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 510.

45 Doede Nauta, *Samuel Maresius* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1935), p. 297.

46 Charles R. Geisst, *Beggar Thy Neighbor: A History of Usury and Debt* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Juliann Vitullo and Diane Wolfthal (eds.), *Money, Morality, and Culture in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).

47 Eric Kerridge, *Usury, Interest and the Reformation* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002).

48 Norman Jones, *God and the Moneylenders: Usury and Law in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

books he owned on usury, several actually defended usury, including Samuel Maresius' *Conderationes erotematicae circa Foenus Trapeziticum*.

Invectives against allegedly greedy, money-grabbing bankers were not only levelled by the orthodox watchdog Gisbertus Voetius and his colleagues in Utrecht. The *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae*, composed by the Leiden theological faculty after the purge of Remonstrants in 1619, had concluded as much in 1620. 'The lending to the poor for financial gain that is practiced in the form of a pledge, and that is permitted by the magistrates in Christendom to a certain degree because of something good, is clearly cruel and harsh', wrote Antonius Thysius (1565–1640). '[A] well-established nation ought to have no place for anyone to practice this'.[49] Jacob Lydius (1610–1679), a minister in Dordrecht, reviled 'money hounds [Gelt-hont]' and all who practiced 'the acts of cunning, dodges, deceits and devilry'. Similar to Udemans, Lydius considered this a failure virtue; it was a 'sin against the old name of honour'.[50]

Not all ministers fell in line with Voetius. Johannes Cloppenburg (1592–1652), a professor of theology at Harderwijk and later Franeker, was one of the most able opponents of Voetius. He considered usury acceptable within certain parameters.[51] Such opposition shows that the usury controversy did not split along confessional lines. Cloppenburg's orthodoxy in theological matters was undeniable, while Hugo Grotius, the Arminian who was reviled by Gisbertus Voetius, agreed with the Reformed Voetius on this issue of usury.[52] The *classis* of Leiden argued that the Utrecht theologians introduced teachings on usury that were denied by Scripture, the catechism, synodal resolutions and the practice of Reformed churches. They claimed such concerns were not within the purview of the church. Political authorities had the responsibility to establish

49 Antonius Thysius, 'On Almsgiving and Fasting (disp. 37)', in Henk van den Belt (ed.), Riemer A. Faber (trans.), *Synopsis Purioris Theologiae/Synopsis of a Purer Theology* (2. vols, Leiden: Brill, 2013–2016), II, p. 463.

50 Jacobus Lydius, 'Van eenen gelt-hont', in his *Vrolycke Uren, ofte der Wysen Vermaeck* (Dordrecht: Hendrick van Esch, 1640), USTC 1017730, p. 100: "Hier leyt een gierigh mensch, een Gelt-hont in verholen, De doot, gelijck een dief, heeft hem van hier gestolen, en dit gebeurde juyst op d'onbequaemste tijt, soo dat men merken kost 't geschiede maer uyt spijt. Want op de selfde tijt wanneerse hem quam quellen, soo was hy gansch beslet met al syn gelt te tellen, en siet den snooden dief, en fellen moordenaer stal slechts alleen den man, en liet de schatten daer."

51 Johannes Cloppenburg, *De Foenore et Usuris, Brevis Institutio, cum ejusdem Epistola Ad Cl. Salmasium* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1640). Cf. Neil de Marchi and Paul Harrison, 'Trading "in the Wind" and with Guile: The Troublesome Matter of the Short Selling of Shares in Seventeenth-Century Holland', in Neil de Marchi and Mary S. Morgan (eds.), *Higgling: Transactors and their Markets in the History of Economics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), p. 56 (47–65).

52 Henk Nellen, *Hugo Grotius: A Lifelong Struggle for Peace in Church and State, 1583–1645*, trans. J.C. Grayson (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 514–517.

what was and was not lawful.[53] Though the Utrecht theologians and the Leiden *classis* differed on the policy outcome, both sought the same end: they called for a more Christian society. On 30 March 1658, the States of Gelderland and Holland settled the political dispute. They concluded with Cloppenburg and the Leiden *classis* that the church had no authority on these matters. If bankers followed the law, they should not be banned from the Lord's Supper.[54] Samuel Maresius (1599–1673), a professor of theology at Groningen who defended the practice alongside Cloppenburg and the Leiden *classis*, revelled in the fact that his position had won the day in both the ecclesiastical and political fields.[55]

Through common-sense observation, knowledge of the Bible and the occasional reading of books on economics, ministers in the Republic exhorted congregants and those in secular authority to pursue a Reformed agenda in economic matters. Ministers encouraged virtue above wealth, honour rather than glory, and humility and circumspection in place of earthly status. Armed with the knowledge of their opponents' best arguments for and against usury, ministers constructed their responses. They employed the pen to persuade readers – whether ordinary citizens, local magistrates, or provincial or national authorities – of the error of allowing such sinful banking practices to exist. Ministers voiced their opinions so vociferously on economic matters that the political authorities had to step in to settle the dispute and maintain concord. Print elevated a minister's voice and intellectual authority beyond his local church and amplified it beyond the walls of their local church: all in the hope of establishing economic policy.

Reading the Stars

Questions of sickness, death and obtaining one's daily bread were unavoidable. Every person would have been acutely aware of their frailty; and many were especially aware of the need to earn more money. These were daily, even hourly concerns. Some events, though, captured national attention in sudden, unexpected moments. When a comet soared through the sky on a winter's night in 1664, men, women and children stood in awe. It was one of many observed in the seventeenth century. Astronomical events like comets, beached whales

53 'Aensprack tot den Christelijcken Leser', *Res judicanda, Saecke die noch state te oordeelen, van de bancken van leeninghe, by de magistrate opgerecht* (Leiden: Hendrick Verbiest, 1658), pp. 8–9.

54 Van Asselt, '"A Grievous Sin:" Gisbertus Voetius (1589–1676) and his anti-Lombard Polemic', p. 519.

55 Nauta, *Samuel Maresius*, p. 297.

and other natural phenomenons became shared cultural experiences that led to broad social discussion. They were cultural events that captured the public imagination for a time.[56] A surge of pamphlets sought to explain what such heavenly spectacles meant: how and why the comet emerged.

Ministers jumped into the fray. Many Dutch pastors thought that the comet was a sign from God himself, warning the wayward nation to turn from sin and godlessness and return to faithful Reformed belief and action. Gisbertus Voetius suggested as much. A comet was an ominous sign, sent by God, that ought to stir up reverence towards Him.[57] What the comet might have signified was not expressly clear, Voetius thought, but 'from the experience of all times and the verdict of all men, they do announce drastic changes'.[58] Such explanations were common amongst observers before and after Voetius. Yet Voetius was not wholly ignorant of the scientific findings taking place around him. When the irascible theologian's book collection sold in 1676 and 1679, forty-eight books on astronomy sold. Throughout his life, Voetius read books seeking to explain the celestial realm and, in concert with Scripture, he came to a reasoned conclusion.

Including cosmographical books (of which there are almost sixty), 693 books describing the planets and stars are listed in my database of fifty-five ministerial catalogues (0,77%). Of those fifty-five ministerial catalogues transcribed thus far, they list an average of just over ten works on the topic. This figure is skewed, because a few collections contained an outlying number. Some collections contained about an average, if slightly more. Jacob Arminius owned sixteen, including two copies of the medieval monk and astronomer Johannes de Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera Mundi*.[59] A few owned far more than average. Johannes Pechlinus, a Lutheran minister in Leiden, owned thirty-nine.[60] Abraham Heidanus, a minister and later professor at Leiden, owned fifty-one, including Galileo's *Systema Mundi*.[61] Justinus van Assche owned over seventy.[62]

56 Andrew Fix, 'Comets in the Early Dutch Enlightenment', in Wiep van Bunge (ed.), *The Early Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic, 1650–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 157–172; Eileen Reeves, *Evening News: Optics, Astronomy, and Journalism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); C. Doris Hellman, *The Comet of 1577: Its Place in the History of Astronomy* (New York: AMS Press, 1944).

57 Gisbertus Voetius, *Selectae Disputationes Theologicae* (5 vols., Utrecht: Joannis à Wansberge 1649–1669), II, p. 912.

58 Voetius, *Selectae Disputationes Theologicae*, II, p. 929.

59 *AC Jacob Arminius* (Leiden: Thomas Basson, 1610), USTC 1506632.

60 *AC Johannes Pechlinus* (Leiden: Pieter van der Aa, 1690).

61 *AC Abraham Heidanus* (Leiden: Felix Lopez de Haro & widow and heirs Adrianus Severinus, 1679).

62 *AC Justinus van Assche* (Rotterdam: Simon Simonsz Visser, 1650), USTC 1121734.

Some ministers went far further in pursuing knowledge of the heavens above than only reading about them. Jacob du Bois, a minister in Leiden, sought such information beyond books. He wanted to become acquainted with the scientific practice himself. An author on Cartesianism and a chronology of world history from creation to Jesus' crucifixion, Du Bois had Samuel Karl Kechel, the curator for astronomical instruments at Leiden University, tutor him in the field.[63]

Astronomical and cosmographical books largely fell into three categories: classical and medieval, modern, and polemical. As a group, classical and medieval authors were the most popular in the genre. Marcus Manilius, a Roman author, had ten works listed; Ptolemy and Proclus, seven. Gaius Julius Solinus, a third-century Latin grammarian and map-maker, was similarly popular, with ten books on the description of the world. Amongst those sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors, none were as popular as Philip Lansbergius, Johannes Kepler and Sebastian Münster. Münster's popularity can be traced, in part, to the utility of his work. The *Cosmographia* served as an indispensable proto-encyclopaedia that sought to describe the history and description of the world. In a single folio volume, it 'created a universal geography, and joined to it a history which brought all the empires of man into a meaningful progression'.[64] Tycho Brahe, the famous Danish astronomer whom Ridderus cited, is conspicuously absent from the most popular authors. Only five of his works are listed.

TABLE 18.2 The six most popular authors of astronomical and cosmographical works in ministerial book auction catalogues

Author	**Number of books**
Philip Lansbergius	20
Johannes Kepler	18
Sebastian Münster	17
Dionysius Alexandrinus	16
Paulus Merula	12
Johannes de Sacrobosco	12

63 Preface to Jacob du Bois, *Oude-tyds tyd-thresoor ende kerkelikke historie* (Leiden: Cornelis Banheining, 1650), USTC 1023031.

64 Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the world in the Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 341.

TABLE 18.3 Selection of well-known and celebrated astronomical authors in fifty-five Dutch ministerial book auction catalogues

Author	Number of books
George Purbachius	10
Galileo Galilei	9
Christopher Clavius	8
Nicolaus Copernicus	8
Ptolemy	7

One of the most popular authors present in the corpus indicates the purpose of astronomical studies for many of these ministers: Philip Lansbergius (Philips Lansbergen), whose various works were listed twenty times. Knowledge of non-theological fields varied greatly amongst ministers. Some were content with the knowledge gleaned from experience and those Christian theologians who addressed such topics in their writings; others, however, pursued knowledge beyond religious studies with as much drive and determination as they did for their pastoral care, few more so than Philips Lansbergen. Unfortunately, either a catalogue for his collection was never composed or it has not survived.

Born in Ghent in 1561, Lansbergen and his family were part of the exodus of Reformed believers to the Northern Netherlands after the fall of Antwerp in 1585. Lansbergen's interest in astronomy was likely kindled while he was a young man in the Southern Low Countries. His first publication on the topic came in 1588, only two years after he departed Leiden to become a minister in Goes. As a fierce proponent of Reformed theology, he was relieved of his pulpit after he chastised the magistrates for their forbearance towards suspected Roman Catholics. In 1613, he moved to Middelburg and dedicated the rest of his life to propagating a Copernican view of the universe that affirmed the authority of the Bible. It was a distinctly 'Christian cosmology'.[65] In 1629, he defended the orthodoxy of his position, stating that his *Bedenckingen op den Dagelyckschen ende Jaerlyckschen loop van den Aerdt-Cloot, Mitsgaeders op de ware af-beeldinghe des sienlijcken Hemels* [*Considerations on the Daily and the Yearly Course of the Terrestrial Globe, and on the True Depiction of the Visible Sky*] was, 'built not only upon the foundations of geometry, but also upon the

65 Rienk Vermij, *The Calvinist Copernicans: The reception of the new astronomy in the Dutch Republic, 1575–1750* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2002), p. 88.

testimonies of the Word of God. Both of which are so infallible, that one cannot doubt its certainty and truth'.[66] For Lansbergen and many other ministers, understanding the physical world was an exercise in piety.

Lansbergen undertook the pursuit of astronomical knowledge for pious ends further than practically any other minister at the time. And yet, he is not wholly distinct from other ministers at the time. The difference between Lansbergen's study of astronomy and many other ministers' is in degree, not kind. Other ministers, too, sought to comprehend how God established creation, including the rotation of the stars. Lansbergen simply went further in his study. Lansbergen sought to use his knowledge of astronomy for the spiritual benefit of his fellow Reformed believers in the Netherlands.

Franciscus Ridderus in Rotterdam published a tract in 1665 entitled *Reys-discours op het verschijnen van de comeet-sterre, die voor d'eerstemael gesien is den 15 december des jaers 1664* [*A travel dialogue on the appearance of the Comet, which was first seen on 15 December in the year 1664*].[67] In this discourse between a student, a citizen and a traveller, the student summarized the new science, which claimed the comet was a natural phenomenon with no spiritual meaning. The traveller rebukes him and offers the definitive explanation on the meaning of the comet's appearance. He argues three points: a scientific explanation is inadequate for comprehensive understanding of the comets full meaning, predictive astrology is to be condemned, and (like Voetius) it is a sign of Divine hostility. Ridderus grounds the traveller's expertise not only in Scripture, but in his own expertise gained through investigating books. He attempts to overwhelm any dissenting view with philosophical, historical, theological and scientific references. He cites works by classical authors such as Seneca and Aristotle, but also contemporary scientific theorists like Bartholomaeus Keckermann and even 'the learned Star Gazer', Tycho Brahe.[68] The traveller's position is confirmed by a combination of Biblical proof and scientific observation. Ridderus, who has cast himself as this learned traveller, explained his process of information gathering. 'I desired to investigate some

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66 'Want gelijck de gronden vande Meet-const, geheel vast ende seker zijn, alsoo zijn oock de getuygenissen van Gods woort, 't eenemael waerachtich, jae de waerheyt selve'. Philips Lansbergen, *Bedenckingen op den Dagelyckschen ende Jaerlyckschen loop van den Aerdt-Cloot, Mitsgaeders op de ware af-beeldinghe des sienlijcken Hemels* (Middelburg: Zacharias Roman, 1629), USTC 1026730, f. *3r.

67 Franciscus Ridderus, *Reys-Discours op het verschijnen van de Comeet-sterre, die voor d'eerstemael gesien is den 15 december des jaers 1664* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1665).

68 'De gheleerde Sterre-kijcker Tycho Brahe'. Ridderus, *Reys-Discours*, p. 15.

authors and, then to summarize their conclusions'.[69] Ridderus underwent the difficult process of collecting sources, internalizing and understanding them, and presenting a biblically informed view of a topic that would have gripped his congregants' attention.

Ministers often differed on the importance of astronomy to the Christian faith. In 1608 Sibrandus Lubbertus, a professor of theology at Franeker who was happy to combat those teachings he found heretical, suggested Copernicanism was merely an astronomical hypothesis. It was simply a scientific theory that had little to no bearing on the theological matters.[70] The auction catalogue composed to advertise the sale of his library does not list any works by the famed Danish astronomer.

Astronomical events provoked heated debate in the academy and the church alike.[71] Lansbergen's reference to both geometry and the Bible hints at the debate that would erupt not long after his death. Was the sun or the Earth the centre of the universe? Du Bois' preoccupation with learning first-hand how astronomy was practiced only makes sense if much more was at stake than a scientific theory about whether the Sun of the Earth was the centre of the universe. The question was a proxy war, many thought, for a debate about the authority of the Bible, because as they understood it, the Bible suggested the Earth stood still. Ministers and professors (in addition to astronomers and mathematicians) were some of the most vocal pundits on the events.

Debates in obscure corners of the theological world could reach the heart of nations if pursued with enough vitriol. Up and coming ministers tried to advance their position in the Dutch Reformed church by inserting themselves in these discourses. At only twenty-five years old, Petrus van Mastricht (1630–1706), a minister in Xanten (a village near Duisberg) wrote *Vindiciae veritatis et autoritatis sacrae scripturae* against the published dissertations of the newly hired professor of theology at Duisburg, Christophor Wittichus (1625–1687). Wittichus argued that Cartesianism and its heliocentric view of the world were in full accord with the Bible's teaching.[72] In 1652, two professors at the Duisburg University, in the Duchy of Cleves, became embroiled in a controversy about Cartesianism when Cyriacus Lenz. Wittichus, the professor of theology at Duisburg, gave two disputations defending the new philosophy.

69 'Soo dreef mij de lust om eenighe autheuren near te sien, den dese *Regaltjes* uyt haer soo kortelijck bij een te stellen'. Ridderus, *Reys-Discours*, f. A2r.

70 Vermij, *The Calvinist Copernicans*, p. 247.

71 Vermij, *The Calvinist Copernicans*; Eric Jorink, *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575–1715* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

72 Petrus van Mastricht, *Vindiciae veritatis et autoritatis sacrae scripturae in rebus Philosophicis adversus dissertations D. Christophori Wittichii* (Utrecht: Johannes à Waesburge, 1655).

The second supported Descartes theory on the motion of the Earth, in opposition to the standard Reformed view that the Earth stood still. The brouhaha that erupted after the disputation was such that it was republished in 1655, in Amsterdam.[73]

Naturalistic explanation of phenomenons like the 1664 comet were suspect because they failed to capture the wonder of God's operation in the world. Ministers claimed the Bible taught that such events were supernatural in cause. Godefridus Udemans was convinced Christians should examine the heavens and marvel at their Creator – and not at the heavens themselves.

> Scripture clearly warns us against astrology, which is predicting one's fortune or misfortune from the stars.… We do not ban astronomy and the study of the course of the heavens, as long as man stays within the confines of nature and Scripture, and does not bind God's wisdom and power to it, but instead is moved to praise God the way the holy patriarchs and prophets did.[74]

When critics within the Reformed Church like Wittichius began siding with René Descartes on philosophical and scientific matters, ministers like Van Mastricht and Du Bois recognized it as an attack against Scripture. To bolster the faith of those Christians who might be carried along by the eloquence of such teaching, they took to print. When ordinary church members gazed into the awesome expanse above them, ministers wanted to be sure the sight encouraged their faith, as that was the purpose of the heavens in the first place. 'The heavens declare the glory of God; the skies above, his handiwork' (Psalm 19:1).

Conclusion

The ministry was a reading profession. With their book collections, ministers studied matters of public importance and offered their perspective through print. Devoting themselves to a lifetime of reading, ministers attempted to bolster their knowledge of the faith and its implications for daily life. Having learned, they then preached and wrote to bring about a more Reformed society.

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73 Theo Verbeek, *Descartes and the Dutch: Early Reactions to Cartesian Philosophy, 1637–1650* (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), p. 74.

74 Godefridus Udemans, *The Practice of Faith, Hope, and Love*, trans. Annemie Godbehere, ed. Joel R. Beeke (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012), p. 212.

As Herman Witsius stated, 'For it is when he goes forth from the sacred mount of contemplation, his soul manifestly replenished and radiant with the purest light, that he is best fitted to communicate that light of reflection to others'.[75]

The Reformed faith presented a framework for understanding every aspect of creation. The divide between theology and natural sciences was largely non-existent in the seventeenth-century. Science and economics were not completely distinct from theology and morality. Ministers understood themselves not only as ambassadors for a set of religious convictions, but as the public intellectuals who were charged with helping their flocks understand every aspect of their daily lives from a Reformed point of view. After years of dedicated study, acquiring hundreds and often thousands of books, the ideal minister presented an informed case to live Christianly as a banker, merchant, sailor, weaver, mother or father. Even when petitioning the States failed to bring about the stricter Sabbath observation, virtuous lending practices, or to eradicate certain pernicious ideas from the public square, ministers attempted to persuade their congregations. The ideal theologian built a library that contained a diverse range of books as an aid in their struggle for a Reformed society.

75 Witsius, *On the Character of a True Theologian*, p. 38.

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