THE BOOK TRIUMPHANT

Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Edited by
Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp

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The Book Triumphant

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PREFACE

This collection of essays on the history of the book during the first two centuries of print is based on the contributions given to two conferences held at the University of St Andrews in September 2008 and September 2009. These conferences, entitled "The Book in Transition: The Printed Book in the Post-Incunabula Age, 1500–1540" and "The Book Triumphant: The book in the second-century of print, 1540–1640", were organised by the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) project group. The papers delivered emphasised the complexity of the experiences of printers and booksellers in the Renaissance, but also sought to identify wider traits.

The first conference concentrated on one of the least well studied periods in the early history of printing. Books printed in the fifteenth century have been the subject of much in-depth research. As early as the seventeenth century, bibliographers and historians began to study and categorise these imprints separately. They even received their own name as scholars adopted the term "incunabulum", or "incunable" in English, to describe them.[1] As a result of the interest shown in these early imprints, our knowledge of the first decades of print is very good. There have been many studies that have concentrated on the minutiae of particular editions or the output of certain presses. Our understanding of the global production has been transformed by two large scale bibliographical projects, the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC) and the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW).[2]

In contrast, the beginning of the sixteenth century has not attracted the same scholarly interest. 1501 has proved to be a formidable barrier: many libraries and bibliographers have limited their cataloguing efforts to the incunabula era. This has led to librarians and collectors to boost their holdings by somewhat disingenuously classifying undated books as fifteenth-century items. If their dating were to be believed then there

[1] The first use of this term is generally attributed to Bernhard von Mallinckrodt's *De ortu ac progressu artis typographicae dissertatio historica* (Cologne, apud Joannes Kinchius, 1640).

[2] See: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/ and http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/

would have been twice as many French vernacular editions printed in 1500 than in 1501. The number of French imprints produced in 1500 would have been greater than in any other year until the beginning of the 1520s.[3] Such statistics are hard to come by for some of the other major European print domains. This highlights the lack of sustained scholarly interest in the first decades of the sixteenth century.

This lack of scholarship is particularly unfortunate as the early years of the century represent an important stage in the development of the printing. After the infancy of the incunabula age, the period from 1501 to around 1540 can be seen as a search for maturity.[4] The experimentation and expansion that characterised the first years of book production gave way to a period of relative stagnation. There was a consolidation of the industry as printing was concentrated in important trade centres and large conurbations. The large print runs produced in these centres dominated the market.

As an artefact, the book had not yet become a well-ordered entity and its contents did not yet follow a clear template. There were still significant regional variations in presentation and internal organisation. The volumes that came off the presses of early sixteenth-century workshops did not yet all have title pages or indeed indicate by whom they were written, when or where they had been produced or who was selling them. The absence of this basic bibliographic data poses fundamental problems to historians of the book. To understand these works, scholars are obliged to undertake complex analysis that is rendered all the more difficult by the intricate practices of certain workshops. In certain cases different printers were involved in the production of a single volume. This in part explains, perhaps, why this period has not attracted more interest: the lack of reliable tools and the complexity of the basic bibliographic knowledge required act as strong disincentives.

The purpose of the first conference was to look into these questions in greater detail and understand in a wider context the printing experience of the different European print industries. This is particularly well

[3] M. Walsby 'Les premiers temps de l'imprimé vernaculaire français' in P. Aquilon & T. Claerr (eds) *Le berceau du livre imprimé: autour des incunables. Actes des "Rencontres Marie Pellechet" 22–24 septembre 1997 et des journées d'étude des 29 et 30 septembre 2005* (Turnhout, 2010) 43–54 at p. 52.

[4] J.-F. Gilmont 'L'imprimerie à l'aube du XVIe siècle' in his *La Réforme et le livre. L'Europe de l'imprimé (1517–v.1570)* (Paris, 1990) 19–28 at p. 19.

illustrated by the advent of the Reformation in Germany half way through this period as the emergence of a dissident faith profoundly reshaped the industry. The rise of the *Flugschrift* as a new source of income for printers and booksellers as well as its role as a powerful polemical tool transformed the German book world. But for many years this remained an isolated case as other major print markets remained staunchly Catholic.[5]

The lasting impact of the Reformation on the printed production of countries such as France came much later. This is the period which was the focus of the second conference. The second century of print can be seen as the golden age of the industry. In contrast to the post-incunabula era, printing and bookselling thrived between 1540 and 1640. Printers settled in new towns and cities and the number of editions produced rose to meet the needs of an increasingly large readership. The emphasis on education and schools during the latter half of the sixteenth century ensured a growing market for printed books.[6]

This period was also marked by the spread of political and theological controversies that encouraged the development of the pamphlet as a polemical tool throughout Europe. Publishers sought to market new genres of texts to reach new readerships. Architectural books, maps and increasing numbers of medical works were printed.[7] The diversification of the output of printers' workshops throughout Europe also had a direct effect on the physical artefact. Printers tried to make existing texts available in different formats to make them more accessible to other readers. Romances initially produced for an elite aristocratic market in large folio volumes were later reprinted in quarto editions and then in smaller octavo and even sextodecimo formats. The willingness of printers and publishers to experiment and seize the opportunities offered by such changes resulted in formats such as the duodecimo becoming more widespread.

The increasing diversity of the outward appearance of books contrasted with what was going on inside the book. The internal physical appearance of printed texts became more uniform. First of all, this was

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[5] See A. Pettegree & M. Hall, 'The Reformation and the Book: a reconsideration', *Historical Journal*, 47, 2 (2004) 785–808.

[6] On the role of schools see chapter nine in A. Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven & London, 2010) pp. 177–199.

[7] On the spread of medical books see the new database of medical books printed in north western Europe: http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~md1516/

characterised by the gradual process of standardisation of the typefaces employed by Renaissance workshops. Many of the typefaces introduced in the first decades of this period continued to be used up until the eighteenth century.[8] Secondly, the internal structure of the books adopted a set template. The emergence of tables, indexes, dedications, privileges, printed marginalia and preliminary material all contributed to encasing the main text within a set of paratextual components with which the contemporary reader would have become very familiar.

The contributors to this conference explored many of these themes examining in particular how texts were transmitted and the complex relationships that affected the production and sale of books. Establishing what actually was printed was another major theme of the conferences. The absence of any overarching bibliographical resource that spans the sixteenth century is a major difficulty for historians seeking to understand the Renaissance book world. If some of the major print domains such as England, Germany and Italy have attracted sustained bibliographical work, many other have not benefited from the same attention. The Universal Short Title Catalogue, around which these conferences were organised, is intended to resolve this problem.

The USTC project grew out of the bibliographic work undertaken at the University of St Andrews on the French vernacular book. The detailed analysis of all books printed in French before 1601 began in 1995 and resulted in the publication of a short title catalogue in 2007.[9] Since then, the group has been working on print domains that had not hitherto been the subject of large scale national bibliographies. The first of these was an overview of printing in the Iberian Peninsula published by Sandy Wilkinson of University College Dublin.[10] This has since been followed by two volumes on the printed production of the sixteenth-century Low Countries, comprising the Netherlands, Belgium and those parts of northern France that owed

[8] H. Vervliet, *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance. Selected Papers on Sixteenth-Century Typefaces* (Leiden, 2008) I, 1.

[9] A. Pettegree, M. Walsby & A. Wilkinson, *French Vernacular Books. A Bibliography of Books Published in the French Language before 1601* (Leiden, 2007).

[10] A. Wilkinson, *Iberian Books. Books Published in Spanish or Portuguese or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601* (Leiden, 2010).

allegiance to the crown of Spain in the second half of the century.[11] The final printed short title catalogue covering non-francophone books printed in France is scheduled to appear next year.[12] Together, these printed volumes provide scholars with an overview of publishing in the large European print domains.

The utlimate goal of the USTC is to provide a free on-line resource that covers the entire fifteenth- and sixteenth-century book world. To this effect, the existing national bibliographies and those undertaken by the USTC research group will be brought together as one single searchable database. The more modest output of Polish, Czech, Swedish, Danish and Hungarian presses will then be added to the production of the large print domains to give a more complete overview of the Renaissance book world. It is hoped that when this new resource goes online at the end of 2011, the USTC will encourage additional research both of a bibliographical and interpretative nature. This volume presents some of the areas of research to which the database will provide additional evidence.

Malcolm Walsby
St Andrews, 15 October 2010

[11] A. Pettegree & M. Walsby, *Netherlandish Books. Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Printed Abroad before 1601* (Leiden, 2011).

[12] A. Pettegree & M. Walsby, *FB III & IV: Books published in France before 1601 in Latin and languages other than French* (Leiden, 2011).

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik is a researcher at the Centre for Southeast European History of the University of Graz. She is author of a number of publications on early modern media and communication practices as well as on the images of "Turks" in Central Europe. She is currently working on the history of the first Ottoman printing press.

Jürgen Beyer is Senior Research Fellow at Tartu University Library. He has previously held appointments at Uppsala University, Tartu University, Södertörn University College and Copenhagen University. He has published widely on the cultural history of Lutheranism in the early modern period

Amy Nelson Burnett is Professor of History at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. She is the author of several books and articles on the South German and Swiss Reformation. Her book *Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy* (Oxford University Press) will be published in 2011, as will her edition of *The Eucharistic Pamphlets of Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt* (Truman State University Press).

Neil Harris is Professor of Bibliography and Library Studies and head of the Department of Preservation of the Cultural Heritage at the University of Udine. He is best known as a scholar of the Italian printed Renaissance book, especially for the *Bibliografia dell' «Orlando Innamorato»* (1988–1991) and for his work on the 1499 Aldine *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. He has also written introductions to several catalogues of incunables and sixteenth-century books.

Brenda M. Hosington is *Professeure honoraire* at the Université de Montréal and Research Fellow at the University of Warwick, where she heads up the Leverhulme-funded 'Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Project: An Online Annotated Catalogue of Translations in Britain 1473–1640'. She has published widely on medieval and early modern translation, Neo-Latin studies, and early modern women translators.

Johannes Hund is a postdoctoral research fellow at the Institute of European History in Mainz, Germany. He wrote his dissertation on "Crypto-Calvinists" in Electoral Saxony during the years 1567–1574 and is now working on his second book about the European jubilee of the Augsburg confession in 1830. He has co-edited a volume of sources entitled *Controversia et Confessio* volume 8 (Göttingen, 2008).

Henning P. Jürgens is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for European History in Mainz. His research interests include Reformation history, Polish history and history of printing. He has co- edited a volume of sources entitled *Controversia et Confessio* volume 8 (Göttingen, 2008) and the papers of a conference on "Religion and Migration" for the Institute for European History series (Göttingen, 2010).

Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba is an assistant professor in the Faculty of Polish Studies at the Jagiellonian University, Krakow. She is the author of *Czcionką i piórem. Jan Januszowski w roli pisarza i tłumacza* (2007) and an edition of the oldest guidebook of Krakow. She is currently working on symbolism, iconography and the ideological inspirations of Polish printers' devices and editing a Polish translation of *Tabula Cebetis*.

Hans-Jörg Künast is a staff member of Buchwissenschaft (book sciences) at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg. He is the author and co-editor of a number of books on the history of printing, the book-trade and libraries in South Germany in the 15th and 16th centuries including *Getruckt zu Augspurg. Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555* (1997) and *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers* (2003 and 2005).

Urs Bernhard Leu is Director of the Rare Book Department of the Zentralbibliothek Zurich and teaches Book History in Basel and Zurich. He is author of a number of publications on the History of the Book, Church History and History of Science in the Early Modern Period. Among others he reconstructed and published inventories of the libraries of the reformer Heinrich Bullinger and the polymath Conrad Gessner.

Matthew McLean is a research fellow at the University of St Andrews and is working on the AHRC Protestant Latin Bible Project. He works on religion, science and the culture of humanism in the early modern period, and is the author of *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Ashgate, 2007).

Andrew Pettegree is Professor of Modern History at the University of St Andrews and Director of the AHRC Universal Short Title Catalogue project. He is the author and editor of a number of books on the European Reformation, including *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge University Press, 2005). His most recent book, *The Book in the Renaissance*, was published by Yale University Press in 2010.

David Shaw has recently retired as the Secretary of the Consortium of European Research Libraries, following a career teaching Renaissance French literature at the University of Kent. His research is mainly on the history of the book in 15th and 16th-century France. He is a former President of the Bibliographical Society (London) and was Editor-in-Chief of its *Cathedral Libraries Catalogue*.

Christoph Volkmar is Archivist of the Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt in Wernigerode. He is the author of *Reform statt Reformation: Die Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen, 1488–1525* (Mohr Siebeck, 2008) and *Die Heiligenerhebung Bennos von Meissen (1523/1524)* (Aschendorff, 2002).

Malcolm Walsby is the manager of the AHRC Universal Short Title Catalogue project and a lecturer at the University of St Andrews. He is the author of *The Counts of Laval. Culture, Patronage and Religion in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century France* (Ashgate, 2007) and *The Printed Book in Brittany (1484–1600)* (Brill, 2011). He has also published a number of articles on the history of the book in France.

Hanno Wijsman is 'Ingénieur d'étude' at the *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* in Paris and Research fellow at Leiden University. In 2010 Brepols published his book *Luxury Bound. Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400–1550)* and the edited volume *Books in Transition at the Time of Philip the Fair. Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Low Countries*.

Alexander Wilkinson is a Lecturer in History and Director of the Centre for the History of the Media at University College Dublin. He is the author of a number of studies of the book world of early-modern Europe, including *Mary Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion* (Palgrave, 2004). Most recently, he edited *Iberian Books. Books Published in Spanish or Portuguese or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601* (Brill, 2010).

PART ONE

THE BOOK IN NATIONAL CONTEXTS

PRINTING IN THE LOW COUNTRIES IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Andrew Pettegree

The seventeen provinces of the Low Countries played, almost from the first days of the invention of printing, a vital role in the European economy of print. This was one of the most prosperous and urbanised areas of Europe. The provinces of Flanders, Brabant, Holland and Zealand, were the core of the Burgundian inheritance, which in the sixteenth century passed into the larger Habsburg monarchy. Its prosperous towns and especially the nobles and officials that followed the Burgundian court provided one of the premier marketplaces for books in the manuscript age, and the new technology of print quickly took root. While the claims that an ingenious Dutchman invented print before Gutenberg are now largely discounted, the new technology certainly spread very rapidly.[1] Over 20 different locations in the northern and southern provinces experienced print before the end of the fifteenth century.[2] As the sixteenth century wore on, the Netherlands played an increasingly vital role in the European circulation of books, with Antwerp emerging as both a crucial production centre and the leading northern market for books from Germany and Italy. It this it would prove a potent rival for Paris, the established centre of the north European book world for more than three centuries.

All of this we know from established published bibliographies: two projects respectively for Belgium and the Netherlands, *Belgica Typographica* and *Typographia Batava*, and a wonderfully scholarly enterprise covering the period 1501–1540: a project now known universally by the names of the two authors, Nijhoff and Kronenberg.[3] No scholars have done more to elucidate the development of the

[1] Lotte Hellinga-Querido and Clemens de Wolf, *Laurens Janszoon Coster was zijn naam* (Haarlem, 1988).

[2] P.M.H. Cuijpers, *Teksten als koopwaar. Vroege drukkers verkennen de markt* (Amsterdam, 1998).

[3] Wouter Nijhoff and Maria Elizabeth Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* (3 vols., ʻs-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1965–71; reprint of The Hague, 1919–1942). Hereafter: NK.

European book world in this period. They rank, alongside Frederick Norton for Spain, and Philippe Renouard for France, as pioneers in this field. Yet despite their pioneering efforts, and the later publication of the *Belgica Typographica* and *Typographia Batava* the bibliography of the Low Countries remains surprisingly incomplete. The reasons for this lie almost wholly in the realms of 20th century library practice, and national politics.

I

The completion of Nijhoff and Kronenberg, set alongside an earlier survey of Dutch incunabula, left an obvious gap, compared with other bibliographical projects, for the period 1541–1600. This was the period too when Low Countries typography experienced its greatest period, as well as the disruption and turbulence caused by the Dutch Revolt. A first attempt to address this lacuna was begun around fifty years ago, with a survey of books undertaken by the Royal Library in Brussels. A decision was taken at this point that, in contrast to the practice of Nijhoff and Kronenberg, the production of modern day Belgium and the Netherlands would be treated separately. In fact the first volume of what became *Belgica Typographica* listed only the holdings of the Royal Library, and only those books in the collections printed within the borders of modern day Belgium. This was followed by two further volumes, adding items from other Belgian libraries not listed in the first volume, for a total of 9,700 items.[4] There the project rests, with the implicit assumption that a survey of Belgian libraries offers a rough approximation for a complete survey of the output of the important presses of Antwerp, Brussels and Louvain during the sixteenth century. But in a survey of French books published in the sixteenth century conducted by the St Andrews book project group it was discovered that some 30% of surviving editions were known only from libraries outside France.[5] If this were to be the case for Belgium as well, then *Belgica Typographica* would prove to be seriously deficient.

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[4] Elly Cockx-Indestege, Geneviève Glorieux, and Bart op de Beeck, *Belgica typographica 1541–1600: catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt* (Nieuwkoop, 1968–1994). Hereafter: BT

[5] Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, *FB. French Vernacular Books. Books published in the French language before 1601*, 2 vol. (Leiden, 2007)

The presses of the northern Netherlands were left to a separate survey to be conducted by the Dutch library community. This proceeded more slowly, and has a somewhat troubled history: at one point two separate projects were proceeding in parallel at The Hague and Amsterdam, effectively independent of one another. In consequence the Dutch project made less headway, and the resulting bibliography, *Typographia Batava*, was published only in 1998.[6] *Typographia Batava* is very substantially the work of one remarkably bibliographer, Paul Valkema Blouw, and the published work bears the imprint of both his formidable talent and his idiosyncratic working method. In many respects it is a more satisfactory work than *Belgica Typographica*, since Valkema Blouw included details not only of works identified in collections outside the northern Netherlands, but many editions known only from bibliographical references: a practice followed also by the St Andrews project team when compiling data for their survey of French Books. Valkema Blouw bent his considerable typographical genius to identifying the printers of works published anonymously, which ran to several thousand editions in a period characterised by political turbulent and religious persecution.[7] But Valkema Blouw also worked in a period before the on-line revolution. He seldom travelled from Amsterdam, and so could know only of copies, and editions, surviving in libraries outside the Netherlands through published bibliographies and library catalogues. There exists therefore the likelihood of other editions, unknown to Valkema Blouw, in other libraries around the world.

In the past years the St Andrews project group has been putting this proposition to the test by creating a single composite inventory of recorded holdings of books published in the Low Countries for the whole period 1471–1600 (NB).[8] This inventory is built from an amalgamation of catalogues of major research resources now available on line, together with other major collections and bibliographies retroconverted from published catalogues. These records have then been compared with the published resources, Nijhoff and Kronenberg,

[6] Paul Valkema Blouw, *Typographia Batava 1541–1600: repertorium van boeken gedrukt in Nederland tussen 1541 en 1600* (2 vols., Nieuwkoop, 1998). Hereafter: TB

[7] These bibliographical studies, which appeared largely in the Dutch periodical *Quaerendo*, are now published in a collection: Paul Valkema Blouw, *Collected Works of on Sixteenth-Century Dutch Typography* (Leiden, 2010).

[8] Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby, *NB. Book printed in the Low Countries before 1601*, 2 vols (Leiden, 2011).

Belgica Typographica and *Typographia Batava*. This allows one to establish for each case a master record: either the copy recorded in the published bibliography, or an edition newly revealed by the wider search of other available library catalogues. The result is a very considerable enhancement of the previously known corpus of editions. It demonstrates that the new bibliographical work undertaken as part of the St Andrews Universal Short Title Catalogue project will have a very substantial impact even for those parts of Europe assumed to have been fully studied by national bibliographical projects.

Table 1. Books published in the Low Countries (and in Dutch abroad) before 1601

	Known	NB	
Incunabula	2,229	2,269	+ 1.79 %
Nijhoff & Kronenberg	4,532	5,547	+ 22.40 %
Typographia Batava	7,438	7,657	+ 2.94 %
Belgica Typographica	9,755	15,938	+ 63.38 %
Printed abroad[9]		742	
Overlaps[10]	- 490		
Total	23,464	32,153	+ 37.03 %

It can be seen at once that these results are not only very startling; they will also impact very significantly on our understanding of the role played by printing in the Low Countries in the sixteenth-century print world. Purely in terms of volume of output, this survey has identified a very considerable quantity of material that was not previously known: something like a further 8,000 editions. The total known output of some 32,000 editions now establishes the Low Countries as an

[9] Items printed abroad in Dutch or partially in Dutch are included in the terms of reference in the ISTC and NK and so are not separated here. The 36 incunabula and 85 items printed abroad in the period 1501–1540 make a total of 863 items for NB as a whole printed outside the Low Countries. Of these by far the greatest number (634) were printed in Germany, 132 in France and 74 in England.

[10] TB lists 273 items already listed in BT; of the items enumerated in NK, 34 are claimed by TB, 11 by BT, and 76 are listed in the ISTC. A further 21 items in NK are internal duplicates, entered under two separate references. BT also has (mostly in the third volume) 35 numbers in the sequence with no entry; a further 33 items from BT are duplicates, mostly references from BT I superseded by items in later volumes. A small number of TB references (7) appear also to be duplicates.

important and distinctive centre of European print production. This was, by way of comparison, about three times the production of England or the Swiss Confederation in the same period, and twice the output of the Iberian Peninsula.[11]

Just as important this work completely overturns the established relationship between the production centres of the northern and the southern Netherlands. As we can see, the published bibliographies, *Belgica Typographica* and *Typographia Batava*, suggest a rough equality of production in Belgium and Holland. The slightly larger total in *Belgica Typographica* can be balanced by the larger production in the northern Netherlands in the first half century of print.[12] From the point of view of 20th century library politics that is no doubt welcome, but it is in fact wholly misleading. The under-reporting that results from confining the survey of books published in the southern Netherlands to Belgian libraries turned out to be far greater than even we suspected. The rough parity between production in the north and the south disappears. We can now see that publishers in the south in fact out-published their northern contemporaries by a factor of two to one. This is not true, however, of the whole period under consideration. In fact the overall profile of publishing in the Low Countries evolves very rapidly in the period under study: the period of Belgian domination is in fact a comparatively brief epoch of little more than fifty years. This can be most conveniently demonstrated graphically. Our first figure (see: Figure 1) shows total output by decade, divided between the northern and southern provinces. This shows the steadily increasing production characteristic of all European print industries. But if we express the relative contributions of north and south as a proportion of the total for each decade (see: Figure 2), we can see that northern centres of production dominated output until the second decade of the sixteenth century, declining almost to oblivion in the 1530s, and recovering strongly in the last two decades of the century.

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[11] The figures for England are presented by John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'Statistical tables', in John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie, *The Book in Britain, volume IV, 1557–1695* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 779–782. For the Swiss Confederation see: *VD 16. Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 25 vols., (Stuttgart, 1983–2000); GLN 15–16: a bibliography of books published in the 15th and 16th centuries in the cities of Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel, plus the city of Morges, http://www.ville-ge.ch/musinfo/bd/bge/gln/index.php. For Spain: Alexander Wilkinson, *IB. Books printed in the Iberian Peninsula and in Spanish Abroad*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2010).

[12] Cuijpers, *Teksten als koopwaar*, p. 72.

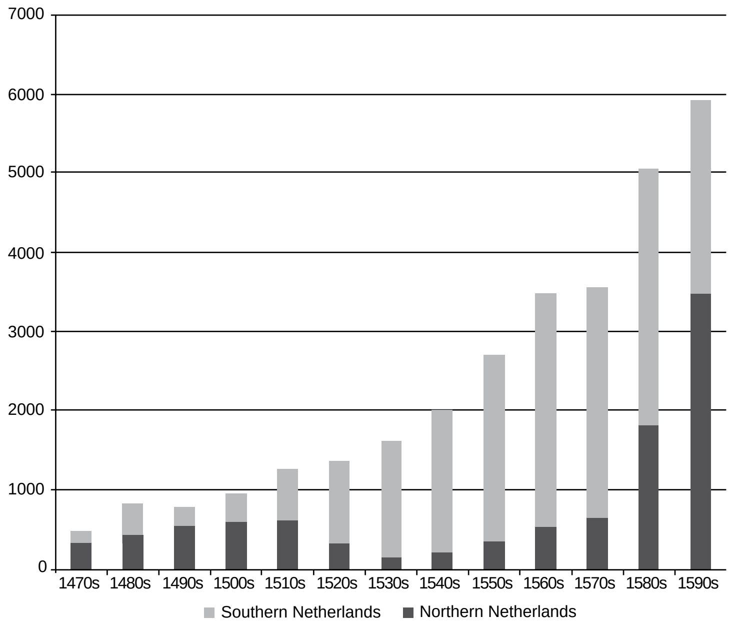

Figure 1. Number of books printed in the Low Countries, 1470–1600

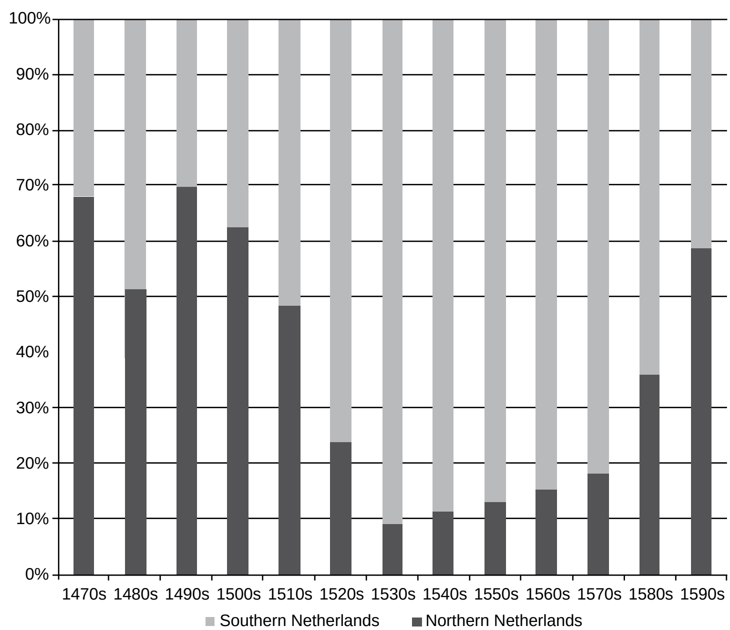

Figure 2. Proportion of books printed in the Low Countries, 1470–1600

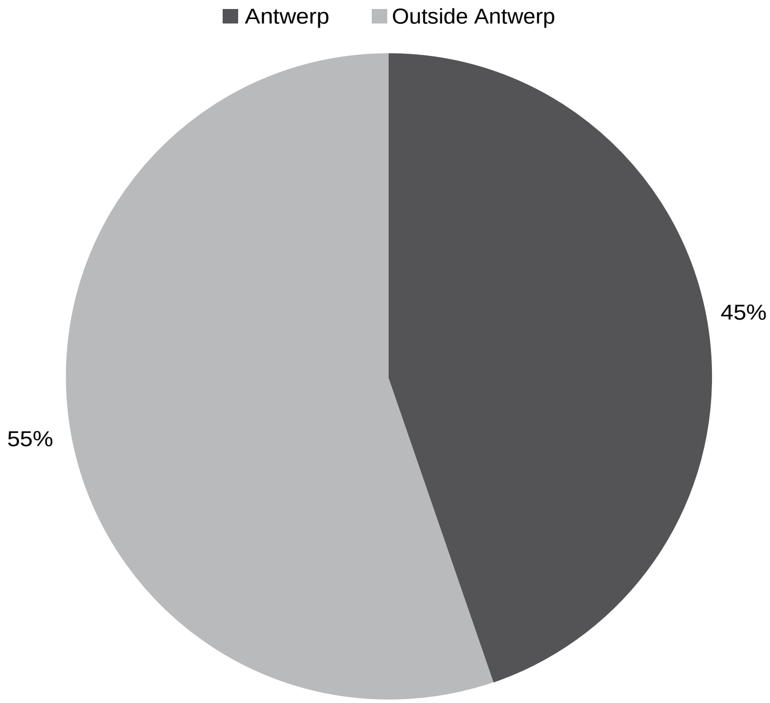

Figure 3. Proportion of books printed in Antwerp, 1470–1600

What of Antwerp, the principal engine of southern domination of print in this period? Overall we can see (see: Figure 3) that Antwerp was responsible for something under half the books published in the Low Countries before 1600; a role commensurate with that of Paris in France, and Venice in Italy. But unlike those two core centres of early typography, Antwerp arrived on the scene relatively late. It was not a notable centre of 15th century printing, and it was far from the leading centre of typography in the Low Countries in the incunabula age. (see: Figure 4) It is only in the 1520s that Antwerp emerges as a dominant force in the print culture of the Netherlands, and even this supremacy is never complete, and relatively short-lived. (see: Figure 5) By the last decade of the sixteenth century, Antwerp printers are responsible for only a quarter of the books published in the Low Countries.

The decisive change, launching Antwerp towards its dominant role in the publishing industry of the sixteenth-century Netherlands, occurs

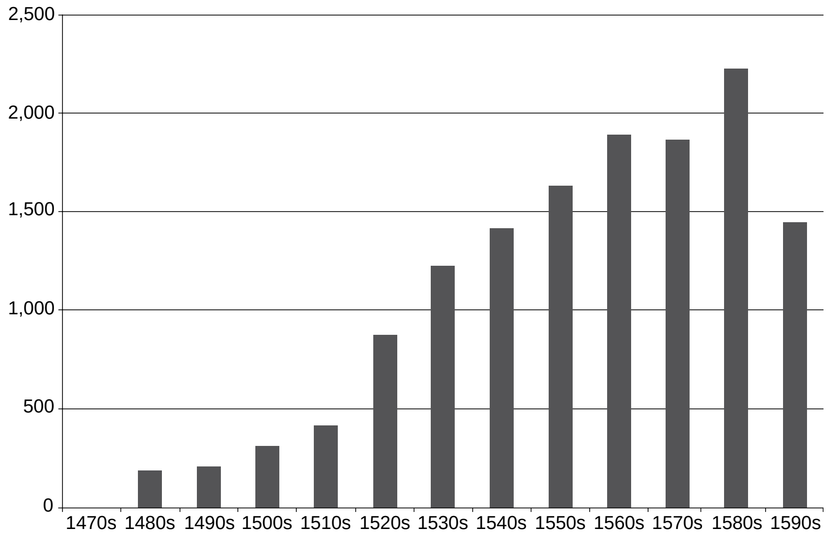

Figure 4. Number of books printed in Antwerp, 1470–1600

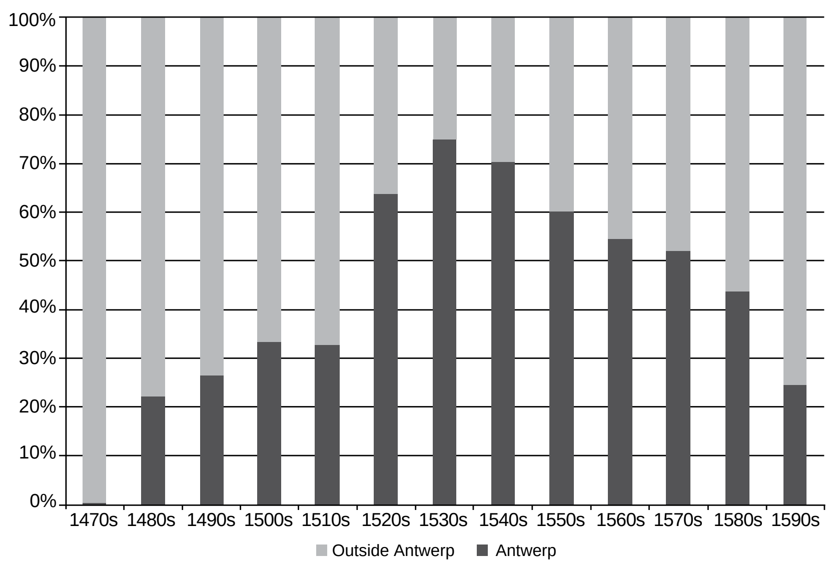

Figure 5. Proportion of books printed in Antwerp, 1470–1600

quite specifically in the 1520s. In this single decade Antwerp's share of the published output of the provinces doubled, from a relatively modest 30%, to a towering 62 per cent. The following decade, the 1530s, saw Antwerp production reaching its zenith, viewed as a proportion of the whole: and this is thirty years before what is generally thought of as the golden age of Antwerp typography.[13] These two decades, when the print industry of the Low Countries was restructured in quite a fundamental way, will be the main focus of attention in the remains of this discussion. This was also a period when the print industry in the Netherlands faced the dramatic challenge of the Reformation. It will be pertinent to examine in what way the two were related.

II

Printing made its way to the Low Countries very early. Given all that we know about the vibrancy of schools culture and commerce in the Low Countries this is hardly a surprise, and the Netherlands would soon emerge as an important centre of print. The first dated editions published in the Low Countries appeared at Alost, a small town in Flanders, and Utrecht, both in 1473. The Alost proto-typographer, Thierry Martens, soon moved his venture to Louvain, where he established a busy and innovative business.[14] The Utrecht firm did not flourish, and soon ceded primacy to presses in Deventer, where the copying trade of the Brethren of the Common Life promised an established market in School Books. This became a foundation stone of the trade in the north: the bibliography of Low Countries' incunabula lists an astonishing 280 surviving examples of the two staples of the school curriculum, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei and the *Ars Minor* of Donatus.[15] Presses were also established in other towns with notable schools, such as Zwolle, Nijmegen and 's Hertogenbosch.

In the commercial towns of the south printing took a slightly different course. Here printers specialised in the types of books popular with the nobility and wealthy merchants, chivalric romances, moralities and chronicles. This was notably so in the case of Bruges, a major centre of the mediaeval manuscript trade, where Colard Mansion established his shop. Indeed the coming of print did not immediately mark the end of manuscript production: rather the trade in manuscript texts for noble and bourgeois buyers continued to be buoyant, reaching its

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[13] Léon Voet, *The golden compasses: A history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (Amsterdam, 1969–72).
[14] *Dirk Martens, 1473–1973* (Aalst, 1973).
[15] Gerard van Thienen and John Goldfinch, *Incunabula printed in the Low Countries: a census* (Nieuwkoop, 1999).

peak in the last decade of the fifteenth century, thirty years after the introduction of printing in the Low Countries.[16] Other presses were established in Brussels, where the Brethren of the Common Life made a notably successful excursion into print, and at Antwerp. But Antwerp, the rising commercial metropolis, had not yet established the leading role it would later play in the production of books. Indeed in terms of the number of editions the northern Netherlands exceeded the production of the southern provinces in the fifteenth century: and this despite the fact that there were no books published in either Amsterdam or in Dordrecht, then Holland's largest town.[17]

Once the first exuberant age of experimentation was past, print experienced troubled times. Throughout Europe the effect was to bring about a concentration of activity in the larger centres of production, and the Low Countries was no exception. Print shops in Delft, Haarlem and Bruges ceased operation; even Pafraet in Deventer was forced temporarily to close his doors. When Gerard Leeu moved his press from Gouda to Antwerp he signalled a trend that would establish the centre of gravity firmly in the south in the first half of the sixteenth century.

At the turn of the sixteenth century the European book trade had evolved very considerably from the early years of print, when a printing press had swiftly been planted in a large number of towns throughout Europe.[18] By the end of the fifteenth century many of these first presses had ceased operation. An ever increasing proportion of output became concentrated in a small number of dominant centres. Paris, Venice and Basel all in this period consolidated their position as major centres of the international book trade, often to the detriment of small print centres elsewhere in the same language zone.[19]

It is therefore all the more striking that in the Low Countries a more diverse range of places retained a printing industry through the first

[16] Hanno Wijsman, *Handscriften voor het hertogdom. De mooiste verluchte manuscripten van Brabantse hertogen, edellieden, kloosterlingen en stedelingen* (Alphen, 2006).

[17] Cuijper's tabulation gives 1,104 editions published in the northern Netherlands and 703 in the southern Netherlands before 1501, see: Cuijpers, *Teksten als koopwaar*, p. 72.

[18] Philippe Nieto, 'Géographie des impressions européennes du XVe siècle', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 118–121 (2004), pp. 125–173.

[19] This trend is explored in Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, 2010).

four decades of the sixteenth century. Deventer, Zwolle and Louvain all supported a healthy printing industry, in each case almost exclusively concentrated on the production of works in Latin. Each flourished through their command of a significant niche market: school books in the case of Deventer, theological books in the case of Louvain. At Louvain, in particular, Thierry Martens conducted a business of some significance, turning out numerous editions of the classics and modern authors. He was the first to introduce italic type in the Netherlands, and also experimented with Greek and Hebrew characters; he also enjoyed the patronage of Erasmus for editions of his works published in the Netherlands.[20] Martens's spiritual heir was Rutgerus Rescius, the learned scholar/ printer who from 1518 occupied the Chair of Greek at the Trilingual College in Louvain.

Nevertheless by the third decade of the century all of these places, and particularly the venerable printing centres of the north eastern provinces, were beginning to experience the debilitating impact of competition from Antwerp. In part this represented the magnetic power of the growing commercial metropolis.

This was reflected in the print world in three specific ways. First, as a centre of commerce, Antwerp was the natural place for the focus of the local book trade. Since so large a proportion of the books published in the Low Countries were published in Latin for an international readership, many books published in Deventer or Louvain would in any case have made their way to Antwerp for onward transmission.

Secondly, as Antwerp began its long ascent to international eminence as an international trading town it began to develop distinct publishing specialisms of its own. It became, reflecting the cosmopolitan nature of its mercantile population, a precocious centre of news publications, relaying first intelligence of events in central Europe and the Orient to a local audience, and also, at one remove, in France and England. The speed with which this news was received and published was sometimes remarkable. The battle of Pavia took place on 24 February; the Antwerp publisher Willem Vorsterman had his account of the battle in print and on the streets within three weeks. Five years later the Emperor's ceremonial entry into Munich on 15–16 July 1530 was described in a pamphlet account published on 18 July.[21]

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[20] *Dirk Martens, 1473–1973.*

[21] Léon Voet, 'Abraham Verhoeren en de Antwerpse pers', *De Gulden Passer*, 31 (1953), pp. 1–37, here p. 17.

Here Antwerp undoubtedly benefited from this place at the heart of a hub of information exchange developed to serve its cosmopolitan merchant community. The conventions of trade demanded that information, particularly on matters such as commodity prices, should be shared without prejudice.[22] Urgent dispatches bearing news of portentous events likely to impact on trading conditions swiftly found their way to Antwerp, and through Antwerp's large community of publishers, into the public domain. Most of Antwerp's printers involved themselves in this news publishing. The surviving news pamphlets identified from this period can be attributed to around twenty different printers. It was a market from which none would have wished to be excluded.

The connections with the English book market were particular close and long established. It is therefore no surprise that when the English authorities moved to impede publication of evangelical texts, Antwerp became a major centre of production for Protestant works in English, destined for clandestine distribution across the Channel. Lutheran books were also published in Danish, for export north, and the ban on the publication of Protestant Bibles in Paris opened up a further lucrative French market.[23] These developments inaugurated a long tradition of publication in non-native vernaculars that was more developed in Antwerp than in any other print centre in Europe. During the course of the sixteenth century Antwerp publishers published books in at least fifteen different languages.[24] They also developed a market primacy in bilingual and multi-lingual books: both dictionaries, and bilingual primers and phrase books published especially for the city's merchant clientele.[25]

Antwerp also profited from its success in engrossing a large part of the market for publishing in French. French was the second vernacular language of the Low Countries: the native tongue of Hainault and

[22] Francesco Trivellato, 'Merchants' letters across geographical and social boundaries', in Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (eds.), *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 80–103.

[23] B.T. Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth– and sixteenth-century French– language editions of the scriptures* (Geneva, 1983). The works in Danish, all published by Willem Vorsterman for Christiern Pedersen, included translations of the New Testament and a number of works by Martin Luther. NK 412–414, 1436–1441, 1687.

[24] Most notably in Spanish. Jean Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas méridionaux*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop, 1965).

[25] F. Claes, *Lijst van Nederlandse woordenlijsten en woordenboeken gedrukt tot 1600* (Nieuwkoop, 1974).

Artois, of Walloon Flanders, and the familiar tongue of the Burgundian court. It was also, crucially, the dominant language of the developing genres of narrative recreational literature. This was a genre that had solid roots in fifteenth-century manuscript culture, the preferred reading of polite court society and eagerly embraced in noble and bourgeois households. These households read chronicle histories, composed in the fifteenth century in vernacular languages, but also chivalric tales of epic proportions, mostly in verse, but also now in prose. The domination of French as the medium of this literature is encapsulated in the term "romance" which derives from the word for the French tongue. The vogue for French vernacular literature spread far beyond the French speaking lands. The major Italian collectors were eager to get their hands on the fashionable vernacular literature. Borso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, wrote requesting "as many French books as possible, especially the story of the Round Table, for I shall receive from them more pleasure and contentment than from the capture of a city".[26] Many of the titles familiar and popular in the fifteenth century made an easy transition to print: they brought valuable extra commerce to the print shops of Paris and Antwerp.[27]

Finally, and perhaps most importantly of all, the phenomenal capital resources of the trading city allowed Antwerp's publishers to finance and undertake an ever more ambitious range of larger, more capital-intensive projects. Antwerp's publishers were increasingly able to publish expensive books, playing a significant role in the development of several important fields of publishing, history, topography and architecture. Antwerp also became a major centre for production of musical part books: a notably capital intensive area of publishing activity, particularly in the early years when the technology was still experimental.

All of these developments are evident in the emergence of a number of major publishing entrepreneurs in Antwerp's diverse printing community. Among Antwerp's printers were a number who built up very considerable enterprises. Marten de Keyser printed over two hundred works in a decade; over longer careers Willem Vorsterman and Michael

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[26] Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1994), p. 157.

[27] On the relationship between manuscript and print see the contribution by Hanno Wijsman to this volume. On the Paris market in vernacular recreational literature Mary Beth Winn, *Anthoine Vérard, Parisian Publisher, 1485–1512* (Geneva, 1997).

Hillenius van Hoochstraten printed respectively four hundred and five hundred works. Indicative of the growing power of the Antwerp market during this period is the number of booksellers and publishers elsewhere in the Netherlands who sent their books to Antwerp for publication, rather than having them printed locally. At different times Vorsterman printed for colleagues in Ghent, 's Hertogenbosch, Ieper, Zierikzee, Amsterdam and Leiden.[28]

These were straws in the wind; it was increasingly difficult for printers in these other towns to compete with Antwerp's merchant publishers. Yet this does not account for the near total extinction of the printing houses of the northern Netherlands in the two decades after 1520; after all, publishers in Louvain and Ghent continued, to an extent, to flourish. For an explanation of this development we should look particularly to political events, and most especially to the effect of the Reformation and attempts to control the distribution of Protestant works in the Netherlands. Although challenging to Antwerp's print fraternity, many of whom had greatly welcomed the new commercial possibilities with the evangelical excitement emanating from Germany, in the longer term the effect was to complete the destruction of publishing outside Flanders and Brabant – for a generation at least.

III

There was certainly more enthusiasm for Luther's teaching in the Low Countries than was the case almost anywhere else in Europe outside his own German-speaking homeland.[29] Luther's assault on the church hierarchy and his dramatic re-evaluation of salvation doctrine both struck a chord in the sophisticated urban centres of Flanders and Brabant, and the citizens of these places were swiftly engaged by German events. Luther's Latin publications were easily available on the active Antwerp book market. Linguistic differences also offered no significant barrier to the assimilation of the shorter German pastoral works, particularly when editions became available in the Low German

[28] Art. 'Vorsterman', in Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop, 1975).

[29] Alastair Duke, 'The Netherlands', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Early Reformation in Europe* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 142–165; Alastair Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London, 1990).

dialect of northern Germany, which was closer to Dutch. In any case, many of Luther's works were swiftly translated into Dutch: a total of eighty in Luther's lifetime.[30]

These developments in the marketplace of books did not go uncontested. On the contrary, opposition to the promulgation of the evangelical doctrines emerged very early, and was doggedly pursued by orthodox theologians of the University of Louvain, one of the first institutions in Europe to condemn Luther's teaching. Conservative theologians found an important ally in the Emperor, Charles V, who regarded Flanders and Brabant as the emotional core of his expansive territories. Charles was determined that Luther's teachings would not be allowed the degree of freedom they enjoyed in the Empire. The condemnation of Luther's teachings by the university was followed by a sequence of decrees forbidding the printing, distribution or ownership of Luther's works.[31]

For all this the exuberant enthusiasm that had greeted the first Reformation controversies in the Netherlands proved difficult to suppress. There were a number of reasons why this should be so. In the first place the sheer geographical diversity of the industry, as in Germany, afforded a measure of protection against the close control that was possible in, for instance, Paris or London. In the early 1520s Latin editions of Luther's writings were published in Leiden, Deventer and Zwolle, all remote from the centres of Imperial authority in Brabant. It is also the case that it was by no means easy for the authorities to identify heretical texts. Many of the writings of Luther translated into Dutch did not identify his authorship on the title-page, and it was by no means clear from the title alone that what was for sale was not a far more orthodox work. The Leiden printer Jan Seversz published several of Luther's pastoral works, meditations on the Ten Commandments or the Lord's Prayer, that from the outside seem very unremarkable.[32] Other works of the same character were published by

30 C. Ch. G. Visser, *Luther's geschriften in de nederlanden tot 1546* (Assen, 1969). Andrew G. Johnston, 'Printing and the Reformation in the Low Countries', in Jean-François Gilmont (ed.), *The Reformation and the Book* (Aldershot, 1996).

31 Jochen A. Fühner, *Die kirchen- und die antireformatorische Religionspolitik Kaiser Karls V. in den siebzehn Provinzen der Niederlande 1515–1555* (Leiden, 2004).

32 [Martin Luther], *Vanden eersten gebode* [Die thien geboden Gods] (Leiden, Seversz, 1521). NK 3463. [Martin Luther], *Nuttelijke bedenckenisse onser salicheyts* (Leiden, Seversz, s.d.). NK 263. [Martin Luther], *Van dat kersten gheloue eenlyefelike verclaringe van dat kersten gheloue* (Leiden, Seversz, s.d.). NK 2116.

unidentified presses. These writings, like Luther's meditation on the 36th psalm, blended with a long-standing and deeply rooted tradition of devotional vernacular publishing that seems to have been especially strong in the Netherlands. As part of this revised survey of Netherlandish publishing, we have now documented some five hundred printings of works of this character, published mostly between 1470 and 1540, mostly meditations on the life and passion of Jesus.[33] These books were almost always short texts published in small formats. They treated themes that were of central concern to evangelicals, but that nevertheless had an impeccable Catholic heritage.

It was by no means easy for the church authorities to identify which of these texts might now be tinged with heresy if they adopted familiar titles and conventional title-page layouts. This is the reverse of the phenomenon noted in Germany, where the distinctive "livery" of the German *Flugscriften* provided a visual signal to potential buyers which texts were Protestant in character.[34] In a more hostile political climate a more discreet typography acted as a form of disguise. An evangelical text patterned on the familiar design of pre-Reformation devotional works helped a bookseller shift it into the marketplace without alerting hostile authorities. This provided an important measure of protection both to customers and to printers, many of whom published both conventional devotional works and those infused by the new evangelical teachings.

The printers and book men of the Netherlands also received a degree of protection from the fact that the boundaries of orthodoxy were so difficult to establish. Erasmus, inevitably, had an enormous following in the Low Countries. Although critics at the University of Louvain were beginning to snap at his heels, the majority of admirers remained tenaciously loyal. The strong educational tradition in the Netherlands also ensured that a number of texts by disapproved authors, such as Melanchthon's *Elementa latinae grammatices*, continued to be published long after Luther's works were condemned.[35]

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[33] Among many examples the following titles were especially popular: *Een deuoet boexken van die heilige vijf wonden ons liefs Heren; Die passie ons liefs Heeren Jesu Christi; Dit zijn die XV bloetstortingen ons liefs heeren Jesu Christi.* NB 16525-16808.

[34] *Cranach im Detail. Buchschmuck Lucas Cranachs des Alteren und seiner Werkstatt* (Ausstellung, 1994).

[35] Philip Melanchthon, *Elementa Latinae grammatices* (Antwerpen, Michael Hillenius Hoochstratanus, 1527). NK 3515. Id, *Elementorum rhetorices libri duo* (Antwerpen, Joannes Grapheus, 1532). NK 3516. Id, *Syntaxis … Latina* (Antwerpen, Joannes Hillenius Hoochstratanus, 1543). BT 8728. NB 20976-21009.

The greatest opportunity for evangelicals lay in a stubborn reluctance to follow the example of the Paris Sorbonne and condemn vernacular translation of the Bible. There was no inherent reason why the text of Scripture should be regarded as evangelical property, and in the Netherlands it was not. In our new survey of Low Countries printing we have noted around 1,400 editions of whole or partial editions of the Scripture texts, almost 200 of them published before 1520 and unimpeachably orthodox. Editions of the psalms, individual books of the Old and New Testament, and of course Erasmus's milestone New Testament translations, continued to be published, unimpeded, throughout the period.[36] But inevitably this complaisant attitude created space for more overtly Protestant translations, such as the Liesvelt Bible, a relatively faithful Dutch translation of Luther's text.

All of these factors together, in a busy, buoyant and diverse print world, created far more space for the production and circulation of evangelical texts than Charles V would have thought possible when he pronounced his solemn anathemas on Luther. The Dutch engagement with Protestantism remained very considerable: easily the highest volume of indigenous production of any land where the promulgation of evangelical doctrines was officially proscribed. Nevertheless the official condemnation and steadily mounting tariff of penalties did begin to have its effect. By 1530 the mere possession of heretical reading matter became punishable by death. Four year previously the Antwerp printer Adriaen van Berghen had been put to death for printing Protestant books, an exemplary punishment that no doubt sent shock waves through the whole industry. The output of heretical books, and of books of doubtful orthodoxy, began to tail off.

Here, the general evolution of the industry also began to work to the advantage of the authorities. In the fifteenth century, as we have seen, printing in the Netherlands was very widely dispersed. The concentration on a small number of dominant centres of production characteristic of Europe as a whole was much less pronounced in the Low Countries. Right through to the second decade of the sixteenth century, established centres of production in the northern provinces, such as Deventer and Zwolle, continued to put out large numbers of books. Nevertheless by the third decade of the century all of these places, and particularly the venerable printing centres of the north

[36] A.A. Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen, 1522–1545* (Nieuwkoop, 1997). NB 3696-5082.

eastern provinces, were beginning to experience the debilitating impact of competition from Antwerp. The magnetic power of the growing commercial metropolis now made itself felt in the world of print.

As Antwerp began to take an ever more dominant role in the industry, the concentration of printing in one location made it far easier to regulate. Printers had to be mindful not only of official inspection, but also that they might be denounced by rivals wishing to steal a march in a competitive market. Prominent figures in the Antwerp industry were increasingly reluctant to risk their position in the industry and financial security by taking on work that might lead them into difficulties.

These considerations had already led to a marked curtailment of evangelical printing by the early 1530s, and the trade experienced a further decisive blow following the destruction of the Anabaptist kingdom of Münster in 1535. The scandal of Münster, where in 1534 Anabaptist radicals had had established a visionary theocratic regime, sent shock waves through the Netherlands.[37] Many of those induced to leave their homes and join the New Jerusalem came from the northern Netherlands. The destruction of the Anabaptist kingdom was followed by a sharp crackdown. This was particularly severe in Amsterdam, where the eschatological excitement raised by Münster had led to a clumsy attempt at an Anabaptist rising in the city. Any suspected of sympathy for the radicals were rounded up, and several hundred were executed. The sharp clampdown on unorthodox religion was a mortal blow to a regional print industry already fading in the face of competition from Antwerp, the growing metropolis in the south. It was be thirty years before printing in the northern Netherlands made any substantial recovery.

Evangelical printing was not altogether extinguished by persecution. In the early 1540s, exploiting Charles V's preoccupation with events in other parts of his expansive dominions, new evangelical cells were planted in several of the largest towns of Flanders and Brabant. A new generation of Antwerp printers, with less established business to place at risk, became once again heavily involved with evangelical publishing. Even in the years of most stringent controls it had always remained possible to publish some texts valued by

[37] Sigrun Haude, *In the shadow of 'savage wolves'. Anabaptist Münster and the German Reformation during the 1530s* (Boston, 2000).

Protestants: editions of the Scripture, for instance, and, to the frustration of the English authorities, works by English Protestant authors intended for export across the Channel. The increased daring of this new evangelical generation led in due course to another wave of repression. The break up of an evangelical cell in Louvain ensnared the Louvain bookseller, Hieronymus Cloet, and the young cartographer Gerald Mercator, who were among those imprisoned and interrogated. Cloet and Mercator successfully pleaded their innocence.[38] The Antwerp printer Jacob van Liesvelt was not so lucky: he was one of a number arraigned and executed. The evangelical gatherings were broken, and those heavily compromised took flight abroad, amongst them Matthaeus Crom and Steven Mierdman, responsible between them for many of the evangelical works published in Antwerp in the early 1540s.[39] From this point on the future of Dutch Protestant publishing lay mostly abroad, part of an increasingly important trade in exile literature, destined to be smuggled back to sustain embattled co-religionists living "under the Cross".[40] Charles V had had his way, but at a price. The very severity of the persecution, forcing into exile many whose commitment to Protestantism was by no means fully developed, swelled the ranks of those who would become thoroughly radicalised in exile. The Emperor had sown the seeds of the brutal ideological conflict of the second half of the century.

IV

The dramas of confessional conflict brought additional hazards to an industry already characterised by risk and intense competition. But it would be wrong to assume that the conflicts of the Reformation dominated the concerns of Antwerp's diverse community of printers, publishers and booksellers. Rather, the large majority were able to negotiate

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[38] Pierre Delsaerdt, 'A bookshop for a new age: the inventory of the bookshop of the Louvain bookseller Hieronymus Cloet, 1543', in Lotte Hellinga et al (eds.), *The Bookshop of the World. The role of the Low Countries in the book-trade, 1473–1941* (Goy-Houten, 2001), pp. 75–86. Nicholas Crane, *Mercator. The man who mapped the Planet* (London, 2002), pp. 135–144.

[39] Willem Heijting, 'Early Reformation Literature From the Printing Shop of Mattheus Crom and Steven Mierdmans', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 74 (1994), pp. 143–161.

[40] Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992).

the challenge of contemporary events while making the most of the opportunities of a rapidly developing marketplace. It would be valuable therefore to step back from our close attention to religious controversy to offer a more rounded picture of the Netherlandish print industry in the last decade of the period under consideration, the 1530s.

In this decade printers in the Low Countries published something in the region of 1570 books.[41] These were printed under the aegis of printers and booksellers in some eighteen different locations, north and south. This appearance of a dispersed and vibrant multitude or printing centres is however misleading, because most of these places laid claim to only a handful of books: ten are responsible for fewer then one book a year during the decade, hardly enough to maintain a viable press. Most likely these very small numbers were probably printed for a local bookseller by a printer elsewhere in the Netherlands, in most cases Antwerp. The metropolis on the Scheldt was in fact responsible for the lion's share of the books published during this decade (1,174 editions) and Louvain much of the rest: between them they laid claim to 85% of the books published in the Netherlands in the 1530s. Elsewhere only Ghent, Utrecht and 's Hertogenbosch maintained the semblance of an independent industry.

The publishers of Antwerp and Louvain worked together effectively to preserve this monopoly, respecting an effective division of labour. The publishers of Louvain, Rescius and Sassenus, published exclusively in the scholarly languages, as befitted their role in the university town. Louvain was therefore responsible for almost all of the surprisingly large number of books published in Greek during this decade. Antwerp, meanwhile, had the lion's share of the books published in French, and almost all of the books published during this decade in the Netherlands in non-native vernacular languages: a sizeable group in English, a few in Danish and Spanish, a smattering of Italian and German.

The core of the Antwerp business was the production of books in the three major languages of Low Countries trade: Latin, Dutch and French. In this decade Antwerp turned out about two editions in Latin for every one in one or other of the native vernaculars. All however, represented a very diverse range of literature and of customers.

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41 This section is based on the data assembled for *NB*.

The 140 editions in French include news books, ordinances, dictionaries, prophecies and prognostications. There were translations of Eusebius, Aesop and Ovid, works of contemporary poets such as Clément Marot and several editions of the Bible. The Dutch literature replicates some of these same categories, but with the balance weighted towards conventional devotional literature, a market not strongly represented in the French publications. Again there are large numbers of news books, Imperial ordinances and prognostications; in Dutch there are also a group of reckoning books for merchants.[42] The Dutch literature also includes a substantial group of chronicles of Flanders but also of Holland: an indication that the residual local northern presses could no longer take on books of any size and complexity.[43] The Dutch books suggest that the Antwerp printers had embraced the opportunities of catering for a robust local and largely bourgeois readership.

The greatest surprises emerge from a closer examination of the Antwerp printers' Latin output. Of course there are editions of the Scriptures and of the church fathers: Ambrose, Augustine and Chrysostom are all published in Antwerp during this decade. The new science of cosmography is represented with editions of the works of Peter Apian and Gemma Frisius.[44] Classical authors are also represented, with editions of Cicero, Ovid, Terence and Sallust. Most striking, and some what unexpected is the strong showing of local Netherlandish Humanists, either contemporary authors or only recently deceased: Adrianus Barlandus, William Grapheus, Cornelius Grapheus, Nicolas Clenardus, Christianus Cellarius and Cornelis Crocus. Many of these were associated with the Collegium Trilinguae of Louvain, whose moving spirit, Desiderius Erasmus, is not surprisingly, an ever-present in the output of the Antwerp press, with something close to eighty editions in this, the decade of his death. Yet although these authors were all freely available in the Louvain bookshop of Hieronymus Cloet, few were actually published in the more

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[42] Een nyeu evaluacie boexken, NK 890, 81, 4435.

[43] *Die cronycke van Hollandt, Zeelandt en Vrieslant* (Antwerpen, Jan van Doesborch, 1530). *Dye cronijcke van Hollant, Zeelant en Vrieslant* (Antwerpen, Willem Vorsterman, for B. Jacopzoon, Amsterdam, 1538). Antwerp printers also published several issues of the *Instructie van den Houe van Hollant, Zeelandt ende Vrieslandt* (1531) where the same considerations apply.

[44] Petrus Apianus, *Cosmographicus liber* (Antwerp, Grapheus, 1533), NK 123. Reinerus Gemma Frisius, *De principiis astronomiae & cosmographiae* (Antwerpen, Joannes Grapheus, 1530), NK 971. NB 2394-2427, 13079-13096.

austerely scholarly Louvain print shops: this branch of publishing remained a near monopoly of the Antwerp presses.[45] It was a monopoly that would have been valued by both printers and authors alike. A recurring feature of the European book world in the first century of print is the difficulty facing living authors in having their works published, or indeed, making a living through their work. The enduring popularity of the established authorities, and the instinctive conservatism of publishers, meant there were at first meagre pickings for the new generation of scholars. It is in this context that the success of Netherlandish scholars in having their works published is striking.

The other distinct market speciality of the Antwerp publishers was school books. The Netherlandish passion for education, and high levels of literacy in the Low Countries, were both frequently remarked by contemporaries. By the middle of the sixteenth century Antwerp purportedly boasted more than two hundred schools. Supplying this market was a lucrative business. Antwerp publishers turned out multiple editions of hardy perennials such as Aesop and Cato's *Disticha*, along with grammars and syntactical works by a host of modern authorities: Joannes Murmellius and Petrus Mosellanus, Laurentius Valla and Melanchthon, Despauterius and the English scholars John Colet and William Lily.

The importance of this market for school books helps explain the otherwise surprising fact that the vast proportion of the output of the Antwerp presses was in small formats, mostly octavo. This was true also of the Latin production, which included only nine editions in the folio format we normally associate with the scholarly languages: in fact the vast proportion of the (modest) number of editions published in folio in Antwerp during this decade were in either French or Dutch. Overall the dominance of small formats in the output of the Netherlandish presses in these years is very striking. Books in quarto would continue to make up a considerable proportion of the total output of Low Countries presses in the sixteenth century, partly because the Netherlands followed the German tradition of using quarto for the publication of official edicts and other pamphlets (for instance news sheets and prognostications). But publications in folio receded to a relatively insignificant proportion of the total output. Whereas in the incunabula period the scholarly formats (folio and quarto) had

[45] Delsaerdt, 'Bookshop for a new age' pp. 79–80.

encompassed a full 80% of early Netherlandish print, in the sixteenth century only one book in twenty would be a folio: this despite the fact that Antwerp printers in the age of Plantin were responsible for some of the most impressive scholarly books of the whole century. The 1530s represent an important transitional decade in the generalisation of the use of small formats. The fact that this is so pronounced even in publications in the scholarly languages (an important part of the Low Countries market throughout the century) is especially striking.

This robust and diverse market provided employment for a whole host of publishers, printers and booksellers. Whereas publishing in Louvain was dominated by two businesses, the book world of Antwerp was incredibly diverse. Over the ten years between 1530 and 1539 the title-pages of books published in Antwerp name over fifty different printers and publishers. The dispersal of production can be further demonstrated by the fact that although almost twelve hundred different editions were published, only four men, Grapheus, Hillenius Hoostratanus, Keyser and Vorsterman, were responsible for more than a hundred books. The largest business, that of Hillenius Hoochstratanus, had only 20% of the total market. Thus although Antwerp had by now established a position of dominance in the Low Countries book world, its own trade was extremely diverse. The profits of a decade of exuberant expansion were widely spread.

The sixteenth century was at time of extraordinary change in the European print industry, but there was also a certain underlying stability. Of the 12 largest centres of Incunabula printing in the 15th century, nine remained among the largest centres of book production in the sixteenth century. The three newcomers to the top table were Wittenberg, London, and Antwerp. The emergence of Antwerp reflected a general pattern of concentration around major centres of production that has been one of the principle characteristic of the sixteenth-century publishing industry. But it also was the result of very specific political factors that made print toxic in several parts of the Netherlands that had previously played a very lively part in the market.

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE BOOK: CATALOGUES, CENSUSES AND SURVIVAL

Neil Harris

The seeds that flourished in Italian sixteenth-century publishing were mostly sown in the previous century.[1] Printing with moveable type first appeared in Italy in the 1460s. The canonical date is 1465 in the Benedictine monastery of Subiaco some way to the east of Rome. This puzzling location for such an epochal event *might* be ascribable to German monks among the congregation who *might* have been acquainted with or offered hospitality to a pair of footloose German typographers, Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz. *Might* remains however the operative word in all the debate about the appearance of printing in Italy. Recently fingers have pointed at evidence suggesting earlier beginnings. A contract drawn up in 1463 between a German craftsman and a parish priest in Bondeno, a small town near Ferrara, sets out a small but intriguing publishing programme. It seems to have come to nothing, but it *might* on the other hand be related to what is known as the Parsons fragment. These are the remaining leaves of a German devotional work rendered into the Italian vernacular which, on the basis of the type and of the metal-cut illustrations, incunabulists would like to assign to 1462–1463. The language of the

[1] This paper is original in terms of its organisation and writing, but in its content brings together, for the convenience of a reader interested in the *USTC* project, a summary of themes and issues discussed in writings spread out over more than a decade. For the general background, see: N. Harris, 'History of the Book in Italy', in M. Suarez S.J.-H.R. Woudhuysen (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (Oxford, 2010), vol. I, pp. 257–269. The concise nature of the *OCB* article meant that an overflow, including the statistics gathered as background material, were published in N. Harris, 'Ombre della storia del libro italiano', in L. Pon and C. Kallendorf (eds.), *The Books of Venice = Il libro veneziano* (Venezia-Lido di Venezia-New Castle, Delaware, 2008), pp. 455–516. For English-language readers, as well as the classic study by H.F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press 1469–1800. An Historical Study based upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished* (London, 1891), an excellent portrait of Renaissance Italian publishing, albeit concentrated primarily on literary matters, is provided in the two monographs by B. Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470–1600* (Cambridge, 1994); *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 1999).

translation places the operation somewhere in the Po valley, more precisely in the triangle formed by the towns of Bologna, Ferrara, and Parma. The coincidence between these two facts *might* however be no more than a coincidence.[2]

The history of Renaissance printing in Italy went through three phases, which can also be observed in other European countries, albeit in an attenuated fashion. The first of these involved the introduction of the new *ars artificialiter scribendi* in numerous Italian cities in a process that started in the 1460s and petered out in the 1490s. The pattern consisted in a roving, usually German, typographer, who arrived in a small town with a press and the wherewithal to cast type. A bargain was struck with some local businessman, who put up the monies to purchase a large advance supply of paper and work began. Large quantities of these early incunabula have come down to us and we habitually admire them, without realising that the pristine condition of many items proves how only rarely have they been read. The printers quite often seem to have behaved more like door-to-door salesmen than bearers of an imperishable cultural message and thus to have regularly gulled investors into producing large works that no one wanted to buy, so that these early ventures quickly went bankrupt. Time and time again the bibliographical record shows the printer moving on within a twelvemonth or so; sometimes the archive record reveals that matters were even more lively, with the errant typographer hurriedly departing to avoid being imprisoned for debt. The fondness of incunabulists for what is known as 'Proctor order', or the arrangement in catalogues of

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[2] For the text of the 1463 document, see: A. Franceschini, *Artisti a Ferrara in età umanistica e rinascimentale. Testimonianze archivistiche. Parte I: dal 1341 al 1471* (Ferrara, 1993), doc. 1004. Excerpts from the same, drawing it to the attention of book historians, appear in A. Nuovo, *Il commercio librario a Ferrara tra XV e XVI secolo. La bottega di Domenico Sivieri*, (Firenze, 1998), p. 9, who however makes no reference to the Parsons fragment (see the review in *The Library*, s. 7, vol. 2 (2001), pp. 73–75). This important example of prototypography was discovered in the 1920s by Rosenbach in Munich. After its purchase by the Louisiana book-collector Edward Alexander Parsons (1878–1962), its whereabouts were unknown until it resurfaced in 1998 to be sold at Christie's in London and purchased for the Scheide collection in Princeton. The assumption that it was printed in Italy and therefore that it may be the earliest surviving example of typography in the peninsula rests on the fact that the language of the text is Italian, but the hypothesis is entirely reasonable. The date attributed derives from the state of the letter-forms, which have been filed to make them fit together, and on the metal-cut illustrations which were employed in Germany *c.* 1460. Arguments for seeing the 1463 document and the printed fragment as belonging to the same enterprise are advanced by P. Scapecchi, 'Subiaco 1465 oppure [Bondeno 1463]? Analisi del frammento Parsons-Scheide', *La Bibliofilia*, vol. 103 (2001), pp. 1–24.

fifteenth-century books according to the sequence in which printing appeared in towns throughout Europe, has emphasised the rapid spread of the new technology.[3] What scholars have noticed less often has been the rapidity of the failures. In some seventy Italian centres, some of them no larger than villages, printing appeared momentarily, at times more than once, in the fifteenth century and subsequently disappeared for fifty, seventy, sometimes a hundred, years. What was lacking was not only a local market able to absorb more than a few copies of excessively highbrow titles, but also a distribution network able to sell the books over a much larger territory.

The second phase is mostly about overcoming these obstacles and brings to the fore the role of Venice. Venice invented modern publishing as a commodity industry, i.e. it took a raw material (paper), enhanced it (printing), and sold it as an expensive product (books) to people who had no real need of it. The process called not only for technical and design skills to make these early impressed artefacts resemble the luxury manuscripts they were supplanting, but also significant investment to keep the firm afloat while sales generated revenue, as well as access to transport systems that could move the books widely and swiftly. Venice became the Taiwan of the Renaissance printing industry: it flooded markets near and far with products that were of better quality and, despite the distribution costs, cheaper than what was turned out locally. Its technical superiority is shown by the number of missals and other service books, involving complex printing in red and black, commissioned there, even from far distant England. Part of this success was due to the availability of a high-quality paper industry. It has often been remarked that few, if any, among the early printers came from Venice itself. The majority originated instead from the Po valley, especially the area around Brescia, where the paper-mills around Toscolano on Lake Garda were among the best in Europe, so that many of Venice's 'publishing' dynasties may have been in the book-trade before printing came on the scene.

Another factor that counted for a great deal, at least in the industry's beginnings, was the absence of bridles, though in the second half of the

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[3] The term derives from the incunabulist of the library of the British Museum, Robert Proctor (1868–1903), who arranged the fifteenth-century books of the collection according to this physical order and inspired the project that would become the *Catalogue of XVth Century Books now in the British Museum* (*BMC*), of which the first volume, dedicated to Germany, appeared in 1908.

sixteenth century the publication of the various editions of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* meant a long drawn-out struggle between the Venetian industry and the Roman Inquisition.[4] Conventional publishing history takes for granted that early printers sought patronage and points to the existence of courts and universities as indispensable for the growth of a successful business. This ingenuous assumption probably derives from reading too many Renaissance dedications, but it is not borne out by the facts, especially if Venice is taken as a test-case. It had no court or dynastic regime worth speaking of, since the doge was always elected on the verge of senility, while the real decisions were taken elsewhere. Like other Italian states, it preferred not have a university in its capital, but to place it in a satellite city, Padua, thus to all intents and purposes banishing a potentially volatile element of the population, privileged and hyper-educated young men. In Italy some university towns, such as Bologna, Pavia and Perugia, did develop important early academic publishing, especially of legal texts, but the market was never large enough to be worthwhile. In time most legal publishing shifted to Venice, where towards the end of the sixteenth century a consortium was formed, the *Società dell'Aquila che si rinnova*, to deal with the high printing and marketing expenses. What Venice on the whole provided better than anywhere else was not patronage but money and an instinctive grasp of the dynamics and risks concerning the nascent publishing industry. The long habit of trade with the Eastern Mediterranean had developed a sophisticated investment system, in which citizens bought shares (*sortes*) in galley trading voyages to bring back luxury commodities; if the trip was profitable, the monies were recouped several times over; if the ship was lost, so was the investment, though risks were often spread and forms of insurance could also be purchased.

If one man can be said to have established the first modern publishing activity in Italy, it was a French goldsmith and metalworker,

[4] P.F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press 1540–1605* (Princeton, 1977); M. Infelise, *I libri proibiti da Gutenberg all'Encyclopédie* (Roma-Bari, 1999). As the French book-trade discovered in the eighteenth century and the 1960 trial of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* showed in the twentieth century, prohibitions are not necessarily unprofitable for book-sellers, sometimes quite the opposite, and the general impression is that, though the Venetian publishers always protested vigorously, the general clamp-down brought by the Catholic Counter-Reformation did not really hurt until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the trade lost one of the bestsellers of the time, Paolo Sarpi's *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*, published in London in 1619 at the behest of James I.

Nicolaus Jenson, who set up as a printer in Venice in 1470. He was certainly the first to appreciate the scale of investment required by a stable publishing house and to find it by entering into partnership with some wealthy German merchants also based in Venice. While the natural impulse in producing multiple copies of the same work is to make them steadily smaller and cheaper, Jenson successfully produced prestige works, with print-runs partially on vellum and hand-illuminated copies, which nevertheless found buyers.[5] Book historians have however relinquished the study of these beautiful and costly volumes to art history scholars and the omission has lead to a certain blindness about what happened at the top end of the market.

Jenson's success set the parameters for the much better known Aldine enterprise, since it showed what could be achieved with a proper concentration of capital, allowing the publisher to market a product that sold slowly, but expensively. Times had moved in the interim, so that when Aldus issued his first book in 1495 (albeit dated 1494 in the Venetian calendar), one of his main innovations was advertisement, or rather self-advertisement, for which he proved to have genius, to the extent that many of his claims have been taken as truth. Over the last five centuries rivers of ink have been lavished on Aldus and his editions and rivers more, or their equivalent in pixels, will continue to be poured forth as long as libraries treasure his books and scholars magnify his achievement. A couple of points are rarely made, at least with a sufficient degree of explicitness. First, the greatest legacy of Italian Renaissance book production to overall book history has been, in a word, *design*. Aldus owed much to Jenson, but he also put together the finest group of typecutters and book designers (sadly, with exception of Francesco Griffo, anonymous) the world has ever known. Subsequent generations have never tired of looking at Venetian fifteenth-century books, especially those with an Aldine imprint, for inspiration. Second, though humanists have enthused about Aldus' commitment to recover the texts of classical antiquity, they usually fail

[5] Jenson's life is shrouded in mystery, albeit not differently from most Venetian publishers of the period, and what little we know is not easily distinguished from speculation. The available information is brought together by M. Lowry, *Nicholas Jenson and the rise of Venetian publishing in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford, 1991). One luxury edition, in which 24 of the 47 extant copies are on vellum, is described through a copy census in L. Armstrong, 'Nicolaus Jenson's *Breviarium Romanum*, Venice, 1478: Decoration and Distribution', in M. Davies (ed.), *Incunabula. Studies in Fifteenth-century Books presented to Lotte Hellinga* (London, 1999), pp. 421–467.

to appreciate how this commitment was fuelled by the job he had before, in his ripe mid-forties, he became a publisher, i.e. a schoolteacher. What Aldus did, by making Greek and Latin works available in an authoritative, but by no means cheap, form, was to fix the classical canon at the centre of Western educational practice, where it remained solidly implanted for the ensuing four centuries.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century Venice had achieved a position of absolute dominance over the rest of the Italian publishing trade and was simultaneously conducting a revolution in the shape and size of books. Italic type and small formats were suddenly the order of the day, but Venice was also the first truly great centre of illustrated and music printing. As well as the classics, there was an important market both in and outside Italy for works in the Italian language. Here Italian publishers had the advantage of starting with three great medieval authors, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, who had no serious rivals in other literatures. Apart from the Aldine promoted classical Greek and the inevitable Latin, the language that sixteenth-century cultured European readers consequently sought to acquire was Italian and they did it mostly in time-honoured fashion by perusing Dante's *Commedia* and Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. Further factors promoting Italian in Europe were the substantial communities of merchants and religious exiles in most cities, while matrimonial alliances censure a strong Italian, or rather Florentine, influence at the French court for much of the sixteenth century. One gauge of this cultural prestige is the number of works printed outside Italy, especially in Lyon, where the market phenomenon, as many early provenances suggest, appears linked to the desire of non Italians to acquire enough of the language to read the literature.[6] In terms of attracting readers, the medieval bestsellers were supplemented by contemporary successes, making Italian literature the most readable and attractive in the Europe of the time. Venice strangely produced few writers of its own, so major new works often had a first edition in a minor centre, close to the author's home, before migrating to the presses of the Serenissima. Such was the case of the two great fifteenth-century chivalric romances, Pulci's *Morgante* (Florence 1478? first surviving edition 1482) and Boiardo's *Orlando*

[6] Information about books in Italian printed outside Italy can be found in the *Short-title Catalogue of Italian Books*, as well as through the *Edit16* project; but a specific bibliography dedicated to the theme is that by N. Bingen, *Philausone (1500–1660). Répertoire des ouvrages en langue italienne publiés dans les pays de langue française de 1500 à 1660* (Geneva, 1994).

Innamorato (in two books: Reggio Emilia? 1482–1483, definitive edition in three books: Scandiano 1495), as also in the sixteenth century with Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* (Naples 1504), Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (in 40 cantos: Ferrara 1516; in 46 cantos: Ferrara 1532), and the writings of Machiavelli first published in Florence or in Rome.

The growth of the Venetian industry, in the course of the sixteenth century increasingly dominated by dynastic publishing houses such as Giunta and Giolito that set up numerous outlets in other Italian cities and even abroad, was not however unbroken nor undisturbed. Military setbacks such as the war of the League of Cambrai (1508–1516), which temporarily stripped Venice of its mainland territories, explain the hesitancy of the publishing statistics of the second decade of the century. Standard history books make it easy to see the link between such events and dips in book output; less remarked on, perhaps, are the several plagues that swept through Northern Italy in the 1520s, killing infinitely more people. Plague not only stalled the economy and blocked communications between cities, it also halted rag-collecting, causing the prices of raw material for paper to soar. This lethal combination of war and disease following the Sack of Rome in 1527 caused Venetian output to hit its nadir in 1529, after which a steady growth followed until production peaked in 1588, preluding the moment in which the market collapsed in the seventeenth century between the papal interdict of 1606 and the terrible plague of 1630.

To round off this speedy portrait of Italian Renaissance publishing, it is necessary to point out the new diffusion of printing in minor centres, some of which had already seen a press at work in the incunable period, as a service industry in the final decades of the sixteenth century. After almost a century of silence the books printed in centres such as Treviso or Udine are produced largely at the expense of local authors. Their existence in catalogues and bibliographies serves as a marker buoy, since a trawl through the local archives often uncovers printed documents from the same shops in the form of proclamations, advertisements and other ephemera, showing the change in the nature of print culture. The same period marks Italy's unarrestable decline on the world stage. Some long-term causes are obvious. The discovery of America and of a sea route to India had shifted the balance of trade and power from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic seaboard. The Protestant Reformation in Northern Europe was increasingly obstructing the export of Italian imprints to markets where they had once had a large share, to which was added the decline of Latin as a common language of communication. Most damaging of all was the paralysis of the political situation, in which some of the most important Italian states, in particular Milan and Naples, were controlled by foreign powers that blocked all attempts at reform and progress. To all intents and purposes Italy remained frozen in time up to the nineteenth century and the dawn of the Risorgimento.

What are the consequences of this complex publishing history for a bibliographical and historical investigation into Renaissance Italian book-making? The most important fact is the scale on which books printed in Italy circulated outside Italy already at the time. If we explore catalogues of incunabula in German municipal libraries or in the Iberian peninsula, where there is a reasonable expectation that the original stratification of the collections has remained at least partially intact, a high percentage are Italian, in particular Venetian. For the sixteenth century less information is available, but the general impression is that, although their importance diminished over time, the major production centres, Venice, and to a lesser extent Rome and Florence, continued to export on a large scale, especially into Catholic areas such as Spain. If we look instead at what has been defined here as the 'service industry', or publishing in minor centres in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the pattern of distribution is closer to home, showing that these editions had little or no external market.

To this initial distribution are to be added the effects of bibliophily and subsequent collecting, which has ensured a steady flow of books from South to North and from East to West, as well as many ocean crossings (for instance, today there are more copies of the 1499 Aldine *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* in the United States than in Italy). It is an established, if uncomfortable, fact that the British Library in London contains the largest single collection of Italian sixteenth-century books in the world, since – at a rough estimate – it holds some 35% of the titles recorded in the published volumes of the Italian census of sixteenth-century printing (*Edizioni Italiane del XVI secolo*; hereafter *Edit16*), compared to approximately 25% for each of the two largest Italian collections, the National Central Libraries of Rome and Florence.[7]

[7] For fuller details about these calculations and about the stratifications in Italian collections of Renaissance printed artefacts, see: N. Harris, 'Il cappuccino, la principessa e la botte', in A. Grassi and G. Laurentini (ed.) *Incunaboli e cinquecentine delle biblioteche dei Cappuccini di Toscana* (Firenze, 2003), pp. 7–39.

On the other hand the British Library's collection is not uniformly representative, especially from a chronological viewpoint, so that at least one pioneering, but slightly ludicrous, attempt, to adopt the indexes of its 1958 *Short-title Catalogue of Books printed in Italy and of Italian Books printed in Other Countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum* for a statistical portrait had a fairground mirror effect.[8] Its three foundation collections – Cracherode, George III, and Grenville[9] – show a sharp drop of interest for anything printed much after 1540, with exception of the Aldine press and writers such as Tasso. The Italian holdings are important therefore for the high proportion of rare, often unique, examples of incunabula and of early sixteenth-century printing. Paradoxically the commoner and more humdrum output of the later sixteenth century, when printing standards declined, are poorly represented, especially in fields such as law, philosophy, and theology. Similar considerations hold true for other libraries beyond the Italian border, such as the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, as well, rather surprisingly, for the most important library within the country's perimeter, but technically *not* in Italy, the Vatican.

If we turn now to Italy itself and to its many libraries, a summary knowledge is required of the peninsula's political geography and history from the Renaissance to the present day. The painful struggle towards national unity in the nineteenth century, ending with the fall of Rome and the papal state in 1870, involved the incorporation of the archives and the libraries of the pre-unity states. For political reasons control of all these structures passed directly into the hands of the Ministry of Education (*Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*) of the fledgling Italian nation. Only in a few cases, such as the library at Mantua, was ownership allowed to pass to the local community.

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[8] A. Quondam, 'La letteratura in tipografia', in A. Asor Rosa (ed.), *Letteratura italiana. II. Produzione e consumo* (Torino, 1983), pp. 555–686.

[9] The reverend Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode (1730–1799) left his collection mainly of choice incunabula, Aldines and early sixteenth-century classical texts, in all some 4,500 volumes, to the library of the British Museum. The considerable library of George III (1738–1820), some 65,000 volumes and 19,000 pamphlets, which included the famous collection of the British consul at Venice, Joseph Smith (1682–1770), was offered as a gift to the nation by George IV in 1823, in exchange for a generous allowance from Parliament, and is similar to the Cracherode in being rich in early printed books and other items of bibliophile interest. Thomas Grenville (1755–1846) left some 16,000 works, including a Gutenberg Bible. His friendship with Antonio Panizzi meant that his collection had a rich seam of Italian chivalric romances, especially editions of Boiardo and Ariosto.

This conservative policy was perhaps the only one plausible at the time, since the newly constituted state alone had the authority to guarantee a proper governance and protection of valuable collections, but in the long term it has proved an encumbrance, especially in centres where the presence of a state library became a disincentive for a proper city library. Today the Italian state therefore has too many libraries, 46 in all, some of them recent creations, which are classified according to five categories:[10]

1) *The National Central Libraries of Florence and Rome*. The dichotomy of two principal libraries, with almost the same functions and standing, belongs to a deeper anomaly in which Italy has one official and two unofficial capitals: Rome for politics, Milan for finance and business, and Florence for culture. The older of the two, the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (BNCF) was officially created in 1861 by the merger of the city's public library, created by the legacy of Antonio Magliabechi (1633–1714) and first opened in the Uffizi in 1747, and of the Palatine library belonging to the former ruling family – the Medici dynasty had died out in 1737 and rule had passed to scions of the Habsburg family – in Palazzo Pitti. In 1935 it moved to a new building on the South bank of the Arno, which in 1966 was engulfed by the worst flood in the city's history, prompting a huge international rescue effort.[11] Although it obtained important collections of manuscripts and incunabula from the suppressions of the religious houses, the cramped conditions in the Uffizi meant that it declined the chance to receive large quantities of sixteenth-century books, which were either returned, dispersed, or went to other libraries. The Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma "Vittorio Emanuele II" (BNCR), named after the

[10] This five-point scale is set out with clarity in a 1967 law (D.P.R. 1501, 5 September 1967, updated in the D.P.R 417, 5 July 1995), which sums up previous legislation relating to the 'Biblioteche pubbliche statali'. For a survey of their history and holdings, see: *Biblioteche d'Italia. Le biblioteche pubbliche statali* (Roma, 1996). Technically the total of the libraries administered directly by the Italian state is even larger, nearly two hundred, including the libraries of the even more numerous state-owned and run archives.

[11] On the early history of the Biblioteca Magliabechiana, see: M. Mannelli Goggioli, *La Biblioteca Magliabechiana. Libri, uomini, idee per la prima biblioteca pubblica a Firenze* (Firenze, 2000) (reviewed in *The Library*, s. 7, vol. 2 (2001), pp. 297–298). At the moment of the merger the library was called the "Biblioteca Nazionale", the further adjective "Centrale" was added in 1885 to ensure the same standing as Rome. On the history of the BNCF and the 1966 flood, see: E. di Renzo, *Una biblioteca, un'alluvione. Il 4 novembre 1966 alla Nazionale di Firenze: storia di un'emergenza* (Roma, 2009).

monarch ruling at the time of Italian unification, on the other hand had no previous tradition and was created *ex nihilo* in 1876 to gratify the pretensions of a new capital city: the extensive collections, ill-suited for the purpose, were mainly ex-religious and it was housed in the former Jesuit college beside the Pantheon before in 1975 it moved to a new, huge, purpose-built, steel-and-glass structure beyond the Stazione Termini.[12]

2) *National Libraries*. In the first instance these were the libraries of the capitals of the former Italian states, such as the Marciana in Venice and the Braidense in Milan, whose collections of Italian Renaissance manuscripts and printed books put them among the first ten in the world. The concept of the 'National' library, obviously more of a prestige label than a genuine function, has since been inflated and abused by politicians, who have added further structures to the list, for which the general taxpayer foots the bill rather than the local electorate, in places such as Cosenza and Potenza.

3) *University Libraries*. Italy has the oldest constantly extant university in the world, Bologna, founded in 1088, while – in deference to the practice of relegating students to satellite towns – the pre-unity Italian states established universities and in time university libraries in towns such as Padua, Pavia, and Pisa. (After it was acquired by the papal state in 1512, Bologna similarly became the university of choice for young Romans.) With unification the libraries passed to the Italian state, giving rise to the paradox that in Italy a *Biblioteca Universitaria* is a library in a traditional university city, which the said university does not own nor does it have any say in its running. Within the state hierarchy matters are further complicated by the circumstance that, when in 1974 the Ministry for Culture (*Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali*[13]) was created out of a rib of the education ministry, as part of its dowry it got all the archives and libraries, including the so called university libraries. Subsequently in 1988 the *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* sacrificed another rib to form a Ministry for the University and Research (*Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca*

[12] On the history of the BNCR before the move to the new building, see: V. Carini Dainotti, *La Biblioteca Nazionale «Vittorio Emanuele» al Collegio Romano* (Firenze, 1956).

[13] In 1998 the name was changed into Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, with sport added to its several responsibilities.

Scientifica e Tecnologica[14]). Did anybody think to transfer the 'university libraries' to this new organism? Of course not. They remain separate entities, answering to different masters, which rub along, usually in a friendly manner, with the universities surrounding them. More damagingly, the university libraries remain anchored in the humanities, since they are too starved of resources to adventure into the sciences. The universities have reacted by creating autonomous library networks, usually organised on a departmental basis, which at times, especially in fields such as medicine, where the universities have sometimes taken over ancient hospitals, have acquired their own significant holdings of early printed material.

4) *Special Libraries*, or none of the above. This is a hotch-potch category, but it includes important institutions, such as the Estense in Modena and the Palatina in Parma, which in the nineteenth century were not elevated to the status of 'national', as well as Italy's internationally most famous library, albeit rather for its manuscripts than its printed books, the Laurentian in Florence.

5) *Libraries of National Monuments*. A number of monastery libraries deemed too important to suppress were formally possessed by the Italian state after unity, but left *in situ*, and are still staffed by the respective religious orders. Names such as Farfa, Montecassino, and Subiaco, speak for themselves, but they are often in out of the way places.

After the biggest player, the state, there follow two other collective organisms. The first is the Roman Catholic Church, which of course has a multifarious, complex structure in its own right. As has been said, the Vatican Library is located in a foreign country and technically is the private collection of the reigning pope, though it allows generous access to scholars and runs its own library school. The church controls however directly and indirectly an important network of libraries the length and breadth of Italy, which subdivide into two categories: those administered through the agency of archbishoprics and bishoprics, mainly seminary libraries, but they include the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, and those belonging to the religious orders. The crisis in

[14] This Ministry has led a somewhat oscillating existence, since later governments have reincorporated it into the ministry for education and then reversed the process. At the time of writing it is has been formally merged with the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione to form the Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca (MIUR), but it would be optimistic to presume that the situation is in any way permanent.

vocations, with the small number of novices for the priesthood and the even fewer choosing the religious orders, has led to the closure of numerous convents and monasteries, whose libraries have often been compacted, as least as far as the more valuable early material is concerned, at the central house of the order's province. It is worth explaining that, though the confiscations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries deprived the monasteries of their libraries, material was often returned (not always to its place of origin) and the monks also became adept at concealing the choicer items. So these collections are important and one of the great achievements of the *Edit16* project has been to bring them to light. The real danger is theft: seminary libraries have frequently been targeted by burglars in recent years with damaging losses.

The other important owners, considered collectively, of Renaissance books are the local authorities, mostly municipalities, though Southern Italy also has a network of provincial libraries. The nature of public libraries in the English-speaking world, which only in a few cases have valuable collections of early printed books (and have even been known to sell them off), leaves us ill-prepared for the situation of Italian libraries, in which such material, both manuscript and print, is always a meaningful part of the whole. Quite a few Italian city libraries go back centuries in time: the glorious Malatestiana Library in Cesena, opened in 1454 in joint ownership with the then Franciscan convent, in which 343 manuscripts and 48 printed books (containing 59 single editions) are still chained to the benches, has a good claim to be the oldest continuously extant public library in the world. Others, such as Verona (1792) and Reggio Emilia (1798), can trace their origins back to the arrival of the French revolutionary armies, when the suppression of the local religious houses saw action taken to preserve their manuscripts and printed materials.

This wealth of books of course brings its own problems, since few city budgets can afford the luxury of a specialist curator and, even when they can, the same person on a daily basis juggles Medieval manuscripts, incunabula, printed material of all eras, music, letters, maps, photographs, and so on. The dimensions of many of the larger collections still has to be established, but just to give an idea, the Archiginnasio Library in Bologna has 2,500 incunabula and 15,000 sixteenth-century editions, while the Intronati Library in Siena has a thousand incunabula and a little under 10,000 sixteenth-century books. One special case is the Trivulziana Library in the Sforza Castle in the centre of Milan, which in 1935 was formed by the acquisition of the rich remnants of one of Italy's most important private collections, with some 1,280 incunabula and over 16,000 *Cinquecentine*, many of them unique or very rare items. Technically however, though not all users are aware of the fact, the Trivulziana is attached to and is administered by the city archive and should not be confused with the real city library at Palazzo Sormani which, needless to say, has its own important collection of early printed books. This sketch-map of the distribution of Renaissance printed materials in Italy can be rounded off with libraries belonging to specialist research institutes and academies; to private foundations and banks; to foreign universities and research centres, usually in the field of classical studies or art-history; and naturally to private collections.

Everything said so far shows the bewildering complexity of the bibliographical situation of the Italian Renaissance book and how difficult it is to construct an overall portrait. Summing up the same, any search for a solution has to take account of the four following aspects.

The first, and in many ways most significant, feature is the scale of the original output. Estimates extracted from databases oscillate, often for no apparent reason, but in the autumn of 2010 the British Library's *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (*ISTC*) puts Italy a whisker ahead of Germany (or rather the German-speaking area, which includes Austria and a part of Switzerland) with some 9,970 documented fifteenth-century editions as compared to 9,896; third runner France trails with 4,727 entries, while England is not worth mentioning. For the sixteenth century the quantities involved are much greater and much less certain, especially since the two largest ongoing national projects, the Italian *Edit16* and the German *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (*VD16*), are both far from complete and not easily compared. The online edition of *VD16* claims a total of 100,000 editions, but this is clearly a large approximation and takes no account of holdings outside the German *Sprachraum*. The Italian project, as we shall see, at present documents about 60,000, but, at a guess, the final total will probably be closer to 80,000, ensuring a fairly safe second place.

Second, a very significant percentage of Italian Renaissance books are to be found in libraries outside the Italian peninsula. My own estimate, based on some in-depth copy censuses conducted in my own research, is on average 50%, albeit with some very considerable oscillations. As we have already seen with the example of the British Library, if the work or the edition is prestigious and much sought after, a larger proportion of copies have made their way into non-Italian libraries. Less attractive fare, especially patristic texts and other theology from the latter sixteenth century, has a higher stay-at-home percentage. Just to go to the opposite extreme and browse through the copies recorded in the online *English Short Title Catalogue* (*ESTC*), excepting some rare items of religious propaganda produced on the Continent of Europe, well over 95% are held by libraries in the English-speaking world.

Third, inside Italy itself, the limited coverage afforded by the large collections and the enormous number of small, very diverse, collections, often with rare, sometimes unique items, means that any survey has to adopt a grass-roots strategy.

Fourth, last and by no means least, a lack of bibliographical expertise. Italian literature is dominated by its great writers of the *Trecento*, so that in universities the teaching of textual criticism, even today, revolves around the behaviour of the Medieval scribe, while up to quite recently manuals of philology blithely assumed that all the copies of a printed book could be considered identical. What might be called an awareness of analytical bibliography and the methods it involves is a comparatively recent development and owes much to the teaching of an English scholar, Conor Fahy.[15] His ground-breaking introduction to what he termed 'bibliografia testuale' in 1980 marked a new and significant shift of interest and has had far-reaching consequences.

The period around 1980 in several ways marked a watershed. Up to that time research on early books in Italy involved roaming from town to town and digging through densely-packed hand-written card catalogues or turning the pages of catalogues that went back to the eighteenth century. It was picturesque, it was fun, and I regret its passing,

[15] C. Fahy, 'Introduzione alla "bibliografia testuale"', *La Bibliofilìa*, vol. 82 (1980), pp. 151–180, repr. in Idem, *Saggi di bibliografia testuale* (Padova, 1988), pp. 33–63. For the figure of the author (1928–2009), who spent most of his career as lecturer and later professor of Italian at the University of London, see the *ricordi* by Luigi Balsamo, Anna-Laura and Giulio Lepschy and myself in *La Bibliofilìa*, vol. 111 (2009). On the wider issue of how scholars of modern languages working in universities in the English-speaking world exported Anglo-American bibliographical techniques, see: N. Harris, *Analytical Bibliography. An Alternative Prospectus*, chapter 10, 'Tunneling to the Continent', on the website of the Institut d'Histoire du Livre in Lyon: http://ihl.enssib.fr/siteihl.php?page=65&aflng=fr

but it was bibliographically inconvenient. Then something happened: electronic cataloguing came on the scene. It is worth opening a brief parenthesis to notice that what has occurred in the field of early-book cataloguing over the past thirty years has been somehow akin to what took place in Europe after the Second World War, in which Italy and Germany, where everything had been destroyed, had to start afresh and boomed, whereas England and France struggled on with old machinery and obsolete practices. Major European libraries with extant published catalogues, such as the British Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France, keyboarded the descriptions of their holdings. The decision was quick, cheap, and entirely unblameable, but it did have some bizarre consequences. For instance, in the description of one of the British Library's great treasures, the 1603 'bad' quarto of *Hamlet*, up to a little while ago the online catalogue advised that the missing title-page had been recovered from the other known copy in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. All perfectly correct, except that the Chatsworth copy was sold in 1914 to the American railroad millionaire, Henry Huntington, and is now in the library bearing his name in San Marino, California. The substance of what transferred onto the computer screen without significant modification was actually set up in type in 1897. Much the same holds true for the keyboarded version of the Paris library's online catalogue, input from a printed version issued in 231 volumes from 1897 to 1981, which has more 'ghosts' than a Hammer horror film. The lesson is that seemingly state-of-the-art electronic catalogues may contain a certain quantity of mutton masquerading as lamb. Countries which did not have trustworthy extant printed catalogues resorted instead to describing books directly and thus had the opportunity to innovate. The process has seen Italy, both in theory and in practice, move from the back to the front of the field of early book cataloguing and research.

The task of constructing a comprehensive bibliographical record of sixteenth-century publishing in Italy has given rise to three principal outcomes. The first is the marvellous *Edit16* project, which aims to construct a comprehensive record of all books printed in Italy 1501–1600 (excluding Hebrew and other oriental typefaces) and, in classic *STC* fashion, of books containing Italian printed elsewhere. Looking at its genesis, it is helpful to remember that Italian libraries were able to build on a successful previous experience of a collective cataloguing project run through a central office in Rome, which has had various names, but from 1975 has been known as the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle Biblioteche Italiane e per le Informazioni Bibliografiche (ICCU).[16] Under different nomenclatures its origins go back to the Fascist era and the well-known census of incunabula in Italian libraries (without the Vatican) conceived as a back-up to the German *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (*GW*), of which the first instalment had appeared in 1925. The first volume of the *Indice Generale degli Incunaboli* (*IGI*) came out in 1943, containing entries for letters A-B; once the dust of the Second World War had settled, it was followed by C-F (1948), G-L (1954), M-R (1965), S-Z (1972), and the project was rounded off with a sixth volume incorporating corrections and additions, together with indexes, in 1981.

It was a good moment therefore for a new project and attention had been revolving for some time around the possibility of a nationwide census of *Cinquecentine*, as sixteenth-century editions are commonly called in Italy. It is rare to encounter someone in library circles unanimously described as a genius, but this is the only right term for the first director of the reshaped ICCU, Angela Vinay (1922–1990), who in a brief space of time thought up and implemented the whole *Edit16* project. Her concept was breathtakingly simple and involved three basic principles, to which the project has remained faithful in the ensuing thirty years: all Italian libraries that wanted to be in it could be in it, it was not going to bog itself down in bibliographical intricacies, and it was going to be done by computer. The plan was that the essential legwork was to be performed by people who were not cataloguing-literate and even less computer-literate. In a first stage the ICCU pooled the information available in extant bibliographies and catalogues to create skeleton entries and the basis of an authority file; selected libraries also worked through chosen letters of their card or volume catalogues, identified the Italian sixteenth-century editions and described them book in hand. The lists were divided on a letter-by-letter basis, printed out, and posted to the libraries that had signed up to join the scheme (at the beginning the total was a little over five hundred, it is now more than 1,500), with the request that they check the print-out against their own holdings. Where their copies matched the descriptions, the person checking marked the entry with a four-letter alphanumerical code

[16] This is the name with which the Institute was rebaptized in 1975. Previously it was the Istituto Nazionale per il Catalogo Unico, which went back to 1951, replacing in turn the Centro Nazionale d'Informazioni Bibliografiche established in 1931.

identifying the library (the two letters stand for the province; the two numerals designate a specific collection from a list therein, i.e. the BNCF is FI13, the BNCR is RM23, and so on; the other permitted symbol was an asterisk to signify that the book was damaged or imperfect). If the edition was not yet in the listing or had not yet been described directly from a copy, a description was compiled from the very straightforward manual.

The proof of Vinay's ability to think in an electronic dimension lies in the decision to entrust much of the basic identifying and sorting of the material objects to the sixteen-character Fingerprint, conceived in the 1970s by the then Keeper of Catalogues, later Librarian, at the Bodleian Library, John Jolliffe (1929–1985). This simple device was originally thought up for the *LOC* project (in *STC* parlance: London, Oxford, Cambridge), which was planned to create a collective computer catalogue of the continental sixteenth-century books in the libraries of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, as well as in the British Library. Most of the work was to be done by untrained staff, who in a first phase would take only the shelf-mark of the book and the Fingerprint, which would be electronically checked to see if a record was already in the system; if the match was positive, the copy would be compared to the extant description to see if it was the same edition; if it was negative, a trained cataloguer would write a new entry. In this way it was planned that cataloguing and above all the time required by expert staff would be reduced to a minimum.[17] Although the Fingerprint underwent elaborate testing in the Bodleian Library, the *LOC* project never got off the ground. The attraction of its intrinsic method for the much larger enterprise being planned by the ICCU is however obvious. The decision to employ the Fingerprint in *Edit16* has been attacked in Italy, as have other features of the project, but much of this criticism has been bibliographically wrong-headed. The strategic importance of Jolliffe's device was vindicated in the Spring of 2000,

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[17] Jolliffe's expertise is expounded in *Computers and Early Books. Report of the LOC Project investigating Means of Compiling a Machine-readable Union Catalogue of pre-1801 Books in Oxford, Cambridge and the British Museum* (London, 1974), which includes a preliminary discussion of what would become the Fingerprint. Other sorts of Fingerprint have been proposed, most notably the Dutch STCN Fingerprint and the *Bibliographical Profile* conceived by Douglas Osler, which are assessed and compared with the LOC Fingerprint in N. Harris, 'Tribal Lays and the History of the Fingerprint', in D.J. Shaw (ed.), *Many into One. Problems and Opportunities in Creating Shared Catalogues of Older Books* (London, 2006), pp. 21–72.

when *Edit16* was launched onto the world-wide web with an interface that allows searching to be conducted through single groups of the Fingerprint. Informal experimenting on the database has shown that in approximately 15% of cases, entering just one group of the Fingerprint brings up a single edition, sometimes broken up into more than one entry due to the presence of a variant, and in about 60% of cases the possibilities are no more than five. It is difficult to think of another bibliographical method, in which typing in no more than four characters restricts the field so rapidly and so precisely. Two groups employed in unison invariably bring up a single edition or, at worst, a set of look-alike editions (but in the sample this involved less than 5% of cases), something street-wise bibliographers in any case want to know about.

This simplified approach of course ran a gamut of dangers, most importantly in the choice not to address the analysis of edition variants. In *Edit16* therefore books were described on the basis of their bibliographical aspect. Whether the variant forms expressed differing editions, issues, or states, was, and largely still is, up to the reader to judge, but usually the evidence is simple to deceipher. Italian sixteenth-century printing is not plagued by the *Doppeldruck*, i.e. a new edition identical to a previous one, even down to the publisher and the date, that is a characteristic of the same century's German publishing. The most common variants are instead the alteration of the date on the title-page (and sometimes in the colophon) to make the book seem fresh off the press for a longer period and edition-sharing between more than one publisher. The most striking instance of the latter phenomenon is the 1570 eleven-volume quarto edition of the works of Saint Augustine divided between six different publisher-booksellers, each of whom obtained a block of copies with customised title-pages. As a cost-spreading exercise it must have been successful, since it was repeated in 1584. In all these cases a glance at the identical Fingerprint is enough to tell one what to think.

Edit16 reached its first public in a paper form. Volume 'A', containing 3,539 entries, appeared in 1986 (albeit dated 1985); it was subjected to a certain amount of criticism, and therefore in 1990 the ICCU chose to reissue it in a much revised and increased form, in which the number of entries had risen to 3,775.[18] To all intents and purposes the first 'real'

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[18] The first volume was reviewed by myself with a series of observations that still usefully capture the state of the project at that moment in time (*The Library*, s. 6, vol. 9

volume therefore was 'B' published in 1989 with 4,157 entries, which was followed by the two volumes for 'C' in 1993 and 1996 with 7,555 entries. (Due to the idiosyncratic way in which some of the most successful authors published in Italy in the Renaissance have names that in cataloguing fall in the first three letters of the alphabet, plus collective entries such as *Chiesa cattolica*, this was actually substantial progress.) A long pause followed, during which in 2000 the database went online, after which publication in paper form resumed with 'D' in 2005 (2,753 entries) and 'E-F' in 2007 (702 and 2,370 entries), while single volumes have also been dedicated to printed music (1999) and to publishers' marks (2006). The online version has seen further developments feasible only in an electronic environment: cross-linking to short biographical profiles of authors and publisher-printers, as well as to digital images of publishers' marks; the inclusion of digital images of title-pages, colophons, and dedications, while, as in *ISTC* and *VD16*, the latest development consists in links to full digital reproductions on the servers of libraries participating in the project: at the time of writing the total is a little under a thousand items, but this figure will obviously rise sharply in the years to come.

In terms of numbers *Edit16* still has a some way to go, especially in the latter half of the alphabet. When it first appeared on the web in March 2000, it contained approximately 46,000 entries;[19] at the end of 2005 this had risen to about 56,000; at the time of writing in the autumn of 2010 it stands at 63,000 entries. Even if we assume that about 5% of this figure is inflated by variants of state or issue, the number of

(1987), pp. 181–184). The presentation of this first, perhaps slightly premature, birth was celebrated with a conference organised by the ICCU, which provides some interesting initial reactions, see: M.C. Cuturi, (ed.), *Per lo sviluppo della cooperazione tra le biblioteche, 1976–1986. Dieci anni di attività dell'Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane* (Roma, 1986). In the acts of a subsequent conference, held for the 25 years of the project or the 20 years from the publication of the first volume, this discussion is analysed in the light of later events, see: N. Harris, 'Un ammiraglio, un cane e i *Vaticinia*', in R.M. Servello (ed.), *Il libro italiano del XVI secolo: conferme e novità in Edit16* (Roma, 2007), pp. 43–92.

[19] This figure is for entries still in the database. In chronological order *Edit16* assigns to every entry a number, prefixed by the letters "CNCE", which stand for "Censimento Nazionale Cinquecentine: Edizioni" (when this was the only searchable database, the abbreviation was a simple "CNC", which appears therefore in bibliographical citations at the beginning of the present millennium, but others have since been added for Authors, Publishers, Marks and Dedications). The numbers assigned have now reached about 75,000: the discrepancy, some 12,000 entries, shows the number of mistakes, ghosts, and duplications that have been 'exorcised'.

editions located and described is still sixty thousand. (Just to give a bench-mark, the total of editions for Britain in the same period in the second edition of the Pollard and Redgrave *STC* has been counted as 15,306, of which 12,945 in London alone, while over a thousand items were produced on the Continent of Europe.)[20] The online database is growing apace: in 2009 a total of 1,033 new entrants were inserted. A glance at these entries shows a majority of rare, ephemeral texts, but also some substantial books, and the overall impression is that a lot of important libraries still have to explore their holdings in depth, while there are also shadow lands, which still have to be properly explored, such as editions once thought to be incunabula and subsequently assigned to the following century. When and where this steep climb will hit a ceiling, or whether there will be any real ceiling, at least in the coming decade, is an open question. At the moment, as has been said above, the best guess is that the documented output of sixteenth-century Italian editions will prove to be in the order of 80,000 bibliographical items.

In terms of its execution, the project has also seen important shifts in method and approach. First, the descriptions have become more 'bibliographical', since where variant forms emerge within an edition, which once would have entailed separate entries, they are now quite often compacted into a unified description with a note explaining the variant. Obviously this signifies the acquisition of a higher degree of bibliographical competence on the part of the ICCU and Italian cataloguers in general, as well as greater expectations on the part of users. Second, in the printed versions the entries are restricted to books held by Italian libraries (the project however includes the Vatican State and San Marino); in the online *Edit16*, however, an increasing number of entries are for editions found only outside Italy. At the time of writing, out of the above mentioned total of 63,000 entries, a good 4,000 refer to items not found in Italian libraries: of the 1,033 entries introduced for the first time in 2009, 161 were not found in Italian libraries.[21] This last change is a good example of the quiet, almost

[20] M. Bell-J. Barnard, 'Provisional Count of STC Titles 1475–1640', *Publishing history*, vol. 31 (1992), pp. 48–64.

[21] In the database the presence of this particular bibliographical nuance trick is deliberately understated, so that it is usual to find articles and books, even by Italian scholars, stating that the *Edit16* only includes material in Italian libraries. To understand the whereabouts of the item for which no localisation is given in the entry, it is necessary to follow a thread back to an abbreviation in the secondary bibliography,

un-Italian pragmatism that governs the project: for the reasons explained above, references to books held in libraries outside Italy have always been collected in order to write the skeleton entries, but their increasing weight and importance marks the transformation of *Edit16* from a collective catalogue with frills to an authentic bibliography of Italian sixteenth-century printing. One fascinating possibility of course is that in future non-Italian libraries might be able to introduce information about their holdings directly into *Edit16*, though this would entail non-Italian cataloguers learning how to check and to compile a LOC Fingerprint: the question has been broached, but any decision is still on the pending agenda. The online version has also gained the admiration of habitual catalogue browsers for its superbly-agile, user-friendly interface, written and maintained by a small firm called Sosebi (Società Servizi Bibliotecari) based in Cagliari, Sardinia. In this essay I have generally avoided naming names, but one that must be mentioned is the long-standing project head, Claudia Leoncini, who has competently and brilliantly steered *Edit16* into a new era. As things stand *Edit16*, which has consistently remained at the forefront of early-book thinking and technologies, should be able to look forward to a bright future; but there are clouds on the horizon, with swingeing across-the-board cuts in prospect for all areas of Italian culture, as well as generational change, with many of those who have been with the project from the beginning departing in the coming years. It is important therefore that the prestige and bibliographical importance of *Edit16* should achieve much greater recognition, both nationally and internationally.

The second major project is the *Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale* (*SBN*), also the brainchild of Angela Vinay and also coordinated by the ICCU from the fourth floor of the large building over the BNCR. It consists in an open-ended collective catalogue on the OCLC model, organised in a series of local hubs, providing a single easily-consultable opac. Initially planned as a catalogue common to the state-run libraries, who are obligatory members, *SBN* is open to any library or library network in Italy wanting to participate, as many have done, most notably the universities of Florence and Padua, creating a very large resource indeed. A specific sector of the database is dedicated to the

usually a printed source, but cautious references are also being introduced to online resources.

Libro Antico, defined as in *ISBD* practice as all books printed up to 1830, with a specially tailored interface allowing users to search on the basis of the Fingerprint and of the publishers' mark. In the autumn of 2010 it totalled 1,509 entries for incunabula (not all of them reported to *ISTC*) and 94,647 for sixteenth-century editions, which obviously include many items printed in cities outside Italy. Its scale and its comprehensiveness thus make it a major source for the whole record of European printing, though care has to be taken with inconsistencies in the quality of the entries, especially those reported by minor libraries, and a tendency to duplication.

What is the relationship between *Edit16* and *SBN*? *SBN* is and remains a shared online catalogue, i.e. the purpose of the entry is to allow the user, who follows up a reference to the opac in a particular library, to find a press-mark leading to a specific copy or copies on the shelf; *Edit16* on the other hand is not about copies and provides no means of discovering an individual press-mark. But there is a deeper, more incestuous tie. From time to time in its history, large chunks of data from *Edit16* has been poured into *SBN*, in the first instance to provide skeleton entries that could be amplified by libraries, but also for political reasons, because at certain moments in its history the collective catalogue had to be seen to grow rapidly. This fact explains why numerous *SBN* entries for Italian *Cinquecentine* have a recognisable *Edit16* code, why shared errors are not infrequent, and why *SBN* commonly includes references for copies in libraries that do not belong to the official network. Simultaneously *Edit16* has always kept a close eye on activity in *SBN*, since it is not infrequent for cataloguers to create new records for previously unknown (or unrecorded in Italy) sixteenth-century Italian editions, or to add further copies to extant records, without forwarding the information also to the census. This situation of two parallel databases, belonging to the same organisation, which expand by siphoning off each other's bathwater, might seem over-elaborate, but in practice it works quite well, at least for expert users.

The third strand of bibliographical work is more diverse and encompasses the rest of the intense activity that over the last thirty years has happened in the field of research into Renaissance printed books in Italy. Many items are described in local networks, usually municipal, and can be ferreted out through diligent, but time-consuming, trawls through the relevant opacs, though at least one database explicitly dedicated to early printed material has been set up (*Libri Antichi in*

Toscana, 1501–1885). Italian libraries and institutions have also been active in the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL) and a few, such as the Accademia della Crusca in Florence, have ventured into the boundless prairies of the OCLC.

But Italy's true excellence has been in published catalogues. Some pioneering examples in the late 1960s and early 1970s drew inspiration from the already mentioned British Museum Library *Short-title Catalogue of Books printed in Italy* (1958) and from H.M. Adams' catalogue for the continental books in Cambridge libraries (1967). Notable among these are the works by Sandro Pesante for the Biblioteca Civica in Trieste (1974), which describes 2,528 sixteenth-century books, including a substantial Petrarch collection, and by Luigi Chiodi for the Biblioteca Civica in Bergamo (1973), which enumerates 9,032 editions, making it by far the largest single published listing for a library in Italy. A fresh impulse was provided by the initial enthusiasm for the *Edit16* project, which saw a lot of libraries sorting and cataloguing in parallel their non-Italian sixteenth-century books and also wanting to include fuller copy-specific information, including the presence of multiple copies and pressmarks. The most important publication in this phase describes the 6,353 editions in the Biblioteca Panizzi at Reggio Emilia (1995).

More recent examples have reflected shifts in bibliographical thinking, also in the light of the collective electronic projects described above, with an emphasis instead on fuller information about copies, including details of bindings and provenances. The tendency is for such catalogues to be produced by smaller, more out of the way collections, often with an overt cultural and political intent, not only in drawing the attention of citizens and administrators to the existence of a cultural resource, but also as a way of conferring stability and order on sometimes important holdings. The libraries administered directly by the Italian state therefore have issued a catalogue of this kind only in exceptional circumstances and sometimes employing outside help: the most conspicuous example, describing the 1,671 sixteenth-century editions in the Laurentian Library in Florence by Sara Centi (2003), for instance, began life as a university thesis; a large number have been produced on the other hand by municipal libraries the length and breadth of the peninsula, as well as by some religious orders, with the Capuchins particularly active. Of course for the user a difficulty can exist in knowing that a catalogue has been issued for a particular collection, because these works are often published by the libraries or the municipalities and thus never enter the commercial distribution circuit.[22] Paradoxically, however, the most effective way of finding out about them is through the secondary reference bibliography in *Edit16*, which has always recognised the utility of these initiatives and has been scrupulous about employing them as materials in the construction of the database.

The constant that emerges from this summary is the passion for books that unites librarians, scholars, and surprisingly large sections of the general Italian public. The presentation of the catalogue of incunabula or sixteenth-century books in the library of a small centre has the power to attract a substantial audience and local politicians. Of course not everything in the process has been positive and much of the struggle has been uphill, since during the last thirty years the whole of Italian society and culture has been in a state of acute flux and libraries necessarily reflect the fact. But early books and questions relating to early books are an object of attention more than in any other European country.

All good stories should have a final twist and this is no exception. As the universe we now inhabit of electronic bibliographical resources expands and becomes ever more acronymic (*ISTC*, *ESTC*, *Edit16*, *VD16*, and such like), the data bombards us so thick and fast that the most important perception of all escapes us. All these very large ongoing projects involving Renaissance printed books somehow tell us that there is an elephant in the room, or an object so big and so self-evident that we don't see it. More explicitly, we fail to see the enormous quantity of books, entire editions, not just copies belonging to editions, that have failed to survive.

How does one see what is not there to be seen? The question is opportune and raises a very serious bibliographical issue relating to the book as a consumer object, or rather an object that is consumed by use. In the fifteenth century print-runs were of course low: we know that the Gutenberg Bible was probably executed in 180 copies; but averages soon rose to 300 copies. By the early 1480s, once the introduction of the two-pull press had speeded up the printing process, outputs rose steadily and by the beginning of the sixteenth century had

[22] For a somewhat dated survey of these catalogues and the tradition they represent, see: N. Harris, 'Appunti per una logica del catalogo delle cinquecentine', in Biblioteca Panizzi, *Le cinquecentine della Biblioteca Panizzi* (Reggio Emilia, 1995).

stabilised around a thousand copies, which is the figure bibliographers take as the average size of a Renaissance print-run, unless there are reasons for thinking otherwise. In statistical terms, therefore, for 1% of such an edition to survive, we must find at least ten copies in today's libraries; if on the other hand an imprint is recorded in a unique copy, we assume that it stands for 0.1% of the original output. Anyone who habitually browses through the specialist databases for early printing mentioned above, which all aim to provide an exhaustive survey of the editions and of the copies of those editions published in a specific area in a specific segment of time, will be uncomfortably aware that the entries therein comprising at least ten locations are not the majority. The most significant novelty to have emerged from these comprehensive, ground-breaking projects – at least among bibliographers able to see the forest rather than the trees – has therefore been the awareness of loss.[23]

How on the other hand are we to know what books have been lost? In some cases archive records show that an important edition was printed and subsequently disappeared in its entirety. One well-documented instance is the 1495 Scandiano edition of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*: a notary document discovered and published in 1924 shows that it had a print-run of 1,250 copies, of which the last survivor got no further than the end of the eighteenth century.[24] Another is represented by the *post mortem* inventory compiled in July 1537 of the warehouse of the Milan publisher Nicolò da Gorgonzola, listing a total of 205 titles. The editions are not identified, but the considerable quantities of copies involved make it a reasonable presumption that they were mostly Milanese and published by Gorgonzola. An important element of physical identification is that the inventory indicates the number of sheets of paper – the unit of calculation is a five-sheet *quinterno* – that form the copy. Gorgonzola's editions have a low survival-rate: few of them are documented in more than ten copies and many of them are known from a single surviving item. Nevertheless it is surprising to learn that only about a quarter of the entries in the inventory can be matched to editions known today.[25]

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[23] See: N. Harris, 'La sopravvivenza del libro ossia appunti per una lista della lavandaia', *Ecdotica*, 4 (2007), pp. 24–65; A. S. Wilkinson, 'Lost Books in French before 1601', *The Library*, s. 7, vol. 10 (2009), pp. 188–205.

[24] N. Harris, *Bibliografia dell'«Orlando innamorato»*, 2 vol. (Modena, 1988–1991), vol. I, pp. 26–28; vol. II, pp. 44–55.

[25] A. Ganda, *Niccolò Gorgonzola editore e libraio in Milano, 1496–1536* (Firenze, 1988), doc. 78, pp. 126–145. The principal inventory is followed by a second list of

Few documentary records are however so explicit or so detailed as these two examples, while thousands of other editions have vanished without leaving any documentary trace. An alternative way of determining the relation between lost editions and surviving editions is zero-graphing. Applied to printed artefacts, the nub of the principle was suggested by the German incunabulist, Ernst Consentius, as long ago as 1932.[26] The idea is very simple: if we have a reliable, in-depth count of all the copies of all the editions belonging to a certain corpus and arrange them on the basis of the number of surviving copies: five copies, four copies, three copies, two copies, one copy, the projection of the graph tells us how many editions are extant (or rather, not extant) in zero copies. Of course there is no such thing as a straightforward mathematical projection applied to books: the figures hazarded here derive from an algorithm suggested in a recent article by Goran Proot and Leo Egghe, but all these calculations have to be taken *cum grano salis*, since numerous variables come to mind, from typographical alterations disguising the nature of the edition to the freak survival of miscellanies conserving together the only known copies of a group of editions.[27] At the same time we are all sufficiently versed in statistics to appreciate that substantial quantities of data, gathered independently from many different sources, need to be taken seriously.

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another 75 titles, some of them different from the main list, handed over as a first instalment to bookseller Matteo Pollari da Besozzo, who was negotiating the purchase of Gorgonzola's warehouse. Ganda's bibliography of his editions comprises 91 entries, not all of them for items known today and with several bibliographical 'ghosts', so that a full analysis of the inventory to discover possible lost editions needs to review the situation of the known copies, especially in the light of projects such as *Edit16*. Another example in which detailed archive records bear out the disappearance of numerous entire editions is that of Books of Hours produced in the sixteenth century by Christopher Plantin, see: K.L. Bowen, *Christopher Plantin's Books of Hours. Illustration and Production* (Nieuwkoop, 1997), pp. 217–258.

[26] E. Consentius, 'Typen und der Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke: eine Kritik', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1932, pp. 55–109: 84.

[27] See G. Proot-L. Egghe, 'Estimating Editions on the Basis of Survivals: Printed Programmes of Jesuit Plays in the *Provincia Flandro-Belgica* before 1773, with a Note on the "Book Historical Law"', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 102 (2008), pp. 149–174. The formula is based essentially on the number of editions surviving in one copy and in two copies, without taking into account the shape of the rest of the curve. The subsequent discussion of this article identifies this calculation as a "special case of a maximum likelihood of a Poisson distribution", or a statistical model employed to calculate the number of times a random event will occur in a given period of time, see J. Green, F. McIntyre, and P. Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival and Statistical Estimation of Lost Editions', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 105 (2011), in print.

Bibliographers of course know to their cost that traditional paper repertories are too sluggish to provide trustworthy information about copy totals or movements. It is a *sine qua non* however that copy-counting is among the things electronic repertories do best and few would contest the assumption that the information provided in the *ISTC*, especially that relating to editions surviving in very few copies, is both comprehensive and for the most part accurate. A break-down of the online database, as it stood in 2008, conducted by Jonathan Green, together with Paul Needham and Frank McIntyre, out of a total of 28,767 editions extant in at least a fragment, gave the following results for the editions surviving in the smallest numbers: five copies: 1,168 editions, four copies: 1,493, three copies: 2,039, two copies: 3,217, and one copy: 7,488. The strange shape of the curve, with the very sharp rise between two copies and one copy, as well as the lengthy tail formed by the many incunabula extant in numerous copies, makes any estimate perilous. Limiting the calculation essentially to the first two data points – the editions recorded as surviving in two copies and in one copy – and using it to predict a third point, i.e. the items represented by no copies whatsoever, a figure of around 20,000 editions appears. Of course this is a very limited, probably over-conservative, guess; on the other hand, as the authors of this important forthcoming study note, to "follow the curve" takes us off the graph, since in such a projection the known incunabula editions appear as the residue of over a million separate entities, a number that even the most sincere enthusiast of printing as an agent of change will have difficulty in swallowing.[28]

An analogous count conducted on the data in the *French Vernacular Book* (*FVB*) project, which of course is the cornerstone of the larger *USTC* enterprise and which documents all books printed in the French language from 1501 to 1600, in a total of a little under 52,000 editions,

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[28] Green, McIntyre, and Needham, 'The Shape of Incunable Survival'. It is revealing to compare this result with Jonathan Green's earlier unpublished break-down of the data-base as it appeared in the *Illustrated ISTC* on CD-ROM (1998), which gave the following outcome for a total of a little over 27,000 editions: five copies: 1,219 editions, four copies: 1,457, three copies: 1,947, two copies: 3,108, and one copy, including fragments: 6,826. One unspoken assumption among scholars of early printed books is that the *ISTC* database, like its larger sister the *ESTC*, is "largely complete", at least as far as the count of editions is concerned. The extent of the growth in the last dozen years shows how wrong that presumption is and also how mistaken it is to presume that the acquisition of further information about extant copies, which has been the other major feature of the project, would smooth out the steepness of the graph.

gives the following outcome: five copies: 2,116 editions, four copies: 2,979, three copies: 4,521, two copies: 8,165, one copy: 21,119. Differently from *ISTC*, the *FVB* is – as it stands at present – less exhaustive in the number of copies it records and therefore may present an undue emphasis on the editions registered in just one location with a consequent distortion of the final estimate. On the other hand a very large amount of data – a little under twice that contained by the *ISTC* – has been processed and therefore it is intriguing to note that the general shape of the graph is similar, the principal difference being the steeper rise from two copies to one copy. Again, if we base the projection on the first two points, a number is reached, some 59,000 editions, which is probably on the low side; if however we follow the curve, the figure reached becomes quite incredible.

Looking instead at a very specific genre, research conducted by myself on the Italian chivalric romance includes an in-depth copy survey for 34 works, including Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* and Pulci's *Morgante*, from the fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth century.[29] These stories of bravery and adventures were intensely read at the time and therefore have a very poor survival rate; on the other hand they have been much sought after by collectors and therefore from early in the

[29] Research about the quantitative and qualitative assessment of lost editions of Renaissance books had its beginning in the 1980s with work on the bibliography of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, where the disappearance of the *princeps* in two books (Reggio Emilia? before 24 February 1483) and of the first edition in three books, published at Scandiano in 1495, revealed the scale of the problem. A further source about lost chivalric editions was a list of 31 imprints compiled by Venetian diarist Marin Sanudo in about 1528, containing accurate bibliographical descriptions, including the title, the first lines of the text, the place, the printer and the year. Comparison with modern repertories made it possible to establish that half the items in the list were lost, see: N. Harris, 'Marin Sanudo, forerunner of Melzi', La Bibliofilìa, vol. 95, (1993), pp. 1–37, 101–145, vol. 96 (1994), pp. 15–42. Both for the Boiardo bibliography and for the titles listed by Sanudo, as well as visits to libraries and searches through published catalogues, written requests for information were sent to several hundred libraries. After a ten-year break, in 2003 I assembled a list of the Renaissance editions of Luigi Pulci's *Morgante*, extended to cover also the *Ciriffo Calvaneo*, a less well-known poem written by Luca and Luigi Pulci. The research included an update of the information relating both to the *Orlando Innamorato* and to the titles in the Sanudo list, see: N. Harris, 'Sopravvivenze e scomparse delle testimonianze del *Morgante* di Luigi Pulci', in M. Villoresi (ed.), *Paladini di carta. Il modello cavalleresco* fiorentino (Roma, 2006), pp. 89–159; published also with some small changes in *Rinascimento*, s. 2, vol. 45 (2005), pp. 179–245. For an example, in which two disbound miscellanies act as 'time capsules' in saving a number of otherwise unrecorded incunable editions, see: N. Harris, 'Statistiche e sopravvivenze di antichi romanzi di cavalleria', in M. Picone and L. Rubini (eds.), *Il cantare italiano fra folklore e letteratura* (Firenze, 2007), pp. 383–411.

nineteenth century have been the object of thorough bibliographical documentation.[30] The search uncovered 377 editions, of which 355 fall below the hypothetical 1% survival-rate benchmark, since they remain in nine copies or less. At the other end of the statistical tail, of the remaining 22 editions, by far the highest survivor was the 1572 Florence edition of the *Ciriffo Calvaneo*, a minor work by the Pulci brothers, with 108 copies, to which are to be added a further eight belonging to the 1618 reissue (a hypothetical 12% survival rate in a print-run of a thousand copies); second place went to the 1574 *Morgante*, also Florentine, with 68 copies (7% survival rate). Returning to the count of the lowest survivals, again the graph shoots up very suddenly at the end: 9 editions in five copies, 21 in four, 36 in three, 73 in two, and 206 in one. A projection based on the two first points suggests some 600 lost items, which is nearly twice the total of what is documented today; but the general shape of the curve points to a figure that might be even higher. If we tier the results on the basis of the time-line, the fifteenth-century editions have proportionally lost most: 50 out of 68 known editions remain in a single copy (only one is known in more than three copies), as against 97 out of 200 for the period 1501–1550 and 59 out of 109 for the period 1551–1600, but this data has to allow for the fact that in the 130 years concerned chivalric romances were slipping down the biblio-social ladder. Among incunabula folio formats and quality paper are commonplace, whereas the editions of the latter half of the sixteenth century are largely shoddily-printed octavos and therefore had less chance of surviving the enthusiasm of readers.

These three samples of bibliographical research are autonomous, have been conducted by different people and with different methods, and present hardly any juxtaposition (the only exception are the Italian chivalric incunabula which figure also in the *ISTC*). It is difficult to imagine that all three have gleaned their data in so distorted a fashion as to present a wholly erroneous outcome. It is possible furthermore to point to other researches conducted on specific authors or titles, or genres, where the copy-survey has been conducted in an exhaustive

[30] The main work involved, by the Italian marquis Gaetano Melzi (1786–1851), went through three editions, respectively in 1829, 1838 and 1865, of which the last, posthumous, *Bibliografia dei romanzi di cavalleria in versi e in prosa italiani*, was largely the work of bookseller Paolo Antonio Tosi. Melzi assembled a large collection of chivalric romances, of which a part has been preserved in the Fondo Castiglioni of the Braidense Library in Milan, another in the library of the Fondazione Cini at Venice, and yet another seems to have been dispersed or destroyed.

way and which lead to similar conclusions, i.e. a significant number of editions have been lost; it is also possible to indicate other areas of Renaissance publishing, such as Aldines (excepting catalogues and trial proofs), where copy-counting suggests that no editions have been lost at all. The very necessary outcome of these hypotheses is that, with whatever uncertainties, due more to the complexity of the data than to a fundamental defect in the theory, zero-graphing has much to tell us. The sheer number of editions lost also signifies, by the by, that calculations about the output of printed books in the various parts of Europe during the Renaissance are going to be wildly inaccurate, unless what has gone missing is somehow put into the equation. As ever the lesson is that there is no point in counting calories, if you don't include the chocolate bar.[31]

[31] For help with this article I am grateful to Sara Centi of the Intronati Library in Siena, to Marina Litricò of the Trivulziana Library, and to Marina Venier of the National Central Library in Rome. For the statistical data I express my thanks to John Goldfinch of the *ISTC*, to Claudia Leoncini of *Edit16*, and to Philip John and Andrew Pettegree of the *FVB* project. The final section is deeply in debt to Jonathan Green, together with his co-authors Paul Needham and Frank McIntyre, for allowing me to cite material from their forthcoming article on the statistical estimation of lost incunabula and for his invaluable assistance with the calculations presented here.

HOW COMPLETE ARE THE GERMAN NATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES FOR THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES (*VD16* AND *VD17*)?

Jürgen Beyer

Passing a judgement on the completeness of national bibliographies is possible in two ways. One would be to compile a competing bibliography of one's own. This would, however, take very many years to achieve. A single scholar therefore has to resort to another method: working by samples. This article looks at the problem by examining a geographical sample and a genre sample. Geographically, it concentrates on the production of some printers in Lübeck and one in Riga – two major trading centres at opposite ends of the Baltic Sea. This choice of examples has the advantage of illustrating how the German national bibliographies are defined geographically. In terms of genre, I considered where official publications from the period are preserved today and to what degree these institutions are covered by the bibliographies.

VD16 *and* VD17

It is necessary to begin by presenting the German national bibliographies for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There are two distinct bibliographies, one for each of the centuries. Both of them are generally known by their abbreviation, *VD16* and *VD17*, in full *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* and *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts*. These are bibliographies of the imprints published in the German language area in the sixteenth and seventeenth century respectively. The definite article used in the bibliographies' title (*Verzeichnis der … Drucke)* signals, as readers will have noticed, completeness.

VD16 was first published in print in 25 volumes between 1983 and 2000.[1] *VD17* has been published on the internet right from the beginning in 1996.[2] In recent years, the *VD16* data have been transferred to an internet edition to which further titles and holdings are continually being added.[3] Unfortunately, the *VD16* internet edition does not yet work perfectly. The two bibliographies differ somewhat in the way they describe the titles. Without going into any great detail, it is worth mentioning that *VD17* – unlike *VD16* – offers on-line facsimiles of the title-pages and of a few other significant pages of most books.[4]

Both bibliographies do not contain sheet music and maps while *VD16* also excludes broadsheets. The decision to exclude broadsheets is somewhat odd. Possibly it was occasioned by the fact that several reprint editions of illustrated broadsheets were available or planned, but no such editions exist for the large number of non-illustrated broadsheets.[5] *VD16* thus omits, for instance, some of the first editions of a seminal Latin text, Martin Luther's *95 Theses*. Fortunately, *VD17*

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[1] *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 25 vols. (Stuttgart, 1983–2000). The author's research was supported by the research programme SF0180040s08 at Tartu University Library.

[2] 'VD17. Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts', http://www.vd17.de; see also: Thomas Stäcker, 'VD17 – mehr als eine Zwischenbilanz', *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, 51 (2004), pp. 213–221. Claudia Fabian, 'VD17', in *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens*, vol. 8, fasc. 57 (Stuttgart, 2008), p. 17. All internet sources referred to in this essay have been accessed during September, October and November 2009.

[3] See: Gisela Möncke, 'Das 'Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (VD 16)', http://www.vd16.de; see also: als Teil einer deutschen retrospektiven Nationalbibliographie', *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, 51 (2004), pp. 207–212. Claudia Fabian, 'Anreicherung, Ausbau und internationale Vernetzung: Zur Fortführung des Verzeichnisses der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (VD 16)', Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie, 57 (2010), pp. 321–332. Since October 2009 the VD17 titles are also available through the VD16 website. The data sets in both versions, however, differ somewhat as do the possibilities of retrieving information. Places of publication outside the core German language area, for instance, can be searched in standardised spelling at http://www.VD17.de but not at http://www.VD16.de. This is more confusing than helpful.

[4] In recent years, some links to online facsimiles have been added in both bibliographies, and it is planned to enlarge this service.

[5] Bruno Weber (ed.), *Erschröckliche und warhafftige Wunderzeichen 1543–1586. Faksimiledruck von Einblattdrucken aus der Sammlung Wikiana in der Zentralbibliothek Zürich* (Dietikon and Zurich, 1971); Max Geisberg, *The German single-leaf woodcut: 1500–1550*, ed. by Walter L. Strauss, 4 vols. (New York 1974); Walter L. Strauss, *The German single-leaf woodcut 1550–1600. A pictorial catalogue*, 3 vols. (New York, 1975); Wolfgang Harms (ed.), *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1–4 and 6–7 (Munich, 1980–2005). Möncke, 'Das "Verzeichnis"', p. 212.

did not repeat this mistake and does include broadsheets. The printed edition of *VD16* counts some 75,000 titles. Including the internet additions, the bibliography now lists more than 100,000 titles. *VD17* contains at present descriptions of more than 260,000 titles. It is also worth noting that preparations are currently being made for a *VD18*, covering the eighteenth century.[6]

At the outset, *VD16* was born of a co-operation between the libraries in Wolfenbüttel and Munich. Over time, more and more German libraries have contributed to the work but very few from outside Germany. Similarly, *VD17* is the result of a project set up by German libraries with few titles or holdings being added from libraries outside Germany. While *VD16* to some extent presents titles described in earlier bibliographies, *VD17* only lists books which were available for inspection.

Both bibliographies claim to cover the 'German language area'. This term is, in fact, rather imprecise. There are three German equivalents, *deutscher Sprachbereich*, *deutscher Sprachraum* and *deutsches Sprachgebiet*. Surprisingly, *VD16* uses *Sprachbereich* and *VD17 Sprachraum* in its name. The introduction to the printed *VD16* states that the bibliography only deals with works printed "in the integral German culture area, i. e. in Germany (without firmly defined political boundaries), Austria, the German parts of Switzerland and in Alsace … irrespective of the language of the text".[7] "The integral German cultural area", in German *zusammenhängender deutscher Kulturraum*, is yet one more of these expressions serving to indicate in a polite way that Germany once extended far, far beyond its present-day boundaries, but it does exclude pockets of German settlements here and there.[8]

[6] Heiner Schnelling (ed.), *VD 18. Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts. Beiträge eines DFG-Rundgesprächs in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in Halle (Saale), veranstaltet am 05. 05. 2004* (Halle, 2004); Klaus Haller, *Digitalisierung und Erschließung der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 2007); Thomas Bürger et al., 'Das VD 18. Eine Einladung ins 18. Jahrhundert', *Bibliothek. Forschung und Praxis*, 32 (2008), pp. 195–202; Reinhart Siegert, 'VD18. Zum Diskussionsstand aus fachwissenschaftlicher Sicht', ibid., pp. 203–208.

[7] Irmgard Bezzel, 'Introduction', trans. David Paisey in *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 22 (Stuttgart, 1995), pp. XVIII–XXV at p. XVIII (German original pp. IX–XVII, at p. IX). I am not sure whether it was wise to define, for a confessional age, a cultural area by language only.

[8] The *VD16* internet edition, on the other hand, claims that all sixteenth-century books in German wherever printed are included – but that is certainly not the case. "Erfasst werden alle deutschsprachigen Titel und unabhängig von ihrer Sprache alle

VD17 has decided to travel a different path. Concerning the core of the German language area, *VD17*, too, lists books printed in any language, but it also includes books produced in towns such as Prague, Copenhagen or Riga if they are in German (but not in Latin or in local languages).[9] In these cities either a significant part of or almost all burghers were Germans, while the remaining inhabitants for the most part were Czechs, Danes or Latvians. In principle, the non-German books from these towns should be covered in the Czech, Danish and Latvian national bibliographies, but some of these projects still have a very long way to go.

The way the fringes of the German language area are treated in *VD16* and *VD17* is rather problematic. Throughout Eastern and partly also in Northern Europe, the borders between German-speakers and non-German-speakers were rather fuzzy, largely because the use of language changed over time and depended on context and social status, and because the populations themselves to a large extent were bi-, tri- or even quadrilingual.[10]

Employing the concept "German language area" has resulted in *VD16* and *VD17* being geographically based on the language spoken in the streets of printing towns and on the lanes of the surrounding villages, not on the main language of print (excluding Latin) in a given town. Some examples will explain what this means. In the decades around 1600, printing in Riga was primarily done in Latin and High German and to a very modest degree in Low German, Latvian and Swedish. Lübeck produced books in the same languages but substituting Latvian with Danish. Lübeck, however, is included in the two bibliographies (the spoken language of the area being Low German), while Riga is excluded from *VD16* and is only represented with German-language imprints in *VD17* for the simple reason that many inhabitants of Riga and most people in the surrounding countryside

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im historischen deutschen Sprachgebiet gedruckten und verlegten Werke außer Musica practica, Karten und Einblattdrucke" (http://bvba2.bib-bvb.de/V/?func=file&file_name=search_vd16).

[9] Some non-German books from outside the core German language area are, indeed, catalogued in *VD17*. Part of them have links to Germany proper – be that a German publisher or an attribution to a German printer. Others seem to have been entered by mistake, since the coverage of these imprints in *VD17* is only a fraction of those in German.

[10] Marika Tandefelt (ed.), *Viborgs fyra språk under sju sekel*, ([Helsinki], 2002). cf. also *Willem Frijhoff, Meertaligheid in de Gouden Eeuw. Een verkenning* (Amsterdam, 2010).

spoke Latvian – but that was entirely irrelevant to the book production in town.

If we now take a look at Schleswig in the same period, a town outside the borders of the Holy Roman Empire, the situation is not that different from the one in Riga. Printing was mainly done in Latin and High German with a very limited production in Danish and Low German, but these two languages were the ones spoken in the area.[11] Similarly, when printing started in the first half of the eighteenth century in Flensburg and Tønder (in German "Tondern") after the language border had moved further north, High German dominated in the books printed in these towns, while Danish was spoken in the surrounding countryside and – together with Low German – in town.[12] Instead of tracing the changes of the German language border during the periods covered by their bibliographies, the compilers of *VD16* and *VD17* seem to have chosen to cover Germany within the borders of 1918 plus Austria and German-speaking Switzerland. That is a fairly ahistorical approach.

To my mind, a much more appropriate approach for book historians and easier to handle would be to include all printing towns with their entire production if in a given period the main language of print (excluding Latin) had been German.[13] In addition, one might also include books printed elsewhere if in German.[14]

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[11] Lauritz Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi 1482–1600*, 2nd ed. with supplement by Erik Dal, 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1996), vol. 4, pp. 58–61 (for the years 1580 to 1600); C.F. Allen, *Det danske Sprogs Historie i Hertugdømmet Slesvig eller Sønderjylland*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1857–1858); H.V. Gregersen, *Plattysk i Sønderjylland. En undersøgelse af fortyskningens historie indtil 1600-årene* (Odense, 1974).

[12] Grethe Larsen and Erik Dal, *Danske Provinstryk 1482–1830. En bibliografi*, vol. 4: Sønderjylland (Copenhagen, 1998), pp. 109–128 for Tønder. Haderslev, on the other hand, produced more Danish than German imprints (starting in 1759, cf. ibid., p. 1–102). For two additional Haderslev imprints – one each in both languages –, cf. the review in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte,* 127 (2002): pp. 279 f. (Jürgen Beyer).

[13] Emden would then have to be taken off the list for the second half of the sixteenth and the first decade of the seventeenth century when the town primarily printed in Dutch, see: Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch revolt. Exile and the development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 252–311; Martin Tielke, 'Der Emder Buchdruck des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte,* 27 (2002) pp. 3–41; see also: Ludger Kremer, *Das Niederländische als Kultursprache deutscher Gebiete* (Bonn, [1983])).

[14] I readily admit that I favour bibliographical imperialism, but I cannot see that any harm will be done when, for instance, both Germans and Danes catalogue imprints from the duchy of Schleswig. So far, however, the Danes (and one American, cf. n. 48)

The main language of print is not that easy to determine as it might appear. One way would be to count the number of titles published in each language. That can easily be done, apart from the limited number of bi- or multilingual publications. One might also take the number of pages into consideration, and here due credit could be given to each language in multilingual books. The most exact method, however, would be to count the square feet covered with printed text. This approach gives interesting results in the Estonian case. In the eighteenth century, for instance, the number of titles published in Estonian was small, but the Estonian books were printed in very many copies, and they made up rather thick volumes (such as hymnals). The number of German titles produced in the same towns was much higher, but these official publications, occasional poems or scholarly works were produced in a limited number of copies and often on a few pages. Most of the words printed at the time were thus possibly Estonian, while the majority of titles were in German. Counting in square feet, however, is rather difficult and time-consuming, since one not only has to take into account the number of pages and their size, but also the number of copies, and here exact figures are difficult to come by.[15] Therefore, this paper will simply analyse the number of titles.

To sum up, *VD16* and *VD17* show some differences in their coverage. While *VD17* aims to include everything printed in German, *VD16* does not show any interest in German books produced outside the German language area nor in any broadsheets. These are much less ambitious approaches than the ones used, for instance, in the Danish, Swedish or Finnish national bibliographies which would not only include all books published within these countries' historical borders and all books printed in the respective languages but also anything

have been much better at this than the Germans. Neither do I, in our days, fear an angry reaction from Moscow when Latin imprints from Riga are inserted into a German database. The restraints observed by *VD16* might have been necessary before 1989 but are now surely outdated.

[15] Jürgen Beyer, 'Schwedische Lesestoffe in Est- und Livland im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in Lea Kõiv and Tiiu Reimo (ed.), *Books and libraries in the Baltic Sea region from the 16th to the 18th century* (Tallinn, 2006), pp. 165–171 at p. 167. E. Annus (ed.), *Eestikeelne raamat 1525–1850* (Tallinn, 2000), lists, if available, the number of copies printed. During the eighteenth century, Estonian hymnals normally had a print run of 5–6,000 copies. 42 editions are known from the eighteenth century (both in Tallinn- and Tartu-Estonian). Until 1745, most of the Tallinn-Estonian hymnals were printed at Halle, Germany.

published by Danes, Swedes and Finns anywhere in the world in whatever language.[16]

To achieve their aims, the compilers of these bibliographies would not limit their work to exploring the holdings of their countries' libraries; they would also investigate collections abroad. This also applies to the Estonian and Latvian national bibliographies, but so far only the volumes on Estonian- and Latvian-language books have been published for the early modern period.[17] Another language-oriented bibliography of early books is worth mentioning, the Low German bibliography by Conrad Borchling and Bruno Claußen.[18] These two, unlike their successors from *VD16* and *VD17*, did extend their searches across the Baltic Sea in order to describe as many Low German books as possible. They would even include books in other languages if they contained just a few lines in Low German. The description of titles in the bibliographies just mentioned is much more detailed than in *VD16* and *VD17*. Apart from the Swedish bibliography, they contain very good indices, too, for example, on subjects and genres. The standards

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[16] Denmark: Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi*. References to further titles attested in early modern sources but lost today have been provided by Torben Nielsen (ed.), *Vetus bibliotheca. Københavns Universitetsbibliotek på Reformationstiden. Katalog 1603 med oplysninger og en indledning* (Copenhagen, 2004), no. 290, and by Jürgen Beyer in a review of the second edition: *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, 123 (1998), pp. 247–250; Sweden: Isak Collijn, *Sveriges Bibliografi intill år 1600*, 3 vols. (Uppsala, 1927–1938). Annotated copies of this bibliography at Uppsala University Library contain some additions; Finland: Tuija Laine and Rita Nyqvist (eds.), *Suomen kansallisbibliografia 1488–1700* (Helsinki, 1996); Laine and Nyqvist (eds.), *Suomen Kansallisbibliografia 1488–1700. Hakemisto* (Helsinki, 1996). The Universal Short Title Catalogue, once fully completed, would certainly represent an elegant answer to the question of what to include in a sixteenth-century bibliography: simply everything.

[17] Annus, *Eestikeelne raamat*; Silvija Šiško and Aleksejs Apīnis (eds.), *Seniespiedumi latviešu valodā 1525–1855. Kopkatalogs* (Riga, 1999). The Tallinn union catalogue (http://ester.nlib.ee) also lists non-Estonian books printed in present-day Estonia and not held by Estonian libraries.

[18] Conrad Borchling and Bruno Claußen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie. Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*, 3 vols. (Neumünster, 1931–1957). For additions to this bibliography, see: Hubertus Menke: '"… dem hordt dith boek tho". Zur Neubearbeitung des Borchling-Claussen, mit 6 Neufunden', *Niederdeutsches Wort*, 39 (1999), pp. 455–469; Jürgen Beyer, 'Der Beginn Dorpater Gelegenheitsdichtung in Volkssprachen. Mit einer Edition dreier niederdeutscher Gelegenheitsgedichte von Adrian Verginius aus dem Jahr 1638', in Christoph Schmelz and Jana Zimdars (eds.), *Innovationen im Schwedischen Großreich. Eine Darstellung anhand von Fallstudien* (Hamburg, 2009), pp. 181–207.

set in the 1930s around the Baltic Sea have not been reached by *VD16* and *VD17*, but by going online and providing facsimiles, *VD17* has certainly added new and very valuable features.

Riga and Lübeck Printers

Riga is located outside the core German language area. *VD16* therefore does not deal with this printing town, while *VD17* should only list the titles in German. To what extent does *VD17* reflect the production of the town's first printer, Nicolaus Mollyn, who worked in Riga from 1588 to his death in 1625? Mollyn's bibliographers have described 167 titles, but this number can be increased to 179.[19] Mollyn mostly printed books used in the region: hymnals, ecclesiastical manuals, sermons, textbooks, official publications, almanacs and, above all, occasional poetry. As mentioned above, Mollyn's production was primarily in Latin and High German. In addition, Mollyn printed seven books in Low German (all before 1600), two in Swedish (just after the Swedish conquest of Riga in 1621) and three in Latvian. The Latvian books – Luther's *Shorter Catechism*, the pericopes and a liturgy/hymnal, all

[19] Arend Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga 1588–1888* (Riga, 1890), pp. 253–310; Ojar Sander, 'Nicolaus Mollyn, der erste Rigaer Drucker. Sein Schaffen in Riga von 1588 bis 1625', in Klaus Garber, Stefan Anders and Thomas Elsmann (eds.), *Stadt und Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 2 (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 786–800 at p. 800. A statistical analysis of Mollyn's production on the basis of these bibliographies can be found in Alexander Krauss, 'Eine Medienrevolution in der "Peripherie". Nicolaus Mollyn und die Anfänge des Rigaer Buchdrucks', *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, 54 (2005), pp. 317–349. Additional titles by Mollyn can be found in Borchling and Claußen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*, no. 2470 (a Low German hymnal of 1592); Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600-talet*, vol. 1 (Uppsala, 1942–1946), col. 103 (a Swedish sermon of 1621 in two editions); Sabine Beckmann, Martin Klöker and Stefan Anders (eds.) *Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitsschrifttums in europäischen Bibliotheken und Archiven*, vol. 12 and 15 (Hildesheim, Zurich and New York, 2004), no. 815–819, 826, 4075 (occasional poetry in Latin of 1593, 1594, 1615, 1617 and 1624); Jürgen Beyer, *Lay prophets in Lutheran Europe (*c. *1550–1700)* (Leiden, forthcoming), ch. 8, item 1595, 2 (a High German pamphlet of 1595 telling miraculous news). The Royal Library in Copenhagen holds the following title: *Vnderthenigste Werbung / wegen der betrangten Prouintz Liefland: Der Königl: Mayest: vnd den Löblichen Ständen der Cron Polen … Von der Liefländischen Ritterschafft Abgesandten … Auffm Reichstag zu Warsaw … vorbracht* (Riga: Niclas Mollyn, 1597) (pressmark: 70,-286^{b} – rev.nr. 2827). Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga*, could not trace extant copies of his numbers 83 and 84. They are held by Tartu University Library (both in the volume R Est. A-5077). Similarly, extant copies for Buchholtz, nos. 55, 61, 82 and 153, are listed in *Handbuch*, vol. 12, no. 609, 617, 627 and 827.

printed in 1615 – not only have German title pages but German headings as well.[20] For this reason they should probably be included in *VD17* as well (though they are not at present), but if we only take the High German books published after 1600, we can state that *VD17* lists no more than two of the 23 extant titles. This corresponds to nine percent.

Of the Lübeck printers I want to discuss, one is indirectly well-known to speakers of German, the other two are fairly obscure. Johann Balhorn the Younger printed in Lübeck from 1575 to 1606.[21] He was, obviously, the son of Johann Balhorn the Elder, who had printed in Lübeck from 1527 to 1573. Unlike Riga, where Mollyn was the only printer, Lübeck housed two printers simultaneously during most of the early modern period.[22] Balhorn's production was fairly average: He would produce anything from almanacs, occasional poetry and pamphlets to edifying works, sermons and statute books. He not only printed books in High German and Latin, but also works in Low German, Danish and Swedish. This linguistic variety, however, was in no way unusual for a printer of his region. Balhorn was also capable of printing with Greek and Hebrew Letters.

Both the range of his books and the craftsmanship with which he executed them were fairly average. Nothing of this would justify making him famous. His notoriety has quite another origin. Readers familiar with German might have come across the word *verballhornen* which is derived from the name of our printer. Its meaning is 'to distort, to disimprove'. Several theories try to explain how Balhorn achieved this questionable fame, but none of them are really convincing. The first evidence for Balhorn's name being used in this way dates from about forty years after his death.[23] Balhorn's surname is fairly rare

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[20] On Mollyn's Latvian books, see: Šiško and Apīnis, *Seniespiedumi*, no. 6–8. I have used the copies at Tartu University Library which are bound together in one volume with the pressmark R III. V. 2.

[21] The following is based on my ongoing research on Johann Balhorn the Younger.

[22] Georg Schmidt-Römhild, 'Rückblick auf die Geschichte des älteren Lübecker Buchdruckgewerbes', in [Paul Wilhelm Adolf Rey and Georg Schmidt-Römhild (eds.),] *Lübecks Buchdruck-Geschichte. Festschrift zum 25jährigen Jubiläum der Lübecker Buchdrucker-Innung im Jahre 1924* [Lubeck, 1924], pp. 5–21 at p. 11; Dieter Lohmeier, 'Die Frühzeit des Buchdrucks in Lübeck', in Alken Bruns and Dieter Lohmeier (eds.), *Die Lübecker Buchdrucker im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Buchdruck für den Ostseeraum* (Heide, 1994), pp. 11–53 at pp. 29–34.

[23] Hans-Bernd Spies, '"Verbessert durch Johann Balhorn". Neues zu einer alten Redensart', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 62 (1982), pp. 285–292.

but made up of common components. Whether it is etymologically correct or not, Balhorn's printer's mark shows a ball and a horn.[24] This name lent itself better for being turned into a German verb than all too familiar or all too strange names.

VD16 seems to list 93 books printed by Balhorn the Younger (technical problems of the database make it difficult to pronounce a clear judgement here), but the true figure is probably lower since a booklet with five songs will be entered in *VD16* under five different headings. The picture for *VD17* is much clearer: 10 books. I have been able to find 18 new titles from the sixteenth century and seven additional titles from the seventeenth century. In percentages this means that *VD16* in the best case describes 83 % of Balhorn's production, while *VD17* just lists 59 % of his production (if we assume that all his books have now been discovered). By basing calculations on the existing bibliographies, it would suggest that *VD16* can be expanded by 19% and *VD17* by 70%.

It would take too long to describe all the additional titles by Balhorn. They are written in High German, Low German, Latin, Danish and Swedish; they comprise sermons, almanacs, pamphlets and occasional poetry. The books are now held at libraries in Copenhagen, Uppsala, Oslo, Lund and Warsaw.

Not much is known about the two other Lübeck printers to be discussed here, Hermann Wegener and Gall Hoffmann. Wegener printed at Lübeck between 1599 and 1606. He later worked at Hamburg from 1608 to 1613. Hoffmann produced two books at Lübeck in 1600. In 1594 and 1595 he had been in Magdeburg.[25]

The two books Hoffmann produced in Lübeck in 1600 were both in High German: a devotional book, *Passional*, and a collection of hymns on the themes of the catechism and the life of Christ. The *Passional* had earlier been printed in Lübeck, but only in Low German. Some of the hymns in the other book had been translated from Low German. Both of Hoffmann's books can thus serve to illustrate Lübeck's switch from Low to High German. Neither of the two books can be found in *VD16*. I have used copies at Uppsala University Library.

Wegener printed eight books in Lübeck between 1599 and 1606: four edifying works in Latin by Philipp Kegel, the standard Swedish

[24] Gustav Struck, 'Von alten Drucker- und Verlegerzeichen und den lübischen Büchermarken', *Lübeckische Blätter*, 82 (1940), pp. 234–236 at p. 236.

[25] On these two printers, see: Jürgen Beyer, 'Zwei kaum bekannte Lübecker Buchdrucker aus den Jahren um 1600: Hermann Wegener und Gall Hoffman', *Zeitschrift für Lübeckische Geschichte*, 91 (2011), (forthcoming).

hymnal and the pericopes in Swedish, a Danish almanac and a Latin poem on the beauties of the island of Als (in German "Alsen") in the duchy of Schleswig. Both of Wegener's books from the sixteenth century can be found in *VD16*, but of his six seventeenth-century imprints, *VD17* lists only one. The two Swedish books are preserved in Stockholm as is one of the Latin books by Kegel. The Danish almanac can be found in Copenhagen as can the Latin poem.

If we take Hoffmann and Wegener as one sample, we find that *VD16* and *VD17* only list three of the ten books. We are here dealing for the most part with real books of 100 to 400 pages, not with ephemeral publications as in the case of the Danish almanac. For all three Lübeck printers (Balhorn, Wegener and Hoffmann), one can say that roughly one imprint per year per printer is lacking in *VD16* and *VD17*. This also applies to Mollyn's German imprints from the seventeenth century – without taking into account the Latin titles which were three time more numerous.

Apparently this bleak picture does not only apply to Lübeck printers of the years around 1600. In 1655, the Pärnu (in German "Pernau") pastor Friedrich Löwenstein ended a collection of sermons with a list of his publications during the preceding 25 years.[26] This is an early auto-bibliography, a forerunner of the lists scholars in recent years have grown accustomed to compiling for the benefit of Research Assessment Exercises and the research administration departments of their universities. Löwenstein presents ten books (nine in German and one in Latin), six of which had been printed in Lübeck, thus on the other side of the Baltic Sea. Of these ten books, *VD17* only knows two, both printed in Lübeck. However, seven of the books could be easily traced in libraries, and not only in one copy but in up to seven copies. These copies are, however, in most cases not held by German libraries but by libraries and archives in Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Latvia and Estonia.[27]

While *VD16's* and *VD17's* poor coverage of these Riga and Lübeck printers probably also extends to other printers from these towns, not

[26] Fridericus Lowenstein [Friedrich Löwenstein], *ENCÆNIA PARNOVIENSIA Pernausche Kirchweyhe Das ist: Fünff Geistreiche / Lehrhaffte / und Tröstliche Predigten* … (Lubeck, seel[.] Valentin Schmalhertzens Erben, 1655), fol. S7r–S8r.

[27] See: Jürgen Beyer, 'Livländische Autoren und norddeutsche Buchdrucker im 17. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Autobibliographie des Pernauer Pastors Friedrich Löwenstein, in Norbert Angermann and Karsten Brüggemann (ed.), *Die Baltischen Länder und Europa in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munster, forthcoming).

all German towns are necessarily treated in the same way by these bibliographies. Products of Wolfenbüttel and Munich print shops are, presumably, well represented in both *VD16* and *VD17*. While the neglect of Riga might be explained by its location outside the core German language area, other factors might have contributed to the feeble representation of Lübeck:

(1) Until the early years of the seventeenth century, Lübeck had an important production of books in Danish and Swedish. This also applies to Rostock. Such books were hardly collected by German libraries.
(2) A natural repository of early Lübeck books is unfortunately not available: most of the early Lübeck holdings of the Lübeck municipal library, founded in 1616/22, were taken to Russia at the end of WW II and have not been returned.[28] Furthermore, this library does not contribute to *VD16* and *VD17*.[29]
(3) Other institutions preserving large numbers of Lübeck (and North German) books are the major libraries of Scandinavia and the Baltic States. They do not participate in *VD16* and *VD17* either.

Background

This might need some explanation. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were only two kingdoms in Northern Europe, Denmark-Norway and Sweden-Finland. The two kings ruled over a fair number of German-speaking, or at least German-printing provinces as well: Oldenburg, Bremen-Verden, Schleswig, Holstein, Wismar, Pomerania, Livonia, Estonia and Ingria.[30] Imprints from these provinces would naturally be collected in the realms' major libraries,

[28] *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland*, vol. 1: Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen (Hildesheim, Zurich and New York, 1996), pp. 114, 117.

[29] The Low German, Danish and Swedish titles from this library, however, had been recorded before the war in Borchling and Claußen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*; Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi*; Collijn, *Sveriges Bibliografi intill år 1600*. Unlike *VD17*, *VD16* does exploit data from these bibliographies at least partially.

[30] Gerhard Köbler, *Historisches Lexikon der deutschen Länder. Die deutschen Territorien und reichsunmittelbaren Geschlechter vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1999). On Swedish Ingria, see: Max Engman, 'Ingermanland', in *Nationalencyklopedin*, vol. 9 (Höganäs, 1992), pp. 462 f. Gotland, particularly its only town Visby, should probably also be counted among these provinces during the first half of the sixteenth century. For the middle ages, see: Artur Gabrielsson, 'Zur Geschichte der

supported by legal deposit regulations.[31] The most complete collection of early imprints from and on Schleswig-Holstein, for instance, is thus to be found in Copenhagen and not in any of the libraries within the region itself.

During the later middle ages, the Hanseatic League had played a dominant role in the trade of the area, and Low German had become northern Europe's *lingua franca*. In the sixteenth century, both northern kingdoms adopted the Lutheran Reformation. This led to even closer cultural ties with Northern Germany. German communities existed in many Scandinavian towns and were served in their own language by Lutheran pastors who every now and then would send funeral and other sermons to the local printers.[32] In addition, German was the language of the royal court and of the army in Denmark.[33]

In much the same way that knowledge of English is widespread in Scandinavia today, the same can be said for German in the early modern period, or even more so: German was not felt to be a foreign language. In Denmark one could say: "The German language is being acquired in the same way as original sin: we are born with it".[34]

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mittelniederdeutschen Schriftsprache auf Gotland', *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch*, 94 (1971), pp. 41–82; and 95 (1972), pp. 7–65. However, there was no print shop on the island, and hardly anything was sent to printers elsewhere. The *editio princeps* of the *Gotland water law* should probably not be credited to a local scholar: *[Dat gotlandsche Waterrecht] Her beghynt dat hogheste water recht* … [at the end:] *Hyr eyndet dat gotlansche water recht dat de gemeyne kopmã vñ schippers … ghemaket hebben to wisby* … (Copenhagen, [Gotfried van Ghemen], 1505). Although described both by Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi*, no. 285, and Borchling and Claußen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*, no. 393, this title has not been copied into *VD16* which only lists subsequent editions published in the core German language area.

31 P[alle] B[irkelund] et al., 'Pligtaflevering', in *Nordisk Leksikon for Bogvæsen*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen, Oslo and Stockholm, 1962), pp. 213–217.

32 Johan Christopher Stricker, *Försök Til et Swenskt Homiletiskt Bibliothek*, vol. 1 (Stockholm, Peter Hesselberg, 1767), pp. 160–187 (Uppsala University Library's copy contains many manuscript additions); Jürgen Beyer, 'Maria Schultz, geb. Lepape', in Jürgen Beyer and Johannes Jensen (eds.) *Sankt Petri Kopenhagen 1575–2000. 425 Jahre Geschichte deutsch-dänischer Begegnung in Biographien* (Copenhagen, 2000), pp. 9–11; Jürgen Beyer, 'Sophie Charlotte Weigbers', ibid., pp. 39–43; see also: Holger Fr. Rørdam, 'Om de tydske Menigheder i Danmark i 17de Aarhundrede, navnlig i Christian IV'.s og Frederik III'.s Tid', *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, 5 (1864–866), pp. 134–224.

33 See: Vibeke Winge, *Dänische Deutsche – deutsche Dänen. Geschichte der deutschen Sprache in Dänemark 1300–1800 mit einem Ausblick auf das 19. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1992).

34 E.C. Werlauff, 'Danske, især kjøbenhavnske, Tilstande og Stemninger ved og efter Overgangen til det nittende Aarhundrede. Efterladte Optegnelser', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 4th ser. 4 (1873–1874), pp. 245–412 at p. 271: "Det gaaer med Tydsken som Arvesynden, vi blive fødte dermed".

While Uppsala University was closed during most of the sixteenth century, leaving only one university in Northern Europe: Copenhagen. Scandinavian students attended universities on the southern Baltic shore in large numbers, and they travelled also further inland.[35] While there did exist a Danish and a Swedish literary culture (but not a Norwegian and hardly a Finnish one), most participants in these cultures were just as well informed about the recent trends in Germany. Jokingly, Danish and Swedish colleagues would express this relation much more bluntly when referring to their own country in earlier centuries as "Germany's cultural appendix".

We therefore find that the major old libraries in Scandinavia (Copenhagen, Uppsala, Stockholm, Lund – in this order) have acquired early modern German holdings which certainly can rival those of major libraries in the Lutheran parts of Germany.[36] There is one important difference, though: Germany's bellicose twentieth-century history has not only created the need to coin terms such as "German language area", it also led to the destruction or displacement of many early modern library holdings. In Scandinavia, on the other hand, the last major damage to any of the libraries mentioned occurred in 1728 when the library of Copenhagen University burned down (the Royal Library, however, was not touched by this conflagration). Unlike, for instance, British libraries, which first started to acquire German-language books in larger numbers during the nineteenth century, Scandinavian libraries have bought German books ever since the fifteenth century.

[35] Vello Helk, *Dansk-norske studierejser fra Reformationen til enevælden 1536–1660. Med en matrikel over studerende i udlandet* (Odense, 1987); Vello Helk, *Dansk-norske studierejser 1661–1813*, 2 vols. (Odense, 1991); Jakob Christensson, 'Studieresorna', in Jakob Christensson (ed.), *Signums svenska kulturhistoria. Stormaktstiden* (Lund, 2005), pp. 170–217.

[36] *Handbuch deutscher historischer Buchbestände in Europa*, vol. 7.1: Dänemark, Schweden (Hildesheim, Zurich and New York, 1998), pp. 48, 57, 71, 82, 133, 203, 232. The data for Uppsala University Library exclude special collections, some of which contain large amounts of German books (e. g. Waller, Planer, Personverser, partly also Westin, Danica vetera, Predikningar, cf. also Hans Sallander, *Bibliotheca Walleriana. The books illustrating the history of medicine and science collected by Dr Erik Waller and bequeathed to the Library of the Royal University of Uppsala*, 2 vols. (Stockholm, 1955); Oskar Planer, *Verzeichnis der Gustav Adolf Sammlung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Schlacht am* $\frac{6.}{16.}$ *November 1632* (Leipzig, 1916); Stricker, *Försök*; a number of German titles also in [E.G. Lilljebjörn], *Katalog öfver Leufsta bruks gamla fideikommissbibliotek* (Uppsala, 1907)). Of the books listed in [Petrus Fabianus Aurivillius,] *Catalogus librorum impressorum bibliothecæ regiæ academiæ Upsaliensis*, 2 vols. (Uppsala, 1814), mostly those later recatalogued are included in the counts.

Speaking of the war-time displacement of books, however, one should also mention Sweden's so-called literary war booty taken during the military campaigns of the seventeenth century and now spread among several Swedish libraries.[37]

The situation in Estonia, Livonia and Courland – or to use the modern names: Estonia and Latvia – is somewhat different. These countries served as theatres of war on several occasions during the last centuries. The composition of the population differed from that of Scandinavia: the vast majority was made up of either Estonians or Latvians (who were mostly serfs), while burghers, noblemen and pastors were Germans. Regardless of whether these lands were ruled by Poland, Sweden or Russia, the language of administration and written exchange remained German until the 1880s. This situation was in a way similar to that of northern Germany where practically all sources since the seventeenth century are written in High German while the majority of the population spoke Low German.

Unlike northern Germany, however, efforts were made in Estonia, Livonia and Courland to teach Estonians and Latvians the essentials of the Lutheran faith in their own language. To this end, German pastors produced an increasing number of books in local languages: catechisms, hymnals, Bibles etc. Until about 1680, however, books in Estonian and Latvian would end as catechetical and preaching aids in the hands of German pastors in mainly rural parishes (as the three Latvian books from Riga mentioned above). After 1680, such books would also find a readership among the majority population. The authors of Estonian and Latvian books, however, continued to be Germans until the nineteenth century.[38] For the German population in the Baltic provinces, on the other hand, the same kind of works were

[37] See: O. Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten. En kulturhistorisk-bibliografisk studie*, 2 vols. (Uppsala, 1916–1920); Józef Trypućko and Michał Spandowski, *The catalogue of the book collection of the Jesuit college in Braniewo* [in German "Braunsberg"] *held in the University Library in Uppsala*, ed. Michał Spandowski and Sławomir Szyller, 3 vols. (Warsaw and Uppsala, 2007). The Danes were less successful militarily, but they did take the ducal library at Schleswig in 1713, thus adding about 10,000 books to the Royal Library in Copenhagen: Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Gottorp books in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. A note on the possibilities of identification', *Auskunft. Zeitschrift für Bibliothek, Archiv und Information in Norddeutschland*, 28 (2008), pp. 129–151.

[38] Jürgen Beyer, 'Strategien zur Hebung der Frömmigkeit in Est- und Livland (1621–1710). Konfessionalisierung und Pietismus', in Fred van Lieburg (ed.), *Confessionalism and Pietism. Religious reform in early modern Europe* (Mainz, 2006), pp. 111–128.

published as for readers in northern Germany. The grammar schools and Tartu (in German "Dorpat") University, for instance, would produce the usual publications in Latin. They were written and read by Germans (and by some Swedes) but certainly not by Estonians and Latvians.

Most of the books produced in Estonia, Livonia and Courland were distributed only regionally and are therefore poorly represented in German libraries. Since they were printed outside the core German language area, *VD16* would not catalogue them at all, while *VD17* would only register books written in German. The criterion of language area as applied by these bibliographies does not make much sense in this part of the world. Certainly the Latin books, but for a long period also the Estonian and Latvian books, should be viewed as part of German literary culture and therefore be included in the German bibliographies covering the period.[39]

Linguistically, Swedish Ingria had a more complicated composition than Estonia, Livonia and Courland. Its printing history, however, was rather simple and short: Johann Köhler printed at Narva from 1696 to 1703. The proportion of Swedish imprints at Narva was much higher than in the Baltic provinces,[40] but, by a narrow majority, German still emerges as the main language of print.[41]

For the reasons mentioned, the number of German imprints to be found in Scandinavian and Baltic libraries is higher than in most other countries where libraries first started to acquire German-language books in larger numbers during the nineteenth century.[42] This is as

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[39] For most of the seventeenth century, even the spelling principles for Estonian followed German rules (including the use of *h* to indicate the length of the preceding vowel) in order to make the language more accessible to most of its readers, i.e. German clergymen, see: Aivar Põldvee, 'Eesti "tähesõja" taust ja retoorika', *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 52 (2009), pp. 642–667 at p. 646.

[40] On the use of Swedish in these provinces: Jürgen Beyer, 'Om anvendelsen af det svenske sprog i Estland og Livland i 1600- og 1700-tallet', in Svante Lagman, Stig Örjan Ohlsson and Viivika Voodla (eds.), *Svenska språkets historia i östersjöområdet* (Tartu, 2002), pp. 59–80.

[41] Enn Küng, 'Johann Köhler ja Narva trükikoda 1695–1705', in Enn Küng (ed.), *Läänemere provintside arenguperspektiivid rootsi suurriigis 16./17. sajandil*, vol. 2 (Tartu, 2006), pp. 336–362, bibliography pp. 352–356 (unfortunately without references to library or archive holdings); additional titles in the Tallinn union catalogue. None of Köhler's ten German-language imprints from the seventeenth century can be found in *VD17*.

[42] A fairly complete overview of pre-war holdings of Low German books arranged according to libraries and private collectors can be found in Borchling and Claußen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*, vol. 3, pp. 29–46. There is no reason to assume that the

obvious to anyone acquainted with Scandinavian and Baltic history in the early modern period, as it appears to be unexpected to early modernists further south. The study recently produced in Munich to lay the foundations for a future *VD18* does not mention the Nordic and Baltic countries among those with which co-operation is considered to be desirable – apparently it was assumed that not much was to be found in the misty forests of "ultima Thule".[43] This study's list of printing towns having produced German imprints during the eighteenth century is truly idiosyncratic. Norway, Sweden and Finland do not appear at all, while in Denmark only Haderslev (in German "Hadersleben") and Odense are recognised but neither Elsinore, Sorø, Tønder, Viborg nor Copenhagen.[44] In Latvia the study lists Liepāja (in German "Libau") and Jelgava (in German "Mitau") but not the much more important Riga. The fairly marginal Tartu, Põltsamaa (in German "Oberpahlen") and Pärnu are mentioned for Estonia but neither important Tallinn (in German "Reval") nor insignificant Narva. Similarly, in the Netherlands, Amsterdam is left out.[45] It can only be hoped that *VD18* will be launched on a more informed basis.

Official Publications

The question of bibliographic completeness can be approached from yet another angle. Both *VD16* and *VD17* are based on library holdings. Early imprints are, however, preserved in archives as well.[46] Record offices do have their own libraries (which tend to be particularly strong in legal and regional history as well as in occasional prints).

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distribution of High German or Latin books printed in Northern Germany is much different – apart from some German collections being destroyed or displaced during the war. It should be noted though that some important collections which are preserved in their original location are now to be found outside the German language area.

[43] Haller, *Digitalisierung*, pp. 93–104, 153–171.

[44] Grethe Larsen and Erik Dal, *Danske Provinstryk 1482–1830. En bibliografi*, vol. 1–6 (Copenhagen, 1994–2001).

[45] Haller, *Digitalisierung*, pp. 186–189.

[46] The following paragraphs are based upon Jürgen Beyer, 'Adressen von Druckern, Verlegern und Buchhändlern im 18. Jahrhundert. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Diskussion über ein VD18', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte*, 31 (2006), pp. 159–190 at pp. 163–166; On the importance of archives as repositories of printed materials, see also: Falk Eisermann, 'Archivgut und chronikalische Überlieferung als vernachlässigte Quellen der Frühdruckforschung', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 81 (2006), pp. 50–61.

Much more importantly, however, they contain imprints scattered throughout the hand-written documents.

The Estonian Historical Archives at Tartu have taken the effort of cataloguing all imprints from the time before 1710 – the year of the Russian conquest – found among the archival records. Most of them are now available in facsimile over the internet.[47] For the seventeenth century, we are dealing with 740 imprints; about 90 % of these consist of ordinances or other official publications. Such publications were generally only distributed in the region in which they had legal force, and it comes therefore as no surprise that hardly any of them are registered in *VD17*.

If we go to Phillip Marshall Mitchell's *Bibliography of 17th century German imprints in Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein*, we find 713 official publications, most of them preserved in the National Archives in Copenhagen and the record office at Schleswig.[48] The figure just mentioned is taken from Mitchell's introduction and only concerns official publications published as broadsheets. The overall number of official publications is thus higher. As in the Estonian case, only a small part of the official publications listed by Mitchell can be found in *VD17*. Printing traditions apparently differed from territory to territory: While broadsheets were a common form of official publication in Schleswig and Holstein, small booklets in quarto were the rule in Estonia and Livonia.

Official publications amount to four per cent of the titles registered in *VD17*. When trying to extrapolate the data from Mitchell and from the Estonian Historical Archives to the entire German language area, the calculations were based on 87 German towns in which printing took place continuously throughout the seventeenth century (i.e. for more than 80 years).[49] If we assume that each of these towns only produced 600 official publications in the course of the seventeenth century

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[47] '17. sajandi (kuni 1710) trükised Ajalooarhiivi fondides', http://www.eha.ee/plakatid.

[48] P.M. Mitchell, *A bibliography of 17th century German imprints in Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein*, 3 vols. (Lawrence, 1969–1976).

[49] The number of printing towns established in Beyer, 'Adressen von Druckern,' was derived from Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden, 1982). In the meantime, a revision of this work has been published: Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing* (Wiesbaden, 2007).

(i.e. fewer than in Schleswig-Holstein and Estonia), this would suggest the publication of 52,200 titles. In turn, this would mean that the percentage of official publications in *VD17* would rise from 4 to 17 per cent. This is probably a rather conservative estimate, but one can safely conclude that *VD17* registers no more than one fifth of the extant official publications for the simple reason that they are generally preserved in archives and not in libraries. The same is probably true for printed forms to be filled in by hand, though we have insufficient relevant data.[50] Official publications and printed forms made up a significant portion of what printers spent their time on. When considering the economics of printing, we certainly should take this part of the production into account and should not rely on *VD16* and *VD17* only.[51]

Printed items in archives remind me of neglected orphans. Librarians and many book historians do not know about their existence and, if they do, they do not know how to work in archives, where the collections are arranged according to administrative units and not, say, according to the first noun in the nominative. Archivists, on the other hand, do not think printed items are proper archival records. While manuscript records are unique, printed materials by definition were

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[50] 11 of the 42 Narva imprints from the years around 1700, i.e. 26 %, are made up of printed forms. These items were all described by the (then) archivist Enn Küng in his 'Johann Köhler'. Most of the extant ones are now available in facsimile at http://www.eha.ee/plakatid.

[51] It is to be feared that this will also apply to *VD18*. Karl Gottlob Sonntag, *Chronologisches Verzeichniß der Livländischen Gouvernements-Regierungs-Patente von 1710 bis 1822* (Riga, 1823), for instance, lists 2,843 ordinances between 1710 and 1800. Together with those of the first decade of the eighteenth century available in the database of the Estonian Historical Archives, this makes roughly 3,000 official publications for Livonia only. Slightly more ordinances are listed in "[E. Ambrosius,] *Chronologisches Verzeichniß über verschiedene Königliche und Fürstliche Verordnungen und Verfügungen für die Herzogthümer Schleswig und Holstein*, 8 vols. (Flensburg: Kortensche Buchhandlung and Schleswig: Serringhausensche Buchdruckerey, 1796–1804). Other inventories point to even larger numbers: *Sammlung aller in dem souverainen Herzogthum Schlesien … publicirten … Ordnungen, Edicten, Mandaten, Rescripten … welche … durch den Druck bekannt gemacht worden*, 19 vols. and 2 index vols. (Breslau, Johann Jacob Korn, Wil(l)helm Gottlieb Korn and Gambert, n. d.–1790); Ernst Spangenberg (ed.), *Sammlung der Verordnungen und Ausschreiben welche für sämmtliche Provinzen des Hannoverschen Staats … ergangen sind*, 4 vols. in 7 parts (Hanover, 1819–1825). If we – naïvely – assume that the number of authorities issuing such ordinances remained the same as in the seventeenth century (where I had used the figure 87), this would already – with 30 yearly ordinances – result in 261,000 imprints, making the estimate of 600,000 *VD18* titles, of which 2 % (i.e. 12,000) are thought to be ordinances (Haller, *Digitalisierung*, p. 89), appear highly unlikely.

produced in many copies. One representative of this view was recently quoted in a German newspaper on the occasion of the Cologne municipal archives disaster. When sorting the bits and pieces from the ruins of the collapsed building, the manuscript fragments were carefully handed to the restorers while remnants of printed material were simply thrown away. After all, the printed material can be found in other places as well, said the archivist in charge.[52]

Conclusions

Having stumbled across a question in the title of this essay, readers may wish to find a general assessment of the completeness of the German national bibliographies for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Such an assessment depends, of course, on what to count and on what to expect of a bibliography.

We know from various references that a large number of books which certainly did exist are lost today, but this is not a question to be addressed here. Therefore I have not mentioned that the titles of two pamphlets printed by Balhorn can be reconstructed from Danish translations mentioning a Balhorn edition as their source. It is worth noting that some of the other national bibliographies around the Baltic Sea do include references to attested but lost books.[53]

It is best to base the assessment of *VD16* and *VD17* on the aims the bibliographies have set for themselves and which, as we have seen, differ to a certain degree. Even though I am very grateful for the existence of *VD16* and *VD17*, I am not impressed by their degree of completeness. Without the holdings of archives at home and of libraries abroad, my estimate is that the two bibliographies will never register more than two thirds of the books still extant. It is time to catalogue the remaining third.[54] For the time being it would be more appropriate to rename

[52] Tim Stinauer, 'Kostbarkeiten zwischen den Trümmern', *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 9/11 March, 2009, http://www.ksta.de/html/artikel/1233584110935.shtml.

[53] They quote, for instance, references to books printed in Lübeck at the time of Balhorn. Unfortunately these sources do not mention the printer, see: Collijn, *Sveriges Bibliografi intill år 1600*, vol. 3, p. 197; Borchling and Claußen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*, no. 2534.

[54] Urs Leu's research, published in this volume, shows that the number of Basel and Zurich imprints in *VD16* will increase by about 30 % when adding the holdings of Swiss libraries. The *Handbuch des personalen Gelegenheitsschrifttums in europäischen*

VD16 and *VD17: Catalogue of sixteenth-(seventeenth-)century German imprints now in the libraries of …*

Furthermore, efforts should be made to remedy two of the most obvious conceptual shortcomings of the two bibliographies. *VD16* should start to register broadsheets and German books published outside the German language area, while both bibliographies should explain clearly to their users how they define the German language area, for instance by publishing a map showing the printing towns considered. My suggestion would be to use the main language of print (excluding Latin) as criterion. With these changes, the number of titles to be added might be as large as the number of titles already described. One might also consider copying titles from existing bibliographies into *VD17* (as has been done for *VD16*). In the course of time, it will hopefully be possible to replace them with first-hand descriptions.

Bibliotheken und Archiven, vol. 1 ff. (Hildesheim, Zurich and New York, 2001 ff.), probably points in the same direction, if the titles had not been abbreviated to such an extent that it is difficult to identify these imprints. Furthermore, this catalogue offers a much smaller selection of imprints than its title would lead to expect, see the review of vol. 7, 8 and 12–15 in *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och bibliotekshistoria* 2006, 270–274 (Jürgen Beyer). Among bibliographies not yet quoted in this essay with German titles largely lacking in *VD17*, one could mention: [K. Robert et al. (eds.),] *350 aastat trükikunsti Tallinnas. Näituse kataloog* (Tallinn, 1988); Jan Drees, *Deutschsprachige Gelegenheitsdichtung in Stockholm und Uppsala zwischen 1613 und 1719. Bibliographie der Drucke nebst einem Inventar der in ihnen verwendeten dekorativen Druckstöcke* (Stockholm, 1995); Ene-Lille Jaanson, *Tartu Ülikooli trükikoda 1632–1710. Ajalugu ja trükiste bibliograafia* (Tartu, 2000); Toini Melander, *Personskrifter hänförande sig till Finnland 1562–1713. Bibliografisk förteckning*, (Helsinki, 1951[–59]), pp. 758–771, 774 f.; Jürgen Beyer, 'Nachtrag zu einer Bibliographie "volkskundlicher" Dissertationen vor 1800', *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, n. s. 28 (2005), pp. 209–240. *VD16* would benefit from excerpting Gustaf Rudbeck, *Skrifter till Sveriges historia tryckta före år 1600 med en inledande redogörelse* (Uppsala, 1919) (listing almost twice as many books printed in Germany as Collijn, *Sveriges Bibliografi intill år 1600*); Michael A. Pegg, *German and Dutch books (1516–1550) in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. A short-title catalogue* (Baden-Baden, 1989); Michael A. Pegg, *A catalogue of German Reformation pamphlets (1516–1550) in Swedish libraries* (Baden-Baden, 1995); Wolfgang Undorf, *Hogenschild Bielke's library. A catalogue of the famous 16th[-]century Swedish private collection* (Uppsala, 1995). The Arbeitsgemeinschaft Sammlung Deutscher Drucke states on its homepage in very general terms and without any reference that roughly a third of all German imprints are lacking in German libraries (http://www.ag-sdd.de/wir/historie.htm). Möncke, 'Das "Verzeichnis"', p. 208, on the other hand, was in 2004 confident that *VD16* already contained 82 % of all relevant titles.

THE PRINTED BOOK ON THE IBERIAN PENINSULA, 1500–1540

Alexander Wilkinson

In the epilogue to his *Crónica de España,* first published in Seville in 1482, Diego de Valera (1412–1488) commented on the scarcity and inaccessibility of manuscript texts.[1] He went on to speak of a new and "marvellous art of writing which takes us back to the golden age, restoring to us in multiplied codices all that the wit of man can learn of the past, present, and future".[2] Printing had arrived in Spain relatively quickly, with the first known press established in Segovia around 1472.[3] Valera's comments, written a decade later, undoubtedly capture the almost naive sense of wonder and expectation that accompanied these early years. As the industry matured, it would become clear that the new technology would service many markets; it would not function solely as an agent of intellectual regeneration. Forty years after Valera's statement, in 1525, the printer Miguel de Eguía, based in Alcalá de Henares, lamented in a preface addressed to the Archbishop of Toledo Alonso III Fonseca (1475–1534), "how accursed we are in Spain, where our printing offices ceaselessly pour out common and sometimes even obscene doggerel, tasteless ditties, and works which are yet more worthless than these".[4] Eguía was evidently frustrated at the seemingly unfulfilled potential of the Spanish presses.

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[1] On Valera's life, see: Lucas de Torre, 'Mosén Diego de Valera. Su vida y sus obras', *Boletín de la Academia de Historia*, vol, 75 (1914), pp. 50–83; 133–168.

[2] Diego de Valera, *Crónica de España* (Seville, Alfonso del Puerto, 1482), cited in Frederick John Norton, *Printing in Spain 1501–1520* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 117.

[3] *Sinodal de Aguilafuente* (Segovia, Johannes Parix, [1472]). Only a very few items were printed by Parix in Segovia before he moved to Toulouse.

[4] Eguía's declaration, addressed to the archbishop of Toledo, is contained in an edition of Desiderius Erasmus, *Precatio dominica in septem portiones distributa* (Alcalá. Miguel de Eguía, 1525), cited in Luis Gil Fernández, *Panorama social del humanismo español (1500–1800)* (Alhambra, Madrid, 1981), p. 573. The translation is that of Clive Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville: the history of a printing and merchant dynasty* (Clarendon, 1988), p. 10. Griffin points to an agreement between Eguía and Jacobo Cromberger noting that 'Eguía is here seen arranging to sell books from a press which was well known for printing just the sort of editions he had so roundly condemned in the very year he signed this contract'. Document dated 20 October 1525, Archivo de Protocolos, Seville, Oficio 4, Libro 3 of 1525, fols. 142v–143v.

Our own ability to understand the different cultures of print on the Iberian Peninsula – even in very broad terms – has been seriously hindered by the lack of any comprehensive short title catalogue. Until the recent publication of *Iberian Books*, there was no Spanish equivalent to Pollard and Redgrave's *English Short Title Catalogue*, first published in 1926 and since a fundamental research tool for all scholars of early-modern Britain and Ireland.[5] This is not to suggest that the book in Spain has not benefited from well over a century of first-rate bibliographical scholarship. In 1978, the Cambridge bibliographer Frederick John Norton (1904–1986) produced his monumental *Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal* which covered the period from 1501 to 1520.[6] Norton was able to build on a number of important bibliographies of printing centres, compiled from the late nineteenth century onwards. In the past two decades, many of these earlier bibliographies have been updated and new catalogues of printing centres and offices published.[7] Scholars have also been able to turn to new database projects, such as the *Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español* and *Porbase*, as well as the online union catalogues of the major Spanish and Portuguese libraries.[8] All these initiatives have made and will continue to make hugely significant contributions to our understanding of printing. Nevertheless, as independent projects, they can offer only fragmented snapshots of publishing on the Peninsula as a whole.

[5] William Pollard and Gilbert Redgrave, *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland: and of English books published abroad, 1475–1640* (London, 1926). The second edition was begun by W.A. Jackson and F.S. Ferguson and completed by Katharine F. Pantzer. Counter intuitively, the second volume was published in 1976 while the first volume appeared a decade later in 1986.

[6] Frederick J. Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal 1501–1520* (Cambridge, 1978).

[7] This is not the place for an exhaustive list of Spanish and Portuguese bibliographies. Of particular note, however, is the wonderful series of bibliographies of major printing centres produced by Arco Libros in Madrid.

[8] The Spanish *Catálogo Colectivo* can be accessed at http://www.mcu.es/bibliotecas/MC/CCPB/index.html while the Portuguese *Porbase* catalogue can be accessed at http://www.porbase.org/ These are magnificent initiatives. However, it is important to recognise that collective catalogues cannot act as surrogates for national short title catalogues. The experience of the recent bibliographical project to catalogue French books before 1601, for instance, suggests that over 30 per cent of surviving items can only be found in a library outside of France, see: Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson (eds.), *French Vernacular Books. Livres vernaculaires français* (Leiden, 2007).

It was in an attempt to redress this bibliographic fragmentation that the *Centre for the History of the Media at University College Dublin* established a project in September 2006 to produce a catalogue of all books published in Spain, Portugal, Mexico and Peru or published in Spanish or Portuguese before 1601.[9] The first iteration of the results of this initiative, *Iberian Books* (*IB*), was published by Brill in May 2010; it contains information on some 19,900 items surviving in over 100,000 copies in over 1100 libraries worldwide.[10] It has drawn its information from the major union catalogues, online and published catalogues as well as analytical bibliographies of printing centres and offices. While *IB* represents only the first foundational stage in the process of producing a comprehensive national short-title catalogue, its findings can still offer a powerful aid to our understanding of the print culture of Renaissance Iberia.

Overview of Spain and Portugal at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century

Before we begin our survey print production, it might be useful to offer at least some background information on Spain and Portugal at the beginning of the sixteenth century. With Castile and Aragon united in 1479 under the persons of Ferdinand II and Isabella, the boundaries of Spain and Portugal were more or less as they exist today. Spanish Navarre would, though, remain an independent kingdom until absorbed in 1513, while the boundaries of Catalonia extended to Perpignan, now in France.

In all respects, this Peninsula exhibited the characteristics necessary for the development of a flourishing print industry. Ignoring newly acquired territories in the New World – an expanding market – the population of Spain in 1530 was around 4.8 million rising to 6.8 million by 1591, while the kingdom of Portugal had around 1 million inhabitants in 1500, a figure which doubled by 1600.[11] Spain was one of

[9] Further information on the UCD Iberian Book Project can be found at http://www.ucd.ie/ibp

[10] Alexander Wilkinson (ed.), *Iberian Books. Libros Ibéricos. Books Published in Spanish or Portuguese or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601. Libros pubilcados en español o portugués* (Leiden, 2010).

[11] Carlos Álvarez-Naga and Leandro Prados de la Escosura, 'The Decline of Spain (1500–1850): conjectural estimates', *European Review of Economic History*, 11 (2007),

the most populous countries in Europe, after Germany, France and Italy. The level of urbanisation was also comparable to other European nations. While statistical practices can vary from region to region, if we take an urban community to mean a population of over 5,000 and include those who earned their living off the land, 12.5 per cent of the population of Spain in 1530 lived in urban communities. This figure increased to 20.6 per cent by 1591.[12] Significant urban communities included Seville, Salamanca, Burgos, and Barcelona.[13] Figures for Portugal are much harder to come by, but it is worth pointing out that in addition to the major cities of Coimbra, Évora and Oporto, the capital Lisbon was one of the most heavily populated cities of Europe, with its population of 50,000 in 1500 doubling by 1600.[14] To offer a point of contrast, England had a population of 2.4–2.7 million in 1530, where 5 per cent of the population lived in urban communities.[15]

Universities were established in Spain and Portugal from the thirteenth century right through into the period under review, including Palencia (1212), Salamanca (1218), Lisbon (1290), Valladolid (c. 1293), Lérida (1300), Huesca (1359), Barcelona (1450), Saragossa (1474), Sigüenza (1489), Alcalá de Henares (1499) and Valencia (1500).[16] Salamanca, Alcalá, and Valladolid in particular would increasingly become the training grounds of choice for Spain's expanding civil service, magistrates and priests. As the economy and political structures developed, so Spain was to become increasingly well educated. The expansion of the university population was accompanied by a growth in secondary education in the form of a number of municipally-funded schools. In the 1960s, Lawrence Stone spoke of an educational

pp. 319–366; Paul Bairoch, *Cities and Economic Development: From the Dawn of History to the Present* (Chicago, 1991), p. 180. See also Nuno Valério, 'Portuguese Economic Performance 1250–2000', paper presented at section 36 of the 13th International Congress of Economic History, Buenos Aires, 2002.

[12] Álvarez-Naga and Escosura, 'The Decline of Spain'

[13] Seville was one of the largest cities in Europe. Its population almost tripled between 1534 (33,000) and 1561 (95,000). See: Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469–1714. A Society of Conflict* (London, 1983), p. 98.

[14] Valério, 'Portuguese Economic Performance', table A.3.

[15] See: E.A.Wrigley and R. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, 1989).

[16] The University of Palencia could not compete with the University of Salamanca and was disestablished around 1264. The University of Lisbon was to move to Coimbra at various times, permanently settling there in 1537. On higher education in this period, see: Richard L. Kagan, 'Universities in Castile, 1500–1700', *Past and Present*, 49 (1970), pp. 44–71.

revolution in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; a similar if less well studied phenomenon can also been identified for Spain.[17]

Levels of literacy, therefore, compare favourably to other European countries. Quantitative estimates are notoriously imprecise, and undoubtedly give scholars more comfort than is entirely justified. Nevertheless, recent estimates for Valencia in the period 1474–1560 indicate that around 34 per cent of the male urban population was literate compared with 16 per cent of the urban female population. Other studies, based on trial records of the Holy Office, confirm both this pattern and the gradual growth of urban and rural literacy over the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[18] Spain and Portugal were therefore fertile grounds for the plantation of presses: urbanised, educated and prosperous.

Structure of the Industry

The first known book to be printed in Spain was the *Sinodal de Aguilafuente*, published on behalf of the local bishop in the city of Segovia in June 1472.[19] However, with an extremely modest 52 items printed on the Peninsula during the 1470s, it was the 1480s and 1490s that witnessed real growth. As elsewhere in Europe, it was in this formative period that the long-term structure of the industry took shape. Printing initially operated in a variety of locations where there was no adequate market to support the new technology, ultimately becoming concentrated in the major urban centres – primarily Seville, Salamanca, Barcelona, Saragossa, Burgos, Alcalá de Henares, Valencia, Valladolid and Lisbon. Over the period 1500–1540, one can also detect fleeting glimpses of printing in other cities; a reminder of the harsh challenges and risks facing those who sought to enter the business of print.[20]

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[17] R.L. Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 41–80.

[18] By the first half of the seventeenth century in the diocese of Cuenca, male urban literacy had risen to 41 per cent. For rural males, the figure was 34 per cent. See: Sara T. Nalle, 'Literacy and Culture in Early Modern Castile', *Past and Present*, no. 125, November (1989), p. 69. See also Jeremy Lawrence, 'Lay literacy in late medieval Castile', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 62 (1985), pp. 79–94.

[19] *Sinodal de Aguilafuente* (Segovia, Johannes Parix, [1472]). The only surviving copy of this item can be found in Segovia cathedral library.

[20] In places such as Córdoba, Cuenca, Évora, Madrid and Oporto.

As in Germany, Spain's printing industry was dispersed across the country with no overwhelming centre of publication. While Seville's presses produced more than double the number of items of its nearest rival, Valencia, it did not completely dominate book production, nor did its supremacy go unchallenged:

Table 1. Share of Items by Place of Publication, 1500–1540

Printing Centre	Number of Items / 4326	Share
Seville	841	19.4%
Valencia	402	9.3%
Burgos	401	9.3%
Alcalá de Henares	382	8.8%
Salamanca	346	8.0%
Toledo	330	7.6%
Zaragoza	327	7.6%
Barcelona	295	6.8%
Valladolid	179	4.1%
Lisbon	167	3.9%
Others	656	15.2%

A relatively small number of printing offices were at work in each of the numerous printing centres around the country.[21] A few active publishers, who were geographically scattered, appeared to have led to a relatively disciplined industry in which there was neither intense rivalry nor a complete lack of a competitive environment. While publishers churned out many works destined for a local market, sometimes exploiting jealously guarded local monopolies, they also produced works intended for bookstores across the country and beyond. Careful archival research by scholars has uncovered the often sophisticated networks of distribution. In addition to local street pedlars and booksellers, major publishing houses often also employed factors to get their books into shops across the country; moreover, the twice-yearly fair at Medina del Campo held in May and October also

[21] The importance of foreign workers is discussed by Clive Griffin, *Journeymen-Printers, Heresy, and the Inquisition in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford, 2005). See also: Clive Griffin, 'Inquisitional Trials and Printing-Workers in Sixteenth-Century Spain', *The Library*, vol. 1, (2000): pp. 22–45.

offered an essential venue at which to showcase their wares.[22] Surviving contracts and inventories reveal the wealth of agreements made between publishers and booksellers eager to sell or perhaps even exchange stock.[23]

Chronological Distribution

With printing established in a large number of Spain's prosperous, well populated, and well-educated cities, we might have expected to see a relatively constant growth in production, perhaps with undulations caused by major events such as plague or war or economic cycles. However, after the strong increases witnessed in the 1490s, the output of the presses begins to plateau. From Table 1, we can see that production becomes more unstable but witnesses only moderate growth in the first decade. Production does grow significantly by around 36 per cent in the period 1510–1519, but the market seems unable to sustain this output and production declines in the following two decades. It recovered again only in 1539 and 1540. The sharp downturn in 1521–1522 may well have been the result of a collision of different factors. Firstly, there was the Comuneros Revolt of 1520–1522 which interrupted general patterns of trade and paper distribution. The full short-term and longer term impact of this revolt on the book trade has yet to be fully investigated; nevertheless, it was undeniably an event keenly felt in the industry. In August 1520, for example, one of the king's military leaders Antonio de Fonesca started a small fire to disperse the rebellious citizens of the city of Medina del Campo – a fire which grew wildly out of control. [24] While the city was not itself a major centre of printing, it was a commercial hub and the location for the twice-yearly fair, thus important to the book industry as a whole.

[22] Griffin, *Crombergers*, p. 39.

[23] It is clear from the inventory of property left by Jacobo Cromberger, dated 7 June 1529, that a large sum of money was owed to him by booksellers in other parts of Spain and Portugal. It is also clear that a large part of his own stock was not from his own printing office. The inventory was drawn up by Lázaro Norambergo, a German merchant in Seville and Jacobo's son-in-law. See José Gestoso y Pérez, *Noticias inéditas de impresores sevillanos,* Gómez Hermanos, Seville, 1924, pp. 73–99, cited in Griffin, *Crombergers*, pp. 20–70.

[24] On the burning of Medina del Campo, see: Pedro Mexía, *Historia del Emperador Carlos V*, ed. Juan de mata Carriazo (Madrid, Colección de Crónicas Españolas, Vol. VII, 1975), pp. 160–170. A new history of the Fair is wanting. For the moment, see: Cristóbal Espejo and J. Paz, *Las antiguas ferias de Medina del Campo* (Valladolid, 1912).

Warehouses of books were razed to the ground, while one of the city's principal booksellers lost his life. A second explanation for the downturn may well lie in the increase in the pace of migration out of Spain to the New World when the city of Tenochtitlán fell in 1521 to Hernán Cortés, effectively ending resistance to the Spanish conquest of Mexico.[25] Thirdly, there was conflict with France, which disrupted book and paper imports.

Spanish Print Production

One striking characteristic of printing on the Peninsula was the overwhelming predominance of publications in the vernacular over those in Latin. In their introduction to volume three of *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp pronounced, "no other country with a lively book culture [...] confined its production so much to its own vernacular and was almost wholly reliant for its Latin books on what was published elsewhere. In this respect, the British Isles are unique".[26] This is not the case. From the earliest period in Spain, Latin printing represented only around 35 per cent of total output. Like England, there seems to have been a fairly early concentration by publishers on vernacular and Latin works predominantly intended for the local and national markets.[27] Far less effort appears to have been made to produce high-quality Latin works destined for export.

There are a number of explanations for why this may have been so. There was already the precedent of the medieval manuscript trade which imported a high percentage of books rather than producing them domestically.[28] Paper was and continued to be a heavy commodity which had, for the most part, to be imported from France and Italy.[29] Given that paper represented up to 70 per cent of the total cost

[25] This point is made by Griffin, *Crombergers*, p. 56.

[26] Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 3 (1400–1557)* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 9.

[27] In England, there were approximately 971 items printed in Latin between 1500 and 1540 (35 per cent), with 1783 items in English (65 per cent). To the percent, the situation in Spain and Portugal was identical – with Latin representing 1284 items out of a total of 3635 items (35 per cent) and vernaculars 2335/3635 (65 per cent).

[28] Griffin, *Crombergers*, pp. 4–5.

[29] Quite why indigenous paper manufacturing failed to develop in response to the growth of printing on the Peninsula and the increasing requirements of bureaucracy is an issue which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The situation in England

of publication, delivery and distribution expenses meant that the Iberian presses may simply have been priced out of the market. However, perhaps the most important – if largely unacknowledged – explanation lies in the relatively long period of time it took printing to mature on the Peninsula. By the time presses were active and flourishing in Spain, the major centres for the international book were already well established in Venice, Leipzig, Cologne, Strasbourg and Basel. Indeed, these centres were already beginning to develop their own specialisations, attracting a highly-skilled workforce able to publish elegant, typographically sophisticated works with the concentrated investment necessary to support the international trade. While Paris and Antwerp stand as examples of centres which came late to the book world of Latin print, no centre in Spain developed in this way during the first forty years of the sixteenth century.[30]

If scholars have generally recognised the comparatively low number of Latin publications produced in Spain and Portugal, few commentators have observed the very real vibrancy of vernacular publishing.[31] Comparisons of per capita output are problematic given the vagaries of population data, virtually no information on print runs, and variations in the survival and loss rates of works. However, if we do a very rough comparison between the vernacular output of France, England, Spain and Portugal, it is evident that the Peninsula has extremely healthy levels of consumption. In the period 1500–1540, there were 7422 editions published in French for a population of 16 million (464 per million). In the same period, 1783 items were printed in English for a population of roughly 2.5 million (713 per million).[32] Even if we factor in the

might offer some interesting parallels. England is an example of a country which exported its own linen rags – principally to France – but whose printing industry imported the vast majority of its paper from Italy. On the history of paper manufacture and use in Spain, see: Oriol Valls I Subirà, *The History of Paper in Spain*, tr. Sarah Nicholson, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1978–1982).

[30] Indeed, one of the most celebrated attempts to tap into this market, Cardinal Cisneros' Alcalá Bible was a spectacular flop. On the Alcalá Bible, see: Julián Martín Abad, 'The printing press in Alcalá de Henares: the Complutensian Polyglot Bible', in Kimberly van Kampen and Paul Saenger (eds.), *The Bible as Book*: *The First Printed Editions* (London, 1999), pp. 101–115. On humanism on the Iberian Peninsula, see Jeremy N.H. Lawrence's essay in A. Goodman and A. MacKay (eds.), *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe* (London, 1990), pp. 220–258.

[31] The predominantly vernacular language was Castilian followed by Portuguese.

[32] Statistics derived from the electronic version of the English Short Title Catalogue, available on the British Library's website at http://estc.bl.uk

fact that the English print domain extended beyond national borders to encompass the small secondary markets of English speakers in Wales, Scotland and Ireland, the figure remains high. Spanish vernaculars account for 2722 items for a population of circa 4.8 million (567 per million); Portugal has incredibly low levels of production in both Latin and vernacular languages, (181 per million in total; 128 per million for vernacular production). At this point, the reasons for the low overall output of the Portuguese presses remain obscure. Educational provision might offer one explanation, although to my knowledge, this has not been the subject of systematic investigation. Perhaps a telling indicator is that the country only had one major university at Lisbon which moved a number of times, eventually settling in Coimbra in 1537. By way of contrast, Scotland, which had roughly the same population as Portugal, had three universities by the sixteenth century – at St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen. Other explanations might be found in the mutual intelligibility of languages between Castilian and Portuguese.

The figures for our comparative assessment of vernacular output assume that books have survived or been lost in roughly the same proportions across the different domains of print. But one rather elusive aspect of Spanish print culture is that of cheap print – a seam of literature which has now all but disappeared. In Spain, there appears to have been a very early flourishing culture of such ephemeral material. In the second of our opening quotations, we noted the lamentations of the humanist printer Miguel de Éguia, deploring the publication of so much trivial nonsense and works even more worthless than tasteless ditties. But of what was he speaking? Was he referring simply to sentimental romances and tales of medieval chivalry? It is far more likely that he was referring to what appears to have been a vigorous trade in broadsheets and other ephemera. To these one might add indulgences. Jacobo Cromberger printed 20,000 for the diocese of Jaén in 1514, and another 16,000 two years later.[33] Such works, quick to produce and quick to sell to a local market, were important to publishers to ensure an adequate flow of capital, off-setting the costs of larger and more ambitious projects. But Eguía's remarks may also, intriguingly, indicate

[33] See: Joaquín Hazañas Y La Rúa, *La imprenta en Sevilla: ensayo de una historia de la tipografiá sevillana y noticias de algunos de sus impresores desde la introducción del arte tipográfico en esta ciudad hasta el año de 1800* (Seville, 1892), pp. i, 99–100, 105, cited in Griffin, *Crombergers*, p. 51.

that such works were being produced in some offices not just to facilitate but in preference to more substantial endeavours.

The extent of the trade in ephemeral literature can be glimpsed in a few surviving inventories. Take, for instance, the German-Polish printer Guillermo Remón, who operated in Cuenca between 1528 and 1544. Noted among his stock are 14,750 broadsheets, along with 6,500 prayers and religious songs, 1,875 secular poems and ballads, a further 4,375 sheets of jokes and 2000 primers.[34] In 1528, Jacobo Cromberger's shop in Seville had 50,500 sheets of rhymes, 21,000 sheets of prayers, over 10,000 copies of devotional woodcuts normally of one sheet each, and 3,000 "Rosaries of Our Lady" (2 sheets)'.[35]

This world of ephemeral publishing will undoubtedly repay much more careful investigation in the future.[36] It is complicated not only because many of these items have simply been lost, but also because much of the material which has survived is undated. Moreover, it is clear that broadsheets and other ephemera are almost as likely to found in archival repositories as in libraries.

Consumption of Print

If the world of cheap print may have to wait for future systematic research, what of that portion of the historical record which has survived? What do inventory sources and the recently published *Iberian Books* tell us about the character of the print market in Spain and Portugal? While the classification of items from author and title information alone is exceptionally crude, it does offer a useful if very general sense of the character of the print market. In Figure 1 and 2, we can see two snapshots of the output of the Iberian presses – the first

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[34] Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cuenca, leg. 226, fols. 366r–374v, cited by Sara Nalle, 'Literacy and Culture', p. 82. Other inventories also point to the pronounced trade in devotional literature, including that of Rodríguez, Toledo, 1581, Archivo de Protocolos de Toledo, Protocolo 1758, Gabriel de San Pedro, notary and Juan de Ayala in Toledo, 1556. A. Blanco Sánchez, 'Inventario de Juan de Ayala, gran impressor toledano, 1556', *Boletín de la Real Academia Española de Historia*, lxii (1987), pp. 207–50.

[35] Two documents dated 7 June 1529, can be found in the Archivo Protocolos (Seville), Oficio 4, Libro [2] of 1529, unfoliated), cited in Griffin, *Crombergers*, p. 36.

[36] Some excellent work has already been undertaken – see in particular Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, *Diccionario bibliográfico de pliegos sueltos poéticos (Siglo XVI)* (Madrid, 1970).

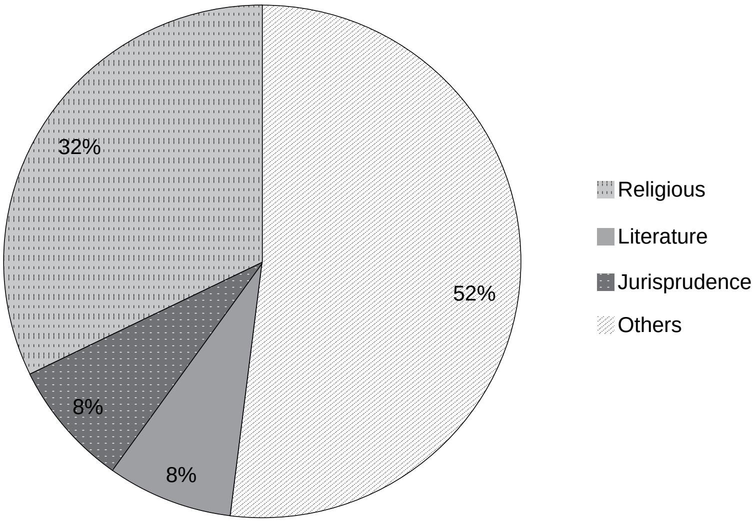

Figure 1. A snapshot of the output of the presses covering the period 1501–1506

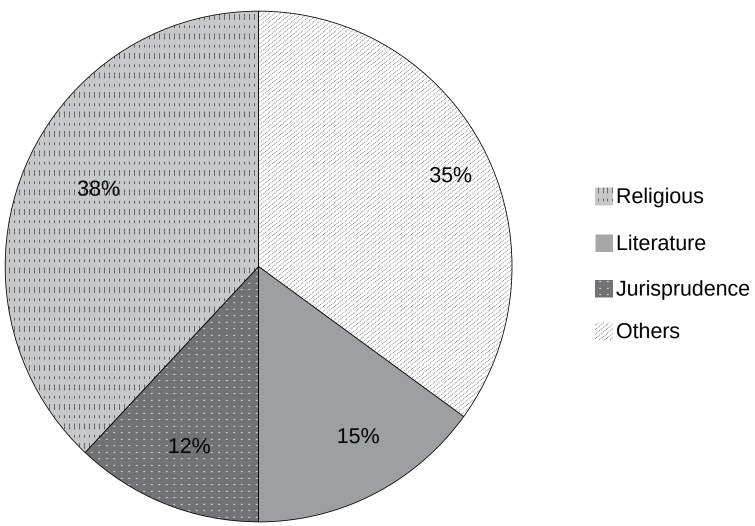

Figure 2. A snapshot of the output of the presses covering the period 1535–1540

covering the period 1501–1506 and the second covering 1535–1540.[37] While there are notable regional variations in what was printed, there is a clear overall emphasis on religious literature – not simply on official publications of the church, but also popular devotional literature. If the two snapshots of the output of the presses are representative of broader trends, it suggests the declining significance of religious works to total output over the four decades under discussion. The figures also point to the expansion of the market for works of literature, especially medieval chivalric literature – authentic and newly conceived.[38]

Another sense of the appetite of the reading public on the Peninsula can be gained by looking at the bestselling authors of the period before 1541. By an overwhelming margin, the most widely published author was Antonio de Nebrija (1441–1522), a distinguished philosopher, historian, grammarian, astronomer and poet. There are 226 bibliographically distinct items linked to Nebrija, including his *Aurea expositio hymnorum una cum textu*, his Spanish to Latin and Latin to Spanish dictionaries, and his *Gramática de la lengua castellana* – the first printed grammar of a vernacular language.[39] The second most popular author of the period was Pedro Ciruelo (1470–1548), a mathematician and theologian, whose works were published in a total of 59 distinct items and included the *Arte para bien confessar* and *Cursus quatuor mathematicarum*.[40] The third most published author of this period with 39 items was Antonio de Guevara (1481–1545), a Franciscan who was to hold a number of influential posts – including court preacher and court historiographer. His most popular work before 1541 was the

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[37] For comparison, of the books published between 1465 and 1540 listed in Pettegree, Walsby and Wilkinson, *French Vernacular Books*: 25 per cent can be classified as religious, 12 per cent as prose literature, 10 per cent as poetry, 10 per cent as jurisprudence, 9 per cent as history while 4 per cent fall under the classification of classical literature.

[38] K. Whinnom, The Problem of the 'Best-Seller' in Spanish Golden-Age Literature, *Bull. Hispanic Studies*, lvii (1980), pp. 189–198.

[39] Antonio de Nebrija, *Aurea expositio hymnorum una cum textu* (Zaragoza, Jorge Coci y Leonardo Hutz, 1502). There were at least 16 editions/states/issues of this work before 1541. Antonio de Nebrija, *Dictionarium hispano-latinum* (Salamanca, s.n., 1492), 2° and *Dictionarium latino-hispanicum* (Salamanca, s.n., 1492). Antonio de Nebrija, *La gramatica que nuevamente hizo sobre la lengua castellana* (Salamanca, 1492). On this grammar, see Manuel Mourelle de Lema (ed.), *Elio A. de Nebrija y la génesis de una gramática vulgar* (Grugalma, Madrid, 2006).

[40] Pedro Ciruelo, *Arte para bien confessar* ([Zaragoza, Jorge Coci, 1514]). There were 18 editions/states/issues of this work before 1541. Pedro Ciruelo, *Cursus quatuor mathematicarum* (Zaragoza, s.n., [1516]). There were 8 editions/states/issues of this work before 1541.

Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio, which sought to offer a guidebook for rulership. The *Libro aureo* enjoyed popularity not only in Spain but also across Europe.[41] In equal third position comes Diego de San Pedro (c.1437–c.1498), best known for his sentimental romance the *Cárcel de amor – The Prison of Love*.[42] The other notable authors, Fernando de Rojas (c.1465–1541), 36 items and Juan de Mena (1411–1456), were also key literary figures. Mena was responsible for the *Laberinto de Fortuna* also known as *Las Trecientas*, a 297 stanza poem dealing with themes of national unity and the *Reconquista*.[43] Fernando de Rojas was the author of *La Celestina*, originally entitled *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*.[44]

In terms of Latin works printed on the Peninsula, these tended on the whole to be fairly practical texts – school books, grammars, dictionaries and works intended to be used by ecclesiastical communities. However, there were also theological and philosophical treatises and works on science which, one might imagine, found a market both within and outside the Peninsula. In terms of consumption, however, Spain and Portugal remained throughout the sixteenth century eager importers of Latin works; imported indeed since the late 1470s without tax.[45] Again, this is an area which would repay much closer investigation through a trawl of surviving inventories. However, using one later inventory from 1556, from the printer and bookseller Juan de Junta based in the important ecclesiastical centre of Burgos, it is interesting to note that of unbound works in his stock, 8,953 copies were in Spanish and 6,261 in Latin. But there were 1,037 different Latin titles compared to 527 in Spanish.[46]

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[41] Antonio de Guevara, *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio ēperador* ([Valencia], s.n., 1528). There were 20 editions/states/issues of this work before 1541.

[42] Diego de San Pedro, *Cárcel de amor* (Sevilla, [Paulus de Colonia, Johann Pegnitzer, Magnus Herbst y Thomas Glockner], 1492 [=1493]). There were 21 editions/states/issues of this work before 1541.

[43] Juan de Mena, *Las trescientas (Las ccc) sive el Labirintho* (Zaragoza, Johann Hurus, 1489).

[44] Fernando de Rojas, *Celestina: comedia de Calisto y* Melibea ([Burgos, Fadrique de Basilea, 1499–1501]). 33 editions/states/issues of this work appeared before 1541.

[45] Isabella waived the tax on imported books. This was undertaken in response to a complaint made by Theodoric, a German printer, that he had been asked to pay duty at the ports of Sanlúcar and Cádiz on printed books which he had imported into Spain while he was 'ennobling many libraries and furnishing many scholars with rare texts'. See Norton, *Printing in Spain*, pp. 117–118.

[46] William A. Pettas, *A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Bookstore: The Inventory of Juan de Junta* (Darby, 1995).

As customers browsed the shelves of Juan de Junta's bookstore, and perhaps many of the booksellers in business before the 1550s, they would have been struck by the broad range of titles available – with Latin books shelved separately from those in the vernacular. The vast majority of titles would have been unbound, arranged by title. In the Latin section of the shop, customers would have found books crafted in the printing offices of Europe. In the vernacular section, customers would have been able to pick up ephemeral items printed locally – prayers and jokes. They would also have found more significant works of religious devotion, literature, medical books, and histories gathered from major printing offices across the Peninsula.

Regulation and Censorship

Finally, it is important to turn our attention to the subject of regulation and censorship in this period, not only because regulation can have an impact on the type of works being produced, but also because in comparison to many other areas of Europe, the situation in Spain was rather surprising.

On 8 July 1502, Ferdinand and Isabella issued a decree establishing that in Castile and Leon, any new book was to be read and approved by "un honesto letrado", requiring a license to be received before printing.[47] This is a strikingly early date for any attempt at systematic licensing. After printing, the text of the book was to be compared to the original before marketing of the work could proceed. In addition, booksellers had to obtain a license before importing any work from abroad. Any work published which had not received a license was to be seized and burnt publicly; furthermore, the printer or bookseller would be prevented from continuing in business.[48] Different civil and ecclesiastical individuals were responsible for licensing in different areas. In Valladolid and Granada, it was the presidents of the *audiencias;* in Toledo and Seville, it was the archbishops, and in Burgos and Salamanca, it was the bishops. Actual examination was to be carried out – significantly – by salaried individuals. In the 1540s in Toledo and

[47] Ley 1, Título XVI, Libro VIII, in *Vicente Salva (ed.), Novísima recopilación de Leyes de España*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1854), cited in Norton, *Printing in Spain*, p. 119.

[48] Ley 23, Titulo VII, Libro I, in Salva, op.cit. See also Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in Spain*, vol. 4, book 8, (New York, 1906–1907), chapter 4.

later Madrid, for instance, the job of censor fell to one Alejo Vanegas del Busto in (c.1498–1552) – a well-respected professor who appears to have carried out his duties diligently.[49] While the waters were partially muddied from 1527 when the Holy Office began issuing its own licenses, without any clear authority to do so, there is no evidence of individuals exploiting competing licensing authorities.[50]

In addition to pre-publication licensing, the growing threat presented by Lutheranism led to the development of post-publication regulation. This duty fell to the Holy Office. All works of Luther were banned from 7 April 1521.[51] In 1525, vernacular translations of a Psalter were seized. In 1530 and 1531, decrees mandated searches of book-shops.[52] In addition, extra care appears to have been taken to search books being imported, particularly from Protestant countries.[53]

As with all discussions of censorship and control, however, the critical issue lies in the relationship between theory and practice. In the absence either of archival evidence or an adequate study thereof, it is difficult to establish reliably just how effective licensing and post-publication practices actually were. There was no need for Spanish books in this period to insert a copy of the license into the final published volumes. The distinguished Hispanist Clive Griffin describes a "slackness of control in first half of the sixteenth century", adding his voice to

[49] See: Daniel Eisenberg, 'An Early Censor: Alejo Vanegas' in Joseph R. Jones (ed.), *Medieval, Renaissance and Folklore Studies in Honor of John Esten Keller*, (Delaware, 1980), pp. 229–241. We should ignore Eisenberg's contention that censorship began in 1521 with the prohibition of the works of Martin Luther, pp. 231–232.

[50] Pettas, *A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Bookstore*, p. 18. From 1554, only the Consejo Real was allowed to issue licenses. See: Jésus Martínez de Bujanda (ed.), *Index de l'Inquisition espagnole* (Quebec, 1984), p. 44. See also Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*.

[51] Pope Leo X wrote to the Constable and Admiral of Castile, governors of Spain in Charles V's absence, urging them to take every measure to prevent Luther's works entering the kingdom. Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Inquisición, Libro 317, f. 182r-v, cited in John E. Longhurst, 'Luther in Spain: 1520–1540' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* v. 103, no. 1 (February 1959), p. 67.

[52] Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*. Sometimes, reminders had to be sent.

[53] See, for example, the dispatch of Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, dated 19 May 1534, contained in Pascual de Gayangos (ed.), *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain,* (London, 1862–1954), 1534–1535, p. 164. See also Van Der Delft to the Emperor, London 9 January 1546, in *Calendar of Letters,* 1545–1546, p. 291, where he relates that an English merchant was thrown into prison by the Inquisition for having a Protestant Testament and other English books.

the assessments of José Simón Díaz.[54] However, one wonders what yardstick is being employed to judge the system as it functioned in Spain.

Fundamentally, one needs to take into account the limits of early-modern authority. To be sure, boundaries in the early-modern (as indeed the modern) world were very porous. Even if the Holy Office or other agency of the Crown made energetic efforts to search suspect cargos, it was relatively easy to smuggle undesirable books into the country. Various letters and statements among the archives of the Inquisition reveal this very frustration. There could be no *cordon sanitaire*. However, in terms of what could be overseen, it seems that the licensing system performed its function – ensuring that doctrinal errors were, on the whole, kept out of books published in Spain. In a letter to Erasmus in 1527, the Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara (1465–1530) emphasised that nothing could be published in Spain without careful previous examination; Gattinara also expressed his fervent wish that an equally effective regulatory system could be established in Germany.[55] This was perhaps stretching a point. Licensing alone does not offer an adequate explanation for the failure of Lutheranism – or for that matter any other unorthodox beliefs – to find a printed voice in the country. However, licensing did act as a discouragement. This is not to suggest, however, that the regulatory system was without its problems. Censors oversaw a relatively small number of local printing offices, which was both a strength – there was a limited number of items to examine – and a weakness – the major publishing firms in cities also tended to have a diverse ranges of other commercial interests; they were often powerful figures in the community. It is perhaps not without significance that in the mid-1550s, controls over licensing were centralised in the Consejo Real, thereby addressing the problem of regulation being implemented at a local level by censors working independently.

Licensing was, of course, a process distinct from privilege granting, which developed in Spain as elsewhere in Europe.[56] Privileges ensured

[54] Griffin, *Crombergers*, p. 121 and José Simón Díaz, *El Libro español antiguo: análisis de su estructura, Teatro del Siglo de Oro, bibliografías y catálogos*, I, (Kassel, 1983), pp. 21–28.

[55] Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition*, cites Desiderius Erasmus, *Epistolarum* (London, M. Flesher and R. Young, 1642), Lib. XXVII, Ep. 33.

[56] On the development of privilege granting in Europe, see: Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System 1498*–1526 (Cambridge, 2002), chapter 1.

monopolies for works, or types of work, effectively barring pirate editions or the importing of the same from abroad. Privileges were sought voluntarily by authors, translators or publishers to ensure commercial advantage. While licenses were – at least in theory – required for every book published or imported into the country, privileges were wholly voluntary. If printers did decide to infringe privileges, they risked confiscation of books and heavy fines and therefore the investment tied up in them. On the very rare occasions where privileges do appear to have been breached in Spain, it seems that publishers often came to informal settlements with the privilege holders. It is interesting to note that even a major publisher like Jacobo Cromberger who himself pirated an edition, was as keen as anybody else to secure the protection that came with privileges.[57] By and large, the Spanish printing industry appears to have been fairly disciplined and respected the privilege system.

Conclusion

In their seminal and hugely influential work, *The Coming of the Book*, first published in 1958, Febvre and Martin characterised Spanish printing thus:

> Only three places gave proof of any real life; Salamanca, Barcelona and Seville, where the Crombergers were turning out chivalric romances. There was some increase in activity in the second half of the 16th century at Madrid, where the printing industry developed in the next century. However, even then Spain largely continued to be a market for foreign books, chiefly from Lyon and Antwerp.[58]

Our understanding of print culture on the Peninsula has come a long way since Febvre and Martin made these remarks. The dispersal of printing on the Peninsula has traditionally made it difficult for scholars to understand the full contours of its print culture. Recent scholarship together with the appearance of *Iberian Books* is beginning to transform this landscape.

Although Spain and Portugal did publish their own works in Latin, they would remain net importers of Latin books. Nevertheless, this

[57] Jack Gibbs, 'The Status of the Cromberger Editions of Antonio de Guevara's *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio* and *Relox de Principes*', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 54 (1977), pp. 199–201, cited in Griffin, *Crombergers*, p. 68.

[58] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book* (London, 1997), pp. 190–191.

does not mean that there was any lack of vitality in Iberian print culture. There was an eager market for Latin books on the Peninsula, published at home and abroad. It is also a sobering thought that for Spain at least, more vernacular works were published per capita than France, works which although concentrated in genres such as religion, literature and jurisprudence, also included histories, medical works, games and cookery books, not to mention that vast underbelly of ephemeral literature which though real appears to have left little trace. Spain had a relatively well developed and well disciplined printing industry, albeit one that concentrated predominantly but not exclusively on the local and national markets.

THE VANISHING PRESS: PRINTING IN PROVINCIAL FRANCE IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Malcolm Walsby

France had been relatively slow in following the lead of Germany and Italy in introducing print; the first book was printed in Paris in 1470. But after these inauspicious beginnings the new industry quickly spread to a large number of provincial towns and cities. In Lyon, printing started in 1473 and the presses rapidly made the most of the numerous opportunities offered by such a strategically placed city. Elsewhere, printers set up shop in a number of provincial towns: Albi boasted a press just a year after Lyon and this was followed by Toulouse in 1476, Angers in 1477 and Poitiers in 1479. During the 1480s the number of geographic locations where printing was established shows the enthusiasm for the printed book. New centres of print appeared in Bréhan-Loudéac in 1484, in Rennes and in Tréguier in 1485, in Rouen in 1487 and in Troyes in 1489. The proliferation of the presses, however, slowed during the final decade of the fifteenth century.

The presses continued to prosper in Paris and in Lyon though they mutated to adapt to more difficult market conditions. The size, importance and location of these two cities ensured that printers would find a sufficiently large readership for their imprints. Elsewhere, few presses survived the first period of enthusiastic experimentation. It is the bleak fortunes of the printers who sought to establish themselves in these other towns that are the focus of this article. The vanishing of the presses is a fascinating phenomenon which has attracted little interest and even less research. The absence of an overall national bibliographical overview has made work in this field particularly complicated.[1] It is still difficult to ascertain exactly what happened to printing in provincial France once the initial enthusiasm of the incunabula era had

[1] This situation is about to change: the publication of Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson's *French Vernacular Books. A Bibliography of Books Published in the French Language Before 1601* (Leiden, 2007) will be complemented by Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby's *FB III & IV: Books published in France before 1601 in Latin and languages other than French* (Leiden, 2011).

disappeared. Yet it is certain that these decades, that have been dubbed "la mystérieuse période de la fin du XVe et du début du XVIe siècle", hold the key to understanding the transformation of the printing industry in the provinces that led to the emergence of a stronger and better organised network of presses.[2]

To investigate the fortunes of provincial printing in more detail we will exclude the case of Lyon which rapidly built up a strong print culture. Its strategic location on the Rhône and the important place it held as one of Europe's leading trading cities as well as its large population all contributed to make it an ideal place for ambitious printers and booksellers. This was not the case for most French cities and we shall begin by looking at what happened to the presses in these other towns and how the presses that had been set up so enthusiastically gradually disappeared.

The Weakness of Provincial Printing

The first decades after the appearance of the incunabula book in France were marked by a swift propagation of the presses through the provinces. We know of almost forty different centres of print situated in the kingdom of France, the duchy of Brittany and Franche-Comté before 1501. The nature of these centres varied a great deal, ranging from small villages such as Bréhan-Loudéac in Brittany to large conurbations. However, one of the specific features of the French incunabula world was the insignificance of the printed output of many of these centres. If a surprisingly large total of a dozen books can be credited to the press that was set up in Bréhan, many of the large towns only housed a printer for a few months giving him just enough time to publish two or three titles before he moved on. Thus we only know of six books printed in Tours, four in Dijon and just one in Orléans. The large number of places where books were printed in the incunabula era therefore masks the ephemeral nature of their presence in these towns.

The fragility of the achievements of these first presses is also demonstrated by the fact that the early implantation of a printer was sometimes completely forgotten even in the town where the printing had taken place. Thus when the presses returned to Rennes in 1524, after

[2] J. Jenny, 'L'imprimerie à Bourges jusqu'en 1562 environ. Etat provisoire de la question' *Bulletin philologique et historique* (1969), pp. 867–890 at p. 890.

an absence of almost forty years, the new printer eagerly announced on the title page of his first book that he was "primum et unicum calcographum et impressorem ejusdem civitatis".[3] The memory of the two editions published in 1484 and 1485 by his predecessor Pierre Bellescullée had faded.

The disappearance of the presses from many towns had its roots in the weakness of provincial print which only accounted for a minute proportion of the printed incunabula output of France. Outside Paris and Lyon, only Rouen, Toulouse and Poitiers had developed a genuine print culture with over a hundred items enumerated in the ISTC.[4] Together these five centres of print represented over 95% of all incunabula printed in France, Brittany and Franche-Comté. In such context the phenomenon of the vanishing of the presses seems less surprising.

Enthusiasm for the printing press extended into the first decade of the sixteenth century. Between 1501 and 1510, 16 French towns welcomed a printer for the first time, but many of these were failures. In Châlons-en-Champagne, after the disappearance of the press of Étienne Bally in around 1503, there was no printing in the town until the arrival of Claude Guyot in 1589. In Montpellier, printing started in 1501 when the itinerant Lyon printer, Jean du Pré, published a short medical work – undoubtedly for the renowned medical faculty of the town. But the local population had to wait almost a century for the first resident printer, Jean Gillet, to settle there in 1595. In many other towns where printing did continue, the output of the local workshop was often negligible. The only known active printer in Angers during the first half of the sixteenth century was Richard Picquenot whose entire production consisted of just nine works.

An interesting way of gauging the health of provincial printing between 1501 and 1540 is to investigate the number of printers active in each town. The presence of two printers working simultaneously in the same location is a firm indication of robust local demand. The analysis of the list of towns that had two active printers helps us to identify the more vibrant centres of print and charter the development of the presses. Between 1501 and 1531, 44 different towns welcomed a printing press in provincial France, but only six of them had two

[3] "The first and only chalcographer and printer of this town", see *Liber Marbodi*, (Rennes, Jean Baudouin for Jean Macé, 1524) [BnF, Rés. p YE 1533].

[4] See the ISTC's online catalogue: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/

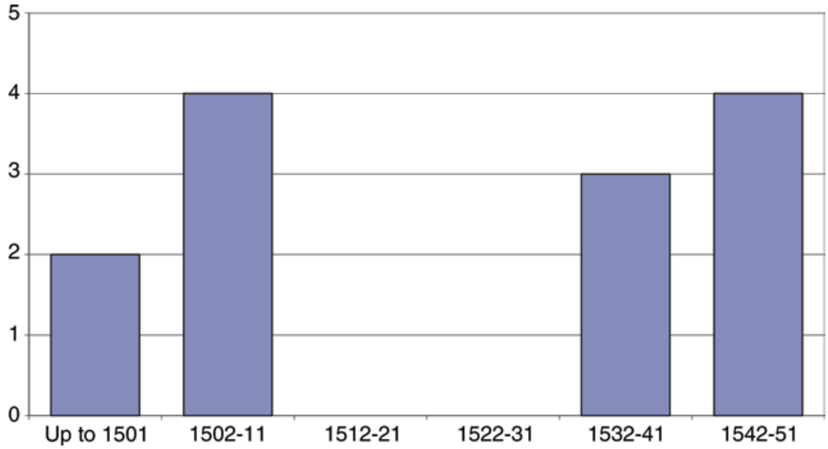

Figure 1. Number of new towns with two or more presses

presses functioning simultaneously at any point during this period. Outside Rouen, Poitiers, Limoges, Toulouse, Troyes and Caen, the presses remained isolated and weak. Figure 1 shows the chronological evolution of the strengthening of provincial printing:

This clearly demonstrates the difficulties faced by printers in medium sized towns. Moreover, the figure overstates the success of the printers: it includes Limoges that had two printers active in 1505 but which only produced five local imprints between 1531 and 1540. The figure also shows that three new towns could boast two active workshops during the 1530s. But two of these three towns failed to establish the printing press durably. Avignon, which briefly had two printers in 1532, did not have any printing activity between 1540 and 1553. The case of Vienne is also instructive. The town only had working presses for two years during the first half of the century: 1541 and 1542. The two printers who came to Vienne in 1541, Macé Bonhomme and Gaspar Trechsel, had both previously worked in Lyon. They had left the city because they were opposed to the agreement that had been reached between the master printers and the striking journeymen printers. This exile was, however, short lived: both Bonhomme and Trechsel returned to Lyon in 1542.[5]

[5] H. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIe siècle* (Lyon, 1895–1921), p. X, 185.

These examples highlight the extent of the early dependence of the provincial book world on Paris and Lyon. Put simply, after the enthusiasm of the first decades of print, printers no longer sought to establish presses in towns speculatively; rather they adopted more rigorous business principles seeking assurances as to the viability of such projects and often requesting long-term patronage.

The Printed Book and Provincial Presses

It would be tempting to think that when the presses vanished from so many locations, so the printed book vanished from the every day life of provincial Frenchmen. A typical explanation for the disappearance of the printing presses has therefore been that the local demand for books was not sufficient to justify the presence of a printer in this or that town or region. It has even been suggested that the presses failed because of the absence of a significant centre of humanist thought. This was certainly advanced as an explanation for the weakness of the presses in Brittany where an eminent historian identified an absence of sources of patronage "indispensables à la vie matérielle des humanistes".[6] This proposed connection between humanism and printing in the provinces does not bear close examination. Humanist authors were very productive and ensured that many of their works were printed. But, in France, the vast majority of these works was published in either Paris or Lyon. The number of printers who actually printed a humanist book outside these two cities during the first decades of the sixteenth century remained very small. Certainly, no workshop could rely on the production of humanist works to survive. An examination of the vernacular works printed in the provinces between 1500 and 1520 has not led to the identification of a single humanist work. Though there were some Latin works of humanist interest, these remained very much a small minority of the total output of the provincial presses.

The lack of correlation between centres of humanism and printing is born out by the case of Sélestat, a town situated in Alsace within the current day borders of France, though in the early sixteenth century it was part of the Holy Roman Empire (and known as Schlettstadt). As a centre of humanist thought, Sélestat was of international importance – the first centre of southern Germany – and home to scholars of renown

[6] A. Croix *L'âge d'or de la Bretagne 1532–1675* (Rennes, 1993), pp. 443–44.

such as Jakob Wimpfeling (1450–1528) and Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547). Both these scholars published many works as well as editing others. Moreover, the local parish library founded in 1452 had already received substantial donations by the 1530s.[7] We also know of three printers who were born in Sélestat. All this indicates that the town had a vibrant interest in printed books. However, only one of the Sélestat-born printers, Lazare Schurer, ever published works in the town. He was one of just two printers to set up a press in Sélestat during the entire sixteenth century. In all, the printing presses were active in the town for only four years.[8]

The absence of a printing press did not mean the absence of the printed book. Whilst the number of places that boasted a working press decreased, the number of towns with booksellers rose dramatically. The distribution network for manuscript books was not sufficiently developed to deal with the exponential rise in the number of volumes produced by the arrival of printing.[9] The increase in the number of booksellers provided a local outlet for books printed in Paris and Lyon in all the main provincial towns that no longer had, or had never had, a printer. The differentiation between printers and booksellers is a vital one. Later in the century, Éstienne du Tronchet wrote that a bookseller "vend le papier qui habille le coeur, l'esprit, et l'ame, et les sauve de toutes iniquitez et adversitez mondaines" but he did so by sourcing the paper, commissioning a print run and selling the books rather than by producing anything himself.[10] In most provincial towns booksellers quickly became more important and more wealthy than the printers. By commissioning the books they wished to sell from workshops in the main centres of print, they effectively prevented the development of the printing press in many towns.

A good example of this was the Breton bookseller Jean Macé in Rennes. Successive generations of the Macé family played a vital role in the development of the strong print culture of both Rouen and Caen.

[7] See in particular P. Adam, *L'Humanisme à Selestat* (Rome, 2001).

[8] The works were printed between 1519 and 1522: F. Ritter, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie Alsacienne aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Strasbourg, 1955) and Josef Benzing's contribution in *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle, 2e livraison* (Baden Baden, 1968).

[9] F. Barbier, *L'Europe de Gutenberg. Le livre et l'invention de la modernité occidentale* (Paris, 2006), p. 169.

[10] E. Du Tronchet, *Lettres missives et familieres* (Paris, Lucas Breyer, 1569) FB 17706 [BM Grenoble, Rés. F 2274], letter 214 addressed to Lucas Breyer.

Jean Macé, who had settled in Rennes at the very start of the sixteenth century, associated himself with members of the Macé family and other booksellers in commissioning works that sought to appeal to a large readership throughout north western France. During a career that lasted almost thirty years, Macé is known to have commissioned over a hundred works at a rate of around four a year. This activity was not just statistically important: the texts he paid for covered a wide variety of subjects.[11] In the first decades of the century, Macé was providing his Breton readership with a series of titles that might have not otherwise been available. His impressive activity at a time when the presses were absent from Rennes shows how the booksellers had taken over in the provinces from the first printers as the purveyors of printed books.

The reasons why booksellers such as Macé were able to build such a strong position were broadly twofold. Firstly, the costs of setting up a new press were substantial. Even in such commercially vibrant cities such as Lyon, this required such a large capital investment that printers had to appeal to investors to help fund their first projects. The best example of this was Étienne Dolet who, after his abortive attempt to set up a press in Toulouse, had relocated to Lyon in the late 1530s. Dolet sought and obtained the patronage of Hellouin Dulin who had been a financial official of the Parlement of Normandy in Rouen and who had also recently moved to Lyon. The investment made by Dulin was substantial and in seven separate payments over three years he contributed the considerable sum of 2,888 *livres tournois* "pour ayder et subvenir aux fraiz et despenses" of the workshop set up by Dolet.[12] Even when the press was established, printing remained expensive because of the cost of paper. The distance between many provincial towns of print and what has been called the "paper valley" acted as a further disincentive since it increased costs.[13]

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[11] See for example *Les loables coustumes du pays et duche de Bretaigne* (Rouen, for Richard Macé, Jean Macé in Rennes and Michel Angier in Caen, 1514) FB 7485 [BM Limoges, Rés. T 140] and Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *Le proprietaire des choses tres utile et proffitable aux corps humains* (Rouen, for Richard Macé, François Regnault in Paris, Jean Macé in Rennes and Michel Angier in Caen, 1512) FB 2828 [BM Epernay, Chandon V 1093].

[12] See the documents transcribed in C. Longeon (ed.), *Documents d'archives sur Etienne Dolet* (St Etienne, 1977), pp. 11–20.

[13] Barbier, *L'Europe de Gutenberg* p. 192. This stretched from the Low Countries in the north to northern Italy in the south.

The expenditure involved in setting up a serious printing business was considerable and implied that a printer and his investors would have to be confident of redeeming their outlay. Provincial booksellers relied heavily on the printing industries of Paris and Lyon even for the publication of texts of local interest. The extent of this phenomenon has been somewhat obscured by imprecise research that has mixed local imprints with works printed elsewhere for a local bookseller. In Bourges, for example, a seventeenth-century work on printing in the town listed a series of titles without indicating which had actually been printed there. The author simply suggested that some of the works had probably been printed in Paris, Lyon, Venice, Antwerp, Cologne, Frankfort, Basel or even Amsterdam.[14] Certainly, it has since been established that some of these books were in fact printed in Paris and Lyon in the first decades of the sixteenth century.[15] The volumes of the much more recent *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle* compound such false impressions by generally enumerating editions without any clear differentiation between the books printed in the town and those printed elsewhere for a local bookseller.[16]

Yet this is a vital distinction: the key to the failure of the presses was the strength of the bookseller network. The example of the chronicles of Nuremberg printed in 1493 shows how very early on, booksellers could establish vast networks which, in this case, extended throughout the Holy Roman Empire into France and Italy and employed a variety of means of distribution.[17] Laws, such as that passed by Louis XII in 1513, guaranteed that books were exempted from the usual tolls levied on the main rivers of the country, and contributed to reduce the costs involved in moving books from the printer's workshop to bookstalls

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[14] N. Catherinot, *Annales typographiques de Bourges* (Bourges, 1683) quoted by Jean Jenny in 'L'imprimerie à Bourges', p. 869.

[15] For example: *Regula beatissimi patris Benedicti e latino in gallicum sermonem* (Paris, Geoffroi de Marnef for Bourges) FB 3649, [BM Sens, Rés. XVI P 14 (1)] and *Eximii Bonifacii de Vitaliniis lectura, super constitutionibus Clementis pape V* (Lyon, Jean Jonvelle for Pierre de Sartieres in Bourges) [BM Grenoble, B 2246].

[16] *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle* (32 vols., Baden-Baden, 1968–1980). This series lists books printed in towns within the boundaries of modern day France with the exception of Paris, Strasbourg and Lyon.

[17] P. Zahn, 'Die Endabrechnung über den Druck der Schedelschen Weltchronik (1493) vom 22. Juni 1509. Text und Analyse' *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1991), pp. 177–213.

located many miles away.[18] Booksellers based in the main centres of print could envisage large print runs safe in the knowledge that they could then sell them on in a variety of regions and even beyond the confines of the kingdom. This reduced the cost of each copy and made their volumes very competitive. There was little chance that local printers could successfully challenge the supremacy of printers who not only could produce books cheaper than they could but who also had access to better typography as well as many highly-qualified editors.

Members of the Parisian book world would normally count on relay booksellers in the regions to stock and help advertise their books. But readers could also choose to by-pass the distribution network completely and appeal directly to the original bookseller. Thus, when a provincial official in Chartres wished to buy the latest edition of the mediaeval romance *Le roman de la rose* in 1529, he simply asked the Parisian bookseller to send it to him directly. A manuscript note in the copy of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* reads: "A Gilles Huet, contrerolleur des deniers commis de Dreux, sieur de Baglainnal, demourant à Chartres du lundy xxix e de mars m v c xxix apres pasques, à luy envoye de Paris par Galyot du Pre audit Chartres".[19] This system of sourcing the book directly from the relevant bookseller was clearly quite common, as was demonstrated by a template letter included in *Le stile et maniere de composer, dicter et escrire toute sorte d'epistres ou lettres missives*, a book that proposed a series of model letters that could easily be adapted for everyday use. The template was a letter sent to a Parisian bookseller from a remote location, in which it was requested that a series of volumes be "bien proprement et mignonnement reliez et expediez".[20]

Far from being synonymous with the weakness of the printed book, the absence of printers in many towns in provincial France was a consequence of the easy access to books facilitated by local booksellers. This meant that printers who continued to trade in the provinces had

[18] Confirmation of the letters of Louis XII by Francis I, 27th October 1516, in *Les loix, ordonnances et edictz des tres-chrestiens rois de France, et de la court de Parlement* (Paris, Gilles Corrozet, 1558) FB 21115, [Berlin SB, 2o Ebd 75–8], ff. 178–79.

[19] See *Le Rommant de la Rose* printed in Paris by Pierre Vidoué for Gailiot du Pré in 1529, FB 24287, [BnF, Rés. Ye 1233].

[20] P. Durand, *Le stile et maniere de composer, dicter et escrire toute sorte d'epistres ou lettres missives, tant par response, que autrement* (Paris, Jean Ruelle, 1556), FB 17951 [BnF, Rés. P Z 474] ff. 49–50. This work proved to be very popular and it went through a number of different editions from 1553 to 1584 (see FB 17949 to 17959).

to change their outlook and print material that was not easily available in the main centres of print.

Business Models for Survival

One of the main features of the presses that survived was that they generally found a reliable source of local patronage. Institutional patronage was vital for printers because it provided them with a continuous source of guaranteed income. The costs involved in producing a large book were substantial with initial outlays that would only be reimbursed when the book started to be sold months later. Institutional patronage offered an alternative to appealing to private investors. Likely patrons can be subdivided into four main categories: municipal, ecclesiastical, legal and educational. In many of the French provinces where the printing presses had a more continuous output, printers generally relied on either ecclesiastical or municipal institutions for their trade. A few examples will illustrate the importance of such patronage.

The role of ecclesiastical institutions in the development of regional presses is a well-recognised feature of the incunabula era, but in many ways the Church's role in the sixteenth century was even more fundamental. The bishopric of Rouen, probably the wealthiest in the country, actively encouraged the growth of the local press by ordering large print runs of anti Protestant texts. In 1520, the local bishopric ordered the printing of some short texts with huge print runs of some 1,600, 1,800 or even 2,000 copies on at least two separate occasions.[21] Such orders could be very valuable to printers. The Toulouse printer Jean Grandjean certainly profited greatly from the numerous religious commissions he received from various institutional customers in the Catholic Church. In 1516, the Prior of the Augustinians of Carcassonne owed him over 88 *livres* for a number of different broadsheets, most notably the printing of 3,000 indulgences.[22] The importance of small

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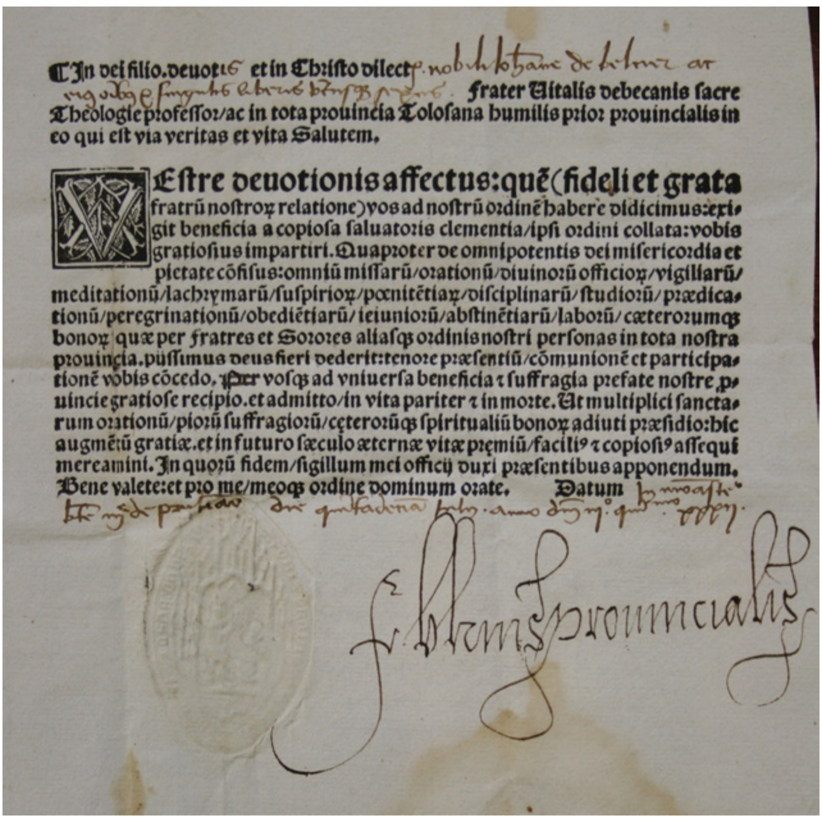
[21] See the references to Louis Bouvet in the accounts of the archbishopric of Rouen from 1516 to 1542: AD Seine-Maritime, G 118 to 234, indicated by Georges Le Preux, *Gallia typographica, ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France, depuis les origines de l'imprimerie jusqu'à la Révolution, Province de Normandie* (Paris, 1912) pp. 87–89.

[22] R. Corraze, 'Jean Grandjean, maître imprimeur toulousain (1460–1519)' *Bulletin Philologique et Historique* (1936–1937), pp. 79–92 at p. 86.

tasks such as indulgences is easily underestimated. Broadsheets or short brochures of just one or two gatherings survive poorly. Not only were they physically fragile, but contemporaries also seldom saw the point of collecting them or binding them in larger volumes which could have ensured their survival. Moreover, those that have stood the test of time are often to be found not in libraries but in private collections and archives that have not attracted the same degree of bibliographic attention. As a result, many religious single sheet imprints, such as the one illustrated below (see: Figure 2), remain unknown to scholarship.

Religious patronage extended to larger and more expensive imprints. In Toulouse, Grandjean also printed a number of substantial works


In dei filio. deuotis et in Christo dilect... Frater Uitalis debecanis sacre Theologie professor/ac in tota prouincia Tolosana humilis prior prouincialis in eo qui est via veritas et vita Salutem.

Vestre deuotionis affectus: quẽ (fideli et grata fratrũ nostrorum relatione) vos ad nostrũ ordinẽ habere didicimus: exigit beneficia a copiosa saluatoris clementia/ipsi ordini collata: vobis gratiosius impartiri. Quapropter de omnipotentis dei misericordia et pietate cõfisus: omniũ missarũ/orationũ/diuinorũ officiorum/vigiliarũ/meditationũ/lachrymarũ/suspiriorum/pœnitẽtiarum/disciplinarũ/studiorũ/prædicationũ/peregrinationũ/obediẽtiarũ/ieiuniorũ/abstinẽtiarũ/laborũ/cæterorumque bonorum quæ per fratres et Sorores aliasque ordinis nostri personas in tota nostra prouincia. piissimus deus fieri dederit: tenore præsentiũ/cõmunionẽ et participationẽ vobis cõcedo. Per vosque ad vniuersa beneficia et suffragia prefate nostre prouincie gratiose recipio. et admitto/in vita pariter et in morte. Ut multiplici sanctarum orationũ/piorũ suffragiorũ/cęterorũque spiritualiũ bonorum adiuti præsidio: hic augmẽtũ gratiæ. et in futuro sæculo æternæ vitæ pręmiũ/facilius et copiosius assequi mereamini. In quorũ fidem/sigillum mei officij duxi præsentibus apponendum. Bene valete: et pro me/meoque ordine dominum orate. Datum

Figure 2. Littera confraternitatis signed by the Dominican provincial of Toulouse, Vidal de Bécanis, in 1532 [Private collection of the author]

such as a treatise of the Italian jurist and papal nuncio Niccolò Ubaldi that was entirely paid for by a local Minim convent.[23] Bishops were major players in the sixteenth-century book world though their role is often underestimated as many of their books were published anonymously.[24] When they did sign their works, the degree of their involvement with the printing and distribution of their books becomes obvious. The bishop of Troyes, Guillaume Petit wrote *Le viat de salut* in around 1526 and had it published by a local printer with a clear endorsement. The edition was done "par l'auctorité de reverend pere en Dieu monsieur l'evesque dudit lieu" and his involvement was made even more explicit on the title page. He enjoined:

> tous curez, chapellains, vicaires, et maistres d'escolle avoir ce present livre pour le lire ou faire lire au prosne, les dimenches et festes et aux escolles, aux enfans capables de l'entendre. Et a ceste fin a donne ledict reverend a tous ses subgectz qui devotement liront ce present livre ou escouteront lire avec bon propos de soy amender, et vivre selon la doctrine de nostre Seigneur, quarante jours de vray pardon toutes les foys et quantes qui le liront ou escouteront lire.[25]

On a wider scale, the patronage of French bishops led to the publication of the synodal statutes of dioceses as diverse as Angers, Troyes, Bordeaux or Toulouse as well as an even larger number of breviaries and missals. In Rennes, it was thanks to the local bishop, Yves Mahyeuc, that the presses returned to the city in 1524.[26]

The role of the municipalities is illustrated by the survival of a number of broadsheets that concerned the towns in which they were printed. These were probably mainly printed off at the municipality's request so that they could be communicated and posted at strategic points throughout the town. The broadsheet on the fairs of Troyes printed by Nicolas Le Rouge is an example of this, but the fact that it is only known through a copy preserved in a larger volume of manuscript documents underlines the difficulty in identifying such

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[23] Corraze, 'Jean Grandjean' p. 88. Niccolò Ubaldi, *Tractatus super titulo de successione ab intestato* (Toulouse, [Jean Grandjean], 1519) [Paris, BnF, Rés. F 837 (2)]. Printing the book would have required 19 sheets of paper per copy.

[24] M. Péronnet, 'Les évêques français et le livre au XVIe siècle' pp. 159–169.

[25] Guillaume Petit, *Le viat de salut tres necessaire et utile a tous chrestiens pour parvenir a la gloire eternelle* (Troyes, "chez Jean Lecoq", [1526]) FB 42990 [Paris, BnF, Résac. D 80374].

[26] M. Walsby, 'Yves Mahyeuc, Jean Baudouyn et l'implantation de l'imprimerie à Rennes' in G. Provost (ed.), *Yves Mahyeuc (1462–1541). Rennes en Renaissance* (Rennes, 2010), pp. 297–308.

imprints.[27] Local authorities sometimes also undertook to have ordinances reprinted. This was the case, for instance, in Angoulême, where the local printer published a royal decree that stipulated that a tax should be imposed to finance an expedition against the Turks. The text made it clear that the imprint was specifically aimed at the local jurisdiction.[28]

In Aix, a heavily annotated exemplar of the *Constitutions Royalles et Prouvensalles* now kept in Leiden University Library shows the active role larger institutions such as the *parlements* played in the printing process. The Leiden copy of this important legal text features a large number of manuscript corrections and annotations as well as the signatures of officials from the Aix *parlement* that amounted to an authentication of the printed text. The direct implication of the institution in the printing of the *Constitutions* showed how closely printers and officials could work in the production of such legal publications.[29]

Some printers mixed some or all of these sources of patronage to ensure their long term success. The best example of this is given by the printers of Bourges. We only know of two printers active in the first half of the sixteenth century, Jean Garnier and Pierre Gresle. Gresle is only known for the most ephemeral of works such as single page indulgences. He seems to have relied heavily on ecclesiastical patronage, but this could sometimes be very worth while: in 1517 he was asked to print 33,100 copies of a confessional for the crusade that Leo X wanted to promote to counter the Turks. This one commission was worth over

[27] The broadsheet (FB 49930), probably printed in early 1516 when the act was issued, is kept in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* but is to be found in the manuscript department (Manuscrits Français 5378, fol. 43) at the "Richelieu" site, not in the "Bibliothèque François Mitterrand" where the vast majority of the sixteenth-century imprints are kept. The municipality of Troyes was particularly active in this regard, see the cases listed in H. Monceaux, *Les Le Rouge, de Chablis, calligraphes et miniaturistes, graveurs et imprimeurs, étude sur les débuts de l'illustration du livre au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1896).

[28] The ordinance was signed by Francis I in Bourges, 4th May 1533: P. de Fleury, 'Recherches sur les origines et le développement de l'imprimerie à Angoulême' *Bulletin et mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charante,* X (1900), pp. 1–63 at p. 17.

[29] *Les constitutions royalles et prouvensalles faictes et ordonnées par le Roy en la rection de sa court souveraine et parlement de Provence* (s. n., s. d., circa 1533) FB 44904 [Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek, 316 B 27] and see my 'Between Print and Manuscript: The *Constitutions Royalles et Prouvensalles* in Leiden University Library' *Omslag* (2006), pp. 9–10.

80 *livres tournois*.[30] But he did not simply rely on this patronage and he also acted as one of the official booksellers of the university.

Garnier was a more ambitious printer and he further diversified his sources of patronage. He was initially paid a hundred *livres* by the local university to leave Paris and settle in the town for a minimum of seven years. But research carried out in the municipal archives has revealed that Garnier was in fact simultaneously the official printer for the university, the municipality and the Church. This does not mean that the printer was held in much regard; a document of the university described Garnier as a "homme paouvre qui n'imprima de sa vye livre fors des almanacs".[31] In truth, we know of at least seven more substantial works produced between 1531 and 1562, though it seems that the publication of small ephemeral pieces were his stock in trade. Garnier was certainly aware of his own limitations as a printer. When the opportunity to print the customs of the duchy of Berry arose, he appealed to his previous contacts in Paris; the colophon indicated that the work was printed in "Paris par Michel Fezandat, pour Ponce Roffet dict le Faulcheur, Barthellemy Barthault, et Jehan Garnier libraire".[32] Garnier clearly felt that a substantial task such as the customs was beyond what he could produce in his workshop. He even felt that he had to share the risk and initial investment by associating himself with Parisian booksellers. The fact that he chose to style himself as a bookseller in the colophon is consistent with his limitations as a printer.

The publication of short works was more manageable for a provincial press. It certainly enabled a local printer to pass on exciting news items that would be guaranteed a warm reception for an eager local audience. In the first decades of the century, these local news imprints generally dealt with three main themes that would have attracted the most interest. Foremost amongst these were events of national importance often connected to the royal household (such as funerals and coronations), occasions for patriotic celebration or mourning. These short editions also covered items on the Italian wars and the nascent genre of sensational literature. Outside of Paris and Lyon, the main centre for such items was Rouen where it is thought that

[30] Jenny, J., 'L'imprimerie à Bourges jusqu'en 1562 environ. Etat provisoire de la question' *Bulletin philologique et historique* (1969), pp. 867–90 at p. 868.

[31] Jenny, J., 'L'imprimerie à Bourges' at p. 879.

[32] *Coustumes generalles des pays et duché de Berry* (Paris, Michel Fezandat, for Ponce Roffet, Barthelémy Bartault in Paris and Jean Garnier in Bourges, 1540) FB 3924 [BM Bourges By 1191], O4v.

some seventy such pieces were printed during the reigns of Louis XII, Francis I and Henry II. In contrast, the next centres of provincial print for such items were Toulouse with seven and Tours with four – Bourges, Poitiers, Reims and Troyes all having printed one of these tracts.[33] The recent rediscovery of a whole series of ephemeral news publications printed in Rouen by Jean Lhomme in the municipal library of Aix-en-Provence, demonstrates that this list is no doubt far from complete and shows the interest of contemporary readers in these events and the ability of provincial printers to meet this demand.[34]

Conclusions

The lot of many printers in the first decades of the sixteenth century was to produce short works that met local demands that could not easily be satisfied by printers further afield. For booksellers in Paris and Lyon, it was not worth the trouble of having such cheap items specially printed and then sent to relay booksellers. Instead, they concentrated on larger, more expensive, works that guaranteed larger profit margins. This was all the more true because short items generally had a shorter shelf life than larger publications such as the customs of region or Cicero's works – volumes that could be refreshed if need be.

The gap in the market enabled the establishment of local printers who, to begin with, would concentrate on these ephemeral pieces. But the presence of the presses also encouraged the development of a local print culture that, in time, offered more ample opportunities and enabled the printers to become more than just purveyors of ephemeral imprints. The early decades of the sixteenth century had redefined the role of the provincial printer and had forced him to devise new business models to survive in the face of strong competition from the major centres of print. By the 1540s, the support of local institutions had ensured that provincial printers could afford to take the risk to branch out and gradually diversify the type of texts they printed. The rise of religious discord and the advent of the civil wars were soon to change the profile of provincial printing even further, transforming the output of presses based in towns such as Orléans, Tours or La Rochelle.

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[33] J.-P. Seguin, *L'information en France de Louis XII à Henri II* (Geneva, 1961), p. 50.

[34] The case of Jean Lhomme is analysed in Andrew Pettegree's article 'A provincial news community in sixteenth-century France' included in his *The French Book and the European Book World* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 19–42.

PART TWO

PRINTING AND THE REFORMATION

TURNING LUTHER'S WEAPONS AGAINST HIM: THE BIRTH OF CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA IN SAXONY IN THE 1520s[1]

Christoph Volkmar

In the beginning there was Martin Luther. The woes and worries, the epiphanies and the battles of a single man brought about the Reformation. Luther was an academic, a theologian, a prophet, but what set him apart from other reformers in the first place was that he was a media event (Berndt Hamm). The figures are impressive. In 1517, the year of their original publication, Luther's 95 theses were printed three times. Two years later, the new ideas from Wittenberg were already spread through 250 editions, which accounted for roughly 250,000 copies. The tide rose from year to year: in 1526, about 6 to 11 million pamphlets circulated in the Empire, all discussing Christian faith and the future of the church.[2]

Only a small fraction of these *Flugschriften* took the side of the old church. Andrew Pettegree has pointed out that this sets the early Reformation in Germany apart from the Reformation as an European event. In the French Wars of Religion, for instance, both sides used the press equally and the most important centre of the printing industry in France, Paris, remained Catholic.[3]

The volume of Catholic propaganda in the German Reformation was much more humble, especially during the early years. According to Mark Edwards's statistics, only 296 pamphlets opposing Luther appeared between 1518 and 1524. Looking at these figures, the

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[1] The following research is based on extensive consultation of the following bibliographical works: *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2nd edition, vols. 1–7 (Stuttgart/New York, 1968), vol. 8 (Stuttgart/Berlin/New York, 1978). Hereafter, GW; *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 1st division, 22 vols. (Stuttgart, 1983–1995). Hereafter, VD 16. Falk Eisermann, *Verzeichnis der typographischen Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden 2004). Hereafter, VE 15.

[2] Berndt Hamm, 'Die Reformation als Medienereignis', *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie*, 11 (1996), pp. 137–166.

[3] Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005). Andrew Pettegree and Matthew Hall, 'The Reformation and the Book: A Reconsideration', *Historical Journal*, 47 (2004), pp. 1–24.

dominance of the Protestants seems to have been overwhelming. The famous 'pamphlet war' should rather be called a siege.[4]

Luther's command of the printing press has been acknowledged as one of the main reasons for the Reformation's success. Interpreting the Catholic response, historians like David Bagchi, Heribert Smolinsky and others have listed a number of reasons to explain their restraint. They made short work of the old stereotype that Catholic writers were just old monks who did not know how to write a good text. Instead, they showed that most Catholic authors were rather young and many even had an humanist background.[5] However, they met considerable difficulties. Not only was the public more inclined to listen to the self-proclaimed 'new light of the gospel' but, even in their own camp, the anti-Lutheran writers were often ignored or found themselves subject to suspicions. The Roman establishment clung to the notion that there was no good in arguing with heretics. In their eyes, even defying Luther would compromise the *magisterium* of the Church, its authority to interpret the Gospel. This was especially true if one chose to do so in the vernacular.

In effect, Rome was not prepared to aid those who held up the papal banner. Catholic authors did not have the support of their superiors. They lacked political aid, funding, and career options. Indeed, many Catholic writers found themselves caught between two stools like Johannes Cochlaeus, who was driven to tell Cardinal Cajetan that he would defect to the Lutherans if Rome would not pay him better.

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[4] Mark U. Edwards, Jr., 'Catholic Controversial Literature, 1518–1555: Some Statistics', *Archive for Reformation History*, 79 (1988), pp. 189–205. For early anti-Lutheran books and their authors see Erwin Iserloh (ed.), *Katholische Theologen der Reformationszeit*, 5 vols. (Münster 1984–1988). Wilbirgis Klaiber (ed.), *Katholische Kontroverstheologen und Reformer des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Werkverzeichnis* (Münster, 1978). Adolf Laube an Ulman Weiß (eds.), *Flugschriften gegen die Reformation, 1518–1530*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1997/2000). Hans-Joachim Köhler (ed.), *Flugschriften des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts (1501–1530)* (Zug, 1978–1990) [microfiche edition].

[5] David V.N. Bagchi, 'Luther's Catholic Opponents', in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation World* (London/New York, 2000), pp. 97–108; Heribert Smolinsky, *Augustin von Alveldt und Hieronymus Emser. Eine Untersuchung zur Kontroverstheologie der Frühen Reformationszeit im Herzogtum Sachsen* (Münster, 1983); Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Berkeley, 1994), pp. 57–82; Richard A. Crofts, 'Printing, Reform, and the Catholic Reformation in Germany (1521–1545)', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 16 (1985), pp. 369–381; Adolf Laube, 'Das Gespann Cochlaeus/Dietenberger im Kampf gegen Luther', *Archive for Reformation History*, 87 (1996), pp. 119–135. Cornelis Augustijn, 'Die Stellung der Humanisten zur Glaubenspaltung 1518–1530', in his *Erasmus. Der Humanist als Theologe und Kirchenreformer* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 141–153.

It is easy to understand why most Catholic authors only wrote one pamphlet and then gave up.[6]

If we look more closely at Edwards' figures, however, we can find some interesting exceptions from the rule. There were places with a substantial production of Catholic propaganda even in the early 1520s. One of them was Cologne, the old centre of scholastic learning. In all, 23 anti-Lutheran pamphlets were published in the self-styled Holy City (*Sancta Colonia*) on the banks of the Rhine – 22 of which were written in Latin.

Another city contributed more substantially to the Catholic cause. 49 anti-Lutheran editions were printed in Leipzig, only a two-day trip away from Wittenberg. The city of Leipzig was the urban centre of Ducal or Albertine Saxony, a large principality which had been separated from the electorate of Saxony in 1485. It remained a stronghold of Catholic belief and Catholic print for two decades. A total of 219 anti-Lutheran pamphlets were published there before 1539, when the territory finally turned Lutheran. Another 75 editions were printed in a workshop in the duchy's capital, Dresden. This shop, known as the 'Emserpresse', had previously been established in Leipzig and was moved to Dresden in 1524. Together, Leipzig and Dresden accounted for almost half of the total production of Catholic propaganda in Germany. Even more significantly, most pamphlets from Albertine Saxony were written in German, the language of the people.[7]

If there ever was a pamphlet war, it raged in Saxony. Indeed, many Albertine pamphlets did offer direct answers to Luther's *Flugschriften* – and vice versa. Moreover, the city of Leipzig not only produced anti-Lutheran propaganda. It was also one of the most important printing centres of Luther's works until this was prohibited in 1521. After that date it remained a centre of Lutheran book trade although selling these books had been prohibited as well.[8] However, in the following years the city, which had witnessed the only public defeat of Luther at the famous

[6] Bagchi, *Catholic Opponents*, p. 99; Laube, *Cochlaeus/Dietenberger*, pp. 119–122.

[7] Edwards, *Catholic Controversial Literature*.

[8] According to Edwards, *Printing*, p. 22, 539 editions of Luther were published between 1516 and 1520. 156 of them were printed in Leipzig, 125 in Augsburg and 113 in Wittenberg. Helmut Claus, however, does list Wittenberg on top, closely followed by Leipzig. See: Helmut Claus, *Das Leipziger Druckschaffen der Jahre 1518–1539* (Gotha, 1987), p. 10.

Leipzig disputation, became associated with a distinctive anti-Lutheran position. The Protestant preacher Johannes Sylvius Egranus warned: "We should not be divided into sects so that we say, I am a Martinian, I am a Eckite, I am an Emserite, I am a Philippist, I am a Karlstadter, I am a Leipziger, I am a papist".[9]

In interpreting his statistics, Mark Edwards did point out the outstanding case of Albertine Saxony. He also offered an explanation. He attributed it to the influence of a single man. "Were it not for the efforts of Duke Georg of Albertine Saxony and his stable of publicists, the Evangelical media campaign would have been almost unopposed in the vernacular". The duke's commitment, Edwards continues, was a personal one: "Duke Georg of Saxony appears to have understood and exploited the press in the Catholic cause more than any other Catholic ruler, including the various ecclesiastical princes".[10]

But why were things so different in Albertine Saxony? What led Duke Georg to play such a decisive role in opposing Luther in the media world? What was his part in the birth of Catholic propaganda? As good historians, we will have to look for answers in the past. In this case, we should look more closely at the years before the 1520s. In doing so, I intend to show that Georg possessed the means, the experience and most importantly, the motivation, to make his voice heard in the Reformation debate right from the start.[11]

George the Bearded, as Georg of Saxony has been dubbed in historiography was born in 1471. His career was quite unusual. At first, his parents wanted him to become a clergyman and he was trained accordingly. But at the young age of 17 he had to take over the government in Dresden. He ruled in Albertine Saxony for more than 50 years until his death in 1539.[12] There are three factors about Georg's background that

[9] Egranus quoted in Susan Karant-Nunn, 'What was preached in the German cities in the early years of the Reformation? Wildwuchs versus Lutheran unity', in Phillip N. Bebb and Sherrin Marshall (eds.), *The Process of Change in Early Modern Europe* (Athens, Oh., 1988), pp. 81–96; the quote on p. 84.

[10] Edwards, *Printing*, pp. 36–37.

[11] See Christoph Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation. Die Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen, 1488–1525* (Tübingen, 2008).

[12] On the life of Georg and his role in Reformation history, see: Enno Bünz and Christoph Volkmar, 'Die albertinischen Herzöge bis zur Übernahme der Kurwürde (1485–1541)', in Frank-Lothar Kroll (ed.), *Die Herrscher Sachsens. Markgrafen, Kurfürsten, Könige, 1089–1918*, (Munich, 2004), pp. 76–89; Helmar Junghans, 'Georg von Sachsen', in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 12, pp. 385–389; Otto Vossler,

are pertinent to this discussion. Firstly, he was the very incarnation of a domestic politician, a typical German 'Landesvater', who concerned himself personally with all state affairs and often buried himself in paperwork until well after midnight. Secondly, his own personal history was uncomfortably touched by religious unorthodoxy. His mother, the Czech princess Zedena, was the daughter of George of Podebrady, the last Hussite king of Bohemia. Her father, excommunicated by the pope, died while she was pregnant. When Zedena gave birth to a son, the future Georg of Saxony, she named him after the heretical grandfather, but did her best to instil into him a strong sense of obedience to Rome. Thirdly, Georg, once raised to become an leader of the Church, always kept a special interest in ecclesiastical affairs.

George the Bearded is well-known as one of Luther's most ardent opponents. It was only due to him that large parts of the Reformation homelands in Saxony, cities like Leipzig or Dresden, remained Catholic for so long. Yet, why did Georg, who showed so much interest in a renewal of the church, become an enemy of the Reformation? He did not turn against Luther out of ignorance, misinformation or mere conservatism. On the contrary, Georg seems to have made a very deliberate decision, informed by his own vision of the Church and of the ways to bring about renewal. In fact, the trained clergyman Georg was very highly educated for a lay prince. He knew the commonplaces of theology and was able to quote Scripture. We have letters in Latin in his hand as well as prayers, poems and Christian meditations. Even more important, his actions as a ruler are a clear testimony to his personal interest in Church reform. In this field, he was more active than most German princes such as, for example, his cousin, Frederick the Wise. Georg's personal interest in a Christian renewal, as shall be discussed later, also proved significant for his role in the pamphlet war of the early Reformation.[13]

To begin with it is vital to look at the years before Luther appeared on the stage. It has long been a general assumption of Reformation history that it was Luther who discovered the use of the printing press for

'Herzog Georg der Bärtige und seine Ablehnung Luthers', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 184 (1957), pp. 272–291; Ingetraut Ludolphy, 'Der Kampf Herzog Georgs von Sachsen gegen die Einführung der Reformation', in Franz Lau (ed.), *Das Hochstift Meißen. Aufsätze zur sächsischen Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin, 1973), pp. 165–185.

[13] See Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation*.

religious propaganda and that it took his opponents rather too long to react appropriately. However, recent research has shed new light on these matters. We now begin to realise that not only did the technology of print predate the Reformation, but also that the press was almost instantly used to spread political propaganda. Early examples for this can be found in the battle for the bishopric of Mainz in 1461/63, the Franconian tax controversy of 1481 and, most prominently, the scandal caused by the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* of 1515. While it remains true that the Reformation did bring media coverage to new levels, we should be aware of the fact that it was not without precedence.[14]

It is significant that we find early examples of printed propaganda also in Saxony. The city of Leipzig rapidly developed into a centre of print at the end of the fifteenth century.[15] At the beginning of the post-incunabula age it already harboured five printing shops. From 1500 to 1520, in the years before Luther rose to prominence, Leipzig printers produced no fewer than 1,400 editions. Most of them were textbooks used in the lectures and seminars of the local university. Yet, they also included more ambitious projects such as missals, breviaries and psalters for the church, and works of popular piety such as the *Hortulus animae* or the *Legenda s. Anne* which aimed for a lay readership.[16]

From the very outset, printing was used for political propaganda in Saxony. As early as 1482, Prince-Elector Ernst and Duke Albert, fathers

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[14] See Hamm, *Medienereignis*; Falk Eisermann, 'Bevor die Blätter fliegen lernten. Buchdruck, politische Kommunikation und die 'Medienrevolution' des 15. Jahrhunderts', in Karl-Heinz Spieß (ed.), *Medien der Kommunikation im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 2003), pp. 289–320; Konrad Repgen, 'Antimanifest und Kriegsmanifest. Die Benutzung der neuen Drucktechnik bei der Mainzer Stiftsfehde 1461/63 durch die Erzbischöfe Adolf von Nassau und Diether von Isenburg', in Johannes Helmrath and Heribert Müller (eds.), *Studien zum 15. Jahrhundert. Festschrift für Erich Meuthen*, vol. 2 (Munich, 1994), pp. 781–803; Erich Meuthen, 'Die Epistolae obscurorum virorum', in Walter Brandmüller, Herbert Immenkötter, and Erwin Iserloh (eds.), *Ecclesia militans. Studien zur Konzilien- und Reformationsgeschichte. Remigius Bäumer zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, vol. 2 (Paderborn 1988), pp. 53–79; Erika Rummel, *The Case against Johannes Reuchlin: Religious and Social Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Toronto, 2002); Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation*, pp. 406–420.

[15] Claus, *Druckschaffen*; Enno Bünz (ed.), *Bücher, Drucker, Bibliotheken in Mitteldeutschland. Neue Forschungen zur Kommunikations- und Mediengeschichte um 1500* (Leipzig, 2006).

[16] *Ortulus anime to dude* (Leipzig: Melchior Lotter, 1506) (VD 16 H 5106). This book was reprinted in 1511, 1513, 1516, and 1517 (VD 16 H 5107, 5108, 5111, 5113); *Legenda s[an]ctissime matrone Anne genitricis v[ir]gi[ni]s Marie matris et Hiesu Cristi auie* (Leipzig: Melchior Lotter, 1502) (VD 16 L 971). Reprints date from 1505, 1507, 1512, and 1517 (VD 16 L 972 f., 975 f.).

of Frederick the Wise and George the Bearded, commissioned two editions of their new territorial law, the *Landesordnung*, to be printed at Leipzig.[17] In the following years, authorities in Saxony started to use the press regularly. In his new catalogue of single sheet incunabula, Falk Eisermann lists no fewer than 28 editions which were published by the Albertine dukes Albert and Georg before the year 1500.[18]

This development continued into the early sixteenth century. A typical example for the use of printed propaganda is the Friesian war of 1514. The duchy of Friesland on the shores of the North Sea had been obtained by Georg's father, Duke Albert (1443–1500) in reward for his military service to the Hapsburg emperors. Saxon control of Frisia was now challenged by a powerful vassal, count Edzard of Emden. In 1514, Georg went to Frisia in person, to try to regain control by force. The military campaign against Edzard did not go well. At all times, however, the Saxons dominated the media coverage. Six pamphlets appeared in print, all of them endorsing the Dresden point of view. The first one tried to prepare the public for war, listing Georg's complaints against Edzard and justifying the campaign by quoting the imperial ban against him.[19] Another one, entitled 'Frieslandischer krieg', gave details of the advance of the Saxon troops. At the end of this text, it already announced that the next pamphlet to be published would contain a special report on the siege of Appingedam.[20]

The concept and technique of a pamphlet-based media campaign were therefore well-known in pre-Reformation Saxony. Duke Georg in particular appears to have been well aware of the power of public opinion. Long before Luther, he used the press to promote a renewal of the Church. In 1511–1512 for example, two Leipzig pamphlets advertised

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17 *Landesordnung Kurfürst Ernsts und Herzog Albrechts von Sachsen, 15th April 1482* ([Leipzig: Markus Brandis, 1482]) (GW, No. 9388 f.).

18 VE 15, A-116 to A-129 and G-49 to G-63.

19 *Hirnach volget, was beschwerung und unrechten, uns, hertzog Georgen vonn Sachssen etc., von graven Edezart von Embden begegent vnd czugefugt ist* ([Leipzig: Melchior Lotter, 1513]) (VD 16 ZV 19880). See also Gisela Möncke, 'Der Friesländische Krieg von 1514 in der zeitgenössischen Publizistik. Flugschriften und Lieddrucke', *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst und vaterländische Altertümer zu Emden*, 73/74 (1994), pp. 51–64.

20 *Frieslandischer krieg. Und was der durchlaucht hochgeborne furst un[d] herr, herr Georg hertzog tzu Sachssen […] do selbst gekriegt […]* ([Leipzig: Martin Landsberg, 1514]) (VD 16 F 2893). The report on the siege of Appingedam appeared under the title: *Wie der Storm zum Tham in Frieslant ergangen ist* ([Leipzig: Martin Landsberg 1514]) (VD 16 ZV 24146); there was a further reprint: ([Nuremberg Jobst Gutknecht, 1514]) (VD 16 W 2527).

the Fifth Lateran council, one of them written in Latin, the other one in German.[21] Likewise, Georg made use of the press to promote his own projects, most notably the canonisation of bishop Benno of Meissen.

For almost thirty years, Georg and his editor-in-chief, Hieronymus Emser, tried to persuade the Roman curia to canonise the rather obscure 11th century Saxon bishop Benno. Time and again, they resorted to printed pamphlets to further their cause. Each of them was designed to fit precisely the needs of the political campaign. In 1505, for instance, Emser addressed a summary to the new pope, Julius II, in an attempt to win him over to the cause. Other publications like the 1517 German version of the saint's life were designed to foster the public veneration for Benno, as this was a prerequisite for canonisation. Eventually, Georg's campaign was successful. Benno was canonised by Pope Adrian VI in 1523, becoming the last saint canonised by the Pre-Tridentine church. From Saxony, a large scale broadsheet was sent to towns and territories all over the Empire to invite people to the canonisation ceremony at Meissen in June 1524. Thus, the printing press was used to promote a new Catholic saint in Saxony while the Reformation was already gathering strength. Of course, the Catholic event attracted bitter criticism from Luther, resulting in another little pamphlet war about the sainthood of Benno.[22]

Finally, Georg of Saxony used the printing press as a means of dealing with heretics. In, or shortly after 1511, a book printed in Nuremberg was brought to the duke's attention because it defended Hussite positions. Immediately, Georg ordered Hieronymus Dungersheim, professor of theology at Leipzig, to publish a response. In the preface of his *Confutatio apologetici*, Dungersheim praised Georg as a 'princeps Catholice' who closely monitored the heretics on the other side of the Erzgebirge in order to protect his subjects and the Catholic faith.[23]

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[21] Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation*, pp. 158–162.

[22] Christoph Volkmar, *Die Heiligenerhebung Bennos von Meißen (1523/24). Spätmittelalterliche Frömmigkeit, landesherrliche Kirchenpolitik und reformatorische Kritik im albertinischen Sachsen in der frühen Reformationszeit* (Münster, 2002); Christoph Volkmar, 'Druckkunst im Dienste der Kultpropaganda. Der Buchdruck als Instrument landesherrlicher Kirchenpolitik am Beispiel der Kanonisation Bennos von Meißen', in Bünz, *Bücher*, pp. 439–460.

[23] "Hoc tu princeps Catholice vigilanter advertens, et ob eos qui ditioni tue haud distanter incumbunt hereticos, Picardos vulgo appellatos, subditis tuis nedum de temporali pace, quod optimi p[rae]sidis est, sed et pro tua in deum observantia, de fidei stabilitate, sine qua nec pax vera aut salus constare potest, fideliter providere volens,

Thus, Georg did learn very early on that addressing the public had become essential to modern church politics. When Luther appeared on the stage, he was ready to play his part right from day one.

Duke Georg reacted within a few days of Luther sending out his 95 Theses. At first he was very positive about the issue. For some time Georg had been uncomfortable with the loud and somewhat crude way the Dominican Tetzel preached the Jubilee indulgence. He had already forbidden the campaign in his lands; spurred, no doubt, also by a desire to protect his own new Jubilee indulgence at Annaberg. Now, Georg welcomed Luther's theses and ordered that they should be published as posters "at many places […] to warn the common people about Tetzel's ways of deception".[24] One of the first printed editions of the theses, a large-scale single-leaf print that was produced by Jakob Thanner at Leipzig in the last weeks of 1517, was probably commissioned by Georg for this purpose.[25] However, in the following months Georg changed his mind about Luther very rapidly. The turning point was Luther's position on the Hussites and the *communio sub utraque specie*. To the ears of Georg this sounded like an association with heresy.[26]

It is no coincidence that the first anti-Lutheran pamphlet was published right after the Leipzig disputation, where Luther's declaration, that there was some truth in the teachings of Jan Hus, had led to an open confrontation with Georg. The book, called *De disputatione Lipsicensi* was in fact an anti-hussite text.[27] The author, Hieronymus

tractatum quendam pestiferum, apologiam sacrescripture falso et mendaciter p[rae] titulatu[m], Nuremberge quod plurimu[m] miror, sed furtim ut estimo nuper impressum eorundem Picardorum heresibus totum respersum, discutere mihi demandasti". Hieronymus Dungersheim, *Confutatio apologetici cuiusda[m] sacre scripture falso inscripti: ad illustrissimu[m] p[ri]ncipem Georgium: Saxonie duce[m] etc. a magistro Hieronymo Dungerßheym de Ochssenfart, sacre theologie professore, edita* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Stöckel, 1514) (VD 16 D 2947), fol. A IIa-A IIIa. See: Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation*, pp. 410, 460–465.

24 Letter of Cäsar Pflug to Georg of Saxony, 27th November 1517, cited from Felician Gess (ed.), *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen*, vol. 1: 1517–1524, vol. 2: 1525–1527 (Leipzig/Berlin, 1905/17), here vol. 1, p. 28 f. The letter is quoting Duke Georg's orders.

25 Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation*, pp. 378–384, 450. Helmut Claus, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Leipziger Buchdrucks von Luthers Thesenanschlag bis zur Einführung der Reformation in Sachsen (1517–1539)*, (unpublished PhD thesis, Berlin, 1973), vol. 1, pp. 24–28.

26 Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation*, pp. 448–465.

27 Hieronymus Emser, *De disputatione Lipsicensi, quantum ad Boemos obiter deflexa est, Leipzig: Melchior Lotter d.Ä. 1519*, Franz Xaver Thurnhofer (ed.), *Hieronymus*

Emser, undoubtedly working on Georg's direct order, gave it the form of a letter directed to the leader of the Catholics in Bohemia, the provost of Prague John Žak. Emser's report on the Leipzig disputation was an open attack on the Hussites. They should not celebrate, Emser wrote, since Luther had lost the debate when he tried to use Hussite arguments, so the event had turned out to be a sound defeat of the Hussite positions.

Emser's book, printed in 1,000 copies, was not only read in Prague. Luther soon wrote a bitter response to Emser. The pamphlet war had begun. It is striking, how Emser's letter simultaneously continued the anti-hussite tradition of politics in Albertine Saxony, and fitted perfectly into the new anti-Lutheran direction. It is clear that Duke Georg and his authors did not have to learn a new strategy when they started to oppose Luther. They just continued to do what they were already used to doing.

That Catholic Saxony was well prepared for the pamphlet war with Luther can be seen from the case of Hieronymus Emser. Emser is well known as one of the most prolific Catholic controversialists, who exchanged pamphlets with Luther almost on a monthly basis. Emser's impressive output alone stands testimony to the excellent environment in which he was working.[28]

Emser had everything other Catholic authors lacked: a career, sufficient funding, and political support for his work. But he did not achieve this through his attacks on Luther, he had already achieved it thanks to the pamphlets he had published *before* then. We have already met Emser as a key figure in the media campaign promoting Saint Benno of Meissen. When he first joined the service of Georg of Saxony in 1505, Emser was appointed secretary to the duke. As early as 1510, however, he became a full-time publicist. Duke Georg entrusted him with the mission to do research on Benno in order to compose the *Vita Bennonis*, the official life of the saint. From this time onwards Emser was freed from all other duties to focus "ad literarum" as he puts it, which is, on his published works. To sustain him, Georg appointed

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Emser, De disputatione Lipsicensi, quantum ad Boemos obiter deflexa est (1519), A venatione Luteriana aegocerotis assertio (1519) (Münster, 1921), pp. 27–41.

[28] For the following see Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation*, pp. 279–281, 409–420, 554–581. On the biography and works of Emser, see: Gustav Kawerau, *Hieronymus Emser. Ein Lebensbild aus der Reformationsgeschichte* (Halle, 1898); Smolinsky, *Alveldt und Emser*.

Emser as chaplain of the court and procured two ecclesiastical sinecures for him. A chaplaincy at Dresden and a vicary at Meissen guaranteed him a free house in the duchy's capital and a solid annual income of 80 florins.[29]

When Emser, like Cochlaeus, appealed to Rome in 1521 to fund his writing against Luther, this was not really a desperate cry for help. It was rather a calculated attempt to expand the financial resources for his campaign.[30] Ultimately, Emser did not need Italian money. He had the patronage of Georg. The prince continuously commissioned Emser to write against Luther as well as edit texts of other anti-Lutheran authors. Emser also specialised in translating books of famous men like Erasmus of Rotterdam or King Henry VIII, making available their anti-Lutheran text in the German vernacular.

In 1524, Emser started his own printing shop in Dresden, the Emserpresse.[31] But Emser did not really become a printer. He was rather the editor-in-chief of an enterprise with the sole concern of publishing as many works against Luther as possible. The duke, on the other hand, most likely financed the whole business. The well-run Albertine propaganda machine even impressed its enemies. The famous Lutheran partisan Lazarus Spengler of Nuremberg was furious about what he dubbed the "herzog Georgischen canzlei schmiedten" (Duke Georg's chancellery shop) because of the impression these Catholic books made on the common people of his city.[32]

Emser had everything he required and most importantly political backup. This proved to be crucial, as there were many attempts to silence him. In 1521 Lutheran partisans attacked Emser's house in

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[29] Volkmar, *Benno*, pp. 125–156; Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation*, pp. 278 f.

[30] These letters survived in nuncio Aleander's records in the Vatican Library (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. lat. 6199 and 8075). See especially the letter by Hieronymus Emser to Girolamo Aleander, Leipzig, 10th March 1521, cited from Walter Friedensburg (ed.), 'Aleander, Miltitz und Emser (1521)', *Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte* 23 (1902): pp. 320–330; Letter by Johannes Cochlaeus to Girolamo Aleander, Frankfurt, 27th September 1521, cited from Walter Friedensburg (ed.), 'Beiträge zum Briefwechsel der katholischen Gelehrten Deutschlands im Reformationszeitalter aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 18 (1898), pp. 106–131.

[31] Frank Aurich, *Die Anfänge des Buchdrucks in Dresden. Die Emserpresse 1524–1526* (Dresden, 2000).

[32] Letter by Lazarus Spengler to Veit Dietrich, Nuremberg, 8th February 1534, Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, unpublished manuscript to vols. 3 and 4, Nr. 2705 (this manuscript is due to be published in a new edition by the Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften in 2010–2012).

Dresden, breaking the windows.[33] At the same time, 20 students of Leipzig university published an pamphlet against Emser. They declared that they were at feud with Emser because of his attacks on Luther.[34] But Georg knew how to defend his men. From the diet at Worms he sent a letter home, ordering a response to the attacks "as if they would be against ourselves".[35] The reaction of the ducal authorities was harsh and effective. The investigations led to the arrest of Valentin Schumann, the pamphlet's printer. For several months Schumann was kept in jail and when he was freed, he was forced to print a response written by Emser – free of charge.[36]

Finally, when Emser died in 1527, Georg quickly looked for a successor. But he did not choose one of his many loyal Saxon priests, but employed a stranger to his lands. Johannes Cochlaeus was already known as a papal theologian and writer of Catholic pamphlets. It was his reputation as an anti-Lutheran author that really qualified him for the job. For once, writing against Luther spurred a career. Cochlaeus became chaplain of the court at Dresden, taking over the post as Georg's chief propaganda officer. After 1527, he was in charge of the "herzog Georgischen canzlei schmiedten" that the Lutherans loathed so much.[37]

The actions of Georg of Saxony therefore helped to bring about an early boom of Catholic propaganda right in the heart of the Reformation homelands. If we want one last proof of this, we can look at Edwards's figures again. Of the six people who made up the group of the most productive Catholic authors until 1555, no less than four – Emser, Cochlaeus, Sylvius and Witzel – were based in Albertine Saxony. Every one of them was closely connected to Georg.[38]

The case of Georg of Saxony is a testimony to the intimate connection between the printed book and politics. However, it is important to keep in mind that supporting Catholic authors was just one of the

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[33] See: Smolinsky, *Alveldt und Emser*, p. 43.

[34] Viginti nobiles adulescentes Emsero bellum [early in 1521], Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, vol. 1, p. 146, footnote 3.

[35] Letter by Georg of Saxony to his son, Friedrich the younger, and his counsellors in Dresden, Frankfurt, 9th January 1521, Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, vol. 1, p. 146 f.

[36] Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation*, pp. 583–585.

[37] Remigius Bäumer, *Johannes Cochlaeus (1479–1552). Leben und Werk im Dienst der Katholischen Reform* (Münster, 1980).

[38] Edwards, *Printing*, 36.

many elements that added up to the strictly anti-Lutheran course adopted in Albertine Saxony. As early as 1519, sooner than any other territory in Germany, the authorities in Albertine Saxony took stern measures against the Reformation. This included censorship, a surveillance of the book trade, and oppressive measures against Lutheran preachers, monks and subjects that would culminate in suspensions and expulsions from Saxon territory. It also included, however, numerous ways to bring about a renewal of the Church, suggesting for instance visitations and disciplinary measures.[39]

The picture is not complete without mentioning Georg's own attempts to take part in the pamphlet war. The prince was not content with staying in the background. He himself took up the pen. However, as a layman who was loyal to the idea of the Church's magisterium, it was not as easy to engage in theological debates. Therefore, Georg looked for ways to write without mentioning his name.

In January 1520, bishop John VII of Meissen was the first to ever officially ban a book of Luther (again, by accusing Luther of promoting Hussite heresy). Luther attacked the bishop with a pamphlet in response, insinuating he had had to much wine from his vineyards when making the decision. The bishop turned to Georg for help, since it had been the prince who had suggested that the book be banned in the first place. Georg took over the case entirely. When the bishop answered Luther, every word he wrote had been prompted by Georg.[40]

Several years later, the prince wrote a whole pamphlet against Luther, but used a synonym. This time he chose to write under the name of a priest, Arnold of Cölln.[41] Thus Georg tried to level the field between him and Luther. Interestingly, Luther had repeatedly attacked Georg for being merely a layman who could not dare to argue with a trained theologian. The Reformation doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, it seems, did not extend to princes who opposed him.

Finally, Georg also published a very important text under his own name: the preface of the first Catholic edition of the Bible in the vernacular during the Reformation era. The genesis of the so-called

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[39] Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation*, pp. 446–604.

[40] Ibid., pp. 467 f.

[41] Franziskus Arnoldi, *Wider des Luthers Warnung an die Deutschen* (Dresden: Wolfgang Stöckel and Leipzig: Melchior Lotter 1531). The draft of this pamphlet in Georg's own handwriting is preserved in the Dresden State Archive (Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10024 Geheimer Rat/Geheimes Archiv, Loc. 10300/2, fol. 13–23).

Emsertestament of 1527 was closely linked to the anti-Lutheran campaign in Albertine Saxony. When Luther published his famous *Septembertestament* in 1522, Georg banned it immediately, ordering his subjects to hand in all copies on the promise of a refund.[42] But he did not stop there and instead he sought an alternative. His best man, Emser, was commissioned to write a report to point out Luther's errors.[43] On this basis, Emser was to publish his own edition of a vernacular New Testament, a censored version of Luther's translation. This version was published in 1527 and it was a tremendous success. We know of 43 editions of the *Emsertestament* and its adaptations, making it the most successful Catholic bible project of the sixteenth century.[44] Georg justified the project in his preface. He wanted to prove once and for all, Georg wrote, that his politics were never directed against the Gospel, but only against heresy. It was Luther who had been infecting and poisoning the sacred text with his annotations and illustrations, even re-arranging the canon to fit his one-sided interpretation of *sola fide*. Thus Luther was trying to promote heresy "under the pretence of the Gospel", which Georg could not tolerate.[45]

Georg's strong wish for a renewal of the Christian faith is emphasised by the fact that he dared to present to the lay public a vernacular Bible without seeking any authorisation from Rome. Not a word was written about the traditional notion that the Bible was not for the layman's hand. On the contrary, Georg encouraged his subjects to read the Gospel in the vernacular and to alter their lives accordingly. It is this attempt to promote a renewed church as an alternative to Luther that completes the outstanding commitment of Georg of Saxony in the early Reformation.

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[42] Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation*, pp. 590–592.

[43] Hieronymus Emser, *Auß was grund vnnd vrsach Luthers dolmatschung vber das nawe testament dem gemeinen man billich vorbotten worden sey* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Stöckel, 1523) (VD 16 E 1089).

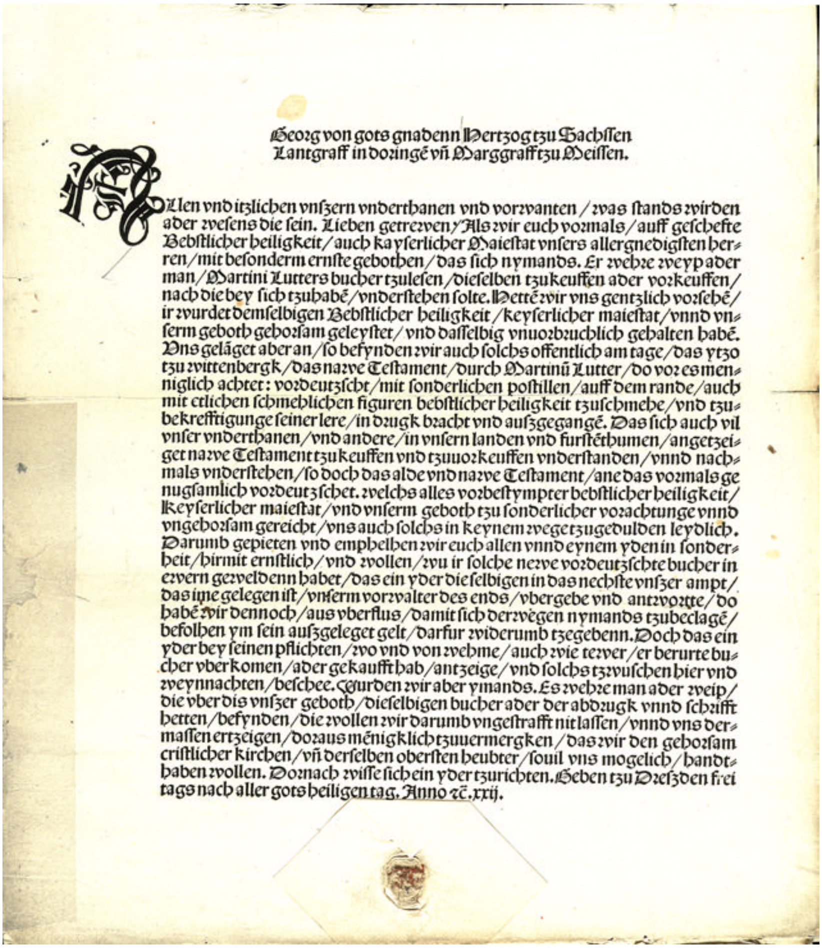
[44] Hieronymus Emser, *Das naw testament nach lawt der Christliche[n] kirchen* (Dresden: Wolfgang Stöckel, 1527) (VD 16, B 4374). See Volkmar, *Reform statt Reformation*, pp. 577–579.

[45] Preface by Georg of Saxony to Hieronymus Emser's New Testament, Dresden, 1st August 1527, Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, vol. 2, pp. 775–780.

Conclusion

By looking at Georg of Saxony we see the emergence of Catholic propaganda, even in the first years of the Reformation. In this respect, our general picture of an overwhelming Lutheran dominance has to be slightly altered, especially with regard to the homelands of the Reformation. Having experience with the media that predated the Reformation, Georg of Saxony was able to support Catholic authors and to launch a media campaign that could sometimes rival Luther's in professionalism, actuality and scope. Most importantly, this was not only an attempt to defy Luther. Duke Georg and his supporters promoted their own ideas of a renewal of the Church and tried to persuade people to support measures of reform instead of embracing the Reformation. It was not religious conservatives but German reformers who started the tradition of printed Catholic propaganda in the Reformation age.

Figure 1. Duke Georg of Saxony, painting by Lucas Cranach the elder, 1534. (Museum der bildenden Künste Leipzig).



Georg von gots gnadenn Hertzog tzu Sachſſen
Lantgraff in doringē vñ Marggraff tzu Meiſſen.

Allen vnd itzlichen vnſzern vnderthanen vnd vorwanten / was ſtands wirden ader weſens die ſein. Lieben getrewen / Als wir euch vormals / auff geſchefte Bebſtlicher heiligkeit / auch kayſerlicher Maieſtat vnſers allergnedigſten herren / mit beſonderm ernſte gebothen / das ſich nymands. Er wehre weyp ader man / Martini Lutters bucher tzuleſen / dieſelben tzukeuffen ader vorkeuffen / nach die bey ſich tzuhabē / vnderſtehen ſolte. Hettē wir vns gentzlich vorſehē / ir wurdet demſelbigen Bebſtlicher heiligkeit / keyſerlicher maieſtat / vnnd vnſerm geboth gehorſam geleyſtet / vnd daſſelbig vnuorbruchlich gehalten habē. Vns gelāget aber an / ſo befynden wir auch ſolchs offentlich am tage / das ytzo tzu wittenbergk / das nawe Teſtament / durch Martinū Lutter / do vor es menniglich achtet: vordeutzſcht / mit ſonderlichen poſtillen / auff dem rande / auch mit etlichen ſchmehlichen figuren bebſtlicher heiligkeit tzuſchmehe / vnd tzubekrefftigunge ſeiner lere / in drugk bracht vnd auſzgegangē. Das ſich auch vil vnſer vnderthanen / vnd andere / in vnſern landen vnd furſtēthumen / angetzeiget nawe Teſtament tzukeuffen vnd tzuuorkeuffen vnderſtanden / vnnd nachmals vnderſtehen / ſo doch das alde vnd nawe Teſtament / ane das vormals genugſamlich vordeutzſchet. welchs alles vorbeſtympter bebſtlicher heiligkeit / Keyſerlicher maieſtat / vnd vnſerm geboth tzu ſonderlicher vorachtunge vnnd vngehorſam gereicht / vns auch ſolchs in keynem wege tzugedulden leydlich. Darumb gepieten vnd emphelhen wir euch allen vnnd eynem yden in ſonderheit / hirmit ernſtlich / vnd wollen / wu ir ſolche newe vordeutzſchte bucher in ewern gewelden habet / das ein yder dieſelbigen in das nechſte vnſzer ampt / das ime gelegen iſt / vnſerm vorwalter des ends / vbergebe vnd antwortte / do habē wir dennoch / aus vberflus / damit ſich derwegen nymands tzubeclagē / befolhen ym ſein auſzgeleget gelt / darfur widerumb tzegebenn. Doch das ein yder bey ſeinen pflichten / wo vnd von wehme / auch wie tewer / er berurte bucher vberkomen / ader gekaufft hab / antzeige / vnd ſolchs tzwuſchen hier vnd weynnachten / beſchee. Wurden wir aber ymands. Es wehre man ader weip / die vber dis vnſzer geboth / dieſelbigen bucher ader der abdrugk vnnd ſchrifft hetten / befynden / die wollen wir darumb vngeſtrafft nit laſſen / vnnd vns dermaſſen ertzeigen / doraus mēnigklich tzuuermergken / das wir den gehorſam criſtlicher kirchen / vñ derſelben oberſten heubter / ſouil vns mogelich / handthaben wollen. Dornach wiſſe ſich ein yder tzurichten. Geben tzu Dreſzden freitags nach aller gots heiligen tag. Anno rc. xxij.

Figure 2. Edict of Duke Georg of Saxony against Martin Luther's New Testament, Dresden, 7th November 1522 (Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 12883 Mandatensammlung, 1522).

PREACHING AND PRINTING IN GERMANY ON THE EVE OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

Amy Nelson Burnett

In recent years scholars from a growing number of disciplines have turned to printed sermons as a source of insight into early modern culture. Sermons obviously tell us about the theological convictions and religious views of the author, but they were also one of the most fundamental tools used by early modern preachers to shape the worldview of their audience. Sermons dealt with much more than religion. Preachers discussed the weather and other natural phenomena, commented on forms of employment and entertainment, and expounded on role expectations within the social hierarchy. Their sermons addressed the major political and social events of the day as well as the milestones of individual lives—birth, marriage, and death. Printed sermons contain not only text but sometimes images and descriptions of musical performances. For those interested in the history of reading and reception theory, sermons illustrate how ideas and attitudes developed and taught at universities, academies, and seminaries were understood and repackaged for the consumption of the laity. Sermons tell us not only about elite culture but also about popular culture, and how the two interacted or blended. They are therefore an important source for social and cultural historians, art historians and musicologists, folklorists and literary scholars.[1]

[1] Albrecht Beutel, 'Kommunikation des Evangeliums: Die Predigt als zentrales theologisches Vermittlungsmedium in der frühen Neuzeit', in Irene Dingel and Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele (eds.), *Kommunikation und Transfer im Christentum der Frühen Neuzeit* (Mainz, 2007), pp. 3–15; Ernst Englisch makes a similar point with regard to late medieval sermons, see: 'Deutsche Predigten als Vermittler zwischen Gelehrtenkultur und Volkskultur', in Peter Dinzelbacher and Hans-Dieter Mück (eds.), *Volkskultur des europäischen Spätmittelalters. Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung vom 24.-26.VI.1986*, (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 147–158; On the significance of sermons for both historians and literary scholars, see: Mary Morrissey, 'Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons', *Historical Journal*, 42 (1999), pp. 1111–1123. In an important study of Reformation-era sermons published after this essay was completed, John Frymire argues that postils were a major force shaping public discourse, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 439–444.

The chief difficulty facing those wanting to use printed sermons as a source for their own research is finding those sermons that might be most useful for them. It was with this in mind that a team at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln began developing an on-line bibliographical database of sermons printed in German-speaking Europe.[2] At present we have a prototype database that includes sermons published between 1601–1620, but we hope to obtain funding that would allow us to expand the database to include all sermons, regardless of confession, published between 1517, the beginning of the Reformation, and 1650, the immediate aftermath of the Thirty Years' War.

The database is intended primarily as a tool and finding aid for researchers, but it has features that enable quantitative analysis of sermon publication and that help us formulate qualitative research questions about preaching and printing in the early modern period. This essay is a first report on what can be learned from our prototype database. It addresses two questions. The first concerns the history of the book more generally: what does our database tell us about books and printing in the early seventeenth century? The second relates more specifically to the genre of book being considered: What does the database tell us about sermons and preaching in that same period? As I will demonstrate, the database to some extent confirms accepted wisdom, but it also contradicts some of the myths and stereotypes that exist about preaching and printing on the eve of the Thirty Years' War.

Before addressing these questions, I will first describe the database itself. The primary tool for identifying sermons is the on-line *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts* (VD17).[3] Since VD17 is still a work in progress, we have also used the *Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog* (KVK), a meta-catalogue that includes all of the large and many of the smaller libraries in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and elsewhere.[4] Each entry in our database contains the complete bibliographical information given in these two catalogues, but it goes beyond that to list other information,

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[2] Technical and financial support for the database was provided by the university's Center for Digital Research in the Humanities and its Research Council.

[3] 'VD17', accessed 15 October, 2009, http://www.vd17.de/

[4] 'Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog', accessed 15 October, 2009, http://www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de/kvk.html

to the extent that we can determine it from the catalogue entries, so that users can search for the sermons most relevant to their interests. Each sermon publication is described with regard to its length, the number of sermons it contains, the Scripture passage(s) on which the sermon(s) is/are based, and the type and topic of the sermon(s). Users can browse through the database in alphabetical order by the name of the sermon author, or they can do searches according to the categories we have assigned: for instance, Catholic sermons on the sacraments published between 1601 and 1610.

Almost all of the sermon publications include a dedication to a patron or patrons. Many of them contain other material as well, whether a preface to the reader, laudatory poems by or for the author, illustrations, hymns, descriptions of the occasions on which the sermons were preached, or letters or treatises related to the topic of the sermons. The database notes the existence of this additional matter to the extent that it can be identified from the information available in VD17.

The prototype database contains 2,908 sermon imprints published in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. Extrapolating from this twenty-year period, we estimate that the total number of sermons printed during the period from 1517 to 1650 is somewhere between 15,000–20,000 imprints. As might be expected, the vast majority of the sermons in the prototype database (2,211 imprints, or 76.4%) were written by Lutherans, but there are a substantial number of sermons by Catholic (446 imprints, or 15.3%) and Reformed authors (200 imprints, or 6.9%).[5] Reprints of sermons first published before the Reformation (thirty-six imprints, or 1.2%) fall into a special category. One might think that these medieval sermons would be Catholic, but they also include German translations of the sermons of Johann Tauler and one by Girolamo Savonarola that were clearly intended for a Lutheran audience.[6] The sermons classified as 'other' include four imprints of Anglican sermons and an anonymous sermon printed in Prague whose confession cannot be determined on the basis of information available in the on-line catalogues.

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[5] There are 2221 Lutheran sermons, 446 Catholic sermons, two hundred Reformed sermons, and forty-one that fall into the medieval/other category.

[6] Frymire discusses the printing of medieval postils in more detail, *Primacy of the Postils*, 407–411.

The sermon imprints are divided into three main groups: postils, sermon collections, and individual sermons. The postils are sermons preached on the traditional Gospel (and sometimes Epistle) readings for Sundays and/or feast days throughout the church year. These were often published in multiple-volume editions, divided according to the church year: one volume for the Sundays during the six months beginning in Advent and ending with Pentecost, a second volume for the Sundays from Pentecost through the end of the church year, and a third volume devoted to feast days, which might also include series of sermons for Advent and Lent. Although many of these imprints are impressive, large format (folio) volumes, a number of them—especially reprints of earlier editions—are in smaller formats that would have been more affordable and perhaps easier for parish pastors to use.[7]

The sermon collections are imprints with anywhere from two to over a thousand sermons. These sermons are usually connected in some way, whether they were all preached at a particular time of the church year such as Christmas or Easter, for specific occasions such as weddings or parish festivals, or on a particular text, whether a book of the Bible, Luther's catechism, or a familiar hymn. Last but not least, there are many single sermons that were printed as pamphlets. Both sermon collections and individual sermons were overwhelmingly published in quarto, and they are almost all in German, regardless of confession.

The database deliberately excludes individual funeral sermons because these are already fairly well indexed, whether through printed catalogues or through the on-line catalogue for the almost 10,000 funeral sermons located at the Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.[8] This does not mean that there are no funeral sermons in the database, however, since such sermons were sometimes included in sermon collections.

The database is particularly valuable for enabling a quantitative analysis of sermon publication. In the first two decades of the seventeenth century, an average of 145 sermon imprints appeared each year, but this overall number of sermons hides the significant variation that occurred between years (see Table 1).

[7] Frymire describes the origins and structure of the postils, *Primacy of the Postils*, pp. 12–13, 449–450.

[8] 'Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel', accessed 15 October, 2009, http://dbs.hab.de/leichenpredigten/

Table 1. Average Yearly Sermon Publications

Confession	Average	High	Low
Lutheran	111 imprints	145 imprints (1618)	80 imprints (1606)
Catholic	22 imprints	42 imprints (1613)	10 imprints (1606)
Reformed	10 imprints	24 imprints (1620)	0 imprints (1615)
Medieval/ Other	3 imprints	8 imprints (1615)	0 imprints (1605–6, 1608–9, 1620)
Total	145 imprints	181 imprints (1613)	98 imprints (1606)

The highest number of publications overall occurred in 1613, while the lowest number occurred in 1606. This high and low of overall sermon publication coincides only approximately with the highs and lows of sermon publication by confession. Lutheran sermons reached their nadir in 1606 but rose to a peak in 1618. 1606 was also the low point for Catholic sermon imprints, but the number of Catholic publications peaked somewhat earlier, in 1613. The largest number of Reformed sermons was published at the very end of our period in 1620; in contrast, there were no Reformed sermon imprints published only five years earlier, in 1615. Publication of medieval sermons was the most volatile: there were several years in which no sermons were produced, but eight imprints in the category were published in 1615.

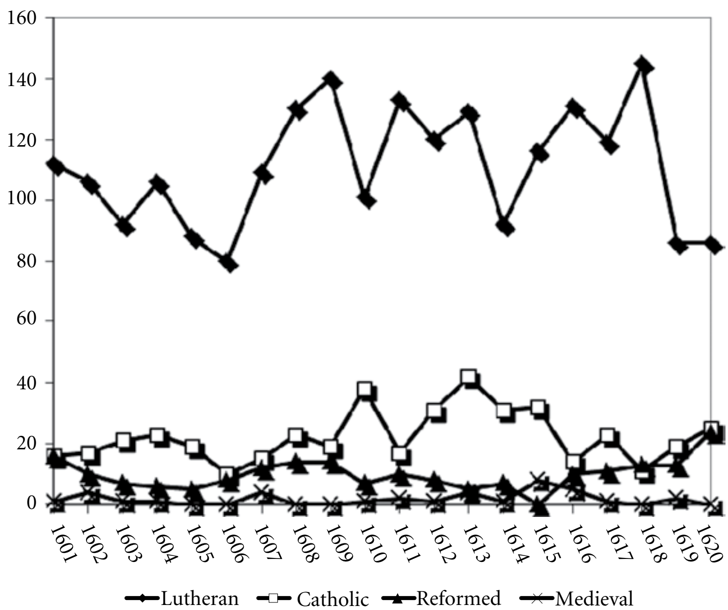

Figure 1. Sermon Imprints by Year

Figure 1 illustrates the trend in sermon publishing and makes more clear the differences in the publishing pattern of each confession over this twenty-year period. The printing of Catholic sermons reached its highest point between 1610 and 1615, for example, while the printing of Lutheran sermons during this time was more irregular, with two years of relatively few imprints in 1610 and 1614. The high point of Lutheran sermon publication in 1618 can easily be explained: it was due almost entirely to the celebration of the Reformation centennial in the autumn of 1617. In the two months following the Reformation anniversary, there were twenty-six publications containing sermons preached for the Reformation jubilee, and fifty-six more were published the following year—39% of the total number of Lutheran sermons for 1618. The Lutherans were not the only ones to mark the centennial of the Reformation. The jubilee was celebrated in Reformed Heidelberg as well, and the sermons delivered on that occasion were printed in both the original German and in Latin translation. These sermons were not without controversy. The Dresden court preacher Matthias Höe von Höenegg published a pamphlet condemning the published sermon of his counterpart in Heidelberg, Abraham Scultetus, for its many misleading or erroneous statements—including the fact that Scultetus did not mention Luther at all in his entire sermon. Needless to say, Höe's own jubilee sermon focused on the central role played by "God's elect tool", Martin Luther.[9]

While the number of Lutheran sermon imprints trended downward in the last years of the 1610s, the printing of Reformed sermons increased in 1616 and reached its highest level at the end of the decade. After Elector Friedrich V's election as king of Bohemia, Scultetus published a number of sermons preached not only in the Palatinate but

[9] Abraham Scultetus, *Evangelische JubelJahrs Predig: Zu Heidelberg den 2. Novembris…gehalten* (Amberg, Schönfeld, 1618); Matthias Höe von Höenegg, *Trewhertzige Warnung für der JubelfestsPredigt… von Abraham Sculteto…gehalten* (Leipzig, Lamberg, 1618); Matthias Höe von Höenegg, *Chur Sächsische Evangelische JubelFrewde* (Leipzig, Lamberg, 1617). Höe von Höenegg's jubilee sermon is discussed by Wolfgang Sommer, *Die lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden: Grundzüge ihrer Geschichte und Verkündigung im Kurfürstentum Sachsen* (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 142–146. In addition to Scultetus, the Reformed pastors Johann Salmuth, Johann Cratius, and Christophorus Adolphi published jubilee sermons. There was also one Catholic sermon, by the Jesuit Balthasar Hager, *Catholische Jubelpredig: Von dem Frewdenreichen JubelFest/so die Sectischenz…in den abgewichenen Kirchen Teutscher Nation feyerlich angestelt/ und celebrirt haben* (Mainz, Lipp, 1618).

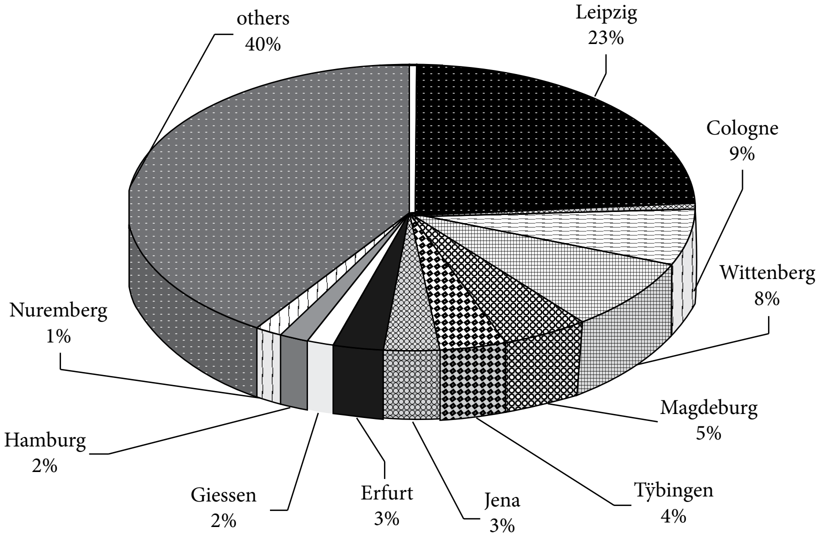

Figure 2. Sermon Imprints by Place of Publication

also in Bohemia. These included the sermon delivered at Friedrich's election as well as an attack on the use of images preached in Prague, which went through nine editions in 1620, including translations into Latin, Czech, and English.[10] The disaster at White Mountain would essentially end Scultetus' publishing campaign—as well as his position as court preacher—but the rise in sermon imprints after 1618 reflects one aspect of Reformed propaganda at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

Figure 2 gives a somewhat surprising view of the sermon imprints based on their place of publication:

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[10] Abraham Scultetus, *Königliche Wahl-Predigt/ Gehalten nach der Erwehlung und Designation deß zukünfftigen Königs in Böheim* (Amberg, Schönfeld, 1620); *Confoederations-Predigt/ Bey Vernewerung/ weiterer Erklärung/ unnd Confirmirung/ der zwischen den Königreich Hungarn und Böhem…gehalten* (Amberg, Schönfeld, 1620); *Allerhand Christliche Predigten… Newlicher zeit/ theils auff dem Keyserlichen Wahltag zu Franckfurt am Meyn/ Theils vor und nach der Crönung Königlicher Majestät in Böheim/ ausser und in Prag gehalten* (Frankfurt/M, Rosa, 1620); *Drei Christliche Predigten: Die Erste/ von Sämann unnd Unkraut/ zu Brinn in Mähren…* (s.l., 1620); *Kurtzer Aber schrifftmässiger Bericht von den Götzenbildern* (Prague, Karlsberg, 1620). Scultetus described the uproar caused by his sermon against images in his autobiography, Gustav Adolf Benrath, *Die Selbstbiographie des Heidelberger Theologen und Hofpredigers Abraham Scultetus (1566–1624)* (Karlsruhe, 1966), pp. 80–83.

Germany's 'Lutheran heartland' clearly dominated the field of sermon publication. Almost one-third of all sermons were printed in the two university towns of Electoral Saxony, Leipzig and Wittenberg; that translates into 40% of all Lutheran sermons. Leipzig's printers published 655 sermons in this twenty-year period, which is about thirty imprints each year. Jena was the home of Ducal Saxony's university, while Magdeburg's staunchly Lutheran identity had been demonstrated already by the city's resistance to the Augsburg Interim in the mid-sixteenth century. In contrast, the Lutheran centres of southern Germany are barely represented. The printers of Tübingen, home of Württemberg's university, published ninety-eight sermon imprints, while Strasbourg's printers produced only seventeen. Of the Imperial cities whose presses were so important in the early decades of the Reformation, only Nuremberg, with forty-three imprints in this twenty-year period, falls into the top ten places of publication. Northern Germany is represented only by Hamburg, whose printers turned out forty-six sermon imprints.

The printers of Cologne were even more important for the printing of Catholic sermons than their counterparts in Leipzig were for Lutheran printing. Although they were only 9% of the overall total, the 266 titles published in Cologne comprised 60% of all Catholic imprints. Mainz and Ingolstadt tied for second place among Catholic printing centres. Presses in each city produced forty-one sermon imprints, or about 9% each of the total number of Catholic sermons. The only other significant Catholic printing centre was Freiburg im Breisgau, whose printers published nineteen imprints.

Because of their relatively small number of imprints, the Reformed printing centres do not show up in the top ten places of publication, but Heidelberg printers produced roughly 16% of the Reformed sermons (thirty-two sermons), those in Zurich produced another 13% (twenty-six sermons) while the printers of Amberg and Hanau each produced 11% (twenty-three and twenty-two imprints respectively), averaging about one imprint per year. These Reformed cities were perhaps more typical of sermon publishing as a whole. As the graph demonstrates, 40% of the sermons were published in cities whose overall production was only one or two sermon imprints each year. Sermon publishing was thus not only something that attracted major presses in the most important printing centres; it also appealed to smaller printers scattered throughout German-speaking Europe.

As might be expected, Lutheran sermons were overwhelmingly published in German: of the 2,221 Lutheran imprints, only seventy-five (4%) were in Latin, while another thirty-five (1%) were published in both languages or in a third language.[11] Roughly two-thirds of the Catholic sermons (285 imprints, or 63.9%) are in Latin. Almost all of the remaining sermon publications were in German; only one Catholic sermon imprint in a third language (Italian) was printed in German-speaking Europe. The proportion is almost exactly reversed for the Reformed sermons: 132 or 66% of the Reformed imprints were published in German, and all of the remaining sixty-seven imprints were published in Latin. Last but not least, the vast majority of imprints in the medieval/other category were in Latin (thirty-seven imprints, or 90.2%); only four imprints were published in German.

One fact worth noting that is not evident from this overview of the language used is the relatively high number of Catholic sermon imprints that were translations, whether from a non-German vernacular into Latin or from Latin into German.[12] There were fifty-four imprints of sermons originally published in French, twenty-three originally in Italian, fifteen originally in Spanish, and nine originally in Flemish. Just as the Catholic Church was an international organisation, so too its preachers and its languages were far more international than either the Reformed or the Lutheran churches.[13]

The language of publication reflects the intended audience and purpose for publishing sermons within each confession. These can be

[11] The third language includes imprints in Low German. Perhaps the most interesting of these sermons are the two imprints, published in 1607 and 1610, of an Italian translation of the sermons by the Lutheran theologian Polycarp Leyser, *Zwo Christliche Predigten: Eine Von den guten Wercken…Die Andere Von dem Artickel Wie der sündige Mensch für Gott gerecht und ewig selig werde* (Leipzig, Lamberg, 1607). The second edition bore the deliberately misleading title, *Due prediche Catoliche, una della opere buone, l'altra della giustificatione del huomo con Dio, predicate nei imperial Palazzo di Praga dal Reverendo Padre P. Lisero, Dell'Ordine di Predicatori Priore, & dottore Theologo* (Augsburg, Müller, 1610).

[12] It was not unusual for sermons originally published in another vernacular to be translated first into Latin, and then translated into German from the Latin. Translations between two vernaculars were rarer.

[13] Frymire shows that after 1592, the proportion of foreign, medieval, and/or Latin Catholic postils increased significantly, *Primacy of the Postils*, pp. 411–416, 426–427, 433–435.

divided into three very general categories, although there was obviously some blurring between them.[14] The first group was comprised of literate laity who read only German and who used the sermons for their spiritual edification. From the beginning of the Reformation Lutheran preachers had urged "the common man" to read about and judge religious questions for themselves, and the conviction that laymen and women should have access to religious books remained strong within German Lutheranism in the early seventeenth century. The number of Catholic sermons in the vernacular indicates, however, that authors and publishers were also concerned about the devotional needs of the Catholic laity and so produced works for that market.

The second group was made up of educated clergy who used the Latin sermons as models and as sources of ideas and content for their own vernacular sermons. Although Lutheran pastors were included in this group, both Catholic and Reformed authors aimed their sermons particularly at this audience in the belief that the clergy, whether by virtue of their office (in the Catholic case) or their education (for the Reformed) made them more suited to understanding and serving as mediators for conveying religious truth to the laity.

Finally, there was a third group of less-educated clergy who could not be relied on to read the Latin sermons or to produce acceptable sermons on their own. These preachers, however, could use vernacular sermons to inspire their own preaching and in a pinch (although this was generally frowned upon) read those sermons to their own parishioners. Over the later sixteenth-century educational standards had risen significantly for the clergy of all three confessions, but the earlier introduction of reforms to pastoral education in both Lutheran and Reformed territories meant that in the early seventeenth century this third group was more likely to be Catholic than Protestant.[15]

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[14] With regard to Catholic sermons, Franz Eybl distinguishes between the clerical audience, who used published sermons to produce their own sermons, and lay audiences who were recipients of these sermons, see: Franz Eybl, *Gebrauchsfunktionen barocker Predigtliteratur: Studien zur katholischen Predigtsammlung am Beispiel lateinischer und deutscher Übersetzungen des Pierre de Besse*, (Vienna, 1982), pp. 39–59; he does not consider the possibility of a third group.

[15] On the improvements in pastoral education among Protestants, see: Amy Nelson Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and Their Message in Basel, 1529–1629* (New York, 2006), pp. 267–268. Frymire discusses the improvements in education among Catholic clergy, *Primacy of the Postils*, pp. 412–414.

Confessional differences were also important in shaping the content and style of sermons printed.[16] Apart from the postils, Catholic sermons in the vernacular tended to have their specifically sermon-like qualities muted or stripped away so that they were closer to devotional tracts than to what was actually preached. This was all the easier to do because Catholic sermons were not as closely tied to a particular Scripture text as the Protestant sermons were.[17] At the other end of the spectrum, Reformed sermons tended to blur over into scholarly commentaries on the Bible, since they were preached in *lectio continua* fashion and often published in Latin. This was the case, for instance, with Rudolf Gwalther's volumes of homilies on First and Second Corinthians respectively, first published in Zurich in 1572 and republished in Heidelberg in 1601.[18] Reformed theologians also disliked the laity's practice of reading sermons as a devotional exercise. The Herborn theologian and homileticist Wilhelm Zepper condemned the proliferation of postils, written from such a variety of theological positions that they only fostered confusion and error, and which gave the laity such confidence in their own spiritual judgment that they scorned their own pastors or were negligent in attending worship.[19] Reflecting Luther's theological emphasis on the priesthood of all believers, Lutherans were far more egalitarian in that their vernacular sermons could be used by clergy and laity alike.

This brings us to a consideration of the type of sermons published. In the database, the sermon imprints are divided into four broad categories. Those classified as lectionary sermons include not only the postils but also individual sermons or sermon collections on the

[16] On the differing use of classical rhetoric for preaching between Protestants and Catholics, see: John W. O'Malley, 'Content and Rhetorical Forms in Sixteenth-Century Treatises on Preaching', in James J. Murphy (ed.), *Renaissance Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric* (Berkeley, 1983), pp. 238–252; for the difference between Lutherans and Reformed, see: Amy Nelson Burnett, 'How to Preach a Protestant Sermon: A Comparison of Lutheran and Reformed Homiletics', *Theologische Zeitschrift*, 63 (2007), pp. 109–119.

[17] Eybl, *Gebrauchsfunktionen*, pp. 78–82, 105–109. For a good example of the shift in genre from preached sermon to printed devotional work, see: Bartholomaeus Wagner, *Newe Jahrschanckung. Von zwölff vnderschiedlichen vnd eusserlichen Gestalten deß Brots* (Augsburg, Mang, 1616).

[18] *In Priorem/Posteriorem D. Pavli Apostoli Ad Corinthios Epistolam Homiliae…* (Zurich, Froschauer, 1572); *Epistolam D. Pauli Apostoli Ad Corinthios Priorem/ Posteriorem D. Rodolphi Gualtheri…Homiliarum archetypi* (Heidelberg, 1601).

[19] Wilhelm Zepper, *Ars habendi et Audiendi Conciones Sacras* (Siegen, Corvinus, 1598), Bk. 1, chap. 4, pp. 43–53.

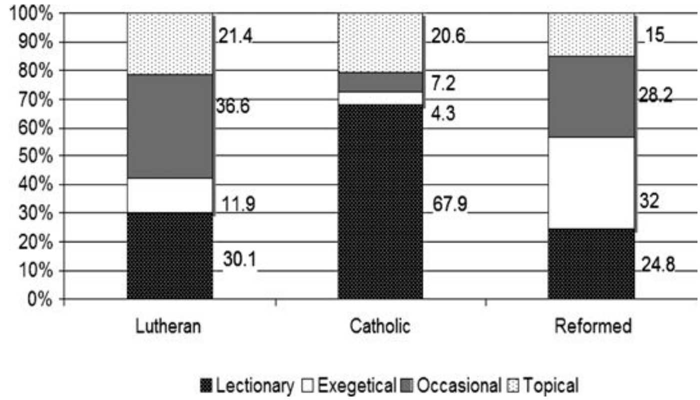

Figure 3. Sermon by Type

traditional pericopes or for specific times in the church year—a set of Advent sermons, for instance, or an individual sermon preached on the Gospel for the twentieth Sunday after Pentecost. Roughly 30% of the Lutheran sermons fall into this category, but this proportion needs to be considered within the broader context of the absolute number of sermon imprints. The Lutherans certainly considered preaching on the traditional pericopes important: there are seven hundred Lutheran lectionary sermon imprints, as compared to three hundred for the Catholics ones and fifty-one for the Reformed. But the Lutherans published so many other types of sermons in addition to those on the lectionary that the proportion of lectionary sermons is low in relation to that of the Catholics. The high percentage of Catholic lectionary sermons—over two-thirds of the total—reflects the largely clerical audience for Catholic sermons.

The most unexpected result, given the Reformed distaste for postils, is the fact that one-quarter of the Reformed imprints fall under the heading of lectionary sermons. There are several factors that encouraged the publication of lectionary sermons among the Reformed. To begin with, preaching on the traditional pericopes was a holdover from earlier practice in territories that converted from the Lutheran to the Reformed confession in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. German Reformed pastors were thus more open to preaching, and to publishing, sermons on the traditional pericopes than their colleagues in Switzerland, where Ulrich Zwingli had rejected the lectionary at the beginning of his ministry in Zurich. Reformed pastors also produced postils that could infiltrate Lutheran areas, since readers might assume that their authors were Lutheran. Finally, this category includes those sermons preached on the few feast days recognised by the Reformed: Christmas, Holy Week, Easter, and Pentecost.[20]

Exegetical sermons are those that proceed through a book or portion of a book from the Bible. Roughly 12% of all Lutheran sermon imprints fall into this category, reflecting the type of sermons they were expected to preach. Although they followed the lectionary for their Sunday morning sermons, it was not uncommon for Lutheran pastors to preach through a book of the Bible for their weekday sermons. Reformed preachers were likely to preach these exegetical sermons on successive Sundays as well as on weekdays, which explains why this category makes up almost one-third of all Reformed sermons. Not surprisingly, exegetical sermons comprised the smallest proportion of Catholic sermon imprints, only about 4% of the total.

Occasional sermons were those preached at a specific time or place, whether recurring, such as the catechism sermons that were often held every Sunday afternoon in Lutheran territories, or a one-time event, such as a baptism, the ordination or installation of secular or ecclesiastical office holders, a territorial or imperial diet, or the consecration of a church building or any of its parts (organ, pulpit, baptismal font, etc.). Included in this category are sermons preached in response to specific events, such as in the aftermath or on the anniversary of a devastating fire or flood or the appearance of a comet or other portent. Protestant preachers clearly felt that these occasional sermons should be printed, for they corresponded most obviously to the needs of the laity for edification, encouragement, instruction and consolation. Since Catholic authors were less likely to address their sermon publications to a lay audience than their Protestant counterparts, this type of sermon played a correspondingly minor role in Catholic sermon publications.

Last but not least, the thematic sermons are those that address a particular topic but that cannot be related to either a specific occasion or the exegesis of a particular Scripture text, although they might be based on a particular verse or passage. Most of these are collections of

[20] Frymire cites similar reasons for the publication of Reformed postils, *Primacy of the Postils*, pp. 225–251. His focus on postils and his use of the term "Calvinist" rather than "Reformed" obscures the influence of Zurich's theologians on Reformed preaching more generally.

Table 2. Most Frequently Published Sermon Authors

Gregor Strigenitz (L)	88 imprints
Hartmann Braun (L)	68 imprints
Abraham Scultetus (R)	58 imprints
Matthias Höe von Höenegg (L)	57 imprints
Pierre de Besse (Bessaeus) (C)	48 imprints
Polycarp Leyser (L)	47 imprints
Paul Jenisch (L)	42 imprints
Bartholomaeus Wagner (C)	38 imprints
Philipp Hahn (Gallus) (L)	34 imprints
Georg Scherer (C)	32 imprints

sermons, and the themes dealt with range from witchcraft and magic to the Mass or Lord's Supper to eschatology and death. It is important to note that these categories are not mutually exclusive. A large sermon collection, for instance, might include sermons for all of the appointed readings of the year, a set of catechism sermons, wedding and funeral sermons, sermons on a particular book of the Bible, plus individual sermons on a variety of topics.[21]

One of the more unexpected findings to come from an analysis of the database is the list of authors whose sermons were most frequently published in the first two decades of the seventeenth century (see Table 2). Even allowing for the fact that the leading theologians of the early seventeenth century are hardly household names, the list is headed by two men who are virtually unknown even to specialists in the period, the Meissen cathedral preacher Gregor Strigenitz (1548–1603) and the Hessian pastor Hartmann Braun (1570–1624). It is striking that the first prominent theologian is not a Lutheran but is instead the Reformed theologian and court preacher of the Electoral Palatinate, Abraham Scultetus (1566–1625), whose sermons make up fully one-quarter of the Reformed sermons published during these two decades.

[21] A good example of such a collection is the work of the Basel pastor Johann Georg Gross, *Thesaurus Concionum sacrarum omnigenarum: Nempe Catecheticarum, Dominicalium, Praeparatoriarum, Festalium, Eucharisticarum, Nuptialium, Funebrium, Anniversariarum, Poenalium, Poenitentialium, Historicarum, Auspicatoriarum, Valedictoriarum, Miscellanearum, in Usum Candidatorum S. Ministerii nunc primum luci expositus* (Basel, König, 1616), which contained almost a thousand sermons.

Only at fourth, sixth, and seventh place do we encounter individuals who fit the profile that might be expected for the most influential Lutheran preachers: Matthias Höe von Höenegg (1580–1645), Polycarp Leyser (1552–1610), and Paul Jenisch (1551–1612), all of whom served as court preachers to the Elector of Saxony at Dresden. Philipp Hahn or Gallus (1558–1616), who ended his career as the cathedral preacher in Magdeburg, followed a career path similar to Strigenitz.[22]

The Catholic preachers represent the international and domestic production of Catholic sermons respectively. The forty-eight imprints of sermons by the French preacher Pierre de Besse (1567–1639) comprise 10% of all of the Catholic sermons printed in Germany. The Austrian Jesuit Georg Scherer (1539–1605) is more typical of Catholic preachers within the German-speaking lands. Bartholomaeus Wagner, the final Catholic author, was a preacher active in Augsburg from the 1580s into the first decade of the seventeenth century.[23]

A closer look at the published works of several of these preachers gives us a better picture of the market for and mechanics of sermon publication. Gregor Strigenitz was born in Meissen to upper-middle class parents and studied in Meissen and Leipzig before receiving his M.A. at Wittenberg in 1572. He served for six months as a schoolteacher before being called as pastor to the village of Wolckenstein, in the Erzgebirge. In 1581 he moved to Weimar to serve as court preacher to the two young dukes of Saxony, a position he held for almost seven years. In 1587 he was appointed pastor and superintendent in Jena, but he held that post for only two years before moving fifteen miles south to Orlamünde, where he also served as pastor and superintendent. In 1593 he was appointed as cathedral preacher and superintendent in his hometown of Meissen, a position he held until his death a decade later. He was apparently ill for a good portion of this time, and the last pastoral duty he was able to perform was to preach the New Year's sermon for 1603.[24]

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[22] On Leyser, see: Sommer, *Hofprediger*, pp. 115–133; on Jenisch, *Johann Heinrich Zedlers Grosses vollständiges Universallexicon aller Wissenschafften und Künste*, 14: pp. 205–206; on Hahn, see: Cornelia Niekus Moore, *Patterned Lives: The Lutheran Funeral Biography in Early Modern Germany*, (Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 148–149.

[23] On Wagner, see: Frymire, *Primacy of the Postils*, pp. 381–387.

[24] Johann Anselm Steiger (ed.), *Gregor Strigenitz (1548–1603). Ein Lutherischer Kirchenmann in der zweiten Hälfte des Reformations-Jahrhunderts. Eine Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestag, mit einem Faksimile der Leichenpredigt auf Strigenitz und einer Bibliogaphie seiner Druckschriften* (Neuendettelsau, 2003), pp. 384–465.

What is perhaps most noteworthy about Strigenitz's career is that it was almost over when our period begins. Strigenitz published his first set of sermons in 1584; this was followed by another thirty-eight sermon imprints through 1600, about half of which were reprints of sermons published earlier. A further thirty sermon collections were published between 1600 and his death in 1603 and so are included in the database; again, about half of these were reprints of earlier works. In 1605 a collection of six Christmas sermons preached in 1597 was published by Strigenitz's "widow and heirs"—most likely his son Gregorius and/or his sons-in-law Johann Willschen and Johann Kaufmann, who were all pastors themselves. In the introduction they promised to publish more of Strigenitz's sermons if they proved to serve the church.[25]

Apparently the sermons did prove serviceable. Not only was this particular sermon collection reprinted in 1607, but over the next few years Strigenitz's heirs published a further twenty-eight new volumes of sermons, all of them through the printer Bartholomaeus Voigt in Leipzig.[26] Most of these imprints were collections of six to ten sermons, but they also included a postil in three volumes, a collection of thirty-two wedding sermons and another of fifty-eight funeral sermons. There were about the same number of reprints of earlier published works. Obviously, in this case the partnership between the family and the printer was profitable to both parties: the family through the prestige and publicity given to Strigenitz even after his death, and the printer by the more tangible results of books that must have sold well.

The case is similar with Hartmann Braun. Very little is known about Braun, other than that he was from Melsung in Hesse, studied at the Marburg Paedagogium (and presumably the university as well), and was the pastor of Grunberg, just a little to the east of Giessen.[27] Braun began publishing individual sermons in 1606, and over the next decade he continued to publish three or four individual sermons each year

[25] Gregor Strigenitz, *ChristBürde/ Sechs Einfeltiger Weinachtpredigten/ Von vnsers herrn Gottes Christbescherung/ vnd von der Himlischen ChristBürden* (Leipzig, 1607), fol. iir-ivr.

[26] In the dedication of another collection of Christmas sermons first published in 1607, the family listed 21 sermon manuscripts that they hoped to publish; all but two did eventually appear in print, Gregor Strigenitz, *Acht schöner/ lieblicher vnd tröstlicher Weinachtpredigten/ De modo nativitatis Christi* (Leipzig: Voigt, 1609), fol. a2r-b1v.

[27] Braun matriculated at the Paedagogium in 1586; Julius Cäsar (ed.), *Catalogus studiosorum scholae Marpurgensis* (Nendeln, 1980).

through printers in Wittenberg, Darmstadt, and Giessen. One enterprising printer in Giessen, however, decided he could make more money by collecting Braun's sermons in sets of "Decades" or ten sermons each. Braun wrote a preface for the first of what would eventually be fourteen sets of *Decades* published between 1613 and 1618, but it is clear from the dedications in most of these volumes that the printer, Kaspar Chemlein, was the driving force behind their publication.[28] Although the titles of the volumes implied that the *Decades* would follow the church year, the sermons had little connection to the lectionary and were more likely to be thematic or occasional sermons; several of them had already been printed individually. In his letter to the reader printed in the first volume, Braun stated that he was publishing the sermons so that his parishioners could review with their children and servants the sermons that they had heard in church, and the volumes themselves were much more suited to this devotional and pedagogical goal than to the professional needs of Braun's fellow pastors.

While Strigenitz and Braun were relatively unknown preachers whose sermons are marked by their pastoral emphasis, the third Lutheran pastor on the list, Matthias Höe von Höenegg, was one of the most visibly active and politically influential Lutheran theologians in Germany both before and during the Thirty Years' War. Höe came from a Lutheran family belonging to the lesser nobility; his father was a privy councillor in imperial service in Vienna. After attending schools in Vienna and Steyr, he moved to the university of Wittenberg. His abilities brought him to the attention of the electoral court in Dresden, and in 1601 he became the most junior of the court preachers there. Three years later he received his doctorate and was appointed superintendent in Plauen. In 1610 he was called as pastor of the German Lutheran church in Prague, a post he held for only two years before he returned to Dresden as the *Oberhofprediger* for the elector, a position he held until his death in 1645.[29]

Höe's sermons were a relatively small part of his overall publishing activity, comprising only about a quarter of his publications in the first

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[28] See, for instance, the letters of Chemlein and Braun in the first volume, Hartmann Braun, *S. Concionum de tempore. Die Ersten zehen Predigten/ auß dem Alten vnd Newen Testament/ in den H. Advents-Christ- und newen Jahrstagen* (Giessen, Chemlein, 1618). In the dedicatory letters to successive volumes, Chemlein repeatedly emphasized that he was publishing the sermons with Braun's permission.

[29] Sommer, *Hofprediger*, pp. 137–142.

two decades of the seventeenth century.[30] His first sermon appeared in 1604, and at least one, and usually two to four, works were printed each year through the rest of the period.[31] The sermons fall into all of the categories described above: a postil for the Sunday and festival Gospels published in 1608 that was expanded and republished in 1614, exegetical sermons on 1 Corinthians published in 1604 and on the prophet Joel in 1605, several thematic sermons, and occasional sermons for a range of events. What is most noteworthy about many of these sermons is their expressly confessional nature. Höe's first sermon publication was a collection of five sermons in honour of Luther's birthday, which foreshadowed the prominent role he would play in the celebration of the Reformation jubilee.[32] The titles of his thematic and exegetical sermons made their polemical purpose clear. His *Simple Christian Lutheran Sermon…on the Ascension*, for instance, contained a refutation of the "blasphemous Calvinist error", while his *Thorough Instruction Concerning Four Important Questions* attacked the Catholic understanding of the church and considered "whether our opponents' argument is compelling, that they have the true church and the Lutherans do not".[33] Virtually all of Höe's sermons were published by the same printer, Abraham Lamberg in Leipzig, which suggests the same kind of mutually beneficial relationship between printer and author that existed in the cases of Braun and of Strigenitz and his heirs.

With regard to Reformed preachers, I have already mentioned Abraham Scultetus's significance for the publication of Reformed sermons. Scultetus, who was ten years older than Höe von Höenegg, was

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[30] VD17 lists 231 works under Höe's name printed between 1601–1620.

[31] In 1612, 1613, and 1617, there were six sermon imprints, and eight imprints were published in 1614. This peak was balanced out in 1607, 1610, 1615 and 1619, when only one sermon imprint was published.

[32] *Christliches Geburt und Lobgedächtnis/ Des hocherleuchten/ Thewren/ Werthen Mannes Gottes/ Herren D. Martini Lutheri seeliger…* (Leipzig, 1604). In addition to the four imprints of the *Chur Sächsische Evangelische JubelFrewde* discussed above, there were three imprints of a sermon in preparation for the jubilee, *Parasceue ad Solennitatem Iubilaeam Evangelicam* (Leipzig, Lamberg, 1617). In 1610 he published a set of ten sermons praising the *Sanctus Thaumasiander et Triumphator Lutherus* (Leipzig, 1610); these were reprinted twice in 1617 to mark the jubilee.

[33] *Eine Christliche/ Einfeltige/ Lutherische Predigt/ von dem Hochwichtigen schweren Artickel /der Siegreichen Himmelfarth/ unsers Herrn Jesu Christ/ darinnen die Götliche Himlische Warheit angezeiget/ und die Calvinsche Lesterlich Irrthumbe/ auß heiliger Schrifft widerlegt werden…* (Leipzig: Lamberg, 1604); *Gründlicher Bericht auff vier wichtige Fragen.…Und ob die BeweisArgument des gegentheils erzwingen/ daß ihre Kirch die rechte/ unsere aber die unrechte sey…* (Leipzig, Lamberg, 1613).

born in Silesia and studied in both Wittenberg and Heidelberg. After serving briefly as a parish pastor, he entered the service of the Palatine elector as chaplain in 1595. Three years later he became pastor of the former Franciscan church in Heidelberg, but he remained active as a member of the *Kirchenrat*, and he travelled extensively in the elector's service. In 1616 he returned to court as court preacher. Two years later he was appointed professor of theology at Heidelberg, but he continued to serve the elector and moved with him to Prague after his election as King of Bohemia.[34] He returned briefly to Heidelberg after the disaster in Bohemia but was soon forced to flee again from the advancing Catholic army. After two years in exile he finally settled in Emden, where he was a preacher until his death in 1625.

As preacher at court, Scultetus published individual sermons delivered for the baptisms, weddings and funerals of the elector, his family and his court. Scultetus's associates also oversaw the publication of several volumes of Latin summaries of his sermons. In 1607 the theology student Balthasar Tilesius published a Latin postil with summaries or sermon notes of Scultetus's sermons on the Sunday Gospel readings; this postil was reprinted several times. Tilesius also published Latin summaries of Scultetus's sermons on Isaiah in 1609, while the court preacher Nicolaus Eck published summaries of Scultetus's sermons on Hebrews and on Romans.[35] Last but not least, summaries of Scultetus's sermons on the Psalms were combined with those of his Heidelberg colleague Bartholomaeus Pitiscus and published in 1616; a second volume appeared in 1620.[36]

Scultetus's sermons were also available for a lay audience that did not know Latin. In 1611 Scultetus published a German postil with Tilesius's help, this time containing the full text of his sermons, in

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[34] Benrath, *Selbstbiographie*, pp. 23–24, 27–30, 34–40, 75–77.

[35] *Idea Concionum dominicalium, Ad populum Haidelbergensem habitarum* (Hanau, Marne, 1607). The postil was reprinted in 1607, 1608, 1610, and 1614 within the Empire; there were also three editions printed in Geneva. Scultetus's *Concionum in Jesajam prophetam ad populum Haidelbergensem habitarum idea* (Hanau, Marne, 1609) was reprinted in Geneva in 1610 and 1618 and in Hanau in 1621. *In Epistolam ad Hebraeos Concionum* (Frankfurt, Rosa, 1616) was printed only once. The volume on Romans also contained sermons of the Heidelberg preacher Johannes Bockstadt, *In epistolam ad Romanos Concionum Ideae* (Frankfurt, Rosa, 1619). The bibliography of Scultetus' works in Benrath, *Selbstbiographie*, 131–143, does not include all of Scultetus's published sermons.

[36] Johann Adam (ed.), *Meletemata Psalmica sive Idea Concionum in psalmos David* (Frankfurt, Rosa, 1616–1620).

answer to the request of "many pious people … who desired from me an explanation of the Sunday Gospels that they could use not only at home but also for private meetings".[37] This German postil was reprinted the following year, and it would eventually be translated into both Hungarian and Polish. Scultetus's associates also ensured that his influence as a preacher would continue even after Scultetus himself had left Heidelberg. Another court preacher, Reinhard Wolf, published a collection of Scultetus's baptism, wedding, and funeral sermons in 1620, while Nicolaus Eck oversaw the publication of two volumes of a German postil containing sermons on the Psalms that corresponded to the Sunday Gospel readings in 1618 and 1619; these were reprinted together in 1620.[38] Eck would also publish short collections of Scultetus's sermons in German on parts of Romans, Isaiah and Hebrews in 1621.[39] As with the case of Strigenitz and Braun, although Scultetus contributed to the publication of his sermons, the driving force behind their publication in most cases seems to have been his colleagues and students.

The key role played by second parties is even more obvious in the case of Rudolf Gwalther, the second most published author of Reformed sermons during the early seventeenth century. Gwalther had a long career as pastor in Zurich, and he served as head of that city's church from 1575 to his death in 1586. During his lifetime he published several volumes of homilies, most of them in Latin and so doubling as commentaries on various books of the Bible, and these continued to be reprinted into the seventeenth century. Eighteen imprints were published in Zurich and a further nine were printed in Heidelberg in the twenty years between 1601 and 1620. We thus have yet another case of collaboration by printers and editors to produce or reprint works that met a perceived need or demand.

To turn to the Catholic preachers, Pierre de Besse or Bessaeus was one of the most influential preachers in France by the second decade of

[37] *Auslegung Der Sontäglichen Evangelischen Texten* (Heidelberg, Vögelin, 1611); Benrath, *Selbstbiographie*, p. 54, 135.

[38] *Abrahami Sculteti Hochzeit- Geburts- Tauff- Königliche Annehmungs und LeichPredigten* (Frankfurt, Aubry, 1620); *Psalmpostill darinne uff jeden Sontag im jar einer oder mehr psalmen…erklärt* (Heidelberg, Rosa, 1618–1619).

[39] *Sechs Predigten Uber das achte capitel der epistel an die Römer; Sampt einer predigt uber das vier und funfftzigste capitel deß propheten Esaiae* (Frankfurt, Rosa, 1621); *Zwölff Predigten Uber das eylffte Capitel der epistel an die Hebreer* (Frankfurt, Rosa, 1621).

the seventeenth century. After studying in Paris, he became pastor of the church of St Severin, where he first gained his reputation for preaching. In 1603 he became confessor and preacher to Henry II, Prince of Condé; eight years later he was appointed the court preacher for the young King Louis XIII. Beginning in 1604, de Besse published several sermon collections in French that were translated and reprinted in various combinations throughout Catholic Europe.[40]

The earliest of de Besse's sermons to be published in Germany were Latin translations of his Advent and Lenten sermons, both printed in Cologne in 1611.[41] The Lenten sermons were reprinted there in 1612 and again in 1613, while the Advent sermons were reprinted in 1613; both the Advent and Lenten sermons would also be included in later editions of his postil.[42] That postil was first published in Latin translation in 1612, also in Cologne, and was reprinted again in 1614.[43] In 1615 the Dominican theologian Johann Andreas Coppenstein published extracts from de Besse's Latin postil; this work was reprinted in 1618. The first German translation of the postil, based on the Latin translation rather than the French original, was done by Mattaeus Tympe, preacher in the Münster cathedral, and was published in 1615.[44] A second translation, by Aegidius Albertinus, a Dutchman in the service of the Duke of Bavaria, was published in 1616 and reprinted in 1617; its third edition, published in 1620, was supplemented with additional sermons. A third German translation of the postil, this time by Philipp Kissing, a priest in Mainz, was published in 1620. Coppenstein also published a condensed version of de Besse's

[40] Eyble, *Gebrauchsfunktionen,* pp. 193–196. Peter Bayley lists twenty-one imprints of de Besse's French sermons published between 1604 and 1629, see: Peter Bayley, *French Pulpit Oratory 1598–1650: A Study in Themes and Styles, with a Descriptive Catalogue of Printed Texts* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 201–208.

[41] *Conciones sive Conceptus Theologici de Quatuor Hominum Novissimis: Quatuor sacri Adventus hebdomadis accommodati…* (Cologne, Kinkius, 1611); *Conciones sive Conceptus Theologici, in Omnes Quadragesimae et Paschatis Dominicas ac Ferias…* (Cologne, Kinkius, 1611). The following discussion is based on Eyble's discussion of the complicated relationship between the various imprints of de Besse's sermons, *Gebrauchsfunktionen,* pp. 94–105; Eyble was not aware of the first Latin edition of the postil.

[42] Both the Latin Lenten and Advent sermons were re-printed in Venice, the former in 1612 and the latter in 1614.

[43] *Conciones Sive Conceptus Theologici in Omnes Totius Anni Dominicas…* (Cologne, Kinckius, 1612). The work was published in two volumes in 8°. The second volume of the second edition appeared in 1615.

[44] On Tympe, an important author in his own right, see Frymire, *Primacy of the Postils*, pp. 375–381.

Eucharistic sermons in Latin in 1615, while Albertinus published a German translation of the Advent sermons in 1617 and of the Eucharistic sermons the following year. De Besse's sermons continued to be reprinted in the 1620s and even into the eighteenth century.[45]

If de Besse is a good example of the importance of the international aspect of Catholic preaching, Georg Scherer is more typical of Catholic preachers within German-speaking Europe. Scherer was a generation older than de Besse, and so a contemporary of Strigenitz. Born in the Tyrol, he entered the Jesuit order in 1559, at the age of nineteen. He served successively as teacher and then rector at the Jesuit college in Vienna and as vice-provincial of the Jesuit order, as well as becoming court preacher to Archduke Matthias. In 1600 he moved to Linz, but soon after assuming his preaching post there he became blind and he died in 1605.[46]

Scherer was active throughout his life as a Catholic controversialist. His first publication, in 1583, was a translation of and commentary on the Patriarch of Constantinople's judgment concerning the Augsburg Confession.[47] This work led to a series of polemical exchanges with Lutheran theologians in Württemberg. His first published sermon, preached in Vienna in 1583 and printed the following year, combined a defence of the Catholic faith with journalistic sensationalism: it was "A Christian remembrance of the most recent deliverance of a young woman who was possessed by 12,652 devils".[48]

Sermons did not, however, comprise a significant proportion of Scherer's writings for most of his lifetime. Only in 1603 did he publish a German postil on the Sunday Gospels for the entire church year; the volume was printed at the Premonstratensian monastery of Bruck an der Teya in Moravia. Two years later Scherer published a second volume of the postil, this one containing sermons for festivals as well as

[45] On the translations by Kissing and Albertinus, see: Frymire, *Primacy of the Postils*, pp. 405–406. The Advent sermons were published under the title, *Der Seelen Compaß, Das ist: Von den Vier letsten dingen deß Menschen*; the Eucharistic sermons as *Von dem wunderbarlichen/ herrlichen vnd Füretrefflichen Pancket*.

[46] Zedler, *Universallexicon* 34: 1317; Frymire, *Primacy of the Postils*, pp. 387–397.

[47] *Gewisse vnd warhaffte Newe Zeytung aus Constantinopel vom Hieremia jetzigen Patriarchen daselbst…Vrthail vnd Mainung sey von allen Artickeln Augspurgerischer Confession*. There were four imprints of this work published in Vienna and Ingolstadt in that year.

[48] *Christliche Erinnerung/ Bey der Historien von jüngst beschehener Erledigung einer Junckfrawen/ die mit zwölfftausent/ sechshundert/ zwey vnd fünfftzig Teufel besessen gewesen* (Ingolstadt, Sartorius, 1584).

fourteen sermons on communion.[49] A second edition of the postil was published in Munich in 1606, combining the two volumes and including a history of Christ's passion along with the communion sermons. The title page boasted that the postil had been "augmented with many new sermons by the author himself and in many ways corrected and improved". In his dedication of the two volumes to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, the printer, Nicolaus Heinrich, stated that he and Scherer had worked together to produce the work up until Scherer's death in 1605. The postil proved to be extremely successful and was reprinted seven times over the next sixteen years.[50] Heinrich also published the communion sermons separately in 1608; a German epitome of the festival sermons was printed in Ursel that same year.[51]

At about the same time, an enterprising printer in Ingolstadt named Andreas Angermayer began to publish short collections of Scherer's sermons. Two of these pamphlets appeared in 1601: a set of four sermons loosely related to baptism and communion, and three sermons preached against the Augsburg Confession. A third collection, three sermons for *Kirchweihungen* or parish festivals, followed in 1603.[52] The next year Angermayer produced two new short collections of lectionary sermons and reprinted the *Kirchweihungen* sermons. Angermayer's final two sermon collections, the first containing two and the second containing three sermons, were published in 1605, the year of Scherer's death.[53]

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[49] *Postil Georgii Scherers/ uber die Sontäglichen Evangelia durch das gantze Jahr* (Bruck an der Teya, 1603); *Christliche Postill, von Heyligen vnnd vber die Fest so ausser des Sontags, durch's gantze Jahr hinumb in der Catholischen Kirchen offentlick gefeyeret werden: Sampt am Ende angehenckten 14 Predigten von der H. Communion in einer u. beyder Gestalt* (Bruck an der Teya, 1605). The 1605 volume is not yet listed in VD 17.

[50] *Postill Oder Außlegung der Sonntäglichen Evangelien durch das gantze Jahr*, and *Postill Oder Außlegung der Fest- und Feyrtäglichen Evangelien durch das gantze Jar* (Munich, Henricus, 1606). There were further editions in 1607, 1608 (only the volume of festival sermons), 1610, 1614, 1619, and 1622. The first imprints were published by Heinrich in Munich; the later editions were published in Cologne by Anton Heirat.

[51] *Epitome Postillae R.P. Georgii Scherers, Soc. Jesu Theol. de festis, Das ist, Kurtze Wahre Christliche Catholische Predigen u. Ausslegungen aller Feyertägl. Evangelien durchs gantze Jahr* (Ursel, Gymnich and Rassfeld, 1608).

[52] *Vier nutzliche und Christliche Predigen* (Ingolstadt, Angermayer, 1601); *Drey Underschiedliche/ außerlesene Predigten/ vonn der Augspurgischen Confession* (Ingolstadt, Angermayer, 1601); and *Underschiedliche Drey Schöne/ außerlesene/ Catholische Predigten/ auff die Kirchweyungen* (Ingolstadt, Angermayer, 1603). Angermayer also produced two imprints of Scherer's funeral sermon for the Empress Maria in 1603.

[53] *Underschiedliche Drey Schöne/ außerlesene/ Catholische Predig auff den zwey unnd zwantzigsten Sontag nach der H. Dreyfaltigkeit* (Ingolstadt, Angermayer, 1604);

Unlike most printers, Angermayer did not include a preface or dedication in his sermon imprints, and so we must draw our own conclusions about the purpose of and intended audience for these pamphlets. They were, however, most likely intended as edifying reading for a lay Catholic audience. In the dedication of the first volume of the postil, Scherer's Munich printer specifically noted "the particular desire of many good-hearted Christians" to have the German postil reprinted.[54] The dedication for the second volume described Scherer as one who "in explanation of the chief articles of faith and of the venerable sacrament of the altar proceeds in such a clear and understandable way that he can be understood and grasped not only by the learned but also by the simple common crowd without any effort".[55] While such praise might be the equivalent of modern publishing blurbs on dust jackets, the popularity of both the postils and the short sermon collections suggests that Scherer was indeed able to frame his sermons in such a way that they appealed to both an educated and a popular audience.

This discussion of the most popular sermon authors from the early seventeenth century brings us back to the questions raised at the beginning of this essay: what can we learn about preaching and printing from an examination of printed sermons? A superficial look at the overall tendencies of sermon publishing might reinforce the stereotype that Lutherans published sermons in German intended chiefly for the laity, Catholics published in Latin only for clergy, and the Reformed did not publish sermons at all. But as we have seen, the actual picture is considerably more nuanced than the stereotype suggests. It is clear that there were different audiences for sermon publications not only between confessions but also within each confession, and this influenced the types of sermons that were printed. Early modern sermons in all three confessions ran the gamut from learned theological treatises and virtual commentaries on Scripture to popular devotional

Underschiedliche Vier Schöne/ außerlesene/ Catholische Predig auff den vier unnd zwantzigisten Sontag nach der H. Dreyfaltigkeit/ darinnen führnemblich von den Reliquien oder Heyligthumben gehandelt wirdt (Ingolstadt, Angermayer, 1604); *Zwo underschiedliche schöne/ außerlesene und Catholische Predigten* (Ingolstadt, Angermayer, 1605); *Drey underschiedliche Schöne/ nützliche außerlesene und Catholische Predigten* (Ingolstadt, Angermayer, 1605).

[54] Dedication to Duke Maximilian, *Postill Oder Außlegung der Sonntäglichen Evangelien,* unpaginated.

[55] Dedication to Duke Maximilian, *Postill Oder Außlegung der Fest- und Feyrtäglichen Evangelien* unpaginated.

works for the edification of the laity. While the proportion of each type of sermon differed by confession, authors, editors and translators within each of the confessions recognised the range of sermon readership and responded by producing sermons for a particular segment of the market. One is struck by the parallel between the publication of Scherer's sermons in Ingolstadt and Braun's sermon collections in Giessen: each printer, Catholic and Lutheran, saw a lay audience eager to purchase and read edifying sermons on a variety of topics, and so they specialized in that niche market.

This leads to a second observation: printers and other contributors were as important as authors in determining what was published. For most of the sermons discussed here, the driving force behind their publication was not the author. The publication was instead a collaboration between editors or translators and printers. This observation does not mean that preachers were not interested in publishing their own sermons. Scultetus and Höe von Höenegg are both examples of preachers who published their sermons as a deliberate form of propagating their confession's understanding of the Christian faith. There were also many lesser-known preachers who published one or more of their sermons as a way to make a name for themselves or in order to reach an audience beyond their congregation. It is striking, however, that many of the individual sermons or sermon collections mention in their title that the work was printed "at the request" (*auf begeren*) of those who had heard it preached. This may be a form of false modesty or a way to increase sales by attracting the reader's attention, but it also indicates that there was a demand for sermons deemed particularly memorable. Then as now, we cannot forget that presses are in the business of making money. A market for sermons existed, and printers were willing to produce for it, especially since single sermons or short collections were both quick and easy to print. Similarly, editors and translators were responsible for seeing into print—and so for helping to publicise and popularise—the works of preachers from the previous generation or from outside of the German-speaking lands.

Finally, this brief discussion of sermons and sermon authors from the first two decades of the seventeenth century raises questions about the timely diffusion of theological debates among a lay audience. The sermons of Höe von Höenegg and Scultetus certainly kept readers informed of the bitter polemic between confessions in the years immediately preceding the Thirty Years' War, but the popularity of sermons written years, if not decades, earlier may have diluted the polemical message being preached in the early seventeenth century. It also draws attention to the role of printers in those cities that became major producers of confessional literature—Leipzig, Cologne, and Heidelberg—and suggests the importance of networks of distribution in ensuring the broader diffusion of these publications. Further efforts to determine the impact of preaching must take account of this blend of old and new, of pastoral and polemical concerns, and of the circulation of works at the local, regional, national, and even international level.

PAMPHLETS IN THE THEOLOGICAL DEBATES OF THE LATER SIXTEENTH CENTURY: THE MAINZ EDITORIAL PROJECT 'CONTROVERSIA ET CONFESSIO'

Johannes Hund and Henning P. Jürgens

The purpose of this paper is to provide insight into 'Controversia et Confessio', a project funded by the Mainz Academy of Sciences and Literature and dealing with confessional polemics in the second half of the sixteenth century. The paper is divided into two sections. The first part describes the project's database and its usefulness for research into the significance of polemical publications in the intra-Protestant disputes that shook the Empire between the Augsburg Interim in 1548 and the drafting of the Formula of Concord/Book of Concord in 1577/80. The second part will feature an analysis of the interdependency of the printed works and the development of a culture of controversy – known as '*Streitkultur*' – based on the first volume of edited texts, which has already been published.[1] The paper seeks to demonstrate the significance of these primarily intra-Lutheran conflicts for the confessionalisation of the Wittenberg Reformation in the shaping of the Lutheran movement.

The Database

For the last 30 years the role of print in the spread and consolidation of the Reformation has been an important topic of historical research. In a recently published survey of the sixteenth century, the 'revolution of the media' that manifested itself in printed broadsheets and pamphlets in particular has been identified as a crucial factor in explaining

[1] The first volume of the Controversia et Confessio editorial project to be printed, No. 8 within the series, appeared in 2008: Irene Dingel (ed.), *Die Debatte um die Wittenberger Abendmahlslehre und Christologie* (Göttingen, Controversia et Confessio 8, 2008). The second volume, No. 1 within the series, followed in 2010: Irene Dingel (ed.), *Reaktionen auf das Augsburger Interim* (Göttingen, Controversia et Confessio 1, 2010).

the success of the Reformation.[2] Interestingly, older research on the history of print in the Holy Roman Empire only emphasised phenomena up until the end of the initial Flugschriften boom at the end of the Peasants' War in 1525, sometimes stretching to include the Diet of Augsburg in 1530.[3] A good share of that research does not recognise that the publication of Reformation texts continued and peaked again around the middle of the century, albeit at a numerically lower level. For example, in an extensive and frequently quoted study on printing in the Early Modern era and inspired by Niklas Luhmann's System Theory, one encounters the name of Matthias Flacius – one of the most productive Protestant writers between 1550 and 1570 – only in a single footnote. Philipp Melanchthon is not mentioned at all.[4] In 1998, Georg Kuhaupt spoke appropriately of a certain blindness of research towards printing activity in the second half of the sixteenth century.[5]

This observation, however, does not hold true for church history. In the last decade, studies by Harry Oelke, Irene Dingel, Volker Leppin and Thomas Kaufmann have analysed the printing of broadsheets and pamphlets using thematic and regional parameters. They have developed models of explanation and periodisation that have deepened our understanding of Lutheran confessionalisation and the formation of religious confessions.[6] The same is true for research in the United

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[2] Johannes Burkhardt, *Das Reformationsjahrhundert: Deutsche Geschichte zwischen Medienrevolution und Institutionenbildung 1517–1617* (Stuttgart, 2002). See also: Berndt Hamm, 'Die Reformation als Medienereignis', in Ingo Baldermann (ed.), *Glaube und Öffentlichkeit* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1996), pp. 137–166.

[3] See the works of Hans-Joachim Köhler: 'Die Flugschriften der frühen Neuzeit', in Werner Arnold (ed.), *Die Erforschung der Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte in Deutschland* (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 307–345; Hans-Joachim Köhler (ed.), *Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit: Beiträge zum Tübinger Symposion 1980* (Stuttgart, 1981); see also: Bernd Moeller, 'Flugschriften der Reformationszeit' in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie,* vol. 11 (Berlin, 1983), pp. 240–246.

[4] Michael Giesecke, *Der Buchdruck in der Frühen Neuzeit: Eine historische Fallstudie über die Durchsetzung neuer Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien, mit einem Nachwort zur Taschenbuchausgabe 1998* (Frankfurt/M., 1998), see the index. The electronic version of VD 16 records more than 450 different editions of Flacius's works until 1600.

[5] Georg Kuhaupt, *Veröffentlichte Kirchenpolitik: Kirche im publizistischen Streit zur Zeit der Religionsgespräche (1538–1541)* (Göttingen, 1998), p. 16. Kuhaupt's book is an exception to this observation. See also Thomas Brockmann, *Die Konzilsfrage in den Flug- und Streitschriften des deutschen Sprachraumes 1518–1563* (Göttingen, 1998).

[6] Harry Oelke, *Die Konfessionsbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel illustrierter Flugblätter* (Berlin, 1992); Irene Dingel, *Concordia Controversa, Die öffentlichen Diskussionen um das lutherische Konkordienwerk am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*

States, where Robert Kolb and Timothy Wengert have studied polemical pamphlets as sources for intra-Lutheran controversies.[7]

Even the sources themselves seem to have sprung into action: through the new techniques of microfilming and digitisation, a great number of older printed works have become more easily accessible during the past years.[8] The extensive microfiche edition by Hans-Joachim Köhler, which currently covers approximately 5,000 pamphlets of the later sixteenth century (1530–1600), has been searchable online for about two years now, which has meant substantial progress for research on printed pamphlets in the Holy Roman Empire during the controversies of the period after the Interim.[9] Moreover, a digitisation project funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG), the German Research Council, has set as its goal the online publication of digital images of every print included in VD 16 (the directory of books printed in the German-speaking world, 1500–1600), hosted by the Bavarian State Library in Munich in collaboration with German and Swiss libraries.[10] Other libraries, such as the Herzog August library in Wolfenbüttel and the Johannes a Lasco library in Emden, have pioneered the digitalisation of their collections of old imprints. A recently launched website enables a central overview of digitised books in German libraries.[11]

In this context, the research project undertaken at the Mainz Academy of Sciences and Literature under the direction of Irene Dingel

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(Gütersloh, 1996); Volker Leppin, *Antichrist und Jüngster Tag: Das Profil apokalyptischer Flugschriftenpublizistik im deutschen Luthertum 1548–1618* (Gütersloh, 1999); Thomas Kaufmann, *Das Ende der Reformation: Magdeburgs "Herrgotts Kanzlei" (1548–1551/2)* (Tübingen, 2003).

[7] Robert Kolb, *Luther's Heirs Define his Legacy. Studies on Lutheran Confessionalization* (Aldershot, 1996), Kolb has continued his work on Lutheran confessionalisation with a series of articles since then; Timothy Wengert, 'Georg Major (1502–1574): Defender of Wittenberg's Faith and Melanchthonian Exegete', in Heinz Scheible (ed.), *Melanchthon in seinen Schülern: Vorträge gehalten anläßlich eines Arbeitsgesprächs vom 21.–23. Juni 1995 in der Herzog August Bibliothek* (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 129–156.

[8] For example, see the following digitalisation projects: 'Lutherhaus Wittenberg', http://luther.hki.uni-koeln.de/luther/pages/sucheDrucke.html and 'The library of Albert Hardenberg in the Johannes a Lasco library in Emden', http://hardenberg.jalb.de/

[9] Hans-Joachim Köhler (ed.), *Flugschriften des späteren 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leiden, 1990). Now part of 'Early Modern Pamphlets on-line', http://tempo.idcpublishers.info/search.php

[10] 'VD16', http://www.vd16.de/ ; 'Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt', http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/vd16 ; 'E-rara', http://www.e-rara.ch/

[11] 'Zentrales Verzeichnis Digitalisierter Drucke', http://www.digitalisiertedrucke.de

tries to combine the opportunities offered by internet-based resources with the advantages of a printed edition. The long-term editorial project, *Controversia et Confessio: Quellenedition zur Bekenntnisbildung und Konfessionalisierung (1548–1580)* is based on a comprehensive collection of extant sources. It will result in a printed edition of selected key texts of the intra-Protestant, especially intra-Lutheran, theological debates between the Augsburg Interim of 1548 and the Formula of Concord in 1577.[12] The debates will be documented in a series of eight printed volumes, each covering a single debate or, as we call it, a single ‘*Streitkreis*’ or ‘sphere of conflict’: namely, the so-called Interimistic, Adiaphoristic, Majoristic, Antinomistic, Synergistic, and Osiandrian controversies, the debates on the nature of Original Sin, and the debate surrounding the Wittenberg doctrine of the Lord’s Supper and Wittenberg Christology, which is traditionally treated under the label ‘Crypto Calvinism in Electoral Saxony’.[13]

The first step in this project was the creation of a database that gathered together all the information concerning the printed sources related to these debates. The main emphasis lies on polemical writings, but exegetical writings or sermons quoted by opponents and therefore with controversial potential are listed too, as well as published university disputations in theology. Even writings that were primarily addressed against Catholic opponents are taken into consideration if they contain statements about inner-Protestant dissent – as in the aftermath of the Colloquy of Worms in 1557. Publications that are too large to have been traditionally considered pamphlets are also included in the collection; the dividing line between pamphlets and books is not drawn too strictly. The database seeks to create a topic-based record of all these printed texts. Manuscripts concerning the debates are omitted, even if some of them were widely disseminated. The focus of this project is on printed items, because texts that were printed circulated publicly and became historically more significant. Consequently, the selection of the sources to be included in the printed volumes of the edition takes into account the text that was actually transmitted, the *textus receptus*.

[12] ‘Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz: Controversia et Confessio. Quellenedition zur Bekenntnisbildung und Konfessionalisierung (1548–1580)’, Irene Dingel (ed.), http://www.controversia-et-confessio.adwmainz.de/

[13] Ibid.; Johannes Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch: Eine systematisch-theologische Untersuchung zur Debatte um die Wittenberger Christologie und Abendmahlslehre in den Jahren 1567 bis 1574* (Göttingen, 2006).

The collection of pamphlets is based on the inventory of the Herzog August library in Wolfenbüttel. The relevant editions have been selected from the *Sprachenkatalog* – a card-based catalogue sorted by language and publication date that contains references for every book held in this library along with copies of the title pages. The cards and the title pages of all relevant pamphlets have been copied and then systematically entered into a custom-made database. Every entry lists the complete text of the title pages and includes all the subheadings and biblical quotations, which are usually left out in bibliographies, but are often theologically significant. Other fields of the database include format and scale, library call numbers in Wolfenbüttel, printer and place of publication, as well as authors, publishers and – when known – translators. A special field notes the opponents against whom the pamphlet was aimed. In addition to the obvious bibliographical record, every title is assigned to a subject-oriented context or *Streitkreis*, so that matching texts and the context of the discussion can be easily found.

Once this database had been created, every published work was examined at the Herzog August library, since information about forewords and dedications and especially about the theologians attacked in each pamphlet can only be retrieved by examining the original copy. A third phase – still in progress – involves reading and summarising in a short abstract the complete text or at least the foreword of every printed text. Ideally, the abstract should identify the preceding pamphlets and the reactions provoked by the text, in order that the course of the debate can be traced.

The Mainz database 'Controversia et Confessio' is a free internet-based resource. Every data record can be printed from an HTML or pdf file. In addition to the database, the website offers a collection of about 250 short biographies of theologians and other figures who participated in the debates. The biographies are hyperlinked to each other, providing the ability to investigate connections and possible networks.

The number of editions recorded in the database confirms what we said above about the significance of the sources: currently the database contains about 2,000 data records that, because they include translations and reprints, represent approximately 1,300 different texts. As is true for all numbers concerning printing activity in the sixteenth century, the figures from the database cannot claim statistical accuracy, but are indicative.

On the basis of this material, we shall now explore some of the issues surrounding the printing of the pamphlets, regional differences, and the participants in the controversies.

Concerning the Circulation and Number of Published Copies

The number of pamphlets published is proof in itself that the printing of theological texts still continued to be a mass phenomenon in the mid-sixteenth century. Even if we do not take the printing houses of Magdeburg into consideration (since Magdeburg printing from 1548 to 1553 constituted an exceptional phenomenon), in German-speaking countries at least one relevant publication or reprint was published every week on average in the 30 years between the Interim and the Formula of Concord. It is unlikely that every edition had a print run of 1,000 copies, as was common for sixteenth-century pamphlets. Nevertheless, the total number of texts printed remains quite considerable.[14] This phenomenon did not reach the heights attained during the initial years of the Reformation, when over 10,000 editions and tens of millions of copies were printed.[15] But even though the Mainz database does not record certain types of religious books with a high circulation, such as the Bible, hymnbooks, sermon collections, catechisms, and devotional texts, the result is still an astonishingly high number of polemical theological pamphlets. In addition, in the second half of the sixteenth century theological pamphlets had a considerable share of the entire printing market of the Holy Roman Empire.[16]

Concerning the Places of Printing

The places of printing of the publications recorded reveal the extent to which the Reformation's main centres of gravity had moved

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[14] For example: Von dem Einigen, MJTLER Jhesu Christo VND Rechtfertigung des Glaubens. Bekantnus Andreas Osiander… (Königsberg, Hans Lufft, 1551). The first print of 1,000 copies was sold in Königsberg within a few weeks; see: *Andreas Osiander d. Ä. Gesamtausgabe*, Gottfried Seebaß, ed, vol. 10, Nr. 489, letter of Osiander to Hans Fürstenauer, 9. September 1551. The text of Osiander's confession was reprinted twice in Königsberg in 1554.

[15] Burkhardt, *Das Reformationsjahrhundert*, 28, who cites Hans-Joachim Köhler.

[16] Catechisms are recorded in the database only if they became subjects of controversy. The large majority of the editions of Luther's catechisms, for example, are not in the database.

northwards in the middle of the century. Former centres of Reformation printing such as Augsburg, Nuremberg, Ulm and Strasburg play a clearly minor role: 30 editions came off the press in Augsburg, mainly works on the Interim and publications by Kaspar von Schwenckfeld; another 25 imprints made their appearance in Nuremberg, mainly concerning Osiander and the dispute surrounding the Lord's Supper. The unchallenged first place among places of printing in the years after the Interim is occupied, of course, by Magdeburg with 369 entries in the database and about 300 different publications. More than 80% of these occur during the first ten years of our period (1548–1557); after then numbers decrease to a lower, normal level. Wittenberg retained its significance as a printing centre with about 240 imprints, although there was some inconsistency: texts directly connected to the intra-Protestant debates and involving theologians from Wittenberg were printed in larger numbers only towards the end of the 1550s. During the years in which the printing houses of Magdeburg reached their highest productivity, there was practically no reaction from Wittenberg to their attacks (only Melanchthon's answer to Flacius in 1549). As the result of changed political conditions, Tübingen (88), in the south, joined the circle of Protestant printing centres, as did Leipzig (82). Especially remarkable are the new places of printing that emerged in northern and eastern Germany: Jena (160), Eisleben (120), Königsberg (80), even Hamburg (15, just like Dresden), and finally Wolfenbüttel (30). Many places of printing are closely associated with particular debates. Publication figures in Königsberg reached their peak during the Osiandrian controversy; for Eisleben during the dispute about Original Sin. The importance of Tübingen as a printing place grew over the course of the debates, reaching its zenith in the years of the Formula of Concord.

But this regional dispersion of places of printing does not mean that the pamphlets had only a regional impact.[17] There is much evidence that theological publications were disseminated just as quickly as at the

[17] Andrew Pettegree and Matthew Hall have recently emphasised the regional profile of printing in the Empire: "No other print world relied on so diverse a range of significant printing centres. In England, the starkest contrast, only one place (London) is revealed as significant in the terms of our sample; and even France, where books are at some point printed in a huge number of different places during the course of the century, reveals a very high measure of concentration". Andrew Pettegree, Matthew Hall, 'The Reformation and the Book: A Reconsideration', *Historical Journal*, vol. 47 (2004), pp. 785–808, esp. pp. 792–796.

beginning of the Reformation and that they were rapidly distributed throughout the entire Empire. Not only does the Osiandrian controversy prove that there were no isolated printing places, but it also shows that publications reached the interested public quickly, even if they had to be reprinted elsewhere. The authors were aware of this nationwide effect, as a warning by Hamburg's pastor Joachim Westphal to the council of Frankfurt am Main shows. Westphal thought that the presence of Johannes a Lasco in Frankfurt was a threat, because, as told the council, the latter could "abuse your printers, printing houses and God's gift, the art of printing, and infect, smirch and spoil churches in the whole of Germany and France with widespread books printed there".[18]

Concerning the Target Groups

The fact that theological polemical texts in our database are primarily addressed to a learned audience and thus differ from the early Reformation pamphlets becomes clear when we look at the distribution of languages. Latin works represent about 40% of the database and only fall to 30% in the heyday of the "Our Lord God's chancery" imprints in Magdeburg.

That local consumer circles were only to a small extent the intended addressees is demonstrated by another fact: although some of the printing places and territories that participated in the disputes were in regions in which Low German was the dominant language, the quota of Low German editions in our database is less than one percent. Only a few of the texts by Hanseatic theologians against the Imperial Interim were originally written and published in Low German and even these works were rapidly translated into High German. While the aforementioned devotional literature was written in or translated into Low German as well, theological pamphlets were only published in High German or Latin.

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[18] Joachim Westphal: *IVSTA DEFENSIO ADVERSVS insignia mendacia Ioannis á Lasco, que in Epistola ad Sereniss. Poloniae Regem, &c. contra Saxonicas Ecclesias sparsit, […]* (Straßburg, 1557); Preface dedicated to the city council of Frankfurt/Main, f. *3r: "[…] abuti vestris typographis, prelis et insigni Dei dono arte typographica, [… et] longe lateque sparsis libris istic impressis, totius Germaniae et Galliae ecclesias inficere, contaminare atque corrumpere".

These results seem inconsistent with the general address to "the Christian reader" or to "all Christian classes" that can be found in many of these works. Thus many authors still explicitly claimed that they were addressing a general public. But the types of texts that were aimed at a broader audience, such as songs, illustrated pamphlets, dialogues and similar genres, can primarily be found in the imprints of Magdeburg and Königsberg, and become less important for inner-Protestant discourse after the controversy surrounding the Interim and the Osiandrian controversy.

Concerning the Authors and the Opponents

A look at the authors only confirms the impression gained from examining the audiences: unlike in the early Reformation, there are no craftsmen or women among the authors. They were all university educated, and mainly comprised theologians and pastors, with some teachers or professors of faculties other than theology. Less surprising is the importance of the University of Wittenberg for the authors of theological pamphlets. A good share of the participants had at least at some point been students in Wittenberg, a fact evident from the biographies that accompany the database. That the database includes 250 biographies is an indication of the large circle of people on which these theological discussions relied, even if the majority of the texts were written by a few particularly active authors (Matthias Flacius Illyricus has 229 entries, Philipp Melanchthon 95, Nikolaus Gallus and Georg Major 55 each, Nikolaus von Amsdorf 45, Johann Pfeffinger and Justus Menius about 15 each). One of the most important authors died before the controversies began, but because Martin Luther's texts were exploited in the debates by the respective 'parties' and were published as particularly powerful arguments, more than 60 treatises containing either complete publications or comments by Luther are recorded in the database.[19]

The database allows users to search for specific opponents who are attacked by name in individual editions. This produces a surprising picture: we might expect Flacius to be the most hated theologian in the late Reformation, but in terms of the number of works directed against

[19] The database does not contain the competing editions of Luther's collected works in Wittenberg and Jena, but records the pamphlets their respective editors wrote against each other.

him, we turn instead to Andreas Osiander. He is mentioned by name on the title page of more than 80 pamphlets that deal with his doctrine of justification. Another interesting observation is that even though criticism of Melanchthon by authors close to Flacius dragged on literally to Melanchthon's very last days, attacks against him by name were extremely rare. While insulting nicknames were imposed upon his followers, a respect of sorts can be observed towards Melanchthon, the "praeceptor" of nearly all participating theologians, despite the overall severity of the criticism.[20]

Concerning the Addressees of Dedications

The addressee of the dedication has been recorded for about 15% of the editions collected in the database. Statements that can be made about the dedications therefore apply only to a minority of the publications. But dedications to regents, mayors, councils and others prove that the theological polemicists also sought the support of Christian authorities for the implementation of their own ideas. Unlike humanists who sought patronage by means of the dedications in their publications, writers seeking financial support seem to be exceptional cases in our debates. In any case, dedications and forewords to "the Christian reader" allow precise insight into the argumentation used when an audience that is broad, rather than exclusively academic, is addressed, for this broad audience is expected to pass judgement in the debate.

Concerning Censorship

The involvement of political authorities in these printed disputes can be verified definitively by their exercise of censorship, even though the exact influence of this censorship on the phenomenon as a whole is

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[20] For example, Georg Major who, because of his alleged acceptance of payments, was given the name "Geiz Major" by his opponents. Johannes Agricola experienced the most severe insults in print. Due to his participation in the drafting of the Augsburg Interim he was named "Grickel Interim" or, in a malapropism of his birthplace Eisleben, he was even called "Scheißleben". A last example for this can be found in the work of the Jena professors against the disputation theses of the former Jena student David Voit in Wittenberg, which was published three days after Melanchthon's death: *PROFESSIO […] CONTRA CALVMnias D. Davidis Voit […]* (Jena, 1560). Since Melanchthon's commentary on Romans of 1524 is attacked directly, it is perfectly clear that the polemic is directed against him, but Melanchthon is not named. At the same time Georg Major is assaulted personally and openly.

difficult to ascertain. By prohibiting unwelcome publications by the opposing side, or even by all participating parties, authorities tried again and again to keep public debates under control – their success in this endeavour remains an open question.

Unfortunately, few studies focus on the phenomenon of censorship of theological publications,[21] but individual cases show that mandates were often ineffective and did not always prevent the printing of theological polemical texts. Thus, to return to the example of Westphal, the Hamburg pastor's eloquent warning to the council of Frankfurt am Main achieved little more than preventing the printing of a Lascos's treatise in Frankfurt. This did not stop Johannes Oporinus from printing it in Basel.[22] Westphal himself was not allowed to publish further attacks in Frankfurt, yet this only resulted in his moving to a printer in nearby Oberursel.[23] All in all, it is clear that any work that could count on an eager audience did find its printer, whether by circumventing a prohibition on its printing by switching to another territory, or by means of clandestine, anonymous publication, or even because of the authorities' tacit toleration.[24]

At times, theological discussion had to take place without the publication of pamphlets as the result of successful censorship by the

[21] One important exception is the eminent study by Hans-Peter Hasse, *Zensur theologischer Bücher in Kursachsen im konfessionellen Zeitalter. Studien zur kursächsischen Literatur- und Religionspolitik in den Jahren 1569 bis 1575*, (Leipzig, 2000). Hasse meticulously examines censorship in ducal Saxony, but covers only a small proportion of the debates documented in the database.

[22] Johannes a Lasco, *Purgatio ministrorum IN ECCLESIIS PEREGRIN. FRANCOFVRTI, aduersus eorum calumnias, qui ipsorum doctrinam, de CHRISTI, Domini in Coena sua praesentia, dissensionis accusant ab AVGVSTANA Confessione […]* (Basel, 1556).

[23] Joachim Westphal, *Aduersus cuiusdam SacramenTARII FALSAM CRIMINATIONEM, IVSTA DEFENSio […]* (Frankfurt/M., 1555); Martin Luther, *VERA ET PROPRIA ENARRATIO DICTI CHRISTI IOANNIS VI. Caro non prodest quicquam, &c. […] scripta contra Sacramentarios, et in sermonem Latinum per IOACHIMVM Vuestphalum conuersa […]* (Frankfurt, 1554); Joachim Westphal, *APOLOGIA ADVERSVS VENENATVM ANTIDOTVM VALERANDI POLLANI SACRAMENTARII […]*, (Oberursel, 1555). Westphal admonished the Frankfurt council in another print from Oberursel because of it had failed to permit his book to be published in Frankfurt; see: Joachim Westphal, *Ein Christliche vnd trewliche Warnung Joachimi Westphali / die Sacramentirer belangend / geschrieben an die Erbarn Herrn / die Burgermeister vnd Rath zu Franckfurt am Meyn* (Oberursel, 1557).

[24] For the sake of completeness mention must be made here of the opposite phenomenon of officially promoted books adorned with a coat of arms or governmental privilege. These editions are often especially important for the process of confessional formation, but, unfortunately, cannot be discussed here in detail.

authorities. An example is provided by the case of Justus Menius and his participation in the Majoristic dispute.[25] For many years, the Ernestine court prohibited the printing of pamphlets concerning this conflict, resorting even to the confiscation of Amsdorf's writings as well as those by Menius. Disputes that were carried out by way of letters, sermons and manuscripts were nevertheless capable of reaching a broad public. This shows that printed pamphlets were only part of a greater context of discussion. But at the same time, Menius's reaction makes clear that printing was the most effective weapon, and that none of the participants voluntarily relinquished the use of this medium if they truly wished to reach the largest public possible. No sooner had Menius left Thuringia and eluded the grasp of his territorial lord than he committed his writings to print.[26] Significantly, he dedicated his main defence statement to all three Protestant electors collectively.[27]

Concerning the Significance of the Printed Works and Public Perception

These theological publications represent only a particular segment of the theological discussion. Their interpretation and the evaluation of their significance for the emergence of confessions must take into account factors such as censorship and other means of communication that were also used to spread ideas, including sermons, letters and polemic in manuscript form. Nevertheless, these printed works represent a special kind of source. Their potential ability to reach a national

[25] On Menius and his role in the Majoristic controversy see: Robert Kolb, *Nikolaus von Amsdorf (1483–1565): Popular Polemics in the Preservation of Luther's Legacy* (Nieuwkoop, 1978), pp. 138–162; Matthias Richter, *Gesetz und Heil: Eine Untersuchung zur Vorgeschichte und zum Verlauf des sogenannten Zweiten Antinomistischen Streits* (Göttingen, 1996), pp. 128–160; on Menius in general we still rely on Gustav Lebrecht Schmidt, *Justus Menius: Der Reformator Thüringens; nach archivalischen und anderen gleichzeitigen Quellen* (reprint of the edition of Gotha 1867; Nieuwkoop, 1968).

[26] Justus Menius, *Kurtzer Beschaid […] Das seine Lare / wie er die fur der zeit gefurt / vnd noch füret / nicht mit jr selbs streittig noch widerwertig / sondern allenthalben einerley / vnd der warheit des Euangelij gemes sey. Auff den Vortrab Flacij Jllyrici* (Wittenberg, 1557); Justus Menius, *Verantworttung […] Flacij Jllyrici gifftige vnd vnwarhafftige verleumbdung vnd lesterung* ([Wittenberg,] 1557).

[27] Justus Menius, *Bericht Der bittern Warheit […] Auff die Vnerfindlichen aufflagen M. Flacij Jllyrici / vnd des Herrn Niclas von Amsdorffs* (Wittenberg, 1558). Dedication to Ottheinrich Pfalzgraf bei Rhein, August Kurfürst von Sachsen und Joachim Kurfürst von Brandenburg, f. *2r – *4v.

audience quickly and to influence it permanently made them stand out in comparison to other media and gave them a key position, even in their authors' minds.

The material collected by the Mainz database makes it possible to measure more exactly the place of theological pamphlets in the intra-Protestant disputes that took place between the Augsburg Interim and the Formula of Concord. It opens up opportunities to research the whole phenomenon in more detail and to study the role these publications played in the development of the Lutheran confession and its ecclesiastical organisation.

Pamphlets and the Formation of Religious Denominations

In the second part of this essay we will take a closer look at this topic on the basis of the first of eight planned volumes of the series 'Controversia et Confessio'.[28]

With 14 edited works this volume treats the last sphere of conflict in the cycle of the post-interim debates, over the theology of the Lord's Supper and the Christology that were advanced in Wittenberg from 1570 to 1574 – in the past labelled "der Kryptocalvinismus in Kursachsen" ("Crypto-Calvinism in Electoral Saxony") – and that found their most powerful expression in the Wittenberg catechism that was published at the beginning of 1571.[29] Between 1567 and 1570, five new professors (Caspar Cruciger t.Y., Friedrich Widebram, Christoph Pezel, Johannes Bugenhagen t.Y. and Heinrich Moller) joined Senior Georg Major in the theology faculty of Wittenberg University. Together they were responsible for the catechism written by Christoph Pezel.[30] Even the theses of their doctoral disputations, a compendium-like list of Wittenberg's teaching tradition – the first edited example item in our volume – sparked an academic dispute, most notably over the Christology advanced in theses with Jakob Andreae, who was trying to achieve theological unification within the

[28] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*.

[29] Paul Tschackert, *Die Entstehung der lutherischen und der reformierten Kirchenlehre samt ihren innerprotestantischen Gegensätzen* (Göttingen, 1910), pp. 531–559; Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (76.) 91–289.

[30] Regarding the five new professors and the authorship of Christoph Pezel, see: Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 147 et seq. 209–213. Henceforth, references refer to this publication.

churches of the Wittenberg Reformation, though this dispute was never the subject of a printed pamphlet.[31]

The situation suddenly changed when the Wittenberg catechism was published – the second edited work in our volume – in 1570–1571. Intended for use in grammar schools alongside Martin Luther's catechism, this catechism was therefore to replace the catechism of David Chyträus from Rostock, whose Christology had been judged problematic by members of the Electoral Saxon visitation team.[32] The catechism was published in Latin and dealt with the Ten Commandments, the Credo, the Lord's Prayer, the doctrine of penance and the sacraments. The debate that began immediately after the text was published was sparked by the interpretation of the Credo, in which were thought to be found statements about the ascension that corresponded to the local understanding of the ascension of Christ as a human, as according to Calvin. The definition of the Lord's Supper in the catechism of Wittenberg therefore seemed to be quite open to the interpretation that Christ's body could not possibly be present in the Lord's Supper. The result was the publication of pamphlets criticising the catechism of Wittenberg, almost all of which accused the Wittenberg faculty of being secretly in contact with Calvinists.[33] However, this criticism overlooked the fact that the theologians of Leucorea had faithfully followed in Melanchthon's footsteps, as since 1557 he too had understood the ascension as a movement of Christ's body to heaven. Concerning the Lord's Supper, the catechism was obliged to the praeceptor, who had talked of a presence of Christ's body *with* the elements and had described the mystery of the Supper with formulations from 1 Cor 10:16 as a common meal. For this reason, and in contrast to the traditions of both Protestant denominations, it is better to refer to a "Kryptophilippismus" ("Crypto-Philippism"). The term "Kryptocalvinismus" ("Crypto-Calvinism") as a description of the epoch from 1570 to 1574 has only a heuristic function at best.[34]

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[31] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (16.) 25–74; Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 147–157.

[32] *Catechesis DAVIDIS CHYTRAEI RECENS RECOGNITA, ET MVLTIS DEFINItionibus aucta* (Lipsiae, Johannes Rhamba, 1568). For the criticism of the electoral Saxonian visitation team on the Chytraeus catechism see: Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, p. 212 et seq.

[33] Regarding the Wittenberg catechism see ibid., pp. 209–221.

[34] On Melanchthon's Christology and his theology of the Lord's Supper in their historical development and for detailed argumentation for the use of the term "Crypto-Philippism" instead of "Crypto-Calvinism", see: Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 66–96; 674–694.

But examination of this question in detail is beyond the scope of this article.

In May 1571, right before he died, the bishop of Samland in Ducal Prussia, Joachim Mörlin, opened the verbal exchange with his foreword to the "Treuherzige Warnung", the third example in our volume, in which he published a statement by theologian Martin Chemnitz from Braunschweig.[35] The intervention in the Electoral Saxon debate by a bishop from Prussia by using a statement from Braunschweig impressively demonstrates the narrow network of the early modern printing scene. Also in May, Nikolaus Selnecker was forced by Duke Julius von Braunschweig-Lüneburg, his new employer, to distance himself clearly in his own writings from Wittenberg because, like his former colleagues in electoral Saxony, he was under suspicion of contact with Calvinists. This he did in Latin, in his "Commonefactio" – the fourth example in our volume.[36] That the break between Selnecker and the faculty of Wittenberg was now definitive is shown by the publication of the "Disputatio Grammatica" – the sixth example in our volume – a direct refutation of Selnecker by the classicist Esrom Rudinger from Wittenberg. This work was followed by a public statement by the university's vice-chancellor, theologian Caspar Cruciger Jr., that was also clearly directed against Selnecker.[37] In July 1571 theologians at Jena university took a clear stand against the theologians of Wittenberg. The university in Jena in Ernestine Saxony had been founded as a counterpoint to Wittenberg, which had been annexed by Albertine Saxony during the Schmalkaldic war.[38] Johannes Wigand, Tilemann Heshusius, Johann Friedrich Coelestin and Timotheus Kirchner

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[35] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (290) 297–303; Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 227–230. 238.

[36] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (304) 311–317; Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 239–243.

[37] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (356) 365–381; Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 248–255.

[38] Regarding the foundation of Jena University, see Max Steinmetz (ed.), *Geschichte der Universität Jena 1548/58–1958: Festschrift zum vierhundertjährigen Universitätsjubiläum: Bd. 1: Darstellung* (Jena, 1958), pp. 24–36; Joachim Bauer, 'Von der Gründung einer Hohen Schule in "elenden und betrübten Zeiten"' in Joachim Bauer, Dagmar Blaha, and Helmut G. Walther (eds.), *Dokumente zur Frühgeschichte der Universität Jena 1548 bis 1558* (Jena, 2003), pp. 31–88. On the later history of the theological faculty of the university Jena, see Ernst Koch, 'Später Philippismus in Jena: Zur Geschichte der Theologischen Fakultät zwischen 1573 und 1580', in Johanna Loehr (ed.), *Dona Melanchthoniana: Festschrift für Heinz Scheible zum 70. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 2001), pp. 217–245.

entered the fray with the "Warnung vor dem unreinen Catechismo" ("Warning about the impure Catechismo") – the fifth example in our volume – which was written in German.[39] After the publication of the first pamphlet against their catechism, Wittenberg's theologians had already begun to write an extensive appeal that was printed on 16 June: the "Grundfest", a work of 200 pages and the seventh example in our volume. In the "Grundfest" the theologians of Wittenberg explained their position thoroughly and countered the accusations that had been raised against them.[40] Just a few weeks later Wittenberg's theologians published their "Fragstück" – the eighth example in our volume – a second catechistical work, also in German, in which they again explained the disputed doctrine of Christ's ascension and verified it with patristic quotations. This publication was explicitly addressed to lay people who were possibly not able to follow the argumentation of the "Grundfest".[41]

In summer 1572 Christoph Pezel wrote a German translation of the catechism of Wittenberg that included marginal notes in which he again tried to fight the accusations that had been raised in the pamphlets. However, this German translation, which receives its first critical edition in our volume, fell victim to Electoral Saxon censorship.[42] Elector August did not want to revive this dispute, which had come to rest at the end of 1572, and he therefore forbade the publication of the German translation.[43]

Theologian Martin Chemnitz from Braunschweig then succeeded in creating a northern-German front against Wittenberg's theology composed of all the theologians who signed the "Niedersächsisches Bekenntnis" ("Lower Saxon confession") – the ninth example in our volume.[44] Elector August summoned the theologians of his electorate to Dresden and demanded that they write a *Confessio bene lutherana*.[45]

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[39] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (318) 329–355; Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 280–288.

[40] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (382) 391–673; Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 311–390.

[41] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (674) 681–702; Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 393–398.

[42] The Wittenberg catechism is edited bilingually in Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (76) 91–289.

[43] Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 314–319.

[44] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (704) 713–793; Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 406–422.

[45] Daniel Gresser to his son-in-law Nikolaus Selnecker. 3 October 1571, Herzog August library, Wolfenbüttel: Cod. Guelf. 64.8 Extrav., 571.

This repudiated every accusation made by theologians from other territories, which contested the legal protection of the Peace of Augsburg that only applied to adherents of the Augsburg Confession, at least implicitly for Electoral Saxony. With the "Consensus Dresdensis" – the tenth example in our volume – the Electoral Saxon theologians opted for an integrative line: formulations by Luther and Melanchthon stood side by side, but the most important characteristics of Luther's view of the Lord's supper were intentionally left out.[46] Thus the Electoral Saxon theologians declared their support for the unity of the Wittenberg Reformation based upon both their teachers Luther and Melanchthon. Meanwhile the unfolding impact of the "Dresden Consensus" prevented recognition of Electoral Saxony's orthodoxy all over the Holy Roman Empire, and it was precisely this that the elector had tried to achieve above all. The confession of Dresden unexpectedly won approval from the Calvinist side. Theologians from Heidelberg as well as the refugee community in Frankfurt declared that they were able to sign this confession without reservations. The refugees in Frankfurt had the "Consensus Dresdensis" printed in their city and so declared their support for its content.[47] This unexpected reaction to the Electoral Saxon publication of the confession of Dresden led theologians from Württemberg to intervene in the dispute with their "Württemberger Bekenntnis" ("Confession of Württemberg") – the eleventh example in our volume – in which they clearly distanced themselves from Wittenberg.[48] They did so under the leadership of Jacob Andreae, who up to this time had been ordered by the ducal authorities to remain silent in the debate. The imprecise formulations of the 'Dresden Consensus', which enabled Calvinists to subscribe to the document, made Württemberg's court chaplain, Lukas Osiander, warn of the insidiousness and false doctrine of this confession in his "Bericht vom Nachtmahl" ("report about the Lord's Supper").[49]

So local censorship measures played a significant part in the creation of the Wittenberg catechism and in its fallout. The new

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[46] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (794) 807–822; Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 432–447.
[47] Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 468–483; 541–557.
[48] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (824) 833–981; Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 499–520.
[49] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (982) 989–1012; Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 520–540.

catechism was Wittenberg's answer to the Electoral Saxon prohibition of the catechism of Rostock. One should not underestimate the role of the censorship of the German translation of Wittenberg's catechism and the duke's order to Württemberg's theologians not to intervene in the debate until the Consensus Dresdensis was published in setting the course of the debate.[50]

Because of electoral prohibition, Wittenberg theologians could not defend their position against the attacks from Württemberg. This explains the pause in the debate in 1573 that was also possible because Elector August's took over Ernestine Saxony, ruling in the name of Prince John Frederick II's underage sons.

Of his own initiative, the Leipzig bookseller Vögelin unexpectedly published a treatise in September 1573 that marked the beginning of the end for Wittenberg's theologians, the "Exegesis perspicua" – the thirteenth example in our volume. This work by physician Joachim Curaeus was published posthumously and sold surreptitiously by Vögelin. To divert suspicion from Vögelin, the title page proclaimed that the book had been printed in Geneva. The "unio sacramentalis", that is the sacramental unity of bread and the body of Christ, was rejected by Curaeus, as were Luther's "manducatio oralis" and "manducatio impiorum". The book also spoke benevolently of the persecuted Calvinists.[51]

The elector felt deceived by his own people. Remembering the pictures of the Massacre of St Bartholomew in France, he interpreted Calvinism as a subversive force entailing tumult and dissension and Wittenberg's theologians as having intended secretly to help Calvinism triumph in his country.[52] August convened a commission of "orthodox" theologians who carried out an interrogation of all theologians suspected of Calvinism. A new confession made the Calvinistic interpretation of the confession of Dresden impossible, as the leading Calvinist theologians were condemned by name. This series of articles was presented to those who had been summoned to sign it: the so called "Torgauer Artikel" ("articles of Torgau") – the

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[50] On censorship in this "circle of dispute" see: Hasse, *Zensur theologischer Bücher*, *passim*.

[51] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (1014) 1021–1089; on the Christology and the theology of the Lord's Supper in the "Exegesis" and its history of origins see: Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 565–594.

[52] Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 620 et seq.

fourteenth example in our volume. In 1574 the majority of Wittenberg's theologians lost their positions and left Electoral Saxony in 1576.[53]

The fall of Wittenberg's theologians led to drastic religious and political changes in Electoral Saxony. Previously, Elector August had adopted a conciliatory – or at least non-hostile – policy towards Calvinism in the Electoral Palatinate.[54] But he now became an important advocate of the Lutheran efforts for unity after 1574 in which Jakob Andreae took the lead, supported by his territorial sovereign Duke Ludwig of Württemberg.[55] As early as 1577, the Formula of Concord was finished and introduced as a new *Corpus doctrinae* in 1580 in many territories of the Holy Roman Empire, as the confession of what was to become Lutheranism. The authors of the Formula of Concord were not able to consolidate the whole spectrum of theological variety that had prevailed up to this time. New discussions were inevitable and soon occurred.[56]

The publication of pamphlets clearly plays a considerable role within the confessionalisation of Lutheranism. The debates about Wittenberg's theology of the Lord's Supper and Wittenberg's Christology and the exchange of pamphlets were the only places where the confessional positions expressed their strict, exclusive self-definitions. The early modern culture of controversy, which would not have existed without printing, helped form the identity of the emerging Lutheranism. Where a variety of views had been put forward during discussions about theological questions in the Wittenberg Reformation, now the debate meant that in Electoral Saxony there was only one acceptable Lutheran point of view, that of the Formula of Concord. While a unity with the

[53] Dingel, *Controversia et Confessio, vol. 8*, pp. (1090) 1103–1151; Irene Dingel, 'Die Torgauer Artikel (1574) als Vermittlungsversuch zwischen der Theologie Luthers und der Melanchthons', in Hans-Jörg Nieden (ed.), *Praxis Pietatis: Beiträge zu Theologie und Frömmigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit, Festschrift Wolfgang Sommer* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 119–134; Hund, *Das Wort ward Fleisch*, pp. 615–668.

[54] Heinrich Heppe, *Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus in den Jahren 1555–1581*, vol. 2, *Die Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus von 1563–1574* (Marburg, 1853), p. 121.

[55] On the process of confessionalisation in electoral Saxony and Andreae's engagement in this process, see: Ulrike Ludwig, *Philippismus und orthodoxes Luthertum an der Universität Wittenberg: Die Rolle Jakob Andreäs im lutherischen Konfessionalisierungsprozeß Kursachsens (1576–1580)* (Münster, 2009).

[56] On the discussion about the Formula of Concord after its publication, see: Irene Dingel, *Concordia controversa: Die öffentlichen Diskussionen um das lutherische Konkordienwerk am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Gütersloher Verlagshaus (Gütersloh, 1996).

Calvinistic territories had still been within the realms of possibility before the dispute – a solution preferred by Wittenberg's theologians – this option was no longer available after the debate. One group of theologians of the Wittenberg Reformation was forced to join the Calvinistic camp while a larger group was from this point on confessionally bound to Lutheranism. Melanchthon's theology had been set aside at the formulation of confessions. Henceforth, there were only two options within Protestantism: Lutheranism and Calvinism. The exchange of pamphlets was decisive for the confessionalisation of Lutheranism. The vital questions surrounding the Lord's Supper and Christology that the Formula of Concord addressed, had almost without exception been posed by the "Grundfest" of Wittenberg and had to be disproved in the Formula one after another, as Robert Kolb had shown.[57] So in the end Wittenberg's theologians played a crucial role, albeit unwittingly, in the formation of doctrines of emerging Lutheranism.

[57] Robert Kolb, 'Altering the Agenda, Shifting the Strategy: The *Grundfest* of 1571 as Philippist Program for Lutheran Concord', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 30 (1999), pp. 705–726.

THE DEVICES OF PROTESTANT PRINTERS IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY KRAKOW

Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba

During the sixteenth century Krakow was one of the most important centres of urban life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was the capital city of a multinational state, the seat of secular and church authorities, and, since 1364, a university town. Printing presses started to operate here in 1473, and a dense system of trade routes and intellectual connections linked Krakow's citizens with other European regions. Therefore, it is not surprising that the new cultural and religious movements that were emanating from western and southern Europe soon started to become familiar to the city's inhabitants.[1] People of various backgrounds and occupations (merchants and diplomats, scholars and students, lay people and clergymen) were travelling to Wittenberg, Geneva and Zurich, bringing back new ideas and new books with them. Difficult as it is to sum up the complex history of the Polish Reformation and Krakow's role in its development, one may say that the Reformation message found the most favourable conditions to spread after 1540. This was particularly true after the death of King Sigismund I in 1548 as his successor, Sigismund Augustus, was known for his tolerance. The Reformed tradition gained a stronger influence in Krakow and the surrounding region than Lutheranism and other confessional approaches.

Circles of booksellers, printers and publishers in Krakow significantly contributed to the promotion of 'religious novelties'. Initially, Krakow booksellers imported books which discussed the need of reforms in the Church. But in the second half of the sixteenth century the town's printers and publishers eagerly produced vernacular Bibles,

[1] See works by Janusz Tazbir, of which only a few are available in English, for example: *A State without Stakes: Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, transl. A.T. Jordan (New York, 1973); P.W. Knoll, 'Poland' in H.J. Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* vol. 3 (New York – Oxford, 1996), pp. 283–288; A. Pettegree and K. Maag, 'The Reformation in Central and Eastern Europe', in K. Maag (ed.), *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe*, (Aldershot, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, 1997), pp. 2–18.

collections of sermons and psalm books, theological *disputationes* and catechisms. It is beyond the scope of the article to present the history of 'the book and the Reformation in Krakow'.[2] Instead, we shall concentrate on some of the printer's devices used by Krakow publishers who either contributed to the reform or were themselves Protestants. In particular, we shall discuss the devices' iconographical and iconological sources and symbolic meaning of the graphic compositions, in order to investigate how these marks could have been understood by readers of sixteenth and seventeenth century books. Special attention will also be given to the relations of selected images in the printers' devices with the heritage of European visual culture and Protestant iconography.

Chronologically, the first device to be discussed here is that of Hieronim Wietor, a printer active in Krakow from 1518 to 1547, who – as far as we know – was not openly a Protestant, but definitely promoted new religious ideas. Wietor imported and sold 'heretical' books containing pictures 'offensive to the Church' and was even arrested for this in 1536.[3] He made friends with Polish intellectuals who were known to be enthusiasts of Calvin's teaching and published some of their works. Interestingly, he was the first printer in Krakow to publish hymn sheets in octavo editions; the striving for promotion of religious songs was one of the characteristic features of the Reformation. Tellingly, the Lutheran prince Albrecht von Hohenzollern consulted Wietor when trying to establish a Protestant printing house in Königsberg in Ducal Prussia.

As a printer, Hieronim Wietor was not only a businessman, but also someone with intellectual ambitions whose interest in reforming the Church was probably connected with his humanistic views and lifelong enthusiasm for Erasmus of Rotterdam. The most important sign of Wietor's passionate approach towards the works of the Dutch humanist is the fact that his publishing house in Krakow printed most of the Erasmian titles. However, it seems equally interesting that the Krakow printer did not hesitate to use Erasmus' personal symbol, Terminus, as his printer's device (see: Figure 1). He did this for the first

[2] A. Kawecka-Gryczowa and J. Tazbir, *Le Livre et la La Réforme en Pologne in La Réforme et le Livre. L'Europe de l'imprimé (1517 – v. 1570)*, J.-F. Gilmont (ed.), (Paris 1990), pp. 417–440.

[3] A. Mańkowska and A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, 'Hieronim Wietor' in A. Kawecka-Gryczowa (ed.), *Drukarze dawnej Polski. Małopolska*: *Od XV do XVI wieku* (Wrocław, 1983), pp. 325–352.

Figure 1. Device of Hieronim Wietor. Used since 1523. (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków)

time in 1523, in an edition of a famous handbook entitled *Opus de conscribendis epistolis*.[4]

The imagery of the mark was clearly based on the famous portrait medal prepared by Quentin Matsys for Erasmus in 1519 (see: Figure 2).

Figure 2. Erasmus of Rotterdam portrait medal, 1519. © Trustees of the British Museum

4 M. Cytowska, 'Erasme en Pologne avant l'époque du Concile de Trente', *Erasmus in English*, no. 5 (1972), pp. 10–15; J. Glomsky, 'Erasmus and Cracow (1510–1530)', *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook*, vol. 17 (1997), pp. 1–18. About the symbolism of Terminus and the Erasmian iconography, see: E. Simon, 'Terminus' in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)*, vol. VII/1 (Zurich, 1994), pp. 893–894; E. Wing, 'Aenigma Termini', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1937), pp. 66–69; E. Panofsky, 'Erasmus and the Visual Arts', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 32 (1969), pp. 203–219; J. Białostocki, 'Rembrandt's "Terminus"' *Wallraf-Richarzt-Jahrbuch*, vol. 28 (1966), pp. 49–60; J.K. McKonica,

The Terminus on the printer's device and the image of the Roman god on the Erasmian medal are not identical, but the similarity between the two representations is not limited to the subject matter. The author of the Krakow woodcut followed Matsys and showed Terminus in profile, although the god's shoulders and torso are captured from the front. In both works Terminus's forehead is exposed, his long hair flowing in the wind, he also has a beard on the printer's device and stubble on the medal. The bust is set upon a square base, and, as the author had applied the rules of perspective, two sides of the pedestals were visible. Mastys placed the herm on a rocky mound overgrown with grass, while the author of the woodcut interpreted this element of the composition as a steep, rocky hill with a gently rounded summit. The Krakow graphical representation copies the medal's distribution of majuscule letters in the word 'Terminus' on the base. The author of the woodcut also borrowed the idea to place the motto *Concedo nulli* horizontally and level with the god's mouth, as if Terminus himself was uttering these words.[5]

Yet further proof confirming the direct relation between Wietor's mark and Matsys' work is the meaning and the character of the mottoes that accompany the image of Terminus. In 1523 in Krakow, Greek, Latin and Hebrew inscriptions were added around the frame of the woodcut representation of the Roman god. The first, Greek one: "Keep the end of a long life in view" (Ὅρα τέλος μακροὰ βίου) is the sentence that comes from the Erasmian medal's legend. When scholars attempted to define its source, their attention was drawn by the 'familiar, evangelical tone'.[6] In fact, however, this dictum is to be found in slightly different versions in several classical texts. The version identical with the one on the medal appears in the work *In Platonis Gorgiam Commentaria* (48, 10) by Olympiodoros.[7] Another adage from the Erasmian medal comes from one of Horace's letters (Epistolae, I, 16, 79): 'death is the ultimate boundary of things' (*mors ultima linea rerum*). Wietor replaced Horace's motto with the inscriptions of

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'The Riddle of "Terminus"', *Erasmus in English*, no 2 (1971), pp. 2–7; J. Rowlands, 'Terminus. The Device of Erasmus of Rotterdam: A Painting by Holbein', *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (February 1980), pp. 50–54.

[5] L. Smolderen, 'Quentin Matsys (Metys, Massys)' in S.K. Scher (ed.), *The Currency of Fame. Portrait Medals of the Renaissance* (New York, 1994), pp. 349.

[6] McKonica, 'The Riddle of "Terminus"', p. 3.

[7] Olimpiodorus, *Commentary on Plato's 'Gorgias'*, transl. R. Jackson, K. Lycos, H. Tarrant (Leiden, 1998).

similar meaning. The first, Latin motto (*Scilicet ultima semper expectanda dies homini est*) is a quotation from *Metamorphoses* (book 3, 131) and is worth citing here in the context from the Ovid's work: 'But no frail man, however great or high, Can be concluded blest before he die'.[8] The motto used by Wietor was much used during the Antiquity; before Ovid it had been used by both Herodotus and Plutarch. The attempts in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to 'Christianise' Ovid and other classical writers perhaps explains why this sentence in Wietor's device was juxtaposed with two biblical admonitions. The first came from the Vulgate translation of the Book of Ecclesiasticus (The Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach, 7, 40): "(In omnibus operibus tuis) memorare novissima tua, et in eaternum non peccabis" – "Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss".[9] The second was from the Greek version of the Gospel of Matthew (25,13): "Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh" ('Γρηγορεῖτε οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδέ τὴν ὥραν').[10] These quotations in the three languages of the Holy Scripture were completed by another from the Hebrew Bible (Job 14, 5), cited with a small mistake: "Seeing his days are determined, the number of his months are with thee, thou hast appointed his bounds that he cannot pass".[11]

The Erasmian portrait medal clearly inspired Hieronim Wietor's device. Not only were there visual similarities between the Krakow and the Dutch representations of Terminus, but it also dictated the very choice of the mottoes that surround the god on the printer's device. Wietor directly borrowed one of the two inscriptions found on the Erasmian medal: the motto that survived from the pagan, namely Greek, tradition. Although the second Erasmian motto was not directly incorporated, it was clearly reminiscent of other similar expressions of *vanitas*, and so Wietor decided to place it on his device. The choice of the inscriptions in Hebrew, Greek and Latin in the Krakow representation of the Roman god suggests an Erasmian interpretation of the riddle of Terminus. Erasmus, in the later years of his life, argued that Terminus represents death, which yields to nobody. The decision to

[8] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, transl. S. Garth, S. Dryden et al., last accessed on 11 January 2010, http://classics.mit.edu/Ovid/metam.3.third.html

[9] *King James Bible*, last accessed on 11 January 2010, http://www.biblicalproportions.com/modules/ol_bible/King_James_Bible/Ecclesiasticus/7/

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

make Terminus a printer's device and to surround the image with mottoes in three classical languages, show that the same wisdom can be derived from the traditions that were of greatest importance for the European Renaissance – *traditio hebraica, traditio Christiana, traditio pagana*. This could have been intended not only as a manifestation of Wietor's admiration for Erasmus' works, but also a clear demonstration of the printer's humanistic education and, perhaps, the mental standing of a man who was eager to promote new and independent ways of thinking, repeating the bold words: 'I yield to none'.

Hieronim Wietor was a printer-humanist who most probably observed the spread of the Reformation with sympathy and interest, but his printing house did not have a religious character. The first denominational printing house that operated in Krakow was that of Maciej Wirzbięta (active between 1555–1605). Maciej Wirzbięta was a Calvinist, the chief printer of a Reformed Protestant community in Minor Poland, a co-worker and co-believer of the famous Polish poet and rich nobleman Mikołaj Rej. Wirzbięta's publishing house began to operate around 1555, but it was the publication in 1557 of Mikołaj Rej's *Postylla*, a collection of sermons and a 'Christ-centred Reformation manifesto', that heralded the house's Evangelical, Calvinistic profile, which Wirzbięta consistently followed in subsequent years.[12]

After the establishment of his publishing house, Maciej Wirzbięta marked his books with a device representing a willow-tree.[13] There were three versions of the device. The first was a large decorative one suitable only for selected publications (see: Figure 3) and the second a smaller, but almost equally ornamental, one (see: Figure 4). Both were used from 1557 onwards. The third one was the smallest and most used on the title pages. It represented a willow-tree being nibbled at by a goat (see: Figure 5) and was used between 1563 and 1568. The willow-tree device of Wirzbięta was a 'punning device' referring to the printer's surname, as a willow-tree in Polish is 'wierzba'.[14]

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[12] J.T. Maciuszko, 'Poglądy religijne Mikołaja Reja' in W. Kowalski (ed.), *Mikołaj Rej z Nagłowic w pięćsetną rocznicę urodzin*, (Kielce 2005), p. 288.

[13] E. Stankiewicz, 'Maciej Wirzbięta – wydawca Reja' in T. Bieńkowski et al. (eds.), *Mikołaj Rej w czterechsetlecie śmierci* (Wrocław, 1971), pp. 257–268; J.S. Gruchała, 'Mikołaj Rej i „czarna sztuka" ' in W. Kowalski (ed.), *Mikołaj Rej z Nagłowic w pięćsetną rocznicę urodzin* (Kielce 2005), pp. 93–104; A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi. Zbiór podobizn zasobu drukarskiego tłoczni polskich XVI stulecia*, vol. 9–11 (Wrocław, 1974–1981).

[14] B. Fraenkel, 'La signature et le rébus de nom propre' in M. Heussner et al., (eds.), *Word and Image. A Selection of Papers Given at the Second International Conference on*

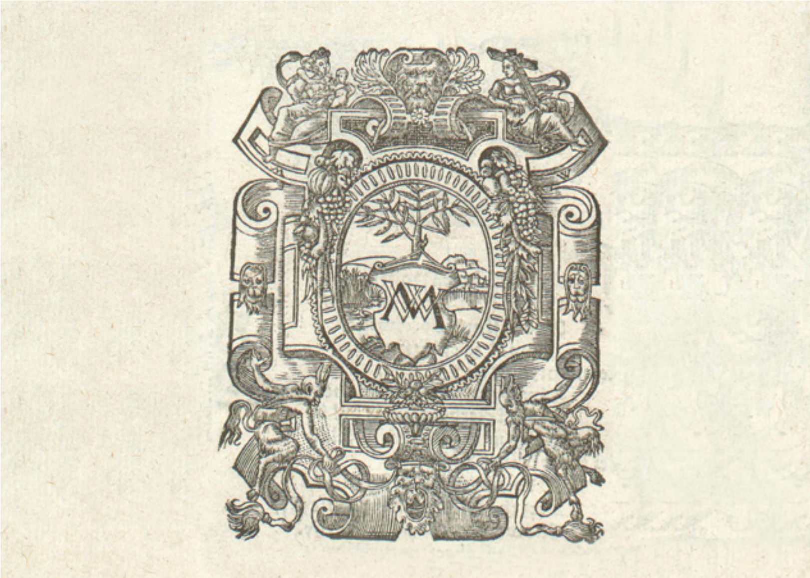


Figure 3. Maciej Wirzbięta's device. Version 1 used since 1557 (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków)

The willow-tree device, however, also had a symbolic value. In the European tradition a willow had never been regarded as a beautiful, strong or beneficial tree. On the contrary, it had been seen as a barren plant, one that loses its seeds before they are ripe. The opinion that willows were barren appeared in Homer's *Odyssey* and was repeated by Pliny the Elder and by many authors of medieval encyclopaedias, herbaria or even by the Church Fathers.[15] The humanists were also familiar with the claims about willow's barrenness. Erasmus in *Parabolae sive similia* referred to the belief popular already in antiquity that willow seeds were an effective contraceptive. Andrea Alciato in his collection *Arbores*, which was incorporated into *Emblemata* in 1546, presented a willow-tree as a symbol of people who not only were unable to involve themselves in noble and useful activities but

Word and Image (Basel, 1993), pp. 35–40; J.C. Margolin, 'Devices, Armes parlantes et Rébus au Temps des grand Rhétoriqueurs' in M.T. Jones-Davies (ed.), *Emblemes et devises au temps de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1981), pp. 65–80.

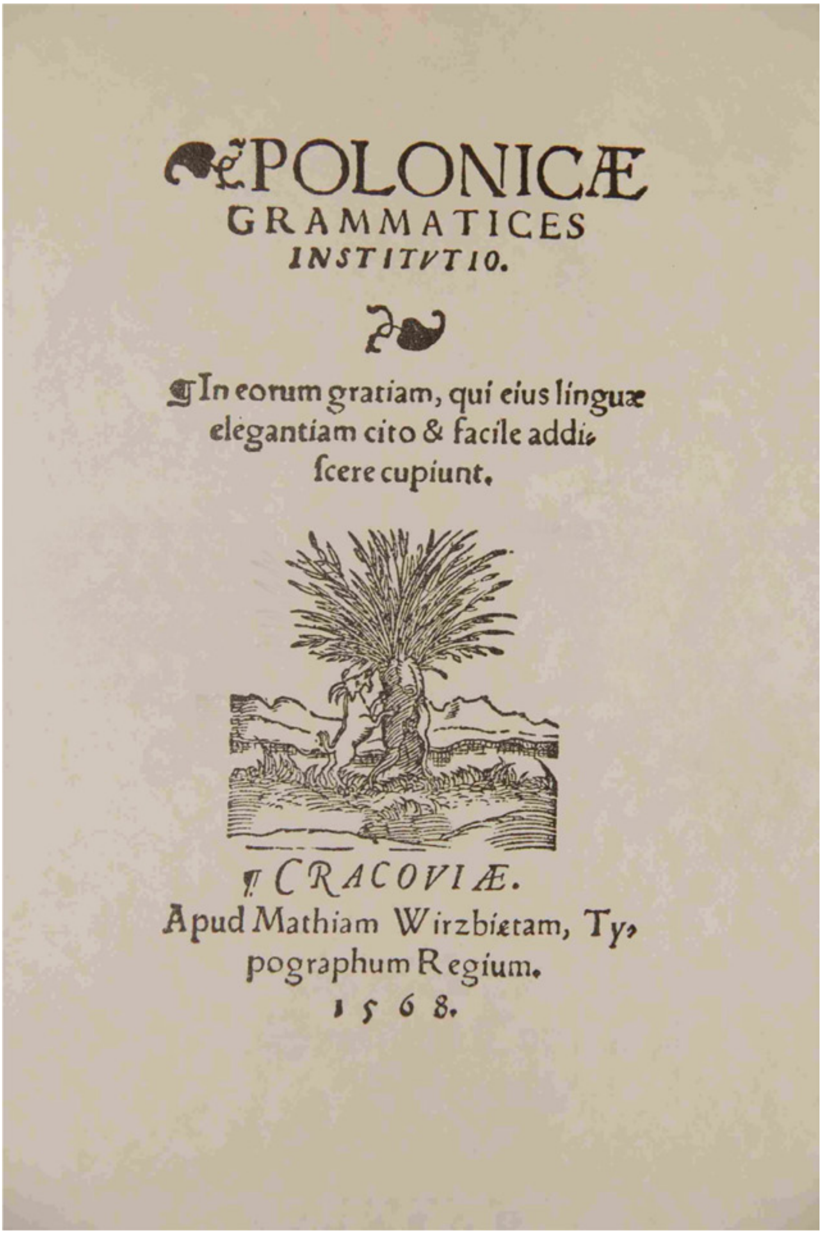
[15] M. de Cleene, M.C. Lejeune, 'Willow', in: *Compendium of Symbolic and Ritual Plants in Europe*, vol. I, *Trees and Shrubs* (Ghent, 2003), pp. 726–740.

Figure 4. Maciej Wirzbięta's device. Version 2 used since 1557 (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków).

who also discouraged others from such initiatives. Following Alciato, other authors of emblem books elaborated on *frugisperda salix*, propagating in their works the negative connotations associated with the willow-tree.[16]

The symbolism of Wirzbięta's device surely did not refer to that interpretation: it replaced or juxtaposed the negative beliefs about

[16] A. Henkel, A. Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1967), pp. 244–245.



POLONICÆ
GRAMMATICES
INSTITVTIO.

¶ In eorum gratiam, qui eius linguæ
elegantiam cito & facile addi-
ſcere cupiunt.

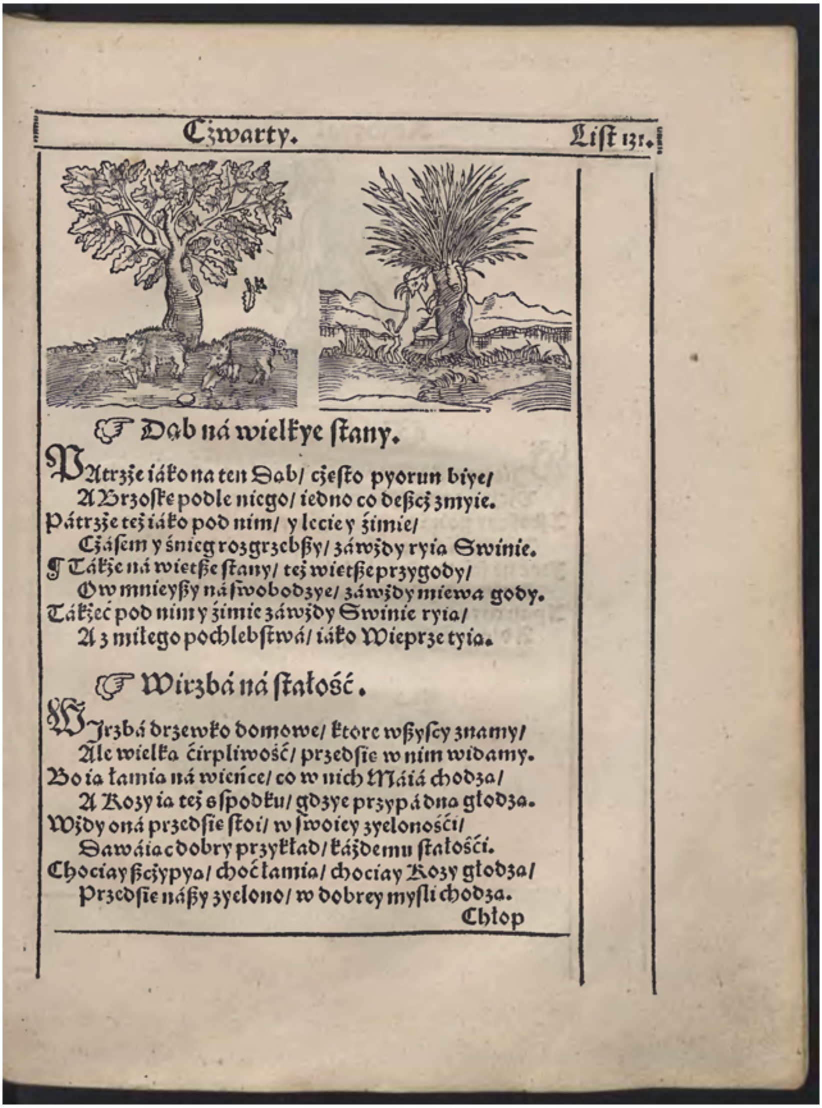
¶ CRACOVIÆ.
Apud Mathiam Wirzbiętam, Ty-
pographum Regium.
1568.

Figure 5. Maciej Wirzbięta's device. Version 3 used since 1563 (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków).

willows with another concept, namely that part of the symbolic tradition that paradoxically saw in a fragile willow a sign of endurance and strength, of life that persists despite numerous wounds, of life that is born out of death. Pliny the Elder, who wrote so convincingly about willow's barrenness, also highlighted its extraordinary vital forces in his *Naturalis historia* (Book XVI, Chapter 57)[17]. Later authors expressed their surprise at willow's fast growth and at the fact that a trunk whose branches are severed soon had new shoots. Willow seedlings became a sign of good tidings, while a willow with young branches began to symbolise the Church that continued to grow despite oppression. The roots of Wirzbięta's willow-tree most probably grew from this symbolic tradition. Readers acquainted with this era's visual code were expected to interpret the device as the publisher's ideological stance and an announcement of his publishing programme – largely religious, Calvinistic and Evangelical. The willow-tree in Wirzbięta's device constituted not only a reference to his surname, but also a symbol of perseverance in his faith.

This is confirmed by an emblematic composition by Mikołaj Rej, Wirzbięta's favourite writer and a probable co-founder of his printing house. In 1562 Wirzbięta published Rej's collection of poems entitled *Źwierzyniec*. In this collection there is an emblem with a motto 'Wirzba na stałość', that in Old Polish means 'a willow-tree as a symbol of perseverance'. The *pictura* is easily identified as the same woodcut that was used as Wirzbięta's device after 1563 (see: Figure 6). In the epigram, the willow becomes a sign of a certain ethical conduct, of patience, constancy and hope. A common tree may be perceived as a universal model if it opposes its fate. The poem's parenetic meaning becomes apparent as the epigram's last line reveals that this ideal is already being followed by the poet's (and his printer's) co-believers. Calvinists were to be seen as 'our people' who 'persevere in hope' in spite of persecutions. In the consistently developed parallel, Calvinists are compared with the patient, mutilated willow-tree. Rej's poem, therefore, does not point to an existential model to be followed, but constitutes a metaphorical representation of the current situation of Evangelicals who are

[17] Also the tree's Latin name (*salix*) was interpreted in the context of its vitality and derived from the verb *salire* (jump). See: G. Duchet-Suchaux, 'Les nomes des arbes' in *L'arbre. Histoire naturelle et symbolique de l'arbe, du bois et du fruit au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1993), p. 14.



Cżwarty. List 131.

Dab ná wielkye ſtany.

Patrzże iáko na ten Dab/ czeſto pyorun biye/
A Brzoſke podle niego/ iedno co deßcż zmyie.
Pátrzże też iáko pod nim/ y lecie y źimie/
Czáſem y śnieg rozgrzebßy/ záwżdy ryia Swinie.
Tákże ná wietße ſtany/ też wietße przygody/
O w mnieyßy ná ſwobodzye/ záwżdy miewa gody.
Tákżeć pod nim y źimie záwżdy Swinie ryia/
A z miłego pochlebſtwá/ iáko Wieprze tyia.

Wirzbá ná ſtałość.

Wirzbá drzewko domowe/ ktore wßyſcy znamy/
Ale wielka ćirpliwość/ przedſie w nim widamy.
Bo ia łamia ná wieńce/ co w nich Máiá chodza/
A Kozy ia też s ſpodku/ gdzye przypádna głodza.
Wżdy oná przedſie ſtoi/ w ſwoiey zyeloności/
Dawáiac dobry przykład/ káżdemu ſtałośći.
Chociay ßczypya/ choć łamia/ chociay Kozy głodza/
Przedſie náßy zyelono/ w dobrey myſli chodza.
Chłop

Figure 6. Mikołaj Rej, Źwierzyniec, Kraków 1562. (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław).

shown as humble Christians who calmly and patiently suffer insults and harassment in the name of Christ.

The third version of Maciej Wirzbięta's device served, primarily, as the *pictura* for the emblem; the printer had started to use the woodcut as his mark a year after publication of Rej's *Źwierzyniec*. This decision is a crucial to our understanding: Rej's poem can be seen as an explanation of the device. The enigmatic visual representation becomes comprehensible: it is explained by Wirzbięta's contemporary, who, more importantly, was also his co-worker, co-believer and an author of emblems. If the text of Rej's epigram had been printed in *Źwierzyniec* without the *pictura*, we could only assume that Wirzbięta was familiar with Mikołaj Rej's poem. However, in fact, the emblematic composition of 'Wirzba na stałość' – 'A willow-tree as a symbol of perseverance' – has a full structure comprising three elements. The printer's decision to make the *pictura* his own device proves that Wirzbięta appreciated and fully accepted Rej's interpretation of a willow-tree's symbolism. This interpretation was very attractive from the point of view of the device's requirements. The willow-tree was a symbol of the virtues of Evangelicals: committed to Christ, persistently tolerating persecution from a world which is deaf to the words of the Gospel, a world which in the epigram and the picture of 1562 is symbolised by a greedy goat.

It is worth stressing here that Wirzbięta's device, and thereby the content expressed by its symbolic visual language, had a clearly personal character. The punning device suggested that the printer wanted to be persistent like a willow-tree and persevere in the Reformed teachings in spite of difficulties. Significantly, in the first and second variant of the mark a plaque with the monogram of Maciej Wirzbięta hung on the trunk of the willow-tree. This was a procedure frequently applied by early printers in order to emphasise the personal character of their marks.[18] Interestingly, Wirzbięta, in the first version of his device (see: Figure 7), took it one step further and placed the letters M and W not only in the centre of his device, but also in the decorations of the scrollwork cartouche. Although the small letters are almost indiscernible among the rich ornamentation of the frame, their location was not accidental. They were placed right under the feet of the females represented in the upper corners of the cartouche. These figures personify two virtues: Caritas (hugging two small children) and Fides (holding a cross). Their vernacular names in Polish (Miłosierdzie and Wiara) begin with the same letters as the printer's name and surname. It is here that the device's conceptual character is at its strongest. Its composition is organised around a representation that alludes by sound to

[18] J. Moran, *Heraldic Influence on Early Printers' Devices* (Leeds, 1978), pp. 5–47.

Figure 7. Maciej Wirzbięta's device. Version 1 used since 1557 (detail)

the publisher's surname. It visually refers to his monogram and the allegorical images evoke connections between the publisher's works and the supernatural gifts that should shape and stimulate the life of a Christian. Most probably Maciej Wirzbięta's device included the personifications of Caritas and Fides not only because of the initial letters of their names, but also due to their primary significance in Evangelical theology, where trust in 'faith alone' and 'grace alone' constitutes the most essential rule.[19]

Between 1563 and 1565 the Polish Protestants divided into the Major (Reformed) Church and the Minor (Antitrinitarian) Church.[20] Maciej Wirzbięta stayed within the Major Church and published many of the polemical writings of the Calvinists who were discussing the principles of their religion with Antitrinitarian theologians. Polish Brethren (Bracia Polscy) also needed their own confessional 'officina'. After a few unsuccessful attempts, the printing house of Aleksy Rodecki, a 'Polish brother' himself, began to operate in Krakow in

[19] H.W. Winger, 'The Cover Design', *Library Quarterly*, vol. 45, No. 4 (1975), pp. 419–420; R. Leszczyński, 'Mikołaj Rej o sobie samym do potomności' in B. Tondera (ed.), *Mikołaj Rej i dziedzictwo Reformacji w Polsce* (Kraków, 2006), p. 14; 24.

[20] Z. Ogonowski, *Arianie polscy*, (Warszawa, 1952); W. Urban, 'Polish Brethren' in H.J. Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 3 (New York – Oxford, 1996), pp. 289–290.

1574.[21] Rodecki's workshop was undoubtedly established with the assistance of the Minor Poland Antitrinitarian community. Rodecki used the financial assistance of influential fellow believers and printed works of leading Antitrinitarian polemicists, including local theologians like Marcin Czechowic and Jan Niemojewski as well as other thinkers such as Fausto Sozzini. However Rodecki's situation was difficult: the Polish Brethren were arguing ardently among themselves and were engaging in polemical discussions with the Calvinists and the Catholics. Rodecki's publishing house was robbed by a fanatical crowd in 1578, and in 1584/5 the printer was arrested for publishing a book whose author refused to pay divine homage to Christ (Christian Francken, *Praecipuarum enumeratio causarum…*)[22]. In the same year the printer was excluded from the Polish Brethren community for publishing texts that disagreed with the official doctrine of the Polish Brethren. Therefore, it is not surprising that Rodecki often published his books without an address and used pseudonyms or provided a false place of publication. Also the printer's device (see: Figure 8), which visually identified the products of a publishing house, was only used only intermittently in 1585. Sebastian Sternacki, who inherited the publishing house after Rodecki and who had previously worked for him in the small town of Raków in Minor Poland, also rarely used the device.[23]

The Rodecki and Sternacki printing house device mimicked a device often used by Western European printers and publishers: Rodecki probably copied his from one of the editions of Gratioso Percaccino.[24] It represented a winged creature, entwined around a wooden support with the accompanying motto 'Salus vitae'. This iconographical motif is known as the Brazen Serpent – a subject taken from the Book of Numbers chapter 21 (verses 4–9) – that tells the story of the desperate and rebelling Israelites who criticised Moses during the exodus from Egypt. To punish them, God "sent fiery serpents among the people,

[21] A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Ariańskie oficyny wydawnicze Rodeckiego i Sternackiego. Dzieje i bibliografia* (Wrocław 1974); J. Pirożyński, 'Sebastian Sternacki' in J. Pirożyński (ed.), *Drukarze dawnej Polski. Małopolska*: *Wiek XVII-XVIII* (Kraków, 2000), pp. 539–541.

[22] L. Szczucki, 'Christian Francken', *Odrodzenie i Reformacja*, vol. 8 (1963), pp. 52–55.

[23] K. Krzak-Weiss, *Polskie sygnety drukarskie od XV do połowy XVII wieku*, Wydawnictwo (Poznań, 2006), fig. 35.

[24] G. Zappella, *Le marche dei tipografi e degli editori italiani del Cinquecento. Repertorio di figure, simboli e soggetti e dei relativi motivi* (Milano, 1986), fig. 1044.

Figure 8. Aleksy Rodecki's device, 1585 (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków)

and they bit the people; and many people died". The cure was given to Moses when he prayed: "Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live. And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole, and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived". Beginning in the 12th century, theologians (and artists) customarily understood the Old Testament subject of the Brazen Serpent as a prototype of the sacrifice of Christ. This typological reference was inspired by the words of Christ himself: "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: That whosoever beliveth in him should not perish, but have eternal life" (John 3: 14–15).[25]

The traditional image took on a new meaning in the sixteenth century during the Reformation disputes, primarily under the influence of Martin Luther's writings and the iconography that made references to them. Luther made use of the story of Moses' serpent and its typological interpretation in order to explain the doctrine of justification by faith in a visual manner and to clearly determine his stance with respect to the worship of images. For Luther, the brazen serpent became a symbol of justification by faith alone: the stricken Israelites, for whom the only cure was trust in God's word personified in the serpent of brass resembled the Christians, for whom the only hope of salvation is their faith in the crucified Christ.

When Aleksy Rodecki started to use the image of the brazen serpent as his device he was probably referring to the long symbolic tradition, particularly appreciated by sixteenth century reformers of Christianity, that used such images as a clear presentation of Christ the Saviour – 'salus vitae'. According to the Lutheran doctrine, crucifixion was the central event in the history of humanity and faith in the redeeming power of Christ's passion was of the greatest importance for individual salvation. Obviously, Antitrinitarian theologians did not teach in exactly the same way as Lutherans. Rodecki did not use the brazen serpent device in the same way as Melchior Lotter – a Luther follower, who was the first printer in Europe to adopt the image of the brazen serpent as the device of his publishing house in Wittenberg in 1520.[26] However, the person of Christ occupied a special place in theological 'disputationes' of the Polish Brethren. They devoted the majority of their texts to Christ, and their polemics with the Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists, as well as inter-community disputes, were focused on Christ's divine dignity. In the pre-Socinian period, during which the

[25] L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. II: *Iconographie de la Bible: Ancien Testament* (Paris 1956), p. 210; D.L. Ehresmann, 'The Brazen Serpent, a Reformation Motif in the Works of Lucas Cranach the Elder and his Workshop', *Marsyas. Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 13 (1966–1967), pp. 32–47; M. Faries, 'A Drawing of the Brazen Serpent by Michiel Coxie', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'historie de l'art*, vol. 44 (1975), pp. 131–141; J.C. Harrison, 'The Brazen Serpent by Maarten van Heemskerck: Aspects of its Style and Meaning', *Record of the Art Museum. Princeton University*, vol. 49 no. 2, (1990): pp. 16–29; A. Craig Faxon, N. Frazier, 'Crucifixion' in H.E. Roberts (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography. Themes Depicted in the Work of Art*, vol. 1 (Chicago-London 1998), pp. 189–198.

[26] Ehresmann, 'The Brazen Serpent', p. 33.

Rodecki and Sternacki publishing house adopted the brazen serpent as their device, the Christology of the Polish Brethren did not constitute a uniform system.[27] This is not the place to give an account of theological disputes (ardent ones, lasting for decades) or to present the detailed doctrinal distinctions which the Polish Brethren made during such disputes.[28] However, several features of the Christology of the Polish Brethren are important for interpreting the brazen serpent printer's device.

Even though Antitrinitarians were in constant dispute with Lutherans and Calvinists, especially before the end of the sixteenth century, the Protestant teaching on justification by faith was commonly accepted by the Polish Brethren. They preached that thanks to Christ's sacrifice, God forgives human sins – Christ's passion and the sole faith of a man, who deems him to be the Son of God, cleanses him of sin and offers hope for salvation. All theologians of the Polish Brethren in this period called Christ 'in human nature the Son of God and God' and, dealing with the issue of redemption of the world by Christ, spoke of Him as the only mediator. Simultaneously, the teachings of the Polish Brethren about Christ shaped their opinions on the worship that was due to Him. The Polish Brethren connected the worship due to Christ with the worship of God: many theologians drew attention to the unity of worship to the Father and the Son. In other words, the majority of the Polish Brethren in the last decades of the sixteenth century worshipped Christ as God.[29]

Devices of early printers were not representations selected accidentally and were not reproduced without great consideration of the symbolic meaning of individual graphic representations. Undoubtedly, this general principle also applied to the device of the Polish Brethren publishing house. The symbolic image of the brazen serpent – a type of crucified Christ – referred to the Christological teaching of the Polish Brethren. Aleksy Rodecki who used this sign as the device for his publishing house and Sebastian Sternacki, who introduced title-borders with an image of a winged serpent, must have made conscious use of a

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[27] The pre-Socinian period is understood here as the time before the synod in Raków of 1601 that demonstrated the initial success of Socinian Arianism in Poland and not as the period before Sozzini came to Kraków in 1579.

[28] J. Misiurek, *Chrystologia braci polskich. Okres przedsocyniański* (Lublin, 1983).

[29] The situation was to change because of Fausto Sozzini: in 1601 the synod of Raków accepted his teachings of Jesus Christ as a deified human being.

religious symbol which was clearly identifiable for their contemporaries. In this manner, printers probably declared not only their faith in the Crucified Jesus and their own trust in the redemptive power of his passion, but also emphasised the importance which the Polish Brethren attached to Christ and the worship that was due to him. The device, symbolically presenting the Crucified Christ, 'salus vitae humanae', was an ideological declaration of the publishing house and its owners. A decision to mark the books produced by an Antitrinitarian publishing house with the symbol of a brazen serpent might have had a polemical role as well. It could have been treated as a voice in theological disputes with polemicists (especially Catholics and Calvinists), who obstinately tried to discredit the Polish Brethren by imputing that they negated the deed of the Redemption achieved by Christ martyred on the cross.

Printers' devices which were the 'logos' of the early publishing houses were not only used to identify the products of individual houses; they also reflected the education, ambitions and the programme of publishers. The analysis of the devices of printers who were supporters of the Reformation or who openly declared affiliation to Reformed churches convinces us that these small graphic compositions also revealed the religious tendencies and affiliations of the printers and publishers who used them. The masters of 'black art' who invented their devices on their own or helped by the intellectuals cooperating with the publishing houses often used the silent, symbolic speech of the devices in order to show who they were and what they believed in.

PART THREE

TRANSMISSION AND TRANSLATIONS

HISTORY IN TRANSITION: ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET'S *CHRONIQUE* IN MANUSCRIPT AND PRINT (C. 1450-C. 1600)[1]

Hanno Wijsman

Book history is – obviously – about books. But in practice this statement is less self-evident than it should be. First of all, manuscripts often tend not to be seen as grown up books. Secondly, we are all too used to studying handwritten books as individual books and printed books, as a rule, not as books but as editions. The watershed between medievalists studying manuscripts on the basis of copies and early modernists studying printed books on the basis of editions means that it is difficult to discern the continuities and discontinuities.

This article presents a case study in order to underline the statement that books are books, whether they are written by hand or printed by movable type. All too often book history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries starts with the premise that there was a profound change, a revolution introduced by the printing press. There is much to be gained by not separating manuscripts and printed books, especially when focussing on the years from 1450 to 1550. Denying the differences between handwritten and printed books might be easily ridiculed, but new insights can be gained by emphasising continuity, rather than rupture.

Just as the history of carriages should be integrated in the history of cars and we cannot understand the history of steam ships without studying sailing ships, we should see the history of manuscripts and of printed books as a continuum. That does not deny changes, but these changes cannot be properly analysed if we think in terms of a rupture between two different worlds. Thinking of history in terms of

[1] The research for this article has been made possible by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and the Faculty of Humanities of Leiden University. For their help in the preparation of this article I am much indebted to François Avril, Bernard Bousmanne, Godfried Croenen, Jean-Michel Ennuyer, John Goldfinch, Marie-Thérèse Gousset, Ilona Hans-Collas, Graeme Kemp, Scot McKendrick, Andrew Pettegree, Jean Picardeau, Pascal Schandel, Robert Stein, Malcolm Walsby, and Mary Beth Winn.

revolutions often leads to oversimplification. Eisenstein's vision has been under attack for many years.[2] Historians should rather be looking for developments in terms of an evolution than in terms of revolution. In order to test this proposition, this article will look at the reception of a chronicle, especially from c. 1450 to *c.*1520, but giving attention to the rest of the sixteenth century as well. The focus will be on matters of continuity and change.

Enguerrand de Monstrelet

This article is primarily concerned with the writing of history.[3] This is very apt when underlining that book history cannot be analysed in a vacuum, but needs to be integrated into general history. The writing of history, especially when dealing with contemporary history, connects books, texts, their reception, and the world around them in a very direct way. Its historiography also suffers from being split up into two periods, one before and one after 1500. A sweeping and inspiring study like the recent *What was history?* by Anthony Grafton requires that we underline the continuities in fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth century history writing.[4] That the Renaissance wiped out everything medieval is a persistent myth.[5]

The chronicle written by Enguerrand de Monstrelet is much in need of closer study. Whereas many eminent scholars have thoroughly

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[2] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1979). Among the critics of Eisenstein, see especially: Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book. Print and knowledge in the making*, (Chicago, 1998); David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge, 2003). See also: 'Forum: How Revolutionary Was the Print Revolution?', *The American Historical Review*, 107 (2002).

[3] In general, see: Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1980); Graeme Small, *George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy. Political and Historical Culture at Court in the Fifteenth Century*, (Woodbridge, 1997).

[4] Anthony Grafton, *What was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge, 2007).

[5] See also Hanno Wijsman, 'Bibliothèques princières entre Moyen Age et humanisme. A propos des livres de Philippe le Bon et Mathias Corvin et de l'interprétation du XVe siècle', in Donatella Nebbiai, Jean-François Maillard and Istvan Monok (eds.), *Mathias Corvin, les bibliothèques princières et la genèse de l'Etat moderne* (Budapest 2009), pp. 121–134; Hanno Wijsman, 'Northern Renaissance? Burgundy and Netherlandish Art in Fifteenth-Century Europe', in Alex Lee, Pierre Péporté and Harry Schnitker (eds.), *Renaissance? Perceptions of Continuity and Discontinuity in Europe, c.1300 – c.1550* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 269–288.

examined the manuscripts of Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*, Monstrelet has not attracted the same attention.[6] His work was edited in six volumes in 1826 by Jean Alexandre Buchon and three decades later in 1857–1862 again in six volumes by Louis Douët-d'Arcq.[7] Jean Froissart's lengthy *Chroniques* cover the period from 1327 up to 1400. The work contains innumerable details about the political constellation and military events in France, the Low Countries and England, in the period that is now called the Hundred Years War. Enguerrand de Monstrelet was Froissart's self-proclaimed successor. He started off his chronicle where Froissart had ended and covers the period from 1400 up to 1444.

Enguerrand de Monstrelet was born around 1390 in Ponthieu in western Picardy, around the mouth of the river Somme, in a family that seems to have belonged to the lower nobility. In 1430 he was serving Jean de Luxembourg as bailiff (*bailly*) of Compiegne. He later became provost (*prévôt*) of the episcopal city of Cambrai. In the sixteenth century editions of his work he was usually called *Enguerrand de Monstrelet, jadis demeurant à Cambrai en Cambraisis*. He died in 1453.[8]

[6] Some (partial) modern editions have been produced: Jean Alexandre Buchon (ed.), *Les Chroniques de sire Jean Froissart*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1824–1829); J. Kervyn de Lettenhove (ed.), *Œuvres complètes de Froissart. Chroniques*, 24 vols. (Brussels, 1867–1877); Siméon Luce, Gaston Raynaud, Léon et Albert Mirot (eds.), *Chroniques de Jean Froissart*, 15 vols. (Paris, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1869–1975); George T. Diller (ed.), *Froissart, Chroniques. Dernière rédaction du premier livre. Édition du manuscrit de Rome Reg. lat. 869* (Paris-Geneva, 1972); George T. Diller (ed.), *Froissart, Chroniques. Livre I. Le manuscrit d'Amiens. Bibliothèque municipale n° 486*, 5 vols. (Geneva, 1991–1998); Peter F. Ainsworth and George T. Diller (eds.), *Jean Froissart, Chroniques. Livre I (première partie, 1325–1350) et Livre II, rédaction du manuscrit de New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M.804*, (Lettres gothiques, 4556), Le livre de poche, (Paris, 2001); Peter F. Ainsworth et Alberto Varvaro (eds.), *Jean Froissart, Chroniques. Livre III (du Voyage en Béarn à la campagne de Gascogne) et Livre IV (1389–1400)*, (Lettres gothiques, 4563), Le livre de poche, (Paris, 2004); Peter F. Ainsworth (ed.), *Jean Froissart, Chroniques. Livre III. Le manuscrit Saint-Vincent de Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 865*, (Geneva, 2007). New results are also awaited from 'The Online Froissart: A digital edition of the Chronicles of Jean Froissart', http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/

[7] Jean-Alexandre Buchon (ed.), *Chroniques d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet. Nouvelle édition entièrement refondue sur les manuscrits, avec notes et éclaircissements*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1826); Louis Douët-d'Arcq (ed.), *La chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet. En deux livres, avec pièces justificatives: 1400–1444*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1857–1862).

[8] Robert Bossuat, Louis Pichard and Guy Raynaud de Lage (nouvelle édition entièrement revue et mise à jour sous la direction de Geneviève Hazenohr et Michel Zink): *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Age* (Paris 1992), pp. 409–410;

As successor to Froissart and as an inhabitant of the Southern-Netherlandish and Northern-French border regions, Monstrelet focused on the history of France, the Low Countries and England and the continuation of the Hundred Years War in the first half of the fifteenth century. His *Chronique* has often been cast aside by literary historians because of his difficult style. He has also been criticised for his bias. However, in his lengthy *Chronique*, Monstrelet does make an effort to remain impartial when describing the battles, treaties and other relations between the kings of France and England and the dukes of Burgundy. It is true that he does not always succeed in doing this. In France, he is still known as the chronicler who did not like Joan of Arc. Monstrelet served Jean de Luxembourg, the very person who had 'la pucelle d'Orléans' arrested and handed over to the English (Fig. 9). From time to time, the account of his chronicle does support the Anglo-Burgundian cause. Still, Monstrelet deserves a fairer trial. Less literary than Froissart, his chronicle is more factual. And even if he made mistakes and was often not clear about his sources, he did become a model for fifteenth-century historians in his factuality and trustworthiness.[9]

Monstrelet himself explicitly declared in his introduction, citing the Roman historian Sallust, that his aim was to write history as a moral lesson. Citing Sallust, Cicero, and Vegetius does not make him a humanist. He was a precise chronicler who did not bother with poetry, who could not help but express his preferences and his personal viewpoint, but who did worry about reliability and about stating the facts in a precise way. This was appreciated by a reading public that changed gradually over the period here discussed. The writing of history changed profoundly, not only in sixteenth-century Europe, but earlier as well, during the Middle-Ages.

Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters, vol. IX/2 (*La littérature historiographique des origines à 1500*) (Heidelberg 1993), pp. 112–113 (no. 14365); Hanno Wijsman, 'Enguerrand de Monstrelet', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Chronicles* (Leiden, forthcoming).

[9] About the style, contents, and bias of Monstrelets *Chronique*, see: Denis Boucquey, 'Enguerran de Monstrelet, historien trop longtemps oublié', *Publication du centre européen d'études bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVIe s.)*, 31 (1991), pp. 113–125; George Diller, 'The Assassination of Louis d'Orléans: the Overlooked Artistry of Enguerran de Monstrelet', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 10 (1984), p. 57–68; Mark Spencer, *Thomas Basin (1412–1490): the History of Charles VII and Louis XI* (Nieuwkoop, 1996), pp. 197–203; 213–216.

Monstrelet had successors as well. His chronicle received different continuations. Mathieu d'Escouchy, from Hainault, picked up the account in 1444 and pursued it until 1461.[10] Other anonymous continuators also continued the chronicle from 1444 onwards until 1467, 1471, or later.[11] In fact, most of the manuscripts and sixteenth-century printed versions of the chronicle of Monstelet cover the period from 1400 to 1467/1471, which means that the text included Monstrelet's chronicle and one of its continuations. As we will see, the sixteenth-century editions incorporate still other additions, but they all referred to the section covering 1444 to 1467 simply as *La tiers partie de la Chronique d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet*. Some manuscript and printed editions also included other chronicles.

The Books

Bibliographical research concerned with books, not editions, is quite an elaborate matter. In the case of Monstrelet's chronicle, every single copy of the dozens of manuscripts deserves a detailed description, because most of them have never been properly studied. Ideally, the marks of ownership and other traces of use in all the 200 or so copies of the sixteenth-century editions should be studied as well.[12] There are approximately 50 manuscript volumes of Monstrelet's *Chronique* predating 1600, that is about two dozen volumes of book I (covering 1400–1422); almost one dozen copies of book II (covering 1422–1444); about five copies of book III (covering 1444–1460s/1470s); and almost another dozen copies of which the precise contents have yet to be established. We dispose of various levels of information on these manuscripts.[13]

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[10] Bossuat et al., *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Age*, p. 1000; *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, vol. IX/2 (*La littérature historiographique des origines à 1500*) (Heidelberg 1993), pp. 157–158 (no. 14653); Graham Halligan, 'La Chronique de Mathieu d'Eschouchy', *Romania*, 90 (1969), pp. 100–110; G. du Fresne de Beaucourt (ed.), *Chronique de Mathieu d'Eschouchy*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1863–864).

[11] The various continuations are badly studied and often confused.

[12] This article presents preliminary results of ongoing research, as I have not been able, as yet, to study all the copies properly. We also refrain from going into detail in the codicological aspects: the standard form of printing this *Chronique* in the sixteenth century was in a large two-column format. In the manuscripts this lay-out varies much more.

[13] Several of these volumes contain abbreviated versions of partial texts. At this moment I have been able to study about half of the manuscript volumes myself.

The two first editions of the text were published by Antoine Vérard around 1500 and around 1508. I have been able to trace a total of about 40 copies, either complete sets, containing book I in a first volume and books II and III in a second one, or single volumes.[14] Of the other sixteenth century editions, printed between 1512 and 1603 I have only studied a few copies so far. In this article I will base myself on the data assembled in FB as well as on the additional data made available by the French Vernacular Books Project.[15] The data presented here is mainly based on surviving books, but I will give attention as well to some archival data on recorded books in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century inventories. We should always realise that many books have been lost in the course of time. It is to be hoped that other data can be used in the future for comparison and checking of the conclusions here presented.[16]

Manuscript Copies

As to the surviving manuscripts which contain parts of the *Chronique* of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, the first problem is that they are not easy to date or localise. It has been possible to assemble data for a number of them. This was achieved by either using the illuminations, or the watermarks. This incomplete data gives us interesting results (see: Table 1).[17]

As Monstrelet's *Chronique* covers the period 1400–1444, one would expect the first copies to date from 1444 or shortly after. This is not the case, however. In fact only very few surviving manuscripts can be dated before 1470. Four manuscripts can be situated in the 1450s

[14] See below for more details. I have thus far been able to study about half of these copies.

[15] I am very grateful to Malcolm Walsby for helping me to search through the digital and paper data of the French Vernacular Books Project.

[16] For some methodological reflections, see: Hanno Wijsman, 'Manuscrits illustrés dans les Pays-Bas bourguignons. Quelques remarques quantitatives', *Gazette du livre médiéval*, 43 (2003), pp. 23–33; Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound. Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400–1550)* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 15–36.

[17] Six manuscripts need to be dated: Arras, BM, 658; Paris, Bibl. de la Sorbonne, 61; Reims, BM, 1468; and three manuscripts only known through auction catalogues: auction Collection Bigot 1 June 1707, lot 166 (from the collections De Thou, De Menars, Colbert); auction Collection Gasporali 3 September 1823, lot 79; auction Collection De Vries 18 December 1906, lot 40. It is not to be expected that their more precise dating will fundamentally change the tendencies of the figures.

Table 1. The manuscript-volumes: dates and localisations

Dates	Southern Netherlands	France (incl Genoa)	Unknown	Total nr. of manuscripts
1450–1459	2		2	4
1460–1469	2			2
1470–1479	10	1	3	14
1480–1489	3	1	3	7
1490–1500	4	1		5
1500–1510	1	4	1	6
1510–1520		3		3
Second half 16th c.			1	1
17th c.			13	13
Unknown			6	6
Total	22	10	29	61

and two in the 1460s (Fig. 1).[18] There was, however, significant interest in the chronicle in the 1470s (Figs. 2-4).[19] In the three following

[18] Paris, BNF, fr. 6486 (manuscript dated in 1454, containing book I: 1400–1422); and three manuscripts at unknown locations, two of them auctioned in the nineteenth century: Puttick and Simpson 13 December 1864, lot 1503 and London, Sotheby's 5 June 1899, lot 878 (respectively book II and book I, both uncertainly dated; see the Lauwrence J. Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts: http://sceti.library.upenn.edu/sdm/), and a third one that contains ownership marks of Count Wolfgang Sigismund von Gallenberg (1727) and Erich Crumbach (1939) and recently passed at the Gallery Les Enluminures (Chicago-Paris), see description and pictures on: http://www.textmanuscripts.com (where a date in the 1460s is preferred). For the 1460s manuscripts: Brussels, KBR, II 2296 (book I in abbreviated version, datable around 1460); Paris, BNF, fr. 2683 (a book I, dated on basis of watermarks and script to the 1450s or 1460s).

[19] In the 1470s no less than fourteen volumes: Brussels, KBR, II 2536 (abbreviated version 1400–1471, probably dated shortly after); Brussels, KBR, II 2566 (book II with continuation up to 1465, watermarks datable around 1465–1475); London, BL, Harley 4424 (book III up to 1471, watermarks suggest a dating around 1475–1480); Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 5084 (book I up to 1419, miniature datable around 1470); Paris, BNF, fr. 88 (book III up to 1471, miniature and decoration datable in the 1470s); Paris, BNF, fr. 2680 (books I and II until 1428 in abbreviated form, miniatures datable in the 1470ies); Paris, BNF, fr. 2681 and 2682 (books I and II, continued by the *Chronique de Normandie*, datable in the 1470s); Paris, BNF, fr. 2684 (book I, decoration suggests 1470ies or maybe 1480ies); Paris, BNF, fr. 2863 (book 1, watermarks and script suggest dating in the 1470s); Paris, BNF, fr. 5365 (volume with different texts, among which excerpts from Monstrelet, 1400–1467); Lille, BM, 660 (the watermarks suggest a dating in the 1470s); Ghent, UB, 78 (the watermarks suggest a dating in the 1470s); and a manuscript sold at Sotheby's in London on 31 May 1960 as lot 2 (illuminated manuscript on parchment datable in the 1470s on stylistic grounds).

Figure 1. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, II 2296, f. 1. Frontispiece folio of the beginning of a manuscript with the abbreviated version of Monstrelet's *Chronique*, in a quite rare one-column layout. Miniature representing Enguerrand de Monstrelet writing his work, painted by Philippe de Mazerolles (the Master of the Harley Froissart). The initial in this first folio was left blank for a coat of arms to be inserted. The book was first owned by Anthony of Burgundy (*c.*1428–1504) who wrote his ex libris below the explicit. (© Royal Library of Belgium)

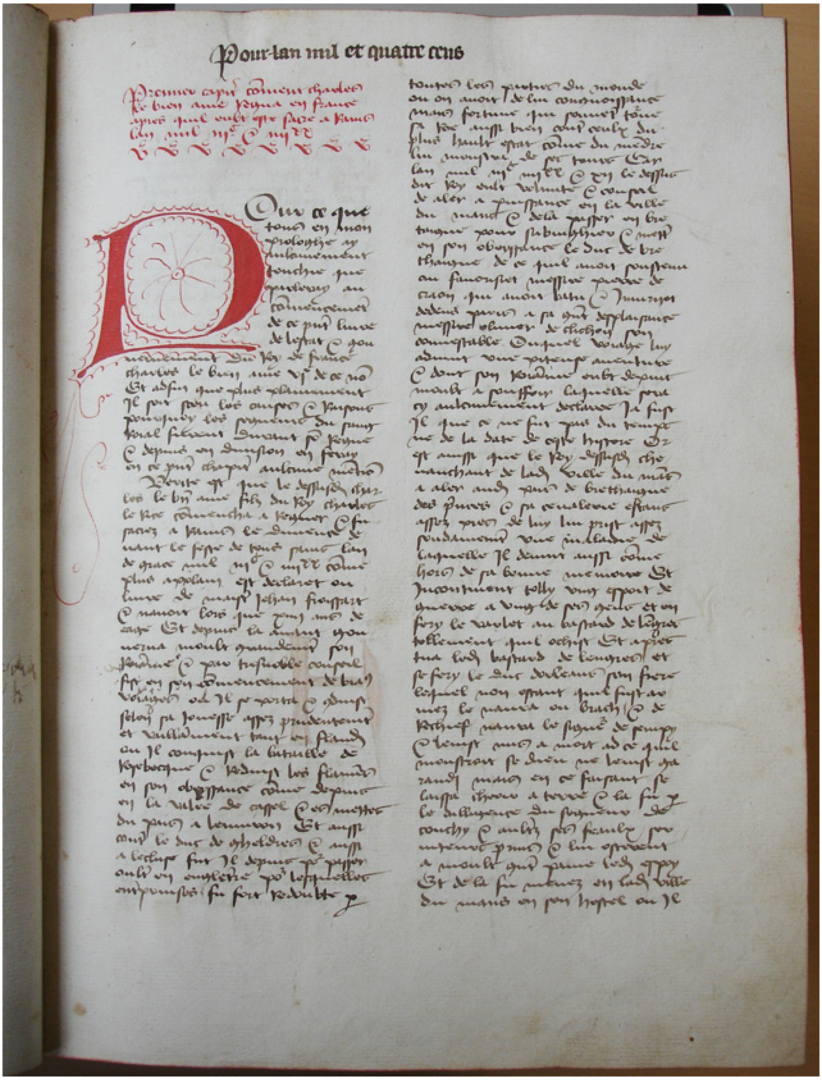

Figure 2. Lille, Médiathèque municipale Jean Lévy, 660, f. 1. Beginning of Book I of Monstrelet's *Chronique* "Pour l'an mil et quatre cens". Plainly decorated with a red initial P. Regular two-column layout. (© Bibliothèque municipale de Lille)

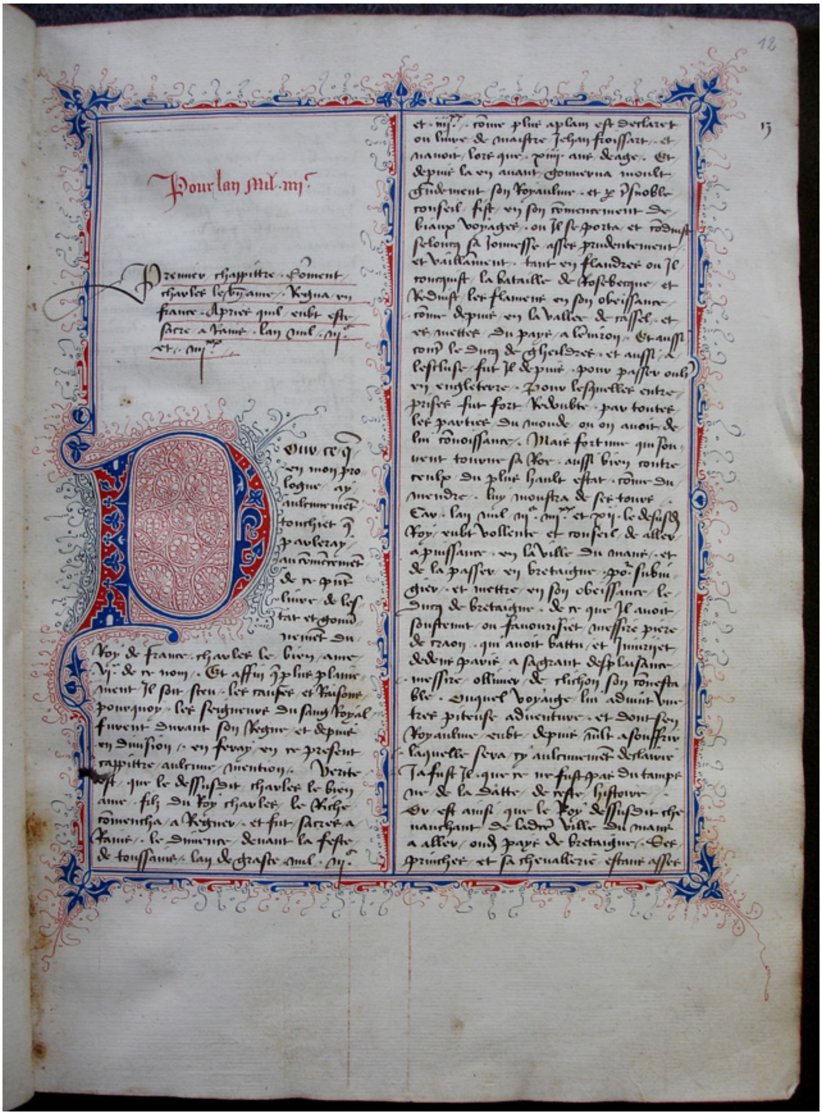

Figure 3. Ghent, University Library, 78, f. 12r. Beginning of Book I of Monstrelet's *Chronique* "Pour l'an Mil iiii^{C}", handsomely decorated with penwork in red and blue. Initial P. Regular two-column layout. The matching second volume is now in Brussels (Fig. 4). (© Ghent University Library)

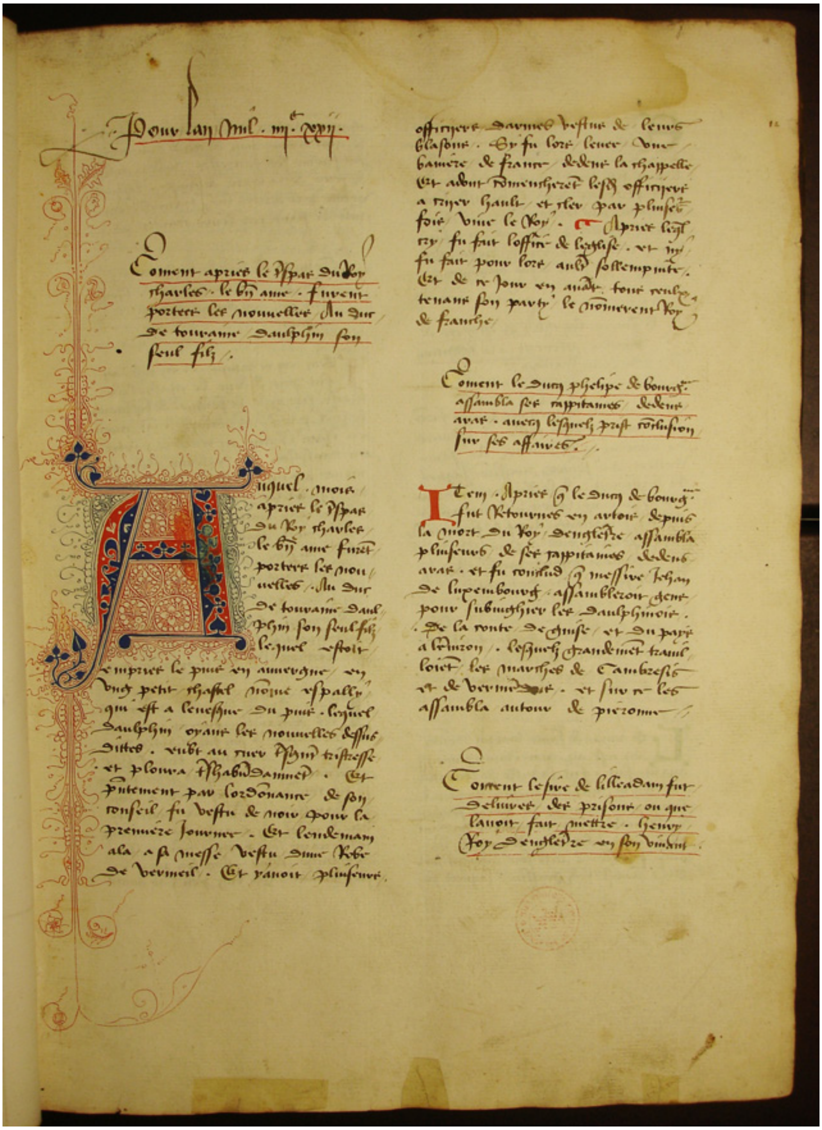

Figure 4. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, II 2566, f. 12r. Beginning of Book II of Monstrelet's *Chronique* "Pour l'an Mil iiii^C xxii", handsomely decorated with penwork in red and blue. Initial A. Regular two-column layout. The matching first volume is now in Ghent (Fig. 3). (© Royal Library of Belgium)

decades the production continued on a lower level (Fig. 5).[20] After 1510, manuscript production of this chronicle collapsed with only one single three volume copy in 1510 and almost nothing after 1520.[21] Finally, more than 10 manuscript copies have been traced that were copied in the course of the seventeenth century.[22]

As we have seen, Monstrelet's chronicle was continued by Mathieu d'Escouchy and various anonymous authors. Most of the multi-volume manuscripts present a text covering the period from 1400 to 1461, 1467, or 1471 under the name of Enguerrand de Monstrelet. It appears that right at the end of the period covered by the chronicle (1400 – *c.*1470) many manuscripts were produced. Speaking in printing vocabulary, we could speak of an 'edition' in the 1470s. This emphasises the sudden peak in the production and a number of copies were produced in a way that shows features of 'mass production'. Many of the manuscripts dating from the 1470s have a similar appearance, being large in

[20] In the 1480s (including around 1480) seven volumes: Bern, Bürgerbibl., 37 (text covering 1400 to 1477, dating probably not long after); Carpentras, BM, 505 (abbreviated version starting in 1400 and continued until 1481, dating probably shortly after); Leiden, UB, BPL 178 (abbreviated version continued until 1477, dating probably shortly after); Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 3840 (Books I and II in abbreviated form, followed by the *Recouvrement de Normandie*); Paris, BNF, fr. 5016 (book I, the various watermarks converge towards a date around 1480); Darmstadt, LHSB, 134 (Book I; the watermarks suggest a dating around 1480 or in the years 1480–1485); Paris, BNF, fr. 20354 (book III covering 1444–1471, dating uncertain). In the 1490s five volumes: Leiden, UB, VGG F 2 (abbreviated version, datable around 1495 on the basis of the miniatures and decoration); Manchester, John Rylands UL, fr. 55 (book I in abbreviated form, datable in the late fifteenth century); Munich, BSB, Cod. Gall. 53 (manuscript dated in 1491 and containing part of book I: 1404–1411); Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2545 and 2546 (manuscript datable in the 1490s thanks to the illuminations). In the first decade of the sixteenth century: six volumes: Chantilly, Musée Condé, 875 (321) (a manuscript of book I with unfinished illuminations datable around 1500); London, BL, Add. 26080 (book II in abridged form, probably dating from the early sixteenth century); Royal 20 D viii (Chronicle covering the years 1428–1443 and 1448–1450, which mentions to be a *Cronicques de Monstrelet* but contains in fact another text; miniature datable in the beginning of the fifteenth century); Paris, BNF, fr. 2678 and 2679 (illuminated manuscript consisting of a volume with book I and a volume with books II and III (1422–1467), datable to the early sixteenth century); fr. 5035 (book II, in abridged form, followed by the *Chronique de Normandie* by Gilles de Bouvier; the watermarks seem to indicate a date early in the sixteenth century).

[21] Paris, BNF, fr. 20360, fr. 20361, fr. 20362 (books I, II, and III, dated by the scribe in 1510). In the rest of the century only a manuscript known from a nineteenth century catalogue (North-Guiford, 8 December 1830, lot 674: maybe middle of the sixteenth century).

[22] Cambridge, St Catherine's College, [no signature known]; Lyon, BM, 501; Paris, Bibl. de l'Institut, Godefroy 241 and 246; Paris, BNF, Duchesne 56, Dupuy 457, Dupuy 458, Dupuy 492, fr. 10807, fr. 23033, fr. 23282, fr. 23413, NAF 7096; Philadelphia, UL of Pennsylvania, French 91.

Figure 5. Leiden, University Library, VGG F 2, f. 184v. A manuscript of Book I of Monstrelet's *Chronique*, made *c.*1495 for Engelbert II of Nassau (1451–1504). Miniature of the murder of John the Fearless on the bridge of Monterault in 1419, painted by the Master of the Prayer Books of around 1500. (© Leiden University Library)

folio volumes, written on paper, presenting the text in two columns without illustrations. This kind of manuscript has often been described as a typical example of the passing of texts from the higher noble and princely circles to the urban classes. Many of the texts that were popular among the courtly elites in the later fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century in deluxe illuminated versions on parchment, became available in simple paper volumes in the second half of the fifteenth century. This generally occurred before these same texts appeared in their first printed editions.[23]

All manuscripts of Monstrelet's *Chronique* and its continuations were initially, in the 1450s and 1460s, written on paper and only in the 1470s do they appear as parchment manuscripts (see: Table 2). Thus we see that the production logic of this chronicle does not follow the same pattern as many other texts which were first produced on parchment, and later in greater numbers on paper. This chronicle was a new text in the middle of the fifteenth century, when paper had become widely available. Moreover, and crucially, it was a contemporary chronicle. Unlike older chronicles like those by Froissart, Monstrelet was seen as describing contemporary history, history of a period that the readers remembered very well themselves. Therefore this account was available in simple paper copies, even in the libraries of princes and noblemen who in general largely preferred parchment luxury copies. Monstrelet's chronicle was still primarily seen as a text of practical political use, important to have at hand when trying to understand the current political situation. The chronicle had not reached its final form and was therefore not ready to be made into luxury manuscripts.

To this chronological data on the manuscripts of Monstrelet's *Chronique* one can add geographical information. Though the figures are incomplete, they indicate a first peak in production in the 1470s. Thereafter, production is fairly constant but something else can be detected from the geographical information we have gathered (see: Table 1). This text was originally read in a Southern-Netherlandish 'Burgundian' environment. This comes as no surprise, as Monstrelet himself, as we have seen, had been in the service of the Luxembourg family and had privileged the Anglo-Burgundian faction in the conflicts of the early fifteenth century. Until 1480 the production of manuscripts of this text was largely a Southern-Netherlandish phenomenon.

[23] About these developments, see: Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, e.g. p. 533.

Table 2. The manuscript-volumes: dates and material

Dates	Parchment	Paper (and mixed)	Unknown	Total nr. of manuscripts
1450–1459		3	1	4
1460–1469		2		2
1470–1479	5	9		14
1480–1489	1	4	2	7
1490–1500	3	2		5
1500–1510	4	2		6
1510–1520	3			3
Second half 16th c.	1			1
17th c.		13		13
Unknown	1	1	4	7
Total	18	34	9	61

From Table 1 it is clear that the 'edition' of the 1470s can be almost entirely explained by this interest.

In the thirty years that followed 1480, the production seems to have collapsed, but a number of manuscripts continued to be written. However, a clear geographical shift is to be noted here. Whereas the production in the 1470s was entirely due to the Southern Netherlands, this starts to change and around 1500 the production is concentrated in France. The second peak in the manuscript production of this text can be situated around 1500. It is less marked then the peak of the 1470s, but it is due to a new geographical centre of production.

A tentative conclusion based on this data is that after a slow start in the 1450s and 1460s, Monstrelet's *Chronique* went through a first manuscript 'edition' which was clearly Southern Netherlandish in the 1470s and around 1480. It fits in perfectly with the great flourishing of book culture and library formation in the Southern Netherlands at that time.[24] From the 1480s onwards, the production of Monstrelet's text decreases but still continues on a fairly constant level for about three

[24] I refrain from getting into that subject lengthily here. See: Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, esp. pp. 37–41; 566–567.

decades. Around 1500, the production in the Southern Netherlands ceases to be of any importance and shifted to France.

The Printed Versions

This brings us to the printed versions of Monstrelet's *Chronique* (Table 3). The first two printed editions were both published by Antoine Vérard during the first decade of the sixteenth century (Figs. 6-9).[25] These were typical Vérard editions.[26] A few years earlier, in 1495, Vérard had published the *Chroniques* by Jean Froissart that covered fourteenth-century history. We must assume that this had been a success[27], as shortly after 1500 he continued with the publishing of its fifteenth-century sequel: Monstrelet. The two Vérard editions of Monstrelet's *Chronique* do not differ very much one from the other. In the second, a slightly smaller type was used, but is entirely based on the first one. Both editions lack a date. But because of the formulas used in the colophons it is possible to date them approximately. The first edition can be situated between 25 October 1499 and July 1503, as it indicated that Vérard lived "a Paris a Petit Pont".

> Cy finist le tiers volume d'Enguer-
> ran de Monstrelet des croniq(ue)s de Fra(n)-
> ce et d'E(ng)leterre et de Bourgogne & au-
> tres pays circo(n)voysins q(u)i suive(n)t celles
> de Froissart. Imprimez a Paris pour
> Anthoine Verard / libraire *demourant*
> *a Paris a Petit Pont* a l'ymage sai(n)ct Je-
> han l'Eva(n)geliste / ou au palais devant la
> chappelle ou l'en cha(n)te la messe de mes-
> seigneurs les presidens. [my emphasis]

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[25] See: FB, 38192-6; ISTC (www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/); Mary Beth Winn, *Anthoine Vérard, Parisian Publisher 1485–1512. Prologues, Poems, and Presentations* (Geneva, 1997), p. 31; 152; 185–187 (fig. 4.22); 194; John Macfarlane, *Antoine Vérard* (London 1900; reprint: Geneva 1971), nrs. 144 and 176; Gustave Brunet, *La France littéraire au XVe siècle ou Catalogue raisonné des ouvrages en tout genre imprimés en langue française jusqu'à l'an 1500*, (Paris, A. Franck, 1865; reprint, Geneva, Slatkine, 1967), p. 145–146.

[26] About Vérard, see essentially: Winn, *Anthoine Vérard*.

[27] A copy was bought from a Brussels bookseller, Willem Houtmaert, for Philip the Fair in October 1499. See: Hanno Wijsman, 'Philippe le Beau et les livres: rencontre entre une époque et une personnalité', in Hanno Wijsman (ed.), with the collaboration of Ann Kelders and Susie Speakman Sutch, *Books in Transition at the Time of Philip the Fair. Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Low Countries* (Turnhout, Burgundica, 15, 2010), pp. 17–91, esp. 59.

Figure 6. France, Private Collection, Vol. I. Copy on vellum of the second edition by Antoine Vérard (after 1503, maybe *c.*1508). Miniature on the folio facing the beginning of the prologue of Book I: the presentation of the book by Antoine Vérard to a young prince or nobleman, probably Francis of Angouleme (1494–1547), the later King Francis I of France. (© Hanno Wijsman)

Figure 7. France, Private Collection, Vol. I. Copy on vellum of the second edition by Antoine Vérard (after 1503, maybe *c*.1508). Miniature on the folio facing the beginning of the text of Book I: the murder of Louis of Orleans, brother of King Charles VI of France in 1407. (© Hanno Wijsman)

Figure 8. France, Private Collection, Vol. II. Copy on vellum of the second edition by Antoine Vérard (after 1503, maybe *c*.1508). Beginning of the prologue of Book II. The printed initial has been overpainted and an illuminated border has been added with a blank space for a coat of arms. Two-column layout. (© Hanno Wijsman)

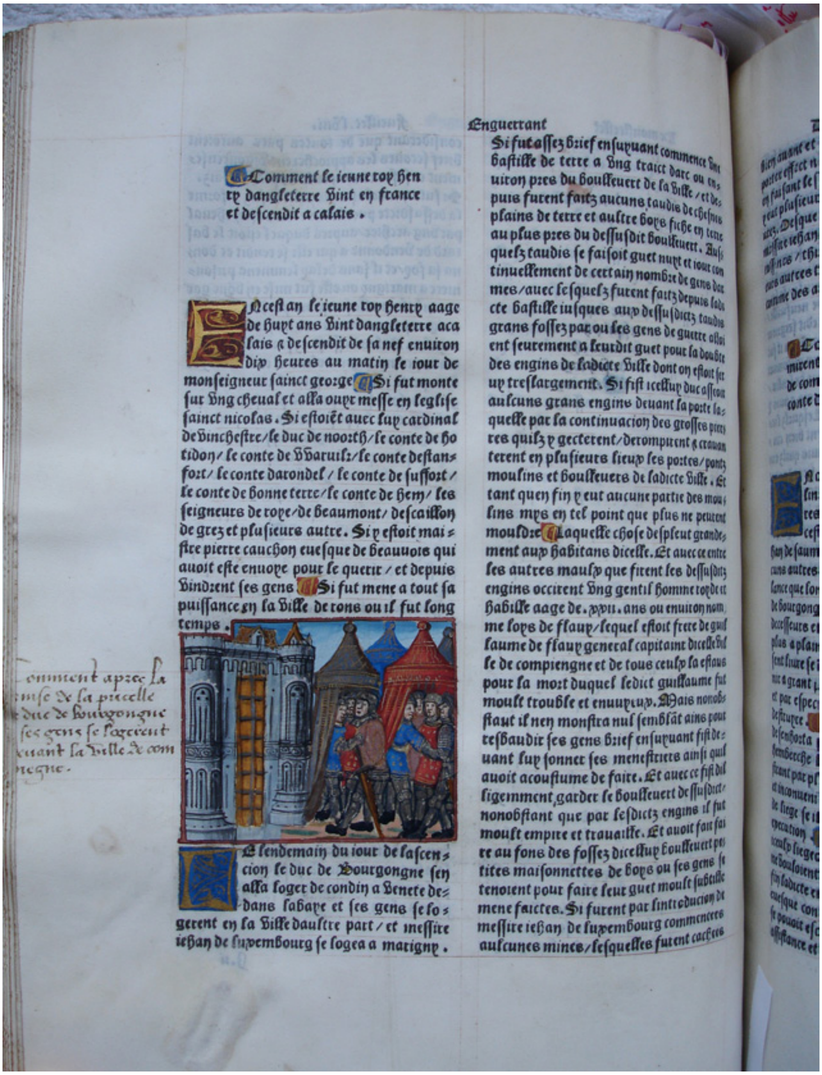

Figure 9. France, Private Collection. Monstrelet, édition c.1508, Vol. II, f. 66v. Copy on vellum of the second edition by Antoine Vérard (after 1503, maybe *c.*1508). Passage in Book II on the imprisonment of Joan of Arc in 1426. Folio on which one chapter title is visible at the top of the left column ("Comment le jeune roy Henry d'Angleterre vint en France et descendit à Calais") whereas the following chapter title has been overpainted by a small miniature. The text of this second rubric has been written by hand in the margin: "Comment après la prinse de la pucelle le duc de Bourgogne et ses gens se logèrent devant la ville de Compiegne". (© Hanno Wijsman)

The colophon of the second edition mentioned that Vérard had his shop "a Paris devant la rue neufve Nostre Dame" and is therefore necessarily dated after July 1503 (maybe around 1508).[28]

> Cy finist le tiers volume d'En-
> guerrant de Monstrelet des croni-
> ques de France et d'Angleterre et de
> Bourgongne et aultres pays circon-
> voisins qui suyvent celles de Frois-
> sart. Imprimez a Paris pour An-
> thoine Verard / libraire *demourant*
> *a Paris devant la rue neufve Nostre*
> *Dame* a l'ymaige sainct Jehan l'Eva(n)-
> geliste : ou au palais devant la chap-
> pelle ou l'en chante la messe de mes-
> seigneurs les presidens. [my emphasis]

The two editions are easily confused when one does not see them one next to the other. The second volume (books II and III) contains the mentioned difference in the colophon at the end. The first volume (book I) can be distinguished by the type of the title page of book I (first volume). Both editions give virtually the same text, but it has been set differently.[29]

The title page of the first edition gives the following text and line distribution:

> Le premier volume de
> Enguerran de Monstrellet
> Ensuyvant Froissart nagueres imprime a Paris des croniques
> de France, d'Angleterre, d'Escoce, d'Espaigne, de Bretaigne, de Gas-
> cogne, de Flandres. Et de lieux circonvoisins.

In the second edition this reads as follows:

> Le premier volume de
> Enguerran de Monstrellet
> Ensuyvant Froissart na gueres imprime a Paris des croniques de France, d'Angleterre, d'Escoce, d'Espaigne, de Bretaigne, de Gascongne, de Flandres.
> Et lieux circonvoisins.

[28] Macfarlane, *Antoine Vérard*, pp. 72–73; 88–89. I thank John Goldfinch for the fruitful discussion. For the dating around 1508, see: Winn, *Anthoine Vérard*, pp. 185–189.

[29] The use of capital letters is also slightly different between the two editions, but this is not visible in our transcription, where we have normalised these.

Apparently, Vérard was not particularly bothered with the exact contents of the chronicle, for what he published is a Burgundian chronicle ending at the death of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1467. For Vérard there was no essential distinction between publishing Froissart or Monstrelet, including its continuation. The chronicle remained popular. A third edition was printed in 1512 by Jean Petit et Michel Le Noir (see: Table 3). In this edition, there was a change in general aspect: it was a bit smaller, less monumental. But the biggest change is that the text has been extended. The third book as printed by Vérard has 139 chapters, the last one concerning the death and burial of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1467. In the 1512 edition by Petit et Le Noir, another 67 chapters have been added and thus the chronicle was continued from 1467 up to 1498. An interesting feature of this continuation is the way in which this was surreptitiously added to the main text. After what had been the final chapter in Vérard's edition, there simply follows a new chapter with the following heading:

> Prologue sur les croniques des tres chrestiens, magnificques, victorieux et illustres roys de France Loys XI^e de ce nom, et Charles VIII^e son filz

The new author states in this prologue that he is a Parisian and a "loyal François" and tells the reader how he has diligently written these chronicles in order to banish idleness and how he has drawn them up "selon que j'ay leu es auctenticques gestes et croniques de feu […] excellent hystoriographe maistre Robert Guaguin […] et comme j'ay aussi recueilly en plusieurs autres hystoires descriptes et récitées à la vérité". Most of these added chapters contain in fact a translation of the description of the reigns of Louis XI and Charles VIII by Robert Gaguin in his popular *Compendium super Francorum gestis*.[30] It was not only the new prologue which was a bit particular, but also the two following chapters as well. Their headings are as follows:

> S'ensuivent aucunes récapitulations cy adioustées et recolligées es entières croniques du feu roy Loys XI^e de ce nom *aucunement obmises et delaissées par Enguerrant de Monstrellet* en ce qu'il avoit commencé a descrire es croniques dudit roy Loys sur le fait de la guerre et des approches de montlehery. [my emphasis]

[30] About Robert Gaguin and his work, see: Sylvie Charrier, *Recherches sur l'oeuvre latine en prose de Robert Gaguin (1433–1501)* (Paris, 1996); Franck Collard, *Un historien au travail à la fin du XVe siècle: Robert Gaguin* (Geneva, 1996).

> Cy après sont aucunes hystoires, gestes et merveilles advenues et demonstrées es pays de France et autres diverses provinces régions aditionnées et redigées a la verité en ce présent volume, pour ce qu'elles ont esté du tout *obmises et delaissées a escrire par le dessusdit croniqueur maistre Enguerrant de Monstrellet*. Et tant durant le règne du bon roy Charles VII^e de ce nom que durant le temps et règne du roy Loys XII^e son filz. [my emphasis]

After these transitional sections, the 'normal' chapter headings resume. The new continuation was organised around the reigns of two French kings: the first, Louis XI, became king in 1461 and so, inevitably, the events of the years between 1461 and 1467 are discussed twice. The author-translator of the continuation himself was very much conscious of this fact. The two aforementioned transitional chapters were precisely included for this pupose. He tells us that Enguerrand de Monstrelet has written about « aucuns tres chrestiens roys de France, des roys d'Angleterre, ducz de Bourgongne [...] et mesmement iusques au temps du treschrestien craint et redoubté roy Loys de Valois, XI^e de ce nom". The new continuator carries on saying that Monstrelet has stopped his account at the death and burial of Philip the Good, but that now he is going to continue it, in order to tell the reader about the reign of Louis XI. He says that, indeed, Monstrelet had already dealt with the Battle of Montlhéry (1465), but that about this battle he had "parlé et descript comme il luy a pleu, mais par adventure en faveur, car je trouve et ay leu à la vérité oultre ce qu'il dit". This is the point where the historical account as printed in 1512 changed. It is at this point that a Burgundian chronicle becomes a French one.

It is curious, though, how the text of Monstrelet, including its continuation up to 1467, seems to have been printed in quite a reliable way.[31] It would have been much simpler to cut off the last chapters covering 1461–1467. The new continuation about the reigns of Louis XI and his successors, however, starts right from the beginning to expresses a different viewpoint. Indeed, the battle of Montlhéry had been an important battle during the War of the League of the Public Weal between on the one hand Louis XI and on the other a confederation of princes and noblemen – notably Philip the Good of Burgundy, whose army was led by his son Charles of Charolais.[32] Charles was

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[31] Detailed research would be necessary to check this, but is very laborious in view of the length of the text.

[32] The Battle of Montlhéry (16 July 1465) is well known in military history, for it is presumably the first one where artillery was used on the battle field.

two years later to become duke of Burgundy, and he earned his epithet 'the Bold' in the battle of Montlhéry. The battle finished with no clear victor: the Burgundians and their allies spent the following night on the battlefield, which technically meant that they were victorious, but they suffered heavy losses and could not prevent Louis XI from marching on to Paris.[33] The outcome was that both parties claimed victory or at least that they had not lost. This rather particular situation explains the diverging views in the chronicle.

The description of the battle by Monstrelet's continuator had been quite detailed and with a clear conclusion about a Burgundian victory:

> une très advantageuse bataille ou rencontre et perilleuse pour chascune partie et fait à croire que l'honneur de la victoire vint de la grace de Dieu au conte de Charrolois.

The new author could not simply turn the outcome into victory for the French, so instead he emphasised the Burgundian losses, how much booty the French had made and how brave king Louis had been. He told how Louis was so exhausted at the end of the day that he was forced to take a rest. This, the author explained, led to a misunderstanding as many of the troops, thinking the king was dead or taken, fled. Thus the Burgundians claimed a hollow victory.

In the two descriptions of this battle, one in the Monstrelet continuation as it had already been printed by Vérard and one in the text added in the 1512 edition by Jean Petit and Michel Le Noir, there are two points of particular interest. Firstly, the new author's consciously referred to the preceding text. Although the lay-out of the edition does not show at all that a new part of the text begins, the author had not intended such a quiet transition. In a prologue and in two transitional chapters he referred in some detail to differences in viewpoint between Monstrelet's *Chronique* and his own. But this was apparently not what the editor had in mind. The second point of interest is the shift in the political viewpoint. The first Monstrelet continuator had described the Battle of Montlhéry as a sweeping victory for the Burgundians, the

[33] Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI: the Universal Spider* (New York, 1971), pp. 158–175; Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold* (London, 1973), pp. 245–256; Jean-Marie Cauchies, *Louis IX et Charles le Hardi. De Péronne à Nancy (1468–1477): le conflit* (Brussels, 1996), p. 19; 140–142; Walter Prevenier and Wim Blockmans, *The Promised Lands. The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369–1530* (Philadelphia, 1999), p. 179.

new author felt obliged to rectify this in quite some detail. For the reading public in 1512 this battle in 1465 might have seemed far away, but at the same time rivalry with the Burgundian-Habsburg dynasty was still very topical and it dated back directly to the rivalry between Louis XI and Charles the Bold in the 1460s and 1470s. The link was all the more obvious since the two rulers opposed to one another in 1512 still bore the same names: King Louis XII of France and the young Charles of Luxembourg (the later Emperor Charles V). Antoine Vérard had printed two editions of Monstrelet under the reign of the same king Louis XII who was still in place in 1512 and had apparently not been bothered by the Burgundian bias of the text. However, Vérard, who had been a faithful supplier of books to Charles VIII, did not enjoy the same relationship with Louis XII. Of the vellum copies he had made of both of his editions, more copies were destined for the English court, rather than the French court.

It is remarkable that all this had not resulted in any thorough adaptation of the *Chronique* covering 1400–1467, nor in the printers loss of interest in this patched up chronicle. On the contrary, it must have been a success, for just six years later a fourth edition was issued by François Regnault (see: Table 3). The 1512 edition had set a tradition, in the new one another 39 chapters were added to book III. The reign of Louis XII, which had ended in 1515, was now added as well. In a way Regnault's edition can therefore be seen as a mere updating of the 1512 edition. As far as the appearance of the volumes is concerned, it is striking that the 1518 edition (Fig. 10) resembles the Vérard editions much more than the 1512 edition. It must be assumed that Regnault consciously went back to an older looking type and decoration.

With the 1518 edition demand was apparently satisfied for more than half a century. Indeed, we have seen (see: Table 1) that virtually no manuscripts were produced after 1510. Furthermore, Table 3 shows that between 1518 and 1572 no edition was printed either.[34]

This phenomenon should be explained by looking at the reception of other contemporary historical books. This chronicle was still contemporary history in the 1470s and 1480s and it remained well-known because it was printed twice by Vérard, and was still relevant because of the 1512 and 1518 updates. These editions added continuations, but

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[34] For Froissart's *Chroniques*, that had been distant history for a long time already, the situation of the sixteenth century editions was quite similar (FB 21885–21949), although the gap noted between 1530 and 1559 was less lengthy than for Monstrelet.

Table 3. The Printed Copies: Editions[35]

Dates	Period covered in the text	Number of copies	Printers and publishers	FB number
1499–1503	1400–1467	22	Antoine Vérard	38192–4 and 38196
after 1503 (ca 1508?)	1400–1467	18	Antoine Vérard	38195
1512	1400–1498	24	Jean Petit and Michel Le Noir	38197–8
1518	1400–1515	19	François Regnault	38199–201
1572	1400–1516	65	Marc Orry; Denis Sauvage; Michel Sonnius et Nicolas Chesneau; Pierre L'Huillier et [Guillaume Chaudière] ; Jean Le Blanc et Guillaume Chaudière ; Jean Le Blanc chez Pierre L'Huillier	38202-7
1588	1400–1516	9	chez Guillaume Bichon	38208–9
1595 (incl. 1593)	1400–1516	17	s.n.; chez Pierre Mettayer	38210–1
1596	1400–1516	14	Pierre Mettayer chez Laurent Sonnius ; chez Laurent Sonnius	38212–3
1603	1400–1516	?	Marc Orry	—

[35] We have distinguished fewer editions than FB has numbers. See Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby, Alexander Wilkinson (eds.), *French Vernacular Books. Books Published in the French language before 1601 – Livres vernaculaires français. Livres imprimés en français avant 1601* (Leiden, 2007), p. ix.

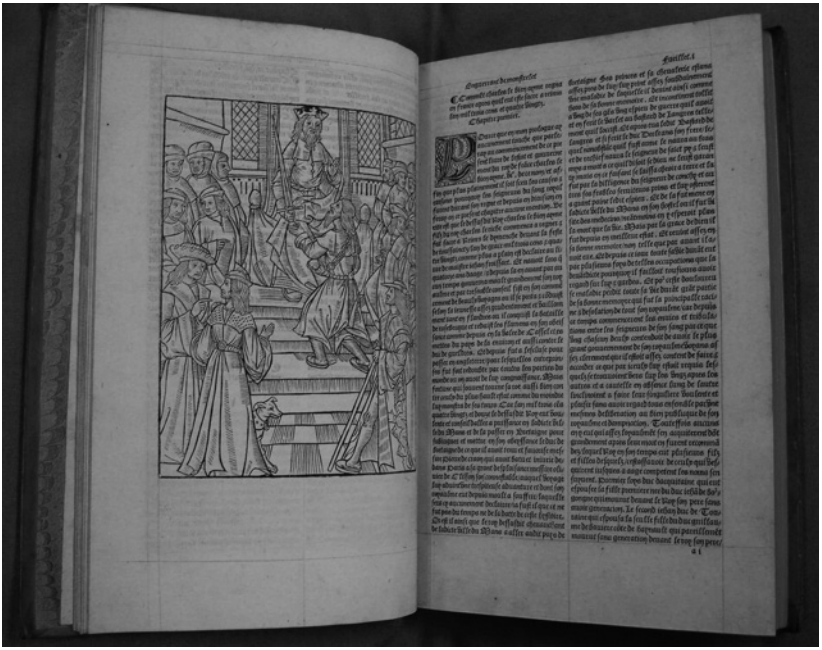


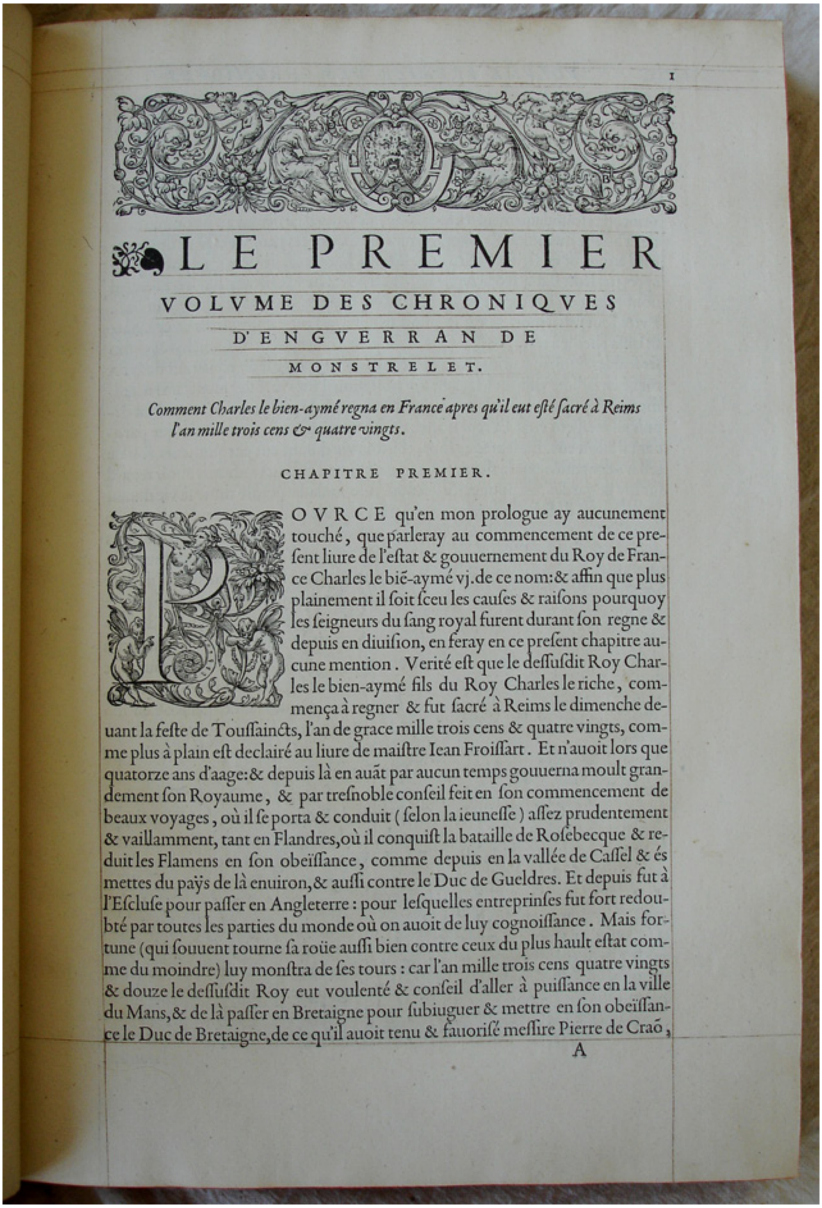
Figure 10. The Hague, Royal Library, 228 B 3, f. 1. Beginning of the first chapter of book I of Monstrelet's *Chronique* in the 1518 Paris edition by François Regnault which was largely based on the two Vérard editions. Woodcut of the court of King Charles VI of France (reign 1380–1422). Layout in two columns. (© Royal Library of the Netherlands)

the chronicle became more and more patched up. From 1520 its place must have been taken over by other histories: 'real' contemporary history.

Of the 1572 editions numerous copies have survived, no less than 65 according to the FB survey. When Monstrelet's *Chronique* reappeared in the 1570s, the significance of the text had completely changed. It had become a chronicle dealing with a distant past. The text was not updated anymore, unlike in 1512 and 1518 (Figs. 11–12).

We can conclude that Monstrelet's *Chronique* was a text that continued to be popular in certain circles in the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Four printed editions, dated around 1500, 1508, 1512, and 1518, are a clear witness of this.

But we also see how the exact contents of a text might not necessarily have bothered these printers, who were often more preoccupied



1

LE PREMIER
VOLVME DES CHRONIQVES
D'ENGVERRAN DE
MONSTRELET.

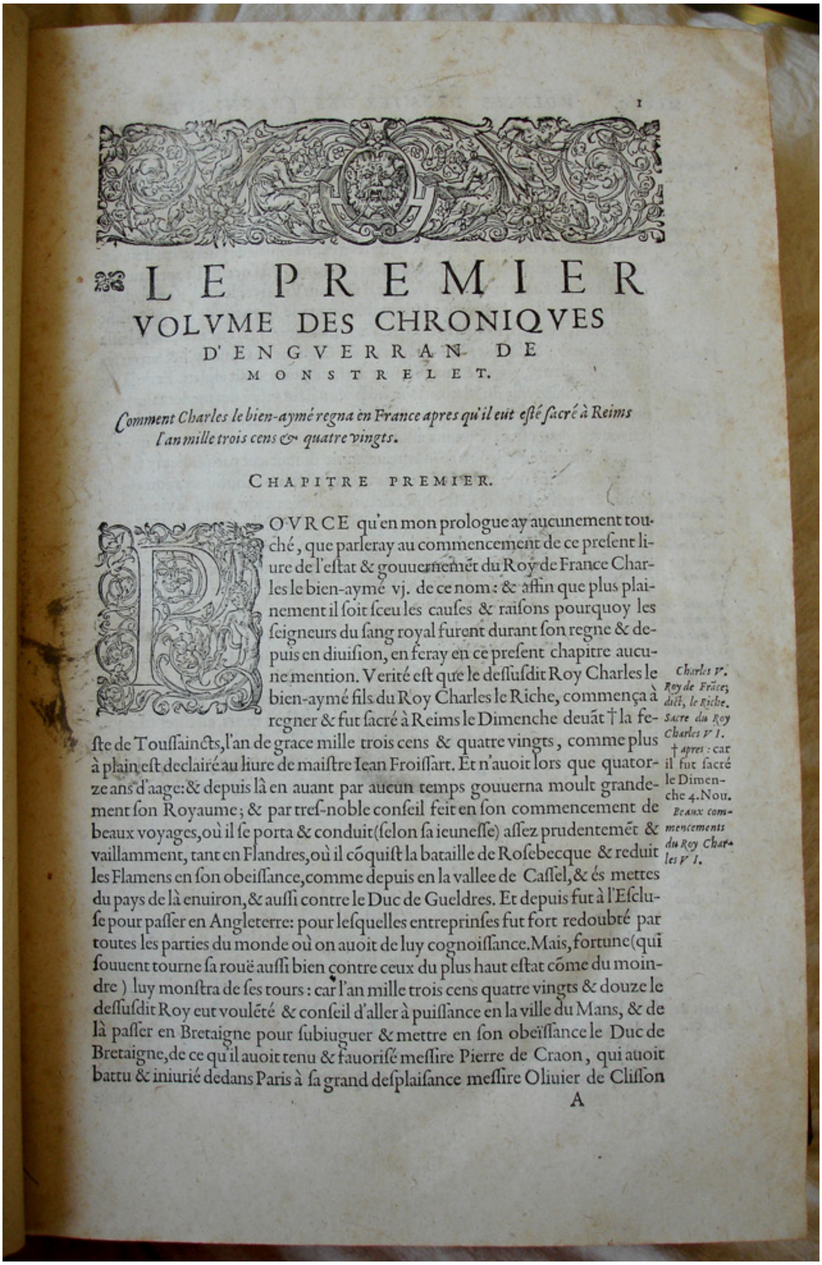
Comment Charles le bien-aymé regna en France apres qu'il eut eſté ſacré à Reims l'an mille trois cens & quatre vingts.

CHAPITRE PREMIER.

POVRCE qu'en mon prologue ay aucunement touché, que parleray au commencement de ce preſent liure de l'eſtat & gouuernement du Roy de France Charles le biẽ-aymé vj. de ce nom: & affin que plus plainement il ſoit ſceu les cauſes & raiſons pourquoy les ſeigneurs du ſang royal furent durant ſon regne & depuis en diuiſion, en feray en ce preſent chapitre aucune mention. Verité eſt que le deſſuſdit Roy Charles le bien-aymé fils du Roy Charles le riche, commença à regner & fut ſacré à Reims le dimenche deuant la feſte de Touſſaincts, l'an de grace mille trois cens & quatre vingts, comme plus à plain eſt declairé au liure de maiſtre Iean Froiſſart. Et n'auoit lors que quatorze ans d'aage: & depuis là en auãt par aucun temps gouuerna moult grandement ſon Royaume, & par treſnoble conſeil feit en ſon commencement de beaux voyages, où il ſe porta & conduit (ſelon la ieuneſſe) aſſez prudentement & vaillamment, tant en Flandres, où il conquiſt la bataille de Roſebecque & reduit les Flamens en ſon obeïſſance, comme depuis en la vallée de Caſſel & és mettes du païs de là enuiron, & auſſi contre le Duc de Gueldres. Et depuis fut à l'Eſcluſe pour paſſer en Angleterre: pour leſquelles entreprinſes fut fort redoubté par toutes les parties du monde où on auoit de luy cognoiſſance. Mais fortune (qui ſouuent tourne ſa roüe auſſi bien contre ceux du plus hault eſtat comme du moindre) luy monſtra de ſes tours: car l'an mille trois cens quatre vingts & douze le deſſuſdit Roy eut voulenté & conſeil d'aller à puiſſance en la ville du Mans, & de là paſſer en Bretaigne pour ſubiuguer & mettre en ſon obeïſſance le Duc de Bretaigne, de ce qu'il auoit tenu & fauoriſé meſſire Pierre de Craõ,

A

Figure 11. Leiden, University Library, 194 A 16, f. 1. Beginning of the first chapter of book I of Monstrelet's *Chronique* in the 1572 Paris edition by Pierre L'Huillier and Guillaume Chaudière. First edition with a layout in one column. (© Leiden University Library)



1

LE PREMIER
VOLVME DES CHRONIQVES
D'ENGVERRAN DE
MONSTRELET.

Comment Charles le bien-aymé regna en France apres qu'il eut esté sacré à Reims l'an mille trois cens & quatre vingts.

CHAPITRE PREMIER.

POVRCE qu'en mon prologue ay aucunement touché, que parleray au commencement de ce present liure de l'estat & gouuernemēt du Roy de France Charles le bien-aymé vj. de ce nom: & affin que plus plainement il soit sceu les causes & raisons pourquoy les seigneurs du sang royal furent durant son regne & depuis en diuision, en feray en ce present chapitre aucune mention. Verité est que le dessusdit Roy Charles le bien-aymé fils du Roy Charles le Riche, commença à regner & fut sacré à Reims le Dimenche deuāt † la feste de Toussaincts, l'an de grace mille trois cens & quatre vingts, comme plus à plain est declairé au liure de maistre Iean Froissart. Et n'auoit lors que quatorze ans d'aage: & depuis là en auant par aucun temps gouuerna moult grandement son Royaume; & par tres-noble conseil feit en son commencement de beaux voyages, où il se porta & conduit (selon sa ieunesse) assez prudentemēt & vaillamment, tant en Flandres, où il cōquist la bataille de Rosebecque & reduit les Flamens en son obeissance, comme depuis en la vallee de Cassel, & és mettes du pays de là enuiron, & aussi contre le Duc de Gueldres. Et depuis fut à l'Escluse pour passer en Angleterre: pour lesquelles entreprinses fut fort redoubté par toutes les parties du monde où on auoit de luy cognoissance. Mais, fortune (qui souuent tourne sa rouë aussi bien contre ceux du plus haut estat cōme du moindre) luy monstra de ses tours: car l'an mille trois cens quatre vingts & douze le dessusdit Roy eut vouléte & conseil d'aller à puissance en la ville du Mans, & de là passer en Bretaigne pour subiuguer & mettre en son obeïssance le Duc de Bretaigne, de ce qu'il auoit tenu & fauorisé messire Pierre de Craon, qui auoit battu & iniurié dedans Paris à sa grand desplaisance messire Oliuier de Clisson

Charles V. Roy de Frãce, dict, le Riche.
Sacre du Roy Charles VI.
† *apres*: car il fut sacré le Dimenche 4. Nou.
Beaux commencements du Roy Charles VI.

A

Figure 12. Leiden, University Library, 391 A 2, f. 1. Beginning of the first chapter of book I of Monstrelet's *Chronique* in the 1596 Paris edition by Pierre Mettayer and Laurent Sonnius which was largely based on the 1572 edition. (© Leiden University Library)

with selling books than with the details of their contents. The two Vérard editions can be seen as a logical follow-up to his Froissart edition. There was a market for historical texts, so Vérard printed Monstrelet's volumes as they were easily available. Jean Petit and Michel Le Noir decided to update the chronicle adding the history of the last decades. This seems a more important step than simply reprinting a text, but as we have seen the result was rather unimpressive as an essentially Burgundian chronicle was treated to a French continuation. After Regnault, there was a long pause in the publication of Monstrelet editions. In the last three decades of the sixteenth century the *Chronique* was reprinted, but as distant history.

The Book Market

In order to discuss the book market for the different versions of Monstrelet's *Chronique*, we will first look at the known owners of the various copies. What do we know about the owners of the surviving copies?

A manuscript made in the 1460s was owned by Anthony of Burgundy (*c.*1428–1504), bastard son of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy and known as 'le grand bâtard', and was subsequently in the possession of someone close to him, Denis, bastard of Nans (Fig. 1).[36] The famous Flemish bibliophile Louis de Bruges (*c.*1427–1492), lord of Gruuthuse owned two manuscripts from our corpus, both dating from the 1470s and both illuminated, one of which contains no less than 40 miniatures.[37] Another manuscript dating from the 1470s contains a partly erased inscription below the explicit which states that the manuscript

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[36] Brussels, KBR, II 2296 (formerly Ashburnham, nr. CLI (nr. 182); book I in abbreviated form). The frontispiece of manuscript contains one miniature by the Master of the Harley Froissart and decorated margins, but the place left open in the initial for the arms of the owner has never been filled in. However, below the explicit (fol. 390v) Antoine de Bourgogne signed with his usual device *NYE. Nul ne s'y frotte, ob. de Bourg(og)ne* and Denis, bâtard de Nans signed one of the fly leaves with his *DY. Droyt et avant, Nans ob.*, which was clearly inspired by Antoine's.

[37] Paris, BNF, fr. 2680 (*Chronique abbrégée*, covering 1400–1428; forty miniatures by the Master of the Vienna Chroniques d'Angleterre); Paris, BNF, fr. 88 (*Chronique*, covering 1444–1471; one frontispiece miniature by the Master of Edward IV). See: Pascal Schandel and Ilona Hans-Collas, with the collaboration of Hanno Wijsman and scientific advice by François Avril, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, Vol. I: *Louis de Bruges*, Paris-Leuven 2009, pp. 194–197; 205–206.

was owned in 1577 by a merchant called *de li Ronde*.[38] A richly illuminated manuscripts dateable around 1475, now at an unknown location, was probably also made for a member of the Burgundian high nobility. It was in any case part of the library of Charles-Alexandre de Croy (d. 1624) at the end of the sixteenth century.[39] An unillustrated paper manuscript written in one column has sixteenth-century ownership marks by two Parisians Crestophle Hesselin and Marguerite Hesselin, probably his daughter.[40] In another unillustrated paper copy of the continuation of Monstrelet covering the years 1444–1471 and dating from the 1480s, we read the inscription *X Lalaing X* and was presumably made for Charles de Lalaing (1466–1525).[41] A parchment manuscript with one miniature, made around 1480, maybe in Paris or Normandy, and containing books I and II in abbreviated form, followed by the *Recouvrement de Normandie*, was owned by a member of the Saint-Gelais family in the last two decades of the sixteenth century.[42] An late fifteenth-century unillustrated paper copy containing book I (1400–1422) in abridged form was owned by Engelbert of Cleves (1462–1506), who, although a scion of the important Netherlandish Cleves family, can be designated as a French nobleman from 1486 onwards. As he became count of Nevers in 1491 and Pair de

[38] Paris, BNF, fr. 5365. This is a manuscript that contains different texts, among which a very much abbreviated *Chroniques* covering the period 1400–1467. The inscription on fol. 132v reads: *Ce p(rese)nt libvre appartien a moy* […] *de li Ronde, marchant demourant a la Tour Saint* […] *ce xxviii jour de febvryer l'an mil v^c soixante et dix sept*.

[39] Manuscript sold at Sotheby's (London)) 31 May 1960, as lot 2, containing 44 miniatures painted by the Master of the Harley Froissart, the Master of the Vienna Chroniques d'Angleterre and other hands. See the auction catalogue and Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance. The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exhib. cat., (Los Angeles/London, 2003), p. 262.

[40] Paris, BNF, fr. 5016 (book I, abbreviated version). At a fly leaf at the end we read (one would say written by one single hand): *Ce presant livre appartient a moy Crestophle Hesselin demourant en la rue des bourdonnoys a Paris qui le trouvera si luy rende et je paira voluntiers le vin a la St. Martin* and *Quy me trouvera soit geux ou mille / Je luy supplie de ceur enclin / Me rendre a une belle fille / Son nomp est Marguerite Hesselin*. The rue des Bourdonnais is a street in the centre of Paris, between the river Seine (just next to the Pont Neuf) and the Halles, where many rich merchants had their shops.

[41] Paris, BNF, fr. 20354 (containing the continuation from 1444 to 1471). This manuscript is also mentioned in the Lalaing inventory of 1541 (see below). See: Anne-Marie Legaré, 'Un exemplaire hainuyer du *Chevalier délibéré* aux armes de Lalaing', *Olivier de la Marche. Publication du Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes*, 43 (2003), 179–198, esp. 181.

[42] Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 3840. On a flyleaf at the end of the manuscript, notes about the births of Henri-Louis de Saint-Gelais (11-8-1583), Josué de Saint-Gelais (20-8-1590), and Charlotte de Saint-Gelais (1592).

France in 1505, and both conditions are mentioned in his ownerships inscription, it seems that this was copied in 1505–1506.[43] A two-volume copy on parchment, illuminated with two miniatures by the Master of Edward IV and dating from the last decade of the fifteenth century was made for John of Bergen-Glymes (1452–1531), a high nobleman who became a knight in the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1481.[44] A richly illuminated manuscript with five large and eight smaller miniatures by the Master of the prayer books of around 1500 and containing a part of the abbreviated version of the *Chronique*, was commissioned around 1495 by Engelbert II of Nassau (Fig. 5).[45] There is a richly illuminated parchment manuscript in two volumes, covering respectively the periods 1400–1422 and 1422–1467 that was obviously copied from one of the Vérard editions, likely in the first years of the sixteenth century. It was a commission by the bibliophile and minister of king Louis XII, the cardinal of Amboise, as is stated in the colophon: "Ci finist le second volume des croniques de messire Enguerrand de Monstrelet pour monseigneur le légat". The two large and sixty-one small miniatures are from different artists who frequently worked for this patron: Jean Pichore, Robert Boyvin, and the Master of Philippe de Gueldre.[46] François de Rochechouart, a high

[43] Manchester, John Rylands UL, fr. 55 (formerly Phillipps Collection, nr. 3950). *Cest livre et a hault et puissant prince monseigneur Engelbert de Cleves, conte de Nevers deu de Rethel et d'Auxerre, per de France et gouverneur et lieutenant pour le roy en Bourgoignie*. A flyleaf was originally used to note archival data concerning the region of Lens in 1435–1436. See: Neil Ker, *Medieval manuscripts in British libraries* (Oxford, 1969–2002), vol. III, p. 435; Moses Tyson, 'Handlist of additions to the collection of latin manuscripts in the John Rylands Library', *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 14 (1930), nr. 2, p. 21. About the nobleman, see: Père Anselme de Sainte-Marie, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, des pairs, grands officiers de la Couronne, de la Maison du Roy et des anciens barons du royaume*…, vol. III, (Paris, 1726), p. 450.

[44] Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2545 and 2546. Otto Pächt, Ulrike Jenni and Dagmar Thoss, *Flämische Schule* II (*Tafelband und Textband*) (*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters. Reihe 1, Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 7) (Vienna, 1990): p. 103.

[45] Leiden, UB, VGG F 2. See: Mireille Madou, 'De Leidse 'Kroniek van Enguerrand de Monstrelet'. Bijdrage in het onderzoek naar een exacte datering van de codex', in Maurits Smeyers (ed.), *Archivum Artis Lovaniense. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de kunst der Nederlanden opgedragen aan Prof. Em. Dr. J.K. Steppe* (Leuven, 1981), p. 111–122.

[46] Paris, BNF, fr. 2678 and 2679. See: François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520* (Paris, 1993), p. 278; 282; 413; Marie-Pierre Laffitte, 'La librairie de Georges d'Amboise à Gaillon', S. Fabrizzio and J.-P. Le Goff (eds.) *Léonard de Vinci entre France et Italie 'miroir profond et sombre'* (Caen, 1999), pp. 275–300.

French nobleman who was governor of the Italian town of Genoa from 1508 to 1512, commissioned a richly executed parchment manuscript with Monstrelet's *Chronique*. The scribe, Antoine Bardin finished his work in 1510 and explicitly states that he wrote the manuscript for the aforementioned nobleman in his palace in Genoa. The anonymous, maybe Netherlandish, artist responsible for the 74 drawing-like miniatures is known as the Master of the Rochechouart Monstrelet.[47]

If not all manuscripts contain ownerships marks, the printed books of Monstrelet's *Chronique* unfortunately contain even less. The data about sixteenth-century owners of the first two editions that I have collected thus far are shown in tables 4 and 5.

Table 4. Antoine Vérard, first edition: [between 25 Oct. 1499 and July 1503] (FB 38192-4 and 38196)[48]

Shelfmark	Books – volumes	Provenance
Besançon, BM		
Bristol, PL	2+3	
Brussels, KBR, Inc C 148 and 149–150	1 and 2+3	Nicolas Ghoisson natif de Mons (1582) ; Jesuites Mons
Chantilly, Musée Condé, Impr. 1269 (III H 18+ 19)	1 and 2+3	Duc d'Aumale (19th c.)
Darmstadt, LHSB, V 54	2+3	

(*Continued*)

[47] Paris, BNF, fr. 20360, 20361, and 20362. The colophon (fr. 20362, fol. 192) states: *Escriptes par moy, Anthoine Bardin, serviteur de Monseigneur messire Francoys de Rochechouart, chevalier, seigneur de Champdenier, senechal de Thoulouze, gouverneur et lieutenant general a Gennes pour le roy Loys dousiesme de ce nom, son conseiller et chambellan ordinaire. Et fut achevé au palays dudit lieu de Gennes, la vigille de Nostre Dame d'Aoust, l'an mil cincq cens et dix*. See: Avril and Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures*, p. 419–421.

[48] Copies on vellum in bold. FB 38192-4 and 38196 mention copies in Besançon, Bristol, Brussels, Chantilly, London (BL), Manchester, Nancy, New York (PML), Oxford (BL), Paris (BNF), and San Marino. The digital and paper data of the French Vernacular Books Project and the ISTC add all the others. It should be mentioned that when I was in Kortrijk (Courtrai) the copy there was untraceable. The copy in Manchester remains to be checked as there are some uncertainties about it: FB and Mary Beth Winn both mention a copy of the first edition in Manchester, the digital and paper data of the French Vernacular Books Project, however, mention it as a copy of the second edition. The online catalogue of the John Rylands University Library gives two descriptions both referring to the shelf mark 19556, one referring to the first edition (Macfarlane 144; etc.) and the other citing the colophon of the second edition (*devant la rue neufve Nostre Dame*).

Table 4. (*cont.*)

Shelfmark	Books – volumes	Provenance
Kortrijk, SOB (?)	1 and 2+3	
London, BL, C.22.d.6, 8 (IC 41247)	1 and 3	King Henry VII (?) mentioned in the Whitehall inventory in the 1540ies
London, BL, IC 41248	2 and 3	prince Demidoff (19th c.)
Manchester JRUL 19556	1 and 2+3	
Nancy, BM		
New Haven, Yale University Library, Bo22 012	2+3	
New York, PML, 27754 + 27755 (F 1546)	1 and 2+3	
Oxford, BL, Arch. B c.4	**2**	London (16th c.); Davyd Harrys (16th c.); John Larryes; John Bagford (1650–1716)
Oxford, BL, Auct. 2 Q 1.30,31	1 and 2+3	Notes in French; Michael Wodhull (18th c.)
Paris, BNF, Rés. La. 14-1	1 2+3	Jean d'Albret (?); French Royal Library
Paris, BNF, Rés. La. 14-1 alpha	1	England; Thomas Bisleyc de […] ; Capucins
Paris, BNF, Rés. Vélins 750	1	French Royal Library; Payne and Foss (London)
Paris, BNF, Rothschild II, 2097 [1519.2.10-11]	1 and 2+3	Notes in German; duc de La Vallière (Cat. de Bure, no. 5057) ; Crevenna ; duc de Roxburghe ; Libri; R. Heber ; prince d'Essling ; Robert-Samuel Turner (Cat., n. 673)
San Marino, HEHL 92566	2–3	
Troyes, BM		
Williamstown, Williams College, Chapin Library, Inc. M699 folio		
Private collection (formerly Fairfax Murray)		

Table 5. Antoine Vérard, second edition [after July 1503, probably around 1508] (FB 38195)[49]

Shelfmark	Books – volumes	Provenance
Cambridge, Trinity Coll., VI 16 31–32 (1614)	1 and 2+3	England (16th c.); John Anth[…]; Geo. H. Powell (19th c.)
Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, BS 3843		
Dublin, Trinity College, M e 24	2+3	
Ithaca, Cornell UL, Rare Books D113 M 75	1 and 2+3	
London, BL, C.22.f.5 (formerly C.22.f.13-15)	1 and 2 and 3	King Henry VIII
London, BL, G.6243, 6244	1 and 2+3	England; Thomas Grenville
Lyon, BM, 105185	1 and 2+3	French notes
New Haven, Yale UL, Bo6A 503M (1)	1	
Orléans, BM, Rés E 2701	1	
Oxford, BL Douce 123–124	1 and 2+3	England; Francis Douce
Paris, Bibl. hist. de la Ville de Paris, Rés. 91.999	1 and 2+3	
Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, Inc. 1025	1 and 2+3	France (16th c.)

(*Continued*)

[49] Copies on vellum in bold. FB 38195 mentions copies in Cambridge (Trinity College), Chantilly, Krakow, Dublin, Ithaca (Cornell), London (BL), Lyon, Manchester, Paris (BNF), Paris (Mazarine), and Verdun. The digital and paper data of the French Vernacular Books Project and the ISTC added the copy in Orléans. The copy in the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris was already mentioned in Brigitte Moreau, Philippe Renouard, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1972), p. 111 (nr. 101). According to the on-line Yale-catalogue the copy with shelfmark Bo6A 503M has a first volume of Vérards first edition, but a second volume of the edition by Petit et Le Noir. I thank the present private owner of a vellum copy (previously Ambroise Firmin-Didot and Robert Hoe) for his willingness to let me study the book and for his kind help (for more information see below). I thank Mary Beth Winn for sharing her data, in which another paper copy in a private collection is mentioned.

Table 5. (*cont.*)

Shelfmark	Books – volumes	Provenance
Paris, BNF, Rés. LA. 14-2	1 and 2+3	French Royal Library (17th c.)
Paris, BNF, Rés. LA. 14-2 alpha	1 and 2+3	Le prieuré de saint Barthélemy de […]; Saint-Victor, Paris (16th c.)
Paris, BNF, Rés. Vélins 751–753	1 and 2 and 3	François d'Angoulême (?); Claude d'Urfé (1501–1558); duc De la Vallière; McCarthy
Verdun, BM, Inc 113 (H 710)	2	
Private collection (vellum copy)	1 and 2+3	François d'Angoulême (?)
Private collection (paper copy)		

Vérard was the Paris printer of luxurious books 'par excellence' around 1500. His active period is recorded from 1485 to 1512. He printed many of the texts that were to be found in every noble library in French and Burgundian court circles. These were either French texts or French translations of Latin texts. Among these are moral, theological and philosophical texts like Boethius's *De consolation philosophiae*, Guilaume de Digulleville's *Pélerinages*, or hagiographic texts like the *Légende dorée*; chivalric romances like *Tristan* or *Merlin*; classical texts like Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia*; and other literary texts like Boccaccio's *Decameron*, as well as chronicles like those by Jean Froissart and Enguerrand de Monstrelet.[50]

Vérard worked for the court and the high nobility and his whole oeuvre is resonant of the illuminated manuscript culture of the fifteenth century. This is easier to affirm than one could think at first. It is indeed a commonplace that the first printed books mimicked manuscripts. But what about the book market? Why did Verard succeed

[50] Winn, *Anthoine Vérard*; Macfarlane, *Antoine Vérard*.

where Colard Mansion in Bruges failed around 1480, or even Gerard Leeu in Gouda or Jacob Bellaert in Haarlem in the same years?[51]

Printers like Mansion tried to launch luxury printed books as if they were manuscripts; but it did not work very well. Between the cheaper simple books and the illuminated manuscripts there was no middle market, yet. The former were far easier to replace by printed books than the latter. Before the last decade of the fifteenth century, bibliophiles did not want any printed books. Only in around 1500 did a new generation of potential buyers become interested in luxury illustrated printed books. Still this market was very small, just as small as it had been for the manuscripts. Thus one of the main advantages of the printing press – the ability to produce large quantities – was not advantageous at all for this segment of the market. Vérard, working from Paris for the French court, was however, able to position his books in order to serve an international market: France in the first place, but expressly also England and the Low Countries. By combining his work for the French and English royalty, with the francophone elites in different countries, he succeeded in attracting sufficient potential buyers to sell his stock.

Vérard made several vellum copies of his Monstrelet editions (see: Table 6). Of the first edition one copy seems to have been made for King Henry VII of England, although there are no clear ownership marks. Only two volumes, containing books I and III survive, so book II is missing.[52] It would seem logical that this missing book II is the volume now in Oxford, all the more as we are sure that it was in London in the sixteenth century.[53] This is possible, but a difference in the style of decoration between this book II and the books I and III now in London argue against this. The hypothesis is very tempting, though. Thus Vérard would have made two copies of every book on vellum, for both the first and the second edition. But of course it is very possible that some, or even many, volumes were lost over the centuries.

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[51] About this view on Mansion, Leeu, and Bellaert, see: Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, pp. 77–78; 100–104.

[52] London, BL, C.22.d.6 and 8 (IC 41247). See: *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum, Part VIII: France, French-Speaking Switzerland* (London, 1949), pp. 95–96.

[53] Oxford, BL, Arch. B c 4. The heavily restored binding has been made in London in the second half of the sixteenth century. Several English owners inscribed their names in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. See: Alan Coates a.o., *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Bodleian Library*, 6 volumes (Oxford, 2005), Vol. IV, pp. 1822–1823.

Table 6. Illustrations in the surviving volumes of vellum copies of the two Vérard editions of Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chronique*

Shelfmark	Edition	Books – volumes	Large miniatures	Overpainted woodcut	Small miniatures (overpainted chapter titles)
London, BL, C.22.d.6 (IC 41247)	First	1	- (1 cut out?)	1	51
London, BL, C.22.d.8 (IC 41247)	First	3	- (1 cut out)	-	21
Oxford BL, Arch. B c.4	First	2	1 (+ 1 cut out?)	-	35
Paris, BNF, Rés. Vélins 750	First	1	1	1	55
London, BL, IC 41248 (1)	First	2	1	-	28
London, BL, IC 41248 (2)	First	3	1	-	33
Paris, BNF, Rés. Vélins 751	Second	1	2	1	26
Paris, BNF, Rés. Vélins 752	Second	2	1	-	160
Paris, BNF, Rés. Vélins 753	Second	3	1	-	91
France, private collection (1)	Second	1	2	1	10
France, private collection (2+3)	Second	2+3	1 + 1 (folded)	-	95+55

A set on vellum of the first Vérard edition ended up split between London and Paris. The first volume containing book I was bought in the nineteenth century by the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris from the London booksellers Payne and Foss. The second volume containing books II and III belonged to Prince Demidoff and was acquired in 1886 by the British Museum.[54]

For the second edition the situation is simpler, although its interpretation is not. Two complete vellum copies survive. The one now in Paris is illuminated with four large and 277 small miniatures.[55] It was owned in the sixteenth century by Claude d'Urfé (1501–1558), confident of king François I, in the eighteenth century by the duc de la Vallière[56], and later by the Comte de MacCarthy Reagh, whose library was sold in 1815.[57]

Mary Beth Winn has suggested that this set, as well as the other one that will be discussed below, may both have been made for the young François d'Angoulême (1494–1547; who became king François I of France in 1515). In 1508 he was a young man of 16 years and Vérard probably made several books for him.[58] He would be the young prince who receives the book from the kneeling printer on the two frontispieces in the first volumes of the two sets.

These frontispieces, like all the miniatures in the different volumes, do not seem particularly realistic and no effort whatsoever has been made in either of the two to personalize the person, either by physiognomy or by emblems.[59] In the Paris copy the recipient of the book is depicted in a robe set off with ermine, which definitely gives the young man a regal appearance, whereas in the frontispiece of the privately owned set the young man is standing up and wears a shorter tunic and a robe set off with grey pelt, which could possibly indicate another young nobleman (Fig. 6). On the other hand the Paris copy did belong to Claude d'Urfé, whereas in the other set all the spaces for arms remained open and nothing is known of an early owner. The copy now in private hands gives no clues as to its owners before the eighteenth

54 Paris, BNF, Rés. Vélins 750 and London, BL, IC 41248 (acquired in 1886). See: *Catalogue des incunables de la Bibliothèque nationale* [*de France*], vol. II, fasc. 1 (H-Z) (Paris, 1981), p. 291; *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, p. 96; Brunet, *La France littéraire au XVe siècle*, p. 145–146.

55 Paris, BNF, Rés. Vélins 751, 752, and 753.

56 *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le duc de la Vallière. première partie* […] *dont la vente se fera dans les premiers jours du mois de Décembre 1783. Tome troisième*, Guillaume de Bure fils aîné, (Paris, 1783), p. 194–195, nr. 5058.

57 The arms of Claude d'Urfé, surrounded by the collar of the order of Saint-Michel have been painted on several places in the volumes (they were already mentioned in the 1783 sales catalogue: Winn, *Anthoine Vérard*, pp. 186–189).

58 Winn, *Anthoine Vérard*, pp. 186–189.

59 A problem already fully grasped by Mary Beth Winn.

century, when it was part of the collection of the Haarlem historian Gerrit Willem van Oosten de Bruyn (1726–1797).[60] Around 1870, Ambroise Firmin-Didot had the two volumes restored: a splendid new mosaic binding was made by the distinguished Parisian book binder Lortic. The woodcut was then also overpainted by Pilinski, apparently following the example of the other copy in Paris.

The illustration of the books can be seen as an aspect of the 'marketing' (Table 6). In the vellum volumes, small miniatures have overpainted numerous chapter headings, the texts of which have, however, been copied by hand in the margin (Fig. 9). There is apparently no logic behind the choice of the small miniatures: in the different copies the same chapters have not been chosen for illustration. However, there is a remarkable difference between the volumes from the first and from the second edition. In the extant volumes of the edition of around 1500, book I is illustrated by about half of the total number of miniatures, whereas books II and III share the rest. This uneven distribution is not surprising, as it is often encountered in manuscripts containing chronicles as well (though not always): the first part gets the lion's share of illustrations. However, in the volumes of the edition of around 1508 the distribution of the small miniatures has completely changed. Book I has less than 10 % of the miniatures, book II almost 60 %, leaving one third to book III.

[60] In the eighteenth century, this copy was apparently part of the library of the Haarlem historian Gerrit Willem van Oosten de Bruyn (1726–1797), as it was sold in Haarlem in 1860 at the auction of this library: *Catalogus van de fraaije bibliotheek van Wijlen den heer Mr. G.W. van Oosten de Bruyn in 1765 en later Historieschrijver van Haarlem* […] *Al hetwelk op maandag den 23en April 1860 en volgende dagen verkocht zal worden* […] *te Haarlem* […] *door den Boekhandelaar Frederik Muller* (Amsterdam-Haarlem 1860, p. 3, nr. 18). The auction catalogue carefully describes it as a vellum copy of Vérard's second edition (*devant la rue neufve nostre dame*) containing four large and 152 small miniatures (the woodcut had not been over-painted yet). Two years later, in 1862, the volumes were sold by Techener to Firmin-Didot (who had made a new binding by Lortic and had overpainted the woodcut). It was mentioned in the sales catalogue of the Firmin-Didot library (*Catalogue illustré des livres précieu, manuscrits et imprimés, faisant partie de la bibliothèque de M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot* […] *Belles-lettres – Histoire* […] *Vente* […] *du Jeudi 6 au Samedi 15 Juin 1878* […] (Paris, 1878), pp. 215–216, nr. 696) and subsequently was part of the collection of Robert Hoe (II, 1912, nr. 2344). The following owners were Graf Axel von Kalckreuth, Kreisler, Kettaneh, Ader, Berès, and Scheler. It was auctioned at Christies on 26 June 1997, as lot 27 and bought there by the present owner. One of the leaves containing a miniature in the second volume (frontispiece of book III) has a strange feature: the leaf has been folded in four. I would say that belongs to the book, but it has, in that case, apparently been removed at one moment and put back later.

The preference for illustrating the period before 1422 in the first edition and the period between 1422 and 1444 in the second, very probably reflects the respective intended patrons. Around 1500 Vérard had the English King Henry VII in mind, whereas around 1508 he thought primarily of the French dauphin. For an English patron, the reign of Henry V (1413–1422) that had brought glory in France was a far better memory than the reign of Henry VI (1422–1461), which brought defeat. On the other hand, from a French point of view this was exactly the opposite was the case. Before 1422 the French monarchy was in a disastrous state, whereas the reign of Charles VII 'le victorieux' (1422–1461) would bring new hope and glory.

In the two sets on vellum of the second edition, even if the total number of miniatures is quite different (277 in the Paris copy, 160 in the copy now in a private collection), it is remarkable that the comparative distribution of illustrations is almost exactly the same.[61] They would seem to have both been made for a patron at the French court. It could be that both sets of the second edition were made for François and that he gave one away, or even both (Claude d'Urfé was one of François's confidents). Vérard made an effort to please the young dauphin with this new edition, although he was apparently not so sure about the effect the books were going to make, since no emblematic or heraldic identifying marks were painted (Fig. 8).

For the paper volumes we unfortunately have little information on the early owners (Figs. 2–4). Copies ended up in sixteenth-century France, England, the Southern Low Countries and maybe even Germany (tables 4 and 5). A number of these printed books, just like some of the manuscripts for which we do not have any precise clues for early ownership, do contain marginal notes that can still reveal us something on their fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers. These notes reveal in general an interest in the main events of the conflicts between the French and the Anglo-Burgundians of the early fifteenth century. They are very often found next to the parts of the text dealing with the murder of Louis of Orléans (Fig. 7), the murder of John the Fearless (Fig. 5), or the battle of Agincourt, sometimes on scenes about

[61] The percentages of the distribution of the small miniatures over the three books are 9 %, 58 %, 33 % in Paris, BNF, Rés. Vélins 751–753; 6 %, 59 %, and 34 % in the privately owned copy (and, as a comparison, 47 %, 24 %, and 28 % in the Demidoff copy of the first edition now divided between London and Paris). See: Table 6.

the actions of Joan of Arc (Fig. 9), several times there are notes relating to the town of Paris and institutions in this town.

One of the paper copies of the first Vérard edition has no ownership marks, but in many places marginal notes have been added. Surprisingly they often concern members of the Albret family that are mentioned in the text of the chronicle.[62] It seems therefore probable that a prominent member of this family, Jean d'Albret (1469–1516), acquired this copy. He was a known patron of Vérard.[63] The lack of ownership marks could be explained by the kind of book it was: printed on paper, without illustrations. Jean d'Albret was also known as King John II of Navarre and his great-grandson would become king of France as Henry IV. Thus the subsequent passing of the book into the French royal collection is perfectly reasonable.

Every single copy of both Vérard editions, whether printed on vellum or on paper, is illustrated by one single woodcut, not placed, as one might expect, at the beginning of the first volume or of one of the books, but on fol. 163v of the first volume, which marks the beginning of the 109th chapter of book I, situated the autumn of 1413.[64] This is quite surprising and must have been the result of a conscious choice. For the second edition Vérard used another woodcut than for the first edition, but in both editions it was placed at the same place and presented the same scene. It represents a handsome prince wearing a crown, surrounded by some soldiers, who is inspecting the combat around a city that we see behind being attacked and defended by other soldiers. Stylistically, the woodcut in the edition of around 1500 does not completely correspond to the turn of the century. It could very well be dated one or two decades earlier. This could be a reason for having it replaced in the second edition. It is telling that in the contemporary overpainting in copy Paris, BNF, Rés. Vélins 750, the shoes have been significantly enlarged as between 1485 and 1500 the fashion of shoes became less and less pointed and gradually larger. In Paris, BNF, Rés. Vélins 751 the overpainting of the woodcut has changed some details

[62] Paris, BNF, Rés. La. 14-1. For these notes see for instance: book I, fol. xvii recto; book II, fol. xli recto and xlvi verso; book III, fol. clxiiii recto, clxxxvi recto, and clxxxvi recto.

[63] Winn, *Anthoine Vérard*, pp. 197–199.

[64] "Comment le dit duc de Bourgongne fit plusieurs assemblées pour avoir advis sur ses affaires doubtant que ses adversaires ne tournassent le roy contre luy ; ce quilz firent depuis. Chapitre C IX".

making the scene much less warlike: the men surrounding the king are now in civilian clothes and a messenger coming out of the town to the king has been added. The soldiers walking around in the town have completely vanished.

The moment in the *Chronique* that this woodcut is illustrating is not insignificant in respect to the French-Burgundian conflict. John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy was at the height of his power in the years between 1407 and 1413. But the episode of the Cabochien revolt turned the public opinion in the city of Paris against John the Fearless in 1413 and he was obliged to flee to the Southern Netherlands.[65] The woodcut is not very precise in its depiction – it might even have been designed originally to illustrate another episode in another book, or even various episodes. But here it marks the chasing of the Burgundians from Paris in 1413 and therefore the triumph of the Armagnacs. An early sixteenth century reader, thinking of the French-Burgundian dichotomy, could see a triumphant king of France here, even if in the autumn of 1413 this had been the forty-four year old, mad Charles VI, a plaything of his uncles and cousins, rather than the young and plucky king depicted. However, the very same year, 1413, also brought the accession to the English throne of twenty-five year old Henry V who two years later would be victorious at Agincourt.

It seems very well possible that this ambivalence is the primary reason that the only woodcut was placed at this very spot. King Henry VII of England was the first to receive a copy of the first edition, so he could see a depiction of his predecessor here. On the other hand, French potential buyers could easily adhere to a different interpretation.

Manuscripts and printed books of Monstrelet's *Chronique* were owned by several different groups. Princes and high noblemen were the most important readers. At first these were only nobles of the Low Countries, hovering around the Burgundian court, especially in the 1470s, the heyday of Burgundian bibliophily. Representatives of five of the most important families in these Burgundian court circles owned a copy of the chronicle. Then around 1500 there was a shift towards noblemen at the French court. Three important noblemen had manuscript copies and the nobles who owned copies of the first two printed editions were also French. For these noble readers the same shift

[65] Prevenier and Blockmans, *The Promised Lands*, pp. 41–42.

occurred: first Burgundy, then France. But commoners owned copies too; townsmen in France, the Low Countries and in England bought copies of the chronicle.

Vérard's books were made for an international market. Although much remains unclear and uncertain, the ownership marks, the provenance, but also the woodcut and the miniatures tell us a lot about the intended and actual public of the two Vérard editions of Monstrelet's *Chronique*. I think it is probable that the keen bookseller Antoine Vérard placed an ambivalent woodcut and had painted ambivalent frontispieces in the vellum copies on purpose. This ambivalence allowed him to convince every potential buyer to acquire his books.

Books Mentioned in Inventories

The study of surviving copies is not the only means of reconstructing the reception of a text. There are other methods, one of which is examining inventories or other archival documents in search for mentions of a text. For Monstrelet this laborious work still has to be done, but a few mentions show that this is indeed an important task to pursue. Compared to Froissart, Monstrelet's *Chronique* was a text that was produced in many non-illuminated and paper copies. This very fact means that probably more copies were lost as simple paper books have less chance of survival than illuminated parchment books.

The Burgundian ducal accounts inform us that Enguerrand de Monstrelet himself offered a copy of his work to duke Philip the Good in 1447. This is not surprising, as Monstrelet was writing the history of the Franco-Burgundian conflict and as he was in the service of the Luxembourg family, one of the most important families in the Burgundian camp. On 14 May 1447, the payment was registered in the ducal accounts:

> A Enguerran de Monstrelet, la somme de cinquante escus, du pris de xlviij gros monnoie de Flandres la piece, que mondit seigneur lui a donne[e] de grace especial pour une fois pour soy deffraier quant il est venu derrainement devers lui en la ville de Bruges et lui apporter certaines nouvelles croniques.[66]

[66] Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B 1991, f.184v. See: Jacques Paviot, 'Mentions de livres, d'auteurs, de copistes, d'enlumineurs, de miniaturistes (« historieurs ») et de libraires dans les comptes généraux du duc de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon (1419–1467)', in Frank Daelemans and Ann Kelders (eds), with the collaboration

Two decades later, the inventory drawn up in 1469, after the death of Philip the Good, mentions "Ung livre en papier de Enguerran de Monstrelet, cloz d'ais et d'une serrure, parlant des histoires de France, commançant au IIe feullet 'en Baviere fu esleuz' et au dernier 'l'eglise saint Denis' ". It is possibly the same manuscript as an item mentioned in the inventory drawn up for Maximilian of Austria twenty years later, in 1487: "ung autre grant volume couvert de cuir rouge, escript en papier, a tout deux cloans de leton et une serrure, intitulé 'Le premier livre que fit en son temps Engueran de Monterlet' commenchant ou second feullet 'homme de tout mon povoir' et finissant ou derrenier en grosse lettre 'de diverses matieres' ".[67]

The connection between the two items is far from evident. That the first words of the second folio are different seems telling enough. But this happens more than once as sometimes the third folio instead of the second one was mistakenly noted whilst the prologue was sometimes skipped. Both are described as of paper and in a binding with a lock and, moreover, these are the only two first volumes of Monstrelet described.

Another manuscript is described in 1469 as "unes autres croniques de France, couvert de cuir blanc et cloué a cloue dorez, dont le second fueillet commence 'les bastons combatans' et le darrain 'vaisseaulx en deux moz, chevaulx et', selon Engueran de Monstrelet" and again in 1487 as "ung autre grant volume couvert de cuir blancq, a deux cloans de leton doré, a fusilz et cincq boutons de leton doré sur chascun costé, intitulé 'Les cronicques de France selon Enguerant de Monstrelet', commenchant ou second feullet 'les batons combatans' et finissant ou derrenier 'non obstant son enfance et petitesse' ".[68]

Thus, Philip the Good had one copy of each of the two books of Monstrelet's original text (covering the period 1400–1444), which was

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of Annelies Op de Beeck, *Miscellanea in memoriam Pierre Cockshaw (1938–2008). Aspects de la vie culturelle dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux (XIV^{e}-XVIII^{e} siècle) / Aspecten van het culturele leven in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (14de-18de eeuw)* (Brussels, 2009), pp. 413–446, esp. 432 (no. 117); Small, *George Chastelain*, p. 104.

[67] Thomas Falmagne, Baudouin Van den Abeele (eds.), *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii: The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries, Volume V (Ducs de Bourgogne)* (Brussels, forthcoming in 2009–2010), nos. 5.417 and 8.154; Joseph Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique ou librairies des fils du roi Jean: Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens* (Paris 1830), nos. 705/1151 and 1785. See also: Georges Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris 1909), p. 436.

[68] *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii: Volume V*, nos. 5.643 and 8.122; Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique*, nos. 1413 and 1753.

the copy offered to him by the author. We have to establish that Philip the Good did not own more copies and, in particular, did not have an illuminated copy in a velvet binding. What is interesting about the inventories of the Burgundian library, is that they are quite detailed. Monstrelet's chronicle, which in 1447 was just referred to as 'certain new chronicles', is now in fact called *Chroniques de France*. It is clear that in inventories containing less detail, this title without any additional information could be concealing Monstrelet's text, but also other chronicles.

The library of the nobleman Philip of Cleves (1456–1527) contained "Trois volusmes de Monstrelet loyez en bois couvers de velours noir garniz de cloans dorez", as is indicated by the inventory drawn up in 1528.[69] It is more than likely that this concerns a manuscript, as this library contained almost only manuscripts and also because the volumes were later appropriated by Arias Montano, on behalf of King Philip II of Spain and these confiscations only involved illuminated manuscripts.

In the inventory made of the castle of Lalaing for Charles II de Lalaing (1506–1558) in 1441 two different copies are mentioned, each consisting or two volumes. The first one is mentioned as "le premier volunme Engherand de Monstrelet imprimé à Paris and Le second volunme Engherand de Monstrelet et le tierch ensemble, imprimés à Paris par Anthoine Verrard".[70] A bit further down in the list we find "le premier cronicque fait par Engherand de Monstrelet escript à la main followed by le second volunme Engherand de Monstrelet escript à la main".[71] Moreover, the same inventory mentions a "Cronicque fait par le cronicqueur de Saint-Denis conmenchant l'an 1444 et finissant l'an 71 enssievant escript a la main". In spite of the name given to this work, the stated beginning and end years suggest that it was a continuation of Monstrelet's chronicle.[72]

[69] Anne Korteweg, 'La bibliothèque de Philippe de Clèves: inventaire et manuscrits parvenus jusqu'à nous', Jelle Haemers, Céline Van Hoorebeeck, Hanno Wijsman (eds.), *Entre la ville, la noblesse et l'état. Philippe de Clèves (1456–1528), homme politique et bibliophile* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 183–221, esp. 198.

[70] Monique Mestayer, 'La bibliothèque de Charles II, comte de Lalaing, en 1541', *Les sources littéraires et leurs publics dans l'espace Bourguignon (XIV^{e} – XVI^{e} siècles). Publication du Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes*, 31 (1991), pp. 199–216, esp. 208.

[71] Mestayer, 'La bibliothèque de Charles II', p. 211.

[72] Ibid. This manuscript can be identified with BNF, fr. 20354 (see above).

The presence of two copies is not necessarily surprising. The analysis of lists of items, particularly in sixteenth-century inventories, shows that these libraries were often a mix of different book collections.[73] Still, both pairs of two volumes appear in the same part of the library, which was the family library that Charles II de Lalaing inherited from his father Charles I de Lalaing (1466–1525). The latter seems to have been quite actively collecting manuscripts as a young man.[74] But we have no clue if the handwritten Monstrelet was commissioned by him or if it was an older manuscript. In any case, it is probable that it was Charles I who acquired the mentioned printed edition from Antoine Vérard.

The first 154 items in the 1541 inventory can be considered as the family library and thus as the book collection that Charles II inherited from his father. This makes it a highly interesting collection. Charles I had been commissioning manuscripts in his early twenties, between 1485 and 1490, thus following the habits of the high nobility. But after 1490 the production of manuscripts dried up very quickly. Whereas some noblemen, like Philip of Cleves, turned to collecting secondhand manuscripts, Charles I de Lalaing, who was ten years younger, apparently had no problem in switching to collecting printed books. Of the 154 volumes in the library of this nobleman, we find 48 printed ones – one third of the collection.[75] As the compiler of the 1541 inventory has been quite precise in mentioning the editions, this collection is an extremely interesting case which needs further analysis in particular with regard to understanding how early printed books were received by the nobility.

In 1448 an inventory was drawn up in the castle of Hoogstraten that lists the books of Charles II's brother, Philippe de Lalaing (d. 1555). He was the heir and successor of his uncle Antoine de Lalaing (1480–1540), Charles I's brother.[76] In the second part of this inventory,

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[73] Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, pp. 386–406; Dirk Schoenaers and Hanno Wijsman, 'De 'librie' van Batenstein. Het boekenbezit van de Brederodes in de vijftiende en zestiende eeuw', in Elizabeth den Hartog and Hanno Wijsman (eds.), *Yolande de Lalaing († 1497), de laatste van de Brederodes op Brederode* (Haarlem, 2009), pp. 69–98.

[74] Legaré, 'Un exemplaire hainuyer'

[75] The first part (the family library part) of the 1541 inventory counts 154 items, 48 of which were printed.

[76] Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, chapter 9, section 15; Hanno Wijsman, 'De bibliotheek van het kasteel Hoogstraten in 1548 en het adellijk boekenbezit in de Bourgondische Nederlanden', *Jaarboek van het Nederlands Genootschap van Bibliofielen, N° 11 2003* (Amsterdam, 2004); 77–95; 101–104.

118 books of the 'Librarie' were listed, apparently the family library. We can assume that many of these were books that Philippe got from his uncle Antoine. For the latter there are clear signs of an interest in beautiful books, not because he has commissioned many, we do not have any data for that, but because Margaret of Austria gave him no fewer than eighteen beautiful manuscript volumes: a telling present. In this list of 118 books, we find Monstrelet's *Chronique* twice: first "2 volumes de Monstrelet, imprimez en papier et couvertz de cuir", immediately followed by "Enquerant de Monstrelet des croniques de France, en perchemin, escript à la main, couvert de bois".[77] The printed Monstrelet is again in two volumes, as the printed versions of the first four editions almost always were and still are. The manuscript concerns apparently a single volume here. It is very well possible that it relates to a one-volume abridged version, as is the case for a number of surviving manuscripts.

The parallel between the two Lalaing-inventories is striking. In both we find two Monstrelets, one manuscript and one printed version. Moreover, among the 118 books, 38 are specified as printed and 20 as manuscripts, whereas the nature of the remaining 60 remains unknown. Thus it seems that the library was just as mixed as the one inventoried in 1541.

The inventories of princely and noble libraries that have been examined, reveal two handwritten volumes (one of which was on paper) made for Philip the Good, three volumes of a luxury manuscript copy, probably written out in the late fifteenth century and owned by Philip of Cleves, two manuscript versions (one in two volumes, the other in one) in the hands of members of the Lalaing family and two two-volume printed editions in the same family, one of which concerns the first or second edition (by Antoine Vérard) and the other could be any of the first four editions. The shift of princes and nobles collecting only manuscripts to having a mixed library of handwritten and printed books can be drawn in the 1490s. The age of the collector was another important factor.

Later, in the early seventeenth century, Monstrelet was mentioned in the inventory drawn up in 1614 of the library of Charles de Croy, duke of Aarschot (1560–1612). This nobleman had a large library that included many manuscripts that he had mostly inherited. The books

[77] H.A. Enno van Gelder (ed.), *Gegevens betreffende roerend en onroerend bezit in de Nederlanden in de 16^e eeuw*, vol. I (The Hague, 1972), p. 20.

included his father's collection, but a significant part of his library was formed by the volumes of his maternal grandfather, Joris van Halewijn (Georgius Haloinus). In the inventory, which was printed as it was also used as an auction catalogue, there is an item listed as "Enguerrand de Monstrelet, des Chroniques de France, en 8 vol".[78] The eight volumes are very surprising. It probably means that the *Chronique* was simply split up in eight relatively slim volumes, but it cannot be excluded that that many continuations had been added gradually.

In 1852 Edward Van Even complained that the compiler of the inventory of Charles de Croy's books had committed the "stupidity" of mixing the manuscripts with the printed books.[79] In fact, though Van Even thought this was something that should have obviously been avoided, this was common practice in the early seventeenth century. This is a crucial point. In the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century, it was self evident that manuscripts should be kept and recorded separately from printed books. This has led to the idea that it had always been like this since the invention of the printing press in the middle of the fifteenth century. Nothing is less true, however. The printing revolution never took place. What did occur was a very gradual evolution. During a period of two centuries books were books, whether they were hand-written or printed. It is normal that a cataloguer in 1541, in 1548, and even still in 1614 mixed manuscripts and printed books, just as all cataloguers did from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth century.[80] In both case they were just books.

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[78] *Catalogus universalis seu designatio omnium librorum qui sub auctione publica bonorum mobilium quondam illustrissimi D. Ducis Croy et Archotani, Bruxellae, 19 augusti hujus anni 1614, divendi incipientur*, Bruxellae, ex officina Rutgeri Velpii et Huberti Antonii, typog. jur. 1614, in-4°, 127 p. The copy of the auction catalogue kept in Leuven University Library has burned in 1914. It has long been thought that no other existed. Recently, however, Chris Coppens has found a surviving copy in the Arenberg Archives in Enghien (Brabant) and published an analysis. See: Christian Coppens, 'A Post-Mortem Inventory Turned into a Sales Catalogue: a Screening of the Auction Catalogue of the Library of Charles Duke of Croy, Brussels 1614', *Quarendo*, 38 (2008), pp. 359–380. About the manuscripts in this inventory-catalogue see: Edward Van Even, 'Notice sur la bibliothèque de Charles de Croÿ, duc d'Aerschot', *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge*, 9 (1852), pp. 380–393; 436–451. Van Even, 'Notice sur la bibliothèque de Charles de Croÿ', p. 441 (no. 110).

[79] "Il a commis une autre sottise, pardon du mot. Il a mêlé les manuscrits avec les imprimés. Les beaux manuscrits sont confondus avec les livres ordinaires": Van Even, 'Notice sur la bibliothèque de Charles de Croÿ', p. 391. In fact, Van Even's work should be done again as it is not at all clear on which grounds he has designated certain items as manuscripts.

[80] McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, pp. 12–14. Even at the end of the seventeenth century, an important catalogue like the one of the library of

Another phenomenon linked to this is that mixed sets were formed. The manuscript of book 1 (*c.*1480) and the first printed edition of books 2 and 3 (*c.*1500), which are now kept in Darmstadt, are examples of this. Both books bear the same old shelf mark "Bibl[iotheca] Aul[ica] : Darmst. Rep. : 17 Loc"., showing that in the seventeenth-century library of the dukes of Hessen the two volumes were kept together and regarded as a unit.[81]

I have not been able to carry out a thorough search through every inventory. Doubtless, this would add new findings. But I hope to have been able to emphasise in this section that the studying of books, especially of their reception, in the period 1500–1540 and of sixteenth-century books in general, cannot be properly done without taking manuscripts into account. Sixteenth-century libraries contained books, both handwritten and printed, and did not make a fundamental distinction between them.

Conclusions

In the second half of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth, people were evidently interested Monstrelet's *Chronique*. This might simply be explained because the author had placed himself in the wake of Jean Froissart, whose *Chroniques* never ceased to be popular from the late fourteenth century onwards. People wanted to learn about their history to understand the current political situation. But there are many more interesting things to be derived from the precise data on Monstrelet's *Chronique*. It stands in many ways at a crossroads. What this case study in book history, in which both the history of manuscript and of printed books have been included, shows is that for this chronicle, that seems to have been quite widely read, the most important watershed has not been the one between manuscripts and printed copies. It lies around 1520, after which the market for this text seems to have dried up for a long time. Thus this case emphasises that

the Orange-Nassau collection, made up in 1686 by Anthonie Smets under supervision of Constantijn Huygens, still mixes manuscripts and printed books without any distinction, see: A.D. Renting and J.T.C. Renting-Kuijpers, with notes on the manuscripts by A.S. Korteweg, *The Seventeenth-Century Orange-Nassau Library: the Catalogue Compiled by Anthonie Smets in 1686, the 1749 Auction Catalogue, and other Contemporary Sources* (Utrecht 1993).

[81] Darmstadt, LHSB, 134 and V 54.

just as for 'incunabula', books printed in the first decades of the sixteenth century can only be properly studied when seen in the context of contemporary manuscript production.

Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chronique* flourished in three distinct periods. The first was in the 1470s in the Southern Netherlands, where manuscripts were produced, some illuminated on parchment, others without decoration on paper, for the elite of the Burgundian court and in the towns. The second period comprised the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Princes and high nobleman at the court of Louis XII read manuscripts and editions printed on vellum, but many paper copies were also produced. Nobles like Engelbert of Cleves, a French peer in 1505, but born in one of the most important families at the Burgundian court, could be key figures in the shift from Burgundy to France. The third period was in the 1570s when after a long period of silence several printers jointly printed large quantities of copies. Moreover, there was a remarkable period of more than half a century, between 1518 and 1572 when the chronicle no longer attracted great interest.

The key for understanding the dynamics of the writing of history is to place it in its historical context and to consider the different transitions that occur simultaneously. Looking at manuscripts and printed books together we are able to perceive how book history interacts with general history. Monstrelet's *Chronique* began as a very Burgundian phenomenon covering the years 1400–1444, before being expanded until 1467. There was significant manuscript production in the 1470s. The Burgundian-Habsburg lands were in the turmoil of war during these years, and they looked back at a golden age under Philip the Good. Monstrelet's *Chronique* covered that very period. Around 1500 a new interest was born, now no longer Burgundian but French. It is not easy to say if Vérard was following this newfound enthusiasm or creating it. An interesting feature of one of the last illuminated manuscripts, the one made for the cardinal d'Amboise, is that it was copied on the Vérard edition.

The Burgundian chronicle started a new life in a new historical context. The updates in the editions of 1512 and 1518 were organised according to the reigns of French kings. The text of the older part was unaltered, but was presented differently. After 1518 demand ceased for half a century. It is not easy to explain this sudden lack of interest. A possible explanation might be that this lull was required for the chronicle to go from being a contemporary chronicle to a history of a distant past. As we have seen, the 1512 and 1518 editions contained updates of the text, continuations that dealt with the period between 1467 and the early sixteenth century. The resulting ensemble was not very coherent. From the 1520s onwards Monstrelet was probably replaced by more topical and more elegant contemporary chronicles. In the 1570s new editions appeared, the troubled times of the French Wars of Religion brought new interest in a period now remote, but still of contemporary relevance.

To a certain extent, contemporary chronicles (as opposed to past chronicles) were seen as useful works rather than prestigious texts. As was the case for many other fifteenth-century chronicles, Monstrelet's *Chronique* was produced for a large part, especially in the first decades of its existence, on paper.[82] Many copies contained marginal notes and show signs of frequent use. It is curious that in so many of the princely and noble libraries we find illuminated copies of Froissart right from the late fourteenth century onwards, whereas after 1444 libraries tended to contain paper copies of Monstrelet. It was only several decades later that luxury volumes were produced.

After 1477, and even more so after 1482, the Burgundian lands were in crisis. The flourishing court culture, with its fashion for beautiful books and libraries, died out. Fewer manuscript copies of Monstrelet were made. Then, in around 1500 Antoine Vérard printed the text. Vérard was a keen book producer and bookseller, who sought to please his very diverse clientele. Among these were members of the English and the French Royal families, to whom Vérard offered illuminated copies on vellum of most of his editions. It is not without significance that when the first three editions of Monstrelet's *Chronique* appeared, the French throne was occupied by Louis XII. He was a grandson of Louis d'Orléans who had been assassinated in 1407, one of the main events in the rivalries of the early fifteenth century described in the chronicle. In numerous manuscript and printed copies this murder was marked with marginal remarks, as was the assassination of John the Fearless in 1419. Around 1500, Burgundian history was re-integrated to French history. A few years later in the 1512 and 1518 editions, new texts were added, continuations concerning the reigns of Kings of France. This made the re-integration complete.

[82] See: Small, *George Chastelain*, pp. 201–202; 231–244.

Analysing the writing of history can sometimes be treacherous, because of the works' bias. But book history can ask new questions and can explain how texts developed: not as much their contents, as their contexts, their production and reception. The vicissitudes of the reception of Monstrelet *Chronique* between 1450 and 1600 show this particularly very well. The history of history can reveal social and political developments.

The word 'transition' in the title of this article refers to various 'movements'. The first transition took Europe from a world that only knew handwritten books to one dominated by printed books. A second transition was the gradual move from books read by a small elite of princes and noblemen, to a larger public of townsmen. The third saw Monstrelet's *Chronique* being transformed from a Burgundian text to a French text. Finally, a contemporary chronicle became the history of a distant past.

These transitions were not necessarily all linked. For example, the fact that most manuscripts of Monstrelet's chronicle were produced in the Burgundian Southern Low Countries and all the printed books in Paris could at first sight lead to the conclusion that it was the printing press that engendered the change. This was, however, not the case. If the manuscript copies from the 1470s were Flemish, the ones produced in the years around 1500 were Parisian. The geographical shift was due to political changes and the printing press was primarily not an agent, but an effect of change.

Printing, the printing press and the printed book have long been studied from the point of view of modern history. In turning this view point to the medieval period, new insights can be gained. Eisenstein's inspiring theory boils down to the statement that it was thanks to the invention of the printing press that European society could change: that Renaissance and humanist ideas could spread, that the Reformation could persist, that the scientific revolution could take off. The problem of this point of view is that in linking everything to the advent of printing, the invention in itself becomes a chance accident.

Turning things upside down and looking for reasons why the printing press appeared on the European stage in the 1450s can teach us a lot. It seems no coincidence, that it was an invention made under the pressure of an ever increasing demand for books, especially in the decades that preceded the middle of the fifteenth century. Quantitatively-based research shows very clearly that the European book market was under enormous strain from the late fourteenth century onwards.[83] The printing press allowed the supply to meet the demand. Slow but important changes in society such as rising urbanisation, administration, personal devotion and literacy, encouraged this ever increasing demand for books. Inevitably new methods were developed to produce these books. But a book is a book, if written with a pen or printed with movable type.

[83] See: Hanno Wijsman, 'Une bataille perdue d'avance? Les manuscrits après l'introduction de l'imprimerie dans les anciens Pays-Bas', in Hanno Wijsman (ed.), with the collaboration of Ann Kelders and Susie Speakman Sutch, *Books in Transition at the Time of Philip the Fair. Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Low Countries* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 257–272.

THE 'RENAISSANCE CULTURAL CROSSROADS' CATALOGUE: A WITNESS TO THE IMPORTANCE OF TRANSLATION IN EARLY MODERN BRITAIN

Brenda M. Hosington

Nobody today would deny that translation played a crucial role in Britain between the year of the first printed book in 1473, itself an English rendering by William Caxton of the French romance, *Recueil des histoires de Troyes*, and the mid-seventeenth century. It was central to the dissemination of knowledge in all branches of intellectual and practical endeavour, as indeed it still is, and it was instrumental in the development of a native literature and the evolution of religious thought. Nor would one deny that the printing press was the indispensable tool in the production and circulation of translations in all spheres. Printers brought to England ideas first articulated on the Continent, either in the Classical languages or in various vernaculars; they imported recent Continental scholarly editions of Classical texts informed by the humanists' new philological and linguistic scholarship; and they invited older vernacular texts that had once crossed the Channel in manuscript form to make a second journey as newly printed editions begging to be newly translated. In fields as diverse as politics and poetry, physics and philosophy, numismatics and navigation, and myriad disciplines in between, books were imported and quickly turned into English prose and verse. F.O. Matthiesson opened his book on Elizabethan translations by claiming that "a study of [them] is a study of the means by which the Renaissance came to England".[1] However, although he limited his scope to what he considered great works of literature and discussed only four translators, Hoby, North, Florio and Holland, his claim can in fact be extended to cover, not just the years of Elizabeth's reign, but the whole period from early humanism to the eve of the First Civil War in 1640, and not just *belles-lettres* and major literary translators, but works in diverse fields by men and women of equally diverse backgrounds and talents.

[1] F.O. Matthiesson, *Translation, an Elizabethan Art* (Cambridge, 1931), MA, p. 3.

Scholars frequently write about how an increasingly literate public in early modern Britain avidly sought to buy books, both those written first in English and those translated from a variety of languages both ancient and modern. They also write about authors and literary movements and fashions. However, they rarely deal with the role of the whole translation movement in this effervescent and exciting period of British history, or about the manner in which translations were created and printed. While some translators have been studied and their works reassessed, we know little about so many of them. While some kinds of translation have been given much attention—English renderings of the Classics, for example, or of the Bible—others have been largely ignored. It is also true that translations into English have monopolised the field of research, whereas those into other languages, although printed in Britain, have inspired little scholarship.

Moreover, despite great strides in our knowledge of early printing, relatively little attention has been paid to the role of translation in the history of the book since the days of H.S. Bennett, who in each of his three volumes of *English Books and Readers* devoted one chapter to "Translation and translators".[2] We are still left asking many questions: How did translators and printers choose texts to translate? Which was more important in a printer's decision making, a ready supply of texts, so that printers had to translate what they had at hand, or readers' demands for specific works, which the printer procured and then had translated? What was the relationship between printer and translator? Can we see emerging in this period the profile of anything resembling a professional translator? Finally, what role does patronage play in translation? These questions need to be answered if we are to understand and appreciate how England's cultural and intellectual development, as well as its material progress, was bound up indissolubly with translation.

One reason why so much about English Renaissance translation remains in the dark is that we have lacked the tool with which to investigate the subject thoroughly, namely a complete and reliable catalogue.

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[2] H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1475–1557, English Books and Readers 1558–1603, English Books and Readers 1603–1640* (Cambridge, 1951, 1965, 1969). A recent book by Anne E.B. Coldiron discusses the rapport between translation and print in a refreshing and an original way but confines her sphere of investigation to poetic translations dealing with gender in the first ninety years of printing. See: Anne E.B. Coldiron, *English Printing, Verse Translation, and the Battle of the Sexes, 1476–1557* (Aldershot, 2009).

Bennett's so-called 'trial list' of translations into English printed between 1475 and 1560, published as Appendix II in his first volume of *English Books and Readers*, numbered over 800 works and included translators' and printers' names whenever possible. However, the 'trial list' remained just that. Perhaps heeding his complaint that it was extremely difficult to identify translations in the period, no successors took up the gauntlet of remedying the problem of omissions, correcting the admittedly few mistakes in his list, or producing a similar record for another sixteen years.

In 1967, Julia G. Ebel published an article entitled 'A Numerical Survey of Elizabethan Translations', whose purpose was to "clarify the setting in which the translations of excellence and repute appeared, and in the light of which their quality is determined", and to provide a "continuation" of Bennett's list.[3] Of course, the problem was that she did not define what she meant by 'excellence' and 'repute', or how one determines 'quality'. She did however provide tables of just over one thousand translations published between 1560 and 1603, and a graph showing how numbers rose and fell throughout the period. She also analysed the types of text represented and listed the languages involved. Hers was certainly the most ambitious and thorough investigation of translation in Renaissance England up until then, although it was nevertheless limited to one specific time span, 1560 to 1603, and only one target language, English. More disconcerting, however, was her surprising omission of biblical translation, which held pride of place in the period under discussion. She also omitted 'Almanacks, Proclamations, etc.', it not being clear what the 'etc'. included.[4] What *is* quite clear, however, is that these omissions not surprisingly skewed some of her statistical investigations, such as the percentage of printed works represented by translations. Her analysis also contains a few other omissions, as well as some inaccuracies, but it should be pointed out that she had to use as her source the 1926 Pollard and Redgrave *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*. It contained fewer, less detailed, and far less reliable entries than the greatly expanded and updated edition which appeared in 1976 (Volume II)

[3] Julia G. Ebel, 'A Numerical Survey of Elizabethan Translations', *The Library*, 5th series, vol. 22 (1967), pp. 104–127.

[4] Ibid, p. 125.

and 1986 (Volume I), edited by F.S. Ferguson, W.A. Jackson and Katharine F. Pantzer.

There had been some studies of certain aspects of the translation movement in Renaissance England, a few of which contained lists of varying importance and accuracy. Most, frankly, are rather unhelpful. One, in 1920, focused narrowly on what its author, Flora Amos, calls theory, although that is a rather ambitious term for the comments on translation scattered throughout a variety of paratexts.[5] Others, with the exception of Mary Augusta Scott's 1916 list of translations from Italian, treated exclusively Classical texts translated into English.[6] None of these works approaches the scope and quality of Ebel's study, despite its obvious shortcomings.

In the past twenty years, a greater interest in and understanding of the nature of translation have gone hand in hand with a greater enthusiasm for its history and its universal, age-old role in disseminating knowledge and broadening culture. New general histories of translation and translators have appeared, which are, however, of limited interest to Renaissance scholars because they cover too much ground to provide any detailed information.[7] Two works, on the other hand, have focused on Renaissance England, although the first is rather restrictive. *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation* includes only literary works translated into English, while Warren Boutcher's section devoted to the Renaissance, although admirably clear and informative, spans but ten pages.[8] The first two volumes of *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* will prove more useful, as together they cover medieval and early modern England up to 1660 and discuss translations of all genres and in many varied contexts. Each also has a chapter related to translation and book

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[5] Flora Amos, *Early Theories of Translation* (New York, 1920).

[6] Mary Augusta Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (Baltimore, 1895); Henrietta Palmer, *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed Before 1641* (London, 1911); C.H. Conley, *The First English Translators of the Classics* (New Haven, 1927); Henry Borrowes Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman* (Madison, 1933); R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, 1963).

[7] Henri van Hoof, *Histoire de la traduction en Occident. France, Grande-Bretagne, Allemagne, Russie, Pays-Bas* (Duculot, 1991); Michel Ballard, *De Cicéron à Benjamin. Traducteurs, traductions, réflexions* (Lille, 1992); Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth (eds.), *Translators through History* (Amsterdam, 1996).

[8] Peter France (ed.), *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation* (Oxford, 2000).

production.[9] Nevertheless, both volumes treat the various aspects of translating in synoptic fashion, which cannot give the range of materials that a catalogue would instantly provide, and they concern themselves only with translations into English. Neither the *Oxford Guide* nor the *Oxford History*, then, offers a complete picture of translation in Renaissance England, and neither responds to the kind of plea launched in 1993 by Francis Higman, in an article on early Reformation translations, for a fuller bibliographical European database and more detailed examination of translations under specifically appropriate headings.[10] As he says, there must be numerous unidentified translations waiting to be unearthed, and he singles out England as one country where this is particularly probable since so many translations there have not been identified as such. His comments could not be more apposite, not simply concerning Reformation translations, but the whole corpus of translated works in the period, regardless of genre and subject.

As for books listing or providing biographical information about the translators, there is unfortunately no English equivalent of Paul Chavy's *Traducteurs d'autrefois. Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, which is remarkably informative for France.[11] While constituting a formidable repository of new biographical information about English translators, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* seldom does justice to those figures who translated but were more than translators. In other words, many contributors give short shrift to the translating activities of their subjects. Worse yet, it also continues to omit many translators and to contain factual errors concerning others.

After surveying the field of English Renaissance translation several years ago, realising that there was no complete catalogue devoted

[9] Roger Ellis (ed.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Vol I, To 1550* (Oxford, 2008); Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings and Theo Hermans (eds.), *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume II, 1550–1660* (Oxford, 2010). For the rapport between translation and early print, see: Anne E.B. Coldiron's 'William Caxton', in vol. I, pp. 160–169; and between translation and the book trade in the whole period: Brenda M. Hosington, 'Commerce, Printing, and Patronage', in Vol. II, pp. 47–57.

[10] Francis Higman, 'Ideas for Export: Translations in the Early Refomation', in J.R. Brink and W.F. Gentrup (eds.), *Renaissance Culture in Context* (Aldershot, 1993), pp. 100–113.

[11] Paul Chavy, *Traducteurs d'autrefois. Dictionnaire des traducteurs et de la littérature traduite en ancien et moyen français (842–1600)*, 2 Vols. (Paris, 1988); Volumes I and II of *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* also contain lists of 'biographical sketches', but these pertain only to those translators mentioned in the text.

entirely to all the translations produced, and finding the secondary materials very limited, it was felt there was a great need to produce a research tool that, on the one hand, would serve scholars in all fields of Renaissance studies and, on the other, enable us to have a global grasp of the translation movement in Britain. Three factors made it opportune to embark upon such a project. Firstly, the growing perception that translation has always played a crucial role in furthering intellectual, cultural and socio-economic exchange has resulted in the development of new theoretical paradigms and the creation of university translation studies courses, while several new journals and numerous monographs dedicated to the discipline have appeared since the 1970s. Secondly, recent developments in bibliography and the web-based distribution of materials have facilitated the creation of catalogues. Databases like the British Library *Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue*, British Library *Manuscripts Catalogue*, the Consortium of European Research Libraries' *Hand Press Book Database* and, of course, the *English Short-Title Catalogue*, as well as foreign online catalogues that enable scholars to research translators' source texts, provide easily accessed information and can serve as models. Thirdly, the innovative and exciting work done in the field of print and book history over the past twenty years has given us a new and different understanding of the nature of early printed books and their production.

It follows that translations, too, considered within this framework, must be evaluated in new ways but that the first step is to compile a complete record of their existence. Studies of topics like the influence of market or ideological forces on printers' lists, the role of the printing press in religious reform, the shaping of literary tastes by printers, the biographical study of members of the book trade, or the availability of foreign texts for British printers inform our research. In turn, our catalogue findings would provide valuable data for scholars working on such subjects. Fortunately, the Leverhulme Trust agreed and provided the financial support needed to bring such a project to fruition.[12] The Centre for the Study of the Renaissance at the University of Warwick afforded the infrastructure to do so.

[12] I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Leverhulme Trust for its generous funding of the 'Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: An Analytical and Annotated Catalogue of Translations, 1473–1640' project (2007–2010). My gratitude is also due to the Bibliographical Society for the award of a major grant enabling me to conduct preliminary research for this project.

The initial step in setting up ‘The Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Analytical and Annotated Catalogue of Translations, 1473–1640’, so-named because translations constitute places where the paths of various cultures and languages meet and intersect, was to define the period being covered, choose the model, and create the entry form. Previous, exploratory research had been conducted using the second edition of *The Short-Title Catalogue* (*STC*), which covered the years 1475–1640. It was decided that we should keep these dates, although taking 1473 as the point of departure in order to reflect the new dating of England’s first printed work. For a model, however, we have turned to the online version, the *English Short-Title Catalogue* (ESTC), which provided far more information about the listed works than the *STC*. The *STC* and ESTC include all works in all languages printed in Britain and works in English printed on the Continent. We decided to follow suit with the translations. This would mark a radical departure from the usual custom of focusing uniquely on those made into English. Also, unlike most of the other works that discussed translation or provided lists of translated texts, the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue would contain translations on all subjects. As for its data entry form, we would basically reproduce that developed by the ESTC but with appropriate modifications for translations. The ESTC Director at the British Library generously allowed us to copy and paste their entry forms into our catalogue, which saved months of work and probably hundreds of typographical errors. However, changes had to be made to those forms in order to adapt the analytical and descriptive nature of the entries to our particular corpus of translations. The Humanities Research Institute at the University of Sheffield, who are responsible for putting our catalogue online, subsequently made the modifications that we decided to make in our entries. These will be seen by comparing the two entry forms provided below. The modifications will be commented on in the following order: formal and substantive changes, innovations, removal of unnecessary data, and corrections of errors, omissions and inconsistencies.

English Short Title Catalogue Entry Form

ESTC System No.
ESTC Citation No.
Author – Personal
Uniform Title

Title
Variant title
Publisher/Year
Physical descr.
Subject
General Note
Uncontrolled Note
Citation/References
Surrogates
Loc. of filmed copy
Added name
Copies – British Isles
Copies – N. America

Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Catalogue Entry Form

ESTC Citation No.
STC Citation No.
Uniform title
Title
Variant title
Publisher/Year
Year (4 digits only)
Physical description
Reference
Subject
Original Author
Translator
Intermediary Translator
Original Language
Target Language
Intermediary Language
Liminary Materials
Notes on Translation
Notes on Translator

Changes

1. We retained the *STC* hierarchal numbering system but placed the number at the top of the entry, rather than halfway down the page

under the rubric *Citation/References* as in the ESTC; this is because many users refer to works by their STC number, which should be immediately visible.

2. The subject field was retained but completely refigured because we found the ESTC subject categories, which are those of the Library of Congress, far too complex and too inconsistently entered. We now have eleven subject categories, with over ninety subcategories.
3. The ESTC 'Author – Personal' and 'Added Name' fields are also often treated inconsistently and even at times interchangeably, which leads to confusion. Either field can sometimes include the name of the translator. We therefore decided to change the first field to 'Original Author' and to remove the second.

Innovations

1. As we have just said, confusion sometimes reigns in the ESTC designations of translators. Considering that ours is a catalogue of translations in which, obviously, translators loom large, we decided to create a separate field, called simply 'Translator'.
2. The same reasoning explains our creation of a second new field called 'Intermediary Translator'. The intermediary translator provides a translation of an original text from which another translator, sometimes rather disparagingly called a 'second-hand translator', makes a new translation, usually in another language. Intermediate translators serve as a bridge between the original author and the translator of the target text entered in the catalogue. Jacques Amyot, for example, translated Plutarch into French and thus served as a bridge between the Greek author and North, his English translator, who worked from Amyot's French rendering.
3. The ESTC usually places the target language of the translation alongside the uniform title. For example, *Les evangiles des quenouilles* English. Instead of following suit, we created three new fields: Original Language, Target Language, and Intermediary Language. This will enable scholars to conduct searches on individual languages, for example, to discover the number of translations made from Spanish to English, or from Greek to Latin via French. The results will be of pertinence to research areas such as the linguistic or cultural influence exercised by individual countries.

4. Liminary materials are often indicated in the ESTC catalogue in the 'General Note' field. Instead, we have created a separate field for dedicatory materials, translators' addresses of all kinds, printers' prefatory remarks, and epilogues. This field will prove invaluable for research on translation and patronage, and translation and print networks, although it will also be useful for general studies of patronage and the history of print.
5. The ESTC 'General Note' field also sometimes contains comments on the translation, such as its authorship or any publication details of particular interest. In place of it, we have created two new fields. The first, 'Notes on the Translation', will contain similar information to that found in the ESTC, but also a very brief summary or definition of the translation, any salient points concerning its relationship to the original, any corrections of mistaken attributions, or any extremely substantive changes that take place in subsequent editions. It will not contain subjective comments on the quality or nature of the translation, such as 'faithful translation' or 'careless rendering'; nor will it include bibliographical notes since they appear in the 'Physical description' field.
6. The final new field, 'Notes on the Translator', will contain information on the translator whenever it is available. We draw on as many sources as possible and have entries of between five and ten lines in length. We do not mention his/her other translations since users will be able to find them by searching under the name in either the keyword or advanced search. The field will, we hope, provide information about many forgotten translators, identify some translators previously only known by their initials, or even identify the translators of hitherto anonymous translations.

Removal of Unnecessary ESTC Data

Our intention in creating this catalogue is to make available supplementary information about the translations printed between 1473 and 1640, provide a tool that will save scholars time in identifying them, offer new materials for studying the translation movement in Renaissance England, and facilitate research into cultural, historical, linguistic and scientific fields in the period. We do nevertheless expect that scholars will also consult the *STC* and/or ESTC before embarking on a given subject of research. For this reason, it was felt unnecessary to repeat all the information found in the ESTC entries. We chose to omit the following fields as being the least pertinent for our users: the ESTC System Number, the General Note (as explained above), the Uncontrolled Note, whose usefulness is very limited, Surrogates, which refers to Ann Arbor microfilm numbers, Location of filmed copy, related to the previous field, and Location of copies, which we eliminated on the advice of the ESTC staff, since the movement of books between institutions, libraries, and private collections makes holdings designations rather unreliable.

Corrections of Errors, Omissions and Inconsistencies

While the ESTC constitutes an invaluable updated and online version of the 1976–1986 *Short-Title Catalogue*, together with the Wing catalogue from 1641 to 1700 and the *Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*, it suffers from certain inconveniences. David McKitterick outlined these in an article on the ESTC published in 2005.[13] Most relevant for our catalogue, since it is based on the ESTC, is the difficulty of achieving accuracy in a world-wide, multi-authored computer database, with enormous shared input and no central editorial authority. Not surprisingly, factual errors and inconsistencies in data provision exist in virtually all the fields in the ESTC. There are also frequent omissions of data such as dates, uniform titles and variant titles, even when these are readily available, as well as the omission of some translations altogether. All these we correct and remedy in our catalogue, mostly silently; however, when the occasion warrants it, we discreetly signal corrections with an appropriate comment in the 'Notes in Translation' or 'Notes on Translator' fields.

Other Considerations

The project was conceived of as having three phases. In the first year, the data entry form was developed, a list of translations drawn up as a result of a previously funded project was verified, and partial data was transferred from the ESTC catalogue; this gave just over 5,500 entries.

[13] David McKitterick 'Not in STC': Opportunities and Challenges in the ESTC', *The Library*, 7th series, vol. 6, no. 2 (2005), pp. 178–194.

Information has been given above concerning the design of the entry form. Once this was completed, our attention turned to the previous list of translations, made before the existence of the ESTC and therefore based solely on the *STC*. It was essential to verify the entries, determine which titles we would retain or exclude from this corpus, and take into consideration new titles or new information from the ESTC. First and foremost, however, we had to establish criteria for including a work in the catalogue. They are as follows: (1) the work must be a translation as we define it; (2) the work can be a translation into and out of any language and on any subject but must be printed in the British Isles; (3) if the work is printed on the Continent, it must be a translation into English but can be on any subject; (4) the work must be printed before 1641. Those familiar with the *STC* will recognise the second, third and fourth criteria, which determine the inclusion of works in that catalogue; the first criterion, obviously, is of our own making.

Judging a text to be a translation is not as easy as it sounds. We decided, again, to set up a list of criteria: (1) a translation is a publication that identifies itself as such on its title-page, regardless of the proportion of translated text to original text; (2) a translation is a publication identified as such by the *STC* or ESTC, even if not so identified by the title-page or any other feature of the book, as long as more than one third of the printed text is indeed a translation; (3) a translation is a publication that we have identified as such, even if the title-page, any other feature of the work, or the *STC* or ESTC have failed to do so, as long as more than one third of the printed text is indeed a translation. As we quickly discovered, some texts nevertheless proved difficult to define as translations. These we called 'problem cases' and set aside for further study, not entering them in the catalogue. Meanwhile, we embarked upon entering specific initial data from the ESTC forms. In all, we ended up with roughly 6000 items. As in the ESTC, these include all editions, re-editions, re-issues and variants of a work.

In the second year or phase of the project, the remainder of the ESTC data that we had decided to retain was entered and some of the problem cases were solved. This brought the total to over 6,000 items. However, the major advance was the creation of a search engine, which provided both a keyword and an advanced search. The keyword search picks up any word anywhere in the catalogue. The advanced search offers three categories, all searchable at one time if so desired.

All nineteen fields (uniform title, title, variant title, ESTC Citation, STC Citation, publisher/year, year (in four digits), physical description, reference, subject, original author, translator, intermediary translator, original language, intermediary language, target language, liminary materials, notes on translation, notes on translator) can be searched as free text fields in the category choice. For example, one can enter:

1.	Category:	Author	Keyword:	Ovid
2.	Category:	Uniform title	Keyword:	Metamorphoses
3.	Category:	Year	Keyword:	1560–1620

This initial search would reveal a list of thirteen records, each one searchable by clicking on it. Four fields (subject, original language, intermediary language, target language) can be searched as controlled value fields, that is, they have dropdown menus offering refinements of the initial enquiry. For example, one can enter:

1.	Category:	Year	Keyword:	1520–1600
2.	Category:	Original language (dropdown menu)	Keyword:	Greek
3.	Category:	Target language (drop-down menu)	Keyword:	English

This search yields 257 results. If its purpose is simply to discover the extent of translation from Greek into English in a given period, the figure will suffice. If users also want to know the types of texts translated, the frequency of each type, or the actual titles of the translations, they will have to scroll down through the list (with the further option of calling up each item individually) or refine the enquiry by doing a subject search. Should they wish to know how often an intermediary translation was used in place of the original Greek text, they will change the third category to Intermediary Language. Clicking on Latin in the dropdown menu will reveal thirty-six texts, on French, ten, and on Italian, one.

In the third phase of the project, the entries were completed, notably the Liminary materials, Notes on Translation and Notes on Translation fields. Some remaining problem cases are being addressed and those works to be retained will be entered in the catalogue. We fully expect the total number of entries to be above 6,200. As stated, this number represents all the *items* entered and includes all editions, re-editions, re-issues and variants of a work. However, it is essential, both for our own statistical analysis of the corpus and for further research conducted by other scholars in various fields of Renaissance studies, to know how many actual foreign-language *works* were translated. This figure can only be obtained by making a list of the uniform titles appearing in the catalogue, a task in which we are presently engaged. We are also keeping lists of original authors and translators, which will also be extremely useful. Finally, we have written an introduction for users and launched the webpage for public use free of charge.

At several points in this essay, I have referred to what I believe is a strong link between translation and print in Renaissance Britain and have identified book and print historians, amongst others, as important potential users of this catalogue. However, what exactly is the significance of the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Catalogue* for the history of the book? As mentioned above, the connection between translation and print was first discussed by H.S. Bennett for the period 1475–1640 and then much more recently by Anne Coldiron, whose study enters into greater detail but has a narrower focus and far shorter time span, 1476 to 1557. Neither study seeks, however, to ascertain the percentage of printed translations as opposed to overall book production numbers. Ebel's 1967 article on Elizabethan translations from 1560 to 1603, on the other hand, does attempt to analyse this rapport, offering percentages and charting peaks and troughs that reflected the political or military turmoil in certain years, the preoccupation with foreign policy in others.[14] As we have said, however, her study is flawed on several accounts.

Subsequent articles discussing book production in Renaissance England have not identified translation as one its important components. This is no doubt because catalogues like the *STC* and ESTC do not tag translated texts as such, and therefore no reliable record of their existence is readily available. Without such a record, evaluation of the input represented by translation is virtually impossible. Although Maureen Bell and John Barnard provide detailed tables of the titles in the *Short-Title Catalogue* and graphs and a further table showing the Continental books included, they do not single out translations for

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[14] Ebel, 'A Numerical Survey', p. 126.

special mention.[15] It will be interesting to compare their statistics with ours, although their figures are based on items in the *STC* and are now, even in their revised form, eight years old. For example, our study, like theirs, will bring light to bear on the question of the relations between the English book trade and their Continental counterparts, but with added information about readers' exposure to foreign books and printers' comparative successes in finding translators to make these works 'speak English'.[16] Several articles in Volume III of *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* mention translations in passing but only one highlights their importance; it, however, is limited to literary texts and offers no overall analysis of their importance vis-à-vis original texts.[17] Significantly, the volume's index has no entry for translations. This is corrected in Volume IV (1557–1695), although none goes beyond referring the reader to mentions of translations embedded in discussions of other topics; again, no chapter, or even section of a chapter, is devoted entirely to translation. The Statistical Appendices do reproduce Ebel's list of translations, while providing a warning about her wobbly arithmetic in the totals for 1590 and 1592. This, however, is the only aspect challenged.[18] Finally, much has been written on the book importing trade in England. Printers relied heavily on imported books, especially in the early years of printing when presses in England were relatively few compared with those on the Continent, printing costs were high, the threat of financial failure was very real and readers' demands were ever increasing. Books that had sold well on the Continent were thus a relatively safe proposition and translations provided a quick and economically advantageous supply. Yet

[15] Maureen Bell and John Barnard, 'Provisional Count of *STC* Titles 1475–1640', *Publishing History*, vol. 31 (1992), pp. 48–63. Reworked statistical tables are published in John Barnard and D F McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book. Volume IV 1557–1695* (Cambridge, 2002): pp. 779–785.

[16] We must nevertheless remember that all present-day statistics and their applications can only be based on *extant* works. We shall never be absolutely certain as to the exact number of translations actually printed. It follows that we can but estimate their impact on the print trade and their influence on readers' tastes and book purchasing patterns.

[17] Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards, 'Literary Texts', in Lotte Hellinga and J.B.Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book. Volume III 1400–1557* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 555–575.

[18] Barnard and McKenzie, 'Provisional Count of *STC* Titles', p. 789.

there has not been, as far as I know, any study of how the business of book importing related to that of translating.

Given the shortcomings of Ebel's study, the various types of limitation demonstrated by the few studies of translation and print in England that do exist, and last but not least the near-silence of book-trade specialists concerning translated works, the time is ripe for several in-depth studies of the subject. These can only be conducted, however, once we have a specialised catalogue comprising a corpus of translated texts.

Very preliminary results yielded by our catalogue demonstrate that the numbers of translated works, like those of original ones, vary widely from decade to decade in the years 1473–1640. It remains to be seen whether the peaks and troughs are the same for both categories of text. Already evident is the fact that the overall number of translations rises steadily decade by decade, keeping pace with the increasing number of original works. The popularity of and need for translated works never waned, despite the ever-increasing wealth of English literature and greater confidence in English as a language capable of articulating theological, scientific, political and artistic concepts. In the post-incunabula period with which the present volume is concerned, the numbers of translations increased exponentially, as of course did book production generally. Remembering that the following figures are rather premature and that they include all re-editions and re-issues, we nevertheless ascertain that they increased as follows: for 1473–1515, 173; for 1516–1557, 1021; for 1558–1599, 2196; for 1600–1640, 2912. In other words, as the book triumphed in this period, so did translation.

There is also a broadening of subject matter as the period advances, from essentially religion, morality, romance, and the occasional Classical text of the incunabular period to all branches of knowledge: history, geography, philosophy, politics, mathematics, the arts, travel, practical manuals for everyday living, professional and lay works of medicine and science, law books and, of course, schoolbooks. A similar broadening occurs in the number of languages used, with translation from Latin and French, the basic linguistic stays of the early printer and translator, to Greek, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, German and another twelve languages. As English increases in status throughout the period, while the Classical languages are better understood and new vernaculars hail from beyond the borders of France and Italy, translators display greater confidence, expressed in an increasing number of paratexts and, together with printers, cast their net more widely for foreign texts.

There are a number of re-translations, too, for as translating techniques—and fashions—change in the period, so there are new renderings of old texts. Similarly, the printers adopted new techniques for selling books of all sorts, including translations. One such ploy in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, for example, was to sell books by subscription, including polyglot Bibles and language manuals containing some translation.[19] Lastly, we must not forget translations into English published on the Continent between 1565 and 1640, many by recusant presses in France and the Low Countries, which increased greatly in number throughout that period.

To conclude, it would be fair to say that translation, by the end of the period under discussion, had moved from being confined to the court and universities, a few printers and authors, and a limited number of subjects and languages, to a wider world of cultural values that translators, printers and booksellers opened up for an ever-expanding readership. Thus the history of translation is intimately bound up with the history of the book and translated works certainly contributed their share to what indeed might be called the triumph of print. As for the expression sometimes used to describe the history of the book in this period, namely the 'golden age of print', it is particularly apposite for a study of translation; the later years, in particular, of the Renaissance have always been called the 'golden age of English translating'. The goal of the Renaissance Cultural Crossroads catalogue is to burnish that gold by providing scholars with access to the largely unknown treasure trove of early modern Britain's translations.

[19] For a discussion of these publishing ploys and translation, see: Hosington, 'Commerce, Printing, and Patronage'

BETWEEN BASEL AND ZURICH: HUMANIST RIVALRIES AND THE WORKS OF SEBASTIAN MÜNSTER[1]

Matthew McLean

A resident in the city of Basel in the 1520s, Erasmus described the first florescence of its scholarly world so: "They all know Latin, they all know Greek, most of them know Hebrew too; one is an expert historian, another an experienced theologian; one is skilled in mathematics, one a keen antiquary, another a jurist… I have certainly never before had the fortune to live in such gifted company. And to say nothing of that, how open-hearted they are, how well they get on together! You would say that they only had one soul".[2] This depiction of the scholarly diversity and harmonious collaboration of his circle in the city of Basel and, by extension, of the wider *respublica litterarum*, has been potent and enduring. Within and beyond the Swiss Confederation, the City on the Rhine was perceived as both the beacon and the epicentre, of latitudinarian government and a tolerant intellectual climate, and of a web of scholars who sought still to communicate and cooperate across the breaches and barriers thrown up by the tectonic remaking of the political and religious topography of western Europe. Basel embodied, it seemed, what Werner Kaegi has termed the "continuity of humanist ideals in the age of confessionalisation".[3]

Such continuities should not be surprising: the world of Swiss humanism was bound together by established friendships, student-teacher relationships, collaborations, maintained through a prolific exchange of correspondence and refreshed by the movement of scholars and students between cities and institutions. Between the scholarly hubs of Basel and Zurich these connective sinews were especially

[1] This paper draws in part upon the on-going research of the AHRC Protestant Latin Bible Project, of which more details can be found at: www.st-andrews .ac.uk/~plbible.

[2] The quotation is taken from a letter of February 1516 to Johannes Sapidus of Schlettstadt. The translation is that of Hans R. Guggisburg, from his *Basel in the Sixteenth Century: Aspects of the city republic before, during and after the Reformation* (St Louis, 1982).

[3] Werner Kaegi, *Humanistische Kontinuität* (Basel, 1954), p. 12.

strong: their respective sodalities were linked by friendships, literary collaborations, debts of gratitude for assistance, encouragement, support. However, between the years of 1535 and 1547, there arose a series of controversies between these two centres of Swiss humanism, each occurring at the point where one might suppose the cause and occasion for cooperation, that harmony to which Erasmus offers his encomium, should be at its most strong. These controversies were caused by the overlapping production of two remarkable new Latin translations of the Bible, by the contested right to publish an edition of the Koran, and by two great topographical-historical works which, by virtue of the infelicitous timing of their publication, saw a species of humanist literature intended to unify and celebrate printed instead as rivals, in embittered and suspicious circumstances.

Into their fracture these publications drew the most renowned scholars of Zurich and Basel, generating friction and intrigue between friends, and throwing into relief contrasting scholarly approaches and confessional perspectives, while illustrating how far Kaegi's "continuity of humanist ideals" could withstand the pressure of commercial exigencies, and the imperatives of giving definition and fortification to a fledgling Church. Here, the limits of humanist confraternity and the potent influence of the print houses upon the culture and scholarship of the *respublica litterarum* are quite visible: even in the most intimate and mutually-indebted of its communities – the Christian Hebraist 'community of the competent' – discord was sown.[4] Intimately involved in each dispute, either as author or authority, were Sebastian Münster and Konrad Pellikan, professors of Hebrew at Basel and Zurich respectively.

The Latin Bibles of 1534/5, 1539 and 1543

In their efforts to produce a Latin Bible, translated anew and in its entirety from the Hebrew, one might expect the scholars of Zurich and Basel to be able to work harmoniously and in collusion when necessary. Both cities were at this point Reformed: neither, it may be

[4] The phrase is that of Professor Stephen Burnett, in 'Reassessing the "Basel-Wittenberg Conflict": Dimensions of Reformation-Era Discussion of Hebrew Scholarship', in Coudert and Shoulson (eds.), *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, 2004), p. 182.

supposed, would mourn the overthrow of the Vulgate. The scholars engaged upon the work all belonged to that smallest of scholarly communities – Christian Hebraists – and while some had earned greater renown than others, all had shared teachers, shared debts of learning, all depended on the same thin body of literature, and were personally acquainted with one another. All knew the suspicion which their expertise could bring upon them. All, furthermore, were mindful of the exacting task which they had set themselves, a project so demanding that when Jakob Ceporin and Leo Jud died before its completion, their colleagues attributed the cause to overwork.[5] These Latin Bibles should then be an occasion for Professor Burnett's 'community of the competent' to show support, each of the other.

At a time when skilled Hebraists were painfully thin of the ground, the Zurich Church was remarkably fortunate. If we consider that there were 25 professors of Hebrew in Louvain and German universities to 1535, and a further 8 scholars who were authors or editors of Hebrew texts (1505–1535), then the ability of the Zurich *sodalitas* to call upon Jakob Ceporin (d. 1525), and then his replacement Konrad Pellikan, Leo Jud, and Theodore Bibliander suggests quite uncommon good fortune.[6] They were further fortunate in that they approached their task at a moment when a growing body of literature intended for Jewish readers had been made available to the Christian Hebraists, and as their own grammars and lexicons were improving in number and quantity.[7] They also had a clear mandate for accomplishing their task: Zwingli had taught that mastery of the Biblical languages set the true Church apart from the false; they were both the mark of the true ministry, and the basis for the foundation of the *Prophezei*.[8] Whereas in other centres of Protestant learning, the castigation of the Vulgate might seem sufficient, Zwingli's distinctive theological emphasis saw a new Latin translation of the Bible from the Hebrew become a profound imperative.

[5] See especially Heinrich Bullinger's introduction to the Zurich Bible (1543) in which Leo Jud's exertion on the text is presented as the translator literally working himself to death: a 'saintly' act of self-sacrifice.

[6] Burnett lists these scholars along with their teachers and institutions: Burnett, 'Basel-Wittenberg', p. 183.

[7] Ibid., pp. 184–185; 187.

[8] Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester, 2002), p. 233. See also: Iren L. Snavely, 'Zwingli, Froschauer and the Word of God in Print', *Journal of Religious and Theological Studies*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (2000), p. 74.

It was Münster who would publish his Latin Bible first, however. In Sebastian Münster the printers of Basel had the most prolific author of Christian Hebraica of his day, and also one of the most significant.[9] Between graduating from Pellikan's tutelage and before the publication of his *Biblia Hebraica* (1534/5) Münster had written or edited four Hebrew or Chaldaic dictionaries, eight grammars, four individual books of the Bible and eight editions of rabbinic Biblical or linguistic scholarship, variously for the Froben and Petri printing houses. Münster had been drawn to Basel in the wake of Conrad Pellikan in 1529, wanting to extend his scholarly and publishing interests without the constraints of the Franciscan order to which he had belonged. Pellikan had already left Basel for Zurich in 1525, but there was no question of Münster moving on again: a post had been obtained for him at Basel University in order to allow him to leave his order and so to 'win him for the Reformation'; its procurement had not been easy and its like could not be found in Zurich.[10] Furthermore, the Basel printers recognised in Münster a rare asset: he not only published prolifically, but also made available editorial expertise in a range of disciplines: languages and mathematics, cartography and history. The Petri family brought Münster inextricably into their fold; they found him a house, a wife, guaranteed him a level of standing in Basel which even the rectorship of the university could not – and they found him *work*.[11]

Münster's Hebrew Bible was first printed in Basel in 1534/5 as a collaboration between the Petri, Isingrin and Bebel printing businesses.[12] Its two folio volumes placed the text of the Old Testament in Hebrew

[9] To Münster 67 Hebrew books printed in Germany and the Louvain can be attributed, either as author or editor. Johannes Reuchlin and Johannes Boeschenstein follow him, with a total of 14 each. Pellikan is next on the list with 13; Burnett, 'Basel-Wittenberg', p. 187.

[10] See Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster: Versuch eines Biographischen Gesamtbildes* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1963), p. 54; Matthew McLean, *Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster* (Ashgate, 2007), p. 32.

[11] Anna Selber, Münster's wife from 1530 was Adam Petri's widow. He was granted the freedom of the city in 1535; his status as burgher came more as result of his services to the town's printers than to its University. His work for the printers also secured his passage into the *Hausgenossen* guild, and the privileges and exemptions which came with it. Münster was Rector 1547–1548, and held the professorship of Theology 1542–1544, both posts reluctantly. The professorship of Hebrew he held continuously, 1529–1552, until the year of his death.

[12] The work was produced *ex officina* Heinrich Bebel, but *impendiis* – at the cost – of Isingrin and Petri.

alongside Münster's completely new Latin translation in parallel columns; each book of the Bible was prefaced by a Latin introduction and each chapter followed by a Latin commentary.[13] Completing a translation of this scale was a remarkable scholarly achievement in itself, however, Münster's ambition had been still greater. The specific character of the translation, and the sources and nature of its commentary made it a work of peerless utility to the theologian, but they also kindled controversy and were the occasion of discord between the sodalities of Zurich and Basel.

The preface to Münster's Bible explains to the reader why he felt it necessary to print this new translation of the Bible. The Vulgate, he asserted, contained many 'intolerable' errors which needed to be corrected; indeed, in places, rather than translating it 'merely summarises'. Münster's intention is to translate the scriptures into Latin in a manner which remains as faithful as possible to the character of the Hebrew, to its structure and to its idioms of speech. Rendering 'word for word', inserting clarifying words in parentheses as needed, his approach would necessarily violate the humanist canons of Latin style: Münster, however, states that this is to be preferred to deviating from the proper meaning of the Holy Scriptures.[14] His Bible is not intended to delight students of Latin, rather to be of service in the business which was his concern: teaching the Hebrew language to Christians, to fashioning the next generation of theologians and disputants, properly versed in the sacred languages.[15] Moreover, according to his method, the Latin text would conform to the spirit and mind of the Hebrew-speaking peoples of ancient Israel, and convey that character to the Christian reader.

Equally uncompromising in approach were his commentaries and further scholarly apparatus. In a section of the preface subtitled 'Hebrew commentaries are not to be condemned', Münster defended his decision to offer the reader the largely uncensored fruits of his

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[13] *EN TIBI LECTOR HEBRAICA BIBLIA LATINA PLANEQVE NOVA SEBAST. MVNSTERI tralatione,… adiectis insuper è Rabinorum cōmentarijs annotationibus…* (Basel, Heinrich Bebel, Michael Isingrin and Heinrich Petri, 1534/5).

[14] Harm to the *puritas sermoni latini* is preferable to harm to the *proprietas sensus scripturae*.

[15] Stephen Burnett, 'A dialogue of the Deaf: Hebrew Pedagogy and Anti-Jewish Polemic in Sebastian Münster's Messiahs of the Christians and the Jews (1529/39)', *Archive for Reformation History*, 91 (2000), p. 183. In a letter of 1560, August Blaurer states his intention to learn Hebrew using Münster's Bible.

reading of rabbinic scholarship.[16] Drawing upon Rashi, Kimchi, Ibn Esra and a range of other Jewish biblical commentators, Münster presented the reader with multiple possible interpretations of the text, often quoting the Jewish exegetes directly. Münster knew that by doing so he courted censure, and sought to deflect criticism by noting that Jerome himself had made use of the best Jewish teachers available to him; had he Münster's resources, he would have done as Münster did. The Rabbinic scholarship which Münster was bringing to print and into wide circulation was of no danger to true Christians, he asserted, he would place everything before the reader, and allow him to judge. Münster's intention was to serve the needs of theologians with his translation and by making accessible Jewish scholarship; he did not view theological interpretation to be his own job, any more than the crafting of stylistic elegancies.

In 1539 Zurich produced its first Latin Bible, ten years after it had published its own German Bible.[17] In his *Chronikon*, Pellikan notes that while the scriptures in German were properly to be used to *teach* 'our Church', its *defence* would require the greater theological precision and universality of a Latin Bible.[18] Mindful of the disputes and controversies in which the Zurich Church found itself, and also of Zwingli's emphasis on the demonstrable mastery of the Biblical languages, Bullinger and Pellikan sought for a way to produce in Zurich a Bible in Latin which would fit the needs of the Church. They required a version of the Bible which conferred antiquity and authority upon their preachers and disputants and upon the Zurich theology which they championed: its linguistic scholarship needed to be manifest, and manifestly superior; it needed to establish a textual lineage which antedated Jerome; it needed go beyond the revisions and cosmetic tinkering to which the Vulgate had been subjected by the Lutheran scholars. A wholly new translation made from the original sacred languages was required. In 1539 it seemed that this could be accomplished at a stroke by pairing Erasmus' 1516 New Testament, which was based on the

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16 "*Hebraeorum commentarij non contemnendi*"; See also Erwin Rosenthal, 'Sebastian Muenster's Knowledge and Use of Jewish Exegesis', in Epstein, Levine and Roth (eds.), *Essays in Honour of J.H. Hertz* (London, 1942).

17 On the Zurich German Bible: Snavely, 'Word of God', pp. 75–78; Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, pp. 241–242; Jean-Francois Gilmont (ed.), *The Reformation and the Book*, transl. by Karin Maag (Ashgate, 1998), p. 71.

18 Bernhard Riggenbach (ed.), *Das Chronikon des Konrad Pellikan* (Basel, 1877), p. 136.

Greek manuscripts available in Basel, and the Old Testament of Pellikan's student, Sebastian Münster, which he had recently completed, and which was based upon the Hebrew.

To Bullinger and Pellikan, reproducing Münster's Hebrew Bible initially seemed a good idea, and Münster himself seemed delighted by this mark of esteem, writing a letter of fulsome thanks to Bullinger for the praise which his translation had received in the preface written by the Zurich Antistes.[19] The scholarly compliment was, however, lost upon the Basel printers Heinrich Petri and Michael Isingrin, who had underwritten the cost of the production of Münster's Bible in 1534/5. They emphatically opposed the republication of Münster's Bible in Zurich: the book and the services of Münster were assets to be protected from competitors.[20] Certainly they were mindful of the market for future editions (a slightly expanded version of the Bible did appear in 1546), but also of the need to keep this productive scholar from moving into another orbit. The vexation Pellikan felt at this impediment to the plans of the Zurich Church is expressed in an entry in his *Chronikon*, where he writes of Münster's desire to work on the Zurich edition being prevented by the 'hatred' of the 'chalcographers', Petri and Isingrin, against Froschauer.[21]

The Zurich Latin Bible of 1539 did use Münster's translation from the Hebrew; to emolliate the wrath of Petri and Isingrin, however, the translation appeared without the column containing the Hebrew text, without Münster's annotations, his prefaces or his commentaries on the rabbinical exegesis. Stripped awkwardly of its scholarly apparatus, and without the possibility of comparing the Latin to the Hebrew, Münster's translation no longer fulfilled its intended design. Furthermore, without the accompanying explanations, its language seemed unacceptably poor, especially when paired with the New Testament of Erasmus. Bullinger acknowledges these omissions in his preface to the Bible, but does not attempt justify them, praising instead the attributes with which Münster had approached the text: 'faith, diligence and toil'. The 1539 Bible received harsh criticism from contemporaries, and plainly satisfied neither Münster's scholarly intentions,

[19] The letter of April 1539 appears in Professor Burmeister's edited collection of Münster's correspondence: Karl Burmeister, *Briefe Sebastian Münsters, Lateinish und Deutsch* (Frankfurt am Main, 1964).

[20] Burmeister, *Gesamtbildes*, p. 93.

[21] *Chronikon*, pp. 138–139.

nor, as would become clear, the more practical purposes of the leaders of the Zurich Church.[22] It attracted criticism for its style, and suspicion for its use of Hebraic idioms; and it did so without the defence of being of service to theologians or to students of the language, for, without the scholarly apparatus, it was plainly neither.

When the Zurich Church produced its second Latin Bible in 1543, Münster's translation was dropped, a slight to which, coming as it did from Pellikan, Münster could only pen the most anaemic of reproaches.[23] Although a comparison of the two translations makes it plain that Münster's text – and annotations – were being closely consulted, the new Latin translation of 1543 was no cosmetic exercise.[24] This was the Hebrew Bible translated anew, in full accord with the spirit and the theology of the Zurich Church, a serious attempt to create a text fit for both ministry and controversy. Although the Bible represents the collegiate approach and collective work of the Zurich scholars, almost an outgrowth of the *Prophezei*, it is presented by Bullinger as overwhelmingly the work of Leo Jud, whom he depicts in his preface as an ideal translator, explicitly cast in the model of Jerome, and one whose health – and then life – were sacrificed to the work of translation.[25] Nonetheless, it should be remembered that the 1543 Latin Bible was an enterprise upon which many minds were bent, and those of Bullinger and Pellikan not least, the former supplying the prefaces and the latter the annotations to the text. The Bible first appeared from Froschauer's press in 1543 as a folio, and, in 1544, it was immediately reprinted in quarto and octavo formats: clearly it was never intended that this translation should reside only in the studies of theologians.[26]

[22] For example, the criticism of Sisto of Sienna: Burmeister, *Gesamtbildes*, p. 96.

[23] Letter of February 1545 to Pellikan. See also: Ibid., p. 93.

[24] Münster is 'air brushed' out of the 1543 Bible, and, from this date, no longer appears in Pellikan's *Chronikon*. It seems that henceforth the Zurich sodality saw Münster as having little utility, being caught in the orbit of the Basel printers, and outside the Zurich approach which informed all aspects of their work. The *respublica litterarum* no longer worked in the way Münster at least understood it.

[25] Bullinger's preface to the 1543 Zurich Bible. After Jud's death, the work was completed by Gwalther.

[26] The 1543 translation was adopted by Estienne for versions of the Bible in 1545 – where it was presented in parallel columns alongside the Vulgate – and in 1560. The text again appeared in an edition of 1584 in Salamanca: unlike the Münster, Tremellius and Castellio versions, Jud's Latin translation escaped the Index. Pellikan wrote to Calvin about Estienne's Bible, curious about the form it would take: Gilmont, *Calvin*, p. 232. Compare Pellikan's *Chronikon*, pp. 179–180.

Although Bullinger's preface is at pains to stress that the 1543 Bible took the Hebrew *Urtext* as its source, this is a translation which retreats decisively from Münster's close engagement with the idioms of the Hebrew language and with rabbinic scholarship.[27] Published in the same year that Luther scathingly remarked that the translations of Pagninus and Münster were more 'rabbinical' than Christian, the Zurich Bible clearly sought to stand aloof from at least that field of conflict.[28] Pellikan himself had reservations about the utility of Jewish scholarship to Christians, and felt that if there were in the Vulgate flaws which needed correction, in doing so Münster had produced a translation which was 'too Hebrew' in its character.[29] Instead, Bullinger announced that 'clarity and simplicity of language' was the intention, and Jud explained that, while maintaining fidelity to the Hebrew, he had employed idiomatic Latin, some ecclesiastical words excepted.[30] His translation would be attentive to religion rather than the mechanics of language, preferring concise sentences to long complex ones, employing paraphrase where necessary, and accepting that eloquence, although far from an imperative when dealing with Sacred Literature, ought not to be avoided either.[31]

Jud's main concerns were that the translation should achieve clarity and authority. He had been the public face of the *Prophezei*, its summariser, and now had been required to render the Bible into language which was not only pastorally appropriate and fit for the needs of disputation, but which resonated with the theology of Zurich and the culture of its scholarship.[32] It was shaped by Zwingli's emphasis on the original Biblical languages, and by the communal approach of the *Prophezei*, the Zurich sodality working in concord. It was also shaped by the experience of theological controversy with the Roman Church, with Wittenberg and with the radical churches; it sought to be coherent and consistent establishing and revisiting key terms and expressions throughout.[33] Its language was accented by the pastoral and theological emphasis of their Church; it sought to place stress upon the renewal of community alongside individual, the absolute sovereignty

[27] See Bullinger's preface to the 1543 Zurich Bible.
[28] Burnett, 'Reassessing the "Basel-Wittenberg Conflict"', p. 182.
[29] Ibid., p. 194.
[30] Bullinger and Jud, Preface to 1543 Zurich Bible.
[31] Preface to the 1543 Zürich Bible.
[32] On Jud and the Prophezei: Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, p. 233.
[33] Ibid., p. 231; and compare the circumstances of the Zürich German Bible, p. 243.

of God and the prophetic nature of the ministry. It strove consciously for the linguistic authority and directness of the Vulgate; the figure of Jerome is a dominant one in the preface, and it is apparent that the scholars of Zurich were exerting themselves to attain a Bible which could speak for their Church with the same simplicity and power.

Conflict between Basel and Zurich arose over the ownership of the 1534/5 Hebrew Bible, a clash between the commercial imperatives of Basel's printers and the theological-political exigencies of the leaders and scholars of the Zurich Church. Less visible, but more significant, were the starkly opposed approaches of the Münster's Bible and that produced by the Zurich scholars. Bullinger, Pellikan and Jud sought forcefully to advance one clear interpretation of the text, and adhere to the same interpretation wherever it arose: the purpose of translation was to render a 'single simple sense'.[34] Münster sought to place a faithful representation of the Hebrew before the reader, and to make the interpretations of the rabbinic commentaries accessible to the reader, even where they were several, or unclear in meaning. The purpose of translation was to reproduce language faithfully, word-for-word. These were profoundly different philosophies of translation, and profoundly different in the expectations of the uses to which they would be put. Münster's Bible represents the desire for the open propagation of hard-won philological and exegetical knowledge, while the Zurich Bible of 1543 accomplished what that of 1539 failed to do: it asserted the theology and the culture of the Zurich Church to the wider Christian world with clarity and authority.[35]

The Alcoran

A second controversy which involved the same sodalities of scholars and printers occurred at the time of the publication of the Zurich Bible; curiously, several of the players seem to have been cast starkly against type. The central figure in this drama was Theodore Bibliander, who

[34] See Burnett, 'Reassessing the "Basel-Wittenberg Conflict"', for a full overview of this debate as it occurred between the scholars of Wittenberg and Basel.

[35] Münster's Bible was reprinted in 1546, and continued to be consulted by scholars for generations; indeed the linguistic rabbinisms, so despised by Luther, received the approval of the Hebraists of the next century. Burmeister, *Gesamtbildes*, pp. 96–97. The Zurich translation served its purpose, in time giving way to the Tremellius/Beza pairing of Old and New Testaments.

had been involved with the 1543 Bible, was another student of Pellikan's and, following Zwingli's death in 1531, held the chair of professor of the Old Testament in Zurich. Bibliander had resolved to bring to print a Latin translation of the Koran, and in this he enjoyed the support of the Zurich sodality, the Basel *Antistes* Myconius and the recently-created printing house of Oporinus. He was however staunchly opposed by the established printers of Basel, the influential jurist and patron of learning Boniface Amerbach and, unsurprisingly therefore, a significant proportion of the Basel scholars.[36] Most of the arguments advanced in defence of Bibliander's project were of martial tone and confrontational in spirit. There was a need refute the teachings of Islam in 'open combat'; in the context of Turkish assaults upon Europe and the alarming occurrence of a Christian-Turkish alliance, there was an urgent need for practical knowledge which could halt the advance of Islam, and begin the work of reconquest.[37] Myconius argued that it was precisely the very dangerous, heretical nature of the ideas within the Koran which made its study imperative.[38] Pellikan drew a comparison with his disputations with the Jews: a Latin version of the text would provide the foundation for such disputation, as had his work with the Hebrew Bible and Rabbinic scholars.[39]

Bibliander himself wrote in a similar vein, although his thought lingered less upon the battlefield, and more upon the possibility of missionary activity. Bibliander has been described as a 'black sheep' within the Zurich fold, Erasmian in sentiment, and ultimately regarded with suspicion in Geneva, both for his opposition in the Bolsec and Servetus affairs, and for a religious outlook which appeared questionably 'universalist'.[40] He argued that the proper study of the Koran would lead to a clear definition of its heresies, and thus would end the 'great division

[36] On these factions, Harmut Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Stuttgart, 1995). Harmut Bobzin, 'A Treasury of Heresies', in Stefan Wild (ed.), *The Qur'an as Text*, (Leiden, 1996). Harry Clark, 'The Publication of the Koran in Latin. A Reformation Dilemma', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XV No. 1 (1984), pp. 3–12; Thomas E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom 1140–1560* (Philadelphia, 2007).

[37] Franco-Ottoman alliance also created in the year 1543. Clark, 'Koran', p. 3; Bobzin, 'Treasury', pp. 162–163. Such sentiments stood in the tradition of the genre of '*Turkenbuchlein*': Clark, 'Koran', p. 4.

[38] Bobzin, 'Treasury', p. 162.

[39] Clark, 'Koran', p. 10.

[40] Victor Segesvary, *Etude sur l'attitude des Réformatuers Zurichois envers l'Islam 1510–1550* (La Haye, 2005), p. xvii–xviii; Gilmont, *Reformation and the Book*, p. 256; Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, p. 179.

of Christians' which he believed was gaining momentum.[41] He saw the Turk as especially dangerous because when they waged a war they did so both through empire and religion; study of their sacred texts was necessary not only to resist this diabolical threat, but also to facilitate missionary work to the Moslems – to begin their conversion to Christianity.[42] While he received the backing of the Zurich sodality, Bibliander seems, in many respects, a displaced Basilean in outlook.[43]

The printing of the Latin Koran was well underway at the *Officina Oporiniana* in 1542, when the group opposing its publication protested to the council that this wicked and dangerous text should not be printed and permitted to circulate among Christians.[44] The book was confiscated by the council after consulting several 'authorities' within the city: laws of 1524 and 1531 obliged printers to have manuscripts pass inspection before they might be printed, and they must be published with the name of a printer. Although printers found these rules inimical to business and frequently ignored them without consequence, however, on this occasion Oporinus had been denounced and caught in breach of the law. When Oporinus ignored an order to cease work on the book, the material already printed was impounded, he was briefly incarcerated and a six-month inquiry launched; many anxious letters were exchanged between Zurich, Basel and the wider scholarly world during this period as the magistracy, who, as Oporinus wrote, 'are afraid that if so pestiferous a book be published the sky will fall' tried to reach a decision.[45]

A letter from Martin Luther in favour of the publication broke the deadlock, and printing was allowed to resume.[46] The text which Oporinus placed on the market in 1543 took elaborate, extraordinary pains to ensure that the 'pestiferous' Latin Koran was quarantined by a phalanx of Christian tracts. Three volumes in one binding, Bibliander's *Alcoran* printed Robert of Ketton's translation alongside an exhaustive stable of polemical commentaries, anti-Islamic apologia, confutations,

[41] Lucia Felici, 'L'Islam in Europa. L'edizione del Corano di Theodor Bibliander (1543)' in *Cromohs*, 12 (2007), pp. 7–9.
[42] Clark, 'Koran', pp. 6–7; Bobzin, *Der Koran*, p. 179.
[43] As he was in fact: Bibliander had studied at Basel 1525–1529 under Pellikan and Oecolampadius.
[44] Clark, 'Koran', pp. 9–12.
[45] Letter of Oporinus '*ad Tigurinos*', August 24, 1542, a general letter to his friends seeking support.
[46] In October 1542; Clark, 'Koran', p. 10.

practical indices, ethnological descriptions and theological excoriations, all designed to leave the reader in no doubt of the absurdity and depravity of the text. Luther supplied an admonition to the reader, Bibliander a justification for the volume to which were added some further 24 tracts of greater or lesser length, penned by greater or lesser authors. However, this publication ought not to be seen merely as an anthology of warmed-over anti-Turkish angst: Bibliander had succeeded in bringing the text of the Koran to the wider Latin-reading public, and his preface offers a reading of that text which had been more subtly shaped by his convictions as a humanist scholar and Zurich reformer.[47] While the notion that Islam is warlike, brutal and brutalising, is not directly dispelled, Bibliander is also able to use his commentary on the text to reproach Christian society in general, and, adopting a Zwinglian accent, chastise Catholics and Anabaptists in particular. As befits Bibliander's distinction as a scholar of languages, his commentary has serious philological concerns, and constitutes an 'energetic encounter with its textual problems', one which considers multiple interpretations and is quite at odds with polemic in its approach.[48] Also striking are his efforts to catalogue the parallels between the Koran and Christian and Jewish texts, again in a manner better suited to missionary writings than to polemic.

Of the party who had opposed the publication of the Koran, then, it is the contribution of Sebastian Münster which is the most problematic.[49] Wyssenberger and Amerbach seem to have been sincere both on their belief that the Koran offered nothing of utility to the Christian reader, while presenting a very real danger to Basel in a legal and commercial sense. Wyssenberger argued that the city of Basel would be reviled if it printed so dangerous a text, while Amerbach cited the Koran's burning in Rome and repeated Imperial bans making its publication a political and legal hazard.[50] The terms under which the council ultimately allowed Oporinus to proceed suggest that there was nothing disingenuous about these concerns.[51] Münster's objections,

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[47] See: Burman, *Qur'ān*, pp. 111–113.

[48] Ibid., p. 113.

[49] An interesting aside to this is an argument which considers the sides taken in the Koran debate as being a continuation of the parties formed in the 1539 doctorates debate within the Basel University: Wyssenberger had been the only preacher to accept a degree during that conflict. Clark, 'Koran', p. 8.

[50] Bobzin, 'Treasury', p. 163; Clark, 'Koran', p. 10; Segesvary, *L'Islam*, p. viii.

[51] Clark, 'Koran', p. 12.

on the other hand, do not ring true. His pronouncement during the controversy was that in the Koran there was nothing worth reading – 'there is no truth in the Koran' – and that, as only the very learned *need* study it, and only the very pious *ought* to study it, printing the Koran for wide circulation was therefore wholly inopportune and unnecessary.[52] The first surprising thing about this was that it required Münster to place himself in opposition to the Zurich sodality and Pellikan in particular with a bluntness which he had been unable to manage, even when his Bible translation was cast aside. Münster's correspondence gives evidence of how difficult Münster found taking the contrary position to Pellikan, and the accusations of 'perfidy' which he felt had been directed towards him.[53]

Secondly, Münster's alignment in the Koran dispute is inconsistent with the approach he took, and the arguments he made, in other areas of his career. The 1534/5 Hebrew Bible, as has been described, offered a Latin translation which, controversially, sought to preserve the linguistic idioms of the Hebrew and also to present to the reader multiple interpretations of the text taken from the rabbinic commentaries: material which Luther argued was not suitable for general publication.[54] Münster, like Pellikan before him, had published missionary tracts whose ostensible purpose was to prove the messiahship of Christ and effect the conversion of the Jews to Christianity by the refutation of their doctrines using their own languages and texts.[55] These works, which had been printed in Basel in 1537 and 1539 were in harmony with the intentions and methods articulated by Bibliander in the preface to his *Alcoran*. Pellikan had argued that it was necessary to know the Koran and reply to it; in his work on the Hebrew language, and on the Rabbinical scholarship, Münster's had exerted himself to do just this, and to bring the fruits of his work to print to the profit of all Christian scholars.

[52] Bobzin, 'Treasury', p 163; Burmeister, *Gesamtbildes*, pp. 100–101.

[53] Letter to Pellikan, 21 Nov 1543.

[54] Later reversing his stance when the *Alcoran* was at issue. It was Luther's letter the Basel council which tipped the discussion in Oporinus's favour. Luther wrote of a desire to confront the Devil in the Koran, but that it had long been unavailable to him. Bobzin, 'Treasury', pp. 167–169.

[55] *De fide Christianorum et Judaeorum* (Basel, 1537); *Messias Christianorum et Iudaeorum Hebraice et Latine. Sebast. Munsterus. Describitur in hoc libro ex prophetis Christus totius mundi verus salvator*, (Basel, Heinrich Petri, 1539); see especially: Burnett, 'Dialogue of the Deaf', p. 168.

The author of Münster's uncharacteristically reactionary stance, and the difficulties experienced by Oporinus and Bibliander in publishing the Koran edition, appears to have been Heinrich Petri, who in 1542–1543 pursued the commercial interests of his printing house through the professors and magistrates of Basel. Oporinus, a longstanding friend of Bibliander, had sought a striking and profitable book with which to launch the *officina Oporiniana*, and the two began work on the *Alcoran*.[56] He thus became a local competitor to Petri, whose ire was further enflamed by the text which Oporinus had chosen to publish.[57] Heinrich Petri had himself sought permission to publish a translation of the Koran in 1536, but had been prevented from doing so by the council, acting under the advice of Simon Grynaeus and Wolfgang Capito, who deemed it a 'wicked book'.[58] While Oporinus later railed against the 'envious' who plotted against him, Petri for his part was outraged by the opportunity which had been denied him, and, as it turned out, justly so: the Alcoran was a great success for Oporinus, making his print house famous.[59] The surprising position which Münster took in the 1542 controversy can then most likely be attributed to his relationship with Petri, with Amerbach, and the other printers and scholars who were fixed in their orbit.[60] It is very probable that had Petri been permitted to print a Latin Koran in 1536, Münster would have edited it, and would have written a preface not unlike that section of his Hebrew Bible, 'why the commentaries of the Hebrews are not to be condemned', not unlike, indeed, the preface which Bibliander did prepare for the 1543 *Alcoran*.

The Cosmographia and the Beschreybung

In the following year, the rivalry between the scholars and printers of Basel and Zurich found a further field of contest: on this occasion it concerned a species of literature which had usually sought to avoid the divisive and the controversial. From the 1498 Ingolstadt oration of Conrad Celtis, his call to describe 'with exactitude and learning the…

[56] Clark, 'Koran', p. 7.
[57] Bobzin, *Der Koran*, p. 208.
[58] Clark, 'Koran', p. 11.
[59] Guggisberg, *Basel*, p. 43.
[60] A definitive answer on this is not possible from the surviving evidence, but see: Burmeister, *Gesamtbildes*, p. 102.

topography, the climate, the rivers, the mountains, the antiquities and the peoples of our regions and our own country' had been answered by an entire generation of educated Germans with boundless enthusiasm and spectacular results.[61] This literary genre, that of *Patria Illustrata*, or, as Jean Bodin tagged it, 'geographistory' sought to answer the charges which the writers of antiquity had made against Germany – that it was a desolation, peopled only with barbarians – and those made by those contemporary 'foreigners… who in their historical works and contrary to all historical truth, will hiss like vipers… and with all the pretentious cajolery of their style seek with falsifications and lying inventions… to belittle our glorious achievements'. The restoration of German pride depended upon the cataloguing and description of its 'territories, cities, towns, villages, distinguished castles and monasteries, its mountains, forests, rivers, lakes and its products, as well as the characteristics and customs of its people, the noteworthy events which have happened, and the antiquities which are still found in many places'.[62] Such was the task of the chorographers, and in their droves they penned such works, which ranged in scale from the description of a single town, to immense volumes which described the topography of entire regions or countries, everything contained within those lands, and the ways in which they, and their inhabitants, had changed throughout the entirety of their history.

Engaged upon this enterprise we see the networks of the *respublica litterarum* at their most energetic, most selfless, most positive in spirit and in voice most effervescent and celebratory. We also see those networks at their most inclusive and embracing: where the scholars who were able to work on a Hebrew Bible were, necessarily, a narrow and close-knit 'community of the competent', those who wrote chorographies relied upon a numberless multitude who, from the corners of Germany studied town records, lobbied local councils, penned descriptions, executed drawings and sent all these materials to the author who would turn them into a book and bring it to print. Those who lent their energies to the *patria illustrata* projects were professions and stations which ranged enormously: their nature of their contributions from learned disquisitions to foot-sore courier-work. However they shared,

[61] Cited in fuller form in, Strauss, *Sixteenth Century Germany: Its Topography and Topographers* (Madison, 1959), pp. 20–21.

[62] From the text of Münster's 1528 *Vermanung*, an appeal for help in his topographical project.

and were motivated by, a love of letters, a love of their *patria*, and a thorough curiosity about the world.

However, two such works which were being prepared for printing at the same time in Zurich and Basel demonstrate that once the commercial investment of the print houses was at stake, and the opportunities afforded by the genre to the polemicist became clear, tensions and acrimony could arise around works which themselves were created through cooperation for the purpose of celebration and wonder.

Johannes Stumpf's *Description of the Swiss Confederation* began with the author's determination to redeem the reputation of the Alpine Swiss Regions: he sought to confound the opinion of those foreigners who thought the Alpine regions to be rocky wastes, by showing their 'fertile valleys and smiling pastures' in addition to their historical significance and the virtue of their ancient peoples.[63] There is no doubting that Stumpf, in his efforts to realise such a work, was motivated by the purest of intentions as befitted a member of the *respublica litterarum*; however as the minister of the congregation of Bubikon, and as a member of the Zurich sodality, Stumpf was within the circle of Heinrich Bullinger. Bullinger's interest in the embryonic *Description* began around 1534, when Stumpf approached him for help with a historical problem; it grew considerably when a fully-realised version of the topographical-historical genre appeared before them in 1538. Aegedius Tschudi's *Alpina Rhetia* represented a scholarly and Catholic version of the work Stumpf was working upon; it had, incidentally, been translated into Latin for publication by Sebastian Münster, whose own work on chorography of greater scale had been long underway.[64]

The idea that Stumpf's work should counter that of Tschudi by establishing the Protestant point of view was, thus, one which the Zurich sodality had arrived early. Works of this kind depended necessarily upon the number and skill of the regional contributors which they were able attract into their orbit: for Stumpf, Bullinger's support meant that a great number of Swiss scholars were well-disposed to his project, and, by 1542, were offering their services to the Zurich chorography. Münster was unnerved to learn of the degree of interest which

[63] *Gemeiner loblicher Eydgnoschaft, Stetten, Landen, und Völckeren chronikwirdiger Thaaten, Beschreybung* (Zürich, 1548); Gerald Strauss, 'The Production of Johann Stumpf's Description of the Swiss Confederation', in Gerald Strauss (ed.), *Enacting the Reformation in Germany* (Aldershot, 1993).

[64] Ibid., p. 106; Burmeister, *Gesamtbildes*, p. 106.

was coalescing around Stumpf; he wrote to Pellikan enquiring about the scope of the project, and also to Stumpf, suggesting an exchange of material.[65] It was an exchange which would benefit only Stumpf. In the summer on 1544, however, Stumpf was to gain a collaborator who would change the character and fortunes of his book. Bullinger had written to Joachim Vadian, exhorting him to undertake a revision of the section of the *Description* which covered the Turgau – the entire north east of Switzerland: 'you owe this to our country', Bullinger wrote.[66] Energetically corresponding with Bullinger, Froschauer and Stumpf, Vadian quickly assumed a central role in the project. Winning Vadian over to their group was, ostensibly, a real *coup*. His preface to an edition of Pomponius Mela was a foundational work for the field of German political geography, and the weight of his scholarship substantial. However this Vadian was not the 'free intellectual' of Vienna in the years before 1517: his involvement marked the confessionalisation of the Zurich chorography.

The Zurich sodality had felt some anxiety as Münster's *Cosmographia* approached publication: would Heinrich Petri set a standard which Froschauer was unable to match? The answer came to Stumpf from Froschauer, who had made a special trip to examine the Basel text, and from Bullinger who derided its quality: 'Münster's book does not fulfil what it promised: the style is atrocious… he furnishes little evidence… much he relates imperfectly… as black is different from white, so is this book different from yours!' In Basel there was no such jubilation: Münster penned a plaintive series of letters to his former teacher Conrad Pellikan, hoping to discover from within the Zurich camp the extent of his difficulty.[67] Münster had been working in one way or another for twenty years in preparation for the publication of his *Cosmographia*. If the Zurich text was visibly superior to his, Petri was unlikely to produce more editions of it; nor would Petri be able to afford the enlarged edition which Münster hoped later to produce if its niche had already been filled buy the Zurich volume. Furthermore, if Stumpf's chorography was manifestly the better, the

[65] Stumpf availed himself liberally of Münster's work for his *Description*, which would contain material taken from Münster's 1540 *Ptolemy*, his 1544 *Cosmographia* as well as anything gleaned from the exchanged notes.

[66] Strauss, *Enacting*, p. 108.

[67] 'I have heard talk that it is to be more magnificent than mine… We know that their original plan was for a history of Switzerland, but my new book may have persuaded them to turn it into a cosmography'.

regional collaborators would desert Münster in order to be part of his rival's project.

There is no doubting that Stumpf's 1547 *Description* was a superior work to Münster's 1544 *Cosmographia*. In two volumes, furnished with ornate borders and devices and nearly two thousand illustrations, this opulent book was remarkable achievement on Froschauer's part, and a chastening experience for Petri: the time had plainly passed when the Zurich printer was forced to sub-contract the more difficult aspects of printing to one of the more established Basel firms.[68] Although its technical and scholarly achievements were exceptional, Stumpf's book was to pay the price for Bullinger's decision to bring Vadian into the project's inner circle. Despite the serious and sustained efforts of Stumpf to reassert his authorial control of the text, and to moderate Vadian's rewriting of the sections on the Turgau, he failed to remove the confessional polemic which now pervaded those sections of his book.[69] Vadian had ulterior motives in agreeing to collaborate on the *Description*, as his letters to Bullinger disclose. Should his treatise on monasticism, for example, appear under his own name, he admitted, only a partisan audience would read it; as part of a popular work of history and geography it would have a far greater effect. His name would be concealed, Stumpf must appear to be the author of his remarks, and, furthermore, for the best effect, these remarks should somehow be attached to the account of the wars of independence, to which readers could be expect to turn at once.[70] This was not to be scurrilous abuse, but, as Vadian wrote to Bullinger in February 1546, "I am in favour of a more subtle kind of attack, one laced with sly overtones and sarcasm, which appears to bestow praise, while, in reality, it imparts a more painful sting".

These barbs and distortions were numerous and long-premeditated; the final product was a compromise between Stumpf's hopes for an uplifting work according to the spirit of the *patria illustrata* genre, Vadian's for subtle polemic, and Froschauer's practical concerns,

[68] Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, p. 335. Zurich and Froschauer had had no woodcut artist to call upon until 1544, when Heinrich Vogtherr was brought to Zurich to not only work on the *Description*, but also train apprentices: a mark of Froschauer's commitment to the integration of text and image.

[69] Strauss, *Enacting*, pp. 110–122. Bullinger appears to have shared Stumpf's concerns, but trusted him to moderate Vadian's partisan passages, rather than taking the matter in hand himself.

[70] Strauss, *Enacting*, p. 113.

all mediated by Bullinger. The result was that after some immediate acclaim and financial rewards from the Swiss towns who were delighted by their representation in the *Description*, the signs of disquiet began. Early concerns were voiced by Aegedius Tschudi, who expressed disappointment in Stumpf's lack of objectivity and warned that the 'good citizens' of the Seven Cantons would regret that an otherwise splendid work had been sullied by some passages which should have remained unwritten. 'What would he say' wrote Vadian, 'if he had read my treatise in its original form'.[71] Tschudi was proved to be correct: in March 1548 Stumpf learned that the *Description* had been banned in the Empire, and that anyone trying to sell the work would be arrested by Imperial decree; furthermore, the Seven Catholic Cantons appointed a commission to examine the book; the Zürich council was obliged in 1554 formally to present a list of objections to Stumpf and make him answer them; while Stumpf wrote to Vadian of the threats which he had received from the Abbot of St Gall.

Münster's *Cosmographia* fared rather better. The 1550 edition was very different work from that of 1544: a steady stream of regional collaborators had signed up – most of them, by odd coincidence – from 1548. He had learned from Froschauer's work how effective the integration of text with image could be, and he embraced it wholeheartedly. It was now 1200 folio pages in length, with 910 woodcuts, 68 maps, including among them many fine cityscape images which have done much to ensure the book's popularity through the ages. Thirty-five editions between 1544 and 1628, five languages, endlessly consulted, excerpted, and imitated, Münster's *Cosmographia* was a mainstay of the Petri printing firm after its ownership had passed to his son, Sebastian Henric-Petri. This success may be attributed to the cosmographer's wider ambit – he described all of Europe and then the known world – to the remarkable illustrations, or to the author's eye for the marvellous, surprising and peculiar. However, that it was read so widely and for so long must be attributed to the way Münster was as careful in writing history, topography and ethnography as he was in his Hebrew Bible to leave theology to the theologians, and polemic to the polemicists. The form of piety which is manifest in the *Cosmographia* is an adogmatic one: it invites the reader to wonder at and to celebrate

[71] In a letter to Stumpf, December 1547. Vadian wrote a response to Tschudi which he wished Stumpf to send under his own name; again, Stumpf was obliged to substantially edit and soften the tone of the document.

the present-day good fortune of Germany, prosperous, fertile and 'aglitter' with cities; but also to regard the traces of once-great empires, now brought low, and read in the changing landscape and the fortunes of peoples the providence of God.

The Zurich sodality did Stumpf a disservice by allowing his book to become embittered; in its judgement the scholars of subsequent ages have been kinder than his contemporaries. However, the misfortune of the 1547 *Description of the Swiss Confederation* illustrates clearly that the *patria illustrata* movement thrived by connecting with the local pride of the humanists, and by inviting literate laymen contemplate and wonder at the world beyond their immediate surroundings. Its purpose was to uplift, not merely provide opportune camouflage for 'subtle attacks'. For a great many members of the *respublica litterarum*, those who were saddened by advent of confessional *caesurae*, scholars such as Münster, Tschudi and Stumpf this genre was the 'bridge on which they met'.[72] It allowed them to converse, exchange material, and bring works into print with scholars of any nation and Church in the name only of 'good letters'.[73]

Two Latin Bibles, the Koran in Latin and two books of topography and history provided kindling and fuel to a period of contention and competition between Zurich and Basel in the 1530s and 1540s. Throughout it is apparent that Zurich's was a compact, well-organised sodality, one which was closely aligned to the *Prophezei*, and in which Bullinger and Pellikan were everywhere in evidence. It was collegial in process, quick in support of its own, and ever-mindful of Zurich's wider image and its needs in the context of political and theological disputes. Basel's scholars did not display such uniformity of purpose; their interests were diverse. The driving force in Basel's sodality was supplied by its energetic and deeply pragmatic printers: they showed little delicacy in their approach to business and were able to exert considerable influence upon their coterie of scholars. It indeed was the idealised 'precinct of the muses' which Erasmus saw, Hans Guggisberg's 'cosmopolitan' and 'latitudinarian' city, or the beacon of tolerance which Peter Bietenholz finds, it was because this suited the businesses

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72 Strauss, *Enacting*, p. 114.

73 Münster publishing Tschudi's *Rhetia*, for example (see: letter Aug 1537 to Tschudi); Pellikan's uncertainty about the partisanship of Krantz (*Chronikon*, p. 159); the efforts Stumpf made to wriggle free of Vadian's polemic; Tschudi's gentle admonition of Stumpf over the 'needless' passages in the description. See especially the confessional, regional and international mix of contributors to the *Cosmographia*.

of the printing houses.[74] However, the rivalries considered here were not simply a matter of persons and profits. Real and fundamental philosophical differences existed between the books themselves: in how sacred literature ought to be approached, how it ought to be translated and to what end; whether and when to delimit what knowledge might be brought into the wide public domain by bringing it to print; whether the oft-intoned duty to impartiality and historical fact was one to be honoured or merely a mask for polemic.

The *respublica litterarum* did work, although, and most especially at close quarters, it did so imperfectly. Long-established friendships could be marred by local contentions, almost tribal rivalries, and, when put to it, these controversies suggest that good business held dominion over 'good letters'. However, the extensive networks which arose in the pursuit of cosmography and chorography – without respect for national or confessional *caesurae* – attest to remarkable amity and cooperation of which otherwise unconnected scholars were capable. A love of 'good letters' and of bringing to print that which they felt to be worthy were their motives in mapping, chronicling and illustrating their native lands, and sending their work to scholars they would never meet. Sebastian Münster, unhappily embroiled in a series of controversial publications which showed much rivalry, yet little *humanitas*, was able to end his career with the 1550 *Cosmographia*, a book which gave form to his own scholarly ethos, and, perhaps, that which has often been attributed to the city of Basel: non-dogmatic in approach, encyclopaedic in interest, harmonising in spirit and in its approach to knowledge guilelessly open-handed.

[74] Hans R. Guggisberg, *Basel*, pp. 13, 17, 39; Peter Bietenholz, *Basle and France in the Sixteenth century: the Basle humanists and printers in their contacts with francophone culture* (Geneva, 1971). This view is repeated *passim* throughout the literature wherever Basel is touched upon, see, for example, Bobzin, *Koran*, p. 163.

PART FOUR

NETWORKS AND THE BOOK TRADE

THE BOOK AND READING CULTURE IN BASEL AND ZURICH DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Urs B. Leu

With the bibliographical descriptions of early modern Swiss publications now almost complete for the period up to 1600, this study can only examine printing and reading across the sixteenth century and not until 1640. Indexing of later publications continues, but it will be several years before seventeenth-century Swiss printed works are fully catalogued.

The cities of Basel and Zurich were the two principal printing centres for German-speaking Swiss humanists and Reformed Protestants. The Swiss market for these books extended from Geneva in the west to Grisons and Saint Gall in the east.[1] We also find many Basel and Zurich imprints abroad, but the printers, particularly those in Zurich, kept a special eye on the Swiss market.

Swiss Book Production 1501 to 1600

Five printing centres in Switzerland produced more than one hundred titles each during the sixteenth century (excluding single broadsheets):

Table 1. Centres of Swiss printing during the sixteenth century

City	Number of Editions
Basel	8,285
Geneva	4,146
Zurich	1,586
Berne	187
Lausanne	110

[1] Geneva was associated with the Swiss Confederation from 1536.

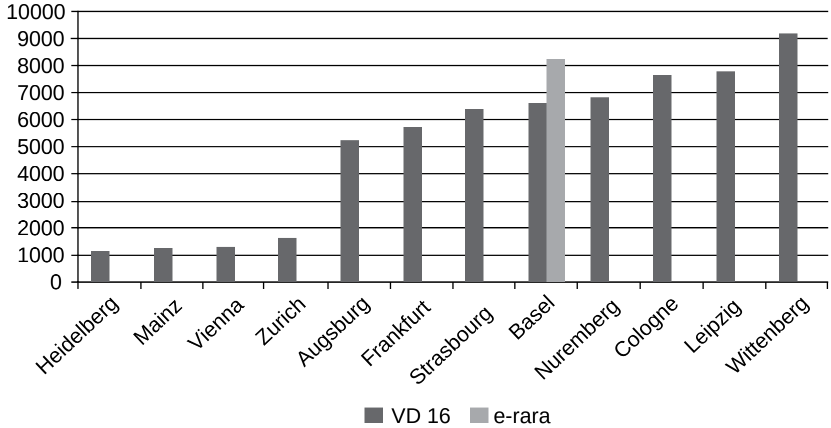

Figure 1. Number of sixteenth-century imprints in twelve important German-speaking cities

Eleven further locations produced fewer than one hundred titles each. The five principal printing cities account for 12,631 of the 12,858 imprints produced in Switzerland as a whole.[2] Of the three leading print centres, Geneva belonged to the French-speaking part of Switzerland and to the French book world; Basel and Zurich were German speaking. A comparison of Basel and Zurich with other well-known printing locations in the German-speaking world, in Austria, Germany and Switzerland, reveals Basel's outstanding role:

VD 16 lists 6,561 imprints published in Basel in the sixteenth century, while the figures produced by a recently compiled census within e-rara, the Swiss digitalisation project, record an even greater number, 8,285.[3] The city on the Rhine was already an established printing centre in the fifteenth century, as the 764 imprints produced there during the incunabula era attest; by comparison, in the same period only 112 editions were published in Geneva and only 9 in Zurich. A number of

[2] These numbers are based on new research within the project e-rara, http://www.e-rara.ch. This project, which started in 2008 and will finish in 2012, aims to digitalise all Swiss imprints of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These numbers and those that follow are at the moment still tentative.

[3] I thank Dr Ueli Dill, chief librarian of the Special Collections of Basel University Library, for this and other quantitative information on Basel imprints received in May 2009.

factors contributed to making Basel the most important Swiss printing centre:[4]

1. Like Strasbourg and Cologne, two other significant locations for printing, Basel lay on the Rhine. The river was used as a waterway for the exchange of goods.
2. Since the late Middle Ages, Basel had been an established cargo hub. Merchandise from Flanders and the Rhineland would be unloaded here before continuing its journey towards Lyon and the Mediterranean.[5]
3. Basel had had a paper mill since 1433, which provided access to comparatively cheap paper without the additional costs of transportation and middlemen.
4. The first Swiss university was founded in Basel in 1460, a presence in the city that would have encouraged the development of the printing press.[6]
5. In 1471 Basel received a concession from the emperor to organise a twice-yearly fair, in spring and autumn.
6. Basel's good connections to the noted fairs in Lyon and Frankfurt ensured cash flow and distribution. Both factors were crucial to the survival and growth of printing shops.[7]

Basel, Geneva and Zurich all benefitted from the impetus provided by the reformers and their writings. More than 200 imprints by Martin Luther were published in Basel during the 1520s, whilst printing in Zurich started with the Reformation. In Geneva, book production began to grow with the arrival of Calvin in 1541. Just as the expansion of book production in Basel, Zurich and Geneva had a common basis

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[4] See, among others, P.L. Van der Haegen, *Der frühe Basler Buchdruck, Ökonomische, sozio-politische und informationssystematische Standortfaktoren und Rahmenbedingungen* (Basel, 2001).

[5] P.G. Bietenholz, *Basel and France in the Sixteenth Century: The Basel Humanists and Printers in Their Contacts with Francophone Culture* (Geneva, 1971), p. 25.

[6] Van der Haegen, *Der frühe Basler Buchdruck*, p. 122 f. According to Van der Haegen, the university constituted a reservoir of employers, collaborators and assistants. In a study of the University of Cologne, Severin Corsten has pointed out that the connection between the printing press and the university is often overemphasised by book historians: S. Corsten, 'Der frühe Buchdruck und die Stadt' in B. Moeller et al. (eds.), *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 1983), pp. 9–32.

[7] A. Noe, 'Das Buch in der Gesellschaft der Renaissance' in A. Noe (ed.), *Geschichte der Buchkultur*, vol. 6: *Renaissance*, (Graz, 2008), p. 85 f.

in the Reformation and the writings of reformers – Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin, respectively – the cities shared a reason for their common decline in 1564–1565: the plague. Among the thousands of people carried off by plague in these years in Switzerland were not only the famous naturalist Conrad Gessner, but also prominent printers such as Christoph Froschauer the Elder in

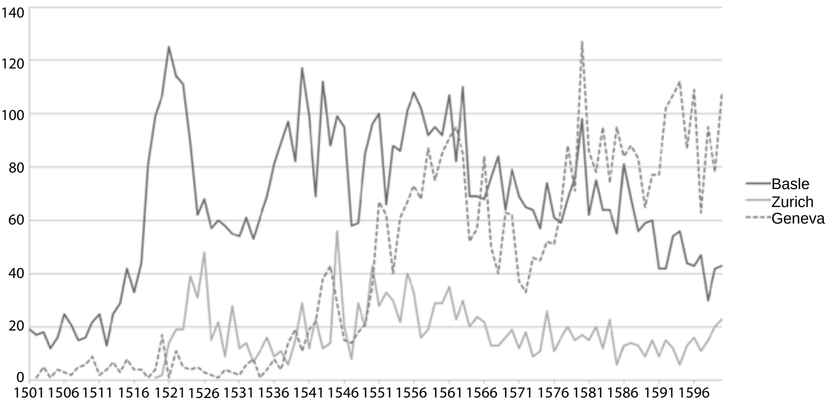

Figure 2. Sixteenth-century imprints from Basel, Geneva and Zurich

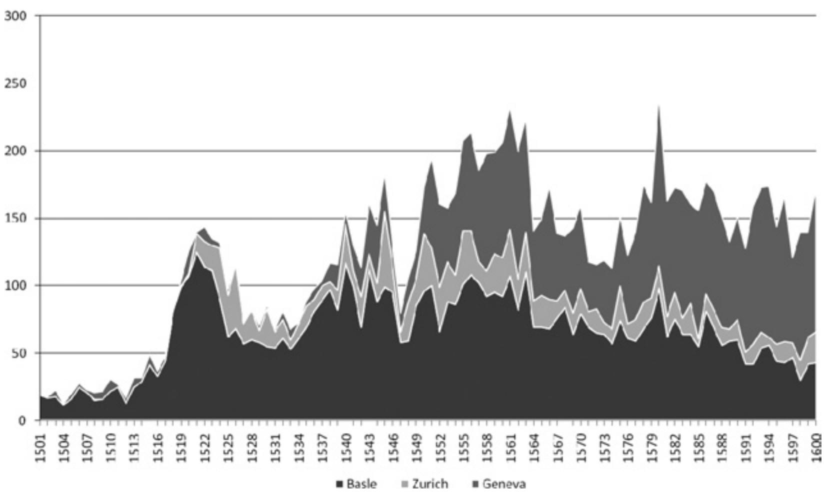

Figure 3. Cumulative total of sixteenth-century imprints from Basel, Geneva and Zurich.

Zurich and Nikolaus Episcopius the Younger in Basel.[8] The printing presses in Zurich never attained the same quality until the 18th century. The two figures above provide an overview of the total production of imprints in Basel, Geneva and Zurich across the sixteenth century.[9]

Book Production in Basel: The Printers

According to VD 16 we know of 144 printers in Basel during the sixteenth century; in Zurich there were only twenty. More than two hundred imprints were published by the following Basel printers:

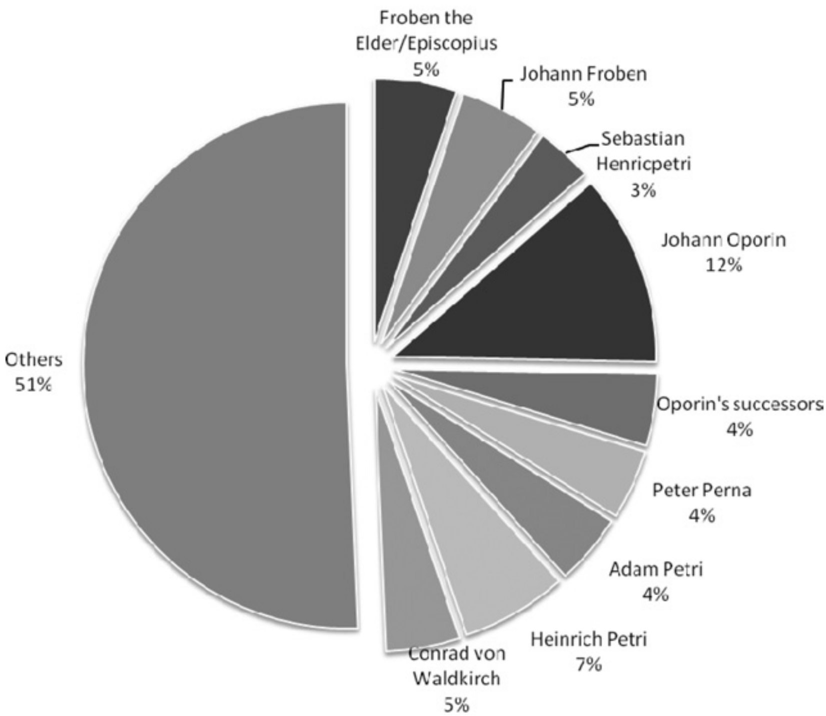

Figure 4. Printers in Basel with more than 200 imprints (VD 16)

[8] M. Mattmüller et al., *Bevölkerungsgeschichte der Schweiz, Teil 1: Die frühe Neuzeit, 1500–1700, Bd. 1* (Basel and Frankfurt, 1987), pp. 228–236.

[9] A better comparison of the total printing production of each town would be based on the total output of printed sheets. Determination of these figures should be possible at the end of 2011when e-rara is complete.

The numbers provided by the new census by e-rara vary slightly from those of VD 16:

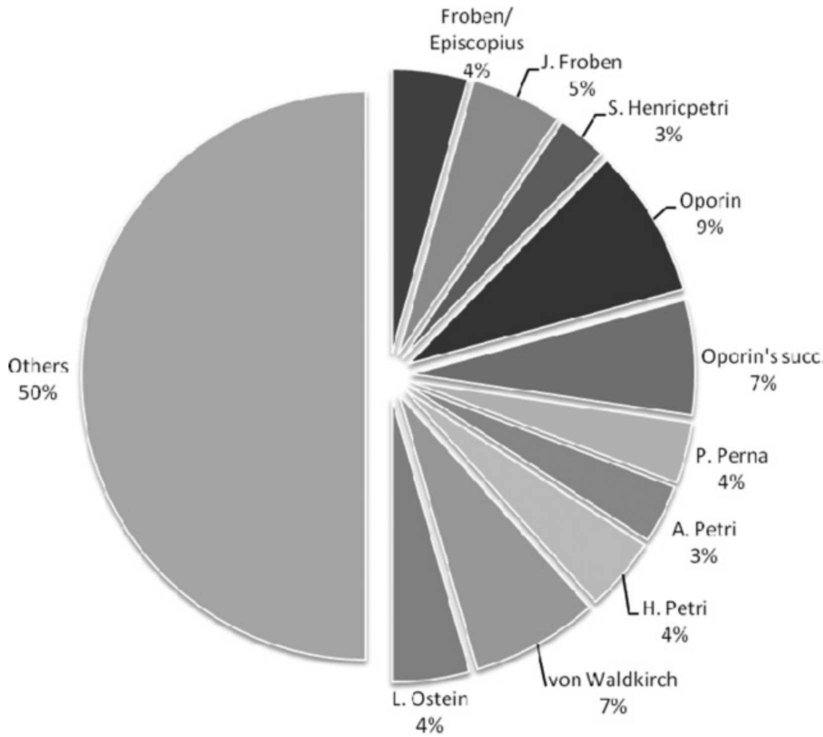

Figure 5. Printers in Basel with more than 200 imprints (e-rara)

According to e-rara, the most prolific printers were:

Table 2. Most active printers in Basel during the sixteenth century

Printer	Number of Editions
Hieronymus Froben the Elder and Nicolaus Episcopius	377
Johann Froben	454
Johann Oporin	747
Oporin's successors	576
Leonhard Ostein	388
Pietro Perna	305
Heinrich Petri	371
Conrad von Waldkirch	636

The following figure compares the results of VD 16 and e-rara:

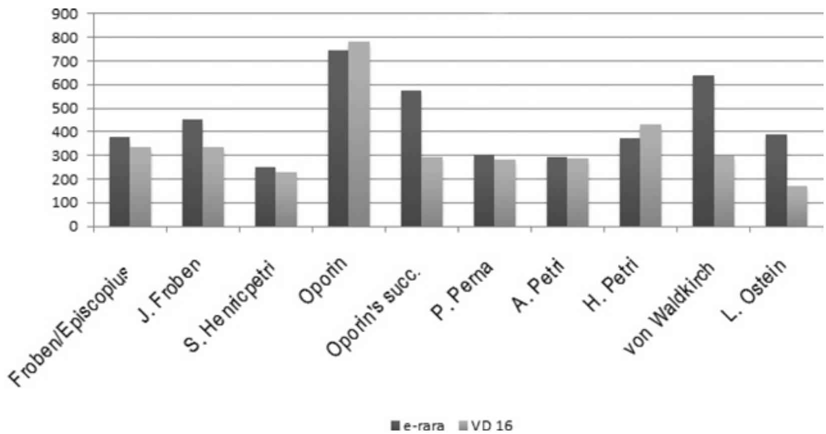

Figure 6: Production of editions per printer (VD 16)

The output of only two printers in Zurich is comparable with that of their famous colleagues in Basel: Christoph Froschauer the Elder published 716 imprints and his nephew Christoph Froschauer the Younger 360. The death of Froschauer the Elder accelerated the decline of printing in Zurich, which took decades to recover.

As we have demonstrated, Basel was renowned as a printing centre in the German-speaking world during the sixteenth century and its printers were amongst the most famous of the early modern period. The eminence of the city and its printers can be appreciated by looking at the *Pandectarum sive partitionium universalium libri undeviginti*, written by the well-known polymath Conrad Gessner and printed in 1548 in Zurich. In 1545, Gessner had published his *Bibliotheca universalis*, a bibliography of all printed and handwritten works in Latin, Greek and Hebrew and three years later he followed this work with a subject catalogue, the *Pandectarum libri*, in which he arranged all the titles into twenty-one books according to twenty-one scientific disciplines.[10] Each category has a short dedication to a printer who played an important role either in the relevant discipline or in the fields of education and science more generally. Seven dedications are to Basel printers:

[10] Gessner's uncompleted book on medicine was never published.

Table 3. Printers to whom a discipline was dedicated

Printer	Discipline
Nikolaus Brylinger	Poetics
Johannes Bebel und Michael Isengrin	Dialectics
Johann Oporin	Rhetoric
Heinrich Petri	Music
Hieronymus Curio	Astronomy
Johannes Herwagen	Science and Physics
Hieronymus Froben and Nikolaus Episcopius	Theology

Four books have a dedication to printers in Venice, two each are dedicated to printers in Nuremberg, Lyon and Paris, and in only one instance each is a printer in Cologne, Strasbourg and Zurich named.

Languages

Even in the fifteenth century, Basel imprints were primarily destined not for local consumption or even for German-speaking markets such as Augsburg, but rather for markets across Europe. This accounts for Basel's higher than average book production in Latin.[11] Vernacular languages were only of marginal importance.

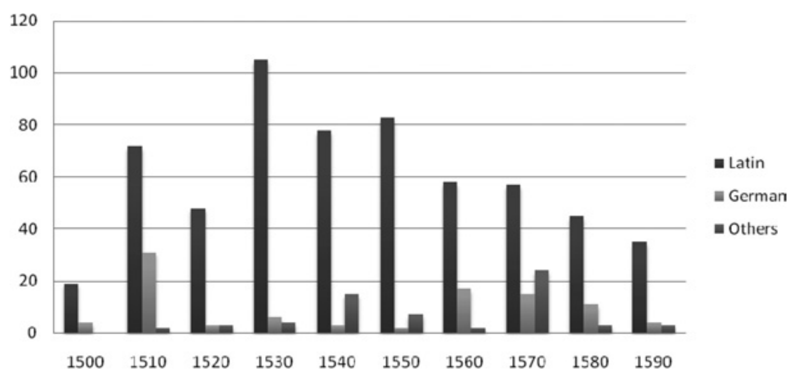

Figure 7. Volume of Basel imprints by language and by decade

[11] See A. Pettegree and M. Hall, 'The Reformation and the Book. A Consideration' in A. Pettegree (ed.), *The French Book and the European Book World* (Leiden, 2007), p. 234.

Basel printers conquered a handsome share of the European market with their Latin books. We therefore find many Latin imprints from Basel in France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, and other countries, even Sweden. Hogenskild Bielke (1538–1605) was one of the major political and cultural figures in sixteenth-century Sweden and possessed a large library. Of his 270 extant titles, 38 (or 14%) were printed in Basel.[12] The Italian market was evidently of particular interest because from the end of the fifteenth century the book trade between northern Italy and Basel flourished. When the *Index librorum prohibitorum* placed Basel on the list of banned printing places in 1559, Cosimo I in Florence wrote to the Swiss city to state that Florence would continue to trade in books with Basel, though theological polemic pamphlets would be excluded.[13]

Furthermore, Basel was often praised for the wonderful quality of its Greek and Hebrew imprints. Whilst it is true that figures for book production in Greek and Hebrew were higher than average, they were not as large as one might expect.[14] During the sixteenth century approximately 300 imprints in Greek and 100 in Hebrew appeared. The comparison with Geneva, for example, makes evident that the number of such Basel imprints was not disproportionately large: from Geneva we know of 298 imprints in Greek, 267 in Greek and Latin and 29 in Hebrew, though the city produced many more titles in the vernacular:

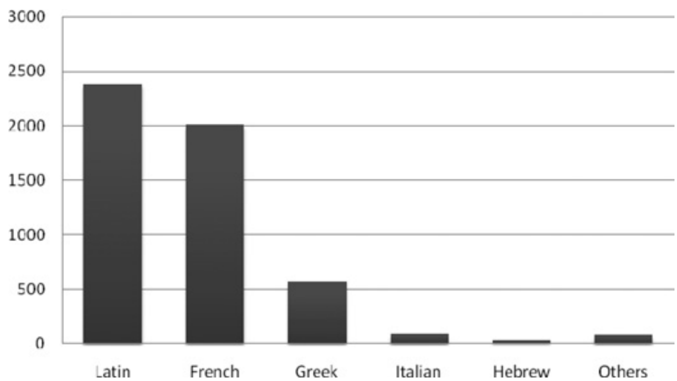

Figure 8. Volume of Genevan imprints distributed by language

[12] W. Undorf, *Hogenskild Bielke's Library: A Catalogue of the Famous Sixteenth Century Swedish Private Collection* (Uppsala, 1995).

[13] F. Hieronymus, *Theophrast und Galen – Celsus und Paracelsus: Medizin, Naturphilosophie und Kirchenreform im Basler Buchdruck bis zum Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, vol. 1 (Basel, 2005), p. 4.

[14] F. Hieronymus, *Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen* (Basel, 1992); J. Prijs, *Die Basler hebräischen Drucke (1492–1866)* (Dietikon, 1964).

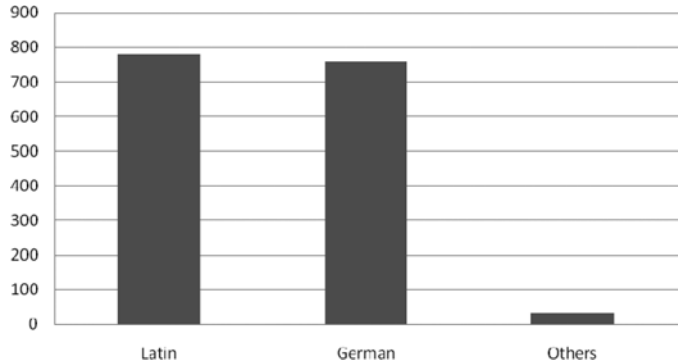

Figure 9. Volume of Zurich imprints distributed by language

The same comparison applies to Zurich, where German book production was nearly on a par with the production of books in Latin.

Subject Categories

As it is currently impossible to categorise all 8,285 Basel imprints, we selected instead a sample of approximately 10%.The imprints of every tenth year (1510, 1520, 1530, 1540 and so on) were then arranged according to subject. The extrapolation of these numbers over the whole century produces the following figure:

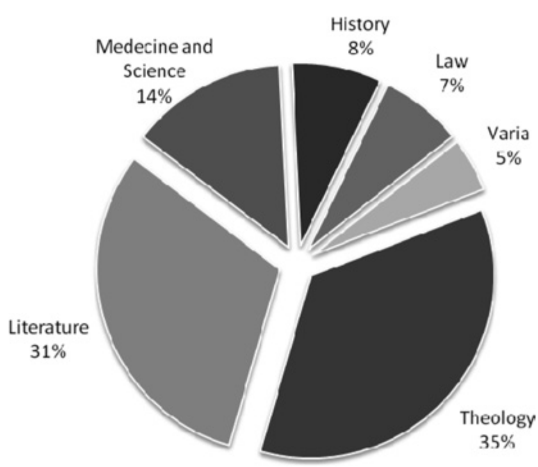

Figure 10. Basel imprints by subject category (extrapolated from a sample of 10% of the overall output)

The three main topics are theology, literature and language, and medicine and science. The category literature and language includes the many editions of classical authors (including Aristotle) and writings by humanists in the form of commentaries on the classics, dialogues, poems and rhetorical, stylistic and other works including dictionaries and textbooks. The titles published in Basel, as most of them are bibliographically described, reveal that roughly 60 Greek and Roman classical authors were printed in the city. By contrast, in Zurich, for example, only about two dozen appeared—about one third of the number identified for Basel.

Worthy of note are the renowned editions of nearly twenty Church Fathers that were praised by Conrad Gessner in his aforementioned *Bibliotheca universalis*. These works included editions of Ambrose, Augustine, Basil the Great, Clemens of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Cyprian, Eusebius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Irenaeus, Jerome, John Chrysostom, Origen, and Tertullian. Basel printers dominated this field: virtually none of the Church Fathers were printed in Zurich, despite the high regard in they were held by the Zurich reformers.[15]

A third important field for the Basel presses was generated by works by European humanists such as Guillaume Budé from France, Thomas More from England, Birck Sixt from Germany, Henricus Glareanus from Switzerland and, worth particular mention, Italian humanists such as Hermolao Barbaro, Pietro Bembo, Giovanni Boccaccio, Poggio Bracciolini, Leonardo Bruni, Dante, Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Angelo Poliziano and Lorenzo Valla. Topping the league table of humanist authors was Erasmus of Rotterdam.

The printing in Basel of works by the humanists mentioned above and by other authors from England and Italy fell into two distinct phases, the first during the lifetime of Erasmus and in the context of the humanist intellectual climate he created and the second during the sojourn of religious refugees from these countries in the city.[16]

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[15] See, for Zwingli and Bullinger: A. Schindler, *Zwingli und die Kirchenväter* (Zurich, 1984); U.B. Leu and S. Weidmann, *Heinrich Bullingers Privatbibliothek* (Zurich, 2004), pp. 45–50.

[16] P. Bietenholz, *Der italienische Humanismus und die Blütezeit des Buchdrucks in Basel. Die Basler Drucke italienischer Autoren von 1530 bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Basel und Stuttgart, Helbing & Lichtenhahn, Diss. Universität Basel, 1959), pp. 16–18; M.E. Welti, *Der Basler Buchdruck und Britannien. Die Rezeption britischen Gedankenguts in den Basler Pressen von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Basel, 1964), p. 8 f.

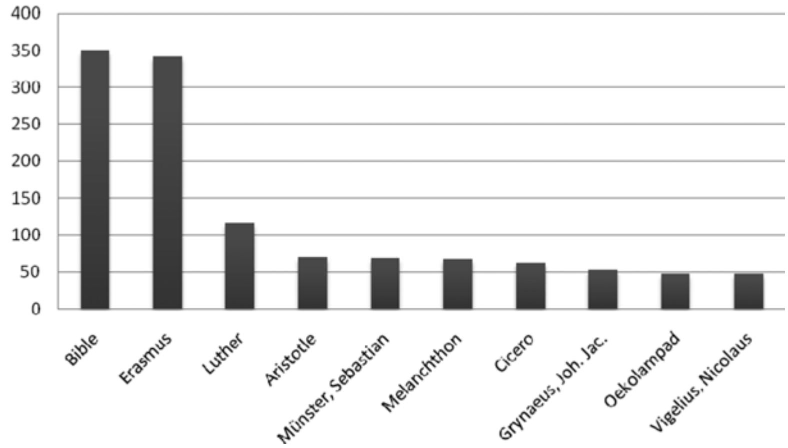

Figure 11. The ten most printed authors in Basel (with more than 40 editions)

An analysis of the huge number of theological titles shows that Basel imprints had no clear theological alignment and orientation, unlike, for example, works printed in Geneva or Zurich. Basel never had strong religious leaders on the model of Zwingli and Bullinger in Zurich or Calvin and Beza in Geneva. Until the election of Johann Jacob Grynaeus as antistes of the Reformed Basel Church in 1586, the city fluctuated between Lutheranism and Reformed Protestantism and was open minded towards immigrants of different cultures and creeds. It is therefore not surprising to discover a relatively large number of titles written by Lutheran authors, not only works by Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon but also books by Johannes Brenz, Johannes Bugenhagen, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, and others. The theologians whose work was most often printed were the two Basel antistes Oecolampadius and Grynaeus. Basel was a relatively tolerant city where titles that would have been banned elsewhere could be published; such books included the writings of Calvin's enemy Sebastian Castellio, as well as works by Catholic authors and even an edition of the Koran.[17]

[17] H.R. Guggisberg, 'Das reformierte Basel als geistiger Brennpunkt Europas im 16. Jahrhundert' in H.R. Guggisberg and P. Rotach (eds.), *Ecclesia semper reformanda. Vorträge zum Basler Reformationsjubiläum 1529–1979* (Basel, 1980), pp. 56–61; H.R. Guggisberg, 'Zur Basler Buchproduktion im konfessionellen Zeitalter' in *Tobias Stimmer 1539–1584: Spätrenaissance am Oberrhein. Ausstellung im Kunstmuseum*

The theological work printed most frequently in Basel was the Bible. Among the 349 editions of the Bible (or of its constituent parts), only a few were in German. After 1526 only four German New Testaments and one complete German Bible were printed, all of which contained the translation by Huldrych Zwingli and his colleagues in Zurich. Most of the Bibles printed in Basel were in Latin and contained the New Testament translation by Erasmus of Rotterdam.

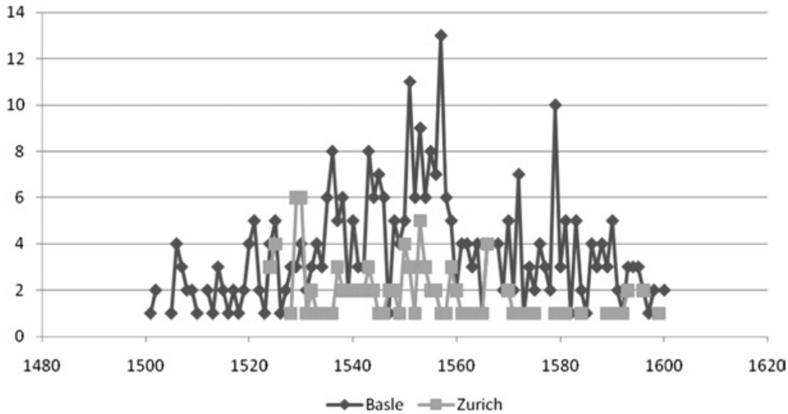

Figure 12. Bibles and Parts of the Bible

The market for German Bibles was dominated by Zurich, namely, by the famous Froschauer or Zwingli Bibles that were read by reformed Protestants and Swiss Anabaptists.[18] Two thirds of Bible production in Zurich was in German.[19] Whether deliberately or unintentionally, the market allocation for Bible production appears to have been distributed between the two cities.

Basel, 23. September–9. Dezember 1984 (Basel, 1984), pp. 164–168; A.N. Lüscher, 'Die Basler Zensurpolitik in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts' in *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 97 (1997), pp. 126–131; M. Steinmann, 'Der Basler Buchdruck im 16. Jahrhundert. Ein Versuch' *Librarium*, 53 (2010), pp. 92–96. Books by Catholic authors were printed even in Zurich – the grammars and rhetorical works of Johannes Susenbrot, for example – but Basel printers published many more Catholic authors, such as Andreas Vesalius and the Italian humanists. Concerning the Koran see: H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation: Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa* (Stuttgart, 1995), pp. 159–275.

[18] U.B. Leu, 'Die Froschauer-Bibeln und die Täufer – Die Geschichte einer Jahrhunderte alten Freundschaft' *Mennonitica Helvetica*, 28/29 (2005/2006), pp. 47–88.

[19] There were also numerous editions of the vernacular Bible in Geneva: A. Pettegree, 'Genevan Print and the Coming of the Wars of Religion' in *The French Book and the European Book World*, p. 96 f.

Medicine and science also formed a very important field for the Basel publishers who printed many of the classic works by Leonhard Fuchs and Andreas Vesalius and voluminous editions of Aristotle and Galen.[20] Furthermore, Basel was the principal location for the printing of works by Paracelsus, who was persona non grata in Zurich.[21] In the field of science probably the most reissued title was Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*,[22] a book published in Basel more than thirty times in Latin, German, French and Italian. Basel printers also published well-known juridical and historical works as well as many textbooks, especially Hebrew, Greek and Latin grammars. Textbooks guaranteed a solid and regular income for the printers.

As this survey has demonstrated, printing in Basel flourished between 1540 and 1580. The decline after 1580 had a number of causes, one of which was increasing business competition from printers in the Netherlands. Robert Karrow's examination of map publishing in Europe between 1472 and 1600 has demonstrated that the Golden Age of Swiss map production lay between 1530 and 1550 (at the latest 1570). During the 1550s Antwerp emerged as an important centre of print, to be followed by Amsterdam in the 1590s. By the second half of the sixteenth century, maps were increasingly being printed in the Netherlands and in these two towns in particular.[23] Similar competition developed in the field of book publishing, in particular for the many Latin publications from Basel. A second reason for the fall in Basel's printing figures after 1580 was the increasing importance of vernacular languages, which resulted in a splintering of the more-or-less homogenous Latin market. Last, but not least, in contributing to the decline were the economic problems that accompanied the wars of religion and the Thirty Years' War, illustrated by the insolvency of the

[20] F. Hieronymus, *Theophrast und Galen – Celsus und Paracelsus: Medizin, Naturphilosophie und Kirchenreform im Basler Buchdruck bis zum Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, 5 vols. (Basel, 2005).

[21] See for example the negative judgement of Conrad Gessner in Zurich on Paracelsus: Conrad Gessner, *Bibliotheca universalis* (Zurich, 1545), f. 614v; see also: C. Gilly, 'Zwischen Erfahrung und Spekulation. Theodor Zwinger und die religiöse und kulturelle Krise seiner Zeit' *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 77 (1977), pp. 63–92.

[22] K.-H. Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster: eine Bibliographie* (Wiesbaden, 1964).

[23] R. Karrow, 'Centers of Map Publishing in Europe, 1472–1600' in David Woodward, (ed.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3: *Cartography in the European Renaissance, Part 1* (Chicago & London 2007), pp. 611–621.

Henricpetri press in 1626. International markets for Latin books were destroyed or became difficult to supply.[24] From 1630 to 1750 Basel was no longer of special importance in the European printing landscape.[25]

Book Production in Zurich

In 1519, Zwingli began to preach in Zurich and four years later the Reformation was accepted by the council. At least until the death of the reformer Heinrich Bullinger in 1575, Zurich would remain the international centre of reformed Protestantism. Many refugees and Protestants came to live and study in Zurich from countries that included Italy, France, Hungary, and England. Around 1540, Geneva became the second theological stronghold of reformed Protestants and had particular importance for the French-speaking world.

Zurich printing on a grand scale started with the printer Christoph Froschauer the Elder in 1519 and must be seen within the context of the German and Swiss Reformations. Froschauer, a clever entrepreneur, founded three printing shops as well as a paper mill and published 716 pamphlets and books. In so doing, he came close to equalling the

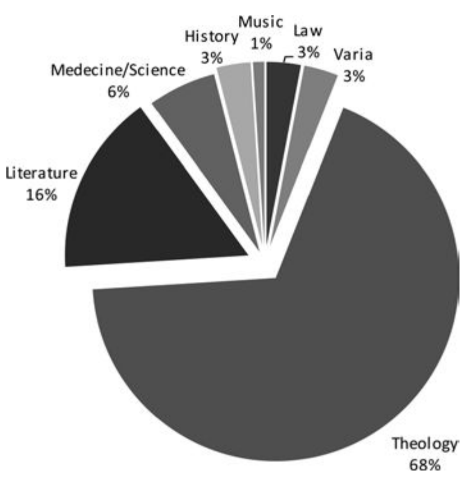

Figure 13. Froschauer the Elder imprints

[24] P. Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Stadt Basel. Von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Basel, 1942), pp. 56–60; R. Stritmatter, *Die Stadt Basel während des Dreissigjährigen Krieges. Politik, Wirtschaft, Finanzen* (Diss. phil. Universität Basel, Bern etc., 1977).

[25] F. Hieronymus, *Griechischer Geist aus Basler Pressen* (Basel, 1992), p. 1.

production of the most important Basel printers. Froschauer published mainly theology, notably the Froschauer Bible mentioned above and the writings of Zurich reformers such as Huldrych Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger, and Rudolf Gwalther.

The following figure illustrates total print production in Zurich:

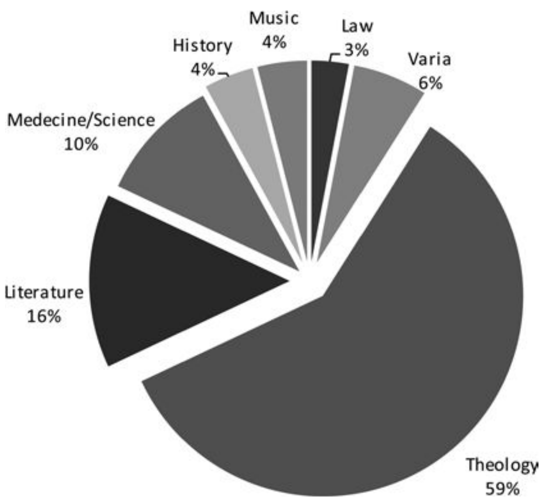

Figure 14. Zurich imprints by subject

In Basel theological books represented only 35% of the production, but over half of Zurich's titles can be listed under the subject heading 'theology'. Zurich's figures are typical of cities that were home to leading publishing personalities such as Calvin and Beza, in Geneva, or Luther and Melanchthon, in Wittenberg.[26] About 720 imprints of works by Calvin, Beza and Viret appeared in Geneva in the sixteenth century, nearly one sixth of the city's total output.

Similar figures emerge for Wittenberg, where editions of Luther (1,759) and Melanchthon (1,278) account for one third of the total print production.

[26] A. Pettegree and M. Hall, 'The Reformation and the Book. A Consideration,' p. 240.

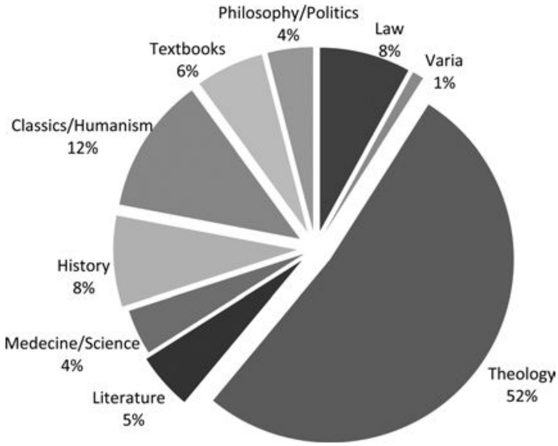

Figure 15. Genevan imprints by subject

Different Zurich printers specialised in different areas. The print production of Augustin Fries, for example, was dedicated to popular literature and music, whilst the printing shop owned by various members of the Gessner family concentrated on medicine and science:

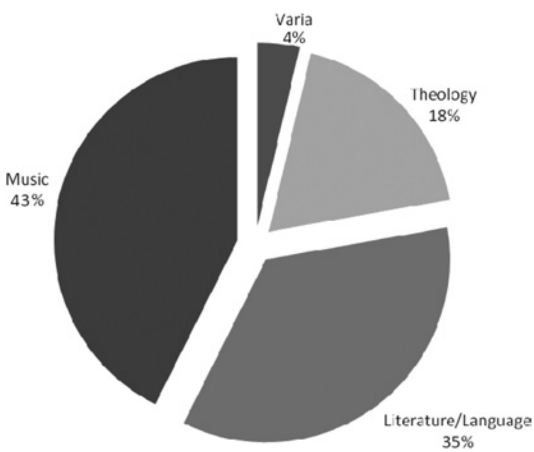

Figure 16. Production of Augustin Fries by subject (1539–1549)

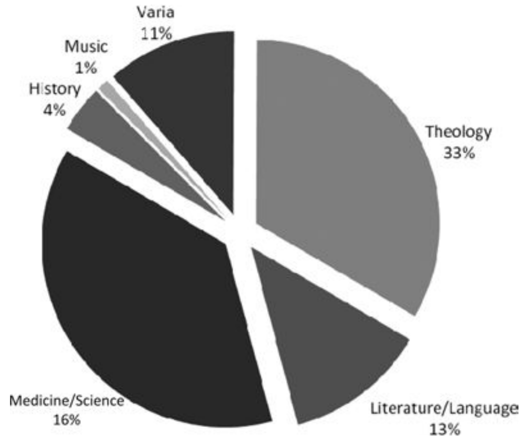

Figure 17. Production of the Gessner family by subject (1553–1583)

Languages

As we already have seen, Zurich printers produced German and Latin titles in almost equal number. As a consequence, Zurich imprints were less dependent on international markets and for Zurich, unlike Basel, even the Thirty Years' War did not result in a deep economic slump.

Subject Categories

We have already highlighted some of the main subject areas of Zurich imprints and have seen that the strength of the Zurich book trade rested on the production of German Bibles for Swiss Protestants and the printing of works by founders of Reformed Protestantism such as Zwingli, Bullinger, Jud, Gwalther, Lavater and Vermigli.

The twenty-five titles printed most frequently in Zurich, with six or more editions, were:

Bible, German
Bible, Latin
New Testament, German
New Testament, Latin*
Blum, Hans: Von den fünf Säulen
Bullinger, Heinrich: In acta apostolorum commentarii

Bullinger, Heinrich: In omnes apostolicas epistolas commentarii
Bullinger, Heinrich: Sermonum decades
Ceporinus, Jacobus: Compendium grammaticae graecae*
Cicero, Marcus Tullius: Epistolarum familiarum libri*
Disticha Catonis*
Fries, Johannes: Novum dictionariolum puerorum*
Gerhard, Andreas: Commentarii in epistolas Pauli
Gwalther, Rudolf: De syllabarum et carminum ratione
Gwalther, Rudolf: Der Endtchrist
Gwalther, Rudolf: In Ioannis epistolam homiliae
Honter, Johannes: Rudimenta cosmographica*
Jud, Leo: Catechismus (der kürzere)
Kalender oder Laßbüchlein
Laßbüchlein
Manuel, Niklaus: Barbali
Susenbrot, Johannes: Epitome troporum*
Susenbrot, Johannes: Grammaticae artis institutio*
Susenbrot, Johannes: Methodus octo partium orationis*
Vergilius Maro, Publius: Opera*

All the works marked with an asterisk (*) are textbooks, that in total accounted for over 200 imprints, or about one eighth of the total output of the Zurich printers.[27] Some of these textbooks were produced especially for the schools and the Schola Tigurina in Zurich.[28]

It is worth underlining that since the earliest days of the printing press, the publication of textbooks had provided an excellent source of income for printers. In Zurich, local needs were significant, but printers were also aware of the high demand within national and international markets. Thus nine textbooks – ten if one includes the Latin New Testament – reached six or more printings: the Latin New Testament, Jacob Ceporin's *Compendium grammaticae graecae*, Cicero's *Epistolarum familiarum libri*, the so-called *Disticha Catonis*, Johannes Fries's *Novum dictionariolum puerorum*, Johannes Honter's *Rudimenta*

[27] The most printed author in sixteenth-century Zurich was Heinrich Bullinger. U.B. Leu, 'Die Zürcher Buch- und Lesekultur von 1520–1575,' in E. Campi (ed.), *Heinrich Bullinger und seine Zeit. Eine Vorlesungsreihe* (Zurich, 2004), pp. 61–90.

[28] See also: U.B. Leu, 'Textbooks and Their Uses – An Insight into the Teaching of Geography in Sixteenth Century Zurich' in E. Campi, S. De Angelis, A.-S. Goeing and A. Grafton (eds.), *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe* (Geneva, 2008), pp. 229–248.

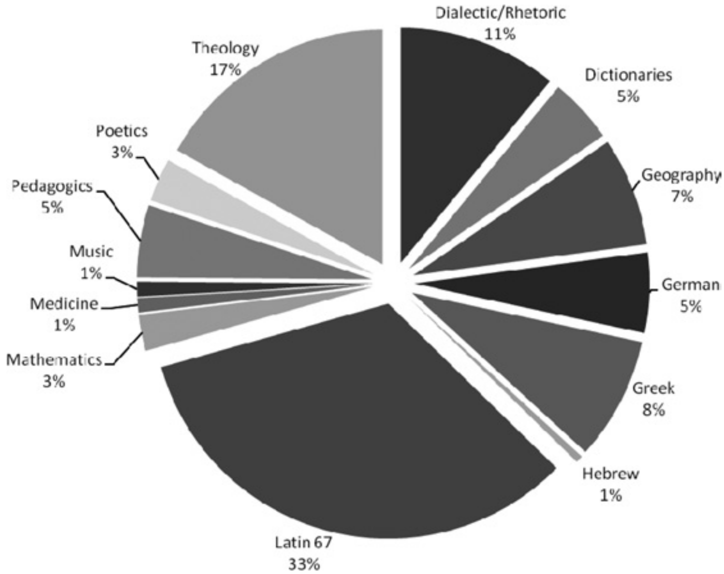

Figure 18. Textbooks according to subject category

cosmographica, Vergil's *Opera* and three works by the Catholic Latin teacher from Ravensburg Johannes Susenbrot, namely his *Epitome troporum*, *Grammaticae artis institution* and *Methodus octo partium orationis*.[29] The average print run in the sixteenth century was 1300 copies,[30] but six of these printings had six editions and runs of just under 8000, approximately one copy per head of the population of Zurich at the time. It follows that books were not produced solely for Zurich and the Confederation, but for distribution beyond the Swiss borders. Zurich textbooks can be found in various libraries in Protestant and, interestingly, Catholic cities throughout Europe. For example, Ceporin's Greek grammar is preserved in libraries in Augsburg, Berlin, Constance, Freiburg im Breisgau, Graz, Halle, Jena, Munich, Ottobeuren, Passau, Stuttgart, Trier, Überlingen, Weimar, Wolfenbüttel,

[29] On Honter, see also: G. Engelmann, *Johannes Honter als Geograph* (Cologne and Vienna, Böhlau, 1982); On the life and work of Susenbrot, see also: J.X. Brennan, 'Johannes Susenbrotus: A Forgotten Humanist' in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 75 (1960), pp. 485–496.

[30] U. Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch, Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Quantitative und qualitative Aspekte,* vol. 1 (Harrassowitz, 1998), p. 132.

Montpellier and London. Furthermore, the work was reprinted in Antwerp, Basel, Cologne, London, Paris and Venice. Zurich printings of Rudolph Gwalther's textbook on poetics and prosody, *De syllabarum et carminum ratione*, are to be found in libraries in Augsburg, Berlin, Bretten, Halle, Heidelberg, Munich, Stuttgart, Überlingen, Wolfenbüttel and Oxford, as well as in the Dutch National Library and the Royal Library of Denmark; Gwalther's work was also reprinted in Antwerp and London. The *Rudimenta cosmographica libri IIII*, the famous elementary textbook on geography by the Transylvanian reformer Johannes Honter, was widely circulated and translated into German, French and Italian. Over one hundred editions were published in more than ten European cities, among which were fifteen published in Zurich alone between 1546 and 1600.[31] Zurich copies can be found in libraries in Augsburg, Bamberg, Berlin, Detmold, Erlangen, Freiburg, Halle, Jena, Munich, Neuburg an der Donau, Regensburg, Rostock, Weimar, Wolfenbüttel and Oslo.

Confessionalisation and Printing

Where did books bought by scholars in Basel and Zurich originate? For Basel the picture remains incomplete, but for Zurich we are more fortunate. The Zentralbibliothek in Zurich possesses several completely or partly preserved private libraries from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These include the collections of five important theologians: 47 titles from the library of Petrus Numagen († 1517), 171 from the reformer Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), 221 from his successor as principal of the Zurich church, Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), 371 from Rudolph Gwalther (1519–1586) and 447 from Johann Rudolph Stumpf (1530–1592), both of whom were also principals of the Zurich church.[32] The library also contains 47 books owned by the

[31] G. Borsa, 'Die Ausgaben der "Cosmographica" von Johannes Honter' in D.E. Rhodes (ed.), *Essays in Honour of Victor Scholderer* (Mainz, 1970), pp. 90–150.

[32] M. Germann, *Die reformierte Stiftsbibliothek am Grossmünster Zürich im 16. Jahrhundert und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Bibliographie* (Harrassowitz, 1994), p. 355 f; Walter Köhler, *Huldrych Zwinglis Bibliothek* (Zurich, 1921); Walter Köhler, 'Aus Zwinglis Bibliothek' in *Zwingliana*, 4/2 (1921), p. 60; J. Werner, 'Zwinglis Bibliothek' in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 24 (Feb. 1921): Nr. 287 and 293; M. Vischer, *Bibliographie der Zürcher Druckschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Körner, 1991), p. 539 (Nr. C 79); Furthermore, a single broadsheet from Zwingli's library has been discovered in

philologist Johannes Fries (1505–1565) and a large part of the 403 still extant titles owned by the famous polymath Conrad Gessner (1516–1565).[33] Of further interest is a list of manuscripts and 89 imprints belonging to the wine merchant Hans Heinrich Grob (1566–1614).[34] A comparison of these imprints arranged by places of publication shows the following trends:

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the Staatsarchiv Zürich: F. Hieronymus, *Oberrheinische Buchillustration* 2: *Basler Buchillustration 1500–1545* (Basel, 1984), p. 362 f. I found another imprint there a few years ago: Leonhard Huber [Pseud.], *Revocationem voluntariam, nec non et veram confessionem Euangelicae veritatis* …, ([Konstanz: Jörg Spitzenberg], 1528) (call number: StAZH II 339, 171; with handwritten dedication to Zwingli); U.B. Leu and S. Weidmann, *Heinrich Bullingers Privatbibliothek*, in which we listed 217 titles. Since the publication of the book four more works from Bullinger's library have been discovered: Engelbert von Admont, *De ortu et fine romani imperii liber* (Basel, Johann Oporin, 1553) (Kantonsbibliothek Chur, Switzerland); Caecilius Cyprianus, *Opera* (Basel, Johann Froben, 1521) (Catholic District Library in Oradea, Hungary); Martin Luther, *Kurtz bekentnis … vom heiligen Sacrament* (Wittenberg, Hans Lufft, 1544) (Kantonsbibliothek Chur, Switzerland); Huldrych Zwingli, *Christianae fidei … expositio* (Zurich, Christoph Froschauer, 1536) (Bibliotheek Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam); U.B. Leu, 'Die Privatbibliothek Rudolph Gwalthers,' in *Librarium*, 39 (1996): pp. 96–108. The publication of Gwalther's library is in preparation; the Zentralbibliothek Zürich possesses a handwritten inventory by Stumpf which contains about 800 titles (call number: Ms D 193). 447 titles could be physically identified on the bookshelves of the Zentralbibliothek Zurich.

[33] U.B. Leu, 'Die Privatbibliothek von Johannes Fries (1505–1565),' in Martin Graf und Christian Moser (eds.), *Strenarum lanx. Beiträge zur Philologie und Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit, Festgabe für Peter Stotz zum 40-jährigen Jubiläum des Mittellateinischen Seminars der Universität Zürich* (Zug, 2003), pp. 311–329; U.B. Leu, R. Keller and S. Weidmann, *Conrad Gessner's Private Library* (Leiden, 2008). Since the publication of the book (395 extant titles), eight more titles have been discovered: Aphthonius Sophista, *Praeludia* (Paris, Christian Wechel, 1531) (Library of Trinity College, Cambridge); *Aristotelis et Theophrasti historias … complectuntur: creaturas … quae animalia dicuntur, et … quas appellant plantas* … (Basel, Andreas Cratander, 1534) (University Library Leipzig, only the second part containing *De historia plantarum* and *De causis plantarum* written by Theophrast); Ioannes Baptista Confalonerius, *De vini natura* (Basel, Bebel, 1535) (National Library of Medicine, Washington); Ioannes Dryander, *Anatomia capitis humani* (Marburg, Eucharius Cervicornus, 1536) (Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Lausanne, Switzerland); Melchior Guilandinus, *De stirpium aliquot nominibus vetustis ac novis* … (Basel, Nicolaus Episcopius junior, 1557) (National Library of Medicine, Washington); Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* (Venice, Aldus, 1521) (Library of Trinity College, Cambridge); Anton Schneeberger, *Medicamentorum simplicium corpus humanum a pestilentiae contagione praeservantium catalogus* (Cracau, Lazarus Andreae, 1556) (National Library of Medicine, Washington); Tarquinius Schnellenberg, *Experimenta* (Frankfurt, Hermann Gülferich, 1553) (National Library of Medicine, Washington).

[34] J.-P. Bodmer, 'Das Bücherinventar des Zürcher Bürgers Hans Heinrich Grob (1566–1614) ' in *Daphnis*, 27 (1998), pp. 59–92.

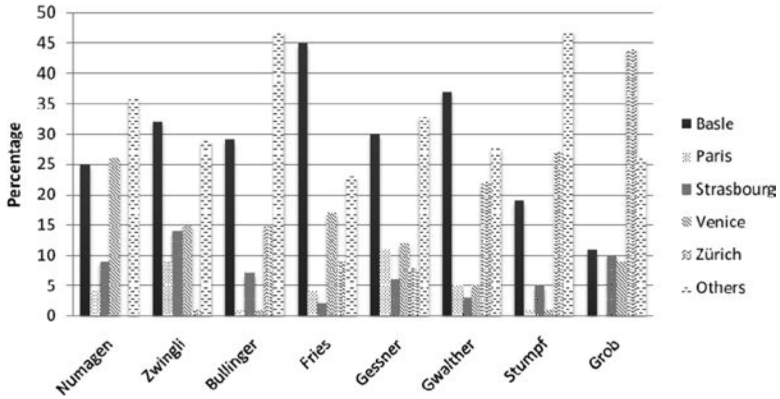

Figure 19. Percentage of book production per city and private library

The five leading places of publication for works in these eight libraries are Basel, Paris, Strasbourg, Venice and Zurich. Imprints from Strasbourg and other cities ("others") remained steady across the century as a whole, whereas Parisian imprints decreased during the second half of the century. Books from Basel were numerous up until the last two decades of the century and Venetian imprints were especially of interest to non-theologians such as Fries, Gessner and Grob. The number of imprints from Zurich increased across the century.

If we look at another figure representing the imprints in these eight private libraries, this time not per printing place, but per country, we get a similar picture:

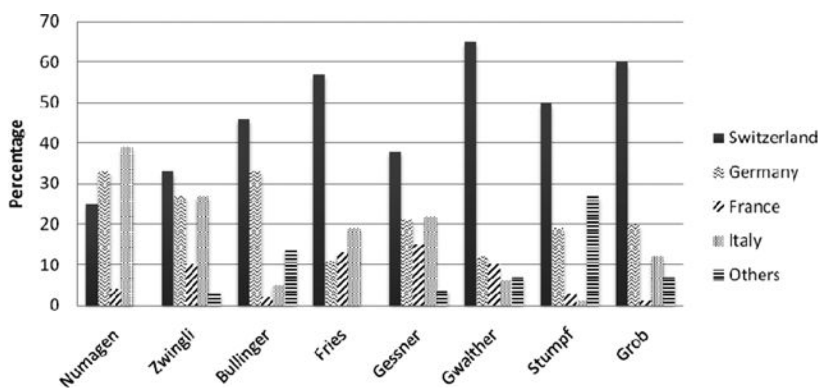

Figure 20. Percentage of book production per country and private library

Whereas books from France decreased during the second half of the sixteenth century, imprints from Germany remained numerous. After the Reformation, books from Italy were bought especially by non-theologians like Fries, Gessner and Grob. The percentage of Swiss imprints increased because, as shown above, people in Zurich bought more and more titles printed in their own city.

This change in behaviour is perhaps connected to the process of confessionalisation, which meant people were increasingly likely to buy and read books by authors and from printing places that matched their own religious confession. This picture is confirmed by the private library of the Catholic priest Georg Sebastian Harzer von Salenstein († 1611), who lived for some years in the monastery of Rheinau, about 25 miles north of Zurich on the Rhine. One hundred and eighty-one titles formerly owned by von Salenstein are also preserved in the Zentralbibliothek in Zurich and are mainly works of theology and history.[35] More than one third were printed in the German Catholic towns Ingolstadt (41 imprints) and Cologne (22). A similar picture is painted by the aforementioned library of the Lutheran Swedish nobleman Hogenskild Bielke (1538–1605): most of the 270 titles were published in the Lutheran cities of Frankfurt (56) and Wittenberg (41).[36] As Catholics and Lutherans increasingly bought their books in Catholic or Lutheran cities with corresponding book production, so the markets for books from Basel and Zurich shrank abroad.

The declining interest in science and education in the Reformed Protestant town of Basel is also evident in the number of students at the university. Whereas from 1611 to 1621 there were 1,100 students registered in Basel, that number declined to 819 for the period between 1621 and 1631 and to 634 for 1631 to 1641. One reason was certainly the Thirty Years' War, but this drop was exacerbated by the process of confessionalisation.[37]

[35] The books could be identified on the basis of ex-libris, *supra*-libros and handwritten inscriptions. See: U.B. Leu, 'Die Druckschriften des Klosters Rheinau' in *Librarium* 52 (2009), pp. 88–97.

[36] W. Undorf, *Hogenskild Bielke's Library.*

[37] E. Bonjour, *Die Universität Basel von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart 1460–1960* (Basel, 1960), p. 242.

1540 to 1640: The Golden Age of Printing in Switzerland Too?

There was a golden age of printing in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, but it lasted not for the whole century from 1540 to 1640, but only for about five decades, from about 1530 to 1580. During the 1530s and 1540s book production in Basel and Zurich grew in response to increasing demand that had probably been caused in turn by the Reformation, which stimulated the literacy of laymen and emphasised the importance of a better education. During these decades many masterpieces were printed: the study of flora by Leonhard Fuchs (1543), the treatises on anatomy by Andreas Vesalius (1543), on geography by Sebastian Münster (from 1530), on history by Johannes Stumpf (1547), and on animals by Conrad Gessner (from 1551) and several editions of the artistically illustrated Froschauer Bible (from 1531). In the middle of the sixteenth century Basel printers also began to publish editions of the collected works of renowned authors, both living and deceased, as well as omnibus volumes on various topics. They sought to collect all knowledge and make it accessible to the scholarly world through the printing press. But this golden age was over in Switzerland by the 1580s. The number of imprints decreased as demand fell and distribution suffered, a result of both the process of confessionalisation and the wars of religion. The increasing demand for vernacular books fragmented the market. And significant printers and entrepreneurs died, including in Basel Johannes Oporin in 1568 and Pietro Perna in 1582 and in Zurich Christoph Froschauer in 1564 and his nephew in 1582.

AUGSBURG'S ROLE IN THE GERMAN BOOK TRADE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Hans-Jörg Künast

The primary focus of my research for the past two decades has been the study of book publishing and the book trade in Augsburg from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries.[1] For a variety of reasons, Augsburg is an exciting area for research in this period, and especially during its heyday between 1480 and 1630. In this period, Augsburg was not only a centre of commerce and banking of European significance, but the city's history also reflected in microcosm many of the important social, political, and religious developments that took place in the Holy Roman Empire.[2]

In addition, the availability of sources in Augsburg from this period is unmatched in any of the other German Free Imperial Cities.[3]

[1] Hans-Jörg Künast, '*Getruckt zu Augspurg*'. *Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555* (Tübingen, 1997); Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Entwicklungslinien des Augsburger Buchdrucks von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', in Helmut Gier and Johannes Janota (eds.), *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 3–21; Hans-Jörg Künast and Brigitte Schürmann, 'Johannes Rynmann, Wolfgang Präunlein und Georg Willer – Drei Augsburger Buchführer des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen*, pp. 23–40; Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Konfessionalität und Buchdruck in Augsburg, 1600–1700', *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten*, 24 (1997), pp. 103–119.

[2] Important treatises in the history of Augsburg between 1480 and 1650 are Friedrich Roth, *Augsburger Reformationsgeschichte*, 4 vols. (Munich, 1901–1911); Gunther Gottlieb et al (eds.), *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, (Stuttgart, 1984); Bernd Roeck, *Als wollt die Welt schier brechen. Eine Stadt im Zeitalter des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, (Munich, 1991); Wolfgang Zorn, *Augsburg. Geschichte einer europäischen Stadt von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, (Augsburg, 2001).

[3] Based on these sources quite a number of interesting studies in different fields have recently been published in English. For example: Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg*, (Oxford, 1989); Kathy Stuart, *Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: Honour and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany*, (Cambridge, 1999); B. Ann Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order: Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany*, (Charlottesville, 2001); Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and religious identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630*, (Aldershot, 2004); Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany*: *Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648*, (Cambridge, 2007).

The Augsburg City Archive is overflowing with sources, while the State and City Library of Augsburg alone houses around 28,000 publications from the sixteenth century. Taking other archives such as the Archive of the Diocese of Augsburg and the Swabian State Archive, as well as other libraries, such as the collection of the Princes of Oettingen-Wallerstein in the Augsburg University Library into consideration, Augsburg offers ideal work conditions for a historian of book publishing and the book trade.

The questions guiding my research can be divided into four areas. Firstly, with the help of archival materials, I have sought to reconstruct the circle of people involved in all facets of book production in Augsburg. This requires a social history of the book trade: from the printers' journeymen to the wealthy master printers; from the colporteurs to the publishers; as well as all of the side trades involved in publication, such as paper makers, book binders, book illustrators, and so on.[4]

Secondly, using archival evidence, I am researching how the book trade was organised inside the city and in the surrounding Swabian countryside. The large Augsburg book production, however, was not only directed at local and regional markets, the town's booksellers were also regular visitors to the great book fairs in Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig from 1480 onwards. It is unsurprising that it was an Augsburg bookseller and publisher, Georg Willer, who printed the first book fair catalogues.[5] These fairs and markets are crucial examples of the supra-regional scope of the book trade in German speaking territories.

Thirdly, the most difficult question to answer with regard to book publication in Augsburg is determining what was actually printed in the city. This difficulty arises because, contrary to legal requirements, a large number of publications appeared without any indication of the place of publication, the printer, and often also the year of publication. In the period from 1518 to 1530, the number of such publications was especially high, with over 90% of them printed without publication

[4] For the printers and publishers between 1460 and 1950 see: Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Dokumentation: Augsburger Buchdrucker und Verleger,' in *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen*, pp. 1205–1340.

[5] H.-J. Künast and B. Schürmann, 'Johannes Rynmann, Wolfgang Präunlein und Georg Willer', pp. 23–40; For the first book fair catalogues published by Georg Willer see: Bernhard Fabian (ed.), *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Vol. 1–4: *Die Messkataloge Georg Willers*. (Hildesheim / New York, 1972–1978).

information. Even in other 'normal' periods, the proportion of such publications was around 50 per cent more. Therefore, in order to base the bibliography of the Augsburg book production between 1468 and 1600 on a firm foundation, it is necessary to compile a repertory of typefaces, initials, and book illustrations used in the Augsburg print shops. This method, developed by Robert Proctor and Konrad Haebler to identify editions from the fifteenth century which lack publication data, can be used when examining printed materials through to the beginning of the seventeenth century. This is particularly effective when using the appropriate comparative imprints that are readily available in the State and City Library in Augsburg and the Bavarian State Library in Munich.[6] At the moment, this bibliography lists 1,300 incunabula and more than 6,000 publications from the sixteenth century.

Finally, important emphasis has been placed on researching the history of libraries in Augsburg.[7] Based just on the holdings of the Augsburg State and City Library, one can reconstruct at least thirty private libraries from the fifteenth until the eighteenth century. In addition, there are a large number of old library catalogues that have been preserved, especially from the monastic libraries of Augsburg and Swabia. The historical materials related to Konrad Peutinger, who lived between 1465 and 1547, are an excellent example of this phenomenon. A humanist, jurist, and an important counsellor to Emperor Maximilian I, Peutinger possessed a superb Universal Library with at least 6,000 printed items and around 250 manuscripts from the tenth through the fifteenth centuries, of which nearly half are still preserved.[8]

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[6] Konrad Haebler, *Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke*. Abt. I–V, (Halle a.d. Saale, 1905–1924); Reprint: (Nendeln / Wiesbaden 1968).

[7] Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Welserbibliotheken. Eine Bestandsaufnahme der Bibliotheken von Anton, Marcus und Paulus Welser', in Mark Häberlein (ed.), *Die Welser*, (Berlin, 2002;), pp. 550–586; Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Die Flugschriftensammlung des Augsburger Benediktiners Veit Bild aus den Jahren 1519 bis 1525', in Ulman Weiß (ed.), *Buchwesen in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Festschrift für Helmut Claus zum 75. Geburtstag*, (Epfendorf / Neckar, 2008), pp. 149–178; A new project just started in cooperation with Ian MacLean, Oxford and Giles Mandelbrote, London on the library of Jeremias Merz (Martius), a friend of Nostradamus and physician in Augsburg. First results are published by Giles Mandelbrote, "The First Printed Library Catalogue? A German Doctor's Library of the Sixteenth Century and its Place in the History of the Distribution of Books by Catalogue", in Fiammetta Sabba (ed.), *Le biblioteche private come paradigma bibliografico. Atti del convegno internazionale*, (Rome, 2008), pp. 295–311.

[8] Hans-Jörg Künast and Helmut Zäh (eds.), *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers. Edition der historischen Kataloge und Rekonstruktion der Bestände*. Vol. 1*: Die*

Furthermore, two of his library catalogues, which he himself wrote, are still extant. Peutinger's library not only allows us to note the range of his interests, but it can also be used to answer other questions, such as where he acquired his books. In this way, important data can be gathered for the study of the inter- and supra-regional book trade, as well as book imports from Italy and France into Augsburg.

When we look at all four of these large areas of inquiry together, we can not only paint a more complete picture of Augsburg's book publishing and trade, but we can also determine the place occupied by Augsburg in the history of book publishing in Germany as a whole.

The Situation in German Speaking Territories Around 1500

The period from the end of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the Reformation in Germany can be seen as a period of stagnation in the book trade. In the southern part of the Holy Roman Empire, one could even call it a crisis. The supply of both books and printers outweighed demand, a situation worsened in this region by wars, plague epidemics and inflation. The book trade was repeatedly compromised by these setbacks.

Printers of incunabula around the turn of the century had satisfied the existing demand for classical and Medieval Latin Literature which had built up in the course of the late Middle Ages. Up to that point, the considerable demand for books was one of the reasons for the rapid development of the trade. The dire state of book printing around 1500 was well-expressed by a complaint from the Nuremberg printer and publisher Anton Koberger in May 1500: "Our trade is in a bad way; I can't turn a profit from books anymore and my overhead costs are far too great".[9] Several responses to such an economic dilemma were possible.

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autographen Kataloge Peutingers. Der nicht-juristische Bibliotheksteil, edited by Hans-Jörg Künast and Helmut Zäh. (Tübingen, 2003); Vol. 2*: Die autographen Kataloge Peutingers. Der juristische Bibliotheksteil*, (Tübingen, 2005); Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Two Volumes of Konrad Peutinger in the Beinecke Library', in *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 77 (2003), pp. 133–142.

[9] Oscar Hase, *Die Koberger. Eine Darstellung des buchhändlerischen Geschäftsbetriebs in der Zeit des Überganges vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*. (Leipzig, 1885), p. 263: "Es ist ein jämmerlich Ding geworden mit unserem Handel; ich kann kein Geld mehr aus Büchern lösen und geht allenthalben große Zehrung und Kosten darauf".

The product could be improved. The printed book met this challenge insofar as it finally separated itself from the manuscript and made itself more user friendly by introducing title pages, tables of content, running titles, and foliation or pagination.[10] Reducing prices via the reduction of overhead costs was a second way to attract new customers. The book market attempted this by offering more and more books in smaller sizes and in smaller typefaces.[11] Printers in Lyon used this method to acquire a market share in Germany from Italian printers in the field of juridical literature, as can be seen in the library of Konrad Peutinger.[12]

Another possibility was to develop new products. The range of literature on offer had been very conservative, and works by contemporary authors were difficult to get published. Only very few authors were able to have their works published the way that the Ulm author Heinrich Steinhöwel did in the 1470s; he co-financed the workshop of his printer, Johann Zainer.[13] Shortly after 1500, however, the range of books diversified. Among the examples of the new types of books that came to market were the works of contemporary preachers like Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg.[14] Other new vernacular works refashioned courtly literature for bourgeois readers, such as the German prose novel Fortunatus.[15] Songbooks and music scores were offered for the first time.[16] New media also came in the form of pamphlets that

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[10] On the development of the title-page see: Ursula Rautenberg, 'Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Buchtitelblatts in der Inkunabelzeit in Deutschland, den Niederlanden und Venedig. Quantitative und qualitative Studien', in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 62 (2008), pp. 1–105; Ursula Rautenberg and Oliver Duntze, *Das frühe deutsche Buchtitelblatt: Mainz, Bamberg, Straßburg, Köln, Basel, Augsburg und Nürnberg. Bibliographische Daten und Abbildungen* (htttp://inkunabeln.ub.-uni-koeln.de/titelblatt/).

[11] A thorough study is now available for the Strasbourg printer Matthias Hupfuff: Oliver Duntze, *Ein Verleger sucht sein Publikum. Die Straßburger Offizin des Matthias Hupfuff (1497/98–1520)*, (München, 2007).

[12] *Die Bibliothek Konrad Peutingers* Vol. 2.

[13] Gerd Dicke, 'Neue und alte biographische Bezeugungen Heinrich Steinhöwels', in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 120 (1991), pp. 156–184; Gerd Dicke, *Heinrich Steinhöwels 'Esopus' und seine Fortsetzer. Untersuchungen zu einem Bucherfolg der Frühdruckzeit*, (Tübingen 1994).

[14] Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg was printed for the first time in Augsburg in 1489: *Eine heilsame Lehre und Predigt*. [Augsburg: Johann Schönsperger d.Ä.], 1489. Munich BSB, 4° Inc.s.a. 1130^{m}; second edition [Augsburg: Johann Schobser], 1489. Munich BSB, Res/4° P.lat. 722/2.

[15] *Fortunatus*. [Augsburg: Johann Otmar], 1509. Munich BSB, Rar. 480.

[16] Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Buchdruck und -handel des 16. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachraum. Mit Anmerkungen zum Notendruck und Musikalienhandel', in Birgit

reported on current events, the 'Neue Zeitungen'. In this field Augsburg was especially innovative, as we shall more clearly see later on.

The foregoing strategies are closely related to the organisational diversification of the book trade. In the fifteenth century, as a rule, production, publishing and distribution took place under the roof of the so-called printer-publisher, the 'Drucker-Verleger'. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a new type of book merchant, who called themselves "Buchführer", came to the forefront and concentrated their efforts on publishing and distribution instead of financing their own print-shop.[17] The printer thus lost his professional status over the course of the sixteenth century and sank to the level of craft production and supply.

Around 1480 Germany also became part of a pan-European market at least for Latin academic literature. A new study by Bettina Wagner uses the incunabula collection of the Bavarian State Library to show how the Bavarian monastery of Windberg bought Italian and French books on an international market.[18] More and more booksellers and printers attended the book fairs in Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig.

In addition to the diversification and stratification of the book industry, there was a process of concentration. In the fifteenth century, printers also settled in smaller Swabian cities like Memmingen, Eßlingen, and Blaubeuren. These printers' chances of survival improved if they were connected to large publishing centres, or if they were subsidised for political reasons. But even this did not suffice in Nördlingen. Although printers there were repeatedly supported by the city council with interest-free loans, freedom from taxation, and commissions for the printing of mandates and official documents, they were not able to survive the competition from the Augsburg and Nuremberg markets in the sixteenth century.[19] Thus the important printing centres enlarged their market share at the expense of the smaller cities.

Lodes (ed.), *Niveau – Nische – Nimbus. Die Anfänge des Musikdrucks nördlich der Alpen*, (Tutzing, 2010), pp. 149–165; Compiled by Eberhard Nehlsen, with Gerd-Josef Bötte, Annette Wehmeyer and Andreas Wittenberg (eds.), *Berliner Liedflugschriften. Katalog der bis 1650 erschienenen Drucke der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Vol. 1–3 (Baden-Baden, 2008).

[17] Heinrich Grimm, 'Die Buchführer des deutschen Kulturbereichs', in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 7 (1967), col. 1153–1772.

[18] Bettina Wagner, 'Die Rechnungsbücher des Prämonstratenserklosters Windberg. Eine bibliotheksgeschichtliche Quelle für den Medienwandel im 15. Jahrhundert', in, *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte*, 33 (2008), pp. 7–31.

[19] H.-J. Künast, *Getruckt zu Augspurg*, pp. 153–155.

The pressure to compete created by the great printing cities is illustrated by the fact that printers from Tübingen, Reutlingen and Ulm immigrated to Augsburg.[20]

Augsburg, 1500–1550

In order to understand the dynamic of Augsburg's book printing in the first half of the sixteenth century, one must first briefly sketch out how the printing and publishing system had developed in the fifteenth century, and describe the political, economic, and cultural conditions that printers and publishers faced in the city at that time.

In Augsburg, anyone with the necessary capital and the technical know-how was free to open a print shop, as there was no requirement for guild membership. One did not even need to have citizenship in Augsburg in order to practice the printer's trade. Like physicians and apothecaries, printers were counted among the 'free trades'.[21] Even before the Reformation movement had taken hold in Augsburg, the city council required printers to take an oath not to print pasquils and to uphold the city peace.[22] A board of censure was not installed, however, until 1537, in the year in which Augsburg was officially reformed. Still, the council did not consider the passage of a formal law of censorship or a printers' ordinance necessary. An unofficial ordinance for printers was only developed in 1614. The era of print in Augsburg as a 'free trade' did not end until even later, when, in 1713, the printers in Augsburg decided to enter into a formal organisation and placed itself under the jurisdiction of the municipal guilds.[23]

City authorities in Augsburg only rarely involved themselves in matters of the print business of their own initiative. Judicial prosecution was initiated as a rule only when complaints came in from outside; Augsburg had to tread especially delicately in the cases involving its powerful neighbours, the dukes of Bavaria and the prince-bishops of Augsburg, as well as the emperor. The situation changed fundamentally, however, in the middle of the century. Augsburg joined forces with other Protestant imperial territories in the Schmalkaldic League,

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[20] Peter Amelung, *Der Frühdruck im deutschen Südwesten 1473–1500. Eine Ausstellung der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, (Stuttgart / Ulm 1979).

[21] H.-J. Künast, *Getruckt zu Augspurg*, pp. 32–58.

[22] Ibid., pp. 197–211.

[23] H.-J. Künast, *Entwicklungslinien*, p. 7.

for which the city was harshly punished when the league was defeated in 1547 at the hands of Emperor Charles V. Charles overturned the city's guild constitution, simultaneously wresting control of the council from the Protestant majority. A new municipal constitution established the patriciate at the fore of political power in the city and, at the same time, ensured that control of the city would be placed for good in the hands of the Catholic minority, which constituted a mere 10% of the city population. Thus, a majority Catholic council found itself confronted with a print business dominated by Protestants of diverse confessions. This new constellation led in the long run to a reorientation of the printing products brought to market, something which, however, we must leave aside for the time being.[24]

Until the disaster of the Schmalkaldic War, printers were permitted an enormous degree of independence in determining what they wished to print. This was due to the fact that no religious faction was able to achieve complete hegemony in the city. Though Augsburg became ever more Protestant from the 1520s on, the Reformation movement had splintered into Lutherans, Zwinglians, Anabaptists, as well as followers of the spiritualists Sebastian Franck and Kaspar Schwenckfeld. In addition to this, roughly 10% of the population remained in the fold of the Catholic Church. All of these groups, moreover, were represented among the city's elites, a fact that contributed to the toleration of all of the groups as long as peace in the city was maintained. This explains why printers and publishers did not need to worry about intervention by city officials. Indeed, up until 1540, when the last Catholic printer left Augsburg to set up shop at the Catholic university in Ingolstadt, theological texts of every persuasion were published in Augsburg. In cases where there was a problem with the authorities, printers could always fall back upon the argument that the work in question was intended for export and would thus pose little danger for the public peace.

One fundamental aspect that differentiates Augsburg from other key German printing cities like Cologne, Basel, or Erfurt, was the absence of a university. The city council and the political and commercial elites in the city never quite felt the need to turn Augsburg into a university city. On the contrary, the city's merchants regularly complained that the curriculum at the gymnasium at St Anna, founded in 1537, was too comprehensive and too academic.[25] The majority of

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[24] H.-J. Künast, *Getruckt zu Augspurg*, pp. 211–216.
[25] Ibid., p. 12.

Augsburg's printers and publishers of the fifteenth century, likewise, had no contacts with the Latin-language academic literature of the universities and the Church. Only a minority of these tradesmen attended university. Instead, they were drawn largely from guild families and from the artistic crafts.[26] Yet, in the fifteenth century, there was a rich literary life that already served to highlight a self-confident lay burgher public. Manuscripts from the Augsburg region that pre-dated the development of the printing press already demonstrate a high percentage of German-language texts when compared to the production of other regions. It was here that the printer-publishers found inspiration for their own product line.

After a dramatic take-off period between 1468 and 1478, when nine print shops were founded, the industry entered a period of consolidation in the 1480s. In the period between 1480 and 1500, a consortium of printers, book binders and book merchants dominated the Augsburg market. Most of these tradesmen were either related to one another or strengthened business relations by ties of marriage. They produced on average between thirty and forty imprints per year, of which three-quarters were German-language editions of great variety, quite often lavishly illustrated with woodcuts. This makes Augsburg something of an exception in the German-speaking parts of Europe, for it was the only town in which German-language production was greater than production in Latin. This consortium was dissolved around 1500, through the death, retirement or bankruptcy of many of its members, a process amplified by the difficult political, economic, and social situation at the turn of the century.[27]

The generation of printer-publishers of the incunabula period was slowly replaced by a new generation of printers who were far less well-to-do and who therefore avidly sought out new markets and new business models. In the 1510s, the debate between Johannes Reuchlin and Johannes Pfefferkorn about the usefulness of Jewish books showed publishers the value of the pamphlet as a commercial product.[28] It can be argued that this business model drew its inspiration from the structures that had already been set in place by another communication

[26] Ibid., pp. 72–77.
[27] Ibid., pp. 91–95.
[28] Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Johannes Reuchlin – Zur Drucklegung und Rezeption seiner Werke', in Daniela Hacke and Bernd Roeck (eds.), *Die Welt im Augenspiegel. Johannes Reuchlin und seine Zeit*, (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 187–207.

system, namely, the postal system that had been considerably expanded by the first decade of the sixteenth century.[29] Unfortunately, little research has been done so far to make this connection clearer.

The small printing shops could be successful with smaller outlays of capital, if they served the ever-growing German-speaking reading public with current events and novelties. Especially in Augsburg, but also in Nuremberg and Strasbourg, businesses thrived if they concentrated primarily on the distribution of pamphlets and broadsheets, so-called "Neue Zeitungen", as well as short pamphlets containing new texts to popular melodies. Of the some 10,000 Reformation pamphlets printed between 1518 and 1530, nearly one-third appeared in Augsburg, where production reached its peak in 1524 with 277 imprints.[30] With the exception of Bible editions, practically no other books were printed in this period.

One typical pamphlet printer is Melchior Ramminger, who owned a small print shop between 1520 and 1542 in which over 360 pamphlets were produced.[31] Our first evidence for Ramminger lists him as a master bookbinder in 1508, a profession which he most likely continued to practice simultaneously with his work as printer. The modesty of the means at Ramminger's disposal is evident in his workshop's implements. He obtained the types and the illustrations from various sources, which ensured a very idiosyncratic and not necessarily particularly attractive appearance.

An even more primitive set of imprints were produced by the workshop of Hans and Matthäus Elchinger. Hans Elchinger can be traced back to 1488, when he was listed as a member of the masons' guild. Around 1510, however, he was active as a local book dealer and, a little bit later together with his son, as a printer. Between 1515 and 1545 the Elchingers produced almost exclusively broadsheets with very worn types and illustrations obtained at least partially from fifteenth-century print shops in Ulm.[32]

After the Reformation movement had lost some of its dynamic, annual production levelled out at around sixty imprints, of which

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[29] Wolfgang Behringer, *Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 2003).

[30] Hans-Joachim Köhler (eds.), *Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit. Beiträge zum Tübinger Symposion 1980*, (Stuttgart, 1981); H.-J. Künast, *Getruckt zu Augspurg*, p. 297.

[31] H.-J. Künast, *Getruckt zu Augspurg*, pp. 44, 51, 57, 75 f., 82 f., 326–327.

[32] Ibid., pp. 47, 51 f., 75, 80, 101 f., 127 f., 130, 132, 139, 198, 209.

some two-thirds were pamphlets and one-third were books. The market in Augsburg was dominated by three major printers, Heinrich Steiner, Philipp Ulhart, and Silvan Otmar, who, in addition to their pamphlet production, undertook the publication of illustrated German-language books.[33] The spectrum of texts produced was very wide, ranging from Bible editions and prayer books, to historical and medical books, to popular literature. The printer Heinrich Steiner, in particular, made a good name for himself – so much so that Paracelsus asked Steiner to prepare an authorised edition of his two-volume work, "The Great Surgery Book", in 1536.[34]

A Comparison of German Printing Centres

Having outlined developments in the overall context and the special features of printing in Augsburg, I would like to conclude by placing Augsburg in the wider context of the German book market. For this purpose I have identified the production figures for some of the most important German centres of printing with the help of the VD16, an index of German-language editions in the sixteenth century.[35] The online version of the VD16 currently includes over 100,000 works, and it is estimated that there are actually around 130,000 editions still in existence.[36] Thus the data basis is sufficient for analysing the development of specific centres of printing quantitatively. In order to ensure an objective comparison, I have not drawn on my own bibliography of Augsburg imprints, but depended entirely on the VD16.

Based on production figures, Leipzig, home to both a university and a seasonal fair, was the most important centre of printing from the turn of the century to the beginning of the Reformation. The city lost its leading position when Duke George the Bearded (who ruled from 1500 to 1539) spoke out against Martin Luther and, in 1523, caused

[33] Ibid., pp. 340 f. (Steiner), 342 f. (Ulhart), 322 f. (Otmar).

[34] Ibid. p. 206; Theophrastus Paracelsus, *Große Wundarznei*. Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 28 July 1536. Munich BSB, Rar. 2051(1.2.

[35] *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts (VD 16),* edited by Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. I. Abteilung: Verfasser – Körperschaften – Anonyma. Vol. 1–22. Stuttgart, 1983–1995. II. Abteilung: Register der Herausgeber, Kommentatoren, Übersetzer und literarischen Beiträger. Vol. 1–2. Stuttgart, 1997. III. Abteilung: Register der Druckorte, Drucker, Verleger und Erscheinungsjahre. Stuttgart, 2000.

[36] 'VD 16', www.vd16.de.

Table 1. Book production in important centres of German printing in the 1st half of the sixteenth century

Ort	1504	1509	1514	1519	1524	1529	1534	1539	1544	1549[37]	1554
Augsburg	19 (germ.: 10)	21	40	116	**277**	72	54	66	66 (germ.: 48)	19	18
Basel	12 (germ.: 1)	16	29	99	86	55	61	77	**89** (germ.: 1)	**85**	86
Erfurt	10 (germ.: 1)	18	9	16	85	38	12	16	25 (germ.: 19)	15	10
Frankfurt am Main	–	–	–	–	1	–	19	30	56 (germ.: 22)	50	52
Cologne	40 (germ.: 0)	63	49	36	70	**104**	67	76	80 (germ.: 19)	43	65
Leipzig	**80** (germ.: 3)	**84**	**91**	**187**	24	40	51	47	48 (germ.: 16)	56	52
Nuremberg	11 (germ.: 1)	31	38	53	164	94	33	58	64 (germ.: 41)	47	97
Strasbourg	37 (germ.: 10)	70	85	92	213	91	50	**96**	67 (germ.: 31)	29	47
Wittenberg	5 (germ.: 0)	13	8	46	107	78	**81**	83	61 (germ.: 25)	75	**119**

Luther's tracts and Bible translations to be confiscated. This coincided exactly with a steep drop in production figures, from 115 editions in 1522 to only 43 the following year. This political intervention had lasting consequences for Leipzig in the decades that followed. Book production in the city overwhelmingly targeted the needs of the university and the supra-regional market for learned literature in Latin. Similar results can be documented for other university towns.

Between 1520 and 1525 Augsburg boasted the largest output followed by Strasbourg and Nuremberg. These three cities were of central

[37] In 1549 Magdeburg was the printing centre with the highest production, 95 books and pamphlets.

importance to the distribution of Reformation tracts and pamphlets. By comparison, it is interesting to note that production figures for the same time frame remained stagnant in the university towns of Basel and Cologne, increased only slightly in Erfurt and, for the reasons already mentioned, fell sharply in Leipzig.

The Reformation represented an enormous boost for the printing business in Wittenberg. Wittenberg had only become a university town in 1502 but was of minor importance as a printing centre until the appearance of Martin Luther. Despite its disadvantageous location away from major trade routes, Wittenberg was able to maintain its standing as a major printing centre through the second half of the sixteenth century after Luther's death because of its role as the citadel of the reformer's teaching.

It may come as a surprise that the first printer in Frankfurt am Main, also known for its important book fair, did not appear until the 1520s. At first, the 100 to 200 booksellers from Germany and neighbouring countries that gathered in Frankfurt during the seasonal fair prevented publishers and printers from establishing businesses. Already a centre of the book trade, Frankfurt rose in prominence as a centre of printing only during the second half of the sixteenth century, when important publishers such as Sigmund Feyerabend established their workshop in the city. The only printing centre of supra-regional importance that remained in the hands of the Catholic Church was Cologne. During the Reformation, Cologne's publishers and printers hardly suffered; in fact, a rise in production figures is actually discernible.

When all of these towns are considered comparatively, it is possible to recognise a pattern of subdivisions in the German book market. University towns were orientated towards the scholarly, Latin market, while cities such as Augsburg, Strasbourg and Nuremberg met the literary needs of the non-academic public who did not read Latin – as is suggested by the production figures for German-language literature in the years 1504 and 1544.

Conclusions and Results

Although the German book market during the first half of the sixteenth century was decentralised, it was dominated by a handful of great centres of printing. This decentralised organisation allowed quick and flexible reactions to changes both in market needs and due to political intervention. The German book market managed for the most part to elude any wide-scale and long-term control by the authorities. The great centres of print were to a certain extent competitors. At the same time, they were involved with one another in a lively exchange of literature, for no single city was able to provide everything the market demanded. This demand was met by a bookselling trade largely dependent upon fairs and itinerant salesmen. Within this system, Augsburg held a prominent position as it provided the wider population with German-language literature of all genres. Especially during the early phase of the Reformation, Augsburg was the most important producer of pamphlets. The Augsburg printers and booksellers were adept at making the most of their natural advantages, such as convenient information and transportation networks, for the market in news sheets and pamphlets was for the first time dependent on speed.

BOOK TRADE PRACTICES IN EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY PARIS: PIERRE VIDOUE (1516–1543)

David J. Shaw

Paris in the Early Sixteenth Century

Book trade practices in early sixteenth-century Paris are not especially well documented. Relatively little archival material survives for the post-incunable period strictly defined (1501–1520). The situation is arguably worse for the incunable period itself, but of course it has been much more intensively worked over. The one book which has made a special study of book-trade practices in the sixteenth century is Annie Charon-Parent's *Les métiers du livre à Paris* but, significantly, this does not start until 1535.[1] Equally, the post-incunable period gets little attention in volume 1 of *L'Histoire de l'édition en France*, which seems to see 1530 as the start of more interesting times, after giving close attention to the incunable period.[2] The exception to this lack of documentary material is of course the evidence of the books themselves. Here, we are exceptionally well served by the voluminous papers of Philippe Renouard held by the Réserve des Imprimés at the Bibliothèque nationale de France which are in the process of being published (albeit slowly) in the two great projects of the *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle* and *Les Imprimeurs & libraires parisiennes du XVIe siècle*.[3] In particular, the *Inventaire chronologique* with its annalistic approach provides invaluable chronological data on Parisian production figures (see: Figure 1).

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[1] Annie Parent, *Les métiers du livre* (Geneva, 1974).

[2] Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier and Jean-Pierre Vivet (eds), *Histoire de l'édition française. Tome 1: Le livre conquérant; du Moyen Age au milieu du XVIIe siècle*. (Paris, 1982).

[3] Brigitte Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1972– in progress); Renouard, Philippe, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1964– in progress).

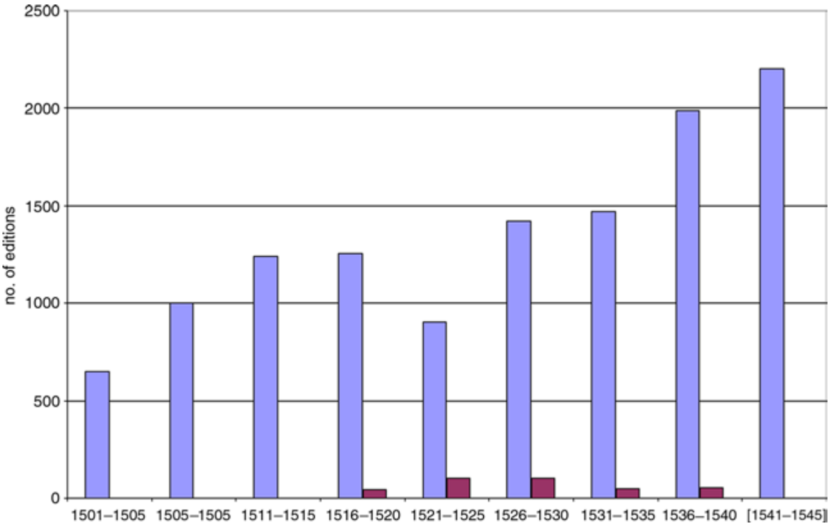

Figure 1: Parisian book production, 1501–1545 Data from *Inventaire chronologique* (1541–1545 estimated) with Vidoue's output for comparison

Two long-term projects underpin my work in this area:

- A typographical catalogue of the British Library's books printed in France, 1501–1520
- A bibliography of the production of the Parisian printer Pierre Vidoue, 1516–1543

The catalogue of the British Library's French post-incunables is one of several successors to Robert Proctor's celebrated index of the incunables in the British Museum and Bodleian libraries published in 1898.[4] The Proctor/Haebler method organises its data according to the historical geography of the spread of printing, focussing on the printing presses and their material rather than on a presentation of authors and titles. Subsequent catalogues of incunables have been divided as to whether they organise their entries as an alphabetical short-title catalogue as in Hain's *Repertorium*,[5] for example, the *Catalogue des*

[4] Robert Proctor, *An Index to the early printed books in the British Museum: from the invention of printing to the year MD. With notes of those in the Bodleian Library* (London, 1898).

[5] Ludwig Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographia inventa usque ad annum MD. typis expressi* (Stuttgart, 1826–1838).

incunables of the Bibliothèque nationale of France, or in Proctor/Haebler order, as in the British Library's *Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century*. For the British Library's books of the post-incunabular period, there were two successors to Proctor's *Index*, one by Proctor himself, *Index of German books* (1903), and then Frank Isaac's *Index of Italian books* (1938). My *Catalogue of the British Library's books printed in France 1501–1520* is based on pre-war work by Isaac and also follows Robert Proctor's method. It is a typographical catalogue, organised (like the British Library's incunable catalogue) by printing town, printer, and date; it gives an analysis of the typographical material of each book of each printer, and seeks to allocate all unsigned books to a specific printer, based on typographical analysis, and to give a date to each undated book, again using the evidence of the typographical material as an important indicator of date. One of the results of this approach is to offer information on features of the internal organisation of the printing firms of this early period for which almost no archival data survive and to offer industry-wide data on the introduction, spread and use of individual type faces. The format of the earlier *Indexes* has been modernised by including transcriptions of titles, imprints and colophons, signature collations, and notes on significant features such as privileges, editors and press correctors, as well as the analysis of the typographical material.

Pierre Vidoue, Parisian Printer 1517–1543

The second long-term project on which I have been collecting data for several decades is a bibliographical study of the Parisian printer Pierre Vidoue (*Petrus Vidouæus*), active between 1516 and 1543. Vidoue is of interest for a number of reasons. He had a substantial annual output over a long career; he was a central figure in the Parisian book trade, being one of the twenty-four *libraires jurés* authorised by the University to supervise the industry (and enjoying tax exemptions in return); he was a humanist printer involved with the intellectual avant-garde of the time and to some extent with the *évangélique* religious avant-garde too. He was in several areas a technical innovator, for example printing a series of miniature-format editions of classical texts.

The output of Vidoue's presses can be tabulated from the data given in the *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle* (See Figure 2). These data exclude a number of unsigned or undated editions but their general pattern is indicative even though

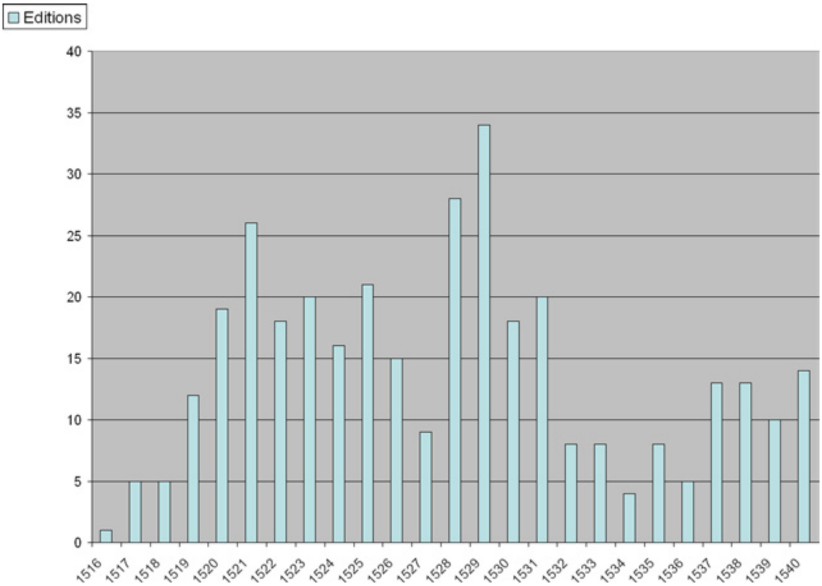

Figure 2. Vidoue's output, 1516–1540 Data from *Inventaire chronologique*

they inevitably exclude the important element of the size of the books in question. This can only be given by a computation of the annual number of edition sheets and even this omits the relevant factors of print runs and sheet size. The figures show that Vidoue's heyday was in the 1520s when he averaged around twenty editions a year. His level of activity seems to have reduced after 1530; though some of his books were very large theological works which must have kept him occupied for several months. In the last ten years of his career a large proportion of his surviving output consists of smaller pamphlet-sized works. Comparison of his annual output with that of the whole Parisian book trade suggests that during the 1520s his firm produced about 9% of the capital's total output (see: Figure 1 and 2).

The types of books which Vidoue printed are a mixture of the traditional and the modern. This was in part the result of the orders which he received from the booksellers who employed his skills but equally reflected the area in which these booksellers thought he was competent. A considerable part of his output was standard texts for the late-medieval university and professional market, for example legal texts or editions of works by Aristotle with commentaries, but even in this field he seems to have worked with innovators, producing new commentaries. He printed a number of editions of the regional *coutumes* which were being newly formulated under royal initiative.

In the early 1520s, Vidoue produced a series of editions of Books of Hours. A glance through the pages of the *Inventaire chronologique* will show that this was an important area of the Parisian book market, with a group of printers and publishers who specialised in it. Vidoue produced editions of *Horae* for the booksellers Guillaume Godard (1519–1525), Jean de Brie (1520–1522), Galliot Du Pré (1522), Germain Hardouyn (1523–1526), François Regnault (1525–1526) and Gilles de Gourmont (1528). These specialists must have felt that Vidoue had the requisite levels of skills in presswork to manage the combination of text and woodcuts which were demanded for these books.

Another of Vidoue's areas of expertise was with humanist texts. He produced editions of classical authors, one of the staples of the educational market, and texts by contemporary neo-Latin authors, such as Guillaume Budé, Germain de Brie and Julius Caesar Scaliger, as well as more conservative scholars such as Jérôme de Hangest, Pierre Cousturier and Pierre Rebuffi. During the 1520s, Erasmus was one of his regular authors, particularly in a series of reprints of the Biblical paraphrases which had first appeared in Basel. By the end of the 1520s, he was specialising in Greek texts such as an important edition of Aristophanes's *Comoediae* and a series of Greek authors apparently produced for the incipient Collège des Lecteurs Royaux in 1529 and 1530.[6] A small number of his books contained Hebrew text and later in the 1530s he was one of the printers chosen by the eccentric polyglot Guillaume Postel to print editions of his *De originibus seu de Hebraicae linguae et gentis antiquitate* and *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium alphabetum introductio* in 1538.[7] Vidoue appears to have been a competent humanist himself, as a number of his books contain preliminary letters by him in Latin (and one or two in Greek) in the manner of scholar-printers such as Josse Badius. A small number of his books are significant first or early editions of some minor classical texts, such as the first edition of Asconius Pedianus, printed for Conrad Resch in 1520 and the 1528 Aristophanes.[8]

Vernacular literature had traditionally been printed in *lettre bâtarde*. Vidoue of course had a range of bastarda gothics in his type cases that

[6] Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique*, 1528, no. 1364.
[7] Ibid., 1538, nos 1035 and 1037.
[8] Ibid., 1520, no. 2241.

were needed for some of the books of Hours, for example. More significantly, he was one of the first Parisian printers to use roman type for texts in French, in particular for a translation of Baptista Platina's *Genealogia* in 1519 and several other works in 1520.[9] Later he produced significant French vernacular texts in roman type, such as Clément Marot's modernised version of the *Rommant de la rose* (1529/1530).[10]

Pierre Vidoue and the University

Although no record of Vidoue's university affiliation has been found so far, he frequently signs himself 'Maistre Pierre Vidoue' or *magister artium* in colophons in Latin. He presumably had completed the Arts Faculty syllabus, perhaps coming under the influence of early humanist teachers in Paris, such as Aleandro who had taught Greek and Hebrew from 1508 at the collège de La Marche and later at the collège des Lombards.[11] Vidoue's university connections were significant throughout his career. He became one of the university's twenty-four *libraires jurés* in 1523. This gave him an important status within the Parisian book trade which was regulated by the university through these 'suppôts' (university servants) who enjoyed a variety of privileges. Almost all of the members of the book trade in Paris in this period had their premises within the university quarter, the *quartier latin*. From 1531, Vidoue's address was 'au mont sainct Hilaire devant le college de Reims' where he probably acted as bookseller and stationer to the college as well as a printer and publisher. Vidoue's contacts within the university gave him access to a good supply of specialist ancillary workers. It was fairly common for students and regent masters to find extra income by helping with appropriate editorial tasks in the printing houses. This included the use of university men as copy editors, indexers, proof readers and writers of preliminary poems and letters, in addition to a role as authors and editors. We can look at two such men who worked with Vidoue in this sort of capacity.

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[9] Ibid., 1519, no. 2175; Battista Platina, *Les genealogies faitz et gestes des sainctz peres papes empereurs & roys de France* (Paris, Pierre Vidoue for Galliot Du Pré, 1519); The main text is printed in Vidoue's 102R.

[10] Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique*, 1530, no. 2124.

[11] P.G. Bietenholz and T.B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation* (University of Toronto Press, 2003), vol. I, pp. 29–30.

The first is a Danish scholar who called himself Petrus Parvus Rosaefontanus (Peder Lille of Roskilde). He has an entry in the standard Danish national biographical dictionary, which offers the following chronology:[12]

c. 1500 : born in Roskilde in Denmark and
c. 1515 : studied in Rostock before moving to Paris
1519 : took his B.A. and M.A. in Paris.
1533 : recorded as being back in Denmark
1537 : professor in Copenhagen.

What was he doing in the interval between 1519 and 1533? Evidence from books printed in Paris in this period indicates firstly that he was teaching in one of the colleges in Paris under the patronage of the humanist scholar Pierre Danès and secondly that (like Danès himself) he found time to work as an editor for scholarly publishers and in particular that he worked as a press corrector for Pierre Vidoue on the following texts:

Phalaris, *Epistolae* (P. Vidoue, for R. Chaudière, 1521; *Inventaire chronologique*, 1521, no. 203)
Julius Caesar (P. Vidoue, for Pierre Viart, 1522; *Inventaire chronologique*, 1522, no. 287)
Vergil (P. Vidoue, for Pierre Viart, 1522; *Inventaire chronologique*, 1522, no. 410)
John Chrysostom, *In totum Genesaeos librum homiliae sexagintasex* (P. Vidoue, for Jean Petit, 1524; *Inventaire chronologique*, 1524, no. 695)
Counterfeit version of Mathurin Cordier's *De corrupti sermonis emendatione*, (Vidoue, 1530; *Inventaire chronologique*, 1530, no. 2045), apparently written by Petrus Parvus, as the anonymous author styled himself *eques Danicus*.

Another example of a career which can be filled out with further details from work in Vidoue's printing shop is the printer Simon du Bois, well-known for his production of religious texts which occasioned the anger of the civil and religious authorities. His previously known career is:

M.A. c. 1520, collège de Presles, Paris
Printer in Paris 1525–1529 (62 items, some heretical)

[12] *Dansk biografisk leksikon* (3rd edition, Copenhagen, 1982), vol. 11, pp. 165–66.

Printer in Alençon, 1529–1534 (17 items)
Proclaimed a heretic in 1535

Again, what was he doing between 1520 and 1525? How did he learn his trade as a printer? Two surviving books have preliminary texts which show that he spent some of this time working in Vidoue's shop:[13]

Publius Ovidius Naso, *Heroidum epistolarum opus*. Paris, Pierre Vidoue for Jehan Petit, [1523]. Not in *Inventaire chronologique*. Preliminary letter addressed to Vidoue by Du Bois, *ex emporio nostro*.
Gaius Plinius Secundus, *Naturae Historiae Libri XXXVII*, Pierre Vidoue, for Pierre Gaudoul, 1525. *Inventaire chronologique,* 1525, no. 886. Preliminary verses by Du Bois in the index volume.

A further connection with Vidoue can be found in 1529 when Du Bois printed the second part of a translation of Homer's *Iliad* published by Jean Petit for which Vidoue had printed the first part in 1528. The third part appeared in 1530, probably printed on the presses of Jean Cornillau after Du Bois had hastily departed from Paris.[14]

This pattern of university men making their way into the book trade by working as a part-time editor and proof reader with an existing tradesman may well prove to be more common. It may even account for Vidoue's own trajectory from university to book trade.

Vidoue's Book Trade-Connections

Given the extent of Vidoue's production in the 1520s and 1530s and his connections in the university milieu, it is not surprising that he was also well connected within the book trade itself. As well as being involved with the structures of the University, the Parisian book trade had its own social organisation, a religious guild called the *Confrérie de Saint-Jean l'Evangéliste*. In 1523 Vidoue is found as a signatory to a contract between the masters and governors of the *Confrérie* and Adrien de Zélande, *brodeur* (embroiderer) to renew the fabric in the guild's chapel. The document was witnessed by Poncet Le Preux (*grand*

[13] For further details on the connections between Du Bois and Vidoue, see: D.J. Shaw, 'New dates in the career of Simon Du Bois, Reformation printer, Paris, 1523–1529', *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 67, no. 2 (1992), pp. 32–36.

[14] Homer, *Les Iliades*, [printing shared by Pierre Vidoue, Simon Du Bois, and Jean Cornillau(?)], for Jehan Petit, 1528–1530. *Inventaire chronologique,* 1530, no. 2146. Part 1: 1528, Vidoue; Part 2: [1529], Du Bois; Part 3: 1530, [Cornillau].

libraire juré 1522), Martial Vaillant (not in Renouard and possibly a lawyer rather than a member of the book trade), Pierre Vidoue (*libraire juré* 1523), Jacques Le Bouc (binder), Antoine de Montpignon (not in Renouard).[15] Vidoue's role in the *confrérie* was clearly an important one as he became its *gouverneur* in the following year.[16]

Vidoue was commissioned to print books for a wide range of the major bookseller-publishers of the day, such as the *marchants libraires* Jehan Petit, Simon Vostre, and François Regnault, and for newcomers such as the Basel entrepreneur Conrad Resch, and later for Jérôme de Gourmont. Sometimes he co-financed the books he printed, as well as occasionally commissioning books to be printed by other houses.

Shared Printing

An interesting phenomenon which has received very little attention in the study of the sixteenth-century Parisian book trade is the existence of cases of shared printing, where two or more printers each print one or more sections of a book, usually all working for a single *marchant libraire*. Most frequently, this shared activity is not acknowledged in the colophon of the books in question: it has to be determined by close investigation of the differences in typographical materials and compositorial habits in the different sections of the books. The case of Homer's *Iliad* referred to above is not typical, as two of the three parts are signed (by Vidoue and by Du Bois) and the whole book was produced over a three-year period, presumably as the text of the translation became available. More usually, shared printing involved more complex patterns of typesetting, with the copy being distributed by the commissioning *marchant libraire* between two or more printing houses for reasons which are not always easy to determine.

An unusual case which I have investigated involved five separate printing houses which participated in the production of the four parts of a work of scholastic theology, Franciscus Lichetus, *In Iohan. Duns Sco. super Primo. Secundo. Tertio & Quolibetis clarissima commentaria*, Paris, Jean II du Pré [and Guillaume Desplains, Nicolas des Prez, Jean

[15] E. Coyecque, *Recueil d'actes notariés relatifs à l'histoire de Paris et de ses environs au XVIe siècle*, 2 vols (Paris, 1905–1923), t.1, 420, p. 85.

[16] Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle* (Paris, 1965), 428.

Cornillau, and Pierre Vidoue], [for] Jean Granjon, 1519/1520.[17] Sometimes each printer produced a recognisably coherent block of text; elsewhere in the book, two printers produced alternating groups of one or two gatherings. The overall effect can only be described as messy, as no attempt seems to have been made (or requested) to ensure consistency of typefaces for the text or for the running heads.

My investigations suggest that shared printing was not uncommon in Paris for large books produced around 1520 but much more work would be needed to establish the true extent of this phenomenon which is both little recognised and difficult to identify. One interesting consequence of unrecognised shared printing is the problem it presents for the calculation of production figures for individual printing houses (in terms of 'edition sheets' as well as of editions).

Vidoue's Typography

In order to investigate such phenomena as shared printing or the more normal one of identifying the printer of an unsigned book or the date of an undated book, it is necessary to have a full inventory of the types used by the printers in question. Some of Vidoue's typographical characteristics are fairly general ones which were also adopted by other printers in the same period: the introduction of roman type for vernacular texts (1519), the use of italic type for humanist Latin (1523), use of Greek and Hebrew type, and the introduction of distinctive ornamental initials with humanist designs of Basel origin. It is also possible to produce an inventory of the extent of the typographical material which he had available at any particular time. This also illustrates how well his printing house was funded. Table 1 shows the impressive list of types used in his books c. 1520, together with the overall period of use of each.

Vidoue was proud of his investment in typographical material. His colophons sometimes specify that the book was printed using his own types: *impressus caracteribus suis*. Vidoue is not the only printer to do this but the phrase seems to suggest that he is unusual in owning his own material. The table of his types as used in 1520 shows that

[17] Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique*, 1520, no. 2398; See D.J. Shaw, 'One book, five printers: Shared printing in early sixteenth-century Paris (Franciscus Lichetus, *Commentaria*, Paris, 1520), (forthcoming).

Table 1. Vidoue's printing types c. 1520

64R	1520–1542
102R	1517–1541
220R	1519–1542
72Gk	1518–1522
81B	1517–1522
99B	1519–1529
108T	1517–1521
120T	1516
63Rot	1516–1539
86Rot	1517–1530
101Rot	1517–1530
130Rot	1518–1539
190Rot	1517–1525

R : roman; Gk : greek; B : bâtarde; T : textura; Rot : rotunda (The numbers give the measurement of 20 lines of type in millimetres.)

some of his founts stayed in use for over twenty years (for example 102R, 63Rot, and the 220R and 130Rot display types). By the 1540s some of these type faces had a distinctly old-fashioned appearance. This is presumably not a question of stylistic preference, as Vidoue purchased some of the newer founts designed by Garamond and others in the 1530s. The prolonged use of earlier founts suggests an economic explanation. It suggests that Vidoue owned matrices for these founts, and not simply type – he would, in any case, have had to renew them during such a long period. Did he perhaps even operate his own type foundry?

During the 1520s Vidoue purchased a number of new founts, among them a roman 52R (*petit texte* or *brevier*), a small fount equivalent to modern 8 point. This enabled him to introduce another technical innovation, the production of miniature books in 24 mo format ('vigesimo-quarto'). Vidoue appears to have been the first Parisian printer to attempt this minor technical feat, though it had briefly been attempted a few years earlier in Italy. During the 1520s and 1530s Vidoue printed a series of books in this small pocket format (typical size 10 × 5 cm).[18] In particular he produced a series of miniature classical texts with a

[18] P. Gaskell, *New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), p. 86.

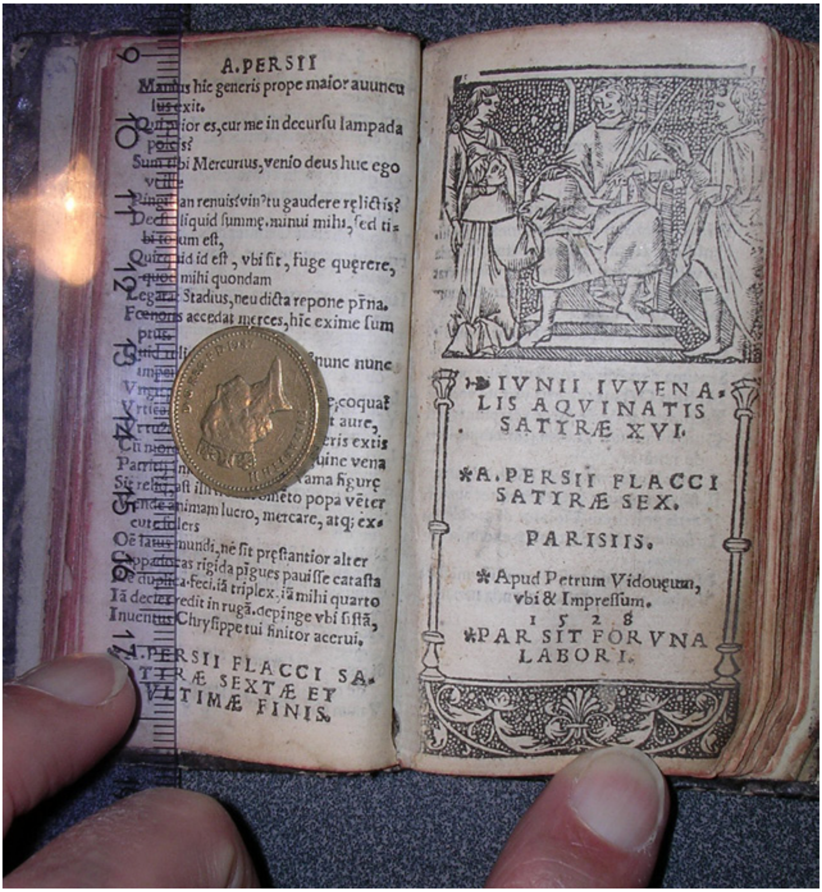

Figure 3. Juvenal and Persius, *Satirae*, Paris, Pierre Vidoue, 1528, 24 mo.

uniform appearance, which suggests evidence of some awareness of a concept of niche marketing.[19] Figure 3 shows the title page of his 1528 edition of the Satires of Juvenal and Persius, with a modern one-pound coin for comparison. He also produced five or six 24 mo editions of *Horae* around 1525.

[19] For a fuller discussion of Vidoue's 24 mo books and their Italian predecessors, see: D.J. Shaw, 'Books printed by Pierre Vidoue in 24° format', in Hans Widmann (ed.), *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1974* (Mainz, 1975), pp. 117–122.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that Vidoue had already made the transition from medieval to (early) modern. He shows no sign of dependence on the conventions of the manuscript period in his book production. In spite of continuing to supply medieval texts when his customers required them, the general tenor of his career is innovative. He takes part in the move from the gothic to the humanist book both in appearance and in content; he plays a role in the rise of the vernacular in the publishing industry; he shows innovation in appropriate areas of business practice.

THE COEXISTENCE OF MANUSCRIPT AND PRINT: HANDWRITTEN NEWSLETTERS IN THE SECOND CENTURY OF PRINT: 1540–1640

Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik

The present study aims to show that in the golden age of print a new manuscript medium emerged. This happened as publishers developed both new genres and new types of printed book for an increasingly diverse readership. The hypothesis of this paper is that this contemporaneousness did not create a rivalry but that, instead, there was an interaction between manuscript and print. Handwritten newsletters made their contribution to the triumph of the book.

Further, this paper delineates the emergence of the network of handwritten newsletters in the second century of print (1540–1640). This was a result of a larger process of cultural exchange which not geographically restricted to 'Western Europe'. Handwritten newsletters made, in interaction with the book, an active effort to change perceptions of time and space in the early modern period. They actually document the initial steps of the globalisation of communication.

Nevertheless, until recent times the history of early modern media has been analysed almost exclusively from the point of view of printing.[1] The result of this was that only one type of literacy has been taken into consideration. The new tendencies of research dealing with "the communication revolution" in the early modern period emphasise that the circulation of handwritten media maintained its importance

[1] For example: W. Harms and A. Messerli (eds.), *Wahrnehmungsgeschichte und Wissensdiskurs im illustrierten Flugblatt der Frühen Neuzeit*, (Basel, 2002); J. Burkhardt, *Das Reformationsjahrhundert: Deutsche Geschichte zwischen Medien revolution und Institutionenbildung 1517–1617* (Stuttgart, 2002); M. Giesecke, *Der Buchdruck in der Frühen Neuzeit (1450–1770). Eine historische Fallstudie über die Durchsetzung neuer Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien,* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998); R. Chartier (ed.), *The Culture of Print. Power and Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe,* (Princeton, 1996); E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change. Communication and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe,* Vol. 1–2 (Cambridge, 1980).

even after the rise of printing. With the spread of private and public bureaucracy this circulation gained even more significance.[2]

With few exceptions, historical studies have paid little attention to handwritten newsletters. Although several studies on early modern media have pointed out that the first step on the way towards printed newspapers was handwritten newsletters, thorough analysis of these sources is completely missing.[3] Scholars tend only to refer to the most famous collection, the so-called 'Fuggerzeitungen'.[4]

In recent studies on the 'Fuggerzeitungen' two tendencies can be observed: on the one hand these papers repeat the results of the studies written in the 1920s and 1930s without any critical approach.[5] On the

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[2] F. Bethencourt and F. Egmond (eds.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe. Volume III: Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, (Cambridge, 2007); C. Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Dei. Die Entstehung neuer Denkrahmen im 16. Jahrhundert und die Wahrnehmung der französischen Religionskriege in Italien und Deutschland* (Göttingen, 2006); Zs. Barbarics, *Tinte und Politik. Handschriftliche Zeitungen als überregionale Nachrichtenquellen für die Machthaber* (unpublished PhD thesis, Graz, 2006); Uwe Neddermeyer has already referred to this phenomenon in the late 1990s. See: U. Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch: Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse m Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. Quantitative und qualitative Aspekte* (Wiesbaden, 1998). The origin of these processes in late Middle Ages emphasizes: H.-D. Heimann, 'henchin hanauwe und seine Welt an der Medienschwelle um 1500. Nachrichten-, brief- und verkehrsgeschichtliche Eindrücke, fußläufiger Medien' in A. Laubinger, B. Gedderth and C. Dobrinski (eds.), *Text – Bild – Schrift. Vermittlung von Information im Mittelalter* (Munich, 2007), pp. 147–160.

[3] See: H.W. Lang, 'Die Neue Zeitung des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts – Vorläufer, Konkurrenz, Ergänzung?' in M. Welke and J. Wilke (eds.), *400 Jahre Zeitung: Die Entwicklung der Tagespresse im internationalen Kontext* (Bremen, 2008), pp. 117–122; J. Wilke, *Grundzüge der Medien- und Kommunikationsgeschichte. Von den Anfängen bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 2000); Schröder, *Die ersten Zeitungen*, pp. 15–18; A. Dresler, *Geschichte der italienischen Presse. 1. Teil. Von den Anfängen bis 1815* (Munich, 1931), pp. 12–19; O. Groth, *Die Zeitung. Ein System der Zeitungskunde (Journalistik)*. Bd.1 (Mannheim, 1928), pp. 2–14; K. Schottenloher, *Flugblatt und Zeitung* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 152–156.

[4] Since the 1920s the term 'Fuggerzeitungen' has generally been used for the collection of Philipp Eduard and Oktavian Secundus Fugger. It is kept in the Austrian National Library in Vienna and covers the period 1568–1605. It was assumed that the term had been introduced by the Viennese court librarian Gentilotti in the first of half of the eighteenth century. See: W. Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur. Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 2003), p. 325. However, Zwierlein pointed out that the phrases 'Fuggers Zeitung', 'Zeitung von Fugger' – similar to 'Welsers Zeitung' – have already been used by the Bavarian vice-chancellor, Wiguleus Hund, and the scribes of the chancellery in the 1550s. See: Zwierlein, *Discorso Lex Dei*, p. 577.

[5] See for instance: M. Schilling, 'Die Fuggerzeitungen' in J. Pauser, M. Scheutz and Th. Winkelbauer (eds.), *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16. und 18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch* (Vienna, 2004), pp. 876–879; M. Schilling, 'Zwischen Mündlichkeit und Druck: Die Fuggerzeitungen' in H.-G. Roloff (ed.), *Editionsdesiderate zur Frühen Neuzeit* (Amsterdam, 1997), pp. 717–727.

other hand, they concentrate on specific topics, such as the arrival of the silver fleet from overseas in Spain, the expedition of Sir Francis Drake to the Caribbean Sea, the image of Poland or the pasquils in the 'Fuggerzeitungen'.[6] A thorough analysis is completely missing, which is also the case for other collections.

This may be one of the reasons why there is no general consensus in scholarship regarding the nature and function of these sources. Historians have only considered them as an integrated part of the communication network of political elites or of merchants.[7] The problem of the emergence of handwritten newsletters as an independent medium is still to be solved and many questions regarding their network, such as its development and collapse or its geographical extension, are still to be answered.

Two reasons can be proposed to explain this situation. Firstly, these sources are difficult to exploit. They are only found as separate collections in archive registers or library catalogues in exceptional cases. Moreover, they are given a variety of names such as *avvisi*, *Relatio*, *Zeitung*, *Nova*, and so on, which illustrates the ambiguity concerning these sources. As handwritten newsletters were sent to the recipients as a supplement to correspondence, they are not even mentioned in registers or catalogues. Secondly, collections of handwritten newsletters in several European countries have only been examined separately,

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[6] R. Pieper, *Die Vermittlung einer neuen Welt. Amerika im Nachrichtennetz des Habsburgischen Imperiums 1493–1598* (Mainz, 2000), pp. 162–207; O. Bauer, 'Dise laidige zeitung mit Santo Domingo werdt den gemelten seguro nit geringert haben… Überlegungen zu Inhalt und Zweck frühneuzeitlicher Nachrichtensammlungen am Beispiel der Fuggerzeitungen (1568–1605)', *Frühneuzeit-Info*, vol. 19/1 (2008): pp. 73–77; C. Pirożińska and J. Pirożiński, 'Berichterstattung aus und über Polen in den 'Wiener Fuggerzeitungen (ÖNB, Cod. 8949–8975)' in W. Leitsch and J. Pirożiński (eds.), *Quellenstudien zur polnischen Geschichte aus österreichischen Sammlungen* (Vienna, 1990), pp. 83–120; O. Bauer, *Pasquille in den Fuggerzeitungen. Spott- und Schmähgedichte zwischen Polemik und Kritik (1568–1605)* (Vienna, 2008).

[7] Á. R. Várkonyi, 'A tájékoztatás hatalma' in T. Petercsák and M. Berecz (eds.), *Információáramlás a magyar és a török végvári rendszerben* (Eger, 1999), pp. 9–31; P. Sardella, *Nouvelles et spéculations à Venise au début du XVIe sciècle* (Paris, 1948); Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, pp. 326–328; R. Pieper, 'Informationszentren im Vergleich. Die Stellung Venedigs und Antwerpens im 16. Jahrhundert' in M. North (ed.), *Kommunikationsrevolutionen. Die neuen Medien des 16. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1995), p. 48; Th.-G. Werner, 'Das kaufmännische Nachrichtenwesen im späten Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit und sein Einfluss auf die Entstehung der handschriftlicher Zeitung', *Scripta Mercaturae*, Heft 2 (1975), pp. 9–31; M. A. H. Fitzler, *Die Entstehung der Fuggerzeitungen in der Wiener Hofbibliothek* (Baden bei Wien, 1937), p. 8; K. Kempter, *Die wirtschaftliche Berichterstattung in den so genannten Fuggerzeitungen* (Munich, 1936), p. 111.

making them appear special and unique. With the exception of the Italian *avvisi*, until recent times the scholarly community did not realise that these European collections formed a single type of source material. The lack of comparative studies explains this failure.[8]

Collections of handwritten newsletters are known from Italy, Spain, France, England, Sweden, and from the German cities and principalities (see: Map 1).[9] This geographic distribution gives the impression that the network of these sources was restricted only to 'Western Europe'.[10] However, the analysis and exploration of the archival collections in Eastern parts of Central and Southern Europe demonstrate that these regions also participated in the communication system of handwritten newsletters.

These sources pose some important questions: What are the characteristic features of handwritten newsletters as an independent medium? How and where did they emerge? Who were the recipients? What

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[8] The PhD-thesis of the author and the PhD thesis of Cornel Zwierlein, who compared Italian *avvisi* with the collections of the Count of Pfalz-Neuburg and the Duke of Bavaria, mark the first step at this field. See: Zwierlein, *Discorso Lex Dei*; Barbarics, *Tinte und Politik*.

[9] On Italy, see: B. Dooley, *The Social History of Scepticism. Experience and Doubt in Early Modern Culture* (Baltimore/London, 1999); M. Infelise, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione (secoli XVI e XVII)* (Rome/Bari, 2002); Zwierlein, *Discorso Lex Dei*. On Spain, see: Pieper, *Die Vermittlung einer Neuen Welt*, pp. 185–226. On France, see: F. Moureau (ed.), *De bonne main: La communication manuscript au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1993). On England, see: Frank C. Spooner and Fernand Braudel analysed handwritten newsletters sent to London during the first half of the 17th century. See: F. Braudel, *Das Mittelmeer und das mediterrane Welt in der Epoche Philipps II*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), pp. 32–35. On Sweden, see present research project of Heiko Droste to handwritten newsletters in Sweden: http://www.droste-enkesen.de/Framese.htm. On Germany, see: Johannes Kleinpaul referred, for the first time, to the existence of collections in Augsburg, Bamberg, Berlin, Dresden, Karlsruhe, Leipzig, Marburg, München, Nuremberg, Stettin, Stuttgart, Weimar and Wolfenbüttel. J. Kleinpaul, *Das Nachrichtenwesen der deutschen Fürsten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Geschriebenen Zeitungen* (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 20–27; Further, the analysis of Hans Fugger's correspondence by Regina Dauser and Christl Karnehm showed that handwritten newsletters are kept in the Fugger Archive in Dillingen, too. See: R. Dauser, *Informationskultur und Beziehungswesen. Das Korrespondenznetz Hans Fuggers (1531–1598)* (München, 2008), pp. 150–162; See: Chr. Karnehm, 'Das Korrespondenznetz Hans Fuggers (1531–1598)' in J. Burkhardt and Chr. Werkstetter (eds.), *Kommunikation und Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit* (München, 2005), pp. 301–312.

[10] Although Zdeněk Šimeček has already referred to the existence of the collection of the Bohemian noble family, the Rosenbergs, in the 1980s, it was scarcely noticed. Z. Šimeček, 'Geschriebene Zeitungen in den böhmischen Ländern um 1600 und ihr Entstehungs- und Rezeptionszusammenhang mit den gedruckten Zeitungen' in E. Blühm and H. Gebhardt (eds.), *Presse und Geschichte II. Neue Beiträge zur historischen Kommunikationsforschung* (Munich, 1987), pp. 71–82.

Map 1. Collections of known handwritten newsletters from Italy, Spain, France, England, Sweden, and from the German cities and principalities

motivated them to collect handwritten newsletters? Who were the intermediaries and the newsletter-writers? And finally, how did the geographical extension of the production of handwritten newsletters develop during three generations of collecting?

The Collections and The Region

The collections that are analysed here include the 'Nádasdy- and Thurzó-Zeitungen'[11] in Budapest; the Bullinger-Zeitungen and the Wickiana in Zurich;[12] the stocks collected by the Habsburg Emperors or rather their chancellors;[13] as well as the collections of the imperial librarians Hugo Blotius and Sebastian Tengnagel in Vienna;[14] and of the estates of Styria and the archdukes of Inner-Austria in Graz.[15] For the comparative analysis of these collections the 'Fuggerzeitungen' served as a pivotal point.[16]

All these collections are dated from the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. This period allows us to give an overview of the changes that happened during three generations of collecting. In this period, the territories where the collections were gathered together belonged to the Habsburgs. The members of this family exercised authority over these areas either as dukes of Inner-Austria, kings of Hungary or as Holy Roman Emperors. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the daily life and politics of Central- and South-eastern Europe were dominated by the ideas and events of the Reformation and Counter Reformation as well as by the

[11] Magyar Országos Levéltár (hereafter MOL), Budapest, A Magyar Kamara Archívuma, Lymbus E 211, 134. cs. 19t. MOL, Budapest, A Magyar Kamara Archívuma, Archivum Familiae Thurzó, E 196, 8. cs. Fasc. 28, 29.

[12] Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Handschriftenabteilung, Zurich, Ms. A 43, 44, 63, 65, 66, 69; Ms. J 304; Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich (hereafter StA), Zurich, E II 340, 342a, 350, 351, 352, 355, 363, 365, 366, 368, 369, 376, 377, 378, 380, 441, 442a, 453, 455; Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Handschriftenabteilung, Zurich, Ms. F. 19, 34.

[13] Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv (hereafter HHStA), Vienna, Geschriebene Zeitungen, Fasc. 7a, 8, 10; Böhm 595 W 290, Litterae et Acta Caesaria Italica, 1553–1647, vol. 1, 2, 6, 8, 11; Böhm 108 W 57, Collectanea Historica, vol. 1–5; Türkei I, Turcica, Karton 27–29, 57, 79–81, 87–88; Venedig Berichte 1575–1610, Karton 13.

[14] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (hereafter ÖNB), Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Vienna, Cod. 7319, 8838, 8871, 5911.

[15] Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv (hereafter Stmk. LA), Graz, Laa. Antiquum IV, Sch. 98, 99.

[16] ÖNB, Vienna, Cod. 8949, 8959, 8966, 8975.

struggles between the two most powerful empires of the early modern age, the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empire.

The infrastructure of communication was considerably different from that in Western- North-western Europe. Only the collectors living in the Habsburg residential cities of Vienna and Graz, or in the centre of the Fugger's business in Augsburg, had the opportunity to use continental postal services.[17] Nonetheless, it was not possible to transport handwritten newsletters to Sárvár (Nádasdy) and Biccse (Thurzó) in the Western- and North-western part of Habsburg Hungary by regular mail services such as the Taxis- or the Paar postal service. Travelling through regions under Ottoman control, as through Ottoman Hungary, the tribute-paying principality of Transylvania or the Ottoman territories in the Balkans was even more exhausting as well as being unsafe. Nevertheless, there was a permanent and regular exchange between the last mentioned territories and other parts of Europe.

The analysis of Central- and South-eastern European collections of handwritten newsletters showed that regular mail services have not always been necessary to ensure dissemination. Protestant collectors, however, tended general to avoid using the Taxis – or the Paar postal service that were controlled by the Catholic Habsburgs. They preferred their personal couriers.[18]

Main Characteristic Features of Handwritten Newsletters as Independent Media and Their Development

The comparison of the aforementioned Central- and South-eastern European collections showed that, after the 1540s at the latest, a general format existed which distinguished handwritten newsletters clearly from other media of the early modern age (see: Figures 1-3.).[19]

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[17] See: Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, pp. 65–136.

[18] It resulted from the fact that letters and packages for these people often disappeared or were opened by the postmasters. See: Barbarics, *Tinte und Politik*, pp. 173–234. Regina Dauser observed the same phenomenon by analysing the correspondence of Hans Fugger who was a Protestant, too. Dauser, *Informationskultur*, pp. 119–135.

[19] This date stand *ante post quem* indicate handwritten newsletters sent to Tamás Nádasdy in Sárvár (Habsburg Hungary) and Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich who represent the first generation of *avvisi*-collectors in Central- and South-eastern Europe. The first newsletter in Bullinger's collection is dated 1532, in the collection of Nádasdy 1543. See: Barbarics, *Tinte und Politik*, p. 58, 66–67. Further, for this dating testifies

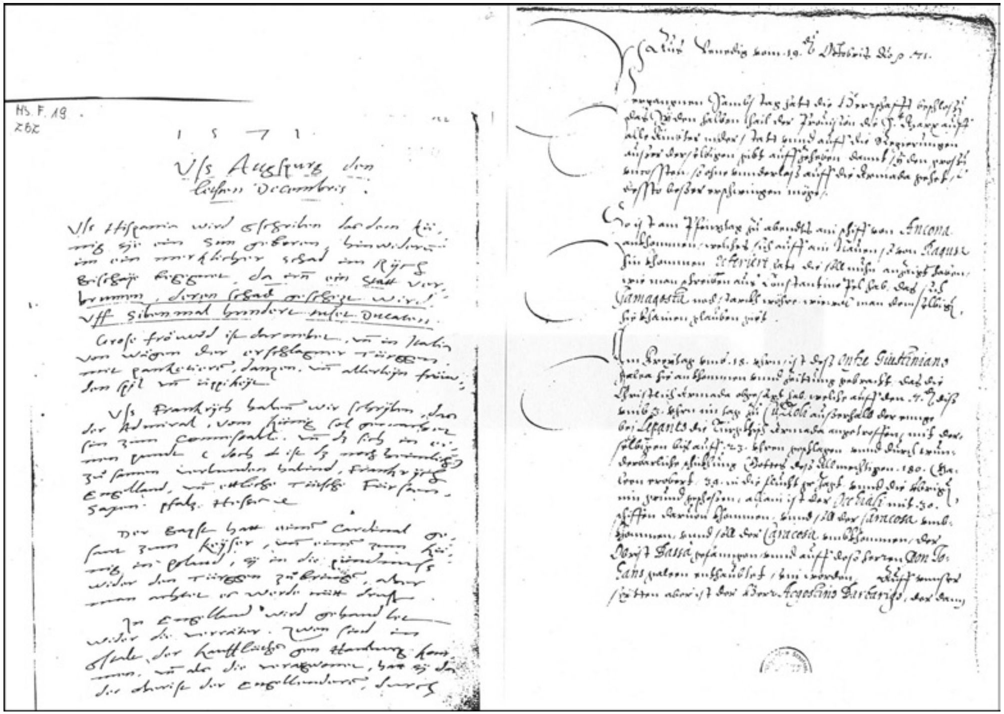

Figure 1 a. On the Left: handwritten newsletter sent to Johann Jakob Wick, Wickiana, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Zurich, Ms F 19, fol.122r; *b*. On the right: handwritten newsletter sent to the Habsburg Emperor, HHStA, Reichskanzlei Geschriebene Zeitungen, Fasc. 10, fol. 111r.

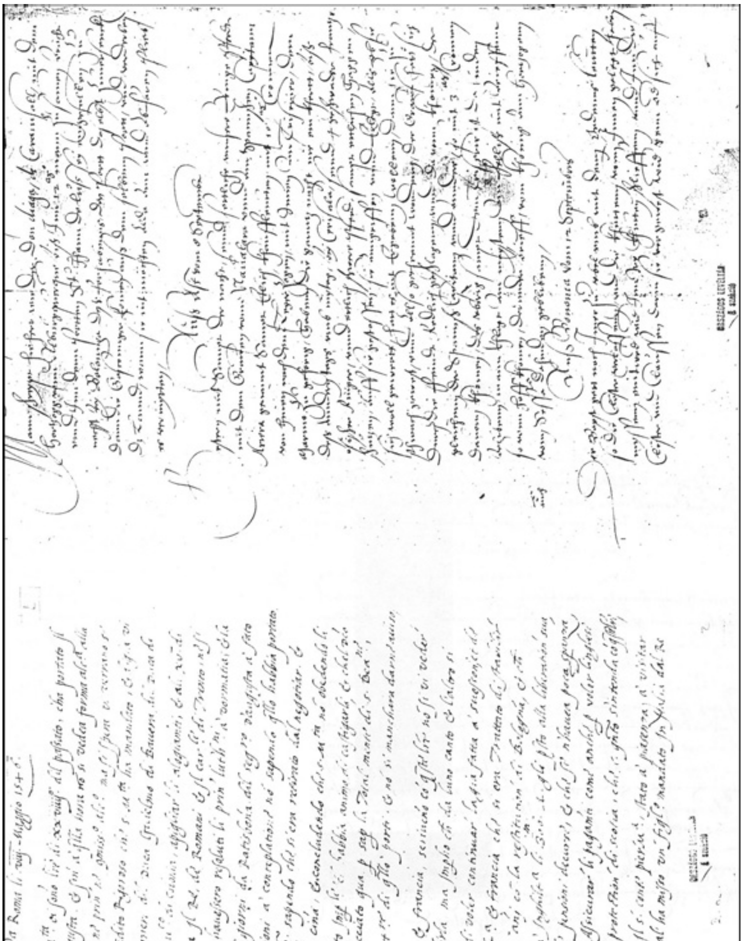

Figure 2. *a.* On the left: "Nádasdy-Zeitungen", MOL, A Magyar Kamara Archivuma, Lymbus, E 211, Sch. 134. 19. t., fol. 2r. *b.* On the right: "Nádasdy-Zeitungen", MOL, A Magyar Kamara Archivuma, Archivum Familiae Nádasdy, E II 185, Schachtel 19, fol. 18v.

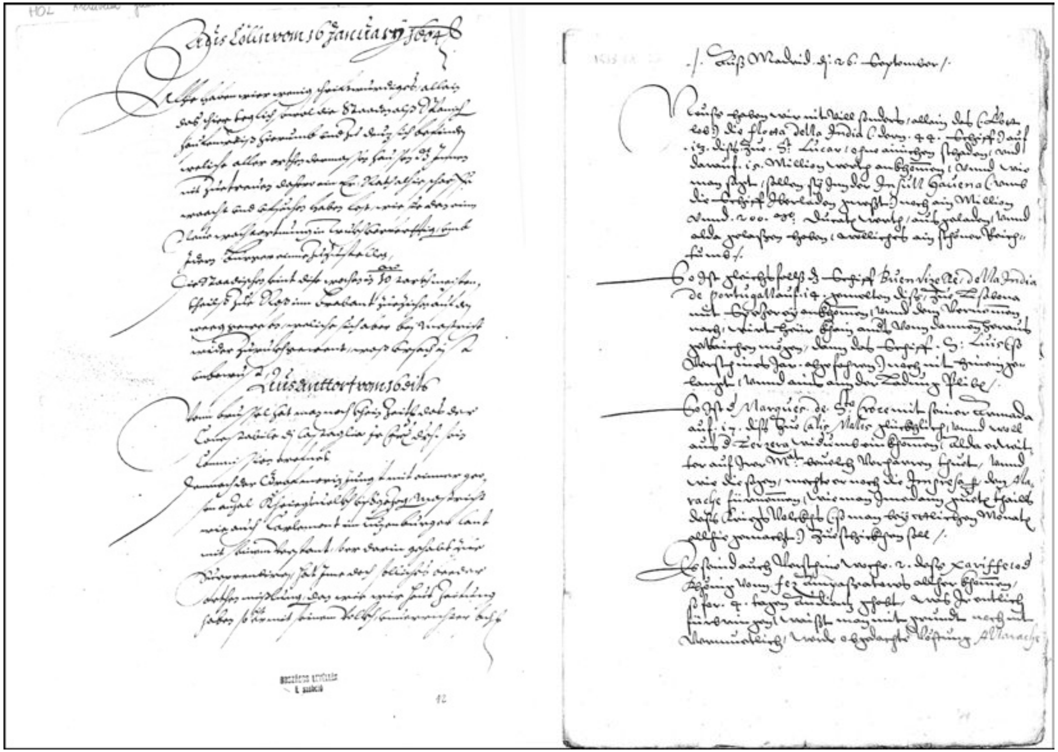

Figure 3 a. On the left: "Thurzó-Zeitungen", MOL, A Magyar Kamara Archivuma, Archivum Familiae Thurzó, E II 196, Sch. 8. Fasc. 28., fol. 12r. b. On the right: handwritten newsletter sent to the Styrian estates, Stmk. LA. Laa. Antiquum IV. Sch. 98, fol. 71r.

Each newsletter started with a heading indicating the place and date of compilation and was followed by the news paragraphs. After the last item of news is referred to the document ends without any further remark.[20] The news paragraphs that usually mentioned the location and, sometimes, the date or origin of the information were rather brief – generally 2–3 sentences for a normal event. They were, however, summaries or excerpts of several forms of letters, manuscript or sometimes printed accounts and oral information. In that sense handwritten newsletters represent "media packages" and document the interaction of different means of communication in the early modern era.

Manuscript newsletters were collected for generations, up to the 1780s and 1790s.[21] Therefore, we can state that the coexistence of manuscript and print lasted two and a half centuries. In the course of this long period only a few modifications took place. Firstly, sixteenth century newsletters contained one, two or four news-paragraphs and were written on one or two sheets of paper. From the first half of the seventeenth century the number of news-paragraphs and pages increased (eight to ten sections on three to five pages). Writing and compiling handwritten newsletters became, however, more and more professional, in particular with regard to their composition, language and syntax. Secondly, in the 1640s-1650s the size of the newsletters started to vary, from that time on both small- and large-format documents can be found. Thirdly, until the first half of the seventeenth century handwritten newsletters were written predominantly in Italian and German and just occasionally in Latin, Spanish or French.[22] In the later periods

also the fact that the Ottoman sultans have ordered handwritten *avvisi* from Venice since the 1530s. See: J. Žontar, *Obveščevalna služa in diplomacija avstrijski Habsburžanov v boju proti Turkom v 16. stoletju* (Ljubljana, 1973), pp. 192–193.

[20] Addresses are just occasionally mentioned on the reverse of the last page as the following examples show: "*Al Molto mag.co et ecc.te S.or il s.or Dottor Vgo Blotio Bibliothecario della M.ta Ces.mi*", ÖNB, Vienna, Cod. 5911, fol. 22v.; "*Il s. Tomas Nadasdino*", MOL, Budapest, E II 196, A Magyar Kamara Archívuma, Archivum Familiae Thurzó, 8. cs. 28. Fasc. fol. 27r.; "*D.H. Bullingero*", StA Zurich, E II 355, 286av.

[21] It is underlined by handwritten newsletters in the archives in Budapest, Vienna and Graz as well as in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich. Joseph Mančal and Brendan Dooley observed the same phenomenon in the German and Italian territories: J. Mančal, 'Zu Augsburger Zeitungen vom Ende des 17. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Abendzeitung, Postzeitung, Intelligenzzettel' in H. Gier and J. Janota (eds.), *Augsburger Buchdruck und Verlagswesen. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 683–733; Dooley, *Social History of Scepticism*, p. 11.

[22] Newsletters in Spanish and French are occasionally to find in the collections of Philipp Eduard and Octavian Secundus Fugger and the Habsburg Emperors. The few newsletters in Latin, otherwise small in number are more typical of the collections of

there are no Latin pieces, whereas the number of Spanish, French and English newsletters increased. This phenomenon correlates with the geographical extension of the communication system of handwritten newsletters up to this time. Finally, until the 1580s handwritten newsletters were distributed fortnightly, and after that became a weekly phenomenon.[23]

Despite this evolution, there is one characteristic feature that did not change throughout the centuries: anonymity remained their main attribute. In contrast to business, diplomatic and learned correspondence, handwritten newsletters did not have any salutation or author's signature. This anonymity had at least two advantages for the newsletter-writers. Firstly, it avoided control and censorship by secular and ecclesiastical authorities. Secondly, it enabled copies of the same newsletter to be sent to different persons. As a result of this practice, identical texts appeared in different Central- and South-eastern European collections.[24] The reception of the same texts, contents and patterns characterised the communication practice of the *respublica litteraria*. So, the concept of *humanistic copia* must have been adapted to the network of handwritten newsletters.[25]

How did handwritten newsletters as an independent media emerge? It was directly related to the development of business, diplomatic and intellectual-humanist correspondence. After these had already been crystallized and their networks had been established in 15th century Italy a new process started. Firstly, personal notes and remarks were separated from 'pure' news; these received a fixed place at the end of the letter. Secondly, news was organised into a separate column under headings such as *nova*, *novissima*, *avvisi*. Thirdly, they were written on a separate sheet of paper, which was then enclosed with the letter.[26] This separation took place in Italy very early on, but in the Southern part of the Holy Roman Empire – as result of a cultural transfer process

Tamás Nádasdy, Heinrich Bullinger and Johann Jakob Wick. More detailed see: Barbarics, *Tinte und Politik*, pp. 50–51.

[23] To these stages of development in more detail see: Ibid., pp. 46–52.

[24] This fact stands as clear evidence that in the 16th and 17th centuries printing was not the only means by which the reproduction of texts was possible. This exclusive role of printing was for example emphasized by Johannes Burkhardt. See: Burkhardt, *Das Reformationsjahrhundert*, pp. 19–21.

[25] To the concept of *humanistic copia* see: A. Schütte, 'Die humanistische Copia', in J. Fohrmann (ed.) *Gelehrte Kommunikation. Wissenschaft und Medium zwischen dem 16. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Wien et al, 2005), pp. 100–107.

[26] This process has already been delineated by Richard Grasshoff in the 1870s. See: R. Grasshoff, *Die briefliche Zeitung des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1877).

from Italy – this did not take place before the end of the 15th century.[27] Nevertheless, the collections of Nádasdy, Bullinger, Wick and the Habsburg Emperors contain several examples of these stages of development.[28] Fourthly, at the end of this process newsletters were produced, multiplied and distributed on a regular basis as independent media.[29]

It is still unclear, however, which form of correspondence this development was based on. Historical research emphasises the decisive role of merchant letters.[30] But to what extent did this practice derive from the correspondence of intellectuals? This question was not raised at all in previous research. It is possible, however, that simultaneous developments took place in the later Middle Ages, these 'lines' met and became intertwined in the first half of the sixteenth century. From this point onwards they developed together.

Therefore, we may assume that the system of handwritten newsletters was not only of merchant origin. Humanist intellectuals made their contribution to the emergence of this independent medium as well; besides the above mentioned concept of *humanist copia* humanist writing practices were of great importance. It is worth noting that the production of excerpts marked this new type of sources. There are two methods of compiling handwritten newsletters to be distinguished: *syncretism* and *hybridisation*.[31] They correspond to two types of newsletters and newsletter-writers:

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[27] Dresler, *Geschichte der italienischen Presse*, p. 12; Zwierlein, *Discorso Lex Dei*, pp. 214–231; L. Sporhan-Krempel, *Nürnberg als Nachrichtenzentrum zwischen 1400 und 1700* (Nuremberg, 1968), p. 16.

[28] For example: In a letter of the secretary of the imperial envoy in Istanbul, Eduardo Provisionali, dated on 21st of September 1571, news from Istanbul, Persia, Jemen, Edirne, Ragusa and Buda were represented at the end of the document under the heading *Avvisi*. Cf. HHStA, Vienna, Türkei I. Turcica, X. 1570 – IX. 1571, Karton 27, fol. 118r.-120r. The similar praxis can be observed by Nádasdy's agent, Stephan Mathesy. In a letter dated from Vienna on 6th of August 1561 he submitted the content of several *avvisi* in a separate column at the end of the letter under heading *Sumario di diversi avvisi*. See: MOL, Budapest, E II 185, A Magyar Kamara Archívuma, Archivum Familiae Nádasdy, Schachtel 19, fol. 29r.

[29] See: Barbarics, *Tinte und Politik*, pp. 41–46.

[30] See: M. Infelise, 'From Merchant's Letters to Handwritten Political Avvisi: Notes in the Origins of Public Information', in F. Bethencourt and Fl. Egmond (eds.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe. Volume III: Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 33–36; Werner, 'Das kaufmännische Nachrichtenwesen', pp. 23–24; Pieper, *Die Vermittlung einer Neuen Welt*.

[31] Peter Burke originally used these terms in order to describe the reception of Renaissance and forms of Italian culture in several parts of Europe. See: P. Burke, *The European Renaissance. Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford, 1998), p. 7. The author of present study is aware that in theology and cultural anthropology the term *syncretism* is used in other contexts and has different meanings and connotations.

Syncretism was typical of professional newsletter writers. It meant that information drawn from different manuscript, printed, and oral sources – which originally had nothing to do with each other – was used to compile a completely new source of information. Then a number of copies were made and distributed like commodities to subscribers. All of the above mentioned collectors in Central- and South-eastern Europe were in contact with professional newsletter writers directly or through intermediaries.

Hybridism characterised the work of non-professional newsletter writers. They distributed their newsletters – in most cases without remuneration and irregularly – to friends, relatives and like-minded people. These authors, such as Heinrich Bullinger or the Dragomans of the Ottoman sultans, commonly used only one single source when compiling their newsletters. The result was a mixture of the original source and the common newsletter pattern. The Fuggers, Hugo Blotius and the estates of Styria also received newsletters of this type.[32]

The Recipients and Their Motivations to Collect Handwritten Newsletters

The recipients represented different social strata: there were monarchs (Habsburg Emperors and Archdukes of Inner-Austria), merchants (Philipp Eduard and Oktavian Secundus Fugger), humanist librarians (Hugo Blotius and Sebastian Tengnagel), Protestant reformers and canons (Heinrich Bullinger and Johann Jakob Wick) and members of the political elite (Styrian estates, leaders of the Hungarian estates, Tamás Nádasdy and György Thurzó). They did not only belong to one 'professional group'. Furthermore, they participated in several communication networks and used manuscript and printed media as well.[33]

They had in common that all of them were educated according to the humanist tradition, and thus became representatives and

[32] The two types of headings also demonstrate these methods: Handwritten newsletters compiled with the technique of *hybridism* refer to the original source(s) in their headings, besides the date and place of compilation: "*Den Kaufleüthen würdet gen Venedig auß Constantinopel vom 19. July Anno 1592 geschriben*". HHStA, Vienna, Türkei I, Turcica VII 1593 – 1598, Karton 81, fol. 70r.-v. or "*Wyter schryben von disen Mörderen, vs Venedig den 7. Jenner 1586*". Wickiana, Zentralbibliothek Zurich, Ms. F. 34. fol. 25r. In case of '*syncretism*' the heading contains only place and date of producing: "*Venetys, 8 Maggio 1573*". ÖNB, Vienna, Cod. 8838, fol. 267v. ; "*Auß Anttorf von 16 october* [1583]", Stmk. LA., Graz, Laa. Antiquum IV, Sch. 98, fol. 88r.

[33] See: Barbarics, *Tinte und Politik*, pp. 53–135.

distributors of humanist ideas and values. They made study trips to Dutch, German and especially Italian universities. Besides the *studia humanitatis* they became skilled there at the communication practices of the *respublica litteraria*. Further, they became acquainted with both handwritten newsletters and printed materials.[34] Sometimes they got to know each other during their studies. Most of the recipients were, however, connected to each other by family ties or by common political, religious and economic interests.[35]

Regarding the collectors' religion, it is noticeable that Protestants were in the majority.[36] All recipients, however, were involved in the religious struggles of that time: religious differences resulted in some of them actually being political enemies.[37] In Central- and South-eastern Europe these religious conflicts were directly connected with the question of the Ottoman threat. Therefore, in relation to their geographical position the recipients were all involved in the organisation of defence against the Ottoman Empire either in practice or on an abstract, theoretical level.[38]

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[34] In that context the most important place of knowledge transfer was the University of Padua. But Rome and Bologna were also important. Following collectors of handwritten newsletters studied at these universities: Tamás Nádasdy, Hugo Blotius, Philipp Eduard and Oktavian Secundus Fugger, representatives of the Styrian estates and the Thurzó family and chancellors or vice-chancellors of the Habsburg Emperors. Nevertheless, Hugo Blotius, Sebastian Tengnagel and Oktavian Secundus Fugger studied at Dutch universities, too. Heinrich Bullinger and Johann Jakob Wick, however, preferred German universities as Tübingen, Marburg, Leipzig and Cologne. See: Ibid.

[35] Philipp Eduard and Oktavian Secundus Fugger were, for example, relatives of the Thurzó family. Further, they played an important role in financing the Habsburg campaigns against the Ottomans in the 1590s. In order to cooperate against Counter Reformation measures the Protestant György Thurzó got in close contact with the Styrian estates. See: G. Freiherr von Pölnitz, *Die Fugger* (Frankfurt am Main, 1959), p. 155; Fitzler, *Die Entstehung*, p. 40; B. Ilia, 'A Thurzó-család levéltára' in *Levéltári Közlemények*, 10 (1932): p. 41.

[36] Tamás Nádasdy, György and Szaniszló Thurzó, Heinrich Bullinger and Johann Jakob Wick, Hugo Blotius, the representatives of the Styrian estates (and the chancellors and vice-chancellors of the Habsburg Emperors) were Protestants. Sebastian Tengnagel, the Fugger-brothers, the Archdukes of Inner-Austria and the Habsburg Emperors belonged, however, to the Catholic minority.

[37] For example: The Protestant Hungarian estates were in permanent conflict with the Catholic Habsburg Emperors, just like the Protestant Styrian estates with the Catholic Archdukes of Inner-Austria. Blotius, however, had quarrels with Catholic officials at the Imperial Court, too. See: P. Sutter-Fichtner, *Ferdinand I. Wider Türken und Glaubensspaltung* (Graz et al, 1986), pp. 86–146.; H. Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 58–59.

[38] For the court librarian, Hugo Blotius, for example, "the library was an intellectual arsenal where one could learn the ways and tactics of the enemy. He was the humanist quartermaster of an army of scholars to fight against the Ottomans". See: Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise*, p. 75.

So, a permanent flow of the latest news was essential for all of them. Having an overview of international politics helped them to interpret their own position in a wider context and to recognise simultaneous events and developments in their region and in the known world.[39] The importance of handwritten newsletters in this respect is shown by the fact that they ordered the first newsletters, when they came to power (or took up a profession, began a political career or made an important step along their career path) or when they hoped to regain lost political influence.[40]

Intermediaries

Like the recipients, the intermediaries were also of various social and religious origins. Most of them had also received a humanist education. The relations between the intermediaries and the collectors can be separated into two groups: either they were friends or companions or they were in their service and received a salary.

In the first case the social status of these friends or companions was almost the same as that of the collectors. There was a mutual relationship: both parties sent handwritten newsletters or copies of them free as supplements to their correspondence. This was case for former student colleagues, Ph. E. Fugger, Theodor Beza in Geneva as well as Tobias Egli (Protestant churchman) in Chur and Bullinger, Johann Liszthy in Hungary and Hugo Blotius.[41]

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[39] The analysis of Central- and South-eastern European collections showed that the content of handwritten newsletters was diverse, but political and military issues definitely dominated. Besides accounts of battles or descriptions of political unrest and quarrels, they offered information about political and social life. Important economic notices were also reported, as were epidemic diseases, natural events or celestial phenomena. See: Barbarics, *Tinte und Politik*; Barbarics-Pieper, 'Handwritten Newsletters', pp. 61–62.

[40] For example: Heinrich Bullinger was appointed to the successor of Zwingli on 9 December 1531. The first handwritten newsletters were, however, sent to him a few months later in 1532. György Thurzó has been one of the most important representatives of the Hungarian estates since 1586. He started collecting handwritten newsletters in the same year. In addition, the first *avvisi* was submitted Tamás Nádasdy on 14th of January 1543, shortly after he had been appointed to the general of Transdanubia, thus became responsible for the defence of Habsburg Hungary against Ottoman campaigns. See: Barbarics, *Tinte und Politik*, pp. 67, 123, 58.

[41] On Fugger: Several examples are to found in: ÖNB, Vienna, Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, Cod. 8949; On Beza: Beza was specialised on transmitting handwritten newsletters from and on France. They were, however, written in

The second group of intermediaries contained representatives of the above mentioned recipients, who ran diplomatic or business affairs in foreign countries (imperial envoys or their secretaries in Istanbul, Rome and Venice or Fugger-factors), private agents residing in commercial and political centres (such as Stephan Mathesy in Mantua, Brussels and Vienna for Tamás Nádasdy, Georg Irmkher in Prague for György Thurzó or Matthäus Paller in Augsburg and Andrea Dellatori in Venice for the Styrian estates) or persons in the service of other authorities, who sold information as a sideline. This latter group comprised the chancellor of the elector of Kurpfalz who sent newsletters to Heinrich Bullinger and the Styrian estates or employees in service of prince of Württemberg and the dragomans (interpreters) of the Ottoman sultans who sent them to the Habsburg Emperor.[42]

They were all in regular contact with professional newsletter writers: they "recruited" them, negotiated directly with them and paid their salary.[43] These intermediaries transmitted originals, copies and translations of handwritten newsletters either separately or attached to their usual correspondence.[44] In many cases this was done together with books, printed broadsheets and other commodities purchased for their clients.[45] In this regard there was a close connection between the book trade and the trade in manuscript sources of information.

Swiss German. See: *Zytung vß Marsilia den 28. Marty 1573*. Zentralbibliothek Zurich, Ms. F 63/1, fol. 57r.-58r.; On Egli and Bullinger: Egli among others forwarded *avvisi* from Venice to Bullinger which he received from Scipio Lentulus, the Protestant preacher in Chiavenna. See for example: StA Zurich, E II 355, 286r.-286a, 286av. Nevertheless, this relation was not one-sided: Bullinger also sent handwritten newsletters to Egli. e.g. StA Zurich, E II 342a, 623v, 628r.-v. 633r. The relationship between Johann Jakob Wick and Heinrich Bullinger functioned in a similar way. e.g. Wickiana, Zentralbibliothek Zurich, Ms F 19, 190r, 238v; Bullinger: ÖNB, Vienna, Cod. 8838, 267v, 271v, 274v, 323v; Cod. 5911, 1v. On Liszthy and Blotius: ÖNB, Vienna, Cod. 8838, 267v, 271v, 274v, 323v; Cod. 5911, 1v.

42 In more detail see: Barbarics, *Tinte und Politik*, pp. 136–169.

43 The correspondence of Georg Irmkher with György Thurzó as well as of Matthäus Paller and Andrea Dellatori with the Styrian estates testifies for this practice. Ibid., pp. 163–169.

44 For example: Hans Adelgais, Fugger factor in Antwerp, did not only copy handwritten newsletters coming from Antwerp, he translated them, too. See: Fitzler, *Die Entstehung*, p. 35.

45 The transmission of handwritten newsletters together with books and broadsheets was, for example, typical for Matthäus Paller, agent of the Styrian estates in Augsburg, in the early 1580s. See: Stmk. LA Laa. Antiquum IV, Schuber 98, fol. 39r.-40v.

The Professional Newsletter Writers

The emergence of professional newsletter writers is closely related to the emergence of the professional guild of the so-called *poligrafi* in early sixteenth-century Italy. It concerns a group of scribes educated in the humanist tradition. They made a living by composing and copying some literary texts, but primarily depended on reproducing official documents. They not only got orders from private persons but also worked for secretaries and other officials of local government as well.[46] Over time a couple of these *poligrafi* specialised in the compiling and copying of handwritten newsletters and turned it into a profession. These so-called *scrittori di avvisi*, *reportisti* or *novellista* worked in Venice, for instance, in their own street.[47] In Rome, however, one preferred the term *menante*.[48] In many cases larger "news offices" were founded by merchants who employed scribes and combined a trade in merchandise with another in information. By the first half of the seventeenth century the "news office" of Giovanni Quorli in Venice supplied more than 60 clients.[49] Such newsletter offices were not restricted to Italy, although those to the North of the Alps, in German-speaking areas were far smaller. The "news office" of Jeremias Krasser in Augsburg had only ten to fifteen customers ordering his newsletters on regular basis.[50]

As their correspondence shows, several collectors in central and south-eastern Europe were in touch with professional newsletter writers. For example in the 1570s and 1580s Hugo Blotius was in contact with the *novellista* Michele Ciliano and Nicolo Lucangelo in Venice;[51] the Styrian estates, the archdukes of Inner-Austria and the Fugger-brothers with Marx Hörwart, Jeremias Schiffle and Jeremias Krasser in Augsburg.[52] At the same time Philipp Eduard Fugger received missives

[46] To the professional guild of *poligrafi* see: P. Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge. From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 22.
[47] See: Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, pp. 21–26.
[48] See: Zwierlein, *Discorso Lex Dei*, p. 255.
[49] See: Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, pp. 36–39.
[50] See: Fitzler, *Die Entstehung*, pp. 66–67.
[51] They are namely mentioned in Blotius's address book, too. See: ÖNB, Cod 9690, fol. 23v. In their correspondence with Blotius they always complained about the lack of their salary. Cf. E. Rühl, *Die nachgelassenen Zeitungssammlungen und Gelehrtenkorrespondenz Hugo Blotius's, des ersten Bibliothekars der Wiener Hofbibliothek*, unpubl. Diss., Wien, 1958, pp. 53–60.
[52] In more detail see: Barbarics, *Tinte und Politik*, pp. 170–172.

from the writer Marsilio della Croce in Venice, who also provided the government in London with handwritten newsletters.[53] The close connection between the book trade and the trade with manuscript sources of information can be observed by professional newsletter writers, too. The *novellist* Jeremias Schiffle, for example, transmitted his handwritten newsletters to the Styrian estates together with books and printed broadsheets.[54]

The Geographical Structure and Extension of the System of Handwritten Newsletters

The headings of newsletters in the analysed collections, which name the place of compilation, allow us to reconstruct the geographical expansion of the production of handwritten newsletters. There are four stages of development to distinguish which illustrate the phases of a Europe-wide cultural transfer process (see: Map 2):[55]

In the first period, from the 1540s to the 1570s, newsletter production was concentrated in the Mediterranean, in Italy, especially in Venice and Rome. The Eastern part of the Mediterranean, most of all the Venetian colonies in the Western Balkans and in Istanbul were also of importance. Outside the Mediterranean the role of Antwerp in the Netherlands has to be emphasised.

In the second period, in the 1570s and 1580s, there were a number of changes. The number of newsletters dispatched doubled. Venice and Rome remained very important, but the influence of Antwerp increased. In Western Europe, there was the gradual emergence of cities of the Holy Roman Empire and in France. Furthermore, in the late 1580s handwritten newsletters were regularly compiled in the Eastern part of Central Europe, as in the Habsburg hereditary lands, Bohemia and in Habsburg Hungary.

In the third period, after the 1590s, the Ottoman territories in Hungary, the principality of Transylvania and the Southern parts of

[53] See: Zwierlein, *Discorso Lex Dei*, p. 585.

[54] Attached to his correspondence Schiffle transmitted also a list of these books and broadsheets which contains the titles and the prices of these printed materials, too. See: Stmk. LA, Laa. Antiquum IV, Schuber 98, fol. 240r.-v., 274r.-276v., 299r.

[55] The map illustrates the most important places of handwritten newsletters' production in the golden age of print, 1540–1640. The shade in the first and the fourth stages demonstrates the intensity of newsletter production. The author thanks Bernhard Heigl for drawing the map.

Map 2. The geographical structure and extension of the system of handwritten newsletters in the golden age of print, 1540–1640

Poland became an integrated part of the communication system of handwritten newsletters.

Finally, this process of integration peaked in the first half of the seventeenth century, by which time the system had reached Northern Europe. Handwritten newsletters were produced in Bremen, Hamburg, Rostock, Amsterdam, London, and Danzig and even, on a regular basis, in Moscow.

Conclusion

This paper has concentrated on a manuscript medium in the second century of print: handwritten newsletters. The comparative study of Central- and South-eastern European collections showed that they were an important means of communication and cultural transfer, which originated in Italy. The present analysis rejects the results of former studies, which ignored the fact that the Eastern part of Central Europe and South-eastern Europe participated in these networks of exchange.

A new approach has shed light upon the nature and the function of handwritten newsletters. Their emergence as an independent medium was not only modelled on the medium of merchants: humanist intellectuals contributed a lot to its development. The concept of *humanist copia* and humanist writing practices played a decisive role. The two ways of compiling handwritten newsletters (syncretism and hybridism) corresponded with the two types of newsletters and newsletter writers.

The handwritten newsletter as independent media emerged at the beginning of the golden age of print, in the early 1540s. The process of their geographical extension and development, however, peaked in the first half of the seventeenth century. The intermediaries had close connections with book trade and the trade with manuscript sources of information.

But how did handwritten newsletters contribute to the triumph of the book? The comparison of handwritten newsletters with printed broadsheets about the battle of Lepanto showed that printed accounts have always been based on handwritten newsletters. But the representation of the news was different because the purpose of these manuscript and printed sources differed. Contemporary political writers and historians of the early modern age willingly used handwritten newsletters for their printed books. Nonetheless, modern historiography has been more influenced by printed broadsheets.[56]

The advantage of handwritten newsletters was that they offered an overview of political and military developments taking place simultaneously in different regions of Europe and in the known world on a regular basis. They allowed the recipients to interpret their own position in a wider geopolitical context. By reporting on a regular basis events and developments on other continents such as the Middle East, India, the Caribbean Sea and South America, handwritten newsletters represented the first steps of a globalisation of communication.

[56] To this comparison, see: Barbarics-Pieper, 'Handwritten Newsletters', pp. 65–78.

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