

How (not) to Get Published: The Plantin Press in the Early 1590s

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This article explores the strategies used by the English Catholic Thomas Stapleton (1535–1598) and the Flemish–Spanish Jesuit Martin Delrio (1551–1608) to have their works printed by Jan Moretus I, successor and son-in-law of the well-known printer Christophe Plantin, and the economics behind Moretus' reluctance to commit their writings to print. Delrio's ultimate success and Stapleton's failure are explained by their different approaches. While Stapleton missed clear opportunities to make the publication of his text more appealing and resorted to empty rhetorical threats, Delrio used various contacts to exert pressure on the printer. The single-mindedness of the two authors stands in contrast to the attitude of their publisher who faced many different pressures in a competitive market.

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On 1 July 1589 at three o'clock in the morning, Christophe Plantin (c. 1520–1589), an Antwerp printer, breathed his last, the end of an illustrious career. Originally from Tours, Plantin had settled in Antwerp in the late 1540s. Antwerp was then a thriving metropolis, home to large Spanish and English merchant communities, and the largest city north of Paris. Thomas More had set the fictional discussions of his *Utopia* there. It was also a major centre of the European book trade and even if Plantin originally never planned a career as a printer this was by far the best place to start one. The twists and turns of Plantin's celebrated career have been well explored. It had been Christophe Plantin who, together with Benito Arias Montano, was the driving force of the polyglot bible. A project sponsored by Philip II of Spain, it featured the Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic versions of the Bible side by side and remains to this day the largest publication carried out by a single printer in the Low Countries.¹ It was Plantin who published Abraham Ortelius' maps and Justus Lipsius' neo-Stoic writings. At its heyday, before the Spanish Fury of 1576, Plantin had over twenty

presses at work and employed 150 men.² At certain points in time the Plantin Press had offices in Paris, Frankfurt, Salamanca and Leiden.

Yet, what is perhaps most remarkable is the fact that, for the most part, the archives of the *Officina Plantiniana* are still preserved, in the same building where Plantin, his son in law Jan Moretus I, and their successors worked. Plantin's correspondence was published in its entirety by the first curator of the museum Plantin-Moretus (MPM), Max Rooses, in the late nineteenth century.³ Letters by such leading Renaissance scholars as Benito Arias Montano and Justus Lipsius from the archive have also been published.⁴ The archives' pamphlet collection is a unique resource, its appeals for missing children and town ordinances against drunken behaviour give us insight into the life of an early modern metropolis.

Recent work on early modern printing has taken a truly bird's eye view of the book trade. The work by Andrew Pettegree and others as part of the French Book project has produced some fascinating insights in the geographic expansion and contraction of book publishing across fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe.⁵ The way authors used the new medium of print to propagate an image of themselves has been thoroughly explored; and close partnerships between scholars and their printers have also been studied.⁶ Andreas Vesalius could not have printed his *De humani corporis fabrica* (Basel, 1543) with its amazing anatomical illustrations without the dedication and efforts of his printer Johannes Oporinus. Christophe Plantin too had worked closely with scholars on several projects. No one who has ever read the final exchange of letters between Plantin and Lipsius can doubt that these two men were not just collaborators, but also friends.⁷

It is my argument, however, that attitudes displayed in times of trial and adversity are at least as revealing. This essay proposes to approach the book trade from the perspective of two authors and one printer. Christophe Plantin's personal motto imprinted on the front page of his many books *labore et constantia* [hard work and perseverance] conveys an air of patience and composure. It was neither the motto of Thomas Stapleton (1535–1598) nor of Martin Delrio (1551–1608), both of whom sought to print their works with Jan Moretus I (1543–1610), Plantin's successor and son-in-law. The rhetorical and other strategies employed by these authors in their discussion with their printer reveal, I argue, not only a power game but also the character of the authors themselves. Study of their exchange of letters, however, does not suffice. A study of Moretus' business practices and the economic reality the publisher faced reveal the relative success and failure of the authorial strategies employed.

Thomas Stapleton

The English Catholic Thomas Stapleton is hardly a household name. He is best known for his biography of Thomas More through which a number of otherwise unknown letters by More have survived.⁸ Stapleton was born in July 1535, the same month that saw More's execution and Stapleton's first name may have been an act

of defiance on the part of his parents. At the start of Mary Tudor's reign Stapleton was elected a fellow of New College, Oxford but he left England after Elizabeth's ascension and found refuge in the Low Countries.⁹ We find Stapleton matriculating at the University of Leuven in August 1559, just four months after the passing of the new Act of Supremacy.¹⁰ It was a well-trodden path. Edward Rishton, who continued Nicholas Sander's well-known *The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, singled out the Belgian universities as a place 'where a most abundant harvest is gathered, to be sown again in the barren lands of England, there to grow at last, so we hope, to the salvation of all its people'.¹¹ Stapleton, however, remained within Belgian academia for the rest of his life — 'sowing England' from afar perhaps. On 10 July 1571 Thomas Stapleton received a doctorate in theology from the English College in Douai, jointly with the man who came to embody English Catholic identity, William Allen.¹² Stapleton climbed to the highest office within Belgian academia; in 1590 he was appointed Regius Professor of Scripture at the University of Leuven — an appointment beholden to Philip II of Spain himself. Pope Clement VIII had the writings of Stapleton, amongst others, read to him over supper and, as the many letters from the Cardinal-Nephew Aldobrandini to the nuncio in Brussels attest, the Pope was keen to get Stapleton to Rome.¹³ Hagglng over the finances of Stapleton's travels, however, followed by illness, and then death in 1598 prevented Stapleton from departing.

Perhaps the main reason for Stapleton's neglect lies in the voluminous writings themselves. When his *Opera Omnia* were published some twenty years after his death they could hardly be contained in four folio volumes of about 1000 pages each (a total weight of 22 kg/49 lbs). These comprise the dense, religious fare that historians today hope to avoid but which was one of the mainstays of the early modern book trade. The *Opera* did not even include Stapleton's earlier English writings. One outdated polemic against Queen Elizabeth was also removed.¹⁴ Stapleton was a popular writer, however. In 1610, the Antwerp Synod instructed that all parish priests should obtain his *Promptuarium Catholicum* and *Promptuarium Morale* either in Latin or in translation.¹⁵ It is the latter work that Stapleton sought to publish with Jan Moretus.

A *promptuarium* is properly a 'place where things are stored for ready use'. Stapleton's *Promptuarium Morale* — a moral cupboard — was essentially a collation from Scripture and patristics for use on every Sunday of the year 'for the instruction of preachers, the reformation of sinners, [and] the consolation of the pious'.¹⁶ It sought to provide clergy, such as the Carthusian monks at Buxheim in Bavaria who owned the copy now at the MPM, with *exempla* and *similia* for use in their sermons. Stapleton's *promptuaria* stood in a long tradition that predated the Reformation. However, unlike earlier works, which instructed priests not to throw babies in wells if no other water was available for baptism, it was not a how-to introduction to the sacraments.¹⁷ The popularity of Stapleton's *promptuaria* are attested by the poor quality editions that appeared in Cologne, Lyon and Paris, much to the dismay of the author who complained that these were riddled with errors and inferior in lay-out.¹⁸

The popularity of Stapleton's *Promptuaria* shows how far the Church had come but, in the continued reliance of the clergy on such texts, also how far it still had to go.

Stapleton's timing was bad. Plantin's second son-in-law Jan Moretus had taken over the *Officina* after serving as an assistant for many years. Plantin was, however, survived by five daughters and dividing the estate involved some very persistent haggling.¹⁹ The turbulent situation in France after the murder of King Henry III on 2 August 1589 made matters worse. The first surviving letter from Stapleton is dated 27 August 1589 although the letter indicated that Stapleton had already contacted the *Officina Plantiniana* several months before. Stapleton explained that he was disappointed with the work done by his old Parisian printer Michael Sonnius. Sonnius had disappointed him twice before and Stapleton would not be disappointed a third time.²⁰ He had been told that after the death of his father-in-law there was no better printer than Moretus himself.

'As I reasonably indicated several months ago on this, before everything [else] I desired that this work is made public with your type, not only because your [type] is the most elegant, and you use the most select paper, but also because so far as I have been able to observe, the Latin books that come out of your house are much more correct than those in Paris; and I hear that you yourself are admirably well lettered and devote yourself to the actual process of correction'.²¹

Stapleton hoped that Moretus would provide a good edition of the *Promptuarium Morale*. Stapleton's patron the Abbot of St Vaast in Arras, Jean Sarazin, to whom the work was dedicated, would defray the cost of publication.²² Financial compensation was not at all uncommon and for the cash strapped *Officina* the offer must have been tempting. There were, however, a number of complications, of which Stapleton's character was certainly one. The 'most select paper', however, would seem the more immediate cause for delay. The *Officina* obtained its paper from France. On 9 September Moretus informed Stapleton about the supply problem and told the theologian that, with God's help, he would do his best.²³ Stapleton, however, did not listen and insisted on a deadline of one month after the second part of the manuscript had been received.²⁴ Moretus replied that Stapleton should not hurry then, as he has lost all hope of obtaining paper.²⁵

In late December 1589, Moretus wrote to Stapleton's patron that times were hard and that he would return the work if another publisher could start printing immediately.²⁶ There is no way of knowing what Sarazin told his client but it led Stapleton to conclude that Moretus had actually finally started printing and Stapleton included a list of more corrections and demands. 'I said nothing other than what is worthy of the Plantin press, this you must do. Not that this sermon is necessary'.²⁷ Moretus replied that he still had no paper, only in the autumn of 1590 could printing actually commence. By the end of December, Moretus still had not proceeded very far; he had printed about one-third of both parts of the manuscript.²⁸ At the same time Stapleton declined to help Moretus obtain part of the money promised in advance. The *Promptuarium Morale* was finished in April 1591.²⁹ There was certainly an interest in this work, however, the papal nuncio Ottavio Frangipani had heard rumours about

the forthcoming work as far back as July 1590 and wrote to the Bishop of Antwerp Laevinus Torrentius about it.³⁰

Stapleton remained a very unsatisfied customer, despite Moretus' attempt to woo the theologian with free copies of Moretus' other publications. Moretus was evidently hoping to print more of Stapleton's profitable *Promptuaria* but Stapleton had become intent on publishing a refutation of a work by William Whitaker, the head of St John's College, Cambridge and an Anglican theologian of Puritan leanings.³¹ Whitaker had published a refutation of Stapleton and Robert Bellarmine in 1588. Stapleton's position with Moretus would have been stronger, if he had not given another Antwerp printer the right and the corrections necessary to reprint the popular *Promptuarium Catholicum*, that Sonnius in Paris had so completely botched.

On 3 November 1591, Stapleton wrote to Moretus asking why the printer had not replied to his Whitaker proposal.³² 'It is easy conjecture from your silence that the business pleases you little and that you prefer to commit a corrected and augmented copy of the *Promptuarium Catholicum* to your presses. But it equally appeared to me [...] that you should not keep me in suspense any longer'.³³ He had not yet started work on a third *Promptuarium* because, he wrote, it is hard to work when it might all be for nothing especially 'when the fruits of others and the public use, not the private use, are sought for'.³⁴ Moretus replied a week and half later. He wrote that he had in fact replied. He explained that 'we have long since experienced that books of such disputations or refutations in some way hardly sell but I am amazed that there are others who are already printing the *Promptuarium Catholicum* of your Reverence (as I hear) in Antwerp, indeed with additions and corrections, on which [your Reverence] had written to me and had promised to send'.³⁵

This conflict escalated in the following months, as letters grew longer and Stapleton's accusations grew wilder. Stapleton claimed that the divide between Catholic and Protestant printers could not be clearer — while Protestants can publish anything they wish, Catholics must struggle to find orthodox printers. 'This must be patiently borne by us, who labour against the heretics and for the common faith'.³⁶ The insult is clear. Stapleton also insinuated that Moretus is no worthy successor of Plantin and that the previously much maligned Michael Sonnius was not so bad a printer after all. As the editor of these letters, Jeanine de Landstheer, also reported, the drafts of Moretus' replies become less and less legible. The printer was evidently at pains to find ways to strike the right tone. Moretus, however, also wrote to Stapleton's new printer, Balthasar Bellerus, who to the fury of Stapleton then backed out of the whole Whitaker project.³⁷ Stapleton told the Antwerp printer that the whole of Germany, the Low Countries and England is waiting for his reply. 'If the Fathers of the Society of Jesus speak truly, my defence is desired by very many people in Germany; the adversary [Whitaker] has become famous all over Germany'.³⁸ The self-involved Stapleton stressed that Whitaker had become famous because of *him* and he warned Moretus of the 'great chaos' [magnum . . . chaos] between them if the printer recused himself from printing. If Moretus could not start printing straightaway, Stapleton would gladly give the printer a two-month extension.

Stapleton did in the end find another printer in Jan van Keerbergen.³⁹ Stapleton enjoyed dwelling on how much better quality the *Defensio* against Whitaker was than Moretus' new second edition of the *Promptuarium Morale*.⁴⁰ And perhaps we should point out that Stapleton's *Defensio*, a work he persistently referred to as an *opusculum* (a little work), was over 800 octavo pages long. At this point in their argument, Moretus' reply provides us with a convenient stepping stone for our second case. Refuting Stapleton's reference to the Jesuits, Moretus wrote:

'The Fathers of the Society [of Jesus] are not ignorant of how long the Reverend Father Delrio has wanted his Seneca printed, how often he and others have insisted with me, and how many, great [works] they have offered me to be printed, which I nevertheless all had to decline: they themselves see that I am not able to satisfy everyone'.⁴¹

Martin Delrio

Martinus Antonius Delrio (or del Rio; Delrius) was born in Antwerp in 1551. His father was a prominent member of the Spanish merchant community and owned a palace on the Meir, then, as now, home to some of Antwerp's most expensive real estate. There the family entertained Cardinal Granvelle, the Duke of Alva, and Anne of Austria, Philip II's fourth wife. When the young Delrio drew his family's (newly invented) coat of arms in a friend's *album amicorum*, the 15-year-old Delrio listed the family motto: 'to die for religion and king'.⁴² As loyal servants of the Spanish crown the family came perilously close to fulfilling that ambition: both his father Antonio and his cousin Luís or Louis were imprisoned by rebel troops, the latter dying shortly after his release. With family possessions either confiscated or pillaged, Delrio left for Spain in 1580 to join the Jesuit order in Valladolid — his copy of Senecan tragedy was one of the few possessions he managed to take with him.⁴³

Delrio had a penchant for big tomes. His best known work the *Disquisitiones Magicae* (Leuven, 1599–1600) subdivided into six books was some 1200 pages long. He also composed an *Opus Marianum* (Lyon, 1607) which lavished equally exhaustive praise on the Virgin Mary. Yet, it was with intent on publishing his similarly exhaustive edition of Senecan tragedy that Delrio approached Christophe Plantin in early 1589. It had been Seneca who occupied Delrio's mind — and pen — for most of his life until then. Family ties both with Seneca and with Plantin date back to 1555, when a Spanish translation of Erasmus' *Flores Senecae* was dedicated to Delrio's maternal grandfather Martin Lopez. This was only the second work published by the young Plantin.⁴⁴ Delrio himself had published an edition of Senecan tragedy with the printer in 1576. In 1585, on his way back to the Spanish Netherlands, he fell ill in Bordeaux. During his recovery of this — real or imaginary — illness he started work on a new improved Seneca edition and the work quickly grew out to a collation of the remnants of all Latin tragedy, all of which commented upon almost *ad infinitum* (the end product was some 1200 *quarto* pages). The manuscript was then further revised in Leuven in 1589 and submitted to the Plantin press for publication. It was not until August 1594 — more than five years after the initial submission of the

manuscript — that 1250 copies of Delrio's *Syntagma Tragoediae Latinae* rolled off the Plantin presses.⁴⁵

On 25 May 1589, a worried Delrio contacted Plantin to ask whether the printer had received the third part of his *Syntagma*. Delrio, who had lost a manuscript through the carelessness of printers before, emphasized he had no copy of the work left and that he feared it had gone missing.⁴⁶ He also enclosed the dedication to Bishop Laevinus Torrentius, who, as a poet of some renown and a great supporter of the Society of Jesus, seemed an ideal choice of patron.⁴⁷ Plantin, as already mentioned, died on 1 July that year. In September, his successor and son-in-law Jan Moretus thanked Delrio for his condolences but had to disappoint the Jesuit; the war in France made publication impossible. Meanwhile, the manuscript was entrusted to its dedicatee, Torrentius.⁴⁸ In early October, Moretus wrote again to say that the war prevented the import of French paper — 'not us but the time is to blame'.⁴⁹ A month later, Moretus wrote again with exactly the same message. Evidently, Delrio was not happy but his side of this correspondence did not survive.⁵⁰ By 10 June 1589, with Plantin still gravely ill, Bishop Torrentius (at Moretus' request) had written to Delrio emphasizing Moretus' monetary problems and 'certain other impediments', which included the printing of the first volume of Cesare Baronio's *Annales Ecclesiastici*.⁵¹ Delrio's patience had run out after just one month, he would have to wait four more years.

Delrio did not simply wait and see. Delrio was teaching Moretus' son Melchior in Douai at the time and Delrio took to greeting Moretus through his son. On 10 April 1590, along with asking his father for books and sending his own greetings to his mother, grandmother, brothers and sisters, Melchior passed on the greetings of Father Martinus Antonius Delrio, now a professor of philosophy at the Collège d'Anchin — and, as the letter makes clear, this was not the first salutation.⁵² In August, Melchior reported that Delrio had abandoned the study of philosophy on account of his health and was on his way to Antwerp, where he would call on Moretus — some ashes landed on the 'P' of 'Patrem' damaging an otherwise unspoiled letter.⁵³ Delrio visited Antwerp on at least two more occasions in the next two years and, although one can imagine other business may have called the Jesuit to his home town (his mother still lived there), he must have called on Moretus often as well.⁵⁴ Delrio made no secret for his loathing for Moretus. He promised he would, for example, tell his friend and fellow humanist Justus Lipsius all about it when they met.⁵⁵

In 1591, Lipsius had left the Calvinist University in Leiden to return to the Spanish Netherlands. Delrio (now at the Jesuit College in Liège) received Lipsius' letter announcing his safe arrival in Mainz and in the bosom of the Catholic Church on 1 May 1591.⁵⁶ Lipsius' involvement in the Seneca project — whether voluntary or not — started almost immediately. In one of the two replies composed, Delrio recounted his ambitions for his new work and decided to immediately appeal for Lipsius' help.

To Plantin [...] I sent my *Syntagma Latinae Tragoediae* two years ago. [...] But it has [...] not yet reached the hands of men. This is due to Moretus. While his father-in-law had by letter given me faith a little before his death on the publication of these tragedies, he delays keeping his word. He is the cause why any of this has not yet appeared. Nor will it appear quickly [...] nor will it appear [at all], unless it has been seen and approved by you: (you will not deny me this, if you are a friend) and if we love truly, what is this but a trifle, the smallest of trifles?⁵⁷

Hardly the welcome home message Lipsius may have hoped for and it shows how much the project was weighing on Delrio's mind. In June 1591, Delrio was brought close to despair by the *Syntagma*. He told Lipsius (who had stopped to enjoy the medicinal springs of Spa) that he would either withdraw the work until a decent publisher could be found or until he could find the time to rework it — if only Lipsius could take up Delrio's burden.⁵⁸ In mid-September, Delrio complained to Lipsius that his cousin Juan (or Jan) Delrio (incidentally assistant to Bishop Torrentius) had made a mistake with the manuscript 'so that the poor not yet born *Syntagma*, treated in such a hostile fashion by the goddess of childbirth, is now forced to undergo the danger of the roads'.⁵⁹ At the end of September Lipsius scribbled a short note announcing that his wife had finally arrived in Antwerp from Leiden but that he still had received no news on the Seneca edition from there.⁶⁰

The Seneca then disappears from view as written correspondence between the two men virtually ceases now that Lipsius was settling down in Liège.⁶¹ In June 1592, Delrio composed his dedication of the third part of the *Syntagma*, which he dedicates to his friend Lipsius. 'You are by hand their midwife, the supporter and instigator of their publishing for the printer'.⁶² Delrio dedicated three of the Senecan tragedies, the *Medea*, the *Phoenician Women*, and the *Oedipus* to Lipsius, the *sol litteratorum* and 'the prince of true critique of this age'.⁶³

In October 1592, Lipsius reported he expected news to arrive any day regarding the Seneca edition — perhaps with Balthasar Moretus, Jan Moretus' third son, who was to study under Lipsius.⁶⁴ In January 1593, the young Moretus fell gravely ill — ill enough for his father to be summoned from Antwerp to Leuven — and a cornered Jan Moretus told Lipsius that printing would begin as soon as he completed a work by Benito Arias Montano.⁶⁵ In March 1593, Lipsius sent Delrio a liminal poem for inclusion with the tragedies.⁶⁶ By July 1593, Delrio's patience had worn thin once more. Moretus had promised to send a few pages of the *Syntagma* and he told Lipsius he would write again to Moretus. He rather pointedly asked Lipsius about the printing of Lipsius' *De Cruce* which had taken precedence over his Seneca.⁶⁷

Moretus' letter to Stapleton suggests that Lipsius was not Delrio's only intermediary and that Delrio used fellow Jesuits to pressure the printer as well. In 1593, the Belgian province had decided that (with the exception of Douai) Jesuit colleges were to employ Moretus for printing the texts used in teaching.⁶⁸ As the Society's printer, Moretus may well have been more susceptible to Jesuit demands. We have no letters to the Antwerp Jesuits about his *Syntagma*, but Delrio certainly advertised his problems far and wide. A letter in which he complained to Franciscus Benci at the Jesuit *Collegio Romano* has survived.⁶⁹ In the letter, Delrio singled out Lipsius as the

‘encourager’ [hortator] of the printer, but it stands to reason that Lipsius was not the only ‘encourager’ used. Delrio himself meanwhile used the threat of a rival edition against Moretus.

On 3 August 1593, Delrio received the first twelve pages of the *Syntagma* — the fact that another printer, Henricus Hovius, had finally expressed an interest in the work may have helped pushed Moretus into action.⁷⁰ Delrio rather innocently suggested that Moretus might not be able or willing to print sufficient copies. Moretus does not appear to have been pleased with the prospect of a rival edition for the Prince-Bishopric of Liège and with Delrio’s attempts to use it to impel Moretus to haste.⁷¹ Printing of the work must have proceeded steadily from then on. The first two volumes have 1593 stated as year of publication on the cover page. A year later, in July 1594, Delrio wrote to Moretus with an outline of the indices for the work, one of which he still had not yet completed.⁷² The seven indices grouped together at the end of the third volume of the *Syntagma* underscore the work’s complexity and the demands it placed on its printer. Despite the advanced warning, Moretus must have been shocked — the indices took up another 167 pages. The printer struggled to get a shipment ready in time for the autumn Frankfurt book fair.

Moretus sold the first two copies to the Jesuit colleges of Ypres and Saint-Omer on the seventeenth of that month and sent ten free copies to Delrio two days later.⁷³ On 7 October 1594, Delrio wrote to Moretus, citing Caesar’s dictum upon crossing the Rubicon, that the dice had been cast.⁷⁴ On 13 October 1594, Laevinus Torrentius wrote to Delrio to thank him for the copy he received and for the dedication — an honour Torrentius felt unworthy of and unworthy to share with Lipsius.⁷⁵ Throughout all this, Delrio’s emotions veered from resignation, to severe anxiety, to expressions of confidence that there will always be need for a Senecan commentary. But after a pregnancy of five years, to continue the metaphor, the Jesuit had become a father in a different sense of the word.

Jan Moretus

To fully understand Stapleton’s failure in publishing with Moretus and Delrio’s ultimate success, a closer look at the context in which their printer was operating is necessary. Delrio in a rare moment of calm over his *Syntagma* expressed confidence that buyers would never be lacking as the plays were performed in Jesuit colleges every year.⁷⁶ Moretus may not have been so sure. Although four Jesuit colleges did obtain single copies of the work within months of its appearance, its price would have been solidly out of reach of the average pupil.⁷⁷ Aside from Jesuit colleges, most copies were sold to others in the book trade — ten copies were among the order shipped to John Norton in London on 28 October.⁷⁸ Moretus’ order book until the end of 1594 lists 145 copies shipped (including sixteen copies of the work Moretus sent to its author free of charge). These numbers are deceptive. The bulk was sent to colleagues who might not need additional copies for the foreseeable future. More importantly, however, printers often shipped unsolicited works (to fill up shipping crates, for example) and unwanted copies would then be returned. Norton, for

example, returned five *Syntagmas* in March 1595 when he placed his next order.⁷⁹ March was a particularly bad month for the printer — Moretus ended with seven more copies of the *Syntagma* than he had started with. In the first year Moretus' order book shows he lost 178 copies of the work (eighteenth of which were gifts).

These numbers exclude sales on the Frankfurt book fair. In his order book, Moretus listed 116 copies of the *Syntagma* among the books shipped to Frankfurt on 26 July. Another 60 copies followed on 10 August.⁸⁰ The 176 indices, evidently not ready yet, only went out on 23 August.⁸¹ Presumably Moretus held back from selling the book until it had appeared on the September fair. By the autumn fair of 1595, there would still be 104 copies left.⁸² To what extent these copies were exchanged for money remains an open question. The value of the books bought from and sold to other publishers often matched quite closely in the book keeping. Occasionally when the numbers did not even out more books were sold or bought until the numbers were balanced.⁸³ The number of copies bought or sold was also frequently altered. (A Heidelberg printer decided on second thoughts that he would buy no copies of Stapleton's *Promptuarium Morale*.⁸⁴) The transactions helped diversify Moretus' assets but may not have been very profitable per se. The account books for sales in the Antwerp shop have unfortunately not survived.⁸⁵ However, in the first year Moretus managed to sell, exchange or give away at least 250 copies. A reasonably impressive figure perhaps, but other works might sell as much in a single order.⁸⁶

In June 1602, when a general inventory (of both the Antwerp and Frankfurt offices) was done, a total of 43 copies of the *Syntagma* were counted, stored at a number of different *Officina*'s storage facilities.⁸⁷ They were deemed *vendibiliores* or *vendibiles* at the time but the work was still for sale in 1615 — five years after Moretus' death.⁸⁸ Presumably it sold out soon thereafter, however, as a new edition appeared in Paris in 1620 (incidentally the same year and place as Stapleton's *Opera Omnia*).⁸⁹ The *Syntagma* was therefore not unmovable but it could hardly be called a hot item.

A reason is not hard to find — price. The fl. 3.90 price tag for an unbound copy of the *Syntagma* was staggering, especially when equivalents were readily available. The 1596 catalogue of works published by Moretus also lists copies of the Senecan tragedies with Justus Lipsius' notes (in octavo, rather than in quarto format) for 0.60 and 0.75 florins, whereas the version of the tragedies by Moretus' nephew Franciscus Raphelengius Junior sold for only 0.30 and 0.35 florins.⁹⁰ The *Officina* sold editions of Vergil, Terence, Horace, Catullus, and Claudian, emended by Plantin's life-long collaborator Theodoor Poelman in minuscule 16° or 24° editions for mere pennies.⁹¹ Delrio's edition was superior, his commentary exhaustive, and the work less perishable. Yet, for less than one-third of the price of Delrio's compendium of Latin tragedy, a more economically minded reader could buy the whole of classical Latin poetry. Ian Maclean has pointed to the dangers of palingenesis (the perfect restitution of ancient texts) to publishers — the existence of a perfect edition would obviate the need for 'improved' editions.⁹² Moretus certainly had a knack of advertising subsequent editions as *auctior* or *castigata* but Delrio's *Syntagma* demonstrates that the price for perfection might become too high.

We may be sceptical about Moretus' supply problems. A manuscript in the MPM lists the number of copies, and price of every edition printed from 1590 onwards. For most works it lists the number of folios needed as well. The document shows how gargantuan the *Syntagma* undertaking was. It represented 17% of the folios used and 13% of the total value of works printed in 1594 — its 195,000 folios account for almost the whole of the difference in output with 1593.⁹³ The manuscript shows that Moretus regularly printed expensive works. The various parts of Cesare Baronio's *Annales* sold for between fl. 5–6 each, Carolus Clusius' *Historia variorum plantarum* (1601) and Lipsius' *Opera Omnia* of Seneca (1605) cost fl. 6.10 and fl. 7.50, respectively.⁹⁴ However, unlike Delrio's *Syntagma*, works by these authors were predictable bestsellers.

The *Syntagma* differed not merely in scope but also in kind. The re-orientation of the *Officina* towards works of liturgy and devotion has been often held against Jan Moretus, but has been instead dated to Plantin's return to Antwerp (from a short stay in Leiden) in late 1585. Leon Voet argued that the new religious climate — Antwerp had fallen to Alexander Farnese's forces earlier in the year — had made the South 'a bastion of Catholicism by the forces of the Counter-Reformation'.⁹⁵ Moretus, Voet argued, was merely responding to a changed environment — 'a printing-press is not a philanthropic undertaking, [...] but a business which has to take serious account of its market'.⁹⁶ The figures underscore this: 37% of copies printed in the years 1590–5 and 39% of the total book value come from the publication of bibles, catechisms, missals, breviaries, and diurnalalia (books of hours) — works often not even listed in the Belgian short-title catalogue. When we include other Christian and devotional writings (such as Stapleton's *Promptuarium* and Petrus Canisius' *Manuel des Catholiques*) the figures rise to 55 and 54%, respectively. The various volumes of Cesare Baronio's *Annales Ecclesiastici* accounted for 13% of the output in florins. The remainder consists largely of standard student text books such as Cornelius Valerius' *Rudimenta Grammatica* (1592) and Simon Verepaeus' *Latinae grammatices rudimenta* (1595) and their Greek equivalents.

Voet's observation that 'works of scholarship [dropped] to a very small percentage of the total production' is certainly borne out. And when we exclude major established names such as Lipsius, Ortelius, and Clusius the number of scholarly works becomes very small indeed. Moretus' interest in Delrio's relatively small, devotional *Florida Mariana* (1598) and his decision to decline Delrio's *Disquisitiones Magicae* — Moretus wrote that he would not be able to cope with a work of its magnitude — stem from a business strategy.⁹⁷ The same policy explains why Moretus was interested in Stapleton's *Promptuarium Morale*, which he reprinted in 1592 and 1594, and not in Stapleton's polemics.⁹⁸ The reputation of the *Officina* meant that Moretus did not have to take the risks his predecessor took. Those risks and the corresponding possibility for a higher return (or for later works by the same author offering a higher return) properly belonged to 'lesser' printers, Stapleton's printer Jan van Keerbergen or the printer of Delrio's *Disquisitiones Magicae* (1599–1600), Gerardus

Rivius. Moretus' strategy and the environment in which he operated are key to understanding and assessing the strategies employed by Stapleton and Delrio.

Conclusion

Thomas Stapleton and Martin Delrio do not easily endear themselves. Their self-involvement is palpable; Stapleton's assertion that both England and Germany were eagerly awaiting his reply to Whitaker is not very credible, also given that Whitaker's attack was on the market for at least two years before Stapleton himself even became aware of it.⁹⁹ His work was indeed read in England, although it did not necessarily persuade anyone.¹⁰⁰ We should not ignore Stapleton's popularity — there was a reason why Clement VIII enjoyed listening to Stapleton — but Moretus' commercial instinct that an 800 page refutation was not going to sell was probably closer to reality. The exile sought to coerce his printer through imputations and threats. Stapleton's threats were hollow ones, the fact that he had little to bargain with shows how weak his position was. Having given away the reprint of his earlier *Promptuarium Catholicum*, Stapleton lacked both carrot and stick.

Yet, Stapleton's dispute with Moretus mirrors his public disputes with the likes of William Whitaker. Stapleton won that argument, if only through sheer longevity. Whitaker had died on 4 December 1595. Unwilling to let Whitaker have the last word Stapleton finished his *Triplicatio Inchoata adversus Gulielmum Whitakerum* on 11 March 1596. It was 314 *quarto* pages long. It too mixed *ad hominem* attacks with a galling confidence in Stapleton's own rightness.¹⁰¹ Self-styled embodiment of the Church Militant, Stapleton dared to challenge the equally strong-headed Cesare Baronio.¹⁰² In August 1590, Torrentius reported to the papal nuncio Ottavio Frangipani, how Stapleton came from Douai to Antwerp just to see to him. 'While the main point of our conversation was that he would be obedient to your [the nuncio's] command; yet he complained about some insolence of his enemies, who had carried away his books out of the office of his Douai printer by force'.¹⁰³ These enemies were, as Torrentius' letter makes clear, fellow Catholic theologians. Stapleton was not a man with many friends.

Delrio's position appeared as weak as Stapleton's. Moretus kept Delrio waiting while he printed three editions of Lipsius' *De Cruce* — even though Delrio had submitted his work some two years before Lipsius even started work on his. Laevinus Torrentius similarly had a new edition of his Suetonius printed in 1592.¹⁰⁴ Torrentius had, after all, interceded on Moretus' behalf as the haggling between the various son-in-laws over the Plantin estate continued — and the bishop had apparently no qualms to take precedence over a work that was dedicated to him.¹⁰⁵ At the same time, given the size of the undertaking, it was remarkable that the work appeared at all. It was a result of the persistent pressure exerted on Moretus by Delrio through a wide variety of routes. In this sense, its bulk — spread out its folios would cover just under six football fields — was a testimony of success, rather than failure.¹⁰⁶

Greater men than Stapleton and Delrio had caused Moretus problems. Cesare Baronio, for example, insisted that Moretus include a refutation of the Spanish

claim to the kingdom of Sicily in his *Annales Ecclesiastici* and flew into a rage when Moretus, who lived in the Spanish Netherlands, could not comply.¹⁰⁷ And better-known scholars than they had difficulties finding a printer. Julius Caesar Scaliger whose verbosity was notorious — he was the author of, at 900 pages, ‘the longest and most vitriolic book review in the annals of literature’ — could not find a printer for his *Poetices Libri Septem* (Seven Books on Poetry).¹⁰⁸ Erasmus, who had once observed that it was easier to set up as a printer than as a baker, had to deal with his fair share of sloppy printers corrupting his critical editions of classical and patristic texts.¹⁰⁹ Delrio and Stapleton were not the only authors of their (or any) age facing unpleasant economic realities. As a rare example of printer–author relationships in the early modern period however, their struggle — quite literally — speaks volumes.

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Notes

- ¹ Léon Voet, *The golden compasses. A history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (2 vols; Amsterdam, 1969), i, 61.
- ² *Ibid.*, i, 81.
- ³ M. Rooses & J. Denucé (eds.), *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin* (10 [= 9] vols; Antwerp, 1882–1918).
- ⁴ A. Gerlo & H. Vervliet (eds.), *La correspondance de Juste Lipse conservée au Musée Plantin-Moretus* (Antwerp: 1967). Antonio Dávila Pérez (ed.), *Correspondencia conservada en el Museo Plantin-Moretus de Amberes / Benito Arias Montano* (Madrid: 2002).
- ⁵ Andrew Pettegree, ‘Centre and Periphery in the European Book World’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (2008), 18, 101–28.
- ⁶ Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus; Man of Letters* (Princeton, NJ, 1993).
- ⁷ Most recently: Jeanine De Landtsheer, ‘An author and his printer: Justus Lipsius and the Officina Plantiniana’, *Quaerendo* (2007), 10–29.
- ⁸ T. Stapleton, *The life and illustrious martyrdom of Sir Thomas More* (London: 1928), transl. by Philip Hallett.
- ⁹ See the entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online ed. 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26307>> [=ODNB].
- ¹⁰ A. Schillings, *Matricule de l’Université de Louvain* (4; Louvain, 1961).
- ¹¹ Nicolas Sander, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism* ed. & transl. by David Lewis (London, 1877), p. 263. I realize the word ‘Belgian’

- is anachronistic and am using it in the loosest sense of the word here.
- ¹² T. Knox (ed.), *The first and second diaries of the English college, Douay* (London: 1878), p. 273.
- ¹³ The correspondence between the papal nuncio and Cardinal Aldobrandini: L. van der Essen (ed.), *Correspondance d'Ottavio Mirto Frangipani* (Rome: 1924–1942).
- ¹⁴ T. Stapleton, *Thomae Stapletoni . . . opera quae extant omnia* (4 vols; Paris, 1620).
- ¹⁵ J. De Landtsheer, 'The Correspondence of Thomas Stapleton and Jan Moretus: A Critical and Annotated Edition', in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* (1996) 45, 436 [=Stapleton]. I have given the date and number of the letter rather than the page number.
- ¹⁶ 'Promptuarium Morale Super Evangelia Dominicalia Totius Anni. Ad Instructionem Concionatorum Reformationem Peccatorum Consolationem Piorum. Ex Sacris Scripturis, SS. Patribus, & optimis quibusque authoribus studiose collectum'. A1615 Carthusiae Buxheim.
- ¹⁷ For example Guy de Montrocher's *Manipulus curatorum* (Zaragoza: 1475).
- ¹⁸ *Stapleton* 91 06 07 (letter 9), where Stapleton comments on a Lyon copy of the *Promptuarium Catholicum*: 'Certe haec editio Lugdunensis est incorrectissima et vitiosissima, nec vel character vel atramentum vel charta placet'.
- ¹⁹ Voet, i, 163.
- ²⁰ *Stapleton* 89 08 27 (1).
- ²¹ *Ibid.*: 'Ego sane re cum illo ante aliquot menses communicata, ante omnia desideravi tuis potissimum typis hoc opus evulgari, non solum quia elegantissimos habes, chartaque uteris plerumque selectissima, sed etiam quia quantum observare potui, correctiores multo Latini libri ex vestra officina prodeant quam ex Lutetianis; teque ipsum audio egregie literatum esse, et ipsi interdum correctioni incumbere'.
- ²² The letter of dedication [dates](#) 5 September 1589, f. *5'.
- ²³ *Stapleton* [89 09 09] (2).
- ²⁴ *Stapleton* 89 10 04 (3).
- ²⁵ *Stapleton* [89] 10 17 (4).
- ²⁶ Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus [= MPM], Arch. 10, f. 265': 'si [Stapleton] existimaverit D. Bogardum aut alium quamvis typographum statim imprimaturum remittam exemplum quandocunque iussit'.
- ²⁷ *Stapleton* 90 01 23 (5). 'Nihilque aliud dicerem, quam quod Plantinianis operis dignum est, id facias. Sed non est hic sermo necessarius'.
- ²⁸ *Stapleton* 90 12 28. (8) where Stapleton acknowledged receipt. 'Accepi hesterno die quaterniones desideratos cum aliis novis partis quidem hyemalis usque ad litteram O inclusive; nisi P adhuc deest quaternio L eiusdem partis; partis vero aestivalis litteram O'. The *promptuarium* consisted of two parts, a *pars aestivalis* (summer) that ran from the week after Pentecost to the twenty-fourth week after Pentecost and a *pars hyemalis* (winter) that covered the first Sunday of Advent up to Pentecost. Letters indicate the number of folios. Moretus had therefore printed the first 224 pages of the *aestivalis*.
- ²⁹ MPM, Arch. 68, f. 42'. On 22 April 1591 Moretus shipped the first 25 copies of the *pars hyemalis*.
- ³⁰ M. Delcourt & J. Hoyeux, *Laevinus Torrentius: Correspondance* (3 vols; Paris: 1950–4) [=Torrentius] 90 07 17 (letter 1590).
- ³¹ ODNB <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29228>>.
- ³² *Stapleton* 91 11 03 (13).
- ³³ *Ibid.*: 'Facile conicio ex silentio tuo parum tibi hanc rem placere, malleque te Prompt[uarium] Catholici exemplar meum a me recognitum et auctum tuis typis committere. Sed aequum mihi videtur ut saltem quid velis aut non velis uno mihi verbo respondeas, nec me suspensum diutius teneas'.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*: 'Hoc iam confecto labore ad Promp[tuarium] Morale in festa Sanctorum me accingo, si tamen labores nostros in lucem venire posse spes ulla affulgeat. Alioqui enim quum aliorum hic fructus quaeratur et utilitas publica, non privata, non est quod me superfluo labore conficiam, si illo peracto latitare apud me quaterniones debeant'.
- ³⁵ *Stapleton* 91 11 13 (14): 'iam experti diu sumus huiusmodi disputationum aut refutationum libros vix aliquo modo distrahi; nec non admiror alios esse qui Promptuarium Catholicum Clar[issim]ae D[ominionis] T[uae] iam excudant (ut audio) Antverpiae, imo cum auctario et castigationibus, de quibus ad me scripsit et missurum se pollicitus erat'.
- ³⁶ *Stapleton* 91 12 04 (15): 'Patienter id nobis ferendum qui contra haereticos pro communi fide laboramus'.
- ³⁷ D. Sacré & J. De Landtsheer, 'Thomas Stapleton and Jan Moretus: An Additional Letter', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* (1999) 48, 92 03 16 (17bis).
- ³⁸ *Ibid.* 'Si vera mihi patres Societatis narrant, in Germania haec mea defensio plurimum desideratur et adversarius ipse, utcunque homo novus et incelebris, nunc tamen propter Bellarminum et me, quos nominatim impugnat, per totam Germaniam celebrescit'.
- ³⁹ Jan van Keerbergen, Keerberghe, Keerbergius (1565–1624). Keergbergius was 'plus libraire et éditeur qu'imprimeur' who published only some twenty works between 1590 and 1621. Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des Imprimeurs, Libraires et Éditeurs*, 107.
- ⁴⁰ *Stapleton* 92 09 19 (22): 'Optabam tam eleganti et pleno characterе chartaque tam candida hanc secundam editionem prodiisse, quam nostra contra

- Whitak[erum] Defensio prodiit'. And to rub it in: 'audio multos conquerentes de characteris exiguitate in hoc Promp[tuar]io, quod a multis etiam senibus legitur'.
- ⁴¹ *Stapleton* 92 04 11 (18, version 2). I have cited from version 2 but the line of argument is identical: 'Non ignorant Patres Societatis quam diu R[everendus] P[ater] Del Rio Senecam suum excusum voluerit, quam saepe ille et alii apud me institerint, quamque multos optimosque mihi excudendos obtulerint, quos tamen omnes recusare debui: vident etiam ipsi me omnibus satisfacere non posse'.
- ⁴² The Hague, Royal Library, 130 E 28, f. 320^v. Entry dated Paris, 5 April 1567: 'por mi fey, y por mi Rey morere'.
- ⁴³ A list of Delrio's possessions upon arrival in Valladolid is given in: Madrid, Biblioteca Real Academia de la Historia, Legajos de Jesuitas, 9/7240. Reproduced (with minor printing errors) in M. [Delrio], *La Magia Demoníaca (libros II de las Disquisiciones Mágicas)* (Madrid, 1991), transl. & ed. by J. Moya, 197n.
- ⁴⁴ Voet, i, 17.
- ⁴⁵ Antwerp, MPM, M 39, f. 13^v.
- ⁴⁶ M. Delrio, *Syntagma Latinae Tragoediae* (Paris, 1620), iii, 366.
- ⁴⁷ J. Denucé, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin* (Antwerp & The Hague, 1918), viii & ix, 524. Letter 1465.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.* viii & ix, 584.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* viii & ix, 592: 'Non nostra haec sed temporis culpa est'.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.* vii & ix, 604–5.
- ⁵¹ *Torrentius* 89 06 10 (596).
- ⁵² Antwerp, MPM, Arch. 89, f. 454: 'Resalutat te Reverendus Pater Martinus Antonius [D]elrio, utriusq[ue] iuris Licentiat, nec non primarius professor Philosophiae in Collegio Aquicinctino Duaci'.
- ⁵³ Antwerp, MPM, Arch. 89, f. 463: 'Salutabis Reverendum patrem Patrem Martinum Antonium del Rio Societatis Jesu virum doctissimum qui nuper Antverpiam se contulit'.
- ⁵⁴ On 8 September 1590 Delrio gave a sermon in Antwerp, the text of which is in Delrio, *Opus Marianum* (Lyon: 1607), 955. In June 1591 Delrio was again in Antwerp given a comment in ILE 91 06 08 D.
- ⁵⁵ A. Gerlo et al. (J. De Landtsheer) (eds), *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* ([19 vols]; Brussels: 1978–). [=ILE] I have adopted the standard method of reference to the Lipsius' correspondence. See A. Gerlo & H. Vervliet, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse: 1564–1606* (Antwerp, 1968). ILE IV, which covers the crucial year 1591 is forthcoming. ILE 91 06 28 D. 'Inanes illius [Moretus] fuisse non miror; mirarer, si aliter. Cur? Audies, cum te videbo'.
- ⁵⁶ ILE 91 05 02. *Version 1*. 'Beavit me prorsus epistola tua, quam Moguntiaci scriptam XIII Aprilis recepi Kalendis Mai'.
- ⁵⁷ ILE 91 05 02. *Version 1*. 'Ad Plantinum (cuius animae sit optime) ante biennium miseram Syntagma Latinae Tragoediae, in quo novus in illas decem Tragoedias commentarius, et in fragmenta ceterorum opinationes, aliaque nonnulla: [...] Sed nec illa (bene sit Moreto, qui dum fidem mihi a socero paullo ante obitum per litteras datam de excudendis cothurnatis illis naeniis praestare differt, causa fuit cur nondum earum quidquam in vulgus) prodire ad manus hominum; nec tam cito [...] proditura nec proditura, nisi a te visa, et approbata: (non id mihi negabis, si amicus) et, si verum amamus, quid ista, nisi nugae, nugae nugacissimae? non placent mihi, qui propter litterarias dissensiones, minus amici semel amicis. Fui amicus, sum eo dum ero'.
- ⁵⁸ ILE 91 06 11 D.
- ⁵⁹ ILE 91 09 16: 'Fecit enim cognatus ille meus sua vel incuria vel oblivione, ut miserum illud, cui tam infensa Lucina, Tragicum Syntagma nondum natum, viarum haec nunc pericula subire cogatur'.
- ⁶⁰ ILE [91 09 26] DE.
- ⁶¹ On Lipsius' travels see J. De Landtsheer, 'From North to South', in D. Sacré & G. Tournoy (eds.), *Myricae; Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Memory of J. IJsewijn* (Leuven, 2000), pp. 303–31.
- ⁶² *Ibid.* 'tu obstetricatus manu, auctor & impulsor typographo edendi, tibi debebunt, quam adspicient lucem'.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ ILE V 92 10 08.
- ⁶⁵ ILE VI 93 01 29 D.
- ⁶⁶ ILE VI 93 03 24.
- ⁶⁷ ILE VI 93 07 22 D.
- ⁶⁸ Rome, ARSL, Ep. Germ. 172, f. 114^v.
- ⁶⁹ Rome, APUG 532, 29. Dated 21 April 1592.
- ⁷⁰ Henricus Hovius (or Hoyoux or Van den Hoven). Active in Liège as printer between c. 1567 and 1611. Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des Imprimeurs* (Nieuwkoop: 1975), p. 100.
- ⁷¹ MPM, Arch. 1, f. 93^v, dated 6 August 1593: 'nam Hovius, qui exemplar tuum diu ante quam nos (ignoro qua via, vel a quo) nactus, sparserat; te volente, eo quod non posses satis multa, vel nolles tam multa excudere exemplaria, se editurum pro hac ditone Leodicensi: et praestolari a Principe, qui nunc Coloniae, licentiam. nunc fraudem ex tuis capio'.
- ⁷² MPM, Arch. 81, f. 297^v. Dated 18 July 1594.
- ⁷³ MPM, Arch. 71, ff. 120^v, 122^v.
- ⁷⁴ MPM, Arch. 81, f. 299^v. 'Ergo iacta est alea'.
- ⁷⁵ *Torrentius* 94 10 13 (1181).
- ⁷⁶ ILE VI 93 06 28.
- ⁷⁷ The colleges who bought copies were Saint-Omer and Ypres (17 September; MPM, Arch. 72, f. 120^v),

- Lille (8 October; f. 134^v — a gift as no price is listed), and Liège (7 November; f. 147^v).
- ⁷⁸ MPM, Arch. 71, f. 144^v. On John Norton (1556/7–1612): ODNB <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2034>>.
- ⁷⁹ MPM, Arch. 72, f. 38^r.
- ⁸⁰ MPM, Arch. 71, ff. 93^v, 103^v.
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.* f. 109^v.
- ⁸² MPM, Arch. 980, ff. 69^v, 72^v.
- ⁸³ MPM, Arch. 969, ff. 55^v–56^v, where first books worth fl. 111.20 are sold to a Roman printer, books worth a fl. 123.83 are bought. The further sale worth of another fl. 12.05 then almost balances the numbers.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.* The printer originally planned to purchase two copies. The purchase of two Hebrew bibles was added in different ink to the end of the bill.
- ⁸⁵ The only other account book relevant for these years, MPM Arch 493 (entitled ‘Journal librairie 1593–5’), is only a partial account of the sales already listed in Arch. 70–72.
- ⁸⁶ One order dated 10 July 1595, for example, included 150 copies of Lipsius’ *De Militia Romana* and three copies of the *Syntagma*. *Ibid.* f. 83^v.
- ⁸⁷ MPM, Arch. 490, ff. 5^r, 13^r, 20^r, 30^r.
- ⁸⁸ MPM, R 55 22. *Index Librorum* (Antwerp: 1615), 62.
- ⁸⁹ MPM, R 27.3 *Index Librorum* (Antwerp: 1642) does not list any copies.
- ⁹⁰ MPM, R 55 21. *Index Librorum* (Antwerp: 1596), A5^r.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*, A4^r, A4^v, A5^r.
- ⁹² I. Maclean, *Learning and the Market Place* (Leiden, 2009), 23.
- ⁹³ Unfortunately M 39 does not give the number of folios *per book* for every edition saw there is a measure of guesswork involved in my calculations. The total number of folios used by Moretus in 1593 some 850,000 folios, in 1594 some 1,140,000. The total value of books printed (which was recorded for all books) in 1593 was fl. 23,785 and fl. 37,312 in 1594.
- ⁹⁴ Moretus, however, only published 950 copies of the *Annales* so the total book value of the *Syntagma* outweighed that of a single *pars* — even so the total financial investment made by Moretus in the *Annales* project was staggering. The total value of the 12-volume set was fl. 72.10. *cf.* R 55.22 *Index Librorum* (Antwerp: 1615), 27. For Lipsius and Clusius see M39, f. 16^v, 18^r.
- ⁹⁵ Voet, i, 198.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁷ MPM Arch. 12, ff. 36–37. Letter dated 17 August 1598.
- ⁹⁸ MPM M 39, 12^r, 13^r. Presumably the 1593 edition of the *Promptuarium* was actually printed in 1592.
- ⁹⁹ *Stapleton* 91 12 24 (17) suggests Stapleton learned about it shortly after the spring Frankfurt book fair of 1590.
- ¹⁰⁰ A copy in the British Library (860, f. 7) has ‘Anglo-calvinistae’ struck out on the coverpage and ‘viri pii et serio doctii’ written in.
- ¹⁰¹ Included as an appendix to Thomas Stapleton, *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium Relectio Scholastica & Compendiaria* (Antwerp: 1596)
- ¹⁰² Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Q44, ff. 249–51.
- ¹⁰³ *Torrentius* 90 08 22 (760). ‘Nec multo post venit Antverpiam, me conveniendi causa. Summa autem de adversariorum suorum nescioqua insolentia, qui libellos eius ex typographi Duacensis officina per vim abstulissent, ipsi nihil minus quam obedientes sanctae sedi apostolicae, ut aiebat’.
- ¹⁰⁴ Laevinus Torrentius, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli XII Caesares* ... (Antwerp, [1592]). Moretus printed 1250 copies of the work *cf.* MPM M39, f. 12^r.
- ¹⁰⁵ Torrentius wrote a letter to Johannes Masius, *Avocat Fiscal* in Brussels, on Moretus’ behalf. *Torrentius*, iii, 310–1 (930; 27 January 1592). On Beys, see the entry in Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs & Libraires Parisiens du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1979), iii, 312–322.
- ¹⁰⁶ By which I mean the area covered by the 195,000 folios used for the edition. *cf.* MPM, M 39, f. 13^r.
- ¹⁰⁷ Voet, i, 194–5.
- ¹⁰⁸ G. Cardano, *The book of my Life*, ed. by Anthony T. Grafton (New York, 2002), ix; J. C. Scaliger, *Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst*, ed. by Luc Deitz & Gregor Vogt-Spira (Stuttgart, 1994–), introduction to volume 1. Also, M. Magnien, ‘Un humaniste face aux problèmes d’édition: J.-C. Scaliger et les imprimeurs’, *Bibliothèque d’humanisme et Renaissance*, 44 (1982), 307–29.
- ¹⁰⁹ William Eamon, *Science and the Secret of Nature* (Princeton, 1996), p. 106.

Notes on contributor

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