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Spanish Books in Michiel van Hamont's Bookshop (1569): A Case Study of the Distribution of Spanish Books in Sixteenth-Century Brussels

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Abstract

This paper is dedicated to the study of the dissemination of Spanish books—books written in Spanish—during the 16th century in Brussels. This study is based on an inventory of the bookseller-printer Michiel van Hamont made in 1569, at the request of the authorities searching for heretical books. This is the first survey conducted on this subject. Spanish books that have effectively circulated within the Southern Netherlands, have generally been neglected by scholars. They mainly focused their attention on local production (which books were printed by whom) and export to the Iberian World (Kingdom of Spain and Americas). They studied the rise of Antwerp as a major centre of Spanish vernacular editions and its role in the dissemination of Spanish books. The first findings in this paper show that the distribution of Spanish books in Brussels in the mid-sixteenth century is merely a marginal phenomenon.

Keywords

Spanish books – early modern Low Countries – 16th century – Brussels – censorship

Scholars working on the distribution of Spanish books¹ during the 16th century in the Low Countries mainly focus on local production (which books were printed by whom), and export to the Iberian World (Kingdom of Spain

1 'Spanish books' has to be understood as book written in Spanish, not in the restrictive manner 'books printed in Spain'. Abbreviation: USTC = *Universal Short-Title Catalogue* (<http://ustc.ac.uk>).

and Americas). For instance, the rise of Antwerp as a major centre of Spanish vernacular editions and its role in the dissemination of Spanish books has been studied extensively.² However, scholars generally neglected Spanish books that circulated in the Southern Low Countries, partly due to a lack of adequate sources.

A mid-sixteenth century source of exceptional nature gives us a glimpse of these Spanish books. In 1565-1566, the Low Countries were shaken by a vast politico-religious revolt against Philip II. In response to the uprising, the king established the Council of Troubles, a court active from 1567 to 1576. This institution was led in its early years by Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba and Governor General of the Low Countries. The repression was both ruthless and bloody. The number of victims was close to 10,000 people; the most famous of these were the Counts of Horne and Egmont, beheaded on June 5th, 1568, on the Grand Place in Brussels. The population renamed the court the 'Council of Blood'.³

One of the most famous measures taken by the Council of Troubles was the realization and the publication of three indexes of prohibited books (1569,

2 This is a non-exhaustive list of publications devoted to this topic: J.-F. Peeters-Fontainas, 'L'Officine espagnole de Martin Nutius à Anvers', in: *De Gulden Passer*, 35 (1957), pp. 1-104; *Id.*, 'Les impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas', in: *Le livre et l'estampe*, 41-2 (1965), pp. 28-42; *Id.*, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des pays-bas meridionaux*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1965); P.R. León, 'Brief Notes on some 16th Century Antwerp Printers with special reference to Jean Steelsius and his Hispanic Bibliography', in: *De Gulden Passer*, 54 (1976), pp. 77-92; F. Robben, 'De relatie van Christoffel Plantijn en de boekhandel in Spanje: een voorlopige inventaris', in: *Ex officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini (ca. 1520-1589)*, eds. M. de Schepper, F. de Nave (*De Gulden Passer*, 66-7; Antwerp 1989), pp. 399-418; *Christophe Plantin et le monde ibérique*, ed. F. de Nave (Antwerp 1992); *Een wereld op papier. Zuid-Nederlandse boeken, prenten en kaarten in het Spaanse en Portugese wereldrijk (16de-18de eeuw)*, eds. W. Thomas, E. Stols (Leuven 2009); C. Manrique Figueroa, *Cultural Trade between the Southern Netherlands and New Spain. A History of Transatlantic Book Circuits and Book Consumption in the Early Modern Age* (Leuven 2012; unpublished PhD); B. Rial Costas, 'International Publishing and Local Needs: The Breviaries and Missals Printed by Plantin for the Spanish Crown', in: *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World*, eds. M. McLean, S. Barker (Leiden-Boston 2016), pp. 15-30.

3 A. Verheyden, *Le Conseil des Troubles* (Flavion-Florennes 1981); S. Deyon, A. Lottin, *Les cas-seurs de l'été 1566. L'iconoclasme dans le Nord* (Villeneuve d'Ascq-Westhoek 1986); G. Marnef, H. de Schepper, 'Conseil des Troubles (1567-1576)', in: *Les institutions du gouvernement central des Pays-Bas habsbourgeois (1482-1795)*, ed. E. Aerts etc., vol. 1 (Brussels 1995), pp. 470-78; A. Goosens, *Les Inquisitions modernes dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux (1520-1633)*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1998), pp. 114-121; H. Kamen, *The Duke of Alba* (New Haven-London 2004), pp. 75-105; C. Payen, *Aux confins du Hainaut, de la Flandre et du Brabant: le bailliage d'Enghien dans la tourmente iconoclaste (1566-1576). Étude de la répression des troubles religieux à la lumière des archives du Conseil des troubles et des Comptes de confiscation* (Courtrai 2013).

1570, 1571). These reproduced and completed the Tridentine Index (1564), which itself reproduced and completed the Index of the University of Louvain (1546, 1550, 1558).⁴ According to the rules related to the application of the Roman Index, local inquisitors and bishops were invited to augment it as they saw fit. For this reason, the Duke of Alba tasked Benito Arias Montano with creating a catalogue of prohibited books specifically for the Netherlands. The Spanish Orientalist was present in the Low Countries to help Christopher Plantin with the production of his famous Polyglot Bible.⁵ In the early months of 1569, Christopher Plantin was granted the privilege of publishing the first Index of Antwerp. It contents the Tridentine Index with further additions made by Montano.⁶

After publication, the Duke instructed the Councils of Justice to look for prohibited books in all bookstores and printing offices of the Low Countries. Inquisitors, theologians and police officers paid unexpected visits to various bookshops; suspicious books were seized and submitted to local authorities for examination.⁷ In Tournai, nearly 550 works, mostly French Bibles, New Testaments and psalters printed in Geneva, were seized in April.⁸ Nicolas Soldoyer, a member of the Catholic bourgeoisie of the city, was sufficiently struck by this raid to point it out in his memoirs and to note that two barrels

4 F. Willocx, *Introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente dans les Pays-Bas et dans la Principauté de Liège* (Louvain 1929), pp. 140-48; *Index d'Anvers 1569, 1570, 1571*, ed. J.M. De Bujanda, (Sherbrooke-Geneva 1988); Kamen, op. cit. (n. 3), p. 118.

5 F. Pérez Castro & L. Voet, *La Biblia Políglota de Amberes* (Madrid 1973).

6 On the Tridentine Index (1564), see: P.F. Gendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605* (Princeton 1977), pp. 146-48; *Index de Rome. 1557, 1559, 1564. Les premiers index romains et l'index du Concile de Trente*, ed. J.M. De Bujanda (Sherbrooke-Geneva 1990), pp. 143-52; P.F. Grendler, 'Printing and Censorship', in: *The Cambridge History of Renaissance and Philosophy*, ed. C.B. Schmitt (Cambridge 1988), pp. 46-8; G. Fragnito, 'The central and peripheral organization of censorship', in: *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, ed. G. Fragnito (Cambridge 2001), pp. 17-19.

7 The State Archives of Belgium still preserve some inventories established in Hainaut, Flanders and Brabant (i.e. Ath, Avesnes, Bavai, Mons, Binche, Enghien, Maubeuge, Arras, Tournai, Kortrijk, Mechelen, St Omer and Brussels). These archives are exceptional. They offer a sort of radiography of the book market of the Low-Countries on the eve of the Counter-Reformation. On these archives, see: Willocx, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 141; H. Vanhulst, 'Les éditions de musique polyphonique et les traités musicaux mentionnés dans les inventaires dressés en 1569 dans les Pays-Bas espagnols sur ordre du duc d'Albe', in: *Revue belge de musicologie*, 31 (1977), pp. 60-71; G. Janssens, 'Plantijndrukken in de Henegouwse boekhandel in 1569', in: *Ex officina Plantiniana*, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 349-79; R. Adam, N. Bingen, *Lectures italiennes dans les pays wallons à la première Modernité (1500-1630)* (Turnhout 2015), pp. 61-71.

8 G. Moreau, 'Catalogue des livres brûlés à Tournai par ordre du duc d'Albe', in: *Horae tornacenses. Recueil d'études d'histoire publiées à l'occasion du VIIIe centenaire de la consecration de la cathédrale de Tournai*, ed. Léon-Ernest Halkin etc. (Tournai 1971), pp. 194-213.

of 'erroneous' books resulting from this seizure were burnt on the market.⁹ The lists of authorized and prohibited books found in the bookstores visited were sent to Brussels. In September, Alba instituted a commission of censors under the leadership of Arias Montano. Their work was completed on October 3rd. They established a catalogue which was added as an appendix to the Tridentine Index published by Christopher Plantin in July of 1570.

We will focus our attention on the case of Brussels. Three representatives of the civil and religious authorities visited eleven booksellers working in Brussels in the second half of March 1569. This committee was composed of Laurentius Metsius, dean of Saint Gudula and official censor of the Council of Brabant, Gislenus de Vroede, pastor of the parish church of Our Lady of the Chapel, and a member of the Municipal Council, Guiliemus Busleyden.¹⁰ Among the booksellers who were paid a visit, only seven are mentioned by other sources, either as a result of their relationship with Christopher Plantin or for their role in the production of some books (marked with an asterisk in the table below).¹¹ The remaining four are known exclusively through this document. The register contains 75 folios. All the books present on the stalls of these merchants were listed, regardless of whether these books were forbidden or perfectly orthodox.¹²

It is very difficult to give the exact number of books described in these registers. Some bibliographical descriptions are much too brief. For this reason, the

9 *Mémoires de Pasquier de La Barre et de Nicolas Soldoyer pour servir à l'histoire de Tournai 1565-1570*, ed. A. Pinchart, vol. 2 (Bruxelles 1865), p. 339.

10 On these men, see: 'Variété historiques', in: *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de Belgique*, 5 (1868), p. 226; E. Reusens, 'Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'Université de Louvain (1425-1797). III. Collèges et pédagogies. 34. Pédagogie du Lis', in: *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de Belgique*, 20 (1886), p. 366; A.-C. de Schrevel, *Histoire du Séminaire de Bruges* (Bruges 1895), pp. 371-72; *Id.*, 'Metsius (Laurent)', in: *Biographie nationale [de Belgique]*, vol. 14 (Brussels 1897), cols. 622-629; O. de Patoul, '(Généalogie de la famille) de Busleyden', in: *La noblesse belge. Annuaire de 1892*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1892), p. 83; H. de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550*, vol. 3 (Louvain 1954), pp. 221-22; G. Van Calster, 'La censure louvaniste du Nouveau Testament et la rédaction de l'Index érasmien expurgatoire de 1571', in: *Scrinium erasmanum*, ed. J. Coppens (Leiden 1969), pp. 387-88; M.H. Koyen, L.C. Van Dyck, 'Abbaye de Tongerlo', in: *Monasticon belge*, vol. 7 (Liège 1989), pp. 327-28; *Index d'Anvers*, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 38.

11 A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs belges des XV^e et XVI^e siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 30, 75, 87-8, 119, 187, 223, 226. Since the publication of this dictionary in 1975, E. Roobaert's research have refined our knowledge of the environment of Brussels' booksellers: 'De zestiende-eeuwse Brusselse boekhandelaars en hun klanten bij de Brusselse clerus', in: *Liber amicorum Raphaël De Smedt*, ed. A. Tourneux, vol. 4 (Louvain 2001), pp. p. 47-70.

12 Brussels, State Archives of Belgium, *Council of Troubles*, reg. 28.

figures given below are rounded totals. We also added the number of Spanish books in each bookshop:

Bookseller	Titles	Spanish Books	Inventory Date
Joachim de Reulx*	ca 300	1	03/17/1569
Johannes vander Hagen	ca 400	-	03/19/1569
Franciscus Trots*	ca 800	7	03/21/1569
Nicolaus Torcy*	ca 200	6	03/21/1569
Laurentius vander Broeck*	ca 320	-	03/23/1569
Michiel van Hamont*	ca 800	15	03/24/1569
Theodoricus Hermans	ca 400	1	03/26/1569
Ferdinand Liesvelt	ca 400	-	03/26/1569
Peter Goy*	ca 500	1	03/31/1569
Jasperus Eyens	ca 80	-	03/31/1569
Petrus Van Tombe*	ca 1000	31	04/01/1569
Total	ca 5200	62	

These figures already give us a fascinating picture of a diverse and varied marketplace, in a city large enough to sustain a wide variety of book-selling businesses. The document lists around 5200 titles among which we found 62 Spanish books (1.2 percent). As evident, Brussels did not have a leading position in the Spanish book market. Only seven booksellers sold Spanish books. In each shop, the percentage of Spanish books is low: from 3 percent in Petrus Van Tombe's stock to 0.3 percent in Joachim de Reulx's. This situation changed after the arrival of Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella in 1598. The offer of Spanish books had considerably increased and Brussels became the second major printing centre of Spanish books in the Low Countries.¹³

13 The first Spanish book ever printed in Brussels dates from 1585: Francisco de Valdés' *Espejo de disciplina military* (USTC 440631). Some ordinances were printed before. On the Spanish production in Brussels during the 16th and 17th centuries, see: S. Afonso, 'Diffusion de la foi catholique et impression de livres religieux en espagnol à Bruxelles, 1585-1660', in: *Livres, éducation et religion dans l'espace franco-belge, XV^e-XIX^e siècles*, ed. I. Parmentier (Namur 2009), pp. 99-113; D.E. Rhodes, 'Spanish Books on Sale in the Venetian Bookshop of G.B. Ciotti, 1602', in: *The Library*, 12 (2011), pp. 50-5; Manrique Figueroa, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 109-113; *Id.*, 'Los impresores bruselenses y su producción dirigida al mercado hispano, siglos xvi-xvii. El caso de la imprenta del Águila de Oro de Rutger Velpius, Hubert Anthoine-Velpius y la imprenta de los Mommaert' in: *Erebea. Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales*, 2 (2012), pp. 205-26.

Medieval romances and modern novels represent almost a third of all Spanish books sold in Brussels in 1569. One can find the anonymous *Libro del esforçado caballero conde Partinuples*; the *Libro del noble y esforçado cavallero Renaldos de Montalvan*; the Spanish translation of Olivier de La Marche's *Chevalier délibéré*; *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, y de sus fortunas y adversidades*, considered as the first picaresque novel; Jorge de Montemayor's *Los siete libros de la Diana*, certainly the first major work of pastoral prose; and its continuation written by Gil Polo Gaspar and entitled *Diana enamorada*. The history is represented by various works such as Titus Livius's *Compendio de las catorze decadas* translated by Francisco de Enzinas, Pedro Mexía's *Historia imperial y cesarea*, Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia de Mexico*, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés' *La historia general de las Indias*, Francisco Álvares' *Historia de las cosas de Ethiopia* and Agustín de Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru*.

Religious books also represent almost a third of all Spanish books. The Brussels list reflects the recent impact of the Counter-Reformation with works written by great Spanish theologians, such as Luis de Granada, Francisco de Borja and Juan de Dueñas. Booksellers also contributed to the satisfaction of the spiritual needs of both priests and laymen by maintaining the provision of liturgical and para-liturgical texts. These included books of hours, psalters and comments of the Bible. The other categories were significantly smaller. The 1569 inventory includes grammars, such as those of Francisco Thamara; courtesy books, with Baldassare Castiglione's *El cortesano* translated by Juan Boscán; and encyclopaedias, such as those of Polydorus Vergilius, prohibited by Spanish Inquisition 1559.¹⁴ So, the supply of Spanish books in Brussels seemed to be dominated by secular literature (mainly novels and history books) with great names of the Spanish Golden Age and it echoes the beginnings of the Counter-Reformation.

Michiel van Hamont, sworn printer to the King, makes an excellent case study as his life is better documented than any of the other booksellers listed. It is interesting to note that he also spoke Spanish. He settled in Brussels around 1557 and his presses were running until his death in 1585. His production of books was negligible, comprising less than 15 titles, mainly in Dutch. In addition, Hamont printed almost 150 edicts and ordinances on behalf of the central government, in both Dutch and French. The privilege granted to Hamont, allowing him to print books, specifies that he was also authorized to

14 J.M. de Bujanda, *Index l'inquisition espagnole 1551, 1554, 1559* (Sherbrooke-Geneva 1984), p. 423, no. 374.

publish woodcuts and engravings.¹⁵ The inventory of Hamont's store contains over 800 entries, representing about 850 titles including around sixty considered as suspicious or prohibited.¹⁶ The descriptions are basic: the name of the author is followed by a short title. Sometimes, we will find additional information such as the place of printing, the name of the printer or the presence of illustrations.¹⁷

Hamont's bookshop was not specialized in any particular discipline. His stock mainly contained books of religious matters (342 books or about 40 percent) and literary subjects (267 books or about 32 percent). Medicine is in third place (64 books or about 7.5 percent). History, philosophy, legal works and scientific disciplines are present in similar proportions, around 30-40 books (around 4 percent). The other categories (music, almanacs, calendars, military treatises, cookbooks, heraldic works, game book) represent fewer than thirty titles. Almost 44 percent (369 titles) of the works present in Hamont's stock were in Latin. Dutch books accounted for 36 percent (307 titles). There was a far more modest 95 French-language titles (11 percent). The number of works printed in other languages was minor, though not entirely negligible: 34 books were printed in a combination of languages (i.e. French-Dutch, Latin-Dutch, Latin-Greek, French-Spanish, four-language dictionary, etc.), 15 in Spanish, 9 in Italian, 6 in German, 4 in Greek; English and Hebrew are represented by only one each.

One of the most interesting revelations of this list is that only half of the books seized in Hamont's shop had to this point been formally condemned, either by the Faculty of Theology of Louvain or in the Roman Indexes. The most represented author is Erasmus, with 18 books. The fact that Hamont sold Erasmus's books, shows that the humanist was highly appreciated in Brussels in the mid-sixteenth century, despite the condemnation of Rome and some

15 L. Le Clercq, 'Michel van Hamont, 'figuersnijder' te Brussel (1556-1585)', in: *De Gulden Passer*, 21 (1945), pp. 113-118; Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 11), pp. 87-8; E. Roobaert, 'Michiel van Hamont. Hellebaardier van de keizer, rederijker en drukker van de koninklijke ordonnanties en plakaten', in: *Miscellanea in memoriam Pierre Cockshaw (1938-2008)*, eds. F. Daelemans & A. Kelders, vol. 2 (Brussels 2009), pp. 465-85; R. Adam, 'Men and books under watch: the Brussels' book market in the mid-sixteenth century through the inquisitorial archives', in: *Buying and Selling. The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe*, ed. S. Graheli (Leiden forthcoming).

16 Brussels, State Archives of Belgium, *Council of Troubles*, reg. 28, ff. 27r-37v.

17 The USTC was a very helpful tool in the perspective of identifying the books. Some titles were easy to identify, others less. Sometimes there is a big gap between the spelling of the title mentioned in the inventory and that of the title page recorded in USTC. Despite all our efforts, 25 books (3 per cent) remain unidentified. We could not find them in the USTC or elsewhere in other bibliographical tools.

other theologians.¹⁸ The University of Louvain had in fact been reluctant to condemn Erasmus.¹⁹ The inventory also shows that censorship worked with great reformers. There were no books by Luther or Calvin.

Although the number is small, the range of Spanish titles in Hamont's shop is wide and comprises devotional and spiritual works as well as catechisms, a translation of the Bible, moral and vernacular literature, history books, etiquette and grammar treatises. Among the authors and titles were:²⁰ Alonso de Madrid's *Arte para servir a Dios*, a very popular Spanish devotional book and one of the books recommended by Saint Teresa of Avila in her *Vida*;²¹ Antonio Beccadelli's *Libro de los dichos y hechos del rey don Alonso*, translated from Italian to Spanish by Antonio Rodríguez Dávalos; Baldassarre Castiglione's *Libro llamado el cortesano* translated by Juan Boscán and one of the most famous European best-sellers;²² *Cartilla y doctrina christiana*, an anonymous book dedicated to teaching the rudiments of the Catholic faith; Juan de Dueñas' *Especulo de consolacion de tristes*, a very popular Spanish ascetic book; Erasmus's *Enchiridion o manual del cavallero christiano*, translated by Alonso Fernández de Madrid and condemned by Spanish Inquisition in 1559;²³ *Las liciones de Job con los nueve psalmos* translated by Hernando Jarava; Olivier de La Marche's *Discurso de la vida humana, y aventuras del cavallero determinado*, translated by captain Jerónimo Jiménez de Urrea who served Charles v; Pero Mexía's *Silva de varia lecion*, certainly the most popular book of this author and

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- 18 About the Italian reception of Erasmus and his eradication during the Counter Reformation, Paul F. Grendler says: 'The Index and Inquisition also stifled Erasmian humanism in Italy, a repressive effect sometimes overlooked. The abundance of Erasmus's works discovered by the Inquisition pointed to their popularity, just as their destruction demonstrated the hostility of the agents of the Counter Reformation' (P.F. Gendler, op. cit. (n. 6), p. 287). On this, see also: S. Seidel Menchi, *Érasme hérétique. Réforme et Inquisition dans l'Italie du XVI^e siècle* (Paris 1993).
- 19 Van Calster, op. cit. (n. 10), pp. 387-88. On Erasmus's ban by the Tridentine Index, see also: C. Lauvergnat-Gagnière, 'Les Adages d'Érasme et la Censure Tridentine', in: *Acta conventus neo-latini sanctandreaeni. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies. St Andrews 24 August to 1 September 1982*, ed. I.D. McFarlane (Binghamton-New York 1986), pp. 245-51; P.F. Grendler, 'The Adages of Paola Manuzio: Erasmus and the Roman Censors', in: *In Laudem Caroli. Renaissance and Reformation Studies for Charles G. Nauert*, ed. J.V. Mehl (Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 49; Kirksville 1998), pp. 1-20.
- 20 The detail can be found below in Appendix.
- 21 G.T.W. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca-London 1998), p. 38, n. 17.
- 22 P. Burke, *The Fortune of the Courtier. The European Reception of Castiglione's 'Cortegiano'* (Cambridge 1995).
- 23 de Bujanda, op. cit. (n. 14), pp. 474-75, n^o 474.

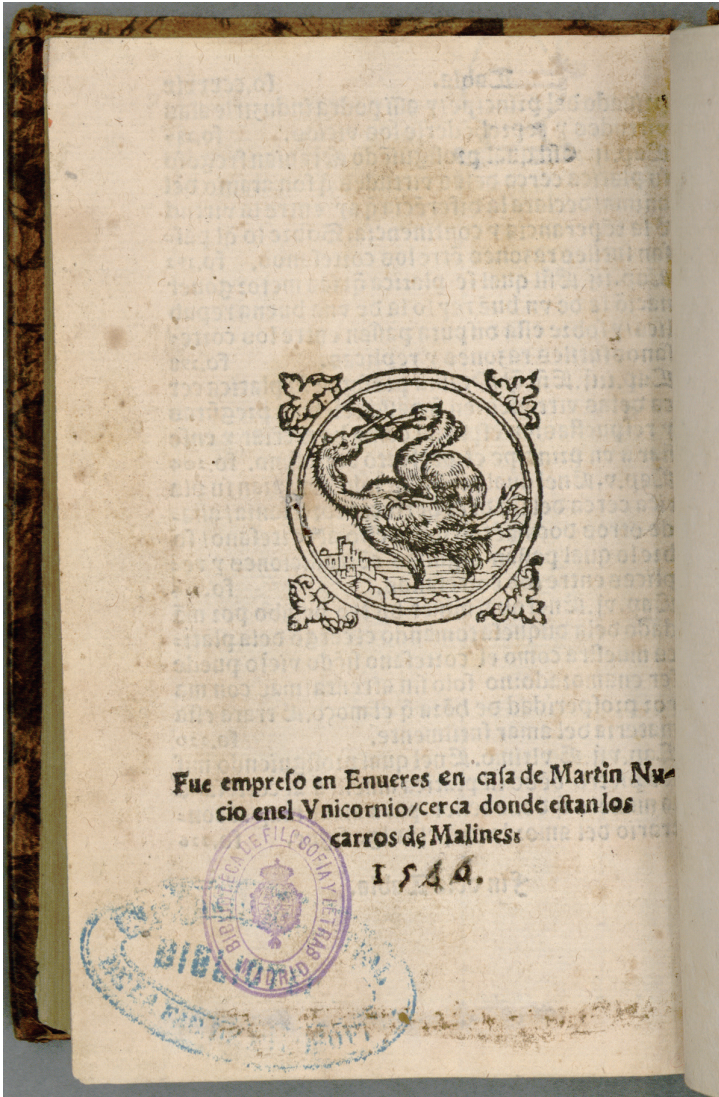


FIGURE 1 Folio 2r of Baldassarre Castiglione, *Libro llamado el Cortesano* translated into Spanish by Juan Boscán (Antwerp: Martin Nuyts, 1544)
 HISTORICAL LIBRARY OF THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID (BH FLL 28743)

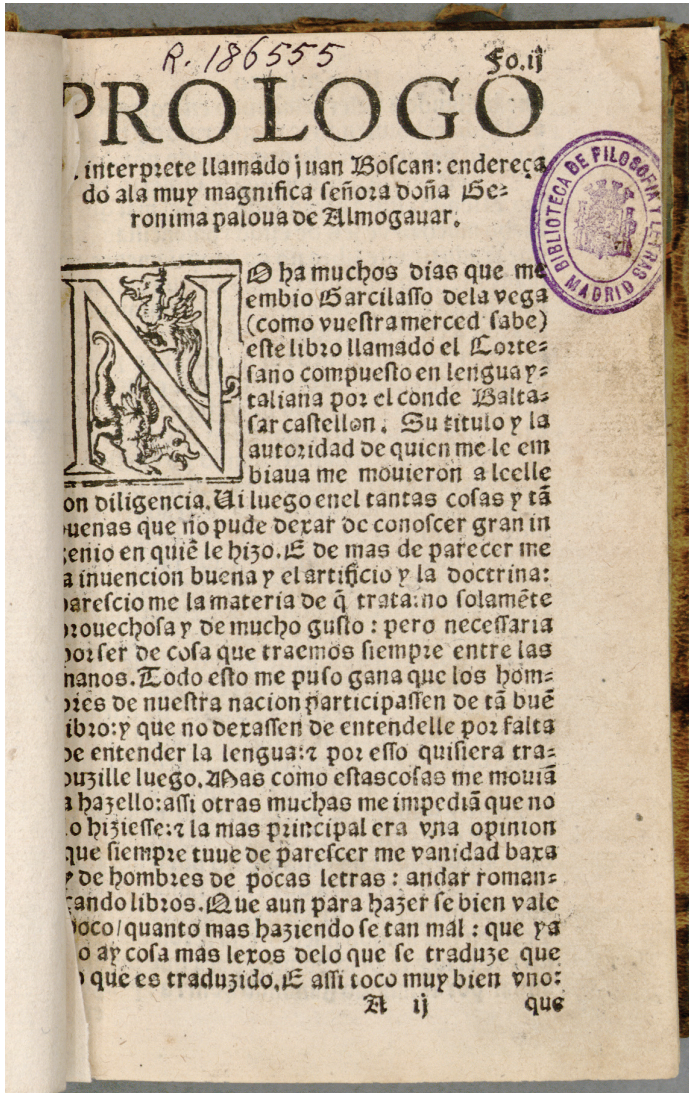


FIGURE 2 Colophon of Baldassare Castiglione, *Libro llamado el Cortesano* translated into Spanish by Juan Boscán (Antwerp: Martin Nuyts, 1544)

HISTORICAL LIBRARY OF THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID (BH FLL 28743)

which was translated in many languages;²⁴ Constantino Ponce de la Fuente's *Catecismo Cristiano*, condemned by Spanish Inquisition in 1559;²⁵ Lorenzo de Sepúlveda's *Romances nuevamente sacados de historias antiguas de la cronica de España*; Francisco Tamara's *Suma y erudicion de grammatica en metro castellano* and his translation of Erasmus's *Libro de apothegmas y dichos graciosos y notables de muchos reyes y principes illustres; Util y breve institution, para aprender los principios y fundamentos de la lengua Hespañola*; and Benito Villa's *Harpa de David*, condemned by Spanish Inquisition in 1559.²⁶ We must also point out that Hamont had two copies of the multilingual dictionary by Noël Berlainmont in his shop.²⁷ The history of Peru written by Pedro de Cieza de León was only available in its Italian translation made by Agostino di Cravaliz.²⁸ The same goes for Guevera's *Libro áureo*, that was only available in its French translation made by Jacques de Rochemore.²⁹ It is interesting to note that Spanish-language scientific or law books did not seem to be of interest to Hamont's customers.

Descriptions of Hamont's inventory are sparse so it is not easy to find the origins of the editions. However, it is conceivable that most of these books were produced locally. Some were produced in the Low Countries, as Tamara's *Suma y erudicion de grammatica* printed by Nutius in Antwerp or *Util y breve institution* printed by Bartholomaeus Gravius in Louvain.³⁰ Others may be new editions by Antwerp printers. For example, printers such as Steelsius or Nutius mainly printed editions of existing titles that ensured them guaranteed incomes. We can point out Mexía's *Silva de varia lecion* (seven editions printed in Antwerp before 1569), or Castiglione's *El cortesano* (three editions printed in Antwerp before 1569).³¹ There is a third category: books imported from Spain.

24 A French translation, made by Claude Gruet, can be found in Hamont's inventory (Brussels, State Archives of Belgium, *Council of Troubles*, reg. 28, f. 29r).

25 de Bujanda, op. cit. (n. 14), pp. 461-62, n° 450.

26 de Bujanda, op. cit. (n. 14), pp. 485-86, n° 491.

27 Brussels, State Archives of Belgium, *Council of Troubles*, reg. 28, f. 33r; Noël de Berlainmont, *Dictionarium colloquia sive formulae quatuor linguarum, Belgicae, Gallicae, Hispanicae, Italicae ...* (1st ed.: Antwerp, Jan Verwithagen, 1558, 8°; USTC 76319).

28 Brussels, State Archives of Belgium, *Council of Troubles*, reg. 28, ff. 27r; 33r; Pedro de Cieza de León, *La prima parte de la cronica del grandissimo regno del Perú* (transl.: Agostino di Cravaliz) (1st ed.: Roma, Valerio & Luigi Dorico, 1555, 8°; USTC 822620).

29 Brussels, State Archives of Belgium, *Council of Troubles*, reg. 28, f. 29v; Antonio de Guevara, *Le favori de court* (transl.: Jacques de Rochemore) (1st ed.: Lyon, Guillaume Rouillé, 1556, 8°; USTC 24362).

30 Appendix nr 11, 12.

31 Appendix nr 1, 5.

The only one discovered in Hamont's store is Villa's *Harpa de David* which was first printed in Medina del Campo in 1545.³²

The Hamont's inventory also contains books that had already been the subject of a condemnation by Spanish Inquisition in 1559: Erasmus's *Enchiridion o manual del cavallero christiano*, Constantino Ponce de la Fuente's *Catecismo Cristiano* and Benito Villa's *Harpa de David*.³³ It is interesting to note that only Erasmus was put on the list of prohibited books by commissioners of the Duke of Alba. Were they aware of the contents of the Spanish Index?

Another important point is the question of who may have been interested in buying Spanish books. Hamont probably targeted the Spanish people established in Brussels. Unfortunately, unlike Antwerp, this community has not yet been systematically studied.³⁴ The small percentage of Spanish books discovered in Hamont's store and in other bookshops might suggest that there were not many Spaniards in Brussels in the mid-sixteenth century. However, it seems to be otherwise. We can identify some of them in the administration. One example is Etienne (Esteban) Prats, of Catalan origin, who was a member of the Privy Council and secretary for Spanish and Italian dispatches from 1553 to 1575.³⁵ Also, upon his arrival in Brussels on April 22, 1567, the Duke of Alba had an army of approximately 10,500 men. The soldiers were nearly all Castilians.³⁶ The Council of Troubles was led by the Spanish Juan de Vargas

32 Appendix nr 13.

33 Appendix nr 8, 13, 15.

34 For the 17th century, see for example: T. Werner, 'The 'Spanish Faction' at the court of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella', in: *A Constellation of Courts. The Courts and Households of Habsburg Europe, 1555-1665*, eds. R. Vermeir, D. Raeymaekers & J.E. Hortal Muñoz (Louvain 2014), pp. 167-221. According to Lodovico Guicciardini, the Spanish Nation of Antwerp was around the 1560s the greatest foreign Nation of the city (L. Guicciardini, *Description de tout le País Bas autrement dict la Germanie inferieure, ou Basse-Allemagne* (Antwerp, Willem Silvius, 1567, 2^o), p. 154 (USTC 27799). On the merchants settled in Antwerp, see: J.A. Goris, *Étude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (Portugais, Espagnols, Italiens) à Amers de 1488 à 1567. Contributions à l'histoire des débuts du capitalisme moderne* (Louvain 1925); R.P. Fagel, 'Spanish merchants in the Low Countries: *stabilitas loci* or *peregrinatio*', in: *International Trade in the Low Countries (14th-16th centuries). Merchants, Organisation, Infrastructure*, eds. P. Stabel, B. Blondé, A. Greve (Louvain-Apeldoorn 2000), pp. 87-104; H. Casado Alonso, 'La circulation de l'information dans les réseaux de commerce espagnols aux XVe et XVIe siècles', in: *Les cahiers du centre de recherches historiques* [on line], 42 (2008) (<http://ccrh.revues.org/3481>).

35 J. Houssiau, *Les Secrétaires du Conseil privé sous Charles Quint et Philippe II (c. 1531-c. 1567)* (Brussels 1998), pp. 317-20.

36 Kamen, op. cit. (n. 3), p. 77; G. Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567-1659* (Cambridge 1972), pp. 278-80.

and Gerónimo de Roda. They were assisted by Louis del Río, born in Bruges and son of a Spanish merchant.³⁷

We can also identify residents of Brussels interested in Spanish books. High ranked noblemen spoke Spanish, such as the count of Egmont who was interrogated in Spanish before his trial by Vargas, Roda and del Río.³⁸ Nicolas de Hames, herald of the order of the Golden Fleece, had the *Libro de la invencion liberal y arte del juego del Axedrez* in his library, written by Ruy López de Sigura and printed in Alcalá de Henares in 1561.³⁹ As prefect of the Burgundian library, Viglius Zuichemius bought 36 Spanish books during his duty.⁴⁰ Some of them were available in Brussels in 1569, such as Mexía's *Silva de varia lecion*, Castiglione's *Cortesano* and La Marche's *Cavallero determinado*. Hamont's inventory also suggests that he could have had clergymen as clients or locals interested in learning Spanish. These people were happy to find this bookseller offering publications such as Dueñas' *Espejo*, Francisco Thamara's *Suma y erudicion de grammatica* or *Util y breve institution, para aprender los principios y fundamentos de la lengua Hespañola*.⁴¹

Still, it is possible that some people interested in buying Spanish books had contacts with Antwerp booksellers, or directly with Spain. By comparison, Nina Lamal, studying the supply of Italian books in the Low Countries, shows that "contemporary correspondence indicates the difficulties many individuals faced in acquiring Italian books outside of Antwerp".⁴² For example, the courtier and military officer Don Gaston de Spinola requested Italian books to be sent from Venice to Brussels.⁴³

The distribution of Spanish books in Brussels in the mid-sixteenth century appears to be a marginal phenomenon. They represented only 1.2 per cent of the 1569 inventory. The supply seemed to be based on local production, mainly

37 J. Versele, *Louis del Río (1537-1578). Reflets d'une période trouble* (Brussels 2004).

38 M. Gachard, 'Variétés historiques. XIII: Les interrogatoires originaux du comte d'Egmont', in: *Bulletin de l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, 26 (1857), pp. 142-45.

39 A. Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres* (Ghent 1860), pp. 110-113. Reference of the book: USTC 339481.

40 J. Marchal, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale des Ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. 1, (Bruxelles 1842), pp. cclxxiv, cclxxviii-cclxxx, cclxxxiii-cclxxiv.

41 Appendix nr 2, 11, 12.

42 N. Lamal, 'The circulation and collections of Italian books in the Low Countries at the beginning of the seventeenth century', in: *Itinéraires du livre italien à la Renaissance. Regards sur la Suisse romande, les anciens Pays-Bas et la Principauté de Liège*, eds R. Adam, C. Lastraioli (Paris forthcoming).

43 *Ibid.*

from Antwerp. However, Brussels customers could find great names of Spanish literature (lay or religious) in the original and in translation and also valuable manuals to learn Spanish. It's important to note that these findings are preliminary. The survey we conducted on this subject is a first and quite small one. Other investigations should be conducted in archive material, such as wills or inventories of libraries, and in rare books departments in search of Spanish books with contemporaries ex-libris. To conclude, we may note that the documents established at Duke of Alba's request are sources of primary importance.

Appendix: List of Spanish Books Discovered in the Inventory of the Hamont's Bookshop⁴⁴

[f. 27r]

Sequuntur libri approbati, et non suspecti in officina Michaelis van Hamont

[f. 29v]

(1) *El cortesano traduzido per Boscani*.⁴⁵

[f. 30r]

(2) *VI parte del espero de consolation de tristes*.⁴⁶

(3) *Libro de apothegmas que son dichos graciosos*.⁴⁷

(4) *Romances nuevamente sacades de historias antiquas*.⁴⁸

44 Brussels, State Archives of Belgium, *Council of Troubles*, reg. 28, ff. 27r-37v. The transcriptions were done by trying to respect the source as much as possible while inserting capital letters for proper names and deleting them for common names. Abbreviations have been systematically resolved.

45 Baldassarre Castiglione, *Libro llamado el cortesano* (transl.: Juan Boscán) (1st ed.: Salamanca, Pierre Tovans for Guillermo de Millis, 1540, 4°; USTC 335543). Three editions were printed in Antwerp before 1569: Martinus I Nutius, 1544 (USTC 440511), 1554 (USTC 440489); vid. Martinus I Nutius, 1561 (USTC 440081).

46 Juan de Dueñas, *Sexta parte del espejo de consolacion de tristes* (Antwerp, vid. Martinus I Nutius, [1569], 8°; USTC 440544).

47 Erasmus, *Libro de apothegmas y dichos graciosos y notables de muchos reyes y principes illustres. Y de al gunos philosophos insignes y memorables. Y de otros varones antiguos, que bien hablaron para nuestra doctrina y exemplo* (transl. Francisco Tamara) (Antwerp, Martinus I Nutius, [1543], 8°; USTC 441238). Another edition was printed in the Low Countries before 1569: Martinus I Nutius, 1549 (USTC 440104).

48 Lorenzo de Sepúlveda, *Romances nuevamente sacados de historias antiguas de la cronica de España* (1st ed.: Antwerp, Joannes Steelsius, 1551, 12°; USTC 440204). Two editions were printed in Antwerp before 1569: Martinus I Nutius, [1551] (USTC 440625); Philippus Nutius, 1566 (USTC 440205).

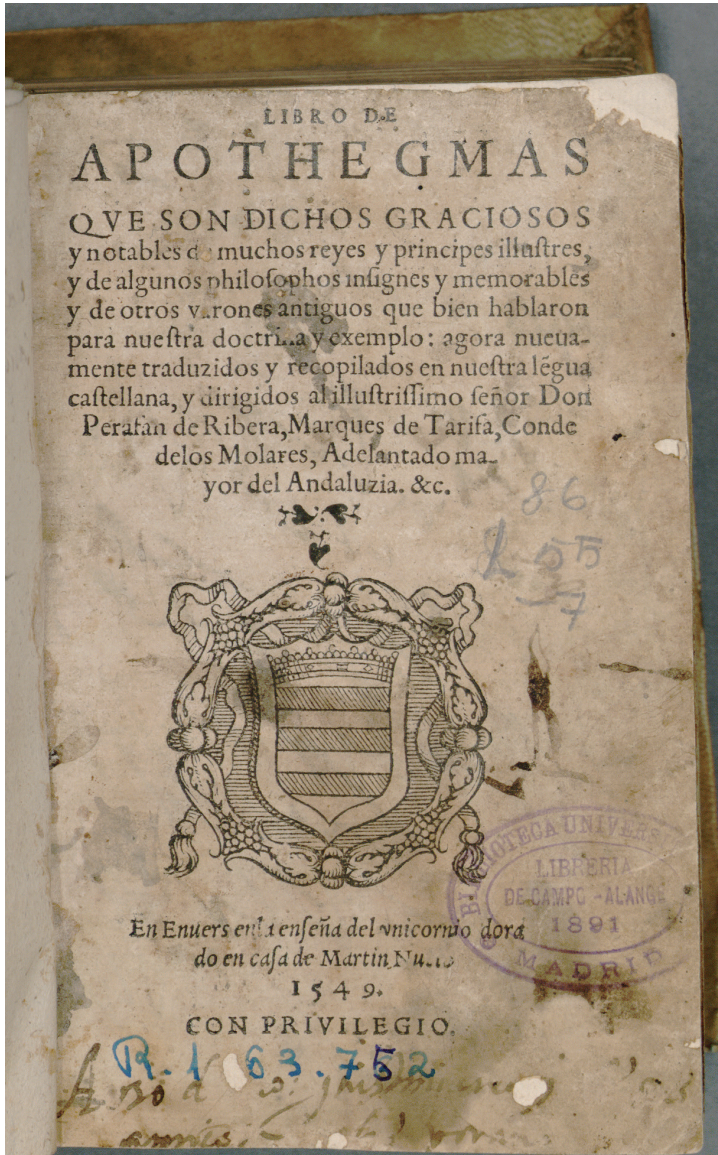


FIGURE 3 Title-page of *Libro de Apothegmas* ... (Antwerp, Martin Nuyts, 1549)
 HISTORICAL LIBRARY OF THE COMPLUTENSE UNIVERSITY OF
 MADRID (BH FLL RES.646)

- (5) *Silva de varia lecion ultimanente (sic) agora enmendada*.⁴⁹
 (6) *Dichos y hechos notables graciosos y elegantes de sabio rey don Alonso*.⁵⁰
 (7) *Las liciones de Job coulos nuevo psalmos*.⁵¹
 (8) *Cathecismo el doctor Constantino*.⁵²
 (9) *Arte para servir a dios por fray Alfonso de Madrid*.⁵³
 (10) *Discurso de la vida humana per don Ieronimo de Urros*.⁵⁴

[f. 31v]

- (11) *Utyl (sic) y breve institution par a (sic) apprendre (sic) les principios fundamentos de la lengue*.⁵⁵

[f. 32v]

- (12) *Summa y erudicion de grammatica*.⁵⁶

[f. 33v]

- (13) *Harpa de David ey la qual se declaran los ciento y cincuenta*.⁵⁷

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- 49 Pero Mexía, *Silva de varia lecion* (1st ed.: Zaragoza, Bartolomé de Nájera, 1547, 4°; USTC 348527). Seven editions were printed in Antwerp before 1569: Martinus I Nutius, 1544 (USTC 440178), [1546] (USTC 440590), 1550 (USTC 440494), 1555 (USTC 440179), 1558 (USTC 440591); vid. Martinus I Nutius, 1560 (USTC 441597); vid. Martinus I Nutius, 1564 (USTC 440180).
- 50 Antonio Beccadelli, *Libro de los dichos y hechos del rey don Alonso* (transl. Antonio Rodríguez Dávalos) (1st ed.: Valencia, Juan Joffre, 1527, 4°; USTC 334989). One edition printed in the Low Countries before 1569: Antwerp, Hans de Laet for Joannes Steelsius, 1554 (USTC 440027).
- 51 *Las liciones de Job con los nueve psalmos* (transl.: Hernando Jarava) (Antwerp, Martinus I Nutius, 1550, 8°; USTC 440024). USTC records no known surviving copy, but the Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek from Cologne keeps a copy (GBIV3914).
- 52 Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, *Catecismo cristiano* (1st ed.: Sevilla, s.n., 1547, s.f.; USTC 350778; no known surviving copy). Two editions were printed in the Low Countries before 1569: Antwerp Johannes Steelsius 1554 (USTC 440468); Antwerp, Guillaume Simon, 1556 (USTC 440611).
- 53 Alonso de Madrid, *Arte para servir a Dios* (1st ed.: [Burgos], Juan de Junta, 1501, s.f.; USTC 344220). One edition was printed in Antwerp before 1569: Martinus I Nutius, 1551 (USTC 440041).
- 54 Olivier de La Marche, *Discurso de la vida humana, y aventuras del cavallero determinado* (transl. Jerónimo Jiménez de Urrea) (Antwerp, Martinus I Nutius, 1555, 8°; USTC 440149). Another edition printed in Medina del Campo, Guillermo de Millis, 1555 (USTC 339384).
- 55 *Utyl y breve institution, para aprender los principios y fundamentos de la lengua Hespañaola* (Louvain, Bartholomaeus Gravius, 1555, 8°; USTC 440216). Only edition known.
- 56 Francisco Tamara, *Suma y erudicion de grammatica en metro castellano* (Antwerp, Martinus I Nutius, 1550, 8°; USTC 440350). Only edition known.
- 57 Benito Villa, *Harpa de David* (1st ed.: Medina del Campo, s.n., 1545, 4°; USCT 346784). Another edition printed in Burgos, Juan de Junta for Juan de Medina, 1548 (USTC 342359).

[f. 34v]

(14) *Cartilla y doctrina christiana en Anvers*.⁵⁸

[f. 36v]

Sequitur libri vel prohibiti presertim in cathalogo per suam excellentiam exhibito vel suspecti vel repugandi in officina Michaelis van Hammont.

[f. 37r]

(15) *Enchiridion o manuel del cavallero christiano de don Erasmo de Rotterdam*.⁵⁹

58 *Cartilla y doctrina christiana, en la qual se contiene todo lo que el christiano es obligado a saber, creer, y obrar, y de lo que se deve apartar para no peccar* (Antwerp, Christophe Plantin, 1556, 8°; USTC 440527). No known surviving copy. No known surviving copy before Plantin's edition dated 1574 (USTC 440430).

59 Desiderius Erasmus, *Enchiridion o manual del cavallero christiano* (transl.: Alonso Fernández de Madrid) (1st ed.: Alcalá de Henares, Miguel de Eguía, 1527, 8°; 342923). One edition was printed in Antwerp before 1569: Martinus I Nutius, 1555 (USTC 440315).