Chapter 3

The Printing Industry and the Counter-Reformation in Brussels under Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella (1598-1633)

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In early September 1598, while the personnel of the Palace of Coudenberg, seat of the government in Brussels, awaited the end of Philip ii’s long agony, another household, situated nearby, was readying itself for an event of a very different nature.[[1]](#footnote-1) Catherine Velpius, daughter of the printer Rutger Velpius and wife of his successor, Hubert Anthoine i, was about to give birth, providing her first son, born two years earlier, with a brother.[[2]](#footnote-2) Little Guillaume was finally born on 15 October, a fortnight before the lavish celebrations held in the Church of St Gudula on 30 and 31 October 1598 to mark the death of Philip ii.[[3]](#footnote-3)

If the historical resonance of these two events is somewhat unequal, the Anthoine-Velpius family did have something in common with the sovereign rulers of the Spanish Netherlands: their adherence to the Counter-Reformation movement. The dynasty of printers founded by Rutger Velpius and active until 1689, when its last representative passed away, played a major role in the typographic industry of Brussels – an industry which provided the actors of the Counter-Reformation with an essential means of diffusing their ideas.[[4]](#footnote-4)

Looking beyond the particular role of the Anthoine-Velpius family, the aim of this chapter is to assess the extent to which the whole body of printers active in Brussels during the joint reign of Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella (1598-1621), and then under Isabella alone (1621-1633), contributed to the Counter-Reformation.[[5]](#footnote-5) The focus on the first third of the seventeenth century is motivated by the fact that these decades not only represent the apogee of the Counter-Reformation in the Spanish Netherlands, but also correspond to a marked growth of the Brussels book industry.[[6]](#footnote-6)

Unfortunately, while books enable authors to continue making their voices heard across the centuries, none of the printers in question left personal accounts of their politico-religious aims and motivations. To glean an idea of their involvement in the Counter-Reformation movement, we are thus obliged to concentrate our inquiry on their typographic production. We shall proceed in three steps: firstly, a general presentation of the printers active in Brussels during the first third of the seventeenth century, their production and the legislation regulating it; secondly, a closer look at the various kinds of religious texts produced during this period; thirdly, a detailed examination of a particularly significant publication within the Counter-Reformation context: Etienne Ydens’s *Histoire du saint Sacrement de Miracle*.

The Printed Book in Early Seventeenth-Century Brussels: Printers, Production and Legislation

On setting out to explore the typographical production of early seventeenth-century Brussels, we were immediately confronted by a major problem: the glaring absence of high-performance bibliographical tools with which to compile an inventory of the works in question.[[7]](#footnote-7) Contrary to the preceding centuries, no comprehensive bibliography exists for this period.[[8]](#footnote-8) In June 2016, the launch of the beta version of the *Universal Short-Title Catalogue* (USTC) for the period 1601-1650 provided a stopgap. Though far from complete, this offered valuable assistance in accomplishing the painstaking work of reconstituting the catalogue of the Brussels presses during the reign of the archducal couple – an objective we had originally begun working towards in the framework of a research project initiated in 2011.[[9]](#footnote-9) The nucleus of this initial research project was the rich collection of early seventeenth-century printed works preserved in the Royal Library of Belgium.[[10]](#footnote-10) This was subsequently complimented by the consultation of a number of specialised biographies, as well as the catalogues of various libraries located in France, Spain, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and America, whose collections include works printed in Brussels during the same period. These efforts enabled us to compile a list of slightly under 1,100 preserved works (1,061 to be exact), as well as to identify a certain number of works which have not survived.[[11]](#footnote-11) Notable examples of the latter category include two works by Crisóstomo Henríquez, *Vitas sanctorum Patrum Eremi Dunensis, libros duos* and *Lilia Cistercii*, respectively printed in 1626 and 1626-27 by Jan van Meerbeeck, and which we know about thanks to descriptions given by Carolus Visch in his *Bibliotheca scriptorum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* (published in Cologne, 1656).[[12]](#footnote-12) The original catalogue of the Brussels printers would also have comprised a considerable number of official documents which, ephemeral by nature, have likewise failed to come down to us.[[13]](#footnote-13) Furthermore, it is only reasonable to surmise that a certain number of books and documents printed in Brussels in the early seventeenth century are quietly gathering dust in obscure libraries and archives around the world, unbeknownst to interested bibliographers. In brief, the figures we are working with here are inevitably indicative rather than absolute.

Taking 1,100 as a low approximation of the total number of books printed in Brussels between 1598 and 1633, we can calculate the average number of books produced per year at a little over thirty. Annual production was not, however, constant, as the following graph, tracing production by four-year intervals, illustrates:

[INSERT FIG 3.1. HERE]

Figure 3.1

Book Production in Brussels, 1598-1633: Global Production by Four-Year Intervals.

As we can see, after a slight decline in the earliest years, production increased during the first decade of the seventeenth century, then fell off again until 1618-1619, which were the least productive years. Only 38 works were produced in these two years together, while the years 1610-1611 saw over twice as many (84). The rise in prosperity that accompanied the Twelve Years’ Truce (1609-1621) does not seem to have had a direct impact on the Brussels printing industry.[[14]](#footnote-14) On the other hand, the renewal of hostilities with the Dutch Republic following this truce corresponded with a clear rise of typographic activities: from 1622 to 1633, some 480 works were printed, i.e. 45 per cent of the total number of works issued from Brussels presses in the period 1598-1633.

The third decade of the seventeenth century was also marked by a wave of new printing houses. Until then, the market had been dominated by only two families: the Anthoine-Velpiuses and the Mommaerts, both active in Brussels since 1585. The founders of these dynasties, Rutger Velpius and Jan Mommaert i, on launching their enterprises, had shrewdly taken advantage of the gap left by the death of the sole printer active in Brussels during the second half of the sixteenth century: Michiel van Hamont.[[15]](#footnote-15) They had also benefitted from the retaking of the town by the troops of Alexander Farnese, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, on 10 March 1585, which put an end to the Calvinist regime inaugurated a few years earlier.[[16]](#footnote-16) The two printers’ particular object of rivalry was the lucrative position of official court printer vacated by Michiel van Hamont.[[17]](#footnote-17) Jan Mommaert i’s hopes of obtaining this position rested on his close friendship with Michiel van Hamont (who had notably served as a witness at his wedding[[18]](#footnote-18)) and for a while his chances looked promising.[[19]](#footnote-19) Finally, however, it was Rutger Velpius who availed himself of the coveted title, apparently on account of his unflagging faithfulness to the Spanish court. Velpius had started out in the printing business by opening a workshop in Louvain in 1556. In 1580, when Alexandre Farnese transferred the seat of government to Mons, Velpius followed him.[[20]](#footnote-20) He set up Mons’s first press, entirely dedicated to the Catholic cause.[[21]](#footnote-21) Then, when Farnese moved to Brussels in 1585, Velpius again relocated. It was only natural that such fidelity was rewarded by his appointment as official court printer. This position, which included the exclusive right to reproduce all the documents issued by the central government, enabled Rutger Velpius, then his successor Hubert Anthoine i and, after 1630, Anthoine’s widow, to dominate the Brussels book industry. The family, obviously well aware of the advantage it gave them, took care to request the renewal of the appointment every time the end of its term drew near, at least every ten years. The Anthoine-Velpiuses had succeeded in turning the printing of official acts into a dynastic monopoly.[[22]](#footnote-22) The following graph plainly illustrates the Anthoine-Velpius ascendancy:

[INSERT FIG 3.2. HERE]

Figure 3.2

Book Production in Brussels, 1598-1633: Market Shares of Active Printers.

The catalogue of the Anthoine-Velpius press represents almost 65 per cent of the works published in Brussels during the reign of the archducal couple. All the other printers active at the time occupied considerably smaller parts of the market. Jan Mommaert i (who was succeeded by his widow, Martine van Strael, in September 1631) was the second most important printer in Brussels in the early decades of the seventeenth century, yet his business only represented a little over 13 per cent of the market.[[23]](#footnote-23) Olivier Bruneels managed to make a small name for himself in the years 1608-1609, but disappeared thereafter.[[24]](#footnote-24)

As mentioned, around the 1620s, a number of new printers set up in Brussels. Ferdinand de Hoeymaker opened his press in 1619, followed a year later by Jan Mommaert i’s nephew, Jan Pepermans.[[25]](#footnote-25) Neither rose to heights of the Anthoine-Velpius press, nor even that of the Mommaerts. In fact, the Hoeymaker press closed down after only five years of activity; the Pepermans after fifteen. In 1624, another hopeful young entrepreneur, Jan van Meerbeeck, set up business.[[26]](#footnote-26) And in 1632 his brother (?) similarly invested in the typographical adventure – possibly with the aim of taking the place of Jan, who ceased his activities in 1632.[[27]](#footnote-27) The two new printers who met with the best success were Govaerdt Schoevaerdts and François Vivien, respectively active from 1625 and 1627.[[28]](#footnote-28) Both managed to gain a real foothold in the market and their presses continued to function until the early 1660s.

Before considering the contents of the publications issued from the Brussels presses in the first thirty years of the seventeenth century, it is necessary to evoke rapidly the legislation which regulated the printing industry at the time. This legislative aspect was very much an actual concern and one which the sovereign rulers took a direct interest in. On 11 March 1616, the archducal couple notably issued an edict laying down a strict set of rules for printers to abide by.[[29]](#footnote-29) The earliest regulations of this kind issued by the Habsburgian authorities date back to early sixteenth century, when a commercial dispute between two typographs led to the first conferral of the exclusive privilege in the Southern Low Countries (1512).[[30]](#footnote-30) Over the following decades, as the Reformation movement gained ground, the government of the Southern Low Countries began to impose increasingly restrictive regulations on the printing industry. On the 28 September 1520, the first regulations against heresy were ordained in Antwerp.[[31]](#footnote-31) Penned in a single day by Mercurino Gattinara, Grand Chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire, Luís Marliano, Bishop of Tuy, and Erard de La Marck, Prince-Bishop of Liège, the text was based on the pontifical bulls *Inter sollicitudines* and *Exsurge domine,* brought from Rome by the papal nuncio, Girolamo Aleandro. A few days later, the first auto-da-fé of Reformation books was organized in Louvain. Then, on the 22 March 1521, a law was issued in Mechelen prohibiting the printing, sale, acquisition, possession and reading of Lutheran books throughout the Netherlands, under pain of the confiscation of all belongings and other unspecified punishments. Less than two months later, on 8 May 1521, Charles v promulgated the Edict of Worms, which extended the prohibition to all works attacking the Roman Church, the pope, the ecclesiastical community and the University of Louvain. In the wake of this, the legislation against the heretics was progressively completed by the edicts of 1526, 1529, 1540, 1546 and 1550, then, under Philip ii, those of 1556, 1562, 1568, 1570, 1571 and 1572.

While clearly demonstrating the authorities’ desire to stamp out heresy, this relentless issuing of edicts inevitably raises questions about their efficiency. The archducal couple, it would seem, were perfectly aware of the challenge that curtailing the liberty of the presses represented, since their 1616 edict was headed by the following words:

as we are duly made aware of the excesses and disturbances occurring abroad by the daily accounts issued by our country’s presses, as well as the importation and sale in these establishments of all kinds of books, slogans and images, not only contrary to our holy faith and Catholic and Apostolic religion, but also to all decent behaviour[[32]](#footnote-32)

Drawing on previous edicts, the body of the text comprises 16 principal rules. Printers were under obligation to register with the competent authorities: failure to do so was punishable by exile and a heavy fine (300 guilders). They were likewise obliged to prove both their technical competence as printers and their attachment to Catholic orthodoxy. No book could be printed without permission from the central governmental and religious authorities, and all books were to contain, either on the first or last page, a summary of the visit of control effectuated by the religious authorities, together with the official text of authorisation. Each and every publication also had to include the name of the printer and the date and place of printing – this with an aim to stemming the ever-increasing tide of anonymously-penned books. Shopfronts too were targeted: all printers were obliged to hang the sign of a printing press over their establishments. Finally, in order to ensure that no “indecent or scandalous” text was sold on the open market, books imported from abroad were obligatorily submitted to inspection by the religious authorities prior not only to their sale, but before the undoing of their packaging. To the same end, all books printed in the Dutch Republic were purely and simply prohibited.

While the legislative arsenal mobilised to control the printing profession was undeniably restrictive, it did not lessen book production in Brussels. As mentioned, during the reign of Albert and Isabella, some 1100 publications issued from the town’s presses – almost half the number printed in Douai, one of Europe’s major publishing centres at the time, and well above that of towns such as Liège (which produced some 550 works) or Louvain (which only managed 500).[[33]](#footnote-33)

What type of works were printed in Brussels? And in what proportions? To answer these questions, we inventoried the town’s production in five main categories, organised in four-year intervals, are shown in the following table:

[INSERT FIG 3.3. HERE]

Figure 3.3

Book Production in Brussels, 1598-1633: Breakdown by Categories.

Publishing activity in Brussels under the archducal couple was clearly dominated by legal texts. The 445 works in this category amount to just under half the total production. The vast bulk of these were official documents issued either by the central government or local or regional institutions (making it easy to understand why the Anthoine-Velpius family were careful to renew their exclusive privilege to print this kind of document). Running second were religious texts: the 310 works we have been able to inventory represent a little over a quarter of the total publications for this period (we shall consider these religious works in more detail below). In joint third place come literary and historical works (each represented by some 100-150 works). The literary works include prose, poetry, theatre and epistolary volumes, as well as numerous treatises and manuals, notably on how to perfect one’s own language or learn foreign ones. Approximately half of the historical works deal with recent events: military exploits, political affairs such as the assassination of the King of France, accounts of ceremonial entrances, etc. They also include numerous texts written by historians of the Low Countries – notably Jean-Baptiste Gramaye, Aubertus Miraeus and Antonius Sanderus – and several works on Central Europe – cradle of the Habsburg dynasty –, the Far East and America. The categories least represented are science and the arts: only thirty or so works between them. Treatises on military arts are not however lacking, though this is hardly surprising, since the period under consideration fell in the midst of the Eighty Year War, during which Brussels was the main base of the Flemish army.[[34]](#footnote-34) Finally, a particularly noteworthy publication was the catalogue of Charles de Croÿ iii’s library, printed on the occasion of its sale in 1615 by Rutger Velpius and Hubert Anthoine i, and the first of its kind in the Spanish Low Countries. The sole remaining copy is today in the private collection of the Dukes of Arenberg in Enghien (Belgium).[[35]](#footnote-35)

To appraise fully the respective importance of these different categories of the Brussels presses catalogue, it is necessary to deal in precise quantities. To do so, we are obliged to consider the units we use to take account these presses’ output. Using the titles of published works as units certainly enables us to gain a certain picture of their production. This method overlooks, however, the material requirements of different types of works. Small devotional books written in a popular vein, for example, did not require anything like the same quantity of raw materials as bibles, nor, consequently, the same financial outlay.[[36]](#footnote-36) A more accurate method than the title-counting one is that based on the number of sheets needed for a given book. This reduces the countable unit to what actually passed through the press. The notion of “sheet” is a very precise one: contemporary contracts were not worded in terms of either “pages” or “folios”; what counted was the number of sheets of paper, that is to say, the actual volume of paper needed for a given print run. That said, counting in this way does not rule out all difficulties. Since the books which have come down to us are not always complete, we are not always able to calculate the exact volume of paper they necessitated. Consequently, we are again obliged to underline the indicative rather than absolute nature of the data obtained in the course of this bibliometric inquiry.

This being, the following graph clearly illustrates how counting by sheets offers a very different picture of Brussels book production than counting by titles:

[INSERT FIG 3.4. HERE]

Figure 3.4

Book Production in Brussels, 1598-1633: Paper Requirements of the Different Literary Categories

Though the curves of production remain close, a distinct difference can be observed in the respective importance of the various types of publications. The difference between legal and religious works is particularly flagrant. The former suddenly appears almost trivial: 450 titles required only 900 sheets, while 310 religious works necessitated 5,500. This difference is of course easily explained: with a few exceptions, legal publications consisted entirely of edicts and regulatory texts issued by the various Brussels authorities and even the most important of these were relatively concise. The 1616 edict issued by the archducal couple to regulate the printing industry, for example, was printed on a single sheet of paper. The French version of Justus Lipsius’s account of the miracle of Our Lady of Halle, printed by Rutger Velpius in 1606, on the other hand, required 20 sheets.[[37]](#footnote-37) To take stock of publishing output at this time, it thus seems that we need to combine at least two methods of counting.

In terms of language, Dutch was the most used, as the following graph illustrates:

[INSERT FIG 3.5. HERE]

Figure 3.5

Book Production in Brussels, 1598-1633: Breakdown by Language.

Almost 40 per cent of the works published before 1633 were in Dutch. French books counted for just under 30 per cent. The reign of Albert and Isabella saw a considerable boom of Spanish books, which, after having occupied a very small percentage of the market throughout the sixteenth century, rose progressively to third place at 17.2 per cent: the court, largely composed of Spanish speakers, was clearly avid for texts written in this language.[[38]](#footnote-38) Latin arrived in fourth place (13.2 per cent). The number of works printed in other languages was minor, though not entirely negligible: as far as we have been able to count, 19 books were printed in a combination of languages, six in English and two in German; Italian and Greek seem to have been rare, with only one in each language.[[39]](#footnote-39) These figures reflect both the political situation in Brussels and the multilingualism which reigned there at the time. Pierre Bergeron, in his travel journal of 1619, evoked the linguistic customs of Brussels in the following manner:

The town of Brussels is very large in size, containing a good number of gardens, prairies, woods, parks, promenades and other vast places […], there is the chancellery, where [convenes] the Council, composed of a president and sixteen councillors. The chancellor acts as lieutenant of the prince in matters of justice. There is also the Council of the Prince, composed of all officers and advisors, for councils of state and war. All the requests presented in these councils are in Flemish, French or Spanish, these three languages being common in Brussels, particularly French, since Spanish is only for the court. In both Antwerp and Brussels, there are schools for learning the French language, etc.[[40]](#footnote-40)

Religious Books

Religious works represent about a third of the total number of works printed in Brussels during the reign of the archducal couple; the volume of paper they required represents over half that required for the total number of published works (see graphs 3 and 4). The Brussels presses thus clearly represented an important means of communication for the spokesmen of the Counter-Reformation. While none of the printers seem to have specialised in any one field of religious literature, all seem to have been keen to publish devotional, hagiographic and spiritual texts. Naturally enough, too, they all avoided publishing liturgical books, this sector of the market being at the time the preserve of the Antwerpian presses and notably that of the Plantin-Moretus family, who benefitted from highly profitable privileges in this field.[[41]](#footnote-41)

As far as devotional texts and miraculous literature were concerned, the widespread appeal of the Marian cult, the Eucharistic cult and cult of the saints was notably strengthened by the publication of numerous minor works – generally in octavo format – destined to assist Catholics in the daily practice of their faith.[[42]](#footnote-42) Philip Numan’s description of the miracles ascribed to the Virgin of Scherpenheuvel, published in French, Dutch and Spanish, were notable best-sellers, totalling 19 editions between 1604 and 1618.[[43]](#footnote-43) This success was certainly not unrelated to the archducal couple’s strong attachment to this place of worship. Similarly popular was the Spanish version of Giles of Orval’s account of the martyr of the twelfth-century Prince-Bishop of Liège, Albert of Louvain, published by the Anthoine-Velpiuses.[[44]](#footnote-44) Publications relating to local cults made up a significant part of the catalogue of the Brussels printers as a whole, ranging from descriptions of the celebration of the town’s Eucharistic miracle to texts intended to heighten devotional fervour for the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows and Our Lady of the Rosary.[[45]](#footnote-45) The Brussels printers also contributed to promote the cults of saints linked to various monastic orders that took an active role in the Counter-Reformation movement by publishing accounts of the exemplary lives or martyrdom of their founders or members. In 1633, for example, Lucas van Meerbeeck printed Antonius Sanderus’s works on the lives of Saint Angelus of Jerusalem and Andrea Corsini – both venerated by the Carmelites.[[46]](#footnote-46) Six years earlier, Jan van Meerbeeck (Lucas’s father?) had published the bull issued by Gregory xv decreeing the canonisation of Philip Neri.[[47]](#footnote-47) Let us also note Gaspar Maximilien Van Habbeke’s account of the celebrations organised in honour of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier, published by Jan Pepermans in 1622.[[48]](#footnote-48)

In the field of spiritual literature, Spanish influence was strong in Brussels, as elsewhere in Europe.[[49]](#footnote-49) The ideas of Teresa of Ávila and figures like Thomas of Jesus found particularly fertile ground in Brussels, where their works were readily published.[[50]](#footnote-50) Within this milieu, it was however Saint Teresa’s spiritual advisor, Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre Dios who met with the greatest success. He began publishing in Brussels shortly after his arrival in 1606, in the suite of the Marquis of Guadalest, the newly appointed Spanish Ambassador.[[51]](#footnote-51) Gracián’s first Brussels publication issued from the press of Jan Mommaert i in 1608; twenty-five others followed between then and his death in 1614, and a final post-mortem work appeared in 1617.[[52]](#footnote-52) Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre Dios was in fact the most published author in Brussels during the reign of the archducal couple. Let us note in passing that his works were only published in their original language. That said, the Spanish were clearly more intent on imposing their particular form of spirituality than their language. Demonstrating this, the writings of Archduchess Isabella’s confessor, Andreas de Soto, also highly appreciated in Brussels, were published in French and Dutch as well as Spanish. Twenty of his works (including some re-editions) were printed in Brussels in the first third of the seventeenth century.[[53]](#footnote-53) It is also interesting to note that when Francis de Sales’s *Introduction à la vie dévote* was came out in Brussels, it was in Sebastian Fernandez de Eyzaguirre’s Spanish translation rather than the original French.[[54]](#footnote-54) Presumably, Hubert Anthoine i, who printed it, reckoned that anyone wishing to read it in French could easily acquire it from the French presses, just as Dutch-speaking readers could have easily turned to the presses of Antwerp or Ghent for the Dutch translation. Amongst the local authors whose works were published directly in Dutch translation, a notable example is the great fifteenth-century mystic Denis Ryckel (also known as Denis the Carthusian), whose works, originally penned in Latin, had an important influence on the spirituality of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Between 1626 and 1628, three texts were printed by three different Brussels printers: Hubert Anthoine i, Govaert Schoevaerdts and François Vivien.[[55]](#footnote-55)

Finally, it is worth underlining the considerable success of the Jesuit Lodewijk Makeblijde’s catechism, four editions of which issued from the Mommaert press between 1609 and 1621: three in Dutch and one in Spanish, translated by Claudio Christoval Scheyfve.[[56]](#footnote-56) Written at the request of the Provincial Council of Mechelen (26 June-20 July 1607), this work came to replace Peter Canisius’s catechism and remained in use for many years.[[57]](#footnote-57) In 1620, Mommaert also printed Makeblijde’s commentary on his own catechism.[[58]](#footnote-58)

Etienne Ydens’s *Histoire du saint Sacrement de Miracle*

To finish this account of the Brussels printing industry in the first third of the seventeenth century, it is useful to examine one particular work: the *Histoire du saint Sacrement de Miracle* by Etienne Ydens, canon of St Gudula. Though only a relatively minor author, Ydens played a role in the war waged by the archducal couple against heresy and his work provides an eloquent illustration of how the religious book market catered to this end during their reign.

The *Histoire du saint Sacrement de Miracle* relates a local legend involving the theft and desecration of hosts by Jews from the Brabant region in the late fourteenth century, the hosts’ miraculous reaction and the Jews’ punishment.[[59]](#footnote-59) In the dedication to the Archduchess, Ydens explains how he was motivated to take up his pen by the desire to provide pilgrims who spoke neither Dutch nor Latin with a French version of the story. This claim made clear his personal engagement in the fight against Protestantism: the story of the Brabant host desecration was at the time considered as a prefiguration of the wrongdoings of the Reformed Christians who repudiated the dogma of transubstantiation.

[INSERT FIG. 3.6. HERE]

Figure 3.6

Etienne Ydens, *Histoire du saint Sacrement de Miracle* (Brussels: Rutger Velpius, 1605): title-page.

(©Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels, LP 9547 A)

The work was printed in 1605 by Rutger Velpius. The colophon and the title page only indicate the year, however a number of chronological indications contained within its pages allow us to narrow down the date: Ydens received permission to publish his work from the official censor, Pierre Vinck (dean of his chapter), on 25 February 1605; the exclusive privilege to print the book for a duration of six years was obtained by Velpius from the Council of Brabant the following month; the dedicatory epistle was signed and dated by the author in Brussels on 14 July. Since it was customary to print the introductory passages of a book last, it is probable that the *Histoire du saint Sacrement de Miracle* issued from the press shortly after this date, particularly as it seems likely that all involved would have been keen to bring it out in time for the annual pilgrimage to the Blessed Sacrament which took place, that year, on the Sunday 17 July. Thus, the whole process – from the authorisation to publish the book to its being put on the market – appears to have taken a total of five months.

The financial conditions surrounding the printing of the book are known to us through the written response, dated 1607, to Ydens’s application to the archducal couple for help covering the costs involved. In his application, Ydens had complained of not having received due recompense for his book and of having been obliged to spend over the annual income of his living to have it printed:[[60]](#footnote-60) published with a print run of 850 copies, the total cost came to 500 guilders; 300 for the text and 200 for the 18 engravings.[[61]](#footnote-61) Ydens omitted to mention it, but he had already received funding amounting to 72 guilders from the chapter of St Gudula for the fabrication of the copper plates used for the engravings.[[62]](#footnote-62) Whether or not the archducal couple were aware of this, they saw fit to recompense Ydens with an extra 400 *livres*, which he received on 7 December 1607.

In 1608, three years after the publication of the *Histoire du saint Sacrement de Miracle*, Ydens produced a Dutch translation of his work. This was published by Rutger Velpius in octavo format under the title *Historie van het Heilige Sacrament van Mirakelen* and comprised 352 pages.[[63]](#footnote-63) The only indication of the chronological sequence of this new enterprise is given by the dedicatory epistle, written in Brussels and dated 27 June 1608. Ydens had already announced in the original French version his intention to translate the work into both Dutch and Latin. In anticipation of this, Rutger Velpius had included the Dutch version in his original request for permission to print the work, introduced in 1605. The approbation accorded by Pierre Vinck that same year duly included this projected translation. The long lapse of time before its actual publication is probably explained by Ydens’s numerous occupations, as well as reoccurring financial difficulties – notably suggested by the fact that its appearance in 1608 followed closely on the reception of the archducal remittance, on 7 December 1607.

In the new introduction to the translated work, Ydens relates his personal experience in the presence of the profaned hosts, claiming that their miraculous qualities freed him from the spell of a witch. His intent, it would thus seem, was not only to diffuse as widely as possible story of the hosts, but, additionally to alert the masses to the danger represented by witches – veritable instruments of the devil in his eyes, as, indeed, those of the reigning authorities, who viewed witchcraft as one of the most heinous forms of heresy. Ydens’s miraculous liberation thus reads as proof of the triumph of the Catholic faith over this ignominy. Legislation in these matters was notably at its most repressive at this time, as attested by the severity of the edict issued against witchcraft by the archducal couple in 1606, which built on that issued by Philip ii in 1592.[[64]](#footnote-64) However, if efforts to suppress sorcery reached their peak under Albert and Isabella, they were very much a feature of the wider Counter-Reformation movement and the crusade against all forms of heterodoxy. Ydens’s work is thus far more than a simple example of hagiographic literature: it took an active part in the Counter-Reformation war against all forms of dissidence.

Conclusion

This short foray into Brussels book production in the first third of the seventeenth century has allowed us to review the publishing strategies of the printers active at the time, the legislation regulating their activity, and the expansion of the industry in the 1620s. We have seen that religious works constituted a major sector of the book market and that printers tended to concentrate on texts of a devotional, hagiographic or spiritual nature. Alongside this, we have been able to observe the important impact of Spanish spiritual trends and the growth of the Spanish book market. In terms of the latter, it is interesting to note the parallel with the sixteenth-century Parisian publishing milieu, marked by an unprecedented multiplication of books in Italian following the arrival of a member of the Medici family at the French court.[[65]](#footnote-65) Turning back to the question of spiritual trends in Brussels, it also interesting to note the frequent references to local elements (people, places, events…) contained in religious works, in particular those of a devotional and hagiographic nature. A clearer picture of this could be gained by undertaking a systematic study of preserved works in order to map the geographical area of diffusion of Brussels publications.

As a final word, we feel bound to admit a certain frustration. While the evident willingness of early seventeenth-century Brussels printers to publish texts like Etienne Ydens’s *Histoire du saint Sacrement de Miracle* is certainly eloquent in its way, we have not been able to unearth any sources revealing these printers’ inner convictions with respect to the Counter-Reformation movement.[[66]](#footnote-66) Who is to say though that archival research may not yet prove fruitful? This vast and fascinating field of inquiry needs further investigation.

1. The stages of the protracted illness of Philip ii, deceased on 13 September 1598, are traced in: Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 313-316; Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip ii* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 353-356. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Rutger Anthoine was born on the 12 February 1596 (Brussels, Archives of the City, St Gudula, Parish registers, Baptismal certificates, 79, fol. 129). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Brussels, Archives of the City, St Gudula, Parish registers, Baptismal certificates, 79, fol. 342. A description of the commemorative service, including the oration delivered by the Bishop of Namur, was published in 1599 by Rutger Velpius under the title *Certaine relation des obseques faicts a Philippe ii* (USTC 4221). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. On this family of printers, see Paul E. Claessens, ‘Deux familles d’imprimeurs brabançons: les Velpius et les Anthoine-Velpius (1542 à 1689)’, *Brabantica,* 2 (1957), pp. 333-347; Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs belges des xve et xvie siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), pp. 1-2, 230-232, 242; Koen De Vlieger-De Wilde, *Directory of Seventeenth-Century Printers, Publishers and Booksellers in Flanders* (Antwerp: Vereniging van Antwerpse bibliofielen, 2004), no. 184-189, 222-223. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. On the reigns of the archducal couple, see notably Alexandre Pasture, *La restauration religieuse aux Pays-Bas catholiques sous les archiducs Albert et Isabelle (1596-1633)* (Louvain: Uystpruyst,1933); Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo (eds), *Albert & Isabella 1598-1621: Essays* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); Paul Janssens (ed.), *La Belgique espagnole et la Principauté de Liège 1585-1715* (2 vols., Brussels: La Renaissance du livre, 2006); Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars* (Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate, 2012); Dries Raeymaekers, *One Foot in the Palace: The Habsburg Court of Brussels and the Politics of Access in the Reign of Albert and Isabella 1598-1621* (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2013); Pierre-François Pirlet, *Le confesseur du Prince dans les Pays-Bas espagnols* (Louvain, Leuven University Press, 2018). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. The history of the Brussel printing industry in the seventeenth century sorely needs to be updated. In the meantime, the most pertinent general studies are Auguste Vincent, ‘La typographie bruxelloise aux xviie et xviiie siècles’, in *Histoire du livre et de l’imprimerie en Belgique. Des origines à nos jours* (6 vols., Brussels: Musée du livre, 1923-1934), IV. 9-41; Auguste Vincent, ‘L’imprimerie à Bruxelles jusque 1800’, in *Le livre, l’estampe, l’édition en Brabant du xve au xixe siècle* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1935), pp. 31-48. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. In 1915, a bibliographic project aimed at taking stock of Brussels book production from the end of the 15th century to 1830 was initiated by several librarians of the Royal Library of Belgium. Unfortunately, this undertaking was abandoned due to career evolutions implying the prioritisation of other projects. See Claude Sorgeloos, ‘Un projet de *Bibliographie bruxelloise* (1915)’, *In Monte Artium. Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium*, 9 (2016), pp. 127-142. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. For the 15th and 16th centuries respectively, see the ISTC and the USTC. Complementary bibliographies for these same centuries include: NK, BT, NB. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. This research project (*Ex officinibus bruxellensis: Printers and Society in Brussels, 17th-18th Century*), was carried out in the Royal Library of Belgium. It was funded for the period 2011-2013 by the Belgian Science Policy Office. We hope to publish the resulting bibliography soon. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Between 1999 and 2003, some 30,000 texts printed in Brussels in the 17th and 18th centuries and preserved in Royal Library of Belgium were systematically catalogued. More recent acquisitions have been integrated. The catalogues entries are consultable online: <http://www.kbr.be>. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. For the mid-seventeenth century, David F. McKenzie gives the figure of one third of losses: David F. McKenzie, ‘The economics of print, 1550-1750: Scales of production and conditions of constraint’, in *Produzione e commercio della carta e del libro, secc. XIII-XVIII: atti della "Veintitresima Settimana di studi",* *15-20 aprile 1991* ([Florence]: F. Le Monnier [1992]), p. 394. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Carolus de Visch, *Bibliotheca scriptorum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* (Cologne: Johannes Busaeus, 1656), pp. 67-68. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. On this subject, see Saskia Limbach, ‘Tracing Lost Broadsheet Ordinances Printed in Sixteenth-Century Cologne’, in Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds), *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 488-503. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. On the Twelve Years’ Truce, see Simon Groenveld, *Het twaalfjarig bestand, 1609-1621. De jongelingsjaren van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (The Hague: Haags Historisch Museum, 2009); Randall Lesaffer (ed.), *The Twelve Years’ Truce (1609): Peace, Truce, War and Law in the Low Countries at the Turn of the 17th Century* (Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2014). [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. On Michiel van Hamont (active 1554-1583), see Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs,* pp. 87-88; Edmond Roobaert, ‘Michiel van Hamont. Hellebaardier van de keizer, rederijker en drukker van de koninklijke ordonnanties en plakkaten’, in Frank Daelemans and Ann Kelders (eds), *Miscellanea in memoriam Pierre Cockshaw (1938-2008)* (2 vols., Brussels: Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 2009), I. 465-485; Renaud Adam, ‘*Men and books under watch*: the Brussels’ Book Market in the Mid-Sixteenth Century Through the Inquisitorial Archives’, in Shanti Graheli (ed.), *Buying and Selling: The Early Book Trade and the International Marketplace* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 303-321. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. On the Calvinist regime in Brussels – surprisingly little studied, contrary to other towns like Ghent of Antwerp –, see Olivier Cammaert, ‘L’iconoclasme sous la République calviniste à Bruxelles’, in Monique Weis (ed.), *Des villes en révolte. Les ‘Républiques urbaines’ aux Pays-Bas et en France pendant la deuxième moitié du xvie siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 47-52. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Throughout the Ancien Régime, the status of official court printer represented a highly sought-after economic advantage for printer families. On this subject, see Sébastien Afonso, ‘L’imprimé officiel: enjeu et objet de rivalités entre imprimeurs dans les villes du sud des Pays-Bas méridionaux au xviie siècle’, in Renaud Adam, etc. (eds), *Urban Networks and the Printing Trade in Early Modern Europe (15th-18th Century): Papers Presented on 6 November 2009, at the CERL Seminar Hosted by the Royal Library of Belgium* (London: CERL, 2010), pp. 53-75. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Brussels, Archives of the City, Our Lady of the Chapel, Parish registers, Marriage records, 1575-1598, fol. 30r. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Private Council, 1276, 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. On the Mons period, see Christine Piérard and Pierre Ruelle, *Les premiers livres imprimés à Mons: fac-similés de la ‘Kakogeitnia’ de Libert Houthem et du ‘Renart decouvert’ attribué à Jean Richardot, sortis des presses de Rutger Velpius, en 1580* (Mons: Société des bibliophiles belges, 1966). [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. The catalogue of Velpius’s Mons press includes the official ban of outlawry issued by Philip ii against William i, Prince of Orange, printed in 1580: *Sommaire et substance du ban et proscription contre Guillaume de Nassau, prince d'Oranges* (USTC 13596). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Rutger Rescius and Hubert Anthoine i worked together from 1601 onwards. They requested the renewal of their joint status of official court printer on the 17 August 1609 (Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Private Council, 1276, 134). Rutger Rescius died around 1614-1615. Hubert Anthoine i succeeded him and asked for renewing his grant on 9 August 1625 (Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Private Council, 1277, 93). On 7 November 1634, Hubert Anthoine ii obtained the right to print, for a period of ten years, all the edicts, statutes and regulations issued by the court, as his predecessors had been doing for sixty years (Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Private Council, 1278, 77). This privilege was accorded for another ten-year term on 9 May 1645, on 9 February 1658, and again on 27 March 1666 (Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Private Council, 1278, 77; 1279, 94; 1280, 36). After the death of Hubert Anthoine ii at the end of October 1670 (Brussels, Archives of the City, St Gudula, Parish registers, Death certificates, 1669-1683, fol. 66v), his son Marcel Anthoine-Velpius obtained the same privilege for ten years (Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Private Council, 1280, 36). He died seven years later without heir and was buried on 30 March 1677 (Brussels, Archives of the City, St Gudula, Parish registers, Death certificates, fol. 243r). Four days later, on 4 June 1677, Jean-Théodore Anthoine-Velpius addressed a petition to the Privy Council asking to succeed his brother (Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Private Council, 1280, 3). On 16 May 1689, following the death of the last family representative, Jean-Théodore Anthoine-Velpius, the position of official court printer passed to Eugène-Henry Frickx (Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Private Council, 1280, 10). [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. On Mommaert and his wife, see Paul E. Claessens, ‘Deux familles d’imprimeurs brabançons: les Mommaert et les Fricx (1585 à 1777)’, in *Brabantica*,3 (1958), pp. 205-220; Rouzet, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 152-153; De Vlieger-De Wilde, *Directory of Seventeenth-Century Printers*, n° 210. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Little is known about Olivier Bruneels. Auguste Vincent, in his glimpse of the history of books in Brussels during the 17th and 18th centuries, refers to him as a simple publisher active between 1608 and 1614 (Vincent, ‘La typographie bruxelloise’, p. 36). The USTC includes several books signed with the Hispanicised form of his name, *Olivero Brunello* (USTC 1506460, 1436008, 1514809). The archives of the Private Council contain a document, dated 7 November 1607, granting the “sworn printer” and bookseller Olivier Bruneels the right to print, in both Spanish and French, Francisco López de Úbeda’s *Book of Entertainment of the Picaro Justina* (Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Private Council, 1276, 125). The Spanish version issued in 1608 (USTC 5023841). No copy of the French version has been preserved, if indeed it was ever published: it was not uncommon for printers to request the right to publish texts in several languages, and then omit to publish one or several of the projected translations. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. On these two printers, see Vincent, ‘La typographie bruxelloise’, p. 36; Claessens, ‘Deux familles d’imprimeurs brabançons’, p. 209; De Vlieger-De Wilde, *Directory of Seventeenth-Century Printers*, n° 202, 212. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Vincent, ‘La typographie bruxelloise’, p. 36; Bernard Antoon Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving in de xvie en xviie eeuw over den opstand* (Maastricht: Van Aelst, 1941), pp. 213-214, 247-248; De Vlieger-De Wilde, *Directory of Seventeenth-Century Printers*, no. 207. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Vincent, ‘La typographie bruxelloise’, p. 36. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. François Van Ortroy, ‘Schoevaerdts (Godefroid)’, in *Biographie nationale [de Belgique]* (44 vols., Brussels: Bruylant, 1866-1986), XXI. 812-820; Vincent, ‘La typographie bruxelloise’, p. 36; André-M. Goffin, *L’imprimerie à Namur de 1616 à 1636* (Namur: Vieux-Quartier), 1981, pp. 30-34; De Vlieger-De Wilde, *Directory of Seventeenth-Century Printers*, no. 215, 224. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. The document was printed and distributed by Hubert Anthoine i in French and Dutch, under the following titles: *Ordonnance, statut et placcart de Noz Souverains Seigneurs et Princes les Archiducqz d'Austrice, Ducqs de Brabant &c. Sur le faict de l'imprimerie, vente & apport de plusieurs sortes de livres, refrains, & images en ce Pays de Pardeça* (USTC 1507533); *Ordonnantie ende placcaet vande Eertshertogen Onse Souvereine Princen Hertogen van Brabant, &c. ghemaeckt op het stuck van het drucken, vercoopen ende inbrenghen van verscheyden soorten van boecken, refereynen ende beelden, in de Landen van herwaertsovere* (USTC 1001796). [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. On printing legislation in the Early Modern Southern Netherlands, see André Puttemans, *La censure dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens* (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1935), pp. 13-27; Aline Goosens, *Les inquisitions modernes dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux (1520-1633)* (2 vols., Brussels: Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles, 1997-1998), I. 50-171; Jeroom Machiels, *Privilège, censure et index dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux jusqu’au début du xviiie siècle* (Brussels: State Archives, 1997), pp. 72-113; Renaud Adam, ‘The Profession of Printer in the Southern Netherlands before the Reformation: Considerations on Professional, Religious and State Legislations’, in Wim François, Violet Soen and Dries Vanysacker (eds), *Church, Censorship and Reform in the Early Modern Habsburg Netherlands* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 13-25; Renaud Adam, ‘La contrefaçon dans les anciens Pays-Bas (xve-xviie siècles)’, *Histoire et civilisation du livre*. *Revue internationale*, 13 (2017), pp. 17-37. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. No copy of the document has been preserved; its contents have been established thanks to the contents of the edict of 1521. See Goosens, *Les inquisitions modernes*, pp. 48-49. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. “comme nous sommes deuement advertis des excez et désordres qui se commentent journellement en nos pays de par-deçà par l’imprimerie, vente et apport en iceux de plusieurs sortes de livres, refrains et images, non seulement contraires à notre sainte foy et religion catholique, apostolique romaine, mais aussi à toutes bonnes mœurs”, quoted by Jean Barthelemy Vincent, *Essai sur l’histoire de l’imprimerie en Belgique, depuis le xvme jusqu’à la fin du xviiime siècle* (Brussels, J. Delfosse, 1867), pp. 163-164. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Sources: USTC & Renaud Adam, Nicole Bingen, *Lectures italiennes dans les pays wallons à la première Modernité (1500-1630)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), p. 44. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. On the Flemish army, see Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries’ Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004);Charles-J.A. Leestmans, *Soldats de l'armée des Flandres. Essai sur la vie quotidienne des armées aux Pays-Bas espagnols de 1621 à 1715* ([Bothey]: Par quatre chemins; Brussels: [Ch.-J. Leestmans], 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Not included in the USTC, this catalogue is reproduced in facsimile, accompanied by an historical and codicological study, in Pierre Delsaerdt, Yann Sordet (eds), *Lectures princières et commerce du livre. La bibliothèque de Charles iii de Croÿ et sa mise en vente* (2 vols., Paris: Édition des Cendres, 2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. On the different methods of measuring print production, see Jean-François Gilmont, ‘Prendre les mesures du livre’, in Gilmont, *Le livre & ses secrets* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain. Faculté de philosophie et lettres; Geneva: Droz, 2003), pp. 281-295. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. USTC 1506272. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. On the Spanish faction of the court and the market of Spanish books in Brussels, see Sébastien Afonso, ‘Diffusion de la foi catholique et impression de livres religieux en espagnol à Bruxelles, 1585-1660’, in Isabelle Parmentier (ed.), *Livres, éducation et religion dans l’espace franco-belge, xve-xixe siècles* (Namur: Presses universitaires de Namur, 2009), pp. 99-113; Cesar 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* (2 vols., unpublished PhD, KU Leuven, 2011-2012); Cesar Manrique Figueroa, ‘Los impresores bruselenses y su producción dirigida al mercado hispano, siglos xvi-xvii. El caso de la imprenta del Águila de Oro de Rutger Velpius, Hubert Anthoine-Velpius y la imprenta de los Mommaert’, *Erebea. Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales*, 2 (2012), pp. 205-226; Thomas Werner, ‘The 'Spanish Faction' at the court of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella’, in René Vermeir, Dries Raeymaekers and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz (eds), *A Constellation of Courts: The Courts and Households of Habsburg Europe, 1555-1665* (Louvain: Leuven University press, 2014), pp. 167-221; Renaud Adam, ‘Spanish Books in Michiel van Hamont's Bookshop (1569): a Case Study of the Distribution of Spanish Books in Sixteenth-Century Brussels’, *Quarendo*, 48:4 (2018), pp. 300-316. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. On the diffusion of Italian books in Brussels, see Renaud Adam, ‘Le livre italien à Bruxelles (1500-1650)’, in Renaud Adam, Chiara Lastraioli, Giulia Ventrella (eds), *Itinéraires du livre italien à la Renaissance: regards sur la Suisse romande, les anciens Pays-Bas et la Principauté de Liège* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019), pp. 127-158. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. “La ville de Brusselles est fort grande de circuit, contenant plusieurs jardins, prez, bois, parcs, pourmenoirs et autres lieux vastes (…), il y a la chancellerie du païs, où le Conseil, composé d’un président et de seize conseillers. Le chancelier est comme lieutenant du prince en la Justice ; mais il y a encore le Conseil des princes avec tous officiers et conseillers pour les Conseils d’Estat et de guerre. Toutes les requestes présentées en ces Conseils sont en flamand, françois ou espaignol, ces trois langues estans communes à Brusselles, mais plus encores le françois, car l’espaignol n’est que pour la court; et mesmes à Anvers et Brusselles, y a escoles pour apprendre la langue françoise, etc.”, in Henry Michelant (ed.), *Voyage de Pierre Bergeron ès Ardennes, Liège & Pays-Bas en 1619* (Liège: Société des bibliophiles liégeois, 1875), p. 326. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Léon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the ‘Officina Plantiniana’ at Antwerp* (2 vols., Amsterdam: Vangendt – London: Routledge & Kegan Paul – New York: Abner Schram, 1969-1972); Benito Rial Costas, ‘International Publishing and Local Needs: The Breviaries and Missals Printed by Plantin for the Spanish Crown’, in Matthew McLean and Sara Barker (eds), *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 15-30. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. On the Marian cult in the Netherlands under the Archduke Albert and the Archduchess Isabella, see Luc Duerloo, ‘Archducal Piety and Habsburg Power’, in Thomas Duerloo (eds), *Albert & Isabella*, pp. 271-276; Annick Delfosse, ‘*La Protectrice du Païs-Bas’. Stratégies politiques et figures de la Vierge dans les Pays-Bas espagnols* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. The USTC lists 16; the other three were detected through our own research (USTC 5041817, 1001556, 1002607, 1001559, 1002606, 5009514, 1506265, 1002282, 1002605, 1506306, 1005023, 1002285, 1002222, 1002221, 1002604, 1001558). [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. The original text was written in Latin in the 13th century (USTC 1115783). [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. On the Eucharistic cult in Brussels, see *infra* p. [xxx]. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. USTC 1004154, 1004153. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. This document, not included in the USTC, was unearthed through our own research: *Bulla canonizationis S. Philippi Nerii congregationis oratorii fundatoris, quem Gregorius xv. una cum Beatis Isidoro, Ignatio, Francisco & Teresia, Sanctorum numero adscripsit, a S.mo D.N. Urbano viii. expedita... iuxta exemplar Romae* (Brussels: L. van Meerbeeck, 1626) [Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, II 16.566 A 8]. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. USTC 1005135. On these ceremonies, see Annick Delfosse, ‘From Rome to the Southern Netherlands: Spectacular Sceneries to Celebrate the Canonization of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier’, in Jennifer Mara DeSilva (ed.), *The Sacralization of Space and Behavior in the Early Modern World* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 141-159. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. On France, see: Henri-Jean Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au xviie siècle (1598-1701)* (2 vols., Geneva: Droz, 1969), I. 132-135. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. References for Teresa of Ávila: USTC 1002967, 1506350, 1002283, 5013063, 5009464, 5016379, 5040342, 1002286. References for Thomas of Jesus: USTC 5040481, 5040323, 5026216, 5035001, 1009623, 1009624. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Werner Thomas, ‘Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre Dios, la corte de Bruselas y la política religiosa en los Países Bajos meridionales, 1609-1614’, in René Vermeir, Maurits Ebben and Raymond Fagel (eds), *Agentes e identidades en movimiento. España y los Países Bajos Siglos xvi-xviii* (Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2011), pp. 289-312. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. USTC 5040337, 5007070, 5040723, 5009343, 5026566, 5006603, 5003961, 5007071, 5006605, 5042007, 5029816, 5029797, 5040338, 5040339, 5007069, 5014543, 1004461, 5021809, 5029841, 5042047, 5033880, 5040322, 1507156, 5040343, 1003637, 5032287, 5007073. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. The USTC includes eighteen: 440410, 1506090, 5040335, 5040336, 5005898, 5016911, 5029783, 5027462, 1005025, 1507204, 1507189, 1002544, 5025892, 5040326, 3011548, 1002585, 5033388, 5036336. On de Soto’s relationship with Isabella, see: Pirlet, *Le confesseur du Prince*, pp. 129-146. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. USTC 5023651. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. USTC 1005335, 1024557, 1002521. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. USTC 1002505, 1002498, 1002588, 5040346. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Victor Vander Haeghen, ‘Makeblyde (Louis)’, in *Biographie nationale [de Belgique]* (44 vols., Brussels: Bruylant, 1866-1986), XIII. 187-190. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. USTC 1002401. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. USTC 1003120. On what follows, see Renaud Adam, ‘L’*Histoire de Saint sacrement de Miracle* d’Étienne Ydens (1605), œuvre de dévotion ou œuvre polémique?’, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 92 (2014), pp. 413-433; Id., ‘Ydens, Etienne ou Steven’, in *Nouvelle biographie nationale* (14 vols., Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1988-2018), XIII. 345-346. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. ‘Le chanoine Ydens, auteur de l’Histoire du Saint-Sacrement-de-Miracle de Bruxelles, obtient un subside de 400 livres’, *Analectes pour servir à l’histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 9 (1874), p. 374; Jules Finot, ‘Les subventions accordées aux Littérateurs, aux Savants et aux Artistes par les Gouverneurs des Pays-Bas au xviie siècle relevées dans les comptes de la recette générales des finances’, *Annales du Comité flamand de France*, 9 (1891), p. 175. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. The engravings are attributed to Adriaen Collaert (*ca* 1565/1566-1618), member of an illustrious family of Antwerpian engravers. See Ann Diels and Marjolein Leesberg, *The Collaert Dynasty* (8 vols., Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2005), VII. 88-95 (*The New Hollstein: Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700*). [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Placide Lefèvre, ‘Offrandes princières faites en l’honneur d’une relique eucharistique à Bruxelles au xviie et au xviiie siècle’, *Revue belge d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art*, 41 (1972), p. 81, n. 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. USTC 1001625. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. The literature on this subject is extensive; significant publications concerning the reign of the archducal couple include: Joseph Bernard Cannaert, *Procès de sorcières en Belgique sous Philippe II et le gouvernement des Archiducs tirés d’actes judiciaires et de documents inédits* (Gand: C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1847); Pasture, *La restauration religieuse*, pp. 45-55; Edouard de Moreau, *Histoire de l’Église en Belgique* (5 vols., Brussels: L'Édition Universelle, 1940-1952), V. 363-370; Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat, Willem Frijhoff, Robert Muchembled (eds), *Prophètes et sorciers dans les Pays-Bas xvie-xviiie siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1976); Fernand Vanhemelryck, *Heksenprocessen in de Nederlanden* (Louvain: Davidsfonds, 1982); Jos Monballyu, *Van hekserij beschuldigd. Heksenprocessen in Vlaanderen tijdens de 16de en de 17de eeuw* (Heule: UGA, 1996). [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Jean Balsamo, ‘*L’amorevolezza verso le cose Italiche’. Le livre italien à Paris au xvie siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2015). [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. On the involvement of Douaisian printers in the Counter-Reformation movement see Olivia Sauvage, ‘L’âge d’or des libraires douaisiens sous les Archiducs’, in Claude Bruneel, etc. (eds), *Les ‘trentes glorieuses’ (circa 1600 – circa 1630). Pays-Bas méridionaux et France septentrionale. Aspects économiques, sociaux et religieux au temps des archiducs Albert et Isabelle* (Brussels: Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique, 2010), pp. 249-258. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)