

Jan van Meerbeeck and the Book Business in Brussels in the First Third of the Seventeenth Century

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Were books printed in Brussels in the seventeenth century? The question may be surprising as the answer is obvious. However, the lack of bibliographical tools dedicated to one of the main political centres of the Habsburg States allows us legitimately to ask the question, as Brussels is in a ‘bibliographical vacuum’ for this period. This historical shortcoming leads to a distorted understanding of the book trades and more generally of the sociocultural life in Brussels during the early modern period. In comparison to the number of works devoted to other important typographical centres of Belgium (Antwerp, Liège or Louvain), Brussels would seem to appear almost like a minor centre. The reality was quite different. The presence of the Habsburg court alone influenced a whole sector of Brussels publishing, notably making this city one of the main production centres of Spanish-language works north of the Pyrenees.¹

The lack of a bibliographic repertory seems to have hindered research, even if several contributions on specific aspects emerged from time to time.² Attempted bibliographical initiatives, however, were put into motion but without any real success. Let us recall that, in 1915, several librarians of the Royal Library of Belgium initiated the project to describe all Brussels editions published between 1475 and 1830, the date of Belgian independence. Unfortunately, the respective development of their careers put an end to this

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- 1 On the production of Spanish books in Brussels during the seventeenth centuries, 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, XV^e–XIX^e siècles* (Namur: Presses universitaires de Namur, 2009), pp. 99–113; Denis E. Rhodes, ‘Spanish Books on Sale in the Venetian Bookshop of G.B. Ciotti, 1602’, *The Library*, 12 (2011), pp. 50–55; 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.
 - 2 A detailed historiographic overview is available in: Claude Sorgeloos, ‘Bruxelles dans l’historiographie du livre’, *Histoire et civilisation du livre. Revue internationale*, 14 (2018), pp. 14–36.

initiative.³ Nearly a century later, during the first decade of the 2000s, the Royal Library of Belgium launched several projects about books in Brussels, notably the cataloguing of some 30,000 editions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some years later, it is clear that the Brussels book market is no longer a priority and no retrospective bibliography has yet been produced.

Fortunately, the researcher is not completely helpless, thanks notably to two important databases: the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC) founded by Andrew Pettegree, and which, since 2016, covers a period up to the end of the first half of the seventeenth century; and its Flemish complement, the *Short Title Catalogue Vlaanderen* (STCV) launched in 2000 with the goal of describing all books printed before 1801 in Flanders (in the current territorial meaning of the term).⁴

In my case, these two tools, combined with the consultation of specialised bibliographies and online catalogues of numerous libraries, allow me to lay the groundwork for a retrospective Brussels bibliography – still under construction – covering the first third of the seventeenth century, coinciding with the reign of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella (1598–1633) and bringing together some 1,100 editions. It seemed necessary to me to address first and foremost this crucial period for the Brussels book trade because it corresponds not only to the zenith of the Counter-Reformation in the Habsburg Low Countries but also to the establishment of structures that would last to the end of the early modern period.⁵ The historical period of the archdukes, recently recharacterised as ‘Trente Glorieuses’, corresponds as well to the return to a certain degree of prosperity for the region.⁶

This chapter is an opportunity to discuss a little-known individual in the Brussels book market: the printer Jan van Meerbeeck, who made his debut in the book trade in 1620, before opening his own firm in Brussels in 1623 and

3 Claude Sorgeloos, ‘Un projet de Bibliographie bruxelloise (1915)’, *In Monte Artium. Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium*, 9 (2016), pp. 127–142.

4 It is moreover a regrettable pity that the imprints held at the Royal Library of Belgium are not yet included in the STCV.

5 I have presented a preliminary summary draft of my research in: ‘The Printing Industry and the Counter-Reformation in Brussels under Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella (1598–1633)’, R. Adam, R. De Marco and M. Walsby (eds.), *Winning Back with Books and Prints. At the Heart of the Catholic Reformation in the Low Countries (16th–17th centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

6 Claude Bruneel, et al. (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); Jonathan Israel, ‘L’ère des Archiducs (1598–1621)’, in Paul Janssens (ed.), *La Belgique espagnole et la principauté de Liège 1585–1715* (2 vols., Brussels: La Renaissance du livre, 2006), 1, pp. 28–32.

then ending his activities ten years later in 1632. This personality is all the more intriguing in that he seems to defy us and show real malice by his random presence in the archives of the period. Whereas his catalogue's reconstruction forms the central core of this contribution (reproduced in the appendix), other aspects of his life are not neglected, such as his apprenticeship, his business in the book trade and his personal and professional networks.

Jan van Meerbeeck

At the beginning of May 1620, Jan van Meerbeeck sent a request to the Privy Council to obtain authorisation to set up as a bookseller in Aalst (a town located between Ghent and Brussels) and open his own print shop there as well.⁷ In his request, he mentioned that he had been apprenticed in Antwerp with Hieronymus Verdussen, founder of a dynasty of printers that lasted until the first half of the nineteenth century.⁸ A positive recommendation was returned on 7 May, by both the archbishopric of Mechelen and the city magistrates of Aalst. Van Meerbeeck had arrived in Aalst at the beginning of February 1620 and was apprenticed there with the bookseller Joos Vander Straeten to learn 'the art and practice of the book business'.⁹ However, the employer had understood nothing of the kind and strongly opposed this procedure, claiming to the authorities that Jan van Meerbeeck had not yet settled the whole sum of money that he owed according to their agreement (18 May 1620).¹⁰ The bookseller did not get satisfaction, and his employee finally received his grant from the Privy Council on 2 June 1620. The Archbishop of Mechelen Mathias Hovius, then at death's door, had among other things consented to this privilege on condition that Van Meerbeeck respected the ordinance on printing enacted by the Archdukes Albert and Isabella in 1616.¹¹ Joos Vander Straeten tried to

7 Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Privy Council, 1277, n. 36, f. 1: '... soude willen winckel houden ende boecken vercoopen ende metter tijdt drucken ...'.

8 Ibid.: '... om te leeren de neiringe ende handel van boecken te drucken ende vercoopen tot Antwerpen bij Hieronymus Verdussen ...'. On the Verdussens, see: Stijn Van Rossem, *Het gevecht met de boeken. De uitgeversstrategieën van de familie Verdussen [Antwerpen 1589–1689]* (Antwerp: University of Antwerp, 2014).

9 Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Privy Council, 1277, n. 36, f. 3: '... te lerren de conste en de practycke van boeevercoopen ...'.

10 Ibid.: '... zijne huer niet en heeft volbrocht ooch betaelt volgende de accorde tsamen ghemaect ...'.

11 Ibid., f. 5: '... moyennant qu'il soit obeissant du tout aux ordonnances dressees sur le fait des imprimeurs et vendredus de livres ...'. Mathias Hovius died some days later at Grimbergen Abbey.

oppose this decision for a second time during the month of June but without success.¹² A couple of years later, Jan van Meerbeeck left Aalst for Brussels.¹³ Had the climate between the two booksellers become so poisoned that van Meerbeeck had to leave the city? Or did the prospect of a market with a larger clientele motivate the young bookseller to leave the County of Flanders?

Several authors have proposed associating Jan van Meerbeeck with the family of the historian and polemicist Adriaan van Meerbeeck, even seeing him as a possible brother.¹⁴ Adriaan, born in Antwerp, taught at nearby Bornem, before becoming the head of the Latin school of Aalst in 1604. He authored historical compilations and several translations into Dutch, including the *Chroniicke vande gantsche werelt, ende sonderlinghe vande seventhien Nederlanden* (Antwerp: J. Verdussen, 1620), *Tonneel der wt-vaerden van Ferdinandus coninck, Carolus keyser, Philippus den tweeden, Rudolphus den tweeden, Philippus den derden, midtsgaders t'leven, ouerlijden ende begravinge, van Albertus van Oostenrijckdont* (Brussels: F. de Hoeymaecker, 1622) as well as the translation of the bestseller by Saint François de Sales, *Aen-leydinghe oft Onderwijs tot een devoot godturughtigh leven* (Antwerp: G. Lesteens, 1616), republished multiple times.¹⁵ His portrait, which accompanied the *Chroniicke vande gantsche werelt* published in 1620, specified his age as 57 years, meaning that he was born around 1563. He is again documented in 1630 in a letter addressed to him by Eurycius Puteanus.¹⁶ The date of his death has not yet been determined with certainty.

¹² Ibid., f. 4.

¹³ Frans Olthoff reports the presence of a certain Jan Meerbeeck at Antwerp in 1627 without citing any sources. Cf. Frans Olthoff, *De boekdrukkers, boekverkoopers en uitgevers in Antwerpen sedert de uitvinding der boekdrukkunst tot op onze dagen* (Antwerp: J.E. Buschmann, 1891), p. 66. His name, however, is not included in the member list of the Guild of St Luke, which included the book professions at this date, raising doubts about his settlement in Antwerp.

¹⁴ Bernard A. Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving in de XVI^e en XVII^e eeuw over den opstand* (Maastricht: Van Aelst, 1941), p. 247; Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World. Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004), p. 146. Paul Bergmans, however, remains more circumspect and admits that there is a lack of information about the familial relationship of the two men: 'Meerbeeck (Adrien van)', in *Biographie nationale [de Belgique]* (44 vols., Brussels: Bruylant, 1866–1986), XIV, pp. 252–254.

¹⁵ USTC 1001574 (Chroniicke). USTC 1001721 (Tonneel). USTC 1002299 (François de Sales). Regarding this translation and its republications, see: Antoine Daniëls, *Les rapports entre saint François de Sales et les Pays-Bas 1550–1700* (Nijmegen: Centrale Drukkerij, 1932), pp. 90–101.

¹⁶ Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving*, p. 303.



FIGURE 8.1 Portrait of Adriaan van Meerbeeck. From the *Chronicke vande gantsche werelt, ende sonderlinghe vande seventhien Nederlanden* (Antwerp: J. Verdussen, 1620)
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Apart from their names, several arguments advocate for a connection between the two men. The continuation of the *Chronicke vande gantsche werelt*, which was published by Jan van Meerbeeck in 1625 under the title *Nederlandschen Mercurius oft Waerachtich verhael vande geschiedenissen van Nederlandt*, certainly makes for a powerful argument, not to mention that Jan van Meerbeeck had set up in Aalst as bookseller while Adriaan was director of the Latin school there and that the young Jan apprenticed in Antwerp with Hieronymus

Verdusen, precisely where the *Chroniicke vande gantsche werelt* had been printed in 1620.¹⁷ There is reason to believe that the two men took the road together toward Brussels. In fact, the Privy Council archives track a dispute dating from July 1626 – to which we will return below – between *Contador* (military accountant) Antonio Carnerio and the bookseller-printers Adriaan and Jan van Meerbeeck, residing in Brussels.¹⁸

Unfortunately, contemporary archives have not yet clarified the exact relationship between the two men. The parish records of the Collegiate Church of Our Lady of Antwerp preserve the record of Adriaan van Meerbeeck's baptism on 20 May 1560.¹⁹ The historian was thus born three years earlier than his portrait's insertion in *Chroniicke vande gantsche werelt*, printed in 1620, would have us believe. He was the son of Jan van Meerbeeck and Lynken de Vos, whose children also included Lynken (b. 17 May 1561), who died at a young age, Lynken (b. 29 August 1562), Laurentius (b. 20 January 1567) and Carolus (b. 15 January 1570).²⁰ The couple did not declare any infant named Jan in the parish registers of the Collegiate Church of Our Lady of Antwerp. The printer Jan van Meerbeeck, however, bears the name of his father, as reported in the accounts of the Plantin-Moretus firm, dated 16 August 1623: 'to Jan Meerbeeck the Younger, [Jan] the Elder answers for him'.²¹ Was there an familial relationship between Adriaan and Jan van Meerbeeck? The parish registers of the Collegiate Church of St Gudula in Brussels unquestionably mention the baptism of a Jan van Meerbeeck, son of Jan and Catherina, on 2 August 1569, but it is quite unlikely that it is this 'young man' (*jonckman*) who wrote to the Privy Council in May 1620 to request a licence as bookseller.²² It is indeed difficult to imagine that a person of 51 years of age would be described in this way. It is clear that the familial connection between the two men still remains a mystery.

This assessment prevails more broadly for the biography of Jan van Meerbeeck. Despite extensive research in the archives of towns where he is documented, no trace of his baptism has been discovered. Did he marry? The parish registers of the Church of St Catherina of Brussels mention the union, on

17 See Appendix, no. 11.

18 Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Privy Council, 1277, f. 1: 'Adrien et Jehan de meerbek marchand libraire et Imprimeurs Jures demeurans en ceste ville de Bruxelles ...'.

19 Antwerp, Archives of the City, Our Lady, parish registers, baptismal certificates 1560–1569, f. 1v.

20 Ibid., ff. 18v, 32r, 35r, 95v, 181v.

21 Antwerp, MPM, Arch. 230, f. 151r: 'A Jan Meerbeeck le Jeune le viel est respondant'.

22 Brussels, Archives of the City, St Gudula, Parish registers, baptismal certificates, 1568–1575, p. 43.

8 February 1626, of a certain Jan van Meerbeeck with a Marguerite Stubbeler.²³ If it is indeed 'our' printer and his wife, did they have children? None of the parish registers that I have consulted report it. The abrupt end of his activities in 1632 suggests that he may have died in this year. In any event, his firm was taken over by Lucas van Meerbeeck and operated until 1642. The nature of the ties between these two men has also not yet been established: was he a son or a brother? With regard to Adriaan van Meerbeeck, his trace disappears, as we have seen, in 1630. Let us note, however, that the death records included in the parish registers of St Gudula mention a service of sixteen priests for the burial of Adriaan van Meerbeeck on 23 April 1643.²⁴ Did he pass away at the advanced age of 82 years?

The Book Business in Brussels in the First Third of the Seventeenth Century

The oldest preserved publications of Jan van Meerbeeck date from 1624. They were issued from his Brussels firm 'At the sign of St Anne', located in the 'Puttery' Street, the Puttenhof (or Garden of Wells), near the Collegiate Church of St Gudula and a stone's throw from the Archducal Palace. The shop existed from at least 1623, the date of the first mention of Jan van Meerbeeck in the accounts of the Plantin-Moretus printing house.²⁵

The arrival of Jan van Meerbeeck in Brussels corresponded to a period of vitality for the book trade in Brussels. In fact, whereas the Anthoine-Velpius and Mommaert families competed in the book market following the town's recapture by Alessandro Farnese in 1585, several new players made their appearance during the 1620s.²⁶ Ferdinand de Hoeymaker began his press in 1619, followed

23 Brussels, Archives of the City, St Catharina, Parish registers, marriage certificates and promises, 1622–1627, f. 131v.

24 Brussels, Archives of the City, St Gudula, Parish registers, death certificates, 1643–1649, f. 16v.

25 Antwerp, MPM, Arch. 230, ff. 151r (16 August 1623).

26 Regarding the Anthoine-Velpius and Mommaert families and their activities, see: Paul E. Claessens, 'Deux familles d'imprimeurs brabançons: les Velpius et les Anthoine-Velpius (1542 à 1689)', *Brabantica*, 2 (1957), pp. 333–347; Id., 'Deux familles d'imprimeurs brabançons: les Mommaert et les Fricx (1585 à 1777)', in *Brabantica*, 3 (1958), pp. 205–220; Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs belges des XV^e et XVI^e siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), pp. 1–2, 152–153, 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, 210, 222–223; Renaud Adam, 'Printing for Central Authorities in

a year later by Jan Mommaert's nephew, Jan Pepermans.²⁷ Neither rose to the height of the Anthoine-Velpius press, nor even that of Mommaert's. In fact, the Hoeymaker press closed after only five years of activity, and Pepermans' after fifteen. Two other printers met with better success: Govaerd Schoevaerds and François Vivien, active respectively from 1625 and 1627.²⁸ Both managed to gain a real foothold in the market, and their presses continued to function until the early 1660s.

Thereafter, the city of Brussels continued to welcome more and more individuals wishing to enter the publishing business, to such an extent that the city felt the need to create a corporation in 1662, dedicated specifically to the protection of printers and booksellers; it was the first one in the Southern Low Countries.²⁹ Members enjoyed a monopoly on the printing and sale of books in the capital. It was thus prohibited for anyone who was not a member of corporation to sell printed books. Recruitment of members was subject to rigorous formalities: a preliminary admission by the Council of Brabant, as well as a four-year training period with a master residing in Brussels. The corporation was placed under the jurisdiction of the Council of Brabant.

Although there was no district, strictly speaking, specially dedicated to the book trade in Jan van Meerbeeck's time, all the firms were located in the centre of Brussels within the first wall, near the Grote Markt, the palace and the town hall.

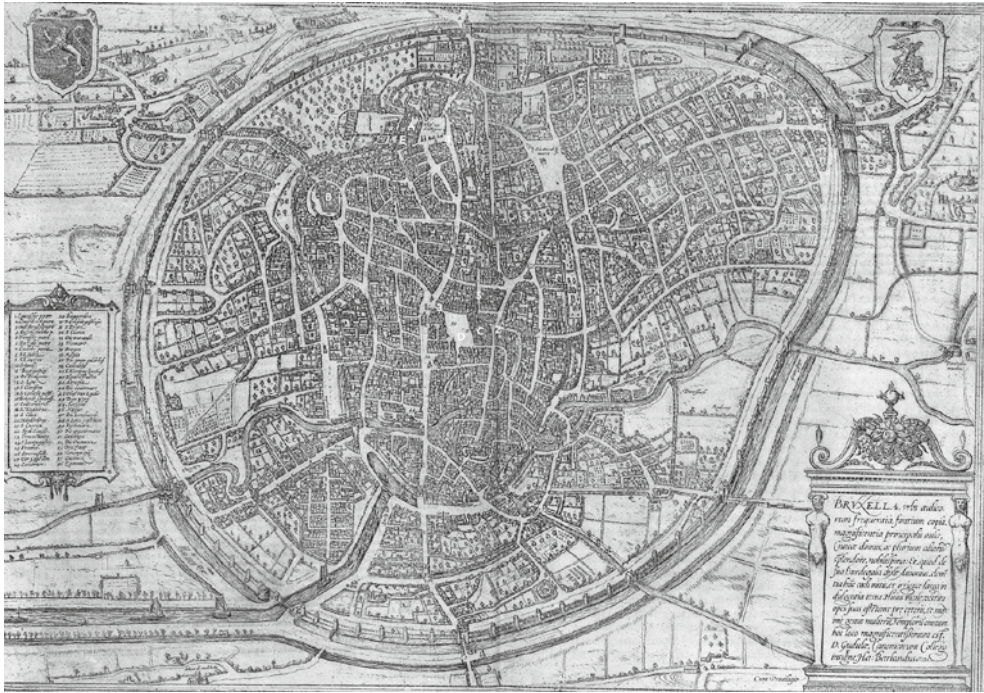
As we can see, Jan van Meerbeeck was located near St Gudula. Jan Pepermans and François Vivien kept their shops behind the town hall, Pepermans at the Golden Bible and Vivien at the sign of the Good Shepherd. Similarly, Jan Mommaert's shop was Hill street, in front of the town hall, near the 'Blue Fountain'. Ferdinand de Hoeymaker also chose this street, at the sign of the Three Nymphs. The Anthoine-Velpius family settled a little higher in town,

the Early Modern Low Countries (15th–17th Centuries), in Jamie Cumby, Helmer Helmers and Nina Lamal (eds.), *Print and Power in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 64–85.

27 On these two printers, see: Claessens, 'Deux familles d'imprimeurs brabançons', p. 209; De Vlieger-De Wilde, *Directory of Seventeenth-Century Printers*, nos. 202, 212.

28 François Van Ortroy, 'Schoevaerds (Godefroid)', in *Biographie nationale [de Belgique]* (44 vols., Brussels: Bruylant, 1866–1986), XXI, pp. 812–820; 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*, nos. 215, 224.

29 Jean-Barthélemy Vincent, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'imprimerie en Belgique, depuis le XV^{me} jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^{me} siècle* (Brussels: J. Delfosse, 1867), pp. 77–80, 190–193; Auguste Vincent, 'La typographie bruxelloise aux XVII^e et XVIII^e 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, pp. 12–14.



FIGURES 8.2 AND 8.3
 The book topography of Brussels. 1. Jan van Meerbeeck; 2. Jan Pepermans and François Vivien; 3. Jan Mommaert and Ferdinand de Hoeymaker; 4. Hubert Anthoine-Velpius; 5. Govaert Schoevaerdt. A. The Palace; B. Collegiate Church of St Gudula; C. Town hall; D. Grand-Place; E. Privy Council

near the palace, at the Golden Eagle. Govaerdt Schoevaerdt chose to set up at the Cheese Market, near the Grote Markt, at the sign of the White Book. Located at the heart of various places of power in the city, these workshops would have been visited by a large and diverse clientele, consisting of nobles, members of local, regional or foreign administrations present in Brussels, soldiers of the Flanders army, secular and regular clergy, as well as the bourgeoisie, eager to find works related to their professional practices.

At the beginning of his career, Jan van Meerbeeck witnessed the attempts of several families to transform state privileges into familial patrimony. In Brussels, the Anthoine-Velpius family represents a good example. The founder of the dynasty, Rutger Velpius, had obtained a monopoly on the edicts of the central government in 1585. His successors then made sure to preserve this privilege within the family, and they requested its renewal every ten years until the death of the last member, Jean-Théodore Anthoine-Velpius, in 1689.³⁰ The zeal with which the Anthoine-Velpius family ensured the renewal of their privileges shows to what extent these monopolies brought them regular income. They also had the advantage of working for a single client. They were thus less affected by all the problems connected to the normal business of books (book storage, book deliveries to booksellers, relationships with colleagues at book fairs, etc.). Although Jan van Meerbeeck did not succeed in securing the favours of a governmental institution, such as the city or even the States of Brabant (like the Mommaert family), he did not fail in finding his place in the publishing landscape in Brussels and in offering varied stock to local customers.

At the Sign of St Anne, in the 'Puttery'

The reconstruction of Jan van Meerbeeck's output rests primarily on the consultation of the *USTC* and *STCV* databases, as well as the use of specialised bibliographies, such as the *Bibliotheca Belgica*, the *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas méridionaux* by Jean Peeters-Fontainas and the *Philausone* by Nicole Bingen.³¹ The catalogues of the large national libraries were also valuable; the Royal Library of Belgium notably holds several editions not listed in any bibliography. The archives of the *Officina Plantiniana* also

30 Adam, 'Printing for Central Authorities', pp. 78–84.

31 Ferdinand Vander Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* (2nd ed., 7 vols., Brussels: Culture et civilisations, 1964–1975); Jean Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas méridionaux* (2 vols., Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1965); Nicole Bingen, *Philausone (1500–1660). Répertoire des ouvrages en langue italienne publiés dans les pays de langue française de 1500 à 1660* (Geneva: Droz, 1994).

permit the discovery of lost editions or attribution of publications to Jan van Meerbeeck containing a false imprint. Finally, the *Bibliotheca scriptorum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* by Carolus de Visch, published in 1656, gives information about Jan van Meerbeeck's lost editions.³²

This bibliographic investigation has uncovered 47 editions bearing the name of Van Meerbeeck (40 editions described in USTC; 31 in STCV); 5 others may be attributed to him while another 11 are lost or not yet localised, thus totalling 63 editions over ten years.³³ According to my current assessment, some 480 editions were produced in Brussels during this period.³⁴ Jan van Meerbeeck's catalogue would thus represent a little more than 13 per cent of the whole with regard to the number of titles. This number should be qualified. A more accurate method than counting titles is one based on the number of sheets needed for a given book.³⁵ 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. Thus, Jan van Meerbeeck required nearly 1,440 sheets to print one copy of all of his editions, that is, about 20 per cent of the total production in the period, estimated at some 6,990 sheets.³⁶ One of the characteristics of the Brussels market in the first third of the seventeenth century explains this substantial difference: the printing of a large number of official documents, meaning that about half of the output required little paper.³⁷ Jan van Meerbeeck therefore appears to be a relatively important player in the 1620s.

The two following graphs show, year by year, details for the output of Jan van Meerbeeck; the first grouped by editions, and the second by sheets of paper used:

32 Carolus de Visch, *Bibliotheca scriptorum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* (Cologne: J. Busaeus, 1656).

33 A detailed list is provided in the appendix. I have personally consulted at least one copy of each extant edition printed by Jan van Meerbeeck.

34 Adam, 'The Printing Industry and the Counter-Reformation in Brussels', pp. [xxx].

35 On the different methods of measuring print production, see Jean-François Gilmont, 'Prendre les mesures du livre', in Id., *Le livre & ses secrets* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain. Faculté de philosophie et lettres; Geneva: Droz, 2003), pp. 281–295.

36 The lost editions are not counted in this number, as we do not have information on the number of sheets used to print them. Unfortunately, no information about print runs of any of Van Meerbeeck's editions has been uncovered. This information would of course further elucidate the respective importance of Van Meerbeeck's shorter and more substantial works.

37 Adam, 'The Printing Industry and the Counter-Reformation in Brussels', pp. [xxx].

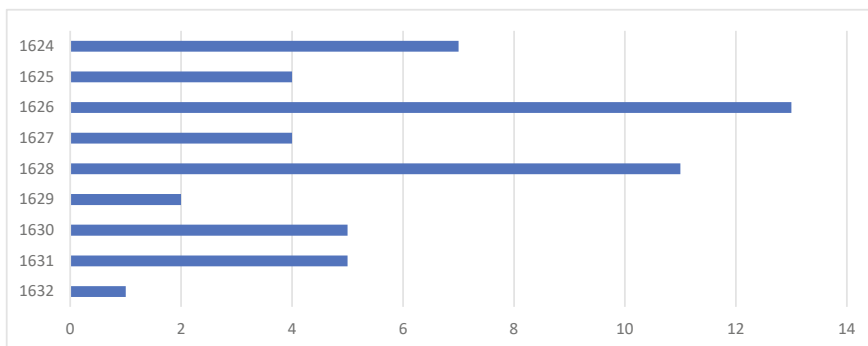


FIGURE 8.4 Output of Jan van Meerbeeck (editions)

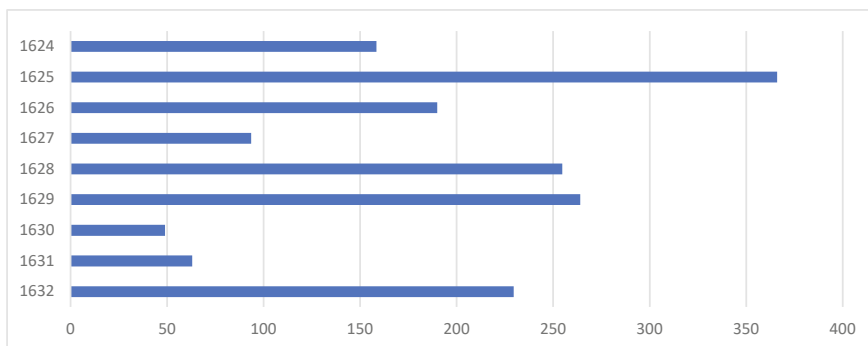


FIGURE 8.5 Output of Jan van Meerbeeck (sheets)

These two graphs visualise in a more nuanced manner the output of Jan van Meerbeeck. Indeed, if his production gives an uneven impression, the comparison of the two graphs shows that Jan van Meerbeeck alternates in certain years the production of larger books with that of smaller works. For example, only four books were published by his firm in 1625, totalling a little more than 360 sheets. In contrast, during the years 1630–1631, Jan Meerbeeck published 10 texts in fewer than 110 sheets.

The examination of titles produced by Jan van Meerbeeck does not allow us to detect his attempt to join a particular publishing niche. His publications are diverse, yet they display a clear preference for history and current affairs, as well as for hagiographical narratives, a very successful genre that accompanied the Catholic recapture of the Habsburg Low Countries. He also printed military manuals, political treatises, secular and sacred poetry, religious texts relating to popular devotions or marriage, as well as occasional publications. The list of authors printed by Jan van Meerbeeck shows true local roots. The



FIGURE 8.6 Jan van Meerbeeck's mark, from Aubertus Miraeus, *Codex donationum piarum* (Brussels: Jan van Meerbeeck, 1624), title-page
© KBR

typographer placed his press at the service of the nobility and clergy in the Low Countries as well as the Spanish community close to the entourage of the archdukes. The output of Jan van Meerbeeck included works by the historians Aubertus Miraeus and Antonius Sanderus, the Baron Jean de Marnix, the abbot of Grammont Martin Le Brun, the parish priest of Laeken Laurentius van Beneden, the Jesuit Pedro Bivero, preacher to the archdukes, the Cistercian Crisostomo Henriquez and also several members of the army of Flanders, such as the *Contador* Antonio Carnero, the captain and member of the war council Christophe de Bounours, and also the superintendent Guillermo Espallart. If Latin predominates (36 titles), Spanish (10), Dutch (8) and French (7) are present in lesser number, whereas Italian (1) and English (1) are rare. Most of Jan van Meerbeeck's works display his emblematic device on their title-pages: a globe resting on a sword and a book within a cartouche with the maxim, 'His nititur orbis' (The world rests on these), flanked by the statues of Justice and Faith. Folio and quarto seemed to have been his preferred formats, a sign of Jan van Meerbeeck's desire to target a more affluent clientele.

Adriaan van Meerbeeck seems to have played a leading role in the recruitment of several authors for his associate Jan. Although the productions at the sign of St Anne do not bear his mark, the analysis of the historian's networks hints at his close involvement in the Jan van Meerbeeck's print operations. He would certainly have succeeded in convincing his friend Aubertus Miraeus,

then court chaplain and librarian, to entrust the reproduction of two of his collections of ancient diplomas to him.³⁸ He must have done the same for the funeral elegy written by Antonius Sanderus in homage to the Ghent-born canon Simon van Kerchove, published in 1626.³⁹ Sanderus, who presided as chaplain and secretary to the powerful minister Alfonso de la Cueva, esteemed the work of Adriaan van Meerbeeck and even praised his *Chroniicke vande gantsche werelt* in a lengthy piece of verse.⁴⁰

The state archives at Ghent hold records of an agreement between Adriaan van Meerbeeck and the Cistercian Crisostomo Henriquez for the printing of one of his works between July 1624 and November 1626.⁴¹ Henriquez had arrived from Spain around 1620 and had been named general historiographer of his order in 1622 before being entrusted with the tasks of censor.⁴² He wished to have his *Lilia Cistercii* printed in three volumes, each in 800 copies, on paper and with the same typeface previously used by Jan van Meerbeeck for his *Corona sacra*.⁴³ The cost of the printing was 1,050 guilders, and the printer agreed to send the proofs and an index to Henriquez before the publication of each volume. This edition seems not to have survived, but Carolus de Visch gives information about it in his *Bibliotheca scriptorium sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* and specifies that it was published in folio format between 1626 and 1627.⁴⁴ Abbot Willem van Castillo of Boudelo Abbey in Ghent participated in the financing of *Lilia Cistercii* and had probably put Henriquez in contact with Adriaan van Meerbeeck, who had dedicated his Dutch translation of *Fontaine d'Amour* by Nicolas de Montmorency to him several years earlier.⁴⁵ Carolus de Visch also describes six other publications by the Cistercian, printed by Jan van Meerbeeck between 1623 and 1626, which are also lost.⁴⁶ In contrast,

38 Appendix, nos. 5, 15.

39 Appendix, no. 17.

40 Reproduced in: Antonius Sanderus, *Opuscula minora, orationes sacrae, praefationum syntagma, poematum libri IV* (Leuven: J. Vryenborch, 1651), pp. 602–603.

41 Ghent, State Archives, Inventaris Abdij Baudelo, 758. Regarding this dossier, see: Guido Hendrix, 'Perikelen rond de *Lilia Cistercii* van Chrysostomus Henriquez', *Ex Officina. Bulletin van de Vrienden van de Leuvense Universiteitsbibliotheek*, 8 (1991), pp. 71–77.

42 He notably approved the content of the *Triumpho del amor divino* by Guillermo Espallart on 4 August 1624 which Jan van Meerbeeck printed immediately afterwards (appendix, no. 4).

43 Appendix, no. 3.

44 De Visch, *Bibliotheca scriptorum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis*, pp. 67–68. See appendix, no. 63.

45 Nicolas de Montmorency, *Vloeyende fonteyne der Liefde, vol allerlieffelycker oeffeninghen ende devote ghebeden* [trad. A. van Meerbeeck] (Antwerp: J. Trognesium, 1617).

46 De Visch, *Bibliotheca scriptorum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis*, p. 67. See appendix, nos. 53, 56–59, 61.

three other editions, produced between 1626 and 1630, are preserved.⁴⁷ The press of Jan van Meerbeeck would thus have begun to operate as early as 1623.

Adriaan van Meerbeeck also counted among his acquaintances Richard Verstegan, fervent defender of the English Catholic cause, who entrusted the printing of a volume of epitaphs and epigrams in Dutch to Jan van Meerbeeck (1624).⁴⁸ The propagandist would also have been able to connect Jan van Meerbeeck's workshop with the group of English exiles then residing in Brussels, as well as with other zealous militants of the Catholic cause. In any event, research by Alastair Bellany and Thomas Cogswell allows for the attribution to Jan van Meerbeeck of four pamphlets published anonymously in 1626: *The forerunner of revenge* by George Eglissham, as well as his Latin translation, accusing the Duke of Buckingham to have poisoned King James I; the *Veritas odiosa* under the pseudonym of Richardus Attonitus, who, under the guise of a conversation between the god Mercury and Machiavelli, launched attacks on various Protestant parties in Europe; as well as the reprinting of *Secretissima instructio, gallo-britanno-batava, Friderico V. palatino electori data*, a well-known work of disinformation produced in the Habsburg camp at the beginning of the Bohemian crisis.⁴⁹ Jan van Meerbeeck thus did not hesitate to put his press in the service of the Catholic cause and to disseminate anonymously pro-Habsburg propaganda. He also did it in his own name and, in this way, contributed to the political literature that accompanied the recapture of the Low Countries.

In 1626, his press produced the panegyric by Baldassarre Nardi, celebrating the exploits of Ambrogio Spinola at Breda, a work illustrated by Cornelis Galle with an elegant engraved title-page with Philip IV of Spain's coat of arms.⁵⁰ Two years later, Captain Christophe de Bonours chose Jan van Meerbeeck to reproduce his account of the Genoese general's great victory at the siege of Ostend, which saw the collapse of the last Protestant stronghold in the Southern Netherlands, and which is considered one of the bloodiest battles of the Eighty Years' War.⁵¹ In his foreword, the soldier explained that the first six books and the summary of the last were printed by Govaerdt Schoevaerds, but

47 Appendix, nos. 13, 14, 41.

48 Appendix, no. 7. Regarding this subject, see: Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, p. 146.

49 Appendix, nos. 48–51. Regarding this subject, see: Alastair Bellany and Thomas Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 137–163.

50 Appendix, no. 16.

51 Appendix, no. 26. The author received the sum of 480 Flemish guilders on 15 November 1629 as largesse from the Archduchess. See: Alexandre Pinchart, 'Archives des arts, des sciences et des lettres', in *Messager des sciences historiques* (Gand: L. Hebbelynck, 1863), p. 469.

that he had withdrawn them due to numerous errors, and thereafter given the commission to Van Meerbeeck.⁵²

The relationship between a printer and his authors could sometimes be strained. Thus, during the month of July 1626, the *Contador* Antonio Carnero filed a complaint with the Privy Council against Adriaan and Jan van Meerbeeck.⁵³ Antonio Carnero was a high-ranking figure in the army of Flanders. In his youth, he had even served Don Enrique de Guzmán, father of the Count-Duke of Olivares, then the principal minister of Philip IV. The litigation concerned the delivery of copies of his *Historia de las guerras civiles que ha avido en los estados de Flandes*, published in the preceding year, as well as the payment for printing costs.⁵⁴

The *Contador* reproached Adriaan and Jan van Meerbeeck for delivering only 650 copies of his book instead of 1,200, to which he had rights according to the contract signed on 30 April 1624. Adriaan and Jan van Meerbeeck explained that they were unable to deliver more because they had already sent copies to their agents within the Low Countries as well as abroad and that they had only 37 copies on hand to assure supplies in their shop, as well as another 31 defective copies.⁵⁵ The outcome of the process is not known.

Some years later, in 1629, Jan van Meerbeeck was again in trouble with the authorities. He was visited by judicial officers from the Council of Brabant with orders to seize all copies of the *Relationi in tempo delle sue nuntiatione di Fiandra, e di Francia* by Guido Bentivoglio and edited by Erycius Puteanus.⁵⁶ The Council of Brabant wanted to suspend the book's publication due to certain passages judged by the authorities as being too favourable to the States as well as their privileges.⁵⁷ Jan van Meerbeeck seems not to have been distressed by this raid of the Brabant 'book police' because he did not hesitate to bring

52 There was also a pirate edition, issued with the same imprint (STCV 6652686). Some copies of this work bore the address of François Vivien in Brussels and the date of 1633, but the latter information is only the result of a new title (STCV 12918387; USTC 1510611).

53 Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Privy Council, 1277, 244.

54 Regarding this work, read: Gustaaf Janssens, 'De *Historia de las guerras civiles ... en Flandes y las causas de la rebelión de dichos estados* van Antonio Carnero (1625)', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 10 (1994), pp. 65–72.

55 Christopher Plantin received three copies on 31 October 1625 and four more on 2 March 1626 (Antwerp, MPM, Arch. 232, f. 152r; 233, f. 25r).

56 Appendix, no. 37.

57 Bernard Vermaseren, *De Katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving in de XVI^e en XVII^e eeuw over den Opstand* (Maastricht: Van Aelst, 1941), pp. 213–214; Nina Lamal, 'Translated and Often Printed in Most Languages of Europe: Movement and Translations of Italian Histories on the Dutch Revolt across Europe', in Matthew McLean and Sara Baker (eds.), *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 129.



FIGURE 8.7 Antonio Carnero, *Historia de las guerras civiles que ha auido en los estados de Flandes* (Brussels: Jan van Meerbeeck, 1624), title-page
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out a new edition immediately thereafter, although it used a false imprint, 'in Cologne with Nicolaus Pantinus'. The first product did not carry a Brussels address but rather an Antwerp address, 'In Anversa // Appresso Giovanni Meerbecio // 1629'. The decision to 'outsource' his production to Antwerp did not probably correspond to the desire to disguise the place of printing, but to cash in on the commercial reputation of Antwerp, the major typographical centre of the Southern Netherlands. The city of Brussels was not acclaimed at that time for printing in the Italian language.⁵⁸ Astonishingly, the Elzevier family usurped the Brussels address – not the Antwerp address – of Jan van Meerbeeck for their pirate edition published in Leiden in 1632.⁵⁹ Be that as it may, Jan van Meerbeeck was not the only Brussels printer who had to deal with the Council of Brabant during the seventeenth century. Several of his colleagues, namely Jan Mommaert, Martin van Bossuyt and Philippe Vleugaert, were also investigated, for the printing of books without a privilege or books suspected of heresy, and for the sale of defamatory booklets.⁶⁰

It is important to note that Jan van Meerbeeck remained on good terms with Puteanus, the editor of the *Relationi*. Indeed, in a letter of 17 May 1631, the royal historiographer did not fail to praise his intelligence and qualities as a printer to the mathematician Michael Florent van Langren, explaining in passing that they remained in personal contact.⁶¹ It is incidentally quite probable that the printing of the *De longitudinum diorthosi*, in which Puteanus expounds the theories of Van Langren on the calculation of longitudes, was entrusted to Jan van Meerbeeck.⁶²

Jan van Meerbeeck's last known printing is his republication of the *De Sacramento Matrimonii Tractatus* by the Spanish theologian Basilio Ponce de León on behalf of Jan Pepermans and François Vivien in 1632.⁶³ Jan van

58 Renaud Adam, 'Le livre italien à Bruxelles. 1500–1650', in Renaud Adam and Chiara Lastraioli (eds.), *Itinéraires du livre italien à la Renaissance. Suisse romande, anciens Pays-Bas et Liège* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019), pp. 127–158.

59 Appendix, no. 64.

60 Vincent, 'La typographie bruxelloise aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles', pp. 19–20. The years 1680–1690 were incidentally marked by a resurgence of activities by the 'book police' in the Spanish Low Countries. See: Renaud Adam and Laurence Meunier, 'Une enquête de police dans les milieux du livre à Bruxelles en avril 1689', *Histoire et civilisation du livre*, 14 (2018), pp. 53–64.

61 Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, Ms. 19837–38, f. 32r: 'Meerbeeck is wel de beste die den breif soude konnen drucken, hy is selve geleert, ende is hier. Voor eenyge dagen by my geweest'.

62 Appendix, no. 52.

63 Appendix, no. 47. The stock was shared between the two printers, each having affixed his name on the title-page (copy in François Vivien's name: Paris, BnF, D-2318; copy in Jan Pepermans' name: Munich, BSB, 2 J.can.p. 198 e).

Meerbeek had obtained a twelve-year privilege for this text on 28 August 1627 and had printed it immediately thereafter.⁶⁴ He had even written a dedication to King Philip IV that was placed on the verso of the title-page. The USTC reports the existence of this edition being undertaken also in 1624 but without being able to localise a copy.⁶⁵ This edition seems to me to be dubious; Jan van Meerbeek had obtained his privilege in 1627 and had described his edition of 1632 as *Editio secunda*.

‘Jan Meerbeek tot Brussel debet diverse boecken’: Meerbeek’s in the Book Trade

If there still remains a largely fallow field in the history of the book in Brussels, it is unquestionably that pertaining to the distribution and sale of books. Few studies have been dedicated to the stock available in Brussels bookshops and stalls.⁶⁶ The main reason for this is the deficiency of documentary material and the absence of a systematic inventory of provenance records for the early modern period.

In the case of Jan van Meerbeek, some information has nonetheless been harvested. His name is mentioned in the accounts of the Plantin-Moretus firm from 16 August 1623 to 17 March 1628.⁶⁷ Whereas his appearances are regular during the first two years, they become less and less frequent thereafter. First, Jan van Meerbeek bought books from the *Officina Plantiniana* to stock his new shop in Brussels. Thus, during the year 1623, he acquired some forty works on various subjects: a *Cruydt-boeck* (herbal) by Rembert Dodoens, one by

64 Appendix, no. 22.

65 USTC 1508865. Appendix, no. 60.

66 On this topic, see: Claude Sorgeloos, ‘Les réseaux commerciaux de Guillaume Fricx, imprimeur et libraire à Bruxelles (1705–08)’, in Renaud Adam, Ann Kelders, Claude Sorgeloos and David Shaw (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. 1–37; Claude Sorgeloos, ‘Travaux et clients de Guillaume Fricx, imprimeur et libraire à Bruxelles (1705–1708)’, *In Monte Artium. Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium*, 6 (2013), pp. 141–166; Renaud Adam, ‘Le commerce du livre à Bruxelles au XVI^e siècle’, *Histoire et civilisation du livre. Revue internationale*, 14 (2018), pp. 37–51; Id., ‘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.

67 Antwerp, MPM, Arch. 132, f. 130; 230, ff. 151r, 180v, 205v; 231, ff. 3r, 81r, 139r; 232, f. 152r; 233, ff. 25r, 112r, 164v, 189v; 234, f. 5v; 235, 34r.

Ambroise Paré, two copies of the *Declarationes Concili Tridentini*, a breviary for Cistercian use and also an epistolary collection by Erycius Puteanus. Jan van Meerbeeck presented his own publications to the Plantin-Moretus firm beginning in 1624, including the *Governo de la cavalleria ligera* by Giorgio Basta, seven copies of the *Historia* by Antonio Carnero, as well as six copies of the *Stemmata Principum Belgii* by Aubertus Miraeus.⁶⁸ Jan van Meerbeeck, however, was not an important client of the Plantin-Moretuses, like his colleagues Jean Léonard and Jan Mommaert.⁶⁹

Jan van Meerbeeck's business networks were not limited merely to his contacts with the *Officina Plantiniana*. An interesting passage from documents recounting the lawsuit with *Contador* Carnero, mentioned above, reveals that some copies of his book were sent 'to merchants, both within and beyond the country, either by payments or by exchanges'.⁷⁰ The book business was then based on financial transactions, often managed by letters of exchange, as well as by barter.⁷¹ In the absence of archives, the study of extant copies of Jan van Meerbeeck's publications gives us an idea of the geographic dissemination of his imprints. Those held at the Royal Library of Belgium refer in particular to prominent local clients: Carolus van den Bosch (1597–1665), bishop of Bruges, the Benedictines of Affligem, the canons of Red Cloister in the Sonian Forest, the Carthusians of Sint-Martens-Bos, the Jesuits and Carmelites of Brussels and also the Premonstratensians of Grimbergen.⁷²

Specifically, in the case of the *Historia de las guerras civiles* by Carnero, more than one hundred copies are preserved in Belgium, Germany, Austria, Denmark, Spain, the American continent, Great Britain, Italy, the Czech Republic, the Netherlands, Portugal and the Vatican. Among all these copies, only a small number bear a mark of contemporary provenance. These provenances give a glimpse of a varied and international clientele, namely, the Jesuits of Antwerp and Louvain, a Madrid resident named Pedro de la Mora, the Carthusian house of Santa María de las Cuevas in Andalusia, the Imperial librarian Sebastian Tengnagel (1574–1636), and also the French Councillor

68 Antwerp, MPM, Arch. 231, f. 81r; 232, f. 152r; 233, f. 25r; 234, f. 5v.

69 In particular for the 1620s–1630s, see: Antwerp, MPM, Arch. 132, ff. 67, 97, 116, 135, 143, 156, 168, 178, 185, 195.

70 Brussels, State Archives, Spanish Privy Council, 1277, 244.2: 'et les restants sont par eulx envoyez a leurs marchants tant au pais que dehors tant en payement eschange que aultrement'.

71 More details in: Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 261–280; Malcom Walsby, *L'imprimé en Europe occidentale, 1470–1680* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2019), pp. 55–88.

72 Brussels, KBR, G 1.948 A, VB 6.434 A 4, VB 8.509/1 A, VB 9.443 C 1, VB 10.257 A, VB 10.378 B.

of State Guillaume Marescot (1567–1643).⁷³ The catalogue of the library of Adriaan Pauw (1585–1653), Grand Pensionary of Holland, also provides information about a copy of this work.⁷⁴ Pauw also owned the *De Sacramento Matrimonii Tractatus* by Ponce de Léon.⁷⁵ Other auction catalogues confirm the dissemination of Jan van Meerbeeck's books in the Dutch Republic, like that of the Amsterdam bookseller Pieter Niellius (1658), which listed a copy of the *Gobierno de la cavalleria ligera* and another of the *Historia de la fundacion y discurso de la provincia, de Santiago de Mexico* by Agustin Dávila Padilla.⁷⁶ It is unnecessary to list many other examples to indicate that the distribution area of Jan van Meerbeeck's imprints was not limited to a geographic locale but included the Dutch Republic, the German Habsburg lands, France and the Hispanic world, in Iberia as in New Spain.

Conclusion

This study of the bookseller-printer Jan van Meerbeeck allows us to illustrate the pinnacle of the book trade in Brussels during the reign of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. Thus, the printers in the city contributed fully to the dissemination of texts in the service of the Catholic Reformation of the Low Countries, whether by the diffusion of works of local or Spanish devotional works, or by the printing of political polemic favourable to the interests of the Habsburg dynasty. If the authorities took a positive view of these publications, they did not hesitate, however, to supervise the activities of the publishers closely, as we are reminded by the visit to Jan van Meerbeeck's workshop in 1629 concerning the publication of the *Relationi* by Bentivoglio. Be that as it may, Jan van Meerbeeck, like all his colleagues, can certainly be counted among the numerous agents of Catholic reform in service of the rulers of the Habsburg Netherlands. The nature of his interpersonal relationships in this sense also highlights Van Meerbeeck's proximity to the archducal entourage.

73 Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, K 7341 [S2-772 a]; Brussels, KBR, VH 26.351 C; Lyon, BM, 105297; Madrid, Biblioteca del Universidad Complutense, Facultad de Filología, Res.1097; Sevilla, Biblioteca General del Universidad, A 171/156; Vienna, ÖNB, *48.C.66. I would like to thank all the curators whom I contacted for their kindness and for their answers.

74 *Catalogus omnium librorum & manuscriptorum bibliothecae ... Adriani Pauw* (The Hague: G. Regnault, 1654), p. 300.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

76 *Catalogus variorum, insignum, rarioumque in quavis facultate materia & lingua librorum, officinae Petri Niellii* (Amsterdam: P. Niellius, 1658), f. 03v.

Unfortunately, it is clear that the biography of this printer still involves numerous grey areas. His career, however, is classic, with a period of apprenticeship with an Antwerp printer and then with a bookseller at Aalst. He then obtained a permission to set up for himself before opening his own printing house. Adriaan van Meerbeeck seems to have played an important role, even though the scope of his participation remain quite difficult to pinpoint with precision. Could he be compared to a sort of publishing editor before his time? As a printer established in Brussels, Jan van Meerbeeck did not lose sight of the book trade and seems to have benefited from extensive local and international networks. Ultimately, the numerous questions that still surround his biographical record are an invitation to pursue research regarding the ecosystem of the Brussels book trade and to extend considerably our understanding of this remarkable city of the book.

Appendix – Jan van Meerbeeck's Output, Arranged Chronologically

Abbreviations used

| | |
|--|---|
| BB | Ferdinand Vander Haeghen, <i>Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas</i> (2nd ed., 7 vols., Brussels: Culture et civilisations, 1964–1975) |
| BnF | National Library of France, Paris |
| BSB | Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich |
| Bellany, Cogswell, <i>The Murder of</i> <i>King James I</i> | Alastair Bellany and Thomas Cogswell, <i>The Murder of King James I</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015) |
| Bingen, Philausone | Nicole Bingen, <i>Philausone (1500–1660). Répertoire des ouvrages en langue italienne publiés dans les pays de langue française de 1500 à 1660</i> (Geneva: Droz, 1994) |
| Hendrix, 1992 | G. Hendrix, <i>Bibliotheca auctorum traductorum et scriptorum Ordinis Cisterciensis. Vicariatus Generalis Belgii</i> (Leuven: KUL Faculteit Godgeleerdheid Bibliotheek, 1992) |
| KBR | Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels |
| MPM | Museum Plantin Moretus, Antwerp |
| Peeters-Fontainas | Jean Peeters-Fontainas, <i>Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas méridionaux</i> (2 vols., Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1965) |
| STCV | <i>Short Title Catalogue Flanders</i> , online: < www.stcv.be > |
| USTC | <i>Universal Short Title Catalogue</i> , online: < https://www.ustc.ac.uk > |
| Visch, BSC | Carolus de Visch, <i>Bibliotheca scriptorum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis</i> (Cologne: J. Busaeus, 1656) |

1624

- [1] Giorgio Basta, *Gobierno de la cavalleria ligera* (trad. Pedro Pardo Rivadeneyra), 4^o, 230 p. [§⁴ *² 2*⁴ A-2C⁴ 2D²] (Peeters-Fontainas 106; STCV 6647263; USTC 1003818).
- [2] *Les Chevaliers confreres de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or vivans presentement a la fin de l'an M.DC.XXIV*, 1^o (Brussels, KBR, LP 12.476 C 14).
- [3] Crisostomo Henriquez, *Corona sacra de la religion cisterciense, en que se refieren las heroycas virtudes de algunas reynas, infantas y princesas sanctas de la orden de N.P.S. Bernardo*, 4^o, 305 p. [§⁴ 2§² A-2T⁴] (Peeters-Fontainas 373; USTC 1435791).
- [4] Guillermo Espallart, *Triumpho del amor divino en que se trata de la reparacion del genero humano por la muerte de Christo*, 8^o, 272 p. [*⁸ A-Q⁸] (Peeters-Fontainas 396; USTC 1508963).
- [5] Aubertus Miraeus, *Codex donationum piarum, in quo testamenta, codicilli, litterae foundationum, donationum, immunitatum, privilegiorum, & alia piae liberalitatis monumenta, à pontificibus, imperatoribus, regibus, ducibus ac comitibus, in favorem ecclesiarum, praesertim Belgicarum, edita continentur*, 4^o, 392 p. [§-2§⁴ A-3A⁴] (STCV 6597182; USTC 1003124).
- [6] Jan van Ruusbroec, *t'Cieraet der gheestelycker bruyloft [...]. Met het leven ende miraculen des autheurs* (Gabriel van Brussel, ed.), 16^o, 360 p. [*⁸ A-D⁸ E⁴ F-Y⁸] (STCV 3152773; USTC 1002414).
- [7] Richard Verstegan, *Nederduytsche epigrammen ende epitaphien van verscheyden personen en differente saecken, soo wel om te stichten, als den geest te vermaecken*, 4^o, 108 p. [*-2*⁴ 3*² A-L⁴ M²] (STCV 3113918; USTC 1001617).

1625

- [8] Antonio Carnero, *Historia de las guerras civiles que ha avido en los estados de Flandes. Des del año 1559. hasta el de 1609. y las causas de la rebelion de dichos estados*, 2^o, 544 p. [*⁴ A-2V⁶ 2X¹⁰] (Peeters-Fontainas 190; STCV 6647464; USTC 1003827).
- [9] *Les Chevaliers Confrères de l'ordre de la Toison d'or vivant présentement à la fin de l'an 1625*, 1^o (USTC 1509089).
- [10] Agustin Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundacion y discurso de la provincia, de Santiago de Mexico, de la Orden de Predicadores por las vidas de sus varones insignes y casos notables de Nueva España*, 2^o, 668 p. [§⁴ A-2I⁶] (Peeters-Fontainas 286; STCV 6694806; USTC 1004474).
- [11] Adriaan van Meerbeeck, *Neder-landtschen Mercurius oft Waerachtich verhael vande geschiedenissen van Nederlandt, ende oock van Duytschlandt, Spaengien, Italien, Vranckrijck ende Turckijen. Sedert den jare 1620. tot 1625. In dry deelen ghedeylt*, 3 parts in 1 vol., 4^o, 168-196-132 p. [(...)⁴ A-I⁴ K⁶ L-T⁴ V²; π² A-2A⁴; π² A-E⁴ 2A-2B⁴ C¹ 3A-3E⁴ 4A⁴ (...)⁴ 2(...)⁴] (STCV 3119959; USTC 1001714).

1626

- [12] Bridget of Sweden, *Het leven vande H. Birgitta prinsesse van Neritien*, 12°, 196 p. [(...)⁴ A–G¹² H¹⁰] (STCV 6906185; USTC 1005339).
- [13] Crisostomo Henriquez, *Guilielmus Aquitanus cist. liber apologeticus. Quo ostenditur S. Guilielmum benedictinum cisterciensem, non augustinianum fuisse*, 8°, 266 p. [A–K⁸ L⁴] (STCV 6858797; USTC 1005115).
- [14] Id., *Phoenix reviviscens sive Ordinis cisterciensis scriptorum Angliae et Hispaniae series libri II*, 4°, 488 p. [*–3^{*4}, A–3M⁴] (USTC 1509209).
- [15] Aubertus Miraeus, *Stemmata Principum Belgii, ex diplomatibus ac tabulis publicis potissimum concinnata*, 8°, 272 p. [§⁸ A–Q⁸] (STCV 6647570; USTC 1003831).
- [16] Baldassarre Nardi, *Triumphus invictissimo heroi Ambrosio Spinolae Balbatiae Marchioni Aurei Velleris Equiti*, 4°, 168 p. [ã⁴ e⁴ î⁴ ô⁴ u⁴ A–Q⁴] (Peeters-Fontainas 822; STCV 6647239; USTC 1003817).
- [17] Antonius Sanderus, *Funus Simonis Kerchovii*, 8°, 72 p. [A–D⁸ E⁴] (STCV 6671318; USTC 1004092).
- [18] Petrus Silvius, *Vita S. Guilielmi eremite et confessoris, nec non primicerii ordinis guilielmitarum*, 8°, 250 p. [§⁴ A–O⁸ P⁴ ...⁶] (STCV 6858791; USTC 1005114).
- [19] Franciscus Theophilus, *Fundamentum christianae fidei sive Catechismus scripturis et brevi comentario explicatus*, 8°, 288 p. [(***)⁴ A–R⁸ S⁴] (STCV 12919306; USTC 1509163).
- [20] [Urbanus VIII], [1623 08 08] *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, 4°, 24 p. [A–C⁴] (Brussels, KBR, II 16.566 A 8).

1627

- [21] Boudewijn de Jonge, *Theatrum principum sanctorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, 2 parts in 1 vol., 4°, 112–252 p. [π⁴ A–N⁴; π² A–2H⁴] (STCV 6646778; USTC 1003814).
- [22] Basilio Ponce de León, *De Sacramento Matrimonii Tractatus*, sumptibus Parentum, 2°, 922 p. [*⁴, A–4G⁶] (STCV 12920500; USTC 1509488).
- [23] Petrus Silvius, *Het leven van Sinte Guilielmus Hertoghe van Quitanien*, 12°, 358 p. [...¹² (...)² A–N¹² O¹⁰] (STCV 3140553; USTC 1002273).
- [24] Joannes van Waesberghe, *Gerardi-Montium sive Altera imperialis Flandriae metropolis eiusque castellania*, 4°, 264 p. [§⁴ A–2I⁴] (STCV 6647869; USTC 1003840).

1628

- [25] *Billet van decrete vanden heerlycheden van Mercxem ende Dambrugge met henne toebehoorten*, 1°, 1 p. (STCV 12920358).

- [26] Christophe de Bonours, *Le memorable siege d'Ostende, decrit, et divisé en douze livres*, 4°, 720 p. [ã⁴ A–3V⁴] (STCV 6652686; USTC 1003895).
- [27] Laurentius van Beneden, *Het leven van de gloriose ende heyliche vrouwe Anna*, 8°, 368 p. [†⁸ A–Y⁸] (STCV 6910937; USTC 1005359).
- [28] Petrus vander Goes, *Dissertatio iuris pro domino Petro vander Goes appellante contra D. Johannem Baptistam vander Goes & consortes intimatos*, 4°, 36 p. [A–D⁴ E²] (Brussels, KBR, LP 12.208/200/8 A).
- [29] José de Jesús María [Francesco Quiroga], *Historia de la vida y virtudes del venerable P.F. Juan de la Cruz*, 4°, 1154 p. [π¹ ã⁴ e⁴ §–2§⁴ 3§² A–7A⁴ 7B²] (Peeters-Fontainas 63; STCV 12915217; USTC 1035457).
- [30] Boudewijn de Jonge, *Tuba concionatorum, seu Collationum ignearum centuria XIII. de SS. Vincentio Valentino, Catharina Senensi, Antonino archiepiscopo Florentino*, 8°, 448 p. [§⁴ A–2D⁸ 2E⁴] (STCV 12917639).
- [31] Jean-Baptiste Lambrechts, *Theatrum regium sive Regum Aragoniae, brevis series et compendiosa narratio. Varias illius regni historias complectens*, 2°, 48 p. [ã⁴ a–c⁶ d²] (STCV 6599794; USTC 1003164).
- [32] Jean-Baptiste Lambrechts, *Theatrum regium sive Regum Hispaniae series et compendiosa narratio. Varias illius regni historias complectens*, 2°, 196 p. [*⁸ A–N⁶ O⁶ (O¹ + χO^{2.3}) P⁴] (STCV 6599716; USTC 1003162).
- [33] Jean-Baptiste Lambrechts, *Theatrum regium sive Regum Navarrae, brevis series et compendiosa narratio. Varias illius regni historias complectens*, 2°, 24 p. [A^{4.2} A⁶ B²] (STCV 6599783; USTC 1003163).
- [34] Jean-Baptiste Lambrechts, *Theatrum regium sive Regum Portugalliae, brevis series et compendiosa narratio. Varias illius regni historias complectens*, 2°, 42 p. [ã⁴ a–b⁶ (b⁶ + χb^[5] 6) c²] (STCV 6599802; USTC 1003165).
- [35] Joannes van Waesberghe, *Gerardi-Montium sive Altera imperialis Flandriae metropolis eiusque castellania*, 4°, 262 p. [§⁴ A–2I⁴] (USTC 1509561).

1629

- [36] Jean de Marnix, *Resolutions politiques ou maximes d'estat. Avec des amples additions du mesme authheur nouvellement adioustées à la fin de chaque resolution*, 2 parts in 1 vol., 2°, 608 p. [(...)-2(...)² A–3D⁶] (STCV 6937944; USTC 1005447).
- [37] Guido Bentivoglio, *Relazioni in tempo delle sue nuntiate di Fiandra, e di Francia* (Erycius Puteanus ed.), 2 parts in 1 vol., 2°, 256–192 p. [(...)⁶ 2(...)⁴ A–R⁶ S⁴ T–V⁶; 2A–2Q⁶] (STCV 12914434; USTC 1001516).⁷⁷

77 With an address located in Antwerp. This edition was seized at the printer's house by orders of the Council of Brabant. Meerbeeck published a second issue in 1629 using the false imprint of 'Colonia, Nicolaa Pantino' to avoid further problems (Bingen, *Phillausone*, 88a).

1630

- [38] Claude Chappuisot, *Copiae & memoriae ex ipsis autographis desumpta, a fide dignis viris subscriptae & sigillos munitae, quibus constat de vita, moribus, eruditione, capacitate, et sufficientia*, 8°, 24 p. [A–C⁸] (USTC 1035851).
- [39] Id., *Laudatio funebris in Maximi, Potentissimi, & Catholici Principis Alberti Archiducis Austriae, Ducis Brabantiae, Comitis Burgundiae. &c. funere habita*, 12°, 46 p. [(p)¹ A¹² B¹⁰] (USTC 1035850).
- [40] [D.F.H.R.], *Ratos Ociosos dedicados al Vulgo*, 8°, 280 p. [†⁸, A–R⁸] (Peeters-Fontainas 1099; USTC 1509997).
- [41] Crisostomo Henriquez, *Compendio de la vida del Illustre Señor Don Juan de Vendevilla consejero de Su Magestad Catholica en el Consejo Privado de Flandes*, 4°, 48 p. [A–F⁴] (Peeters-Fontainas 372; USTC 1509896).

[c.1630]

- [42] Marcus (Mastelijn) Mastelinus, *Necrologium monasterii Viridis Vallis Ordinis Canoniorum Regularium S. Augustini congregationis Lateranensis, & capituli Windezemensis, in nemore Zoniae prope Bruxellam*, 4°, 176 p. [A–Y⁴] (STCV 12921548; USTC 1436297).

1631

- [43] Pedro Bivero, *Cantico glorioso Cantemus Domino gloriosé. Exod. 15*, 4°, 72 p. [†² A–H⁴ I²] (USTC 5031377).
- [44] *De civitate, territorio, iurisdictione aliisque locis de Weert. Dissertatio iuris pro illustrissima d. Magdalena d'Egmont, Principe de Chimay, vidua illustrissimi D. Alexandri de Croy d'Arenberche, Principis de Chimay*, 4°, 76 p. [A–I⁴ K²] (Brussels, KBR, Cl. 11.039 A).
- [45] Paulus Fabri, *Passie ende lyden ons heeren Iesu Christi, naer die vier evangelisten wtgeleyt*, 8°, 492 p. [†⁶ A–C⁸ (–C⁸) D–R⁸ S⁸ (S² + ã²) T–2G⁸] (STCV 3205420; USTC 1002565).
- [46] Martin Le Brun, *Recueil de la vie de Saint Adrien, martyr glorieux Patron de Grand-Mont, et de Madame S. Natalie sa compagne. A l'instance des confreres & pelerins*, 8°, 204 p. [*⁸ A–L⁸ M⁶] (Brussels, KBR, VH 25.416 A).

1632

- [47] Basilio Ponce de León, *De Sacramento Matrimonii Tractatus*, joint edition with Jan Pepermans and François Vivien, 2°, 918 p. [*⁴ (*⁴) A–⁴G⁶] (USTC 1510401).

Attributed**1626**

- [48] Richardus Attonitus, *Veritas odiosa. Fragmenta varia colloquii. Machiaueli et Mercurii*. 1626. [s.l., s.n.], 8° (Bellany, Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I*, p. 154–156).
- [49] George Eglisam, *Prodromus vindictae in duces Buckinghamiae, pro virulenta caede potentissimi Magnae Britanniae regis Iacobi, nec non marchionis Hamiltonii, ac aliorum, virorum principum*. Frankfurt am Main, [s.n.], 4°, 48 p. [A–F⁴] (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 226 k.46; Bellany, Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I*, p. 151–153).
- [50] Id., *The forerunner of revenge. Upon the Duke of Buckingham, for the poisoning of the most potent King Iames of happy memory King of great Britan, and the Lord Marquis of Hamilton and others of the nobilitie*. Frankfurt am Main, [s.n.], 4°, 22 p. (USTC 3012847; Bellany, Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I*, pp. 152–153).
- [51] *Secretissima instructio, gallo-britanno-batava, Friderico V. palatino electori data*. [s.l., s.n.], 4° (Bellany, Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I*, p. 156–157).

1631

- [52] Eurycius Puteanus, *De longitudinum diorthosi Michaelae Florentio Langreno, mathematico regio, anno 1628 Bruxellae inventa, ad Saxonem a Finia, V.N. Regi catholico in conc. status et arcano a secretis, epistola*, 8°, 8 p. [A⁸] (BB IV 797 P 247; USCT 1004794).

Lost editions or not located**1623**

- [53] Crisostomo Henriquez, *Constantiam catholicam, libros duos*, 1623 (Visch, *BSC*, p. 66; Hendrix, 1992, p. 185, n° 37).

1624

- [54] *Association du petit chapelet de douze Ave Maria, autrement de la Couronne des douze Estoilles pour obtenir de la bonté divine l'extirpation de l'heresie et du Vice et la Grâce de bien mourir*, 12°, 48 p. (USTC 1119238).
- [55] *Court et facile exercice tendant en particulier à promouvoir l'usage du petit chapelet de douze Ave Maria et en general utile pour accroistre le service de la glorieuse Vierge*, 12°, 17 p. (USTC 1119241).
- [56] Crisostomo Henriquez, *Bernardum Immaculatum libros duos*, 8° (Visch, *BSC*, p. 67; Hendrix, 1992, p. 184, n° 23).
- [57] Id., *Effigies Reginarum, & Infantum jam memoratarum, cum annotationibus hispanicis* (Visch, *BSC*, p. 66–67; Hendrix, 1992, p. 184, n° 17.1).

- [58] Id., *Relatio ad Serenissimos Principes Austriacae domus, de servitijs quae in Anglia fecit, tribulationibus, & damnis quae pertulit, periculis in quae incidit, deque libris quos scripsit pro illustratione honoris, & defensione iuris dictae domus, & Hispanicae coronae*, 12° (Visch, *BSC*, p. 68; Hendrix, 1992, p. 185, n° 32).
- [59] Id., *Triunfo del amor de Dios*, 8° (Visch, *BSC*, p. 67; Hendrix 1992, p. 185, n° 39).
- [60] Basilio Ponce de León, *De Sacramento Matrimonii Tractatus* (USTC 1508865) [dubious].

1626

- [61] Crisostomo Henriquez, *Vitas sanctorum Patrum Eremi Dunensis, libros duos*, 4° (Visch, *BSC*, p. 67).
- [62] *Visio Algarazabel super revolutione politica. Anni 1626*, [s.l., s.n.] (Antwerp, MPM, Arch. 233, fol. 189v).

1626–1627

- [63] Crisostomo Henriquez, *Lilia Cistercii sive Sacrarum vigimum cisterciensium origo, instituta, et res gestae*, 3 vols., 2° (Visch, *BSC*, p. 67–68).

Usurpation**1632**

- [64] Guido Bentivoglio, *Relationi*, [i.e. Leyden: B. & A. Elzevier], 8°, 512 p. [*8 A–2H⁸] (Bingen, *Philausone*, 89a; USTC 1007661).

