2 The Wider Context of the Title Page: Development, Production and Social Relevance

For the interpretation of title pages a deeper understanding of the history of the medium is necessary. Understanding the medium's historicity explains certain idiosyncrasies and prevents misconstructions and misunderstandings about technical necessities: problems arise if these necessities are understood as stylistic choices while being mainly tied to the production process. The history of the illustrated title page and other book illustration is closely linked to bigger changes in book production and does not only depend on aesthetic or stylistic decisions. This chapter traces the general development of a title page, before looking at the production of title pages in Rubens's case. This means an introduction to the workshops of Balthasar I Moretus and the Galles as far as is possible, and Rubens involvement with them. The last part of the chapter concerns the influence that books had on early modern society, in order to provide the context for the books for which Rubens designed and their readers.

2.1 The Development of the Early Modern Illustrated Title Page

Rubens only illustrated title pages, i.e. the first page of a book that indicates what the book is about, by whom it was written und who printed it. The historical development of the title page needs to be sketched quickly in order to define the terminology used in this dissertation. For calling the illustrated first page a "title page" is historically incorrect. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, "frontispiece" was commonly used as an umbrella term for either an image facing the title page or an illustrated title page itself, while "title page" was commonly not yet used as a term.[1]

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[1] Steinberg 1996, p. 13. This usage is particularly evident in the letters from the publisher Balthasar Moretus to his authors or to the engraver Cornelis Galle. Cf. section 2.2.

"Frontispiece" is often used in the same sense today, but it is necessary to differentiate between these two terms as a "title page" fulfils different functions than a "frontispiece". A frontispiece, in the sense I use it here, only carries the short title, if it carries a title at all, and no other information, and it is placed opposite the title page on the verso. In contrast to the frontispiece, the title page shows the title of the book and usually the author, the publisher or printer and the year of the publication.[2] Sometimes further information deemed necessary is put on the title page, such as the religious order of the author or information about the edition. The title page is the beginning of a work and it is usually found on the recto. The only other page before the title page might be a bastard title on the recto before the actual title page, and the recto following it would be the beginning of the text, often a letter to the reader or the dedication.[3]

The title page as a distinct paratextual phenomenon developed with the change from copying manuscripts to book printing in the fifteenth century.[4] In medieval manuscript production the title page was non-existent: generally, manuscripts started with the incipit. The incipit is not a title page but constitutes the straightforward beginning of the text on the first page, although more luxurious manuscripts could form an exception to that rule.[5] The information later provided on the printed books' title pages was usually contained in the colophon of a manuscript, i.e. at the end of the book. There the scribe mentioned his name and/or the date when he finished copying the manuscript, as well as a short note about the content of the written text.[6] As Margaret Smith convincingly argues, the appearance of the title page in the last quarter of the fifteenth century is closely linked with the production processes involved, specifically through the mass production of books. In her study, Smith looks at the treatment of the first pages in a book in a fifteen percent sample of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* and distinguishes between four ways of treatment:

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[2] In her study of the very early title pages of the incunabula period, Ursula Rautenberg defines the title page as a separate leaf at the beginning of the book which contains information about the work and the author. By the seventeenth century, however, a title page was already expected to also showcase the publisher, place and year of printing. Rautenberg 2016, p. 166.

[3] De Vinne differentiates between the half title and the bastard title. The half title follows the title and was once put over each chapter of the book. De Vinne 1904, p. 130, fn. 1.

[4] In his structuralist study of books literary theorist Gérard Genette coined the term "paratext" that was used to subsume all devices and conventions that mediate the book to its reader. Genette explicitly states that he is not concerned with the evolution of forms—the history of paratextuality—the vocabulary and the categories of his study are often indiscriminately taken to describe any historical form of "paratextual" matter, be it part of the epi- or the peritext. Several issues arise when the early modern book is taken into account: One is the focus on the author and the insistence on the power of the author to determine paratextual matter; another is the focus of the text as a carrier of meaning thus confusing the various media in operation in illustrated books. Genette 1997. Cf. also Lang 2012, p. 73 for a critique on Genette.

[5] One example are the sumptuous humanistic manuscripts associated with the Florentine manuscript entrepreneur Vespasiano da Bisticci. The title pages of these were, however, very often located on a verso. M. M. Smith 2000, pp. 32–33.

[6] Frese sees the classical tradition as well as a Christian *humilitas* responsible for this kind of bibliographical identification: Frese 1989, p. 10.

incipit and text; blank page or leaf; title; other means of beginning a book.[7] When books started to be printed instead of copied, the practice of the incipit and the colophon was continued at first, but within decades several distinct beginnings of a book began to appear.

The incipit and colophon still featured widely among the various solutions for beginning a book in the mid-fifteenth century, although the practice decreased towards the end of this century. At the same time, blank pages were introduced at the beginning of a book; their use peaked in 1484, after which these blanks became less common.[8] For Smith, the insertion of blank pages was an early response to mass production: in order to separate single copies which were produced simultaneously, a blank page was inserted—a problem that the single scribe, producing only one copy at a time, had not had. In this new production process, the blank page separated one copy from the other, while at the same time protecting the copies between the printing process and the binding of the book, which was usually done after buying.[9] To identify the stacks of paper, short labels were soon put on the blank pages to identify the books, thus answering a need raised by the new production process in which many copies, and potentially even several titles, were produced at the same time.[10]

More and more information crept onto these originally blank pages, not only typographical information but also decoration, either by a decorative layout of the page, or by woodcuts. As Smith was not able to identify a preferred method of decorating early title pages, it seems that the early printers in the fifteenth century experimented with various means to promote their books and themselves: the design of the title page could include colours, borders, printer's marks and woodcut illustrations.[11] In the last decade of the fifteenth century, the incipit, the blank page, or a separate title page, were equally often used to introduce books, but title pages were on the rise.[12] A different, sociological take on the development of the title page is offered by Sigfrid Steinberg, in that for him the title page was necessitated by the separation of the two professions of printer and publisher, previously one and the same.[13] Certainly the decoration on the title page could be the result of the establishment of publishing companies, but the technical argument provided by Margaret Smith is very compelling and explains the title page's existence. However, the history of the title page is strongly connected to the history of printing, and in the sixteenth century a book was expected to be introduced by a title page, although its decorative elements could vary. The title pages which are of interest to this study are engraved on copper plates, with the letters also engraved. But the design of a title page can also be decorated by the means of typography with colours and fonts, or can have other decorative elements like borders.

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[7] M. M. Smith 2000, ch. 3.

[8] Ibid., ch. 3. Ursula Rautenberg affirms these findings in: Rautenberg 2008 and Rautenberg 2016, p. 166ff. Although the process was similar both north and south of the Alps, it took place ten years later in Venice, in the 1490s. Ibid., p. 166.

[9] M. M. Smith 2000, p. 17.

[10] Ibid., p. 16.

[11] Ibid., p. 22.

[12] Ibid., p. 51.

[13] Steinberg 1996, p. 61.

Although Rubens's title pages were later often used as frontispieces, he never designed a frontispiece in the sense of the term as I use it here, i.e. as a separate image opposite the title and without all the necessary information.[14] Rubens's later title pages for religious matters often looked like frontispieces, as the title succinctly played a lesser role in the image. Nevertheless, even these title pages still retained all the necessary information, as defined above, in a title page. At most Rubens's religious title pages can be seen as a step in the development to the fashionable frontispieces of the late seventeenth century.

Functions of Title Pages

The many functions of the title page influenced its appearance: they could be economical, informational, thus could have to do with protection of the text block or the advertising of the work, or they could be of a social nature.[15] While all functions can be present, the emphasis can shift to specific functions. A title page that mainly prevented the text block from becoming smudged during the printing does look different than one made to please an important patron or potential buyers, one that connected the book with the patron and appealed to him specifically, either in text or in image. If the title page was an advertisement it would need to include clear references to the genre of the book, the author, the printer or the city which it was to advertise.[16] For Dekoninck the appealing function of a title page is its principal function, acting like a shop window and offering a sample of the contents of the book.[17] In the same way, the title page could act as a summary of the book enforcing the summary usually provided by the lengthy titles.[18] Additionally, the illustrated title page offered the buyer the possibility to assess a title immediately through an imagery that clearly indicated the genre of the book. The illustration could address the reader also explicitly and even act in terms of the "Letter to the Reader" which an early modern book invariably had. All these functions of the title page influenced its appearance.

Another great influence on the appearance and functions of a title page was its size, which often depended on the format of the book. The format influenced the use of the book and the kind of title page that should be considered for it. Small octavo formats did not often have engraved title pages, they were conceived to be convenient and functional, but not necessarily carriers of an elevated status.[19] The information on the small title pages was concise and limited, and often only accompanied by the printer's device. This device was of some importance, be it for Aldus or for other printers, as it acted as a brand and was a guarantee of authenticity.[20]

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[14] The term frontispiece is used differently in the various languages: in German the engraved title page is sometimes called "Frontispiz" and sometimes "Titelkupfer", cf. Frese 1989. In Italian "frontespizo" is used for title pages, while the frontispiece is the "antiporta". Elmqvist Söderlund 2010, p. 8. Even today "frontispiece" can be used as an umbrella term meaning both.

[15] M. M. Smith 2000; Febvre et al. 1998; Kintzinger 1995; Frese 1989; Samek Ludovici 1974; Goldschmidt 1966.

[16] Cf. Frese 1989, for printing vedute on title pages.

[17] Dekoninck 2011, p. 72.

[18] Titles not only summed up the book's content, but also indicated its usefulness for a specific audience, field of knowledge or market sector. Cf. Cormack et al. 2005, p. 49; Frese 1989; Donat 1966.

Book illustrations will not be dealt with if not necessary for the discussion of a specific title page, as they fulfil different functions than title pages. Illustrations engage directly with the text: due to their positioning within the text block they can, for instance, add something to the text to make it more comprehensive, or visually emphasise a specific part of it. Their functions depend to a greater measure on the genre of the book; illustrations in botanical works were expected to be different than, for instance, those in religious texts. And finally, book publishers seem to have differentiated between illustrations and title pages in illustrating techniques and material.[21]

The Early Illustrated Title Page: Woodcut Solutions

In the sixteenth century, three basic means were possible to consider for the publisher to illustrate a title page: handmade illumination, relief printing (xylography or woodcut), or intaglio printing (copperplate engraving or etching). Of these, illumination continued for some time in the incunabula period, but slowly abated. Left was the colouring-in of the printed illustrations in order to get a particularly beautiful copy, although colouring on paper was a difficult undertaking.[22] However, this way of decorating a book was time-consuming, expensive, and only decorated one very special book for an important patron rather than the whole edition. For the decoration of a whole edition, using woodcut was certainly the cheapest and easiest option: wood was a relatively cheap and readily available material; many imprints were possible until the wood was worn down; and the process of printing was faster and easier than the process of drawing or the intaglio printing techniques, because a woodcut could be printed together with the type.

Frames made of single printing blocks are among the first woodcut decorations used for title pages. These were not made for a specific book, but were stock material and could be set together from single elements in order to accommodate different book sizes. They probably developed from decorative vignettes or lines put together by the printer and were enlarged and decorated more sumptuously over time. The woodcut frames made the books more appealing even if they

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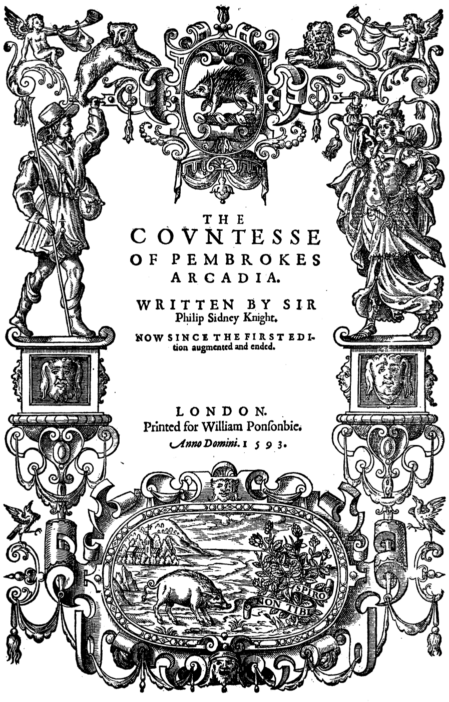
[19] However, the small format series of Aldus Manutius was not the precursor of the cheap pocket book editions of the twentieth century, it was intended for "busy men of affairs", and "the secular intellectuals of Renaissance Europe". Lowry 1979, pp. 142–143.

[20] Rautenberg 2016, p. 171; cf. Wolkenhauer 2002a,b.

[21] Frese, however, observed that illustrated title pages can in a limited way be considered book illustrations: Frese 1989, p. 1.

[22] In contrast to parchment, the paper did not take the colour well. Cf. Rudy 2015, p. 83; also Oltrogge 2009.



THE
COVNTESSE
OF PEMBROKES
ARCADIA.
WRITTEN BY SIR
Philip Sidney Knight.
NOW SINCE THE FIRST EDI-
tion augmented and ended.

LONDON.
Printed for William Ponſonbie.
Anno Domini. 1593.

SPIRO
NON TIBI

Figure 1 – Title page for Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, London: Ponsonbie 1593.

were used in several books; repeated use points towards successful ornamentation. Because of this repeated use, they could also serve as a corporate design for the printer.[23]

Xylographic decoration like frames were possibly the cheapest form of decoration, especially if one considers that they could be used for several publications, would print thousands of copies, and could be set and printed at the same time as the type. The latter part also ensured that the title page design could be controlled within the company by the typesetter and no additional costs for printing would be needed.

Decorative frames became more elaborate in the course of the sixteenth century: floral ornaments were replaced by architectural elements combined with symbols and personifications in the frames that predominated the written elements. Architectural frames on title pages had been used to structure the space into meaningful parts since the sixteenth century. Although it used the architectural language known from existing buildings, from memorials in churches, altars, classical and contemporary, and from triumphal arches, it was an imaginary architecture that offered the means to communicate through its classical decoration, the architectural order, the medallions and cartouches, and the personifications that lived in and around the architectural frame. In the sixteenth century, the title itself was mostly displayed in the centre of this architecture.

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[23] Frese 1989, p. 11.

But other solutions existed, too. In the title page for the 1593 edition of *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* by Sir Philip Sidney, first published in 1590, an elaborate frame with a woodcut border was used for its title page (Fig. 1). This border consists of scrollwork and grotesques, animals, two of the protagonists depicted on the sides, while an emblem in a separate scrollwork frame is shown below. The various elements have structurally no logical or tectonic connection but float around the title set in Antiqua, all typical of the ornamental grotesque.[24] However, even this seemingly random border shows many allusions to the content, the author, and the reader: the two figures on the pedestal allude to the content of the book, the cartouche above, showing a porcupine, is part of Sidney's personal imprese, the bear and the lion next to the cartouche attest to the royal status of Sidney and also allude to the content, while the flanking putti trumpet out his fame, and the emblem on the lower part of the page is addressed at the reader and warns him of being overly critical.[25] The many allusions of the title page cannot be grasped instantly, which makes the reader ponder its imagery more closely. This framing, however, clearly had more functions than only embellishing or even advertising the book. Sidney's work simultaneously offered the reader a way to categorise the book into its genre, while simultaneously advertising the author and not least also the publisher who had produced the book. The author was increasingly advertised in the later title pages for the *Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* by the inclusion of the author's portrait.[26] The extent of the frame had no limit except the page itself, and in order to structure the page, the border changed into an architectural frame such as was used by Rubens occasionally.

Separately printed xylographic title pages, i.e. those made from one piece of woodblock, were sporadically used throughout Europe in the late fifteenth century, and can be seen as a precursor to the copperplate title pages that developed one century later. Xylographic title pages had several advantages: it was possible to design the title page as a whole, which gave the designer complete freedom of where to place the title or images; they also had the advantage that large fonts could be cut, as not every printer had fonts larger than 200mm, and types above 300mm in size are only recorded in rare cases.[27] A great disadvantage was, however, that these title pages could hardly be re-used if their design was too specific, which raised the cost of a single book considerably. These same problems and advantages, practical as well as aesthetic, that applied to xylographic title pages should be considered for copperplate title pages, which fully developed during the late sixteenth century.

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[24] Breyl 2006, p. 15.

[25] For an interpretation of this title page, cf. Ibid., p. 16; Corbett/Lightbown, Frontispiece, p. 58–65; Jean Robertson, *Introduction* in: Jean Robertson (Ed.), *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, Oxford 1973, pp. xlviii–li.

[26] Cf. ibid., ch. 1.

[27] M. M. Smith 2000, p. 118.

Engraved Early Modern Title Pages

The various techniques of intaglio printing had been known since the 1430s and the basic tools and processes of printing have not profoundly changed in the past six centuries.[28] The techniques were either engraving or etching, each specifying the way in which lines were incised into a copper plate. Changes in the processes were usually made in order to be more efficient or because of artistic developments.[29] Almost as soon as new techniques were developed, however, these also found their way into book illustration.[30] Some decisions of the agents in this study cannot be understood without taking the printing processes into account, and a comparison with the options available to these individuals is a good way to see why a specific choice might have been made.

Technical problems with printing intaglio prints together with types held back the development of the intaglio title page, although the first attempts to print letterpress text and engravings together were made in the end of the fifteenth century.[31] By the end of the sixteenth century this was common, however, and the title pages designed by Rubens were usually engraved by the workshop Galle. Not much is known about the family of printers Galle and their workshop practices, but a sketchy image will become visible in the course of these first chapters. However, a look into the engraving technique and the printing process is helpful to understand some of the more intricate problems the publisher faced when decorating his books with engraved title pages.[32]

The Galle workshop was the most renowned in the southern Netherlands during the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries.[33] It was established by Philips Galle, an engraver born, schooled and apprenticed in Haarlem. Between 1557 and 1563 he worked in the service of the publishers Hieronymus Cock and Frans Hogenberg through whom he also came into contact with Abraham Ortelius. From 1563, he established his own workshop in Haarlem, before marrying and moving to Antwerp in 1570. His sons Theodore (1571–1633) and Cornelis (1576–1650) were apprenticed in their father's print shop, as were their brothers-in-law, Adriaen Collaert and Karel de Mallery. In 1598 Theodore married Catherine, daughter of Jan Moretus I, strengthening the business relationship between the two workshops.[34] From 1600 Theodore was in charge of the family workshop and from then on most title pages ordered by Moretus were engraved and printed by the Galle workshop.[35] While little is known about the engravers, almost nothing is known about the printers.[36] From 1558 the printing trade and its related crafts were incorporated into Antwerp's guild of St Luke.[37] That means that both printers and engravers followed the same guild regulations as painters, with apprenticeships of approximately three to four years in Antwerp, a limitation of apprentices, and a general preference for family members in the training of apprentices.[38]

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[28] Febvre et al. 1998, pp. 85–86; Stijnman 2012, p. 24.

[29] Cf. ibid., p. 2. Although Stijnman speaks of intaglio printing here, the same is true for xylography.

[30] Stijnman 2009.

[31] Ibid., p. 44.

[32] The Galles' workshop processes cannot be reconstructed in as much detail as the processes in the Officina Plantiniana, so that a general overview about the printing techniques has to suffice. As much of the technique remained the same this might give enough insight for the moment, but more information and an in-depth study about this printing house is needed.

[33] Philips Galle was mentioned in Guiccardini's *Descrittione di tutti di paesi bassi* of 1567 and Vasari's *Vite* in 1568 . Sellink 2001, p. xxxiii.

[34] Gaehgtens 1977. Wijngaert 1940, pp. 291–297.

In engraving, the process of inking and printing is fundamentally different from relief printing. The technique itself was developed in the fifteenth century in the Upper Rhine area of what is now Germany, and had become fully professional by 1525.[39] Although many metals can be used for the process, copper is still the primary material, as it is dense, homogenous and tough, while not too hard to engrave, and it will not wear visibly in the first hundred prints.[40] A wood block can be inked and printed together with the types as the ink is transferred onto the raised lines with a dabber and then simply pressed onto the paper. With a copper plate, the ink is rubbed into the lines and the impression is made with higher pressure onto paper which is slightly damp so that it can take up the ink from within the lines.[41] This process needs a roller press. If the title was set in type and included an intaglio print, the printer thus had to use two different presses for one and the same page: a roller press for the intaglio print and a block press for the type. A few examples exist in which copper-print borders were placed around typeset words, but these were mostly early experiments. Not only did this double the work that was needed to print these title pages, but the strong print of the text did not harmonise with the thin lines of intaglio printing. [42]

The easiest way, when working with intaglio prints, is to include the letters in the engraving, for which there were specialised engravers.[43] These specialists engraved the text with a burin or used punches, as in geographical maps. The punches were lightly hammered into the plate and the excess metal then scraped off.[44] In the Galle workshop this was a job for the apprentices or the older engravers with dwindling eyesight.[45]

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[35] Imhof 2014, p. xxxiii.

[36] Stijnman 2012, p. 76.

[37] Ibid., p. 83; Van der Stock 1998, pp. 378–384.

[38] Stijnman 2012, p. 83; Büttner 2010; Prak 2006.

[39] Stijnman 2012., ch. 1, esp. p. 24.

[40] Ibid., pp. 25–26.

[41] Ibid., pp. 33–34.

[42] How they were printed is "one of the unanswered questions in the history of illustrated books". Ibid., p. 366. However, placing text around an illustration is more difficult than leaving space for images. Moretus, for instance, told his printer to leave space for the vignette of Cordier's *Catena in Ioannem* when printing the title page: 'The space for the image is still vacant, be it that John the Evangelist is chosen or the name of Jésus or the King's coat-of-arms". Letter from Moretus to Cordier, 22 Feb 1630; in Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 383.

[43] Thus again adding to the costs of the title page, but probably cheaper than printing the same paper twice.

[44] Stijnman 2012, p. 173.

[45] Ibid., p. 243, fn. 390.

Rubens's designs were mostly engraved and not etched, as he only designed title pages.[46] Etching, while used in book illustration, was not commonly used for title pages although it was a cheaper and easier way to incise the plate, and it needed professionals who were not as specialised as those for engraving. It is possible that engravings were preferred for title pages, as etchings would lose their clarity very early when large quantities were printed, the lines becoming brittle and faint. A second reason is that engraved lines were more decisive and generally stronger, and not only conveyed a clearer image but were seen as superior. Balthasar Moretus, in a letter to Hermann Hugo concerning the engraving of the title page for *Obsidio Bredana*, clearly distinguishes between the qualities of engraving and etching and their different uses.

> I am glad that there are such excellent engravers to be found there; but I wait to see whether the facts correspond with the words. But where did they hide when the Funeral Ceremonies of the most Serene Prince, of eternal memory, had to be engraved? This was certainly a work for engravers, not for etchers. But the former, at least, is customary for the faces, the latter for the rest of the figures, so that not even the title of the work, except for the portrait and the décorations of the Prince, prefers the majesty of the engraver's burin. Walls fortifications and ditches (allowing for the better judgment of Your Reverence and other people) receive some kind of proper rendering also from etching. But in any case I would like the title after Rubens's design to be engraved by Cornelis Galle, who is here at present.[47]

Moretus distinguishes clearly between the two techniques: while illustrations could be etched, Moretus's title pages had to be engraved, because he perceived this to be more majestic. An "additional order of association and subdivision among print media at play" is suggested by Bowen and Imhof in their study of Plantin's use of etchers in his final years.[48] For technical reasons and reasons of *decorum* etching was thus used for often large quantities of illustrations and not title pages.[49]

However, abrasion was a general problem in printing that resulted from the application of abrasive ink and the repeated high pressure used. The roller press used for copper engravings executed an even higher pressure on the softer copper than a regular printing press. The main problem, however, was the wiping with ink. If very coarse lamp black was used, a reworking of the plates was soon necessary because of the pigments' sharper elementary structure.[50] It is still contested how often a reworking was necessary in the course of printing. An edition pulled from one copper plate without reworking, could amount to between 1,000 and 3,000 prints. Several techniques were developed to cope with and reduce the differences between the impressions, such as printing the first impressions with a grey ink and moving towards a blacker ink at the end of the edition.[51] The inks are important, as a good line tone is required for a good print, without adding too much plate tone. The coarseness of the pigment is of importance to get an ink that is not be too sticky, but wipe well, so as not to leave too much tone on the plate. The Frankfurt Black made from burnt lees of wine is ideal and was primarily used by printers from the mid-seventeenth until the twentieth century.[52] All in all, less coarse pigments could minimise abrasion of the plates, thus reducing a frequent need for recutting.

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[46] Nils Büttner identified two exceptions: De Bie 1615 and Augustín et al. 1617 have both etched title pages.

[47] "Gaudeo tam diligentes isthic reperiri caelatores; tantum, vt facta dictis respondeant, exspecto. At vbi delituêre, dum Ser[eremissi]mi et aeternae mem. Principis Pompa funebris caelanda erat? Quae certè caelum in primis, non aquam requirebat; sed vultibus illud dumtaxat adhibitum, reliquis figuris isthaec, adeo vt nec ipse Operis titulus, praeterquam in Principis imagine et insgnibus, caeli maiestatum praeferat. Aggeres, castella, et fossae (saluo meliori R.V. et aliorum isthic iudicio) nescio quid decorum etiam ab aquâ trahunt. At vero Titulum, vt Rubenius delinearit, à Corn. Galleo, qui isthic adest, omnino caelatum velim". Letter from Balthasar Moretus to Hermann Hugo, 07 Jan 1626; in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, pp. 403–404.

[48] Bowen and Imhof 2008, p. 200.

[49] Ibid., p. 200.

For the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the documents show that the plate usually had to be reworked after 1,000 copies, so that another 1,000 could be pulled from it.[53] This depended on how well the plate was engraved in the first place and how deep the lines were; a good engraver could pull up to 1,500 good impressions from the same plate, the next 1,500 would lose in quality and the next thousand would look "grey, drab and weak".[54] Plantin explained in the calculations for a large order of liturgical works from the Spanish court in 1574 that the problem was not only the reduced output of one plate, but also finding competent and reliable engravers:

> In addition, one must consider that the plates for such illustrations [engravings] can give no more than one thousand copies of the illustration before the plate is worn, with the result that one must begin again to have another plate cut, which is very expensive for us and causes innumerable problems to find and keep engravers who are often depraved, pernickety, difficult and do not keep their promises.[55]

It seems that Plantin had problems throughout the 1580s to find engravers that he found reliable, willing to take on projects, and whose work was reasonably priced.[56] During Plantin's time, the Galle workshop was not willing to take on extensive projects for the book publisher. For Bowen and Imhof this problem of obtaining the necessary workforce could have been one of the main reasons why the majority of illustrations in Plantin's editions after 1585 were etchings rather than engravings.[57] With the marriage of Theodore Galle and Jan Moretus's daughter Catherine this changed, especially when Theodore took over the printing workshop from his father.

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[50] Stijnman and Savage 2015; Stijnman 2013.

[51] Stijnman 2009, p. 337.

[52] Stijnman 2012, pp. 272–274. Before this pigment from the Rhine area conquered the printing world, pigments made from burnt vegetable matter or bone black were used, sometimes using even the coarser types of lampblack.

[53] Bowen and Imhof 2008, esp ch. 5; Bowen and Imhof 2005.

[54] Cf. Stijnman 2009, p. 333; esp. table 6 for an overview of impressions taken from various materials.

[55] Bowen and Imhof 2008, p. 177.

[56] Ibid., p. 178.

The Traditional Structure of the Title Page

The engraved title pages contained much more visual information than the first simple borders or vignettes. Very often they were structured by some form of architecture, which has been likened to Roman funerary architecture or celebratory arches, because the early modern term "frontispiece" was taken from architecture.[58] For Antoine Furetière in his *Dictionnaire universel* the frontispiece is not only "the face and the principal entry into a grand building", but also "the first page or the engraved title in an image that represents the frontispiece of a building".[59] Among the first Plantinian title pages are some that take this very literally, acting indeed as the "seuil", the threshold into the world of the book.[60]

However, the use of architecture was conventionalised very early on, and by the time Rubens started designing title pages, the majority of title pages were conceived in the typical three-zone architectural frame. The architecture structured the title page visually, usually into three registers, a lower part in the pedestal zone, a middle part incorporating the title, and a pediment. These zones could also be structured further by the use of architectural structures or the use of cartouches and medallions. Thus up to 8 scenes or personifications could be incorporated, hierarchically structured in one page, and still remain legible. Very often these three zones carried different basic attributions: while the lower zone of the pedestal could often be attributed to the earthly, the pediment was used to depict the divine.[61] The middle part was often used to show the intermediaries between the heavenly and the earthly matters, showing saints, apostles or personifications of virtues and vices.[62] This type of structure does not hold for all title pages, but it is generally the way in which books, especially in folio, were introduced.

The title, which in these architecturally conceived images cut the title page vertically, often provided the means to show antithetical positions.[63] In the course of the seventeenth century the architectural form increasingly disappeared from the title pages and the reader was presented with whole scenes unfolding around a smaller title that was moved from the centre.[64] Whether

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[57] Bowen and Imhof 2008, p. 178.

[58] Dekoninck 2011, p. 72.

[59] A. Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, Vol. II, La Haye 1690, p. 918; in: Dekoninck 2010, p. 15.

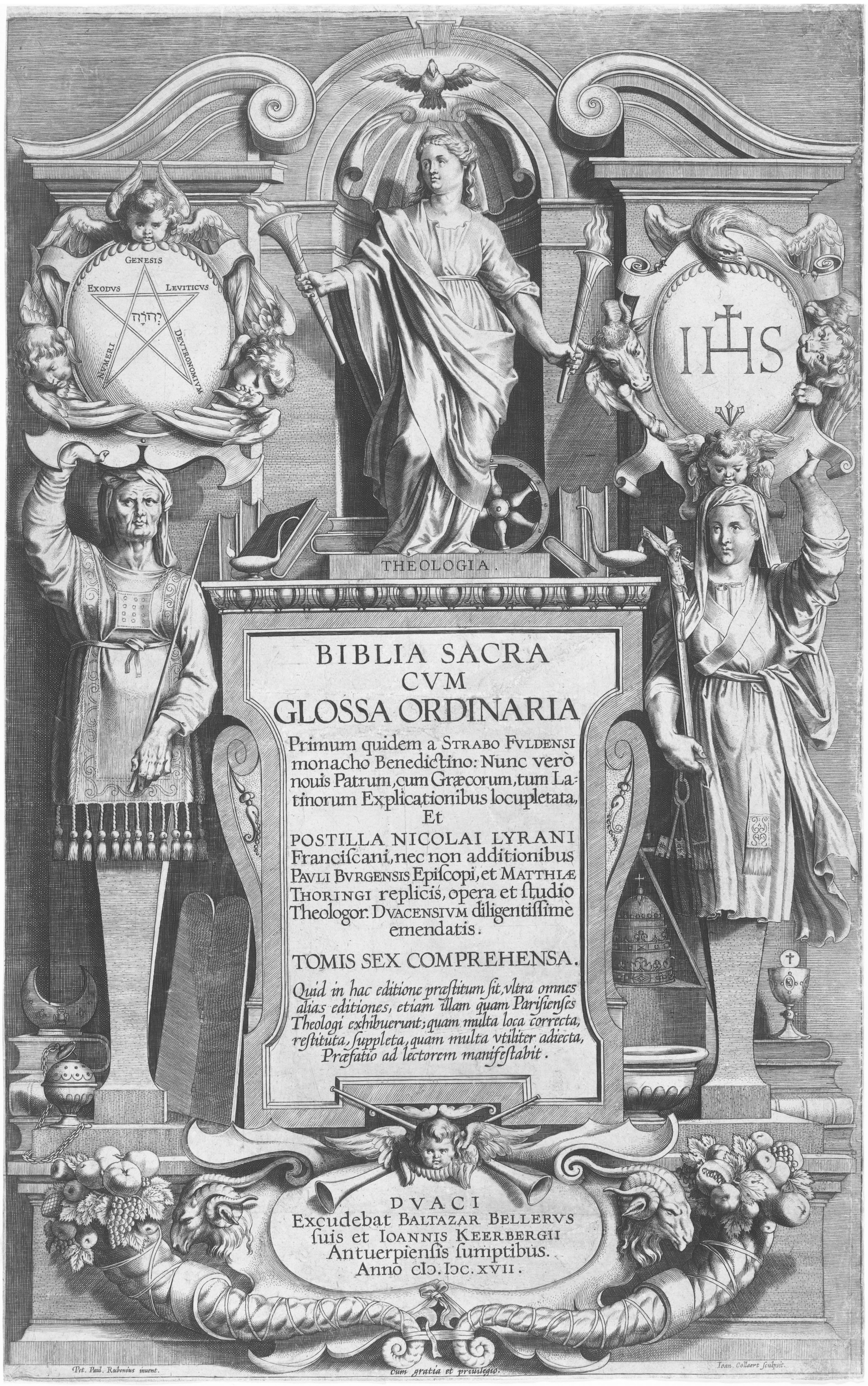
[60] Dekoninck 2011, p. 74.

[61] Cf. Frese 1989, p. 159.

[62] Cf. ibid., p. 159.

[63] The flanking, antithetical figures should not be interpreted as pictorial polemic (Bildpolemik), but follow a dialectical principle that can be traced from antiquity through medieval philosophy to Renaissance humanism. Frese 1989, p. 160.

[64] Dekoninck 2010, p. 27.



BIBLIA SACRA
CVM
GLOSSA ORDINARIA
Primum quidem a STRABO FVLDENSI
monacho Benedictino: Nunc verò
nouis Patrum, cum Græcorum, tum Latinorum Explicationibus locupletata,
Et
POSTILLA NICOLAI LYRANI
Franciſcani, nec non additionibus
PAVLI BVRGENSIS Epiſcopi, et MATTHIÆ
THORINGI replicis, opera et ſtudio
Theologor. DVACENSIVM diligentiſſimè
emendatis.

TOMIS SEX COMPREHENSA.

Quid in hac editione præſtitum ſit, vltra omnes
alias editiones, etiam illam quam Pariſienſes
Theologi exhibuerunt; quam multa loca correcta,
reſtituta, ſuppleta, quam multa vtiliter adiecta,
Præfatio ad lectorem manifeſtabit.

DVACI
Excudebat BALTAZAR BELLERVS
ſuis et IOANNIS KEERBERGII
Antuerpienſis ſumptibus.
Anno CIↃ.IↃC.XVII.

GENESIS
EXODVS
LEVITICVS
NVMERI
DEVTRONOMIVM
IHS
THEOLOGIA.
Pet. Paul. Rubenius inuent.
cum gratia et priuilegio.
Ioan. Collaert ſculpsit.

Figure 2 – Title page for *Biblia Sacra* 1617; engraving, 395 × 250 mm, by Jan Collaert II. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-BI-6098. © Rijksmuseum

Rubens was one of the main causes for this development has to remain unanswered, but it was a development that can be seen particularly in his work. Especially the religious title pages attributed to him, that were designed in the last two decades of his life, show a pronounced tendency to present a scene with almost no architectural elements and only the short title inserted onto an object in the scene.[65] These title pages strongly resembled illustrations or history paintings rather than the traditional title pages. At the same time, many designers of title pages favoured the more conventional architectural type.[66]

Very early in his design career, Rubens opened the design, reverting to the architectural type only if the book made it necessary: if he wanted to emphasise the "idea of antiquity, stability and durability; in short nobility and solemnity".[67] The books for which Rubens chose the architectural title page suggest that he used this type of title page in order to express or emphasise a sense of reverence. In his early years as a designer, he used this type for Aguilonius's books on optics in which, for instance, *Optica* is particularly praised, the Breviary, van Steen's Commentary, the Bible (Fig. 2 on page 31), Torniello's *Annales Sacri* (Fig. 63 on page 236), while in later years he used it in de Morgue's *Defense of la Royne Mere*.[68] However, although Rubens loses the architecture in later title pages, and only keeps the pedestal, the traditional underlying structure is still visible in many of his designs, and especially in those cases in which he wants to elevate a figure, a personification or the king.[69]

2.2 The Production of a Title Page

The collaboration of Rubens and Moretus offers a unique possibility to study the production process of title pages: for no other artist or publisher have so many records been preserved. The reason for this is the immaculate preservation of the archives of the Officina Plantiniana over the centuries. Both Rubens and Moretus corresponded with many well-known scholars of their time, so that many letters can be found in published collections of letters, not least in the collections of Rubens's letters.[70] It is entirely possible that the production process was different for other artists or publishers, as Rubens had privileges that a lesser-known artist might not have enjoyed: he was not only a member of the elite in Antwerp and a famous artist, he was also the court artist of the

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[65] Blois 1632, Boonaerts 1634, Areopagita 1634.

[66] Many of the title pages wrongly attributed to Rubens at the beginning of the twentieth century often used this traditional architectural type. The style is convincingly Rubenesque, but the architecture is used indiscriminately.

[67] Dekoninck 2011, p. 72.

[68] Aguilonius 1613, *Breviarium Romanum* 1614, Steen 1616, *Biblia Sacra* 1617, Tornielli 1620, Morgues 1637.

[69] Rios y Alarcón 1641, Goltzius 1645a.

[70] Cf. Ruelens and Rooses 1972a and the following five volumes; Magurn 1971; Ottenheym 1997; Van de Velde 2006; Miller 2014.

Archdukes Albert and Isabella.[71] It is also unclear how representative the Galle workshop was in Rubens's time. It was considered one of the best engraving workshops in the region and with Moretus's tasks the workshop seems to have employed many engravers. Not every workshop in the region would have had these resources. Nevertheless, the collaboration between Moretus, Galle, and Rubens can at least exemplify how the production process and the social negotiations that had to be included often influenced the design of the title pages.

Rubens and the Officina Plantiniana

The beginning of Rubens's title page illustration coincided with his return from Italy to Antwerp in 1608 and continued until his death in May 1640. Antwerp was the perfect environment for Rubens and for title pages, as the city provided him with many important social contacts; in this printing town he rubbed shoulders with other artists, scholars and humanists, printers and publishers, but also with the ruling elite to which he belonged.[72] Social networks were highly significant for artists, although they were anything but formalised and relied on trust, family ties and friendship.[73] Although networks in artistic circles were carefully shaped and tended through marriages and godparenthoods, an artist's network extended beyond his profession.[74] The extent of Rubens's network in Antwerp is visible, for instance, through the dedications on prints he issued, and it will also become apparent in the course of this study.[75] Books played an important role in Rubens's networks: while they were a common denominator with many of his friends and patrons, they can today serve as indicators for connections beyond the artistic networks. There was, for example, Nicolaas Rockox, one of his first and most important patrons in Antwerp, whom Rubens called his "vriendt ende patroon",[76] and who introduced Rubens to the numismatic and humanistic circle of coin collectors, vendors, and experts.[77] Balthasar I Moretus (Balthasar Moerentorf, 1574–1641) also belonged to this circle of enthusiasts. The renewed acquaintance with this old school friend of his was essential for Rubens's involvement with book design: of the 47 books with title pages by Rubens, 29 (62%) were published by Moretus and another one was commissioned via Moretus by a different publisher.[78]

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[71] Büttner 2006a,b.

[72] Cf. Büttner 2006b, pp 23–24.

[73] Timmermans 2006, p. 357; Timmermans 2008.

[74] Cf. Brosens et al. 2012, passim; cf. also the Social Network Analysis endeavours by Koen Brosens and his team.

[75] Cf. Büttner 2006b, pp. 31.

[76] Timmermans 2008, p. 240; Baudouin 1984, pp. 18, 21, 24.

[77] For a more detailed sketch of the humanists active in Antwerp in Rubens's time, cf. Sabbe 1927. For patrons in Rubens's Antwerp and the role of the magistrate for an artist cf. Timmermans 2008, esp. pp. 250–254. For more on Rockox cf. Huet et al. 2010.

[78] *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620.

Balthasar Moretus was employed in his father's printing and publishing house, the Officina Plantiniana, when Rubens returned from Italy in 1608. The world-famous enterprise carried its name after Balthasar's maternal grandfather of Balthasar, Christophe Plantin (Christoffel Plantijn, ca. 1520–1589), who had founded the Officina Plantiniana in 1555.[79] Originally a bookbinder, Plantin worked his way up to become one of the foremost printers in Europe. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Antwerp was one of the biggest cities and one of the great printing centres in Europe.[80] Within this environment, Plantin thrived: he expanded his premises and the number of printing presses on a regular basis. When Plantin died in 1589 he left his shop to his son-in-law Jan Moretus (Jan Moerentorf, 1543–1610), who had managed the shop from 1576 onwards and was entered by Plantin into the Guild of St Luke as a master printer in 1587.[81] Plantin's fame as a printer is mostly based on the great number of scholarly works and the quality of his printing, although the production of liturgical and religious material helped catapult the business forward. Under Jan Moretus this changed drastically and the works of scholarship took up a very small percentage of the overall book production while liturgical and devotional literature became the main part.[82] For all that, the Officina Plantiniana was still known for the quality of the print and its often lavishly illustrated typographical masterpieces.[83]

In 1610, when Jan I Moretus died, he bequeathed the press to his two sons Jan II Moretus (1576–1618) and Balthasar I Moretus. Both of them had been working in the Officina for years, Balthasar as proof reader and Jan as director and supervisor.[84] Balthasar was a scholarly person, a neo-Latin poet and humanist whose poems and panegyrics were rarely published, but who had contact to the intelligentsia of Europe.[85] He had studied with the famous philosopher, philologist and humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) from 1592 to1594, just as Philip Rubens had. But Moretus also knew the younger Rubens. That they attended the same school may well have been the foundation of the more than 28 years of friendship and collaboration.[86]

Fortunately much archival material survives from the partnership of Moretus and Rubens. The archival material concerning the title pages has been largely collected by Julius Held, Richard J.

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[79] Voet 1969, p. 17.

[80] In the second half of the sixteenth century, Antwerp was a printing centre for both books and prints, cf. Diels 2009, p. 7ff.; Sellink 2004.

[81] Imhof 2014; Van de Velde 1997; Nave 1997; Schepper 1996; Judson and Van de Velde 1977a; Voet 1969, p. 154.

[82] Materné 1991.

[83] Voet 1969, p. 196.

[84] Ibid., p. 208.

[85] "In spite of all his modesty Balthasar thus enjoyed a certain celebrity in the world of scholarship—and even outside it. The reason which De la Serre, Maria de' Medici's biographer, gives for the visit of the exiled Queen of France to the Plantin press in 1531 during her stay in Antwerp, is very flattering to its master." Ibid., p. 206.

[86] In a letter to Mathieu de Morgues Moretus mourned Rubens's recent death with the words, "Truly, our city has lost much by the death of Mr Rubens and I in particular one of my best friends." (My own translation.) "Vrayment nostre ville a beaucoup perdu par la mort de Mons[ieur] Rubens, et moy en particulier un de mes meilleurs amis." Rooses 1882, p. 219.

Judson and Carl van de Velde in two seminal publications published forty years ago.[87] Since then many new sources have appeared, but some of the main hypotheses have never been questioned. One comment by Balthasar Moretus in particular has often been read out of context in order to show that Rubens produced the designs for the title pages in his spare time, on Sundays. Often this assumption is the basis for studies on Rubens's work as a book designer, which then try to explain why Rubens would illustrate book covers at all. What is particularly emphasised by the inclusion of this information is that books and their title pages do not have the same value for the art historians writing the exhibition catalogues as Rubens's paintings had. For a long time, it was silently concluded that the illustration of books was a minor occupation by the great artist which he did out of a personal interest. The relevance which Rubens himself attached to books, and the relevance which books had in the social structure of his world, is in contrast to that assumption coupled with the depreciation of the word 'hobby' that lurks in the background of these present-day evaluations. A new look into the letters by Moretus is thus in order.[88]

No letters from Moretus to Rubens have survived. As both lived in the same city, they probably used other means of communication such as notes sent by runners, visits, meetings at church, and on other social occasions.[89] Thus the voice of Rubens only shines through the letters of Moretus to his authors in which he often professes to speak for the artist. Nevertheless, the letters by Moretus are almost invariably written in a very composed way, very polite and full of rhetorical commonplaces in order to deal with the wants of authors. A glimpse at a collection of letters composed by Moretus reveals the effort generally taken to find the right wording. Early modern letter writing followed rhetorical rules based on Latin letters and were often more than mere business letters or expressions of friendship.[90] The authors followed rhetorical conventions transmitted by several treatises on letter writing, and most, if not all, early modern letter writers knew of these from school, especially the learned such as Moretus.[91] He also seemed to know very well which authors would take a refusal badly, and which authors he could not afford to annoy, which made him invent very elaborate ways of declining a request. Rubens's endeavours as a designer of book illustrations have been misrepresented in the past because some of these elaborate negotiations with authors were taken at face value.

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[87] Held 1979, Judson and Van de Velde 1977a.

[88] It certainly would have been better to obtain transcripts of the whole letters, not just the excerpts, in order to see what other topics and social relationships were negotiated within the same letters and what place the title pages took within these negotiations. However, this would have been too great a task to manage in the scope of this dissertation, and the plan has been reluctantly postponed for a future time.

[89] This assumption was also made by Wolfgang Harms in his studies on title pages, based on the claim that engraving a title page would not simply be a sideline for the engraver and tied with enough expenses for both parties to be willing to communicate about it. Harms 1978, p. 335.

[90] Knape 2006, Van Houdt 2002.

[91] On the early modern letter as a historical source, cf. K. A. Enenkel 2011.

The letter that instigated the discussion of exactly when Rubens worked on title pages was written by Moretus to the Jesuit Balthasar Cordier (Corderius, 1592–1650), an important editor of patristic works whom it would have been unfortunate to affront. Cordier had apparently asked Moretus to print some theses written by a fellow Jesuit from Wrocław. Moretus first assures Cordier that he would print these texts, but he then mentions problems of finding someone to illustrate them, and, more specifically, adds the reasons why Rubens would not be available as an illustrator.

> I have received the theological theses, and I shall see that they are printed nicely and quickly. I wonder, however, how the illustrations will be got ready. Rubens refuses to design them, if the design cannot be postponed for three months. I usually warn him six months in advance, so that he can think about a title and work it out fully in his free time and during sacred days. For he spends no working days on such work, or he would have to charge 100 guilders for one drawing. So I shall have it designed by someone else.[92]

The theological work in question was probably *Andreae Guilielmi Dietelii Canonici Wratislaviensis Exercitatio Theologica pro Doctoratu*. What the letter shows at best, if taken literally, is that Rubens knew how to organise his workshop and how to prioritise—if this is indeed Rubens excusing himself. It is more likely, however, that Moretus decided that a title page for these theses were not worth Rubens's time and effort. He thus employed a very elaborate excuse for having to deny the author and his intermediary their title page by Rubens.

The price of 100 guilders Rubens allegedly had to charge, was presumably picked by Moretus to emphasise the impossibility of the endeavour and the futility of Cordier further imposing on them. The value should most probably be understood as a tactical exaggeration, or at least as an amount that expressed Rubens's economical station.[93] For it is very close to the report by Frans Sweerts in a letter from 1618, in which he writes that "this Rubens" earned a 100 guilders daily.[94] It might be possible that the 100 guilders was an adequate price for the design of a thesis illustration of grand format, if the object under discussion was a thesis illustration and not a title page. As Moretus explains that Rubens would need time to "think about the title", however, it seems unlikely that he means a thesis illustration here.

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[92] "Theses Theologicas accepi, quas eleganter et cito excusas curabo. At de imaginibus laboro qui absoluantur. Rubenius delineare eas recusat, nisi ad trimestre delineatio diferri possit. Et solet fere a me praemoneri six mensibus, ut titulum aliquem meditetur, et describat cum plenissimo otio, et diebus fere sacris: nam profanos operi tali haud impendit; aut centum florenos pro vnica delineatione exigeret. Itaque per alium delineari curabo." Letter from Moretus to Balthasar Cordier, 13 Sep 1630, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 385.

[93] I am aware that it is very difficult to pinpoint the value of early modern prices, both over the span of a lifetime and in a complex market not only ruled by supply and demand, but also by moral pricing strategies, cf. Ammannati et al. 2017 for a discussion of prices and Büttner 2016 for a discussion of moral pricing methods used by Rubens.

[94] Letter from Sweerts to Janus Gruterus, 18 Jul 1618: "Desen Rubbens windt dagelickx 100 guldens." in: Heinen 2002, p. 310; Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 8, f° 210 r° and v°.

If it concerned a title page, then Rubens's usual prices applied. These were stable over all the decades in which he worked for Moretus and depended on the title page's size. While he usually charged 20 guilders for a folio, the price dropped accordingly to 15 guilders for a 4°, 12 guilders for an 8°, and 8 for a 24° format. These prices did not change, no matter how quickly Rubens drew his designs or how much time he had—irrespective of whether he did the design on Sundays or not. At the end of the 1630s, the prices for title page designs seem to have changed, but still remained consistent for each format: in June 1637 Erasmus Quellinus received 24 guilders for the drawing of *Diverses pieces pour la defense de la Royne mere du roy*,[95] in December of the same year, the same sum for the Goltzius,[96] and on 4 May 1638 Erasmus Quellinus again received 24 guilders for Ovid's *Fasti* and for the book by Mathieu de Morgues.[97] For all these folios he received four guilders each more than Rubens in the previous decades. I am not sure that the "improvement of [Rubens's] social status left […] the price of preparatory drawings" unaffected.[98] From the beginning of his career in Antwerp, Rubens had a higher social status than other artists. That Erasmus Quellinus received more money at the end of the 1630s could also be due to a social and moral pricing policy in which a more affluent master would charge less for his services.[99]

The letters mainly indicate that Moretus is deliberately exaggerating to keep unwanted commissioners at bay. What can be said with certainty is that it is difficult to read Moretus literally. The letter quoted above was written two weeks after Cordier had already asked Moretus for his view on the design for a thesis illustration, possibly for the same thesis. Apparently Cordier additionally wanted Rubens to correct a design he had sent. This wish, too, was rebuffed by Moretus with pretty much the same strategy: the emblem could only be engraved in a year, the engraving would cost 1600 florins, Rubens would not touch the work of others, and to make it himself, he would need more time and would be more expensive than both Cordier and his friend would wish for.[100] A thesis print would be needed for the defence of a doctoral thesis, and putting off the printing of it for several months or even a year could alone have dissuaded the client from pursuing this commission, not to mention the exorbitant costs.

Thesis prints had become a fashion among the doctoral candidates at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and were by this time very big and very intricate compositions. Even Balthasar's brother, Melchior Moretus (1573–1634), had his thesis printed by Jan Maes for his defence in Louvain in 1597.[101] At first only decorated with a coat of arms, the propositions of doctoral theses listed for the defence became more elaborate over time, later including figures and scenes, while the text became increasingly smaller and was pressed to the sides or the bottom of the broadsheet.[102] Thesis prints certainly made an impression in the defence of a doctoral thesis, as did the musical recitation,[103] to the chagrin of the professors who considered it a waste of time.[104]

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[95] Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 489, no. 122.

[96] Ibid., p. 489, no. 122.

[97] Van de Velde 1997, p. 68.

[98] Bouchery and van de Wyngaert, p. 32.

[99] Cf. Schmiedlechner forthcoming.

[100] Letters Moretus to Cordier from 23 August 1630 in Held 1977, p. 33; and from 13 September 1630 in Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 385; both in Rooses V, pp. 333 and 335–336.

Nevertheless, it is possible that Moretus's letter to Cordier was supposed to demonstrate that Rubens's work was of such a nature that it could be done on Sundays. This marked Rubens's production as intellectual art as opposed to manual work, following a rhetoric invented in the fifteenth century in order to ennoble artistic production in general.[105] This letter might also emphasise Rubens's desire to spend his free time on books, although he was such a busy man that he had to be warned a long time in advance. However, the often repeated concept of Rubens making these illustrations "in his leisure on feast days, enjoying the recreation, donating without charge works for which otherwise he would have claimed a hundred guilders for a single drawing" is a plain misinterpretation of this letter.[106] The elaborate answer by Moretus mainly shows how impossible it would be, particularly for Rubens, to design anything in the near future as he would need at least three months (usually six!) otherwise it would cost an incredible amount of money. The core message of this letter is the regretful refusal addressed to the valued customer Balthasar Cordier, and not information on the working habits of Rubens. As it is exceedingly hard to find a copy of the thesis in question, it cannot have been that important, and it is highly likely that Moretus decided that this work would not need his friend's illustrations to embellish it.

What is more, it is highly probable that Moretus decided he would not need to bother Rubens with this commission at all, so that the refusals might be Moretus's words entirely. Rubens never designed title pages for insignificant authors or for authors who were not also in some way part of his social or intellectual circle, as will be shown in the following chapters. There had to be a really good reason for Rubens to be considered for the design of a thesis or a thesis illustration.[107] The only thesis print that is attributed to Rubens through a proof print bearing the names of Rubens and Paulus Pontius, the engraver, is one that is dedicated to pope Urban VIII.[108] The image itself is a dedication to pope Urban VIII encouraging his endeavours for peace. It thus shows the same tendencies as the books on poetry illustrated by Rubens and will be considered in the next chapter.[109]

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[101] Mûelenaere 2015, p. 290; Imhof 2014, p. xxix; A. de Mets, "Reliques de l'ancienne Université de Louvain au Musée Plantin-Moretus à Anvers. Les thèses à image", in: Recueil des Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires de l'Académie royale de Médecine de Belgique 22.7 (1925), p. 24–25. On Melchior Moretus see Voet 1969, p. 201; Sacré 1996, p. 77; Landtsheer 1997, pp. 92–93.

[102] For thesis prints in the Low Countries see Mûelenaere 2015, 2016 as well as her forthcoming thesis.

[103] Rice 1999, p. 160.

[104] "You cannot imagine how much time these students waste [in the preparations of their thesis sheets], and how many opportunities they seize to run hither and thither, checking up on the drawing, the plate, and the engraver...," was the heartfelt reaction of a professor at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Ibid., p. 160.

[105] Elmqvist Söderlund 2010, p. 94.

[106] Ziggelaar 1983, p. 55.

[107] Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, no. 85, pp. 349–353; does not say that the image IS a thesis print, but that it could be! cf. esp. fn. 22.

The episode with Balthasar Cordier shows not only that the communication was carried out by Moretus and was not conducted with Rubens directly.[110] It also shows vividly that the letters, and often only the snippets of letters that have been transcribed because of interest in Rubens, have to be handled with care when trying to reconstruct Rubens's involvement in the production process.

The Beginning of a Book Project

When an author was accepted by Moretus, how was Rubens then integrated into the production process? Moretus's letters give a good overview about the working processes in the various offices and workshops. Although the extant letters pertaining to the production of books never cover the whole process, they reveal much about the nuts and bolts of book production. After all, the Officina Plantiniana was a very large printing and publishing house that had several presses running, and Moretus often reveals in his letters that he is producing several books at the same time.[111] In order for several presses to work simultaneously without erupting into chaos, the processes had to be standardised in some way.

If a book was printed in the Officina Plantiniana, the decision to start a project was that of Balthasar Moretus and his brother, and many factors were included in the decision making. The decision whether a book should be printed and with which print run was entirely a decision of the publisher, and it was based on an estimate of the targetable market (often transnational), on what the competition was printing, on the prices that could be asked and the costs involved.[112]

As has been seen by the Cordier episode, authors, in some cases their intermediaries, often approached Moretus to have their works published—which he then accepted or refused. Intermediaries were necessary for authors who did not know Moretus personally or who lived in other countries. Moretus often continued to work with the intermediary due to the geographical distance from the author. Communication between countries was fickle and often relied on chance, especially if war interrupted the postal routes, so that an intermediary in the vicinity of Moretus's press could only be an advantage. Not only would letters be more easily received, for the intermediary it was often easier and faster to actually go to Antwerp and speak with Moretus or Rubens. The contact was usually provided by the extensive social networks that the learned maintained via letters. The Society of Jesus, for instance, was one of the biggest networks spanning the world at the time, and Jesuits from other countries used their contacts in Antwerp to get into contact with Moretus.

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[108] Mûelenaere speaks of four thesis print projects on p. 292, but does not name them. Mûelenaere 2015, p. 293; fig. 2.

[109] Cf. section 5.4.

[110] Of course this statement can only be made for the books produced with the Officina Plantiniana, there is hardly any evidence of the proceedings in other publishing houses.

[111] For instance the Letter to van Haeften from 26 Jan 1633, Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 396; in a later letter he also advertises several new books he recently printed: Letter from 26 Dec 1633, Ibid., p. 396; in 1636 he bemoans the several works he had to stop printing because of the lack of paper, in: ibid., pp. 415–416.

[112] The difficult aspects of analysing early modern pricing practices concerning books are excellently summarised in Ammannati et al. 2017 and especially Nuovo 2017, p. 107: "The price of books is to a large extent the result of the relationship of the various agents in the world of books. To understand this, the historian needs to focus on the processes publishers or wholesalers and then retail booksellers used in pricing books, then to make some assumptions about the prices that purchasers paid, based on an examination of the surviving records of some of the great book collectors. Finally, it is crucial to detect how, how far and why the various authorities, religious and governmental, intervened in the establishment of book prices."

When Moretus decided on printing a work, he had neither purely economic reasons nor was he only driven by the quality of the contents. Moretus's decision-making process becomes visible from one letter exchange in 1637 between Moretus and Carlo de Napoli (1614–1644), a young and already famous humanist at Philip IV's court in Spain. Carlo de Napoli tried to persuade Moretus to print his study of Ovid's *Fasti*, but the publisher seemed reluctant to publish it, whether because he "doubted the commercial viability", or because he was not convinced by the work of the young humanist, is not clear.[113] According to Moretus's letter to Juan van Vucht, the manuscript must have been a mess and it is possible that Moretus was reluctant to print it because of the necessary time and effort that he would have to put into the fair copy.[114] Moretus only considered printing the book when he realised that Carlo de Napoli could be of help in obtaining some outstanding debts from a debtor, due to his father's occupation.[115] When de Napoli also promised to buy 18 of his printed books himself, Moretus finally agreed to print it. The letters show that Moretus did not only think in terms of being able to sell a single title. Sometimes larger economic goals could make it necessary to print a less profitable work, such as getting into contact with a particular person.

The decision to print the book with an engraved title page, however, was made late in the project and was instigated by Moretus. Apparently Rubens and Moretus must have talked about the title page, as Moretus informed the author in a letter of 28 November 1637 that he considered a title page, and that neither he himself nor Rubens could decide on a design for it, which is why he asked Napoli for his suggestions.[116]

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[113] Nave 1997, no. 50a, p. 149.

[114] "Don Carolo Neapolis is mij geobstringeert ten opsicht van synen boeck die nu drucke, niet sonder groote moeyte ter oorsaecke dat de copije seer incorrect is van synen amanuensis geschreven.' Ibid., pp. 105–106.

[115] Van de Velde in: ibid., no. 50a, p. 149, fn. 2: "Hier neffens gaet een pacquet voor Don Carolus Neapolis, voor den welcken een boeck drucke; die my belooft heeft sighn deuoir te doen ten eynde ick betaelt worde wt de geconfisceerde goederen van Pedro Mallart van 't ghene mij schuldigh is." Letter from Moretus to Juan van Vucht, Madrid, 2 Apr 1637; MPM no.147, p. 81. In a later letter to the same person Moretus is even more explicit: "den vader van Don Carolo Neapolis is een vande Administrateurs oft iuges vande Françoisen." ibid., pp.105–106.

[116] Held 1977, p. 41.

After having decided to undertake a project with a title page, Moretus managed everything: he obtained the drawings for the titles; he found and employed an engraver for illustrations; he obtained the necessary privileges and permissions for publication; and he organised the printing of the various parts of the book including the organisation of the necessary material. The latter could be problematic, and especially the scarcity of paper in times of war was often the main reason for delays.[117] He, of course, also advertised his printed books in the catalogues of the Frankfurt fair and in letters to customers.[118] However, in the case of an image for a title page, he often asked Rubens for his opinion, even when Rubens did not design the resulting title page. Rubens was thus often involved in projects from the moment when Moretus decided that a book would have an engraved title page.

Rubens's *Inventio* of a Title Page

After Moretus's decision that Rubens was to design the title page, a first drawing was made by the painter or his assistant. The drawing was the first step of the whole production process, allowing a discussion of Rubens's invention with the publisher and the author. For the artist, the drawing was both a tool and the outcome in the process of invention. While these are nowadays cherished traces of Rubens's own hand and thought, Rubens considered his drawings and sketches to be valuable as the basis of his workshop and kept them locked in his office. When he sent a letter to his assistant Lucas Fayd'herbe (1617–1697) asking for some tronies, i.e. painted studies of heads, he asked him specifically to wrap the painting up so that no one would see it, and reminded him in a postscript to make sure that the office was locked up and that no originals or sketches remained in the studio.[119] These originals and sketches were the inventions, the models after which all Rubens's work was created. For him it was the capital of his workshop, which is also why the drawings were to be kept after his death for a possible next painter in the family.[120] Most of his inventions were copied several times, and for Rubens it was essential to protect the models.[121] While the execution was important and Rubens made sure that his inventions were executed in the best possible manner, for him and his contemporaries Rubens's inspired and ingenious inventions made an image into a Rubens. His inventions have to be seen in another discourse as well: the sketches were the backbone of an elaborate argument which aimed at elevating painting to the liberal arts. In this argument *inventio* played a crucial role: drawing as the inventive process was presented as a process of the mind. The sketch or the preparatory drawing was the mind's material manifestation, elevating the manual work of painting to higher level.

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[117] See for instance the letter to Van Haeften in which Moretus explains that the paper mills in Lorraine had been destroyed and the craftsmen killed, which necessitated him to stop printing both the *Via Crucis* and the *St Dionysius*. Letter from Moretus to Van Haeften, 26 Jan 1633, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 396.

[118] Cf. the letter from Moretus to Van Haeften, 16 Dec 1633, in: ibid., p. 396. For the Frankfurt Fair and its History, cf. Rovelstad 1973.

[119] "Lieve wel beminde M. Lucas, Ick hope dat u desen noch sal tot Antwerpen vinden, want ick grootelijcken van noode hebbe een panneel daer drij troniën op staen, soo groot als het leven, van mijn handt; te wetene: eenen grammen soldaet met een swarte mutse op 't hooft, ende een crijtende manstronie ende eenen lacher. Gij sult mij groote vriendschappe doen, met dit selvige panneel terstont over te senden, oft, ist ghij ghereet sijt om selver te comen, mede te brenghen. Ende het sal goet sijn dat men daer een of twee nieuwe panneelen op bint, omdat het niet en soude quetsen onderweghen oft ghesien worden. [...] Siet toch wel toe, als ghij vertrecken sult, dat alles wel opgesloten sij ende datter geene originaelen en blijven staen boven op het schilderhuys oft eenige schetsen." Letter from Rubens to Lucas Fayd'herbe, 17 Aug 1638, Ruelens and Rooses 1972d, pp. 222–224.

[120] In his last will 27 May 1640, he specified that "de teeckeninggen hem testateur vergaedert ende gemaeckt dewelcke hy beveelt opgehouden ende bewaert te wordene tot behoeve van yemant sijnder sonen die hem soude mogen willen oeffenen inde conste van schilderen, oft bij gebreke van dyen tot behoeve van eender sijnder dochteren

This emphasis on the intellectual in art can be first perceived in full force in the writings of Giorgio Vasari, whose concern it was to elevate painting and sculpture to the liberal arts. For him the origin of any art lay in the intellectual work of the *disegno*, the drawing, which consequently allowed artists to emphasise this aspect in their work processes.[122] Likewise the fore-conceit, or the idea, was praised in poets, such as for instance by Philip Sidney in his *Defense of Poesie*. Sidney relates this idea to painters and distinguishes between a good painter who would paint a Lucretia, "whom he never saw", with a "meaner sort of painters, who counterfeit only such faces as are set before them".[123] This was a common idea by Rubens's time and is expressed by Franciscus Junius the Younger (1591–1677) in his *De pictura veterum*, which he translated himself and published as *On the Painting of the Ancients* in 1638.

Junius expresses the status quo of his time, being fundamentally indebted to the planning and ordering of an oration in his description of the visual arts; thus, he "is in basic agreement with Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, Sidney's *Defense of Poesie*, Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Poetics*, with Vasari, Lomazzo, Armenini, Dürer, and other writers on the history and theory of the visual arts".[124] Rubens also agreed with this view, and he congratulated Junius on his book about the visual arts, only finding that a similar book for contemporary painting was necessary. As Junius used an abundance of classical quotations it is no wonder that Rubens rejoiced in this work.[125] Consequently, the drawing, the idea and the inventive process as such was used and even emphasised by Rubens and his colleagues because it enabled them to distinguish themselves from "mere" artisans or the "meaner sort of painters" as Sidney calls them.

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de welcke soude mogen comen te trouwen met eenen vermaerden schilder ende dat soolange totdat de joncxste synder kinderen sal gecomen wesen tot ouderdom van achttien jaeren, alswanneer soo verre nyemant van den sonen hem totte voors. conste begegen [sic!] en heeft oft geene vande dochteren met eenen vermaerden schilder gehouwt en sij, de voors. teekeningen mede sullen mogen vercocht worden." Büttner 2012, p. 134, fn. 23: SAA, notariaatsarchif N 1894: notaris Toussain Guyot: Protocollen, staten en rekeningen, 1645, nr. CVII.

[121] Cf. Büttner 2017b, Büttner 2017a.

[122] Vasari 2012; Woodall 2003, p. 10; Gombrich 1990.

[123] *Defense of Poesie*, 495–496; in: Dundas 2007, p. 63.

[124] Fehl 1996; Fehl 1981, p. 28.

[125] Cf. for a translation of Rubens's Latin letter Fehl 1996, p. 11.

Rubens clearly played with this concept when he showed himself to be working mainly on the design, while his employees had to actually paint his images. This is at least what was recorded by Otto Sperling, who had visited Rubens's house and studio as a student, and described wondrous scenes in the studio. The way in which he describes Rubens's habit of multitasking or the way in which the painting was apparently undertaken by the assistants only have two things in common: they both seem to serve Rubens's self-representation and they emphasise the intellectual side of Rubens's art.[126] Sperling portrays Rubens in a specific way, but it is possible that Rubens actively influenced this portrayal and tapped into the classical discourse of the learned *uomo universale*. As Büttner has shown, Rubens's self-fashioning had already been perceived by his contemporaries as such: Sperling recognised Rubens's actions as an attempt to show visitors his ingenuity.[127]

Sperling, whose account remained unpublished until the nineteenth century, was not the only one to show Rubens in an intellectual light.[128] This aspect was also foregrounded by his nephew and biographer Philipp Rubens, who asserted that his uncle had someone read him Plutarch or Seneca while he was working.[129] Much earlier than De Piles's biography, in which this posthumous testimony of Rubens's nephew was published, Henry Peacham reported that "while he is at worke, he useth to have some good historian or Poet read to him, which is rare in men of his profession, yet absolutely necessary".[130] Already in his lifetime Rubens was famed for his intellectual achievements, a view he actively shaped. It is within this concept of *inventio* and the intellectualisation of art that Rubens's work on the title pages has to be placed. With the title pages, Rubens was able to participate in intellectual discourses by providing fitting and intelligent images, thus displaying his erudition.

Apart from the letters in which Moretus discusses the *inventio* of the title pages, a few surviving sketches reveal Rubens's process in this field. In the last two centuries, art historians valued these sketches more highly than the prints themselves because they were interested in the products of the artist's own hand. In this study the sketches are only important as parts of the production process. Thus the discussion about whether a drawing or sketch was drawn by Rubens himself or by his assistants is of minor importance. If the engraver put the "P. P. Rubens invenit, fecit, pinxit" or comparable subscripts underneath a title page published in his lifetime and with his knowledge, this engraving was considered a Rubens. This is not to suggest that there are no differences in quality, either in the quality of engravings or the sketches; but if Rubens was satisfied enough to put his name underneath, then we should accept his decision. There is no saying, of course, what Rubens would have made of the countless copies made after his title page designs throughout Europe.

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[126] Büttner 2006b, pp. 101 and 112; Seidlitz 1887, p. 111.

[127] Büttner 2006b, p. 102.

[128] Sophus Birket Smith first published the text in 1885 in a Danish translation which was taken up by Wilhelm von Seidlitz in 1887 and retranslated into the German. Birket Smith 1885; Seidlitz 1887, p. 111. Cf. Büttner 2006b, pp. 101–102; Evers 1942, pp. 31 and p. 484, fn. 40;Ruelens and Rooses 1972b, p. 156.

[129] "[A]yant tousiours auprés de luy un Lecteur qui estoit à ses gages, & qui lisoit à haute voix quelque bon livres; mais ordinairement Plutarque, Tite-Live, ou Seneque," De Piles 1677, p. 214; in: Büttner 2006b.

[130] Peacham 1634, p. 111. Cf. Büttner 2006b, p. 102; Muller 2004, p. 18.

In the following, the production of one title page is examined closely in order to discover who mainly influenced which stage in the process. Depending on the scholarly background, past authors have attributed aesthetic or artistic choices to either the artist or the author of the text. While any of these attributions are occasionally right, for instance, for very important authors, the findings in the following suggest that the publisher was responsible for most of the choices made. Although Moretus worked closely together with Rubens and trusted his choices, this would certainly not have happened with an artist who had lower standing in society. This would mean that the publisher of a book would have had much more influence on the artistic production of books than has generally been acknowledged.

Sketching the Title Page

After Rubens received the wording of the title, he started with a sketch for the title page. This drawing was usually made in chalk, pen and ink with wash on paper, but in some cases he used other means. For one title page a rough layout, the stage even before the drawing, is known: for the *Breviarium Romanum* of 1614, a schematic layout sketch of the title page and two previous attempts are preserved (Fig. 3), stating in Moretus's handwriting what should be pictured on the pages.[131]

Moretus probably started the title page and then asked his friend for help, because the Breviary was one of the more important liturgical productions.[132] Rubens designed one of the three ideas preserved on the sheets. He simplified ideas such as "St Cecilia playing the Organ" and "David playing the Harp" by replacing the saints with the instruments (Fig. 4).[133] I find this simplification significant, as the Rubens title pages distinguish themselves from other title pages through their clear expression and a simplified layout. Rubens uses fewer figures in his title pages than his contemporaries, making his inventions better structured.

The layout scheme preceded a first sketch by Rubens but should be considered as part of the *inventio*, an embodiment of thought. Balthasar Moretus, whose handwriting is on the sketches, took an active part in this process; it is conceivable that he did so in later projects, too. In contrast to Moretus, Rubens's thoughts were embodied by quick sketches. For many title pages these initial, quick drawings or oil sketches have been lost, but those that survived provide snippet views

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[131] These are commonly believed to be Moretus's design, and it is possible, as Rubens would have sketched a suggestion rather than written it down. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 123. Cf. Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert, p. 62, figs. 31–32; Hellinga, pp. 182–183 , nos. 64–66.

[132] No other such schemes exist which could show that Moretus first tried on his own before going to Rubens. This is something which he would not do later.

[133] *Breviarium Romanum* 1614. Logan and Plomp 2005, pp. 174–176, no. 51; Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 32; also nos. 18–28, pp. 118–151.

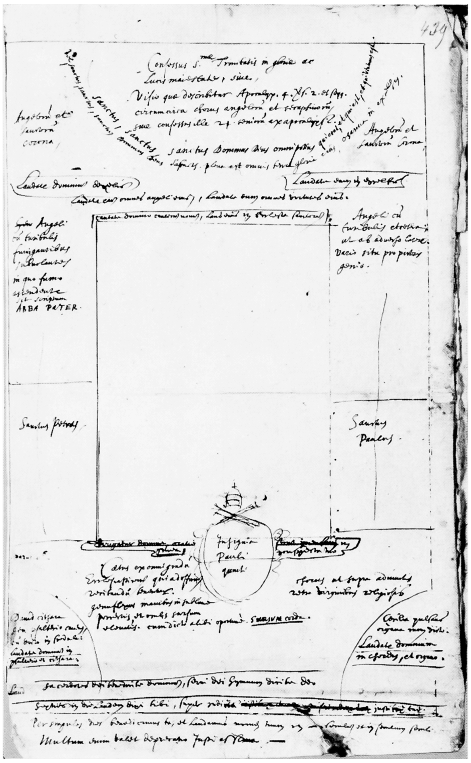

Figure 3 – Layout sketch for *Breviarium Romanum* 1614; pen and ink, Antwerp, MPM. In: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, fig. 75.

of his approach. The first sketches on paper, delineating a general idea in quick lines were called "crabbelinge", scribblings, by Rubens's contemporaries.[134] Rubens not only provided "crabbelinge" or sketches in chalk or ink, but also in oil on either paper or panel. Both the scribblings and oil sketches belong to the concept of *disegno* as the visual manifestation of *inventio*. Of importance in this art theoretical discourse was the invention as such, not how the "disegno" was fixed materially in order to be turned into art. As Linda and George Bauer explain, "disegni" were monochrome oil sketches in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy; Rubens uses the term in a letter from 1614, in which he describes one of his sketches a "dissegno colorito".[135] The "disegno" Rubens used was part of the liberal art discourse, and meant an art-theoretical concept that explicitly referred to the intellectual work embodied in the sketch.

Only in his later years did Rubens refer to his sketches as "schetse",[136] an expression that is also found ten years later in the will of Cornelis de Vos and his wife Suzanna Cock. Interestingly, in this

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[134] As for instance in the inventory of Erasmus II Quellinus (1607–1678) drawn up in March 1679: Quellinus owned a "Labor et Constantia Rubbens crabbelinge". Logan and Plomp 2005, p. 182; Bauer et al. 1999, pp. 528–529; Denucé 1932, p. 286; Duverger 1999, doc. 3333, p. 360.

[135] Bauer et al. 1999, p. 520; G. Martin 1968.

[136] Cf. the postscript to the letter by Rubens to Lucas Fayd'herbe 17 August 1638, Ruelens and Rooses 1972d, pp. 222–224: "Siet toch wel toe, als ghij vertrecken sult, dat alles wel opgesloten sij ende datter geene originaelen en blijven staen boven op het schilderhuys oft eenige schetsen."

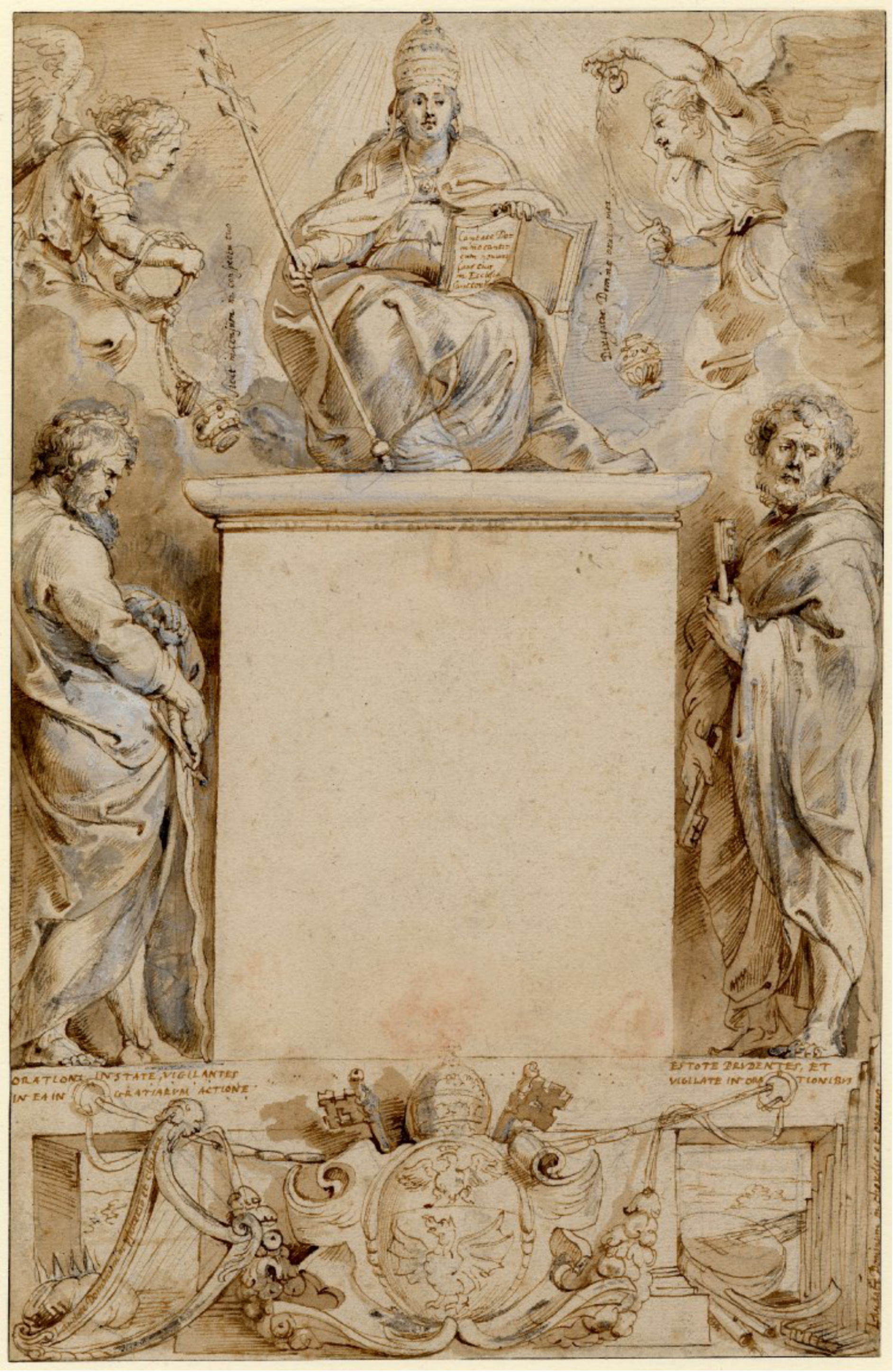
ORATIONI INSTATE, VIGILANTES
IN EA IN GRATIARUM ACTIONE
ESTOTE PRUDENTES, ET
VIGILATE IN ORATIONIBUS

Figure 4 – Drawing for *Breviarium Romanum* 1614; pen and ink, 342 × 222 mm. BM, 1881,0611.30. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

context the word was used to describe any sketches, be they on panel, canvas or paper, and does not distinguish between techniques, as did the previously used "disegno". Thus de Vos leaves his son all "the sketches made on panel, and on canvas and paper, as well as all tronies painted after the life".[137] In this enumeration he also makes no distinction of the type of material: no matter on what material the inventions are fixed, they are all called sketches and are thus identified by their function. The importance of these sketches is shown by explicitly including them in De Vos's will, just as they were explicitly mentioned in Rubens's.[138]

Various "crabbelinge" and sketches are still extant, and it is tempting to see only these title pages as "a Rubens" when such proof of his invention can be made.[139] While the search for Rubens's own hand is certainly important in its own right, the name that was below the engraving defined the title page as his design, irrespective of whom the drawing was made by.[140] Rubens provided designs as scribblings, oil sketches, and finished drawings.[141] For some prints Rubens first sketched a preliminary drawing in chalk with which he decided on a basic composition.[142] Only after this did he draw a more detailed composition in ink and wash on top of the chalk, so that he did not need a preliminary sketch on a separate piece of (expensive) paper. A first sketch is thus often found underneath the drawing. Rubens used this method both for the Aguilonius and the Breviary title page of the same year, although in general his use of chalk is erratic.[143] Even in a series of illustrations, such as for the Breviary, Rubens used chalk in some illustrations only. A drawing with a chalk underdrawing is probably by Rubens himself, following the usual argument for pentimenti, that they show the artist thinking. A copy, i.e. a second drawing after a finished sketch without considerable changes, is highly unlikely to be by Rubens himself, as Rubens would not need to duplicate a design that could be copied by an assistant.[144]

Attributions to Rubens become problematic, however, when the letters show his assistants drawing the sketches. Erasmus II Quellinus (1607–1678) received money for this service from Moretus even though Rubens's name appears on the finished print. As soon as Rubens had sketched a design, an assistant could draw, copy, or even paint it, as the workshop process here did not differ from that used for the paintings. Quellinus was one of the more important assistants in Rubens's

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[137] "Jan Baptista, den sone deser testateuren, naer hender beyder afflivicheyt desireerde ende begeerde aen te nemen ende themwaerts t'aenveerden allen de schetsen op panneel ende doeck ende caerte bladeren gemaeckt oick troniën die naer het leven geschildert zyn, midtsgaders de teeckeninghen op pampier allet soo die ter voors." in: Duverger 1991, p. 447.

[138] Cf. section 2.2.

[139] To call a title page "a Rubens" is in any case crass neglect of the engraver who was often mentioned by name on the prints; a neglect that is to some extent perpetuated in this dissertation, due to the focus on Rubens.

[140] Cf. section 1.3.

[141] This corresponds to the general working process in Rubens's workshop, cf. Schmiedlechner forthcoming.

[142] Cf. Renger 1974, p. 128.

[143] Ibid., p. 128, p. 131.

[144] Here I follow the socio-historical argument suggested by Büttner 2017a, p. 44.

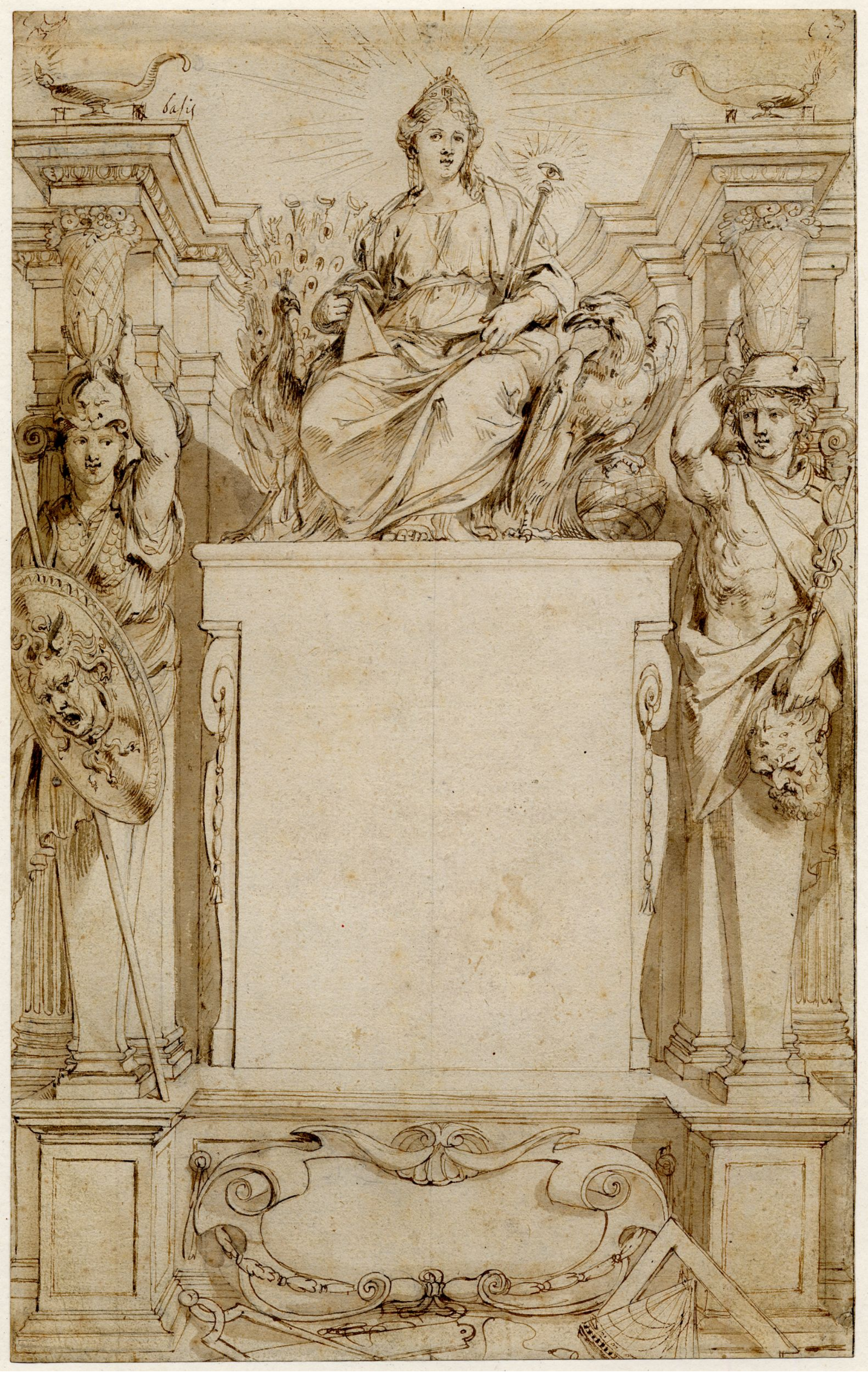

Figure 5 – Drawing for Aguilonius 1613, pen and ink, 304 × 190 mm. BM, 1861,0608.148. © The Trustees of the British Museum

title page production; he provided many designs for title pages from 1637 onwards, seven of these signed with Rubens's name.[145] The ledgers of the Guild of St Luke first mention him as a master painter in 1633–1634, and probably started to work for Rubens at around the same time.[146] In 1635, Quellinus painted several paintings for the Joyous Entry of the Cardinal Infant Ferdinand in Antwerp, for which six are signed by him.[147] In the following years he helped with the commission by King Philip IV for Torre de la Parada.[148] Quellinus is mentioned in the ledgers of the Officina Plantiniana and continued to design title pages even after Rubens's death. The other assistant to draw title pages was Abraham van Diepenbeeck (1596–1675) who became a member of the Antwerp Guild of St Luke in 1622/23 as a painter of stained-glass windows.[149] In the late 1620s, he prepared drawings for prints, theses and title pages in Rubens's workshop which he continued until his death. For the drawing of the *Vitae patrum* van Diepenbeeck received 20 guilders.[150]

Rubens often included text on his drawings as a verbal means of communication with the engraver or the authors. The first sketches in particular include specific instructions for the engraver next to the drawing: alterations or notes that would indicate a model or book to use in order to finish the sketch. As most drawings were later cut back by collectors it is possible that other drawings also included such notes. This even happened to the grisaille sketches on panel as, for example, with the *El viaje del Infante Cardenal* which was cut back to within 5 mm of the painted area.[151] On its left the remains of Rubens's writing are still visible. Rubens's note was transcribed by the art collector and print expert Pierre Jean Mariette when he cut the panel for aesthetic reasons and pasted onto the back of the painting. It was meant for the author of this work, the advisor and secretary of Cardinal Infante Ferdinand, Don Diego de Aedo y Galart, who was to become an important figure in South Netherlandish politics. The text, as transcribed by Mariette, hardly interprets the image, it rather takes account of what can be seen.[152] For an engraver who only received the oil sketch

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[145] Boyvin 1638; Chifflet 1640; Goltzius 1645a; Liutprandus 1640; Morgues 1637; Neapolis 1639; Rios y Alarcón 1641.

[146] Diels 2009, pp. 42–44; Logan and Plomp 2005, p. 182; Vlieghe 1992, p. 140; De Bruyn 1988; Vlieghe 1977; Hairs 1975.

[147] J. R. Martin 1972, passim.

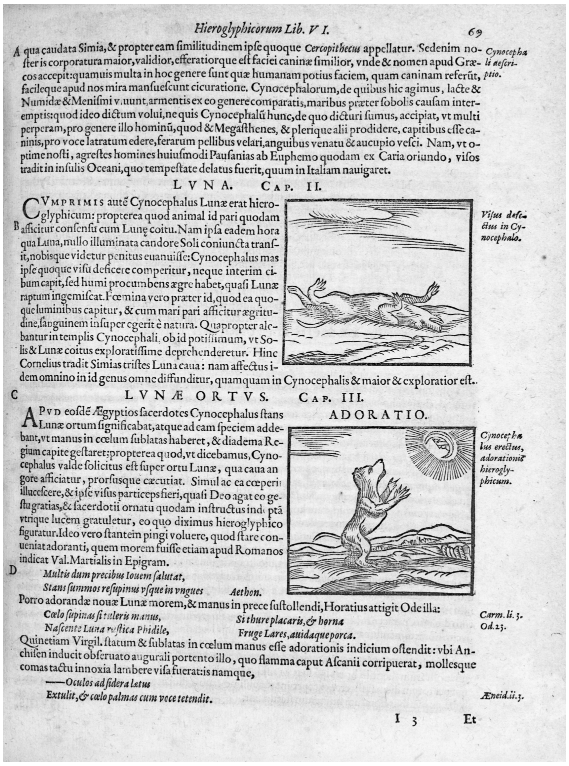
[148] Cf. Alpers 1971.

[149] Diels 2009, pp. 40–44; Vlieghe 1992, p. 138; Steadman 1982.

[150] Rosweyde 1628; cf. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, no. 55, pp. 246–248; Appendix III, p. 483 [105].

[151] Oil on panel, 281 × 226 mm; London, V&A, no. D. 1399–1891, Rubens.

[152] "Voicy l'explication du sujet de ce tableau telle que Rubens l'avoit ecrite luy même. 'L'Arme del Sigr Infante Carde. Si compara il viaggio di S.A. ad una Aquila volante, con un serpente trà le ungue. Duoi Geni che coronano S.A.Sma et hanno l'ale di papilione che dinotano l'eternità della sua gloria. La Vittoria che porge a l'aquila una corona alloro significa che mediante la vittoria di Nordlingh e ristorate l'Imperio. Gli duoi arbori di palme che sostengono l'arme di S. A. designano Vittoria, e forza perche l'alzano contra il peso. Marte gradivo per denotar le vittorie di S. A. ottenute nel far il suo viaggio.' Cecy etoit ecrit dela main de Rubens; sur les bords du tableau qui a été rogné pour le rendre d'une forme plus agréable, C'est le dessin d'un Frontispice de Livre intitulé le Voyage du Cardinal Infant. Il a été gravé par Marinus." ["Here is the explanation of the subject of this picture as written by Rubens himself. 'The arms of Cardinal Infant. The voyage of his highness is compared to a flying eagle, with a serpent in its talons. The two Genii crowning [the arms of] His Serene Highness have butterfly wings, which denote the eternity of his glory. Victory holds a laurel wreath up to the eagle which signifies that Empire was restored through the victory



Hieroglyphicorum Lib. VI. 69

A qua caudata Simia, & propter eam ſimilitudinem ipſe quoque *Cercopithecus* appellatur. Sedenim noſter is corporatura maior, validior, efferatiorque eſt faciei caninæ ſimilior, vnde & nomen apud Græcos accepit: quamuis multa in hoc genere ſunt quæ humanam potius faciem, quam caninam referūt, facileque apud nos mira manſueſcunt cicuratione. Cynocephalorum, de quibus hic agimus, lacte & Numidæ & Meniſmi viuunt, armentis ex eo genere comparatis, maribus præter ſobolis cauſam interemptis: quod ideo dictum volui, ne quis Cynocephalū hunc, de quo dicturi ſumus, accipiat, vt multi perperam, pro genere illo hominū, quod & Megaſthenes, & plerique alii prodidere, capitibus eſſe caninis, pro voce latratum edere, ferarum pellibus velari, anguibus venatu & aucupio veſci. Nam, vt optime noſti, agreſtes homines huiuſmodi Pauſanias ab Euphemo quodam ex Caria oriundo, viſos tradit in inſulis Oceani, quo tempeſtate delatus fuerit, quum in Italiam nauigaret.

Cynocephali deſcriptio.

LVNA. CAP. II.

CVMPRIMIS autē Cynocephalus Lunæ erat hieroglyphicum: propterea quod animal id pari quodam B afficitur conſenſu cum Lunę coitu. Nam ipſa eadem hora qua Luna, nullo illuminata candore Soli coniuncta tranſit, nobiſque videtur penitus euanuiſſe: Cynocephalus mas ipſe quoque viſu deficere comperitur, neque interim cibum capit, ſed humi procumbens ægre habet, quaſi Lunæ raptum ingemiſcat. Fœmina vero præter id, quod ea quoque luminibus capitur, & cum mari pari afficitur ægritudine, ſanguinem inſuper egerit è natura. Quapropter alebantur in templis Cynocephali, ob id potiſſimum, vt Solis & Lunæ coitus exploratiſſime deprehenderetur. Hinc Cornelius tradit Simias triſtes Luna caua: nam affectus idem omnino in id genus omne diffunditur, quamquam in Cynocephalis & maior & exploratior eſt.

Viſus defectus in Cynocephalo.

C LVNÆ ORTVS. CAP. III.

ADORATIO.

APVD eoſdē Ægyptios ſacerdotes Cynocephalus ſtans Lunæ ortum ſignificabat, atque ad eam ſpeciem addebant, vt manus in cœlum ſublatas haberet, & diadema Regium capite geſtaret; propterea quod, vt dicebamus, Cynocephalus valde ſolicitus eſt ſuper ortu Lunæ, qua caua angore afficiatur, prorſuſque cæcutiat. Simul ac ea cœperit illuceſcere, & ipſe viſus particeps fieri, quaſi Deo agat eo geſtu gratias, & ſacerdotii ornatu quodam inſtructus inde ptā vtrique lucem gratuletur, eo quo diximus hieroglyphico figuratur. Ideo vero ſtantem pingi voluere, quod ſtare conueniat adoranti, quem morem fuiſſe etiam apud Romanos indicat Val. Martialis in Epigram.

Cynocephalus erectus, adorationis hieroglyphicum.

D *Multis dum precibus Iouem ſalutat,*
Stans ſummos reſupinus vſque in vngues Aethon.

Porro adorandæ nouæ Lunæ morem, & manus in prece ſuſtollendi, Horatius attigit Ode illa:

Cœlo ſupinas ſi tuleris manus,
Naſcente Luna ruſtica Phidile,
Si thure placaris, & horna
Fruge Lares, auidaque porca.

Carm. li. 3. Od. 23.

Quinetiam Virgil. ſtatum & ſublatas in cœlum manus eſſe adorationis indicium oſtendit: vbi Anchiſen inducit obſeruato augurali portento illo, quo flamma caput Aſcanii corripuerat, molleſque comas tactu innoxia lambere viſa fuerat: is namque,

——Oculos ad ſidera lætus
Extulit, & cœlo palmas cum voce tetendit.

Æneid. ii. 3.

I 3 Et

Figure 6 – "Cynocephalus", in: Valeriano 1614, p. 69. © Heidelberg University Library

without the neat drawing, and had not often engraved Rubens's title pages, this text might have been some help. It explains, for instance, which coat of arms should be inserted into the empty field. Surely, however, in this case Rubens would not have written in Italian to the engraver Marinus Robin van der Goes.[153] Nevertheless, the case shows that even wooden panels were cut to produce collectibles. As other cases are known in which Rubens added comments on drawings, there might have been more comments on the drawings than are visible today.

The design for Aguilonius's *Opticorum Libri Sex*, for instance, has a note on the top of the left hand side of the drawing, giving the engraver instructions to raise the lamps onto bases, and it leaves the pedestals and the plinth empty (Fig. 5).[154] These empty spaces were then filled with images of the *cynocephali* by the engraver, faithfully using the images from Valerianus's *Hieroglyphica* (Fig. 6).[155] Petrus Valerianus (Pierio Valeriano, born Giovanni Pietro dalle Fosse, 1477–1558) was an

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at Nördlingen. The two palm trees supporting the arms of His Highness signify victory and strength for they hold the shield despite its weight. Mars is striding forward to indicate the victories worn by His Highness on his voyage.' This was written by Rubens at the side of the picture later cut down to make it more agreeable in shape. It is the design for a Frontispiece of a book entitled The Voyage of the Cardinal Infant. It was engraved by Marinus."] Trsl. from *War and Victory Model for Oil Painting* 2018.

[153] Cf. Hollstein 1955, p. 169–170.

[154] Drawing, chalk, pen and ink, 304 × 190 mm; BM, no. 1861,0608.148. Bertram 2016.

[155] Valeriano 1610.

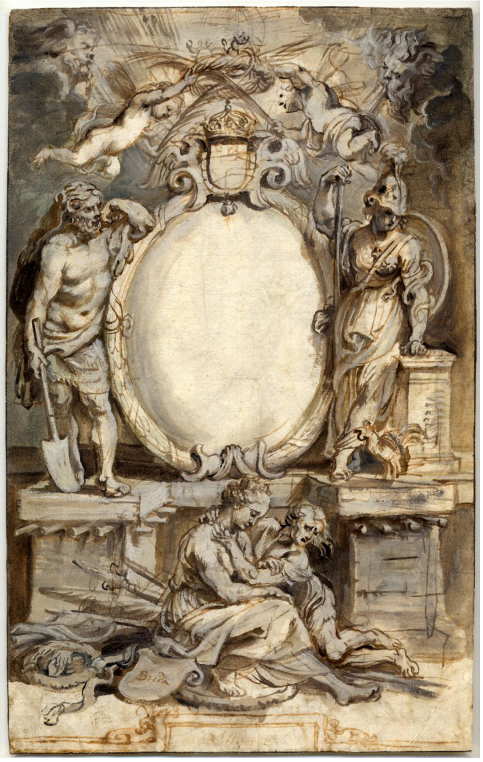

Figure 7 – Drawing for Hugo 1626; pen, brown ink and wash, heightened, 308 × 195 mm. BM, 1994,0514.45. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Italian humanistic scholar who specialised in Egyptian hieroglyphics, and whose work had a huge impact on allegorical inventions as his work was printed in various editions all over Europe. The instruction to use the images from Valerianus could have been added to the drawing and later cut off by a collector.

This practice of leaving blanks to be added to with the help of reference works, can also be observed in the making of the title page for de Bie's *Imperatorum Romanorum* of 1615 (Fig. 17 on page 116). Rubens probably made the drawing for this title page as early as January 1611, according to a letter by Rockox to De Bie.[156] In the drawing, which is not preserved, Rubens included a note next to the figure in which he told the engraver to use the head of Roma, as depicted in the *Fasti* by Goltzius, as a model.[157]

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[156] Letter from Rockox to De Bie, 3 Jan 1611: "[J]e vous envoyé icy ce que Monsr Rubens at conceu touchant le frontispice de vostre livre, ce qui me plaît fort en cas que le trouvez bon il le mettrat en net, c'est la déesse Moneta." in: Ruelens and Rooses 1972b, p. 25.

[157] Letter from Rockox to De Bie, 26 Feb 1611: "vous pourez adviser si le laisserez tailler à Cornille Galle, ou si le ferez vous mesmes, en quel cas il vous faudrat bien considérer ce qu'il at escript du costet de la figure, à prendre quelque belle teste de Rome en la bague, hors des fastes de Goltzius. La figure est du tout à l'antique jusques aux piedts." Ibid., p. 28, Bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles, Ms. no. 14466. ["You can decide whether you will have it engraved by Cornelis Galle or do it yourself. In that case you will have to keep in mind what he has written next to the figure and take some beautiful head of Roma in the ring from the Fasti of Goltzius." trsl. in: Held 1977, p. 26.] Cf. section 4.2.

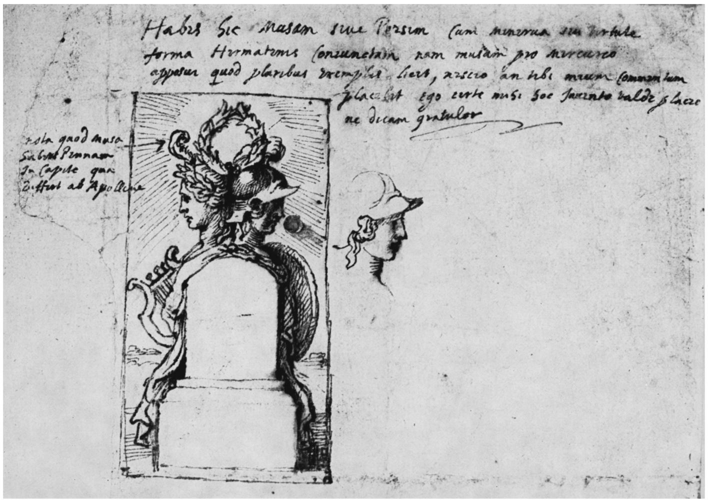
Habes hic Musam sive Poesim cum Minerva seu virtute
forma Hermatenis coniunctam nam musam pro mercurio
apposui quod pluribus exemplis licet, nescio an tibi meum commentum
placebit ego certe mihi hoc invento valde placeo
ne dicam gratulor
nota quod musa
habet pennam
in capite quae
differt ab Apolline

Figure 8 – Rubens, drawing for Bauhuis et al. 1634, Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum; in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, fig. 112.

These two examples, however, constitute the earliest title pages Rubens designed, and it is possible that he abandoned adding instructions or that it became unnecessary through the lasting cooperation with Galle. It is also possible that he decided to draw over his initial scribblings to save paper, as not many first sketches for title pages are preserved. One example is the sketch for Hugo's *Obsidio Bredana* in which the architecture is sketched quickly and very roughly, and the coat of arms of Breda is only verbally indicated (Fig. 7).[158] The neat drawing is more detailed and preciser in its lines and is traced for transfer.[159] Because of "weaknesses" found in this and comparable drawings, it was suggested that the engraver or one of his assistants had done the second drawing.[160] The socio-historical argument, that the master did not repeat himself, only corroborates that.[161]

A later example of a drawing with Rubens's explanation is highly interesting as it not merely offers information for the engraver, but also a justification for the invention.[162] Next to the sketch for Bauhusius's *Epigrammata* Rubens drew the attention to the existence of a feather on the head of the muse, maybe in order to emphasise a detail that might have been overlooked otherwise (Fig. 8). However, a note considering the whole composition is added to the same paper:

> You have here the Muse or Poetry with Minerva or Virtue joined in the shape of a Hermathene. I have placed there the Muse instead of Mercury which is permissible on

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[158] Hugo 1626. DPBM, inv. no. 853 n; pen, brown ink and wash, heightened; 310 × 196 mm.

[159] Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Cat. 1883, no. 606; black chalk, reinforced with pen and brown ink, grey wash, heightened with body colour; 310 × 210 mm. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, no. 55a, pp. 243.

[160] Cf. also the Drawing for Bosio's *Crux Triumphans* in the V&A, no. Dyce 544, pen and brown ink and wash, 315 × 205 mm, Ibid., no. 37a, p. 183.

[161] Büttner 2017a, p. 44.

[162] Bauhuis et al. 1634, pen and brown ink; 120 × 170 mm, MPM, no. 389.

> the basis of several examples. I do not know if you will like my idea. I, myself, am quite pleased with it and almost compliment myself for it.[163]

It might have been addressed to the publisher rather than the engraver, as the drawing usually circulated among all parties concerned, and the note underlined the validity of an invention that was not well-known. In order to save paper, a more detailed profile of Minerva was provided next to the sketch, as that in the sketch was not quite legible. The format of the title pages was small, thus the quick sketch was sufficient and the lines of tracing visible in the pedestal of the *Musathena* confirm that this was the only drawing made for the engraver.

The Engraving and Printing of a Title Page

Before the engraver could cut the plate, he needed a drawing that could be traced onto the plate. It is unclear who drew this as Rubens had probably no single, standardised procedure; he occasionally even painted the design of the title page instead of drawing it. An oil sketch, however, did not provide the necessary details for the work of an engraver, so that the latter most probably had an assistant from his workshop make an additional drawing after which he could then work. Thus it is doubtful whether the painted oil sketches were indeed "easier for the engraver to read when he was cutting the broad areas of light and shadow".[164] The engraver needed a good preparatory drawing in which the lines were clearly expressed, and Renger already observed that it was imperative for the engraver to have a drawing with as much detail as possible to work from. He speculated that it was most probably gout that induced Rubens to take a brush instead of a pen to which the grisaille sketches attest, that are all from his later years.[165]

For 21 title pages drawings in pen, brown ink and brown ink wash are preserved which are either by Rubens, Galle, Quellinus, or another assistant.[166] At least 15 of these drawings were traced for transfer, which means that they were detailed enough and did neither need to be reversed nor redrawn because of issues with clarity.[167] Usually Rubens did consider the need to reverse his designs when designing something for engravers or for tapestry production.[168] The rare exceptions are the drawings for Hugo's *Obsdio Bredana* and Corderius's *Catena Sexaginta … in S. Lucam* which are not reversed.[169]

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[163] "Habes hic Musam siue Poesim cum Minerua seu Virtute forma Hermatenis coniunctam nam musam pro Mercurio apposui quod pluribus exemplis licet, nescio an tibi meum commentum placebit ego certe mihi hoc inuento valde placeo ne dicam gratulor." Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, no. 63a, pp. 270–271.

[164] Ibid., p. 28.

[165] Renger 1974, p. 140. Cordier 1628, Oil on paper, pasted upon canvas, 310 x 215 mm, London, Collection of Count Seilern, Rubens; Sarbiewski 1632, MPM, Rubens; Gevaerts 1642, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. no. 240, Rubens; Aedo y Gallart 1635, London, V&A, no. D 1399–1891, Rubens.

[166] For the drawings see: Aguilonius 1613, London, DPBM, no. R 1234, accepted as Rubens ; *Breviarium Romanum* 1614, London, DPBM, no. 1881.6.11.30, Rubens; Bosio 1617, London, V&A, no. Dyce 544, Judson, Burchard, Parker accept it as Rubens; *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620, Amsterdam, Coll. Professor J.Q. van Regieren Altena, Rubens; Tornielli 1620, London, DPBM. no. 853 l, accepted as Rubens, A. Diepenbeek in centre; Mudzaert 1622, Haarlem, Teylers Museum, no. O 25, Rubens(?); Haraeus 1623, London, DPBM, no. 1895.9.15.1058, accepted as C. Galle; Hugo 1626, London, DPBM, no. 853 n, considered Rubens; Blois 1632, London, DPBM, no. 1895.9.15.1042, C. Galle (Judson), generally accepted as Rubens(?); Bauhuis et al. 1634, MPM, no. 389, Rubens; Bidermann 1634, MPM, no. 388, by Rubens; Areopagita 1634, Oxford, Ashmolean M., no. 202, Rubens and engraver(?); Pietrasanta 1634, Fondation Custodia, Paris, no. 1971.T.2, Galle; Barberini 1634, MPM, no. 390, by Galle; Lipsius 1637, MPM, no. 395, Rubens and Galle(?); Morgues 1637, MPM, no. 411, Quellinus; Boyvin 1638, MPM, no. 399, Quellinus; Liutprandus

The records do not show how long it took to cut and print the engravings, as the price was usually paid for the whole lot after the printing. Nevertheless, both engraving and printing would most likely have taken months rather than weeks. For the *Diverses pieces pour la defense de la Royne mère* Cornelis Galle received the plate and the drawing from Moretus on the 22 of July, and one month later he sent the finished title back to Moretus.[170] This did not mean that the title was completely finished: the letters were still missing and Galle had sent the title without having made a proof print. For corrections by "the inventor", painted directly onto the proof, this had to be printed first. Then the engraving went back to Galle whose workshop was at that time located in Brussels. He received the corrections in the beginning of September and recut the engraving before his son added the letters. All in all, the engraving was thus finished within six to eight weeks, and was ready to be printed in mid-September.

Galle was not paid for the printing of 275 copies of the title page for the *Defense* until December, thus there is no estimate as to how long the actual printing would have taken him.[171] The printing of large editions could take months: for the fifth volume of the second Plantinian edition of the *Annales*, for instance, the printing of 966 impressions took place between 23 February and 6 April 1602, which sounds like a reasonable time for almost 1,000 prints.[172] The records do not show how many other works the printer had to print at the same time beside the one commission, how long the working days were or what other obstacles had to be overcome during the printing. Generally, the time needed for this task depended on the availability of paper, of printers, of presses, and

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1640, MPM, no. 397, Quellinus; Neapolis 1639, MPM, no. 400, Quellinus; Rios y Alarcón 1641, MPM, no. 401, Quellinus; Goltzius 1645a, MPM, no. 398, Quellinus.

[167] Aguilonius 1613; Areopagita 1634; Barberini 1634; Bauhuis et al. 1634; Bidermann 1634; Blois 1632; Bosio 1617; *Breviarium Romanum* 1614; *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620; Haraeus 1623; Hugo 1626; Lipsius 1637; Liutprandus 1640; Mudzaert 1622; Pietrasanta 1634.

[168] Poorter 1978, p. 87.

[169] Ibid., p. 87.

[170] Morgues 1637; Letters from Galle to Moretus, 22 Jul 1637 and 18 Aug 1637, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, pp. 287–388.

[171] Ibid., p. 477.

[172] Cf. MPM no. 123, fols. 7r–8r for the relevant records, in: Bowen and Imhof 2005, p. 272. The printing itself is a lengthy process, which is made faster only marginally by a larger number of prints. The ink has to be worked into the plate and then lightly taken off by hand before it can be printed on a roller press. This process takes considerable time for each impression even if a skilled printer is at work, and takes longer the bigger the print is. The plate is cleaned after each impression, however, so that the printing of several impressions per day will have been faster. Inking an engraving cannot, in any case, be compared to the inking of a woodcut for which a dabber would be used.

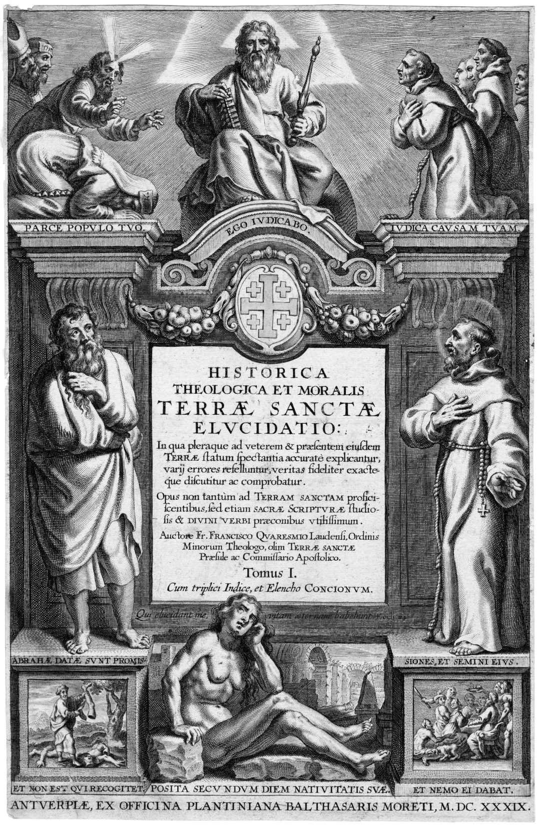

Figure 9 – Erasmus Quellinus, Title page for Quaresimus 1639; engraving, 311 × 201 mm, by Cornelis Galle I. BM, 1895,1031.391. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

other practicabilities in the printer's workshop, which might not have been at the printers' disposal due to adverse conditions in war-plagued Europe. Moretus explains in a letter to Van Haeften in 1633 that he had to stop printing *Via Crucis*, as war in Lorraine had destroyed paper mills and killed craftsmen.[173] It is also not known what happened to the title pages after they had been printed, but they were probably delivered to the publisher, to be inserted into the books in the sorting room of the establishment.[174]

In any case, it was a long process, with corrections made at each stage of the production, either by Rubens or Galle. The first and second drawings were already corrected, but the main corrections were made after the first printing. A comparison of proofs with the finished title pages shows that the contrast was often changed: usually the shadows had to be reworked, often with the intention to reduce the contrast in the engraving.[175] Correcting the proof is a necessary stage in printing, as only the print will show the precise effect of the work. Although an engraver would be able to tell the relative depth and the closeness of his lines, both ways of influencing the darkness in the print, only the print can show where it needs to be retouched in order to get the desired contrast. A good example for these points is a letter Quellinus wrote to Galle on the back of a proof print (Figs. 9).[176]

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[173] Letter from Moretus to Van Haeften, 26 Jan 1633, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 396.

[174] The inventory of Verdussen's workshop mentions the "Grote sorteerkamer beneden" 1,638 copies of books and 1,405 reams of paper were stored. The term suggests that there also was a smaller sorting room. Van Rossem 2014a, Fig. 3.6, p. 103.

[175] The extant proofs with the pages referring to Judson and Van de Velde 1977a: Bosio 1617, Paris, BN, no. CC 31, f° 87, p. 182; *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620, BN, no. CC 31, f° 58, p. 214; Tornielli 1620, BN,

> Signor Galle, Greetings. I hope you will not mind my frank opinion about this print which has been very well engraved. Yet it is not quite clear what God the Father, sitting with his sceptre in the center above, holds in his right hand. In order to facilitate a better execution I should like to inform you that it is a book with seven leather straps, each of which has a seal in this manner [see the drawing at the left] like those which hang from the deeds issued by aldermen. Furthermore, the head of the same God the Father is rather large, as are his hands, particularly his left one, and most of the heads are in fact somewhat too large, one more than the other, as I have indicated here. These corrections can easily be made on the plate. Also, the basic tone of the architecture, done with crosshatchings, looks rather dark and hard, and might well be shaded somewhat lighter. There are also other things here and there indicated in the retouching. Farewell. I remain, your friend and ready servant E. Quellinus[177]

The engraver is not known, but the problems that Quellinus addresses are details lacking precision and mistakes in proportion especially in hands and heads. It is a very good example of the necessary communication between designer and engraver. The engraver seems to have been a novice working in the Galle workshop, as the proportions of the figures were inadequate, a rather basic problem. The areas retouched by Quellinus on the proof directly are those of shading, such as the general tone of the architecture that was cut too darkly and needed to be lightened up. Similar corrections can be observed on all the corrected proofs extant of Rubens's title pages.

2.3 Material Aspects of the Production

When working with early modern title pages, several material aspects of the production have to be considered: the production costs of the book and its title page, the print run, and the format of the book. All of these factors can influence an interpretation considerably, and all can be taken as indicators of the value of a book, be it the material value, its market value, or the social value.

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no. CC 31, f°78, p. 210; Haraeus 1623, BN no. CC 31, f° 75, p. 229; Blois 1632, BN, no. CC 31, f° 80, p. 262; Areopagita 1634, Teylers Museum, Haarlem and Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden; Barberini 1634, BN, no. CC 31, f° 32, p. 284; Lipsius 1637, Amsterdam, RP, no. OB 4303, also with stronger contrast, p. 302–303; Morgues 1637, RP, p. 313; Liutprandus 1640, BN, no. Vol. AA, p. 322; Goltzius 1645a, BN, no. CC 31, f° 85, no. 106, p. 343.

[176] BM, no. 1895,1031.391. Quaresimus 1639.

[177] Held 1977, p. 16.

Among other things, these values indicate the buyers targeted with these publications, although much has yet to be learned about them. The production costs of books, including the price and the costs of an engraved title page, the print run or its format reveal much about the relevance of books and thus a possible reason for the involvement of Rubens.

The Price and the Costs of an Engraved Title Page

First and foremost, an illustrated title page meant additional expenses for the publisher or a patron. The main costs were usually paid by the owner of the plate to an engraver's workshop for the engraving and the printing of the title page, which thus meant a profound investment. For the copper plate itself, Moretus paid between 2 and 6 guilders.[178] Often the plate would be sent to the engraver together with the design, having been acquired by the publisher and remaining in his hands afterwards. Those engraved copper plates that are still in the archives of the MPM were usually ordered and paid for by Balthasar Moretus.[179]

The plates, just as the types and woodblocks with illustrations, were the capital of a printer-publisher and were either used again for later editions or reused for similar books. This happened to many Rubens titles: eight plates (17%) were reused for other editions, sometimes by a different printer,[180] while seven (15%) were used for a different title.[181] Those plates that were not reused for other publications or editions were often plates for books too specific to be used again for other titles. All those with dedicatory elements could not easily be reused when the dedicatee had already died with their specific imagery and iconographic references, especially when the courts in Madrid or Brussels, or the Pope, were involved.

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[178] Cf. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a: Letter from Moretus and Meurs to Hompes, 18 Jul 1620; "Paid for the copper of the plate 2 guilders 4.", p. 401 (i.e. for *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620.); 9 Aug 1608: "Advanced for copper for all the above-named plates paid together 10 guilders 10.", p. 450 (i.e. to T. Galle: plates for the illustrations in P. Rubens 1608.); 4 Feb 1626: "Made corrections to the title, 6 guilders, and 4 guilders for the copper." p. 465; 10 Nov 1626: "Purchased the copper for the title of Vitae Patrum 6 guilders.", p. 466; 11 Jul 1637: "Purchased the copper for the title in-folio for La Royne Mere, totalling 4 guilders 18", p. 476.

[179] Engraved copper plates in the MPM: Aguilonius 1613, no. MPM.KP.0081.D; *Breviarium Romanum* 1614, no. MPM.KP.0167.D; Bosio 1617, no. MPM.KP.0162.D; L. Lessius 1617, no. MPM.KP.0134.D; Nonnius 1620, , no. MPM.KP.0441.C; Tornielli 1620, no. MPM.KP.0168.D; Mascardi 1622, no. MPM.KP.0105.C; Haraeus 1623, nos. MPM.KP.0019.D and MPM.KP.0427.C (Vol III); Longo a Coriolano 1623, no. MPM.KP.0138.D; Hugo 1626, no. MPM.KP.0046.D; Rosweyde 1628, no. MPM.KP.0073.D; Sarbiewski 1632, no. MPM.KP.0103.C; Areopagita 1634, no. MPM.KP.0137.D; Pietrasanta 1634, no. MPM.KP.0141; Barberini 1634, no. MPM.KP.0199.C; Lipsius 1637, no. MPM.KP.0061.D; Morgues 1637, no. MPM.KP.0039.D; Simoninus 1637, no. MPM.KP.0103.C; Boyvin 1638, no. MPM.KP.0104.C; Liutprandus 1640, no. MPM.KP.0018.D; Rios y Alarcón 1641, no. MPM.KP.0038.D; Goltzius 1645a, no. MPM.KP.0104.D. Some plates, however, came later into the collection.

[180] De Bie 1615, second edition in 1627; Steen 1616, reused in 1618, 1623 and 1630 by Nutius, and again in 1648 by Van Meurs; *Biblia Sacra* 1617, reused in 1634 by Van Meurs; Ribadeneyra and Rosweyde 1619, reused in 1629, 1649, 1665, and 1686; Mudzaert 1622, reused in 1624 edition, slightly altered; Pietrasanta 1634, reused in 1682 by Janssonius, Waesbergius and Wetstenius in Amsterdam; Goltzius 1644 reused in 1708 by Verdussen, just as Goltzius 1645a.

[181] Augustín et al. 1617 and Goltzius 1618 reused in Goltzius 1645b; Mascardi 1622, reused for two editions of Don Francisco de Borja's *Las Obras en Verso* in 1654 and 1663; Mudzaert 1622, reused in Labata's *Thesaurus Moralis* in 1652; Scribani 1624, reused in N. Turlot's *Trésor de la doctrine chestienne* in 1631 and its Latin edition in 1668; Hugo 1626 reused in 1627, 1629, 1631; Sarbiewski 1632 reused in Simoninus 1637.

Some few plates did not belong to the printer but to other parties, such as the copper plate for *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers*, published in 1620. [182] The patent of the book shows that the civic authorities and the nobility of the Duchy of Gelderland granted Johan Hompes of Roermond the right to publish it. Six chapters discuss the provincial and municipal rights of the citizens of Gelderland, including a description of crimes and abuses, of contract law and the prerequisites of the region's trade. While Hompes printed the book in Cologne, the title page was produced by Balthasar Moretus and Jan van Meurs in Antwerp, who, at that time, were working together in a joint venture. The council paid for the title page, which is why it is still in the Gemeentemuseum in Roermond.[183]

The title page shows Albert's coat-of-arms in the centre, topped by a knight on a rearing horse (the standard depiction of a Spanish ruler), the devices of Gelderland and of Roermond on the sides, and the Archduke and the Archduchess flanking the title. The inclusion of the many coats-of-arms announces this work as an official production written under the rulership of Albert and Isabella—both shown to excel. The Spanish king, whom Albert and Isabella represented in the Netherlands, ruled not by arms only, as the banners carried by two angels above the image of the king announce: "Armis et legibus | vtroque clarescere pulchrum."[184] The book is a legal document and thus a tool in ruling a kingdom by law. Rubens often used the garland of fruit to indicate successful rulership, and it has here a similar function to the horn of plenty in other depictions.

The title page not only celebrates the rulers of the Southern Netherlands, it also affirms their power on all relevant levels: the king, the archdukes, the dukedom, and finally the municipality of Roermond, are shown in a hierarchical order from top to bottom. The title page was thus a proclamation and affirmation of the existing order in the Duchy of Gelderland, which is why the council came up for its costs. Consequently, in 1620, Moretus and van Meurs listed the costs for the publisher Hompes, incidentally offering a rare insight into the whole costs of title page production:

2 guilders and 4 Stuivers for the copper plate
12 guilders for Rubens's drawing
65 guilders to Hans Collaert for cutting the plate
2 guilders for cutting the letters
4 guilders and 10 Stuivers for the paper

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[182] *Gelresche Rechten des Rvremvndtschen Qvartiers* 1620.

[183] Copper Plate: 303 x 187 mm; Roermond, Gemeentemuseum, no. 1428. Johan Hompes was reimbursed by the Council for all expenses of the title page on 24 July 1620. Cf. Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, pp. 495–496.

[184] By arms and laws / it is beautiful to excel by both.

10 guilders for the printing of the engraving
8 guilders for the delivery of letters.[185]

At 12 guilders, Rubens is paid 8 guilders less than he would usually charge for a design in folio. It is also very close to the costs of the delivery of the letters and not much more expensive than the engraving—Rubens certainly does not show himself overpriced.[186] He possibly wanted less money because the book in question was an official book conceived by the council of Gelderland and paid with civic money. After all, Rubens was a court painter, and maybe such a task was expected of him.

But also the engraver was rather cheap, compared to the prices charged by the Galle workshop at the same time. Galle's prices increased over the years: in around 1601, the Galle workshop charged 25 guilders for a title page in folio; in around 1612–13 this had already increased to 75 guilders, while an 8° in the twenties cost 25 guilders to be cut, and a quarto 32 guilders; in 1628 Cornelis Galle charged 80 guilders for the *Catena Patrum*; and in the thirties the Galle workshop charged 90 to 100 guilders for engraving a folio copper plate, 38 to 44 guilders for a quarto, and 28 guilders for an octavo.[187] It is possible that prices rose in general during the first quarter of the seventeenth century due to inflation, but in 1620, Collaert charged at least 10 guilders less than Galle for engraving a title in folio. This could also be due to Collaert charging less in general, but little is known about Collaert's prices.

Rubens's and Collaert's pricing was in any case moderate, but even so, the total amount for the title page was 103 guilders and 14 stuivers.[188] With these prices in mind, it is easy to understand the many checks and phases of correction that were used in the production process. And so Moretus always made sure that he himself and the author saw the drawing before Galle or any other engraver or etcher was touching the plate.[189]

It is difficult, however, to compare early modern prices to each other as they depended on the difficulty the work represented and on the commissioner, as could be seen by Rubens's price for the book of customs by the council of Gelderland. Just as Rubens, Cornelis Galle had standard prices for Moretus. There are only two known instances in which the standard price for the cutting of a title page differed. One instance is the price of the title page of the *Sacrosancti et oecumenici Concilii Tridentini* finally published in 1640, which was raised from 15 guilders to 18 because its small size had made it difficult for the engraver.[190] This problem was known to Chifflet, the editor of this small volume, as he surmises in an earlier letter that Galle might not be able or willing to devote his “bold burin” to the “smallness of so many tiny figures” depicted in the title page.[191] The book was a duodecimo and thus the small figures would indeed have been difficult to cut. To use so many figures in a small format is also highly untypical of Rubens who was always very considerate in using images that suited the format of the book. There is little doubt that a publisher thought twice before ordering a title page for a book, considering the high expenses of a title page. Two material aspects could induce him to do so, one of which was the expectation of customers and the other was the print run.

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[185] Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 214.

[186] I thank Katharina Frank for this observation.

[187] Bowen and Imhof 2005, p. 274; cf. also the charges transcribed in Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, Appendix III, Extracts from the Accounts of the Plantin Press, no. 3: Payments to Theodore Galle, pp. 450–481.

[188] In 1633 Theodore Galle charged Moretus two and a half day's wages for checking the Medals by Goltzius 4 guilders 8 stuivers which gives an indication what would have been earned at this time per day; even considering that the monetary value had changed over the thirteen years, the 8 guilders thus represented almost four day's wages. Ibid., p. 472.

[189] Cf. for instance Letter from Moretus to Galle, 09 Mar 1639, in: ibid., p. 392; Letter from Moretus to Galle, 08 May 1639, in: ibid., pp. 392–393.

The Print Run

The print run could lower the expenses per book ensuing from a title page, but that only was useful if the publisher was able to sell the whole edition. Printing more impressions of the same title than could be sold would result in having the house full of books without being able to sell them. Storage added inventory costs to the production of a book, which the Officina Plantiniana seems to have avoided.

It is unclear how full the stocks in the Officina Plantiniana were, but Moretus seems to have calculated very well, and reduced the print run if he thought that a book would not sell well. In what sounds like a justification addressed to Philip Chifflet in 1623, he emphasises that some authors, however important and learned, such as Justus Lipsius, would only be read by a small number of people and almost required a patron in order to justify the publisher’s risk of printing.[192] As a good example he mentions Agostino Mascardi who bought 500 copies of his own book on poetry, half of the whole edition, in order to enable Moretus to print it. The size of this edition has been inferred by the payment of 8 guilders to Galle on January 7, 1622 for printing 1,000 impressions of the title page.[193] It is very probable that this edition only had an expensive title page because the author had found a patron who paid for half the edition himself. Other printers handled this differently:

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[190] “... want het heeft in sijn kleynte groote moeyte ghehat.” Letter from Galle to Moretus, 28 Jan 1640, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, pp. 394–395.

[191] Letter from Chifflet to Moretus, 14 Jan 1640, in: ibid., p. 380.

[192] Letter from Moretus to Chifflet, 15 Jun 1623: “Ipsius (quod mireris) sapientiae et litterarum quondam Antistitis, IUSTI inquam Lipsi, opera enim non nisi à paucissimis emuntur. Itaque deinceps Maecenatis alicuius auxilium adesse oportet, ne typographus omnem solus iacturam in libris illis cudendis sustineat. Ita Augustini Mascardi Silvas non tam meo quam Auctoris aere excudi, qui quingenta earum exemplaria assumpsit.” [“Even the works (you will be surprised) of that former Leader of wisdom and literature, I mean Justus Lipsius, are only bought by a small number of people. Therefore, there ought to be the help of some Maecenas, so that the printer does not have to sustain alone all the risks of such an edition. Thus I have printed the Silvae of Agostino Mascardi, not so much with my money as with the author’s, since he bought 500 copies of the book.” Trsl. by Ibid., p. 370.]

[193] Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 218.

the Verdussens, for instance, did not mind paying for stocking large quantities of books and even acquired a warehouse in which the majority of the copies could be kept in stock.[194]

As far as the Plantinian records show, the print runs varied from book to book. Liturgical books, for which the Officina Plantiniana held the monopoly for a long time, had very different print runs than books that were intended for the Dutch market only. The sizes of the editions for titles with Rubens's title pages ranged from 300 to 5,000 copies.[195] 16 works with Rubens's title pages were printed in the usual size of 1,000 to 1,500, while for another 16 the print run is not known. In general, Jan Materné showed that assuming 1,000 to 1,500 copies per print run as a standard is not always justified. In the Plantinian office a print run of more than 2,000 copies increased from 7% to 29% in the time between the 1590s and the later 1640s, while smaller editions decreased.[196]

Printing costs were, of course, drastically reduced if a larger edition was printed, as the setting of the type would have been the main effort and a large cost factor. The rather expensive printing costs of a title page would shrink to some stuivers per book in a large print run, still expensive enough, but nevertheless manageable. So printers would have to negotiate between the saleability of a book, its printing costs, and the costs for storage. If the account of Jan Van Meurs can be believed, the Plantinian publishing house was more like a bakery, in which people bought their daily bread:[197] the liturgical books with their print runs of 3,000 were generally sold within a year.[198]

It is, however, difficult to make general assumptions as both print runs and prices depended on the kind of book, both in content and appearance—the Plantinian production consisted not only of liturgical books—and on the time of production. The situation for booksellers before the outbreak of the Thirty Years War differed substantially from the situation after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648: the Frankfurt fair, for instance, lost its importance in the course of the century.[199] Additionally, the Officina Plantiniana at the beginning of the seventeenth century tended to print diversified works to serve a greater variety of customers: the same titles were printed in several editions with varying qualities of paper, differing formats and illustrations.[200] Although 1,215 copies could be called a standard print run of a non-liturgical title and thus also the usual number of prints pulled from a plate, the print run varied considerably for a number of reasons: it depended on the number of customers expected, the production habits of the printing house, the market for which it was intended, the kind of book, the author, and the patrons involved.

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[194] It is very interesting to see the number of books in the house mentioned by the inventories made at the deaths of the three generations of Verdussens. In 1635, 81,325.5 copies were mentioned for Hieronymus I in 9 places all over the house apart from the shop, and including two hallways. In the second generation the number of copies was reduced to 61,810 publications in 8 locations within the house and four shops. In the third generation this was even more reduced to 55,234 with 34,996 in the external warehouse and the rest in 6 places in the house, as well as in the shop. Van Rossem 2014a, pp. 102–108.

[195] Lipsius's work was occasionally printed in smaller editions, as for instance Lipsius 1637, and the small volume of Sarbiewsky's work, Sarbiewski 1634, reached a print run of 5,000.

[196] Materné 1991, p. 482.

[197] Ibid., p. 486; MPM, no. 157 f 665.

[198] The Missale Romanum in folio was printed in at least 70 issues from 1590 to 1650, in total 31,400 copies. Ibid., p. 486; MPM, nos. 1229, 1232.

[199] Ibid., p. 488. For the decline of the book trade and the Frankfurt Fair, cf. Rovelstad 1973, pp. 118–119. For the representation of the Officina on the Frankfurt book fair, cf. Lauwaert 1972.

[200] Materné 1991, p. 484; MPM, no. 157, f° 37.

Very often print runs are estimated according to the number of title page impressions ordered from the printer's workshop. These estimates should be treated with caution, however: the first edition of Sarbiewski's *Lyricorum libri tres* was reprinted or reissued later and the title page of the first edition reused with the date slightly altered, thus in effect constituting a second, so far uncounted, edition.[201] Additionally, the old title page of Lessius's *De iustitia et iure* was used for part of the 1617 edition (at least one example of this combination is extant), making it possible that not all of the 1,000 prints of the new title page were used for this edition. As it is almost impossible to trace all the copies of a book, it is equally impossible to know if an engraved title page was used much later for a second edition or if copies were sold without an illustrated title page, maybe at a lower price.

Often the existence of an engraved title page is used to propose a print run of 1,000 copies, because it was assumed that a copper would be worn down after pulling this number of prints from it. The problems with this assumption have been highlighted by the research of Karen Bowen and Dirk Imhof on the title page of the Plantinian edition of Baronius's *Annales* and its four plates.[202] Their study is particularly interesting as it helps to correct print run estimates and shows that plates can offer no real indications as to how large an edition might have been: the last plate used for the printing of the *Annales* exceeds all expectations.

This last plate was used for more than 50 years: from when it was engraved in 1601 until 1658, covering multiple volumes and editions. Additionally, the number of impressions pulled from it is staggering: on the basis of the printed images combined with archival documents, Bowen and Imhof counted 18,257 impressions—superseding the 50 to 2,000 impressions that various authors believed to have been the maximum of high quality impressions pulled from one plate.[203] The central part was also removed from this plate to be able to insert smaller plates with the title only. This practice, known from xylographic title pages or borders, made it easier for the printers to substitute the titles for the various volumes. This indicates that the plate was by then expected to last for many impressions of multiple volumes. That the central part was only removed after the first 3,821 impressions could be due to the quality of the engraving becoming only apparent then.[204] A time of experimentation with copper plate seems to have come to an end and at least a workshop of quality like the Galle workshop was able to produce long-lasting work.[205] There are other archival documents that show print runs, which were typically 1,200 copies for folio volumes. Engraved title pages were, however, often printed with an excess of 25 impressions, possibly for advertising purposes, as publishers were known to have sent title pages to book-sellers in order to make them aware of new publications.[206]

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[201] Ulčinaitė 1998, p. 307.

[202] Bowen and Imhof 2005.

[203] For estimates of both present-day authors and those contemporary with Rubens on the number of impressions pulled from one plate, cf. Ibid., pp. 265–266; for the results of impressions cf. p. 268.

[204] Ibid., pp. 273–274.

The Formats of a Book

There is some indication that an illustrated title page was expected for certain genres and certain formats. The formats of the plates depended on the book format, and because these depended on the folding of the paper, the sizes of the plates also depended on the paper.[207] So even within a description of book format, such as "folio", the plate size can vary considerably, e.g. atlases or Bibles were often over-sized. The biggest format illustrated by Rubens is *Pompa introitus Ferdinandi*, a book on the Joyous Entry of the Cardinal Infant Ferdinand in Antwerp for which Rubens was the main designer, with a size of around 563 x 444 mm and a plate size of 496 x 336 mm (Fig. 10).[208] The *Pompa Introitus* was not a book for daily use; it was a festival book and belonged to an elite genre produced for the various courts and cities in the Spanish Habsburg territories and beyond to honour a great or new ruler.[209] The smallest format of Rubens-books is the 16°, used for the poetry by the Jesuits Mathias Casimir Sarbiewski (1593–1640), Bernhard Bauhuis and Jacob Bidermann, and designed in 1634. This small format seems to have been the norm for books of everyday use, less paper was used for these and their prices were moderate in comparison to the bigger formats. Both these formats are exceptions in the small corpus of Rubens books.[210] Of those books with a Rubens title page, 31 books in folio were of a more regular size (folios: 64%), only ten were books in quarto (quartos: 21%), two in octavo, one in duodecimo, and three in sextodecimo thus all in all six smaller than quarto (minor formats: 13%).

That Rubens designed more title pages for folios than for any of the smaller book formats has as much to do with the subjects of the books as with the patrons or readers of these book projects. Not much is known about Rubens's or the publishers' choices, but a preference is visible in the books he illustrated: he was preferred for work on folios and apart from liturgical work, he mainly designed the title pages of theological works, of historical works both ecclesiastical and secular, and some few books of poetry. This suggests a connection between format, subject or genre, and the sumptuousness of the decoration.

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[205] The first three plates had had to be recut much earlier; one of them an etching which could not be recut at all.

[206] Bowen and Imhof 2005, p. 272. For the sending of a title page cf. Coppens 1996.

[207] The plate sizes in the books of this corpus range for folios from 262 x 172 mm (Nonnius 1620) to 496 x 336 mm (Gevaerts 1642) with the average being around 300 x 200 mm; for quartos they ranged from 160 x 118 mm (Aedo y Gallart 1635) to 208 x 136 (Sarbiewski 1632), roughly 180 x 130 mm in average; octavos had plate sizes of 158 x 98 mm (Jesu 1620), duodecimos 120 x 57 mm (Chifflet 1640), and at 90 x 49 mm (Bidermann 1634) the sextodecimo was the smallest size of a Rubens title page.

[208] Gevaerts 1642.

[209] For the function and form of festival books, cf. Watanabe-O'Kelly 2004. For triumphal entries in general, cf. Mulryne 2015, Knaap 2014, Mulryne 2004a, Mulryne 2004b.

[210] Bidermann 1634.

Which title or genre would be produced in which format was, among other things, dictated by tradition: theological works would be found in folio, while only the eminent classical authors of poetry would be published in a format bigger than quarto, and vernacular books tended to be smaller, often octavo and duodecimo.[211] The bigger format was necessary for some titles because of the large quantity of text and annotations: theological texts, for instance, tended to come with many annotations and discussions, while poetry did not need this kind of space.

However, many of the titles connected with Rubens and Moretus were representative works, emphasised by their larger format. The bigger formats included titles such as the Bible,[212] the *Breviarium*,[213] or *Annales sacri*, *Crux triumphans* and *Generale Kerckelycke Historie* by Rosweyde.[214] The sheer size of the volumes, the additional material needed to produce them, and the consequent costs added to the representative function. Oversized formats, such as the *Pompa introitus Ferdinandi*, were luxury objects intended for courts rather than the average citizen of Antwerp.[215] The material was used expressly in honour of the dedicatees, but, of course, also reflected on the giver, i.e. the city of Antwerp, and the producers. Prestigious books, such as the *Pompa introitus Ferdinandi*, were unthinkable without a corresponding title page and a great number of illustrations. Thus larger formats expressed both material value and the social importance of those attached to the book project: authors, dedicatees, publishers, and readers. In this context a title page was one means to enhance the importance of a book: it functioned as an additional dedication, often describing in its imagery what the dedication formulated in writing.[216] As the majority of Rubens's title pages are found in folios and quartos, the format seems to have played a role in this: Rubens was asked only if the importance of the book, the author or the patron warranted it, and this was tied to the format of the book. And Rubens would have been willing to contribute to such books that would spread his work to possible patrons in the right circles.

It is difficult to narrow down potential buyers of these books, but book prices are an indicator. Additionally, buyers had to pay for more than merely the book block. The book blocks in folio with a

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[211] Elisabeth Leedham-Green and David McKitterick suggest that most inventories would have omitted the smaller and vernacular books as their resale value would have been low. Leedham-Green et al. 2002, p. 324.

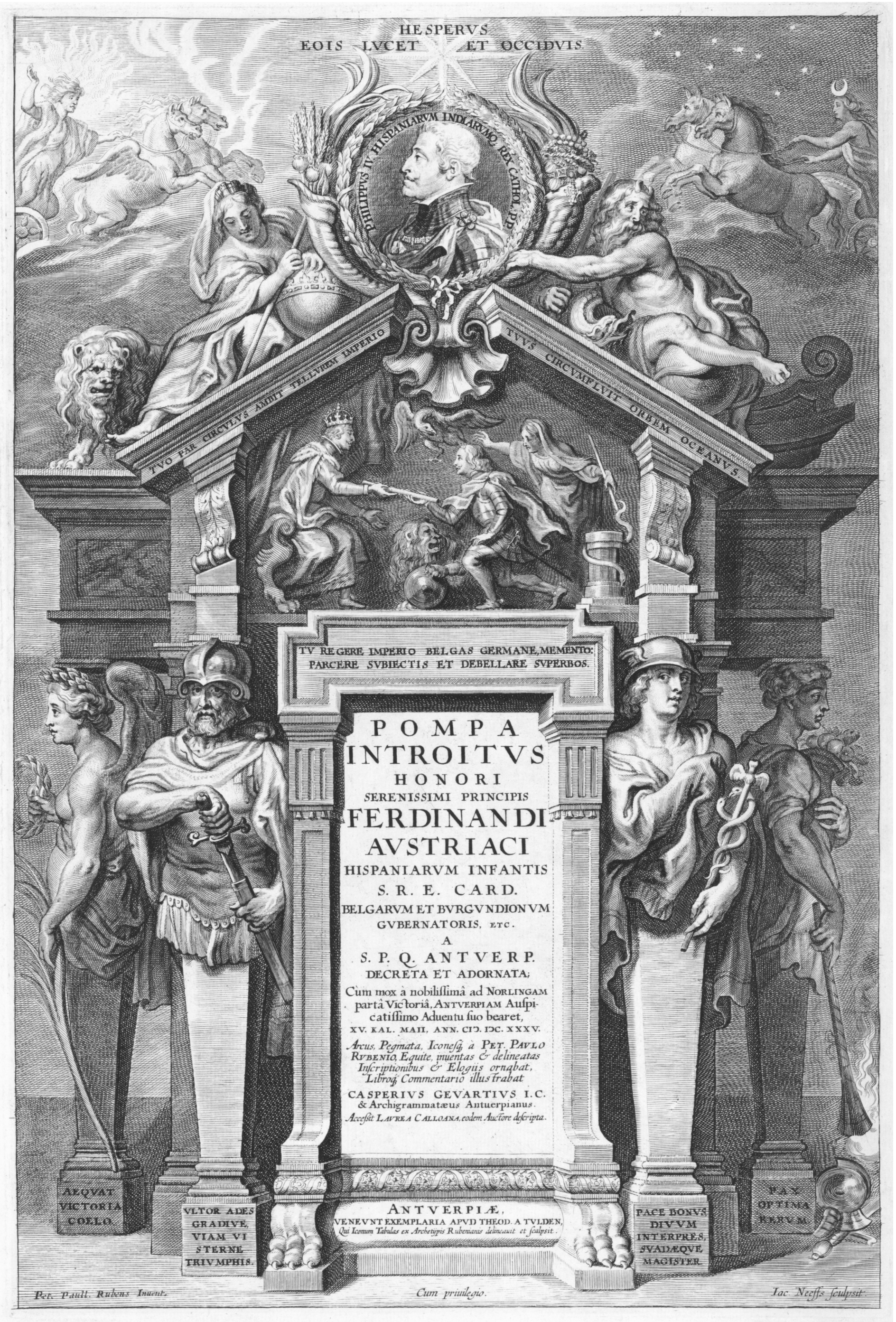
[212] *Biblia Sacra* 1617.

[213] *Breviarium Romanum* 1614.

[214] Bosio 1617; Tornielli 1620; Baronio and Sponde 1623.

[215] The print run of 600 copies made it even costlier, 200 of which were printed on better paper, five on vellum, and three of these were coloured in. One of the latter three is today in Madrid, which means that it reached its ideal reader, the Spanish king. Cf. Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, pp. 117–118; Arents 1949.

[216] Frese 1989, p. 38–41.



HESPERVS
EOIS LVCET ET OCCIDVIS.

PHILIPPVS IV. HISPANIARVM INDIARVMQ. REX CATHOL. PP.

TVO PAR CIRCVLVS AMBIT TELLVREM IMPERIO
TVVS CIRCVMFLVIT ORBEM OCEANVS.

TV REGERE IMPERIO BELGAS GERMANE, MEMENTO:
PARCERE SVBIECTIS ET DEBELLARE SVPERBOS.

POMPA
INTROITVS
HONORI
SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS
FERDINANDI
AVSTRIACI
HISPANIARVM INFANTIS
S. R. E. CARD.
BELGARVM ET BVRGVNDIONVM
GVBERNATORIS, ETC.
A
S. P. Q. ANTVERP.
DECRETA ET ADORNATA;
Cùm mox à nobiliſſimâ ad NORLINGAM
partâ Victoriâ, ANTVERPIAM Auſpicatiſſimo
Aduentu ſuo bearet,
XV. KAL. MAII, ANN. CIↃ. IↃC. XXXV.
Arcus, Pegmata, Iconeſq; à PET. PAVLO
RVBENIO, *Equite, inuentas & delineatas*
Inſcriptionibus & Elogiis ornabat,
Libroq; Commentario illuſtrabat
CASPERIVS GEVARTIVS I.C.
& Archigrammatæus Antuerpianus.
Acceſſit LAVREA CALLOANA, *eodem Auctore deſcripta.*

AEQVAT
VICTORIA
COELO.

VLTOR ADES
GRADIVE,
VIAM VI
STERNE
TRIVMPHIS.

ANTVERPIÆ,
VENEVNT EXEMPLARIA APVD THEOD. A TVLDEN,
Qui Iconum Tabulas ex Archetypis Rubenianis delineauit et ſcalpsit.

PACE BONVS
DIVVM
INTERPRES,
SVADÆQVE
MAGISTER.

PAX
OPTIMA
RERVM.

Pet. Paull. Rubens Inuent.

Cum priuilegio.

Iac. Neeſſs ſculpsit.

Figure 10 – Title page for Gevaerts 1642; engraving, 494 × 333mm by Jacob Neefs after Rubens. Private Image.

title page by Rubens usually cost several guilders, often a week's wages, sometimes several weeks' wages of a master mason working in Antwerp at that time, who had an annual income of about 300 guilders.[217] But that was not all: it is often forgotten that a book needs binding both for protection and usability, and the price for the binding increased with the format. Of course, the space that was needed to store and read the book increased with a larger book as well. In order to stock a large number of folio formats, let alone read them, a library with a good table was very useful. The buyers of these large editions had to be rich and learned, or institutions with libraries. The circle of buyers for the majority of books with Rubens title pages was thus restricted by the price. Larger print runs are often found in smaller formats, while folio formats only had the same kind of print runs if the market was secured with a monopoly, for instance. The format of a book thus regulated who bought the books because the price rose with the format.

Antwerp had lost a huge number of skilled workers, entrepreneurs, industrialists, merchants, and intellectuals to the Protestant Northern Provinces during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and with them a lot of capital. However, a strong middle class of industrialists, merchants and bankers still lived there, and were the potential customers of some of the books with a Rubens title page, while others were exported to be read by scholars all over the world and were collected by the nobility. During the restoration under Isabella and Albert, Antwerp's banking system slowly recovered and its market rebounded.

Although many small firms had left to foreign trading centres during the exodus, those who stayed were suddenly provided with plenty of contacts all over Europe. Thus, while Antwerp was no longer the glorious European trading centre it had been, it still retained a "function as an important disposition centre for trade".[218] The patronage of the Catholic Church and the government helped the printers in Antwerp to survive the loss of capital and investors.[219] Because of the trading contacts across the world and the patronage of the Catholic Church, many of the books printed in Antwerp, especially those printed in Latin, Greek, Spanish, French, or Hebrew, were exported into other parts of Europe and often beyond.[220] Plantin had made his fortune on the export of liturgical books, a market that was very stable and profitable for the whole century. It remained so for his son and grandsons,[221] and the access to the liturgical market enabled the company to also print books of a rarer and more expensive kind. Often these books were collectibles for a market that catered for aristocratic book consumption.[222]

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[217] Cf. Büttner 2016, p. 248 for more information on the prices.

[218] Sutton 1993, p. 114.

[219] Cf. Cruz 2009, p. 69.

[220] Van Rossem 2014b; Fuss 2014; Fuss 2011.

[221] Illustrations are not included in this analysis, but Rubens's illustrations for the Breviary (*Breviarium Romanum* 1614) and the Missal (*Missale Romanum* 1613) had an enormous longevity and were exported around the whole world. Cf. Bertram 2018b.

[222] Lindorfer 2014.

Many of the books for which Rubens designed a title page were produced for this international market and for customers with the means to buy them. Often the books with his title pages were found in private and aristocratic collections throughout Europe. These customers not only bought books for their literary or scientific contents, but were also interested in them as collectibles. The role of books for these customers will be investigated in the next section. Additionally, the inclusion of title pages as dedications had social implications of which not only the publisher or his customers were aware, but also the authors and intermediaries who showed an exceptional interest in the production of title pages.

2.4 Social Aspects in the Production

The Involvement of Authors and Intermediaries

Although the publisher mainly decided about the material and technical aspects of title pages, authors were included in the process of designing a title page, at least in the Officina Plantiniana. Sometimes detailed programmes were sent from the authors to their illustrators.[223] Moretus and Rubens both occasionally asked the author what he wished to have on the title page. This was necessary as Rubens certainly did not read every book that was to be illustrated nor did he have to. Conventions had already been established for specific genres and the long titles of the books usually indicated enough about a book's contents.[224] This title would, following the contemporary conventions, not only give the author's name, his titles and religious affiliations, but also a summary of the whole content sometimes with a metaphorical title and several subtitles.[225] Thus it is possible that Moretus not only wanted the author to provide the exact title because of the space that had to be left on the plate;[226] he may have also wanted the exact title because of the summary it provided. As Rubens could not have been expected to read all the books for which he designed the titles, it is more than likely that he in fact illustrated the wording of the title together with whatever the author told him, sometimes including the dedication in his design.[227]

Sometimes the authors replied with a precise list of the personifications and symbols for their title page; Rubens, however, interpreted their wishes in his way or transformed the generic wishes into a visually appealing and interesting image. The authors' replies repeatedly show very specific

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[223] Cf. Donat 1966, p. 169.

[224] Cf. section 5.4.

[225] Frese 1989, pp. 70–72.

[226] "But concerning the pencil drawing of the frontispiece, it cannot be made before one knows what space one must leave for the title of the book; therefore may it please Monseigneur to send me the wording of the title, and I shall take care that the pencil drawing is made immediately." Letter from Moretus to Du Verdier, 22 Apr 1637, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 423.

[227] Held also concludes that Rubens did not read all the books. Cf. Held 1977, pp. 19–22.

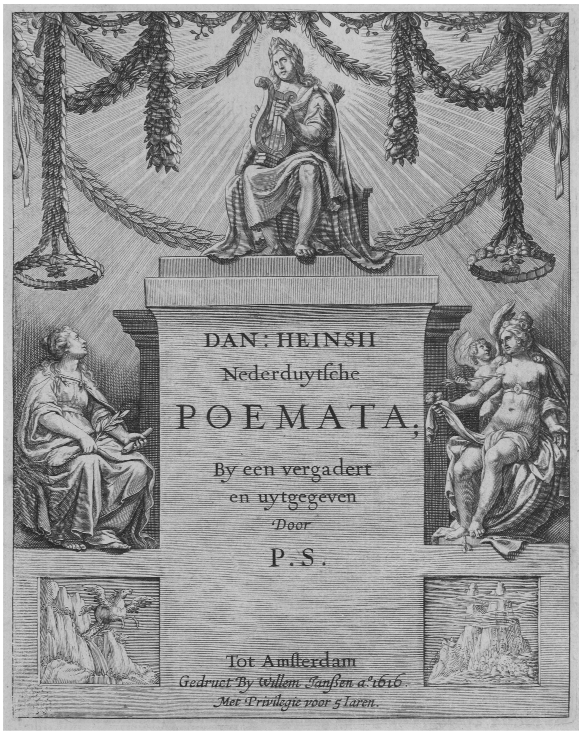

Figure 11 – Title page for Heinsius 1616; engraving, unknown engraver. Private Image.

wishes, trying to express the subject of their book or their dependence on a king or patron very literally. They were influenced by the tradition that had evolved by that time and by the wish that their work be presented in the best way possible—just as the classics. A very good example of an author negotiating for a title page is found in the letters written by Bauhusius.

In 1617, Moretus decided to reprint Bauhusius's *Epigrammata* (1615). The Antwerp Jesuit Bauhusius (Bernard van Bauhuysen, 1575–1619) found the decision by Moretus justified, as the book was "commonly asked for and, as I hear, desired daily".[228] Bauhusius entered the Society of Jesus at the age of sixteen, became a professor at Bruges, preached successfully for many years in Louvain and other cities, and produced several works of poetry.[229] He also thought that the beginning of the next edition of his book needed an engraving, and justified his wish with the explanation that "we have seen it happen here and there before" and readily provided the example of Heinsius's work.[230] The *Niederduyytsche Poemata* had just been published a year before, making it possible

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[228] "De recudendis meis, bene statuis; sic enim necesse est, nam et hic vulgo petuntur, quotidieque ut audio desiderantur." Letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 1 Aug 1617, in: Held 1977, pp. 27–28.

[229] Ruelens and Rooses 1972b, p.114.

[230] "In fronte libri, mi Morete, plures sunt, qui iconem aliquam desiderent. (Ita enim passim iam fieri videmus. Ita Heinsij prodeunt, ita nuper P. Surij catmina Atrebati prodierunt. Ita quoque vos ipsi fecistis in meditationibus R.P. Provincialis nostri alijsque libris.)" Letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 1 Aug 1617, in: Held 1977, pp. 27–28.

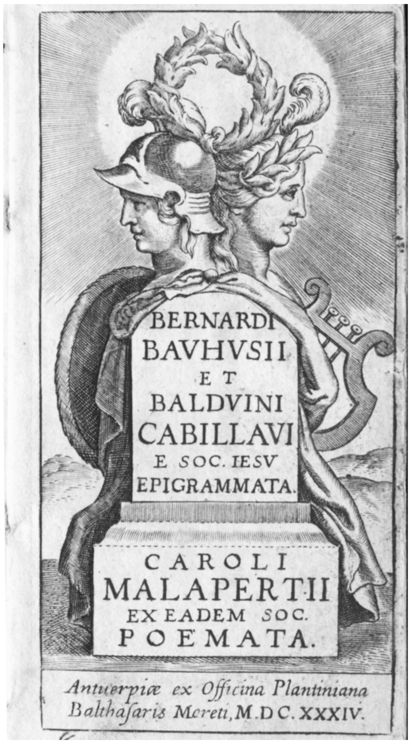

Figure 12 – Title page for Bauhuis et al. 1634; engraving, 100 × 48 mm by Karel van Mallery after Rubens. Private Image.

BERNARDI
BAVHVSII
ET
BALDVINI
CABILLAVI
E SOC. IESV
EPIGRAMMATA.
CAROLI
MALAPERTII
EX EADEM SOC.
POEMATA.
Antuerpiæ ex Officina Plantiniana
Balthaſaris Moreti, M.DC.XXXIV.

that Bauhusius referred to this work.[231] Furthermore, Bauhusius did not ask for just any title page, but specifically for one by Rubens: "M. Rubens with his divine gifts will invent something to be put on it which befits my poetry, the Order to which I belong, and the Faith."[232] On the one hand this is proof of the very good relationship that Rubens had to the Society of Jesus, on the other hand it indicates what was at stake for the author: it was not only his own reputation that would benefit from a Rubens title page, but also his order and faith.

However, in 1617, not many books of contemporary poetry had an engraved title page: engraved title pages were usually reserved for the large folio and quarto formats, for the expensive books, the collectors' books, the important theological or scientific books, and maybe even for the accepted books of classical poetry, such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The poetry by Heinsius, taken as an example by Bauhusius, was a rare example of vernacular poetry with an engraved title page for its quarto edition, which indicates that Heinsius had already gained some reputation. Bauhusius had already made a futile attempt to get an illustrated title page for the first edition of his small volume of poetry. The examples put forth by Bauhusius in his argument betray the novelty of this endeavour. With the example of Heinsius and other eminent contemporary poets, he assured Moretus that this novelty would be within the terms of *decorum*, a rhetorical category indicating appropriateness. Precisely because the example had been set by others, Bauhusius asked for a similarly engraved title page. Unconvinced, and possibly unwilling to pay the expenses, Moretus answered on 22 October 1615 that the beautiful type and the name of Jesus rendered any illustration superfluous. He also added that at the time his engravers and printers had their hands full with the plates for the Breviary and the Missal.[233]

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[231] Heinsius 1616.

[232] "D. Rubenus divino illo ingenio suo inueniet scio aliquid appositumm et lauro meae conveniens, et ordini in quo sum, et Pietati." Letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 1 Aug 1617, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 367.

So neither the first edition of Bauhusius's book in 1615, nor the second in 1620 boasted an engraved title page by Rubens; it would take another 17 years after he had expressed his wish for the second time for Bauhusius to receive this kind of decoration, a design which he did not live to see.[234] His letters offer the rare chance to compare his wishes with Rubens's invention, as, in a second letter, he had explained to Moretus what he wanted to have on his illustrated title page:

> Let us presently talk about the frontispiece; I shall explain clearly what I want (for the Reverend Father Vice provincial would like the book to have a beautiful title page). I have in mind the holy Parnass, the Muses, Mnemosyne, Apollo, all sacred things, etc.[235]

It is illuminating that Bauhusius mentions the authority of the Vice provincial to give his argument for a title page more weight and to legitimise it.

Concerning his ideas, Bauhusius was clearly influenced by the latest title page for Heinsius's *Poemata* (Fig. 11 on page 68) in quarto on which all the motifs he describes in his letter are shown.[236] What he did not consider was the small size of the book, as Moretus published Bauhusius's *Epigrammata* in duodecimo. When Rubens finally did illustrate his book, the above mentioned personifications, mythological figures, gods and muses were not shown on the title page; Rubens condensed all of these to a *Musathena* (Fig. 12)—a herm consisting half of the bust of a muse and the other half of the bust of Athena and a figure used for the publication of Erycius Puteanus, *Musathena, sive notarum Heptas*.[237] With this witty invention, Rubens not only circumvented the necessity of depicting a crowded Parnass on a tiny volume of poetry, he also alluded to a most learned discourse about the conjunction of the Muse with Minerva: Puteanus in his book had argued that he preferred the Muse to Mercury in this combination because she was associated "with the highest things (the Muses being in charge of the spheres), and her conjunction with Minerva, [would], as it were, divest that goddess of her traditional associations with war".[238] If Bauhusius is any example, then authors did know what belonged on their books, tradition and convention having provided them with many ideas. The wishes expressed by the authors are very interesting, because they indicate what a reader would expect on such a title page, or what was most important to the authors. They also show that the authors had a relatively good grasp of the "hieroglyphs" as they occasionally call the symbols and personifications used, although their ideas are very broad and generic.

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[233] "Les beaux caractères et le nom de Jésus qui ornent le titre rendent toute illustration superflue; mes graveurs ont d'ailleurs les mains bien pleines à tailler les planches des Bréviaires et- des Missels." Letter from Moretus to Bauhusius, 22 Oct 1615, in: Ruelens and Rooses 1972b, pp. 114–115 (MPM, Lettres reçues, no. LXXVI, p. 497).

[234] Bauhuis et al. 1634.

[235] Letter from Bauhusius to Moretus, 12 Oct 1617, in: Held 1977, p. 28. McGrath proposes a different translation than Judson and Van de Velde to avoid a Christian implication: "I have thought of hallowed Parnassus, the Muses, Mnemosyne, all the things associated with the gods etc." In: McGrath 1987, p. 233, fn. 4..

[236] Heinsius 1616.

[237] McGrath 1987, p. 244.

Apart from the author, the publisher, and the artist, there are indications that intermediaries in some cases considerably influenced the drawing and the printing process. On example of this is *Le siège de la ville de Dole*, a book on the siege of Dole by the French army, written by Jean Boyvin and published in 1638.[239] During the siege of his home town, Jean Boyvin had been president of the city parliament, and after the withdrawal of the French, he put the story of this event to paper. Via the network of Philippe Chifflet (1597– after 1663), almoner of the Cardinal Infante, the work reached Moretus, who decided to print a new Plantinian edition in 1637.[240]

Chifflet was closer to Moretus than the author, both geographically and personally, which is why he was involved as an intermediary. His name is connected with a number of Moretus's book projects, both as author and translator: Chifflet had translated the *Obsidio Bredana* into French (for which Rubens designed a title page in 1626) a sonnet of his appeared in a panegyric publication to Isabella Clara Eugenia, and he edited the decrees of the Council of Trent.[241] Before working on his sketch, Rubens asked Chifflet to provide him with the general subject of the title page, which, in his opinion should include the Grass Crown, the "Corona obsidionalis" or obsidional crown.[242] In Roman antiquity, this crown was bestowed upon "a general who raised the siege of a beleaguered place or upon one who held out against a siege".[243] Thus, with his first idea, Rubens introduced the correct classical symbolism around which the ideas by Chifflet could then grow:

> As to the frontispiece, what I can tell is this, that it will be elegant and in keeping with the subject, that the obsidional crown would be presented to the King by the city of Dole. This city can be represented by a woman with a helmet on her head, offering the crown with her right hand to the King, or rather putting it on his head, and resting her left hand on a shield, on which will be engraved the coat-of-arms of the said city

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[238] Ibid., p. 244; referring to Puteanus 1602, pp. 10, 13–16.

[239] Boyvin 1638.

[240] Philippe Chifflet, Abbot of Balerne (Franche-Comté), had been the almoner of the Infanta Isabella before becoming the same of the Cardinal-Infante at the Court in Brussels.

[241] Hugo 1626, Tristan 1634, Chifflet 1640.

[242] Letter from Moretus to Chifflet, 1 Feb 1638, in:Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 373.

[243] Merriam Webster Dictionary. Cf. also E. Bay, in Lexikon der Alten Welt, Zürich-Stuttgart, 1965, col. 669; Bouchery-Van den Wijngaert, p. 144. Cf also Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 22.

> of Dole; and at her feet a dog, which is the hieroglyph of fidelity. On a separate piece of paper I send you the coat-of-arms of the city of Dole and its device. The rest will depend upon the invention of Monsieur Rubens, who will know how to give elegance to everything.[244]

Rubens was satisfied with these suggestions celebrating the Spanish king as the saviour of the city of Dole and its rightful ruler, and he subsequently ordered someone else to make the drawing;[245] accordingly, on 9 March 1638 Erasmus Quellinus was paid 15 guilders for the drawing.[246] Like other authors, Chifflet was satisfied that the whole process was "under the direction of his hand, out of which nothing comes that is not worthy of admiration", and seems to have taken it for granted that Rubens outsourced the drawing to someone else.[247]

However, as an intermediary, Chifflet was exceptionally involved in the whole process, as he made corrections even after Galle had cut the plate and he communicated with Moretus regularly during the project.[248] Rather than Rubens or Boyvin it is Chifflet who is very eager to see the crown and the age of the king corrected, perhaps not surprisingly as he was close to the court.[249] Chifflet's main concern was the proper representation of the Spanish king, and the changes were carried out accordingly by Galle.[250] Likewise, it is Chifflet who gives Moretus the permission to publish the book, which makes me assume that the wish to have this book printed derived from court and not from the author because of its political importance.[251] For the next project with Chifflet, a book on all the decrees of the council of Trent, the communication was comparably close, and Chifflet was just as involved in the discussions about the design.[252] Again, Chifflet was told to check the drawing before having the plate engraved.[253]

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[244] "Quand au Frontispice, ce que je uous en puis dire est, qu'il sera de bonne grace et conforme au subyect, que la couronne obsidionale soit présentée au Roy par la uille de Dole, laquelle uille pourra estre figurée par une femme ayant un heaume en teste, offrant de la droicte la couronne au Roy, ou plustost la lui mettant sur la teste; et reposant la gauche sur un bouclier, sur lequel seront gravées les armoiries de ladite uille de Dole; et à ses pieds un chien qui est le hyerogliphe de la fidelité. Je uous enuoye dans un papier séparé les armoiries de la uille de Dole et sa deuise. Le reste despendra de l'inuention de Monsieur Rubens, qui scaura donner la grace a toutes choses." Letter from Chifflet to Moretus, 1 Feb 1638, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 373.

[245] Letter from Moretus to Chifflet, 11 Feb 1638, in: ibid., p. 374.

[246] The drawing is preserved in the MPM no. 399. The archival record of the payment in the MPM, no. 167, f. 13, in: ibid., p. 490.

[247] Letter from Chifflet to Moretus, 13 Feb 1638, in: ibid., p. 374.

[248] Ibid., pp. 372–375.

[249] "J 'enuoyerai dès ce soir le Frontispice au Sr Corele [sic] de Galle. Il a fait le uisage du Roy trop âgé; et la couronne Ducale. En une heure il remediera à l'un et à l'autre, puis ie vous r'enuoyerai la planche pour ne point perdre de temps." Letter from Chifflet to Moretus, 27 Apr 1638 and 5 May 1638, in: ibid., p. 375.

[250] E. Clerc, *Jean Boyvin, président du parlement de Dole, sa vie, ses écrits, sa correspondance politique*, Besançon, 1856; pp. XLIII, XLIV.

[251] "Je uous r'enuoye ladite planche; uous pourrez faire sortir le liure quand il uous plaira." Letter from Chifflet to Moretus, 7 May 1638, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 375.

The authors always seem to have been sent the finished drawings before Galle started to cut them, but the degree to which they involved themselves varied. The plate and the engraving were so expensive that each party involved was included in the process of finding a subject for the title page and was also kept up to date.[254] In one instance the author, Carolus Neapolis, apparently took it amiss that he was asked at all, thinking that Moretus was unnecessarily dragging the process out.[255] Moretus tried to explain his reasons to him:

> Dear Sir, you hardly have the right idea concerning my character and that of Rubens when you think that it is solely for dragging things out that we ask you to give us your opinion for the frontispiece of your book. We desire to learn the opinion of the author in order to get support for our own idea, or to change it. What you have suggested pleases us and Rubens's pencil will make it look even better. [256]

Asking the author was particularly necessary in these cases in which Rubens would have no occasion to speak to him and would not have read the book. As an exchange of letters could take weeks, the fear of Neapolis that printing would take so much longer is not unjustified. Moretus's answer is corroborated by many letters, in which he asks for the author's opinion, however, and does not seem to be a tactical means to prolong the printing process. Asking for an opinion also delivered opinions, but regrettably not many of the authors' opinions are known.

There are a few cases, however, in which clients were dissatisfied with an invention by Rubens. In one example, naked truth was too naked for the Jesuit Balthasar Cordier, and the imperial coat of arms was in some way misrepresented. He discussed this with Heribert Rosweyde, who apparently tried to have it changed. Rubens and Moretus, however, were unwilling to change anything because "in all the frontispieces which have already been printed Truth […] has been covered enough. We do not know what displeases you in the Impérial Arms. The engraver has copied the image which he has been able to procure here."[257] Even against the eminent authors Cordier and

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[252] Chifflet 1640.

[253] Letter from Moretus to Galle, 12 Jan 1640, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 393; Letter from Moretus to Chifflet, 12 Jan 1640, in: ibid., p. 380.

[254] Letter from Moretus to Van Haeften, 16 Aug 1634, in: ibid., p. 397.

[255] Neapolis 1639.

[256] "Illme Domine, Ignosce Illme Domine, haud recto de meo vel Rubenij ingenio censes, quòd fallendo tempori tuum de libri imagine judicium requiri existimes. Libentes enim Auctoris ipsius sententiam intelligimus, ut nostram deinde vel firmemus, vel mutemus. Placent quae suggeris, eaque Rubenij penicillum magis illustrabit." Letter from Moretus to Neapolis, 8 Mar 1638, in: Held 1977, p. 45; Ruelens and Rooses 1972d, p. 205–206.

[257] Letter from Moretus to Cordier, 28 Nov 1628, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 382.

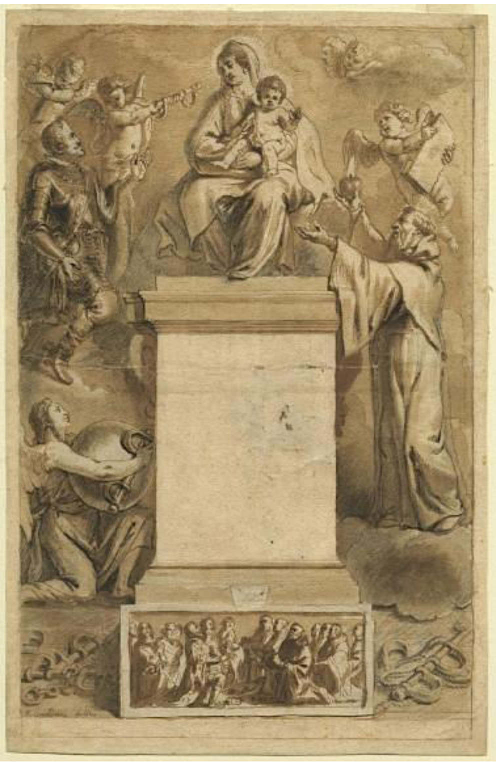

Figure 13 – Drawing by Erasmus Quellinus II after Rubens, for Rios y Alarcón 1641; drawing, 294 × 191 mm. MPM, no. TEK.401.

Rosweyde, Rubens's argument counted more and the image was not changed. The title page itself was later drawn by Erasmus Quellinus, who often drew Rubens's title pages by that time.[258]

The case of *De Hierarchia Mariana* by Bartolomé de los Rios y Alarcon (1580–1652) is another example of an author's dissatisfaction. De los Rios was a member of the Augustine Order and a preacher at the Brussels court from 1624 to 1641. As the title explains, the book was dedicated to the "Congregation of the Servants of Mary", a religious community of which he was the founder, and the Servants of Mary were also to be shown on the title page. Although de los Rios had already asked Moretus to remind Rubens to design the title in February, it was only in a letter sent on 7 May 1638 that he explained very clearly what he wanted the title page to show:

> May it be permitted to ask you something in confidence: that Your Lordship should ask M. Rubens to design the frontispiece of the book in the following way: the foreground should show the King of Spain, helped or encouraged by the order of St. Augustine, offering himself and all his clearly delineated dominions, bound as submissive slaves, to the Queen of the heavens, who wears an impérial crown. Also it must appear that he sets the example to all Kings for doing the same, or shows them the

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[258] Nave 1997, p. 49, no. 50a; Held 1979, no. 34.

> way and manner to do so. This is the entire substance of the concept: I leave the manner of expressing it to the man's admirable ingenuity, if only you inform him that I strongly desire the King to be presented in some imposing way and with a figure as large and magnificent as possible.[259]

It was thus not the representation of the king to which De los Rios objected. On 15 May 1639 Galle writes to Moretus that he had shown the title to De los Rios, and while it pleases himself, the Father was not pleased: "However, he does not understand this art and is not knowledgeable about it".[260]

De los Rios objected emphatically to the presentation of the clergy and the nobility. In the first design they were shown lying on the ground as chained and shackled slaves. Apparently this representation of the "Slaves of Mary" was in contrast to his sense of decorum, and he had Quellinus change this part.[261] Quellinus corrected the drawing as the piece of paper pasted over the bottom centre of the sheet shows according to de los Rios's wishes (Fig. 13).[262] The clergy and the nobility are kneeling in submission and voluntary slavery to Mary in the finished title page—a different treatment of the clergy and nobility was thus warranted.

All in all Rubens and Quellinus chose the imagery they also used on altarpieces, with Mary on a pedestal, bridging heaven and earth, her son on her knee, and venerated by fathers and kings (Fig. 14). On the left hand side is St Augustine offering his burning heart to the heavenly queen, whose sphere is indicated by the putti surrounding her. On the other side of the pedestal is the king, depicted above the saint but not on the same level as Mary, which is how Rubens managed to present the King "in some imposing way" and without the "figure as large and magnificent as possible" as De los Rios wished.[263] The king is offering himself to Mary, and, as he is pointing to them with his hand, also his dominions; these are represented by an orb carried by an angel.

The book was not only written for De los Rios' newly founded "Congregation of the Servants of Mary",[264] but also against the iconoclastic heretics in the north. In 1638, the Northern Provinces had taken Kallo, a small fortified city on the Schelde that was strategically important for the de-

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[259] "Id ergo liceat fidenter petere. Vt scilicet Cl. Dnâo Vra agat cum Dno Rubens, vti libri frontispicium ea ratione delineet: vt prima fronte appareat Regem Hispaniae se et regna sua singula signatè expressa auxilio vel suasu Ordinis D. Augustini caelorum Reginae, imperiali coronâ redimitae, compedita mancipii obsequio offerre, Regibus omnibus idem faciendi exemplum dare, seu viam modumque ostendere. Haec est tota conceptus substantia: modum eum exprimendi viri admirabili ingenio permitto; modo aduertat valde desiderare me vt Rex illustri quadam ratione, et quam fieri potest magna et magnifica figura constituatur." Letter from De los Rios to Moretus, 7 May 1638, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 417.

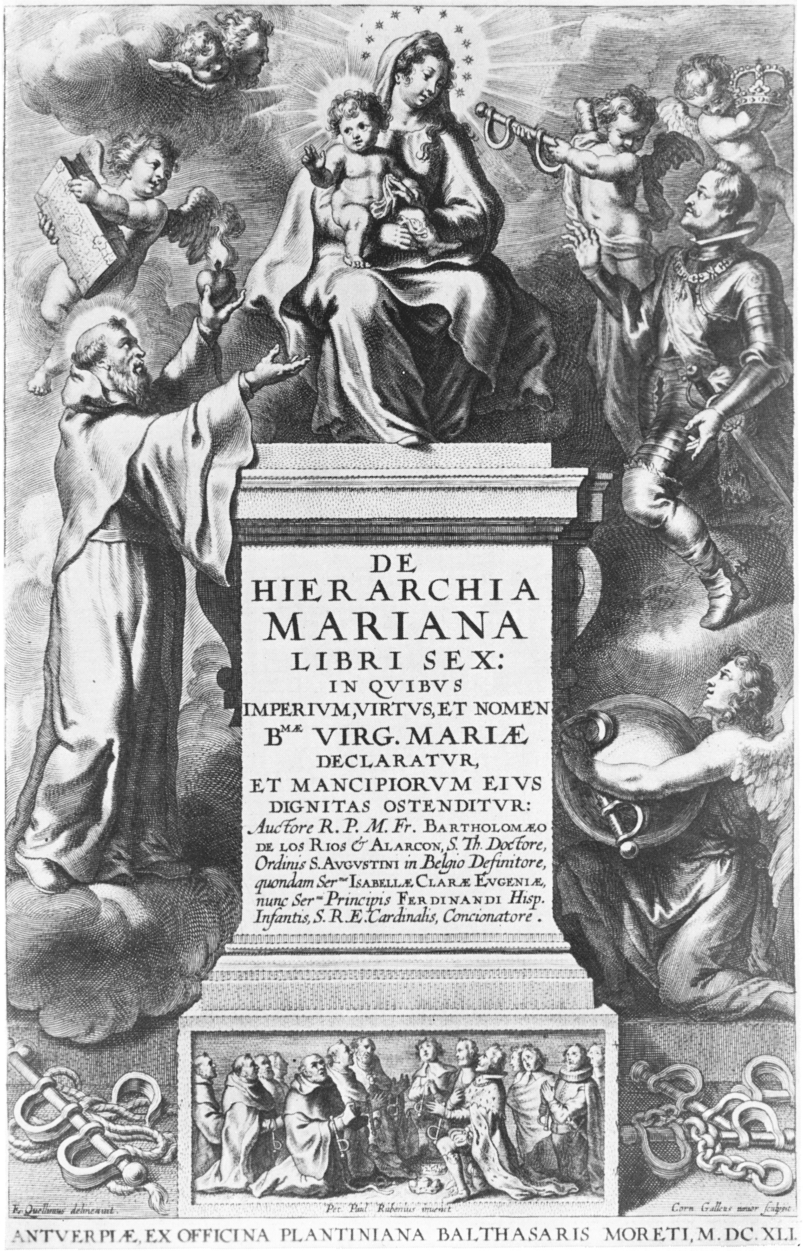
[260] "Den tittel van Quellinus staet mij wel aen, maer P. Rios seijt dat hij hem niet wel aen en staet, doch hij en verstaet die const niet, en is daer in onverstandich." Letter from Galle to Moretus, 15 May 1639, in: ibid., p. 393.

[261] At the end of May, de los Rios planned to go to Antwerp to talk about the drawing with the "painter". Whom he meant is not known, as the drawing is signed with Quellinus's name but it can be assumed that he went to see Rubens, as Rubens invented the title page.

[262] 191 x 294 mm; no. MPM. TEK. 401.

[263] Letter from De los Rios to Moretus, 7 May 1638, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 417.

[264] Judson and Van de Velde 1977a, p. 325.



DE
HIERARCHIA
MARIANA
LIBRI SEX:
IN QVIBVS
IMPERIVM, VIRTVS, ET NOMEN
B$^{\text{MÆ}}$ VIRG. MARIÆ
DECLARATVR,
ET MANCIPIORVM EIVS
DIGNITAS OSTENDITVR:
Auctore R. P. M. Fr. BARTHOLOMÆO
DE LOS RIOS & ALARCON, *S. Th. Doctore,*
Ordinis S. AVGVSTINI *in Belgio Definitore,*
quondam Ser$^{\text{mæ}}$ ISABELLÆ CLARÆ EVGENIÆ,
nunc Ser$^{\text{mi}}$ Principis FERDINANDI *Hisp.*
Infantis, S. R. E. Cardinalis, Concionatore.

E. Quellinus delineavit.
Pet. Paul. Rubenius invenit
Corn. Galleus iunior sculpsit

ANTVERPIÆ, EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA BALTHASARIS MORETI, M. DC. XLI.

Figure 14 – Title page for Rios y Alarcón 1641; engraving, 275 × 180 mm. BM, 1895,1031.394. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

fence of Antwerp. The Cardinal Infant Ferdinand, to whom the book is dedicated, reconquered the city some days later, but several sculptures of Mary had been destroyed in a frenzy of iconoclasm. De los Rios thus took the opportunity to write about the veneration of Mary, accompanied by an account of the happenings in Kallo.[265] Mary is thus depicted not only as the heavenly queen, but also in benevolent eye contact with the Spanish king who, dressed in armour and his sword, shows that he is willing and able to defend her.

The publisher thus handled a great variety of circumstances and individuals, all with some influence on the title page. Unless the authors or intermediaries actively involved themselves in the design process, they merely had to state their wishes and offer a summary of the content in the form of a title. Nevertheless, they were almost always shown the title page before it went to the engraver. Thus the author or his intermediaries had the chance to have critical points changed.

Rubens usually acknowledged the wishes of authors but can be seen to work them into visually appealing solutions in which he included considerations for the format of the book. Sometimes authors felt forced to express their dissatisfaction with details of Rubens's design, but never with the invention as such. Any dissatisfaction was expressed when they felt *decorum* breached, and feared repercussions from the higher clergy, the nobility, or the king. The two examples in which authors expressed their frustration showed that Moretus or Rubens would only consider changing the design if they were able accept the reasoning. A breach of *decorum*, as with the shackled slaves, was apparently a good reason, while the depiction of an uncovered truth was not, and Moretus showed himself unwilling to open this line of argument with authors or intermediaries.[266]

The Relevance of a Title Page for the Press, the Author and his Order

Title pages were important to printers: they not only advertised the contents of the book, its author and his religious affiliation, but also the printer responsible for its existence. From early on, the printer was identified by his address, usually also giving the name of the house or the street, but most importantly by the town in which the book was printed. To illustrate a title page was an investment, and would not only say much about the book and its content, its dedicatee and its author, but also about its printer. If a printer was to print a new edition of an already existing book, he had to decide what kind of title page he wanted, whether typographical or engraved, and whether he could or should have the title page copied or a new one designed.

Often printers decided to have the original title page reprinted, as, for example, Christopher Plantin for the already famous title page of the *Annales ecclesiastici* by Caesar Baronius (Cesare Baronio, 1538–1607) (Fig. 15).[267] The image of the title page for the *Annales*, used for the whole series of twelve volumes, was copied and printed in more than twenty editions in almost every Catholic country in Europe throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was, however, also used for the various editions of sequels written after Baronius's death, and also for the compendia of the *Annales* or their various translations, with only minor exceptions.[268] Thus the brand recognition for this title page was very high, and when Moretus took the printing over from his father (and grandfather) he did not change the title page. On the contrary, the Galle workshop had found a way to print the same plate for the title page 18,257 times, thus using the plate to full capacity from 1601 until 1658.[269] The *Annales* title page suggests that a new title page was not always preferable to an old, established one.

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[265] The book also featured Latin poetry written by Caspar Gevartius, among others, Historian and Registrar of the city of Antwerp.

[266] The censorship visible on the title pages of some copies—usually blackened, cut out or stamped genitalia—shows that this depiction of naked personifications was not only a problem for this one author.

For Balthasar Moretus, a book and its title page represented his workshop, and he took great care with the layout and whether the title page had the "necessary splendour". In 1631, he was negotiating the new edition of a work against atheists of one M. Mairhofer from Munich.[270] In the first extant letter from Moretus to Mairhofer, dated 20 June 1631, Moretus expressed dissatisfaction with the book as a whole for editorial reasons, the "by-work [taking] up so much space that hardly any is left for the work itself."[271] His explanations as to why the title page has to be "newly thought out and engraved for the sake of good taste", are more interesting for title pages. For Moretus the letters of the title should have large enough characters and should be properly arranged, but not more prominent than the images. In the second letter he again stated that he does

> not find the necessary splendour in the title, I would want greater majesty for the figure of Wisdom. She appears dressed as a woman rather than as a virgin. I would like to see Minerva armed, but Christian and divine, with the shield of Faith. Rubens, the Apelles of our century, shares my opinion. I shall really consider the whole image, to decide whether this can be corrected and renewed or whether for the dignity of the Plantin Press, an entirely new one needs to be engraved: if so, at my expense, not that of Your Reverence."[272]

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[267] Cf. section 6.

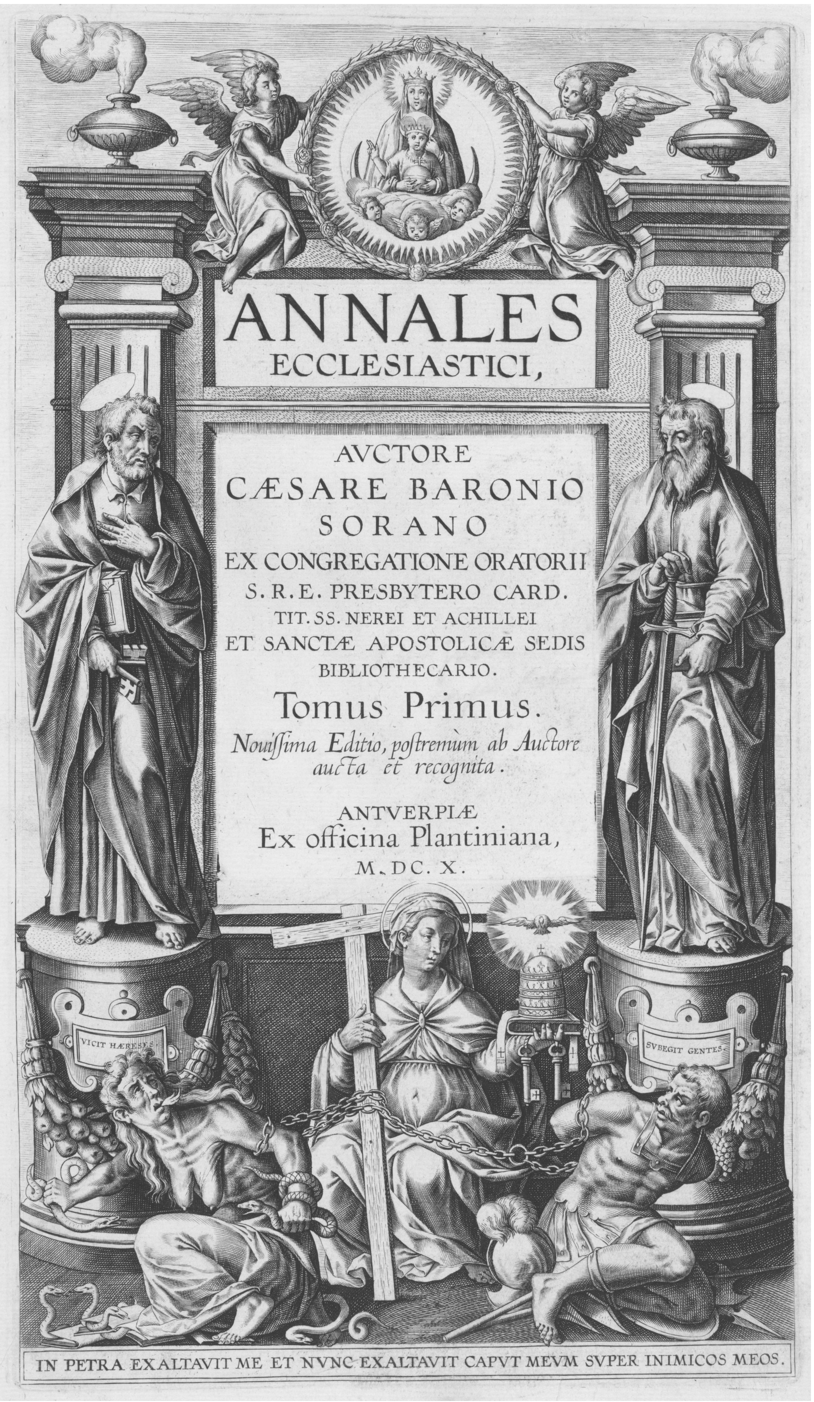
[268] Baronius himself had changed this often repeated title page to a typographical title page with a vignette during the time when he printed it in his own printshop. This has to do with his personal preference for understatement and his devotion to the Oratorian order. The Maria in Vallicella was shown in the vignette.

[269] Bowen and Imhof 2005.

[270] Letter from Moretus to Mairhofer, 20 Jun 1631, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p.407.

[271] Ibid., p.407..

[272] "Gaudeo nuperâ meâ responsione R.V. satisfactum ac mihi nondum de frontispicij imagine: nam praeter tituli quem requiro splendorem, maiorem Sapientiae maiestatem desidero: quae in veste muliebri, non virgineâ, apparet. Ego Palladem armatam velim, sed Christianam et diuinam, cum scuto fidei: atque ita mecum censet aeui nostri Apelles Rubenius. At vero de tota imagine deliberabo, an emendari et innouari haec possit, an nouam omnino incidi oporteat, pro Typographiae Plantinianae decoro: idque meis, non R.V. impensis." Letter from Moretus to Mairhofer, 18 July 1631, in: ibid., pp. 407–408.



ANNALES
ECCLESIASTICI,

AVCTORE
CÆSARE BARONIO
SORANO
EX CONGREGATIONE ORATORII
S.R.E. PRESBYTERO CARD.
TIT. SS. NEREI ET ACHILLEI
ET SANCTÆ APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS
BIBLIOTHECARIO.
Tomus Primus.
Nouiſſima Editio, poſtremùm ab Auctore
aucta et recognita.

ANTVERPIÆ
Ex officina Plantiniana,
M.DC.X.

VICIT HÆRESES.
SVBEGIT GENTES.

IN PETRA EXALTAVIT ME ET NVNC EXALTAVIT CAPVT MEVM SVPER INIMICOS MEOS.

Figure 15 – Title page for Baronio 1610; engraving, 324 × 188 mm. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1963-273. © Rijksmuseum.

What he clearly expresses that it is not merely the dignity of the author or the dedicatee that is at stake, but the dignity of his press. This is of greater importance to him than the costs of producing a new, expensive title page. He not only uses Rubens as an aesthetic compass, but also uses Rubens's name and reputation as the Apelles of their age to give his argument more weight. That he is willing to carry these costs shows that the book was of some importance for him as there are other occasions when he leaves the costs for such an endeavour to the author if the latter wishes for a title page.

Sometimes a new title page had to be considered, because the old edition was in a different format. One such example is the *Crux Triumphans*.[273] This religious treatise by Giacomo Bosio had been published as *La Trionfante E Gloriosa Croce* in Rome in 1610, and Moretus agreed to publish the Latin version, which Bosio himself had translated "for the benefit of your [Moretus's] country and others".[274] Bosio sent him the manuscript together with the "engravings in copper and wood." Moretus decided that it had to have a different title page, as the existing one was not "well adapted to the more convenient format of the page".[275] He did not have any reservations about reproducing the woodcuts in the new edition, possibly even adding more from stock material. As both editions, that of 1610 printed by Alfonso Ciacone and Moretus's 1617 edition were both folios, Moretus's statement about the different paper is strange. The paper must have had slightly different measurements, so that Moretus's format was somewhat larger or smaller than the 1610 edition. While other printers had no qualms about folding a title page that was too large, Moretus would not consider doing so. Again, Moretus's words should be treated with caution. Rubens's title page design is much clearer with fewer personifications and symbols and much better balanced than the previous one. Moretus's assertion that the book needed a new title page because of the size of the plate could be just a polite rejection of the previous design.

Another possibility to have a new title page for a work that would be published only in one edition was the reuse of an older title pages, a method which the Officina Plantiniana practised repeatedly. These plates were still in very good shape, and according to Moretus it was no problem to "efface the title" and "substitute" it with another.[276] This often happened with Rubens's designs for books by lesser known authors, as will be seen in the following.

The cheapest solution was the typographical title page. In one instance Moretus tried to discourage Cordier from having an illustrated title page for his *Catena patrvm Graecorvm in sanctvm Ioannem*, and to use typography instead. In his letter, he explains to Cordier that it is not necessary to illustrate every title with an image. The option he offers Cordier is an embellishment with decorative lettering as had been done for the short treatises of Lessius.[277] In his letter Moretus invokes Leonardus Lessius (Lenaert Leys, 1554–1623), an author who could not have been perceived as anything but noble and against whose example Cordier could hardly argue. Apart from the fact that Rubens was away during the time, it is possible that Moretus tried to lower the costs, as he feared the book would not sell well. In a later letter he mentions the earlier publication by Cordier, of which he still had two thirds of the printed copies left, which induced him to print only half of that number for the second book.[278] This might also be the reason why this second book was not given a full title page. At least Moretus softened his blow by mentioning that the inscription on the title page stood out in red and was elegant, and that there was space left for a vignette. Cordier was able to chose whether this vignette was to show John the Evangelist, the name of Jesus, or the King's coat-of-arms, of which he chose the latter.

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[273] Bosio 1617.

[274] Letter from Bosio to Moretus, 25 Oct 1614, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 368.

[275] "[...]et nouam frontispicij, ut vocant, imaginem incidi euro; nam quam Romae sculptam accepi, commodioris folij formae parum aptum reperio." Letter from Moretus to Bosio, 21 Dec 1615, in: ibid., p. 369.

[276] "Nulla opus aliâ imagine quae tuo Elogio praefigatur: tantum delendus titulus Picturae et Elogij tui substituendus." Letter from Moretus to Chifflet, 23 Jan 1634, in: Held 1977, pp. 36–37.

Quite suddenly in July, Moretus informs Cordier that he had given Rubens the King's coat-of-arms in order to decorate the title and to illustrate it with ornaments. Although printing an engraved vignette on a typographical title page was costly as it included a separate printing process, it was still cheaper and faster than buying a fully engraved title page. Both Rubens and Galle charged by size, and as the title page was already been printed by February, only the vignette remained to be printed onto it. Time issues could also have influenced Moretus's decision for this option. Rubens had been in England until April and in his letter from December 1629, Moretus suggests having the book ready for the occasion of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III's wedding to Marie-Anne, Infanta of Spain, daughter of Philip III the monarch of Spain.[279]

Sometimes, however, even Moretus was powerless against the wish for a new Rubens title page. It seems that Rubens's designs were so interesting that clients would specifically ask for one of his designs and would not give up. In one case, Moretus was approached by Father Rosweyde and Father Habbeck claiming that Antoon van Winghe had recommended a new title by Rubens for the *Vitae Patrum*. In his letter to Van Winghe, Moretus shows himself to be surprised by the fancy wish of his: he had believed that Van Winghe "used to prefer humble works by others, [and did not know that he] found pleasure in the sublime inventions of Rubens."[280] Apparently, the issue concerned not simply any new title page, but decidedly one by Rubens. Once again, Moretus can be observed negotiating and trying to persuade his correspondent that the old title of 1615 was appropriate "because the inscription, which deserves to have preference over the subsidiary illustration, appeared to be dearer."[281] As a businessman, Moretus must have felt unnecessary costs approaching by having to produce a new title page instead of reusing the old one or having it recut. However, Moretus finally succumbed to the wish of the editor and his friends.

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[277] "[…] nec opus est, vniuscuiusque Libri Titulum aliquâ imagunculâ, et non potius typis augustioribus exornari." ["It is not necessary that the title of each work be illustrated with a little image instead of being embellished with more decorative lettering, as was done for the short treatises of the late father Lessius."] Letter from Moretus to Cordier, 21 Dec 1629, in: ibid., p. 32.

[278] "I have printed 1500 copies of the Catena in Lucam: there are a thousand left; of the Catena in Ioannem I am printing 750 copies." Letter from Moretus to Cordier, 22 Feb 1630, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 383.

[279] Letter from Moretus to Cordier, 21 Dec 1629, in: ibid., p. 382.

[280] Letter from Moretus to Van Winghe, 08 Dec 1627, in: ibid., p. 427.

Moretus, however, did not mince words when someone was not willing to pay his prices. Very early on in his career he told a potential client that Moretus himself would gladly send him to another printer if the client was more interested in a low price than in the quality of his work. "In this matter we follow the example of some distinguished painter (such as Rubens here in Antwerp) who turns away the ignorant amateurs to some unskilled, and therefore cheaper artist. For he never lacks buyers for his own fine pictures, even if they are more expensive than others."[282] Moretus clearly took pride in his work and his press. He always made sure that his products were of the best and represented the "dignity of his press", this included the title pages—they were more than mere decoration. He also made sure that the title pages served their books and authors in the best way, advertising the book with the proper letters and the proper layout.

Nevertheless, not every book was given an illustrated title page, and certainly not every book was given an illustrated title page by Rubens. It is unknown how many authors Moretus turned away who wanted to have a Rubens title page, but it could be seen that he carefully chose the books that he would let his friend design. Moretus often asked Rubens for his opinion though, and it is possible that Rubens himself offered to produce new title pages for books that had caught his attention. So, while occasionally authors, usually important acquaintances or friends of Rubens, could ask for a title page,[283] it was very often Moretus who decided what happened to it. He could decide that an extant title page was not to be used as it was run down,[284] that the design was not good enough for him,[285] or that the title should better fit a new and different format of the book.[286]

Often he decided without consulting the author, whether a book would receive a title page and what it this would look like. This was only possible if the client was in a lower social position than his own. The publishing of books was not only an economical endeavour, but also social navigation: the books could strengthen, and thus also weaken, social ties for all the parties concerned, the publisher, the author, his intermediary and the designer. All the parties involved were fully aware of this. Because books seem to have had such relevance to all these parties, it seems that an investigation into the possible social importance of books is necessary.

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[281] Letter from Moretus to Van Winghe, 08 Dec 1627, in: Judson and Van de Velde 1977b, p. 427.

[282] Letter from Moretus to De Peralta, 9 Apr 1615, in: ibid., p. 413.

[283] Letter from Rockox to De Bie, 03 Jan 1611, in: ibid., p. 429.

[284] Letter from Moretus to Lessius, 15 Jul 1617, in: ibid., p. 405.

[285] Letter from Moretus to Hasrey, 19 Mar 1619, in: ibid., p. 399; Letter from Moretus to Tornielli, 27 Oct 1616, in: ibid., p. 421; Letter from Moretus to Mairhofer, 18 Jul 1631, in: ibid., pp. 407–408.

[286] Letter from Moretus to Bosio, 06 Mar 1615, in: ibid., p. 369; Letter from Moretus to Bosio, 21 Dec 1615, in: ibid., p. 369; Letter from Moretus to Tornielli, 17 Aug 1618, in: ibid., p. 422.

2.5 The Social Relevance of Books

Books played an important role in Rubens's life: not only were they an integral part of his trade, they were also tools of his social representation or self-fashioning. His contemporaries praised him for his knowledge and learning, and he is even today known as the *pictor doctus*, i.e. the learned painter. He is recognised as such by Henry Peacham in his book about the *Compleate Gentleman* in which he describes the gentleman and his prerequisites. Peacham uses Rubens as the exemplary artist, emphasising that "his knowledge in this kind hath […] been his onely making": with this Peacham means his knowledge of antiquities, history, and poetry, all visible in his work.[287] This kind of knowledge, however, was not only necessary for "Poets, Painters, Architects, and generally to such as may have occasion to implay any of these",[288] but also for the gentleman as such, and it is belonging to this latter category that Rubens would count himself.

Rubens strove to represent himself as not only as an intellectual artist, but also as "the compleate gentleman" as described by Peacham. His self-portraits, for instance, never show him with an easel and paint brush as many of his colleagues depicted themselves.[289] The earliest self-portrait shows him together with four other men, of whom two are learned scholars: his brother Philip and Justus Lipsius, Philip's famous tutor.[290] But there is also a portrait that places the painter even more firmly among the erudite: today known as the *Four Philosophers*, it depicts Rubens together with Lipsius, his brother Philip Rubens, and Johannes Woverius, another pupil of Lipsius.[291] Also his first self-portrait together with his wife Isabella Brant (1591–1626) shows him not as an artist, but as a fashionable young gentleman with aspirations.[292] This recurring depiction as a gentleman, often among scholars, is never substituted for a depiction of himself as an artist, as the convention of artistic self-portraiture would have permitted.[293]

Rubens used the images as a means of enhancing his own status, stating a societal claim in a near-public context.[294] In 1622 he painted the most famous of his self-portraits for the Prince of Wales, later Charles I, wearing a black coat and hat in front of cliffs, with a red sunset in the back-

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[287] Peacham 1634, p. 110.

[288] Ibid., p. 110.

[289] For a discussion of Rubens's self-portraits as public statements, cf. Büttner 2015b.

[290] Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-Portrait in a Circle of Friends from Mantua*, 1602–04. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, Cologne. Cf. Yamaguchi 2012.

[291] Peter Paul Rubens, *The Four Philosophers*, c. 1611–12; oil on panel, 167 x 143 cm; Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Cf. Morford 1997; Vlieghe 1987, pp. 128–132, no. 117.

[292] Peter Paul Rubens, *The Honeysuckle Bower*, c. 1609; oil on canvas, 178 x 136 cm; Alte Pinakothek, Munich. For a discussion cf. Büttner 2006b, p. 90.

[293] Raupp 1984.

[294] Büttner 2015b, p. 42.

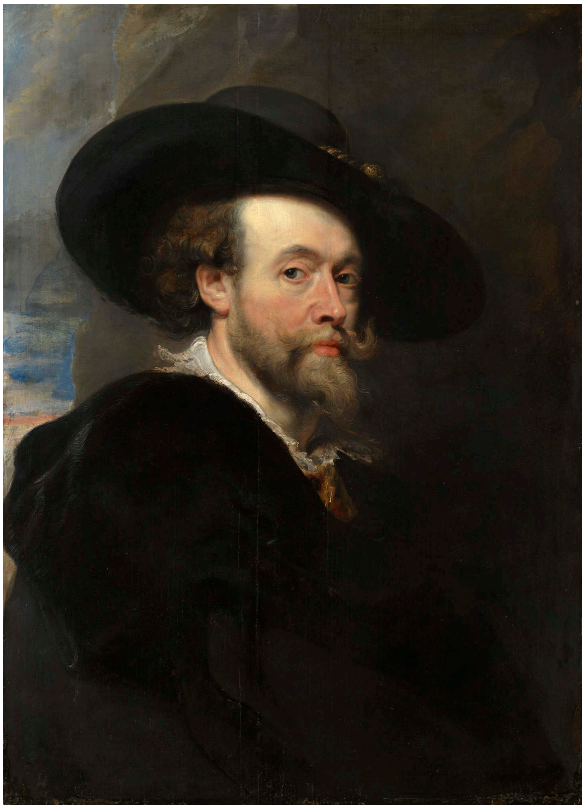

Figure 16 – Rubens, Self-Portrait; oil on panel, cradled, 857 × 622 mm by Jacob de Bie. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 400156. https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/400156/a-self-portrait. © H.M. Queen Elizabeth II.

ground (Fig. 16).[295] Again, the reference to his occupation as an artist is missing, apart from the inscription that reminds the viewer that with this image Rubens represented himself in the year of the Lord 1623.[296] While the cliffs may be read in terms of a neo-stoic *constantia* ideal, the red in the sunset refers to Rubens's own name; the latter was derived from a wordplay on Rubens and the Latin *rubeo*, "I am red".[297] The attire, however, is not an understatement as so often repeated, but the self-confident representation of a man who knows that he would be expected to appear without his hat in the presence of kings. Nils Büttner contextualises Rubens's attire in its contemporary discourses, especially the hat and the chain, and shows that this attire is Rubens's not very subtle declaration of his claim to aristocracy.[298]

Even though today "artist" might connote social status and convey a societal role, this was not necessarily the case in the seventeenth century, which is why Rubens never depicted himself in this occupation. Rubens painted and he called himself "constschilder", for instance in a will drawn up in

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[295] Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-Portrait*, c.1622–23; oil on panel, 85.9 x 62.2 cm; The Royal Collection, H.M. Queen Elizabeth II.

[296] "Petrus Paullus Rubens / se ipsum expressit / AD MDCXXIII", in: Büttner 2015b, pp. 42–44.

[297] Ibid., p. 44.

[298] Ibid. and Büttner 2006b, p. 106.

1627, but the connection with a certain profession was not an indicator of how society saw Rubens or of where he would place himself in society.[299] As Büttner shows in his study of Rubens's life, he was born into the elite of Antwerpian society and even before taking up his profession had already inherited so much that earning money was not necessary. This circumstance was a prerequisite for being considered a gentleman and the first step towards nobility. A noble person should not work in the *artes mechanicae*, a point on which Peacham expatiates in *The Compleate Gentleman*.[300]

The fact that Rubens could still paint as a member of the elite was owed to two circumstances: on the one hand drawing was a recommended activity for nobility, also mentioned by Peacham in his guide for the arts of gentlemen. On the other hand, Rubens could refer to classical examples and to the case of Genovese painter Giovanni Battista Paggi (1554–1624), which he closely and attentively followed.[301] Paggi used both his learning and his nobility as an argument for his independence from the Genovese painters' guild. The guild had tried to hinder him from selling his work in Genoa, and requested from the magistracy a renewal of its old right to prohibit the import of paintings and to prohibit painters from executing their work if they had not been apprenticed to a local master painter for seven years.[302] In its ruling, the magistracy of Genoa agreed with the autodidact Paggi and decreed that painting was part of the seven liberal arts and thus free per se, suitable even for princes and kings.[303] The magistracy thus also acknowledged that the study of the arts was primarily the study of theory, of the subjects of the liberal arts such as mathematics, geometry, arithmetic, philosophy, and all the other subjects that can be learned from books. The case became known beyond the borders of Genoa, and in 1613 Rubens ordered a copy of the proceedings in order to help another painter in a similar plight.[304]

Rubens himself, taught by two or three Antwerpian master painters was firmly rooted in the the city's guild of St Luke. Nevertheless, his occupation as an artist is surprising as he was part of a social elite of which his brother Philip's (1574–1611) biography was the more typical: having finished Latin school, Philip became part of Justus Lipsius's *contubernium*, a group of students who shared a house with their teacher Lipsius. After his studies there, Philip left for a lengthy stay in Rome to finish his education there, and pursue a career determined by his almost noble descent. After this grand tour to Rome, Philip went back to Antwerp and followed in the footsteps of his father as a lawyer. In 1609, he became a secretary of the city of Antwerp, and only two months later married Marie de Moy who was the daughter of another secretary of Antwerp, Henri de Moy, and also an aunt of his brother Peter Paul's future wife.[305] Through this marriage strategy the aristocratic and wealthy families of Antwerp made sure that the politically influential positions stayed in the same families over generations, "offering assurance and political stability through nepotism".[306]

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[299] Ibid., p. 17.

[300] Peacham 1634, pp. 12f.

[301] Büttner 2006b, p. 152. Rubens had also had an older brother, Jan Baptist Rubens (1562–1600/1601), who was apprenticed to a painter. Büttner 2012, p. 132; Rooses 1903, p. 14.

[302] Büttner 2006b, p. 52.

[303] Ibid., p. 52.

[304] Ibid., pp. 53–54, esp. fn. 103.

Although Peter Paul Rubens's career as a painter was atypical of his social standing, he nevertheless placed himself in the same social sphere as his brother. His education initially also prepared him for a similar political career. He was born as the fourth son of Maria Pypelincx and Jan Rubens on 28 June 1577 in Siegen.[307] After his father's death, his mother moved back to her native town of Antwerp, where Peter Paul attended the Latin school of Rumoldus Verdonck. This basic education was followed up by service as a page for several years until he served an apprenticeship to a painter.[308] For someone of Rubens's social standing, the painter's craft was certainly not appropriate.[309] However, his relationships with leading humanists of his time, his family connections, and his status as a court painter still enabled Rubens to marry within the Antwerp elite. He married Isabella Brant, daughter of the jurist and city alderman Jan Brant, and a niece of his brother's wife, something which would not have been possible for a poor artisan. Documents show him and his wife taking part in a social life typical for a couple of their social standing.[310] Soon, he established his own art collection, created his own family gallery, and built and decorated his own town house, which he enlarged throughout his life into a small Renaissance palazzo.[311] His family portraits were not only necessary to recall family members no longer among the living, they were also important as a visible testimony of a family's descent and its claim to nobility.[312] Later in life, he also acquired a country house in order to show the necessary aristocratic standard of living for his newly acquired title(s).

A telling letter from the humanist Frans Sweerts (Franciscus Sweertius, 1567–1629) to his friend and librarian Jan Van Gruytere (Janus Gruterus, 1560–1632), written in 1618, shows that Rubens's social endeavours were noticed. In his description of Rubens, Sweerts emphasises that "Petrus Paulus Rubenius, seculi nostri Appelles" has just received about 100 marble statues and busts from England; that he earns 100 guilders daily; that he is not only a painter, but extremely versed in history and politics; and, finally, that he has invested over 24,000 guilders in his house.[313] That

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[305] For the social network in the administration of the city which helped Philip Rubens to his post, cf. Timmermans 2008, p. 78. *Biographie Nationale* 1908–1910, col. 313–317.

[306] Büttner 2012, p. 131; Büttner 2006b, p. 24.

[307] Ibid., p. 27.

[308] Ibid., pp. 29–34.

[309] A thorough discussion about this dilemma can be found in Ibid.

[310] Büttner 2012, p. 134; Büttner 2006b, p. 152.

[311] For Rubens's house cf. Muller 2004, Muller 1989, Tijs 1984, McGrath 1978.

[312] Van Beneden 2015; Büttner 2012, p. 131; Stighelen 2008, esp. pp. 11–30.

[313] Letter from Frans Sweerts to Janus Gruterus, 18 Jul 1618: "Wij van Antwerpen willen allenskens Italiae monumenta incorporeren. Petrus Paulus Rubenius, seculi nostri Apelles, heeft: onlanckx uut Engelant becomen over 100 capita marmorea & statuas. Sijn daer comen van Venetiën ex Musaeo Patriarchae Aquileiae. Desen Rubbens

Rubens is a successful painter, the Apelles of his age, is almost drowned under the other information that repeatedly mentions his learning, his collection, and his riches. The investments in his house and the acquisition of a marble collection underline Rubens's claim to nobility.[314] This is delivered here with a patriotic pride, especially as Sweerts begins this account with the information that "we from Antwerp want to increasingly incorporate Italian monuments."

Part of Rubens's "conspicuous consumption" was the acquisition of a library, and from 1613 onwards, the records of the Officina Plantiniana show him enlarging his library steadily. For this, his classical upbringing can be made responsible, an upbringing which was predestined by his social sphere. His father Jan Rubens (1530–1587) had already studied in the Netherlands before travelling to Italy for seven years where he acquired his doctorate in jurisprudence.[315] He and his wife Maria Pypelincx (1538–1608) were in contact with the Netherlandish and Spanish aristocracy and had influential social contacts that went far beyond Antwerpian society, within which the city secretary was also well-connected.[316] When the son Peter Paul Rubens applied to the Spanish king for knighthood, the reference written by the Bishop of Segovia dated 29 January 1624 rested on three pillars: apart from his descent from a good family and the excellency of his painting, particularly his intellectual qualities and his knowledge of history and languages was praised.[317] These repeated references to learning in a context of social advancement suggest that the ownership of a library needs to be discussed in other discourses than merely in the discourse of education.

2.5.1 A Gentleman's Library

Because Rubens's occupation as an artist and his immense output of art is prevalent in the modern perception of him as a person, his library was mostly commented on in terms of artists' libraries.[318] In the light of Rubens's own emphasis on his descent, however, his library should be located in the discourse of the gentleman's library, because a large library was increasingly used as a symbol of social standing. Private libraries became a matter of prestige throughout the sixteenth century,

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windt dagelickx 100 guldens. Is niet alleen schilder, maer versatissimus in historiis et re politica. Heeft alreede over 24 duysent guldens versnoept in syn huys." The complete transcription is found in Heinen 2002, p. 310.

[314] Cf. Ibid., p. 287.

[315] Baudouin 2001, p. 48.

[316] Cf. Büttner 2006b, pp. 21–30.

[317] "El suplicante Pedro Pablo Rubens es muy raro en son arte y muy estimado en toda Europa; y cierto que muchos principes della le han procurado sacar de Anveres con grandes promesas de honrra y dinero, y juntándose á esto ser hijo de padres honrrados y fieles vasallos de V. Md, y que el suplicante, además de la excelencia y primor de la pintura, tiene otras buenas calidades de letras y noticia de historias y lenguas, y se ha tratado siempre muy lucidamente, teniendo mucho caudal para ello. Y assí parece podria V. Md servirse de hacerle la merced y honrra que pretende de nobleza, y dispensar en la paga de finanzas." Ruelens and Rooses 1972e, p. 266; on Rubens's nobility cf. Büttner 2006b, p. 59.

[318] Damm 2013; Baudouin 2001, pp. 59ff.

similar to collections of paintings and chambers of curiosities.[319] Privately owning several hundred books, often bound in a personal library binding made of leather, was a feat not achieved by many at any point in time.[320] Some few aristocratic libraries achieved collections of several thousand books. Compared with the famous library in Wolfenbüttel, which housed 135.000 printed titles and 2.500 manuscripts in 1666, Rubens's almost 500 books were a meagre number.[321] Nevertheless, whatever Rubens's aspirations were, he was not from an aristocratic background, and compared with artists' libraries his collection was large.

Jan Bialostocki concludes that "the average artist was as distant from Rubens's erudition and learning as he was from his aristocratic dignities and diplomatic functions".[322] Owning books was not an exclusive privilege of the elite, but even in the studied professions (doctors, lawyers, and clergy) the average number of books mentioned in inventories was below 40 books per person.[323] In the inventory of Pieter Lastman (1583–1633) around 150 books are mentioned, which, although a lot compared to other artists, pales in comparison with the number of books owned by Rubens.[324] Buying books was expensive, even if the books were not bound in expensive leather. Only few would have left the expensive works unbound. The scholar John Dee, however, often left his books as purchased: his library catalogue was separated into *libri compacti* and *libri non compacti*.[325] This could also be an indicator of the relative value attributed by the library owner to a book. Rubens even had particularly valuable or useful books rebound if the protective leather was worn down.[326]

Not much is known about Rubens's physical library, although a large and very precise reconstruction of its contents was attempted by Max Rooses and Prosper Arents in the twentieth century.[327] The library is mentioned only in an inventory of Rubens's residence dated 1645. This records that in 1639 David Ryckaert moved out of his house on the outskirts of Rubens's estate, whereupon Rubens used it to house his library, several paintings, and copies.[328] Otherwise Rubens's library is not mentioned as a place. Libraries were mentioned in other contexts, however. The way in which other collectors took special care to present their collections suggests that these were often considered to be as important as other collections. The early modern book collectors provide ample possibility to investigate the social and cultural relevance of libraries in Rubens's time.

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[319] Lindorfer 2014, passim.

[320] Cf. the article by Bepler who shows that books were not just intellectual but also financial capital; Bepler 2001, p. 960.

[321] Ibid., p. 962; Schmidt-Glintzer 1998, esp. W. Arnold 1998.

[322] Bialostocki 1984, p. 19.

[323] From a sample of inventories in Amiens: Chartier 1987, pp. 146–148. These inventories should, however, also be checked for vernacular books. It is possible, as Leedham-Greene and McKitterick suggests, that the vernacular books were largely not listed in the inventories as their re-sale value might not have been high enough. Cf. Leedham-Green et al. 2002. For sixteenth-century private libraries in Italy cf. Nuovo 2010.

[324] Seifert 2013, p. 155.

[325] Cf. Sherman 1995, p. 32; Dee 1990.

[326] For new bindings cf. Arents et al. 2001. The books for which Rubens ordered a "binsel" were in 1620 the works of Otto van Veen (E 50), Goltzius's *Julius Caesar* (E61), Gevaerts's *Electorum libri III* (E62), Valerianus's *Hieroglyphica* (E63), Goltzius's *Numismata* in 1621 (E65), his own *Palazzi di Genova* three times in 1622 (E74a and E79) possibly as presents, one copy of the *Pompa funebris Alberti* and the Entries of Albert and Ernest (E87) in 1623.

[327] Ibid., Rooses 1882, 1883.

[328] "Staet van goederen van het sterfhuis van P. P. Rubens" 17 November 1645, SAA, N 1894 (Notariaatsarchief: Toussaint Guyot: Protocollen, en staten en rekeningen, 1645), sub dato 8c n°: "21. Het huys in 't Hoplant, geteeckent n 8,

In his analysis of cardinal Maffeo Barberini's library, Sebastian Schütze maintains that every cardinal had an extensive library—it was almost part of their representative duties.[329] But the importance of an early-modern library in terms of self-fashioning and reputation is maybe best exemplified by Samuel Pepys (1633–1703). Throughout his life, this official of England's Navy was very eager to present himself "as a representative of the roles to which he aspired: he worked hard to behave like a gentleman, like a virtuoso, like a professional administrator, like a worthy client, and like an estimable patron".[330] He is not only known as a prolific diary writer; he also collected a great number of books and wrote a short treatise on private libraries.[331] His use of his library in fashioning his social roles, suggests that the library could be considered as a social marker.

In his treatise on private libraries Pepys distinguishes between the "extensive, pompous" libraries of princes or universities, the focussed collections of specialists, and his private library "for the self-entertainment onely of a solitary, unconfined enquirer into books".[332] His list, of course, does not include the libraries of religious foundations, such as monasteries or churches. With humility verging on topos, he plays his own library down and presents it here more confined than it would have been. Especially the word "solitary" in his description of his own library can be misleading, as the libraries were anything but private and solitary.[333] Books were borrowed, lent, exchanged, recommended, criticised, and some scholars have considered early modern readers in the context of communities, as reading was a social endeavour.[334] Rubens's correspondence is filled with exchanges about, and recommendations of books; he often tried to obtain a specific book for one of his friends.[335] Samuel Pepys, just as the owners of libraries in Antwerp, received many visitors and gladly allowed others access to his large collection. The importance of this can be seen by the pains Pepys took in order to furnish his library.

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tsedert dat David Ryckaert, lesten huerlinck te Kersmisse anno 1639 daer uytgetrocken is, heeft de voorgeschreven aflyviche [d.i. Rubens] selve gebruyckt tot syne bibliotheke, ende eenighe slechte schilderyen ende copyen daerinne geseth." in: Büttner 2006b, p. 195, fn. 23.

[329] Schütze 2007, p. 27.

[330] Loveman 2015, p. 7.

[331] Pepys bequeathed 4,063 titles in 2,971 volumes to Magdalene College, Cambridge, UK, in the early eighteenth century. Ibid., p. 248, fn. 10.

[332] "Mr Pepys on the Conditions of a Private Library", *Private Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 247. in: ibid., p. 245.

[333] Ibid., p. 245.

[334] "The significance of reading a book may lie not in a purely intellectual transaction, but in a combination of this with other factors such as where the work was read … or who recommended it, or indeed who condemned it". Champion 2003, Chartier 1994.

[335] Cf. the almost 100 titles in sections "H" and "J" in Arents et al. 2001.

The books were not the only means to display the wealth and learning of the owner: there was also the room to consider in which the library was presented, as the display was part and parcel of a gentlemanly collection.[336] Apart from book cases, private libraries usually displayed costly artefacts and instruments, such as globes or astrolabes. The display of books in open book cases only became the standard feature of a library during the seventeenth-century, as it was "quite usual, even in great houses, for books as items of relative rarity to be kept in closets and indeed in chests".[337] The extent to which Samuel Pepys went in order to display his bindings to his visitors was not often copied as it was expensive: he had glazing put in front of his book shelves and put the smaller books on blocks in order to have his books in perfect alignment.[338]

A good Antwerpian example is the library of Emmanuel Ximenez, one of the wealthiest Portuguese merchants living in Antwerp in the seventeenth century. "On the Occasion of the Death of Isabel de Vega, Wife of Emmanuel Ximenez" in Antwerp in June 1617, an inventory was made that included the library of her wealthy Portuguese husband.[339] He belonged to the same social elite as Peter Paul Rubens and his family, the Ximenez family having procured aristocratic titles and country estates in the early seventeenth century, and their life style demonstrated this newly achieved noble status. The library of Emmanuel Ximenez counted 984 titles with an additional 72 manuscripts, and was housed in a separate study above the sitting room facing the courtyard.[340]

Ximenez's library in the "Camer boven de Salette aen de Pletse" offers a glimpse into both the contents and the display of a gentleman's library. The inventory lists three bookcases covered in black leather and four wooden book cases, but also four tables: a writing table covered in black leather, a wooden writing table, a standing writing table with an iron candle stick on it, and a Spanish table with two men's chairs accompanying it.[341] The furniture alone suggests a larger room in which all these tables could be used. The objects listed included several copper figures (among which a copper skull), several mathematical instruments made from iron or copper such as "a small bow" for geometry, a sundial, a wooden instrument for perspective, a copper astrolabe, a Jacob's staff, a telescope, a box of lenses and prisms, two globes, several religious figures and several medals of Cardinal Borromeo, three dried Indian animals, two clocks, a map of the Low Countries, one of Africa and a third map of the world, an image of Den Haag and two framed maps of Europe and Germany, several relics, a small printed picture, and much more.[342]

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[336] Jajdelska 2007, p. 557.

[337] Leedham-Green et al. 2002, p. 325.

[338] Ibid., p. 326.

[339] Sarah Joan Moran, "Inventory" in: Göttler et al. 2017.

[340] Christine Göttler, "The Library of Emmanuel Ximenez" in: ibid.

[341] "Drye boeckcassen met swert leir becleet; Een lessener becleet als vore; Twee weeckhoutte cassen ende een lessener; Een Spaensch tafelken; Twee Spaensse mansstoelen; […]." Trsl. by Sarah Joan Moran, "Inventory" in: ibid.

[342] "Een yseren instrument dienende tot fonteyn met houtte figuren ende buysen daertoe dienende; Twee globen oft sphera mundi; Drye gedroechde Indiaensche gedierten te weten: een salamander, een crocodille ende een

Both setting and furniture suggest that this was the place where the master of the house received guests and maybe even customers, where he discussed the interesting objects displayed, and where visitors admired his diverse collection of books and curiosities. However, as Martin shows through many examples of French private libraries, their displays were characterised by "an almost theatrical setting of extravagance", topped only by the display of the Duc d'Orleans.[343] His books were displayed at the end of the gallery that depicted the de'Medici cycle by Rubens.[344] The collection was to reflect on the collector, and the more subjects and languages the library could boast, the more learning and erudition could be claimed by its owner. For Kate Loveman gaining "entrance [to the inner sanctum of a library] was to be offered the impression that you were getting inside the owner's head—an impression that could be altered as he or she chose."[345] This impression is also given by inventories of other libraries, such as by the Antwerp merchant Ximenez.

Thus a library was perceived as a necessary tool for the achievement of social mobility and was part of an ostentatious life style connected to the conspicuous consumption of a certain status.[346] Bill Sherman stresses that "the private library and the solitary scholarly reader are less representations of early modern reality than rhetorical strategies by which early modern subjects negotiated their place in society".[347] These rhetorical strategies had their material manifestation in the libraries themselves.[348] The strategies were known to Rubens and exploited to their full extent; that does not mean that he did not have a serious interest in the contents of his library, but that he purposefully used it to connect with important and learned circles.

Books in a library could show their owners' wealth through their material and quantity, as well as the production process of the codices: the Burgundian abbot Raphael de Mercatellis ordered all his books from scribes so that they had the same appearance inside and out, easily recognisable by their large script and rich bindings. Many of these books were available either as ready-made

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ander met schelpen onbekent; Een groote horologie; Een lantcarte van de Nederlanden; Een ander van Africa; Een ander carta mappa mundi; Een gedructe carte oft afbeeldinge van 's Gravenhaghe; Twee ander cleyn carten in swerte lysten: d'een van Europa ende d'ander van Duytslant; Een gedruct schilderyken; Twee weeckhoutte kaskens daerinne een kintsbeelt van wasch; In een weec casken een coperen beelt figure van Huysman; Een coperen dootshoyken; Een coperen beelt Mercurius; Een vuerslach; Een sasken tot prospective ende instrumenten mathematicque; Een schietbooghsken van coper tot geometrie in een leiren custodie; Eenen mathematicq sonwyser van Michiel Coignet; Een houtte instrument dienende tot prospective in houtten casse; Een cleyn coperen astrolabium in leiren custodie met root satyn gevoedert met instrumenten daertoe dienende; Een geparfumeert vel van ambre met diverse stuckskens dyergelyc leir Baculus Jacobi van hout; Een houtten instrument dienende tot metinge van lantschappen; Een buijse in drye van leir dienende om verre te sien; [...]; Een kofferken daerinne een doosken met medailliën van Cardinal Borremeo; [...] Noch coperen medaliën van Cardinal Borromeo; [...]." Trsl. by Sarah Joan Moran, "Inventory" in: ibid.

[343] H.-J. Martin 1993, p. 326.

[344] Ibid., p. 326.

[345] Loveman 2015, p. 250.

[346] Cf. Veblen 1899 for the introduction of "conspicuous consumption"; an idea that was used by Elias 1969.

[347] Sherman 1995, p. 50.

[348] Lindorfer made the same point in Lindorfer 2014, p. 167; cf. also Bouza 2004, p. 65.

manuscripts or as incunabula, i.e. early printed books, thus having all of these commissioned instead of buying them on the market made his collection unique.[349] Clearly his intent was not only to read his books, but to display his wealth by creating a unique collection. Accordingly, the librarian's manual by Gabriel Naudé notes that a "desire for fame" was indeed a motive for collecting books in which the binding could be as important, or even more so, than the content of a book.[350]

Apart from conspicuous consumption, books had to display erudition as the short satire *De charlataneria eruditorum declamationes duae* by Johann Burkhard Mencke shows.

> I will now move on to those who believe that, although as such they have precious little to offer, even potentially, themselves, it suffices to assume the label of erudition if, by wasting their entire capital, they can scrape together all the books published anywhere in the world. Books which they will never read or if they read them at all, will fail to understand. Rather, they collect piles and piles of printed volumes which they then put on display in long rows, as if in armories, and with much gold and purple adorned, and which they behold several times a day with cheerful countenance and show them ad nauseam to their friends and acquaintances in a similar way.[351]

He bemoaned the charlatanry of the erudite or, more precisely, those who wished to be seen as such by investing all their money into the accumulation of books.[352] Even though his lament might be exaggerated for effect, it only works if the link between amassing books and the status of erudition was established. Thus books, "piles and piles of printed volumes" were collected in order to impress others with their number, their material ("with much gold and purple adorned"), and their contents—even though the collectors could only pretend to that "label of erudition" by indiscriminately buying books from all over the world. His observation correlates to the observation that private libraries expanded in the course of the seventeenth century.

In the commentary by an editor in the German edition from 1727, *Zwei Reden von der Scharlatanerie oder Marktschreierei der Gelehrten*, another misbehaviour is noted: not lending the treasures to others, and enviously guarding the books from the eyes of others.[353] Books had become a social currency in networking and were exchanged in the "humanist tradition as tokens of goodwill", as Jill Bepler showed for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. [354] In any case, the number of books was to be admired as the further commentary reveals in which the "piles of books" are discussed. The German editor knows the example of the Fugger family's library which was said to contain as many books as stars could be found in sky.[355]

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[349] Sometimes the scribes even copied the colophon of the incunabula. Cf. Derolez 2002, pp. 38–39.

[350] H.-J. Martin 1993, p. 325.

[351] "Sed fatis de his; ad eos pergo, qui cum ipsi nihil habeant, quod prodant, vel polliceantur, fatis tamen se tueri posse putant nomen eruditi, si cunctas suas facultates dilapidantes, quicquid ubique prodeat librorum, quos nec legunt quidem unquam, nec si legant, intelligunt, avidissime corradant, totosque montes & acervos voluminum congerant, quæ longo ordine velut in armamentariis disposita multoque auro ac purpura distincta aliquoties per diem hilari vultu adspectant, amicisque ac clientibus suis identidem ad nauseam usque, demonstrant." Mencke 1715, p. 35. Engl. trsl. by De Smet 2002b, p. 12.

[352] Mencke 1715, German translation: Mencke 1727.

[353] "Es giebt aber auch wiederum andere, die wenn sie gleich selbst ihre Bücher nicht nutzen können, doch auch derselben Gebrauch sonsten niemanden zulassen wollen, und die sich durch kein Bitten und Schmeicheln bewegen lassen, nur ganz gemeine Bücher wegzulehnen." Ibid., p. 93.

One of the biggest libraries in sixteenth-century England with three to four thousand titles was that of John Dee, the renowned Elizabethan scholar.[356] This library is just as varied as Pepys's, if not more so, and is not specifically focussed on one subject. According to Roberts and Watson's subject index, the collection included, apart from the texts in the trivial and quadrivial canons, works on anger, burial, chastity, cosmetics, dogs, dreams, earthquakes, falconry, gymnastics, heresy, memory, roads, and tides.[357] Dee had books in twenty-one languages, including Armenian, Catalan, and Swedish, and thus supports Pepys's claim that a library should show "the greatest diversity of Subjects & Stiles (from the most solemn & polite down to the most Vulgar) & in such variety of Languages as the Owner's Reading will bear."[358] The inference from a display of books in many languages is that the Owner's reading is erudite.

But of course, a library was a necessary tool in many professions and not merely an expression of status. The Ximenez library, for instance, shows a predilection for books on scientific discoveries, and books that might help a large merchant house engaged in trading a wide variety of commodities, and it also reflects the global network in that books in many vernacular languages are listed.[359] Its owner was very interested in travel literature, especially that on the new colonies and the East Indian Company, as well as Jesuit letters from Japan and China.[360] On the whole, Ximinez seems to have favoured recent and contemporary books; especially his medical books show this tendency, where early modern authors abound, but Hippocrates or Galen are not represented.[361] Nevertheless, apart from betraying the professional interest of its owner, the library of the merchant Ximenez also contained large quantities of titles concerned with completely different areas of life, such as books on the sciences, on law and historical works.

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[354] Bepler 2001, p. 958.

[355] "... im diction. unter dem Articul FUGGER allwo von der Fuggerischen Bibliothec noch viel ein grösser Werck gemacht wird. Wolfius hat von derselben gesagt: "Es wären darinnen so viel Bücher, als Sterne am Himmel zu finden"." Mencke 1727, p. 94.

[356] For the 1583 catalogue of Dee's library cf.: Dee 1990, Dee 1583; Halliwell-Phillipps 1842.

[357] Sherman 1995, p. 31; Dee 1990.

[358] BL, MS Add. 78680, item 17, fol. 2r. Quoted in: Loveman 2015, p. 249.

[359] Christine Göttler, "The Library of Emmanuel Ximenez" in: Göttler et al. 2017.

[360] Christine Göttler, "Books on Travel, Geography, and Navigation" in: ibid.

[361] Elaine Leong, "Medical books in the Library of Emmanuel Ximenez" in: ibid.

The same wide interests can be observed from the account which Antwerp's alderman and mayor, and Rubens's patron, Nicolaas Rockox (1560–1640) had at the Officina Plantiniana.[362] To judge from his purchases, he favoured books on ancient and contemporary history and numismatics, books on geography and botany, as well as religious books.[363] Nevertheless, all this information about Rockox's purchases can only tentatively point the way, as nothing is known about the use of these books—were they presents for friends or family, did Rockox mean to read them or to give them away? A gentleman's goal in collecting books for a personal libraries seems to have been comprehensiveness, that appears to have been systematic. This trait is also reflected in another library catalogue closer to Rubens.

While Rubens's library is only known to us through Prosper Arents's painstaking reconstruction, the library of Rubens's son Albert is known from an auction catalogue produced after his death.[364] In this catalogue the same tendencies as in the libraries of Rubens's fellow Antwerp citizens Ximenez and Rockox is visible: Of the 1,600 titles in the catalogue, a great number are listed in the historical section (416 titles); many other historical titles could be found among the 209 French, 131 Spanish, and 53 Spanish titles, as well as in the book class "historici et philosophi". Thus, probably one third of all the 1,600 titles mentioned in the catalogue were historical works. The humanistic book class was the second biggest with 180 titles, comprising ancient and contemporary literary works; this, too, could be enlarged by books from the vernacular language sections. The third largest book class subsumed legal books. This focus of the library is explained by the fact that Albert Rubens was a jurist and was, just as his father, very interested in Latin and Roman history. However, the relatively large book classes of theological (127 titles), medical (55 titles), and mathematical titles also mentioned are surprising. The Renaissance ideal of the *uomo universale* comes to mind, the man who is interested in every aspect of the universe and embraces all knowledge. It seems that the owners of these libraries and books were expected to at least display wide interests, even if they did not actually read their books.

The acquisition of an encompassing library can be observed all over Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In early seventeenth-century France, large libraries were rare in the beginning of the century, but grew rapidly after 1611.[365] In 1644 already, a treatise claimed that for a good library a collection of 4,000 volumes was the minimum number.[366] Rarely were the owners of their libraries as negligent as John Dee, who left a large part of his library unbound: many owners displayed their collections of books in appropriate libraries, as Ximenez in Antwerp or Pepys in London. Nicolaas Rockox, Rubens's friend and patron, and the collector of books on a large variety of subjects possibly used his own library in a closer way to Rubens. This variety of subjects is mirrored in many early modern collections of books, and points towards the self-fashioning of a universally educated man. In place of considering Rubens's library in the context of an artist's library, it should be seen in the context of the library belonging to a well-educated gentleman.

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[362] He had his account with the Officina from 1594 and bought some 195 books from that time onwards. Fabri et al. 2004, pp. 33–34. Chisholm 2010, p.19; Ruelens 1883.

[363] Of the 165 purchases, 64 were about ancient and contemporary history, and antiquarian literature (38%), 42 were religious works (25%), 18 works were geographical (11%), 8 botanical (5%). Fabri et al. 2004, p. 36.

[364] This catalogue is reproduced by Arents: Arents et al. 2001, pp. 339–366.

[365] H.-J. Martin 1993, p. 334.

[366] Ibid., p. 321; Jacob, *Traité des plus belles bibliothèques*, 1644.

2.5.2 Rubens and Books

In the social dimension a library played an important role: it was used on a daily basis not only as a tool for work, but also as a tool for negotiating the owner's place in society. In recent decades it has become increasingly clear that books were very important for Rubens, both in his role as a gentleman with social aspirations and as a court painter. Several studies have shed light on Rubens and his possession and use of books, most notably the contributions by Elizabeth McGrath and Prosper Arents.[367] McGrath has repeatedly shown the importance and the influence of books on Rubens's work, especially in the context of his history paintings. Arents has reconstructed the library which Rubens acquired on the basis of his communication with friends and family, his brother's letters, the ledgers of the Officina Plantiniana, and the printed auction catalogue of 1658, drawn up by the printer-publisher Franciscus Vivien after Albert Rubens's death. The reconstruction of Rubens's library can only ever be an approximation: the estimate of the more than 500 titles listed in Arent's work might only be the minimum number of titles that the artist possessed throughout his life, and all these need not to have been in the collection at the same time.[368]

Rubens's library remains an enigma, mainly because there never was *the* library to begin with. Libraries are like living organisms that change with time, with the personalities, the interests and the social standing of their owners. Books are added or removed for various reasons.[369] The books bought from one of the various other printer-publishers and booksellers in Antwerp, with many of whom Rubens also worked together, are not mentioned in the study by Arents, as hardly any archival material exists on these publishers. Also, few documents mention the books Rubens acquired before 1613, including the crucial ten years in Italy where he moved in scholarly circles and lived in Rome, at the time an important printing centre.[370] Additionally, Rubens often bought books for correspondents, a habit shared by the early modern bibliophiles with a generally limited access to different markets. His friend Rockox, for instance, frequently bought several copies of the same books, and it is unlikely that he kept all of them.[371]

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[367] McGrath 2009b, 1997, Arents et al. 2001, Arents 1961.

[368] Arents et al. 2001.

[369] Books are regularly exchanged for newer, more valuable or more beautiful editions. Interests of owners change, the books might be on loan never to be returned, and, as with any collection, the library might be moved or damaged by war or the elements.

[370] Few letters mention books that might have been known to Rubens before coming back to Antwerp. In the few still extant letters by Philip Rubens to his brother some books are mentioned. Arents also tried to reconstruct the possible books read by Rubens mentioned in Albert Rubens's catalogue, cf. Arents et al. 2001, pp. 295–307.

Peter Paul Rubens's oldest son inherited the library from his father and it stands to reason that his own library still retained many of the books from his father's library.[372] Albert was born and baptised in St Andries in June 1614, having the great honour of being able to call the Archduke his godfather.[373] Like his uncle Philip, he would become a scholar interested in antiquarian matters, educated in the Latin school of the Augustine order and his father's friend, the philologist Caspar Gevaerts. From early on he was introduced into his father's intellectual network. It is thus not very surprising that of the 213 books which his father bought from Balthasar Moretus, at least one half is listed in the catalogue made up after Albert's death.[374] Rubens's son also bought books from the Officina Plantiniana himself, and it is likely that the auction catalogue mirrors Albert's interests rather than those of his father. Additionally, Albert did not only add books himself, but also inherited the library of Jan Brant, his maternal grandfather.[375]

The study by Arents is invaluable and provides detailed information about the titles acquired or written about by Rubens and his family, and the editions that they most probably owned or knew. It is reasonable to assume that when Rubens ordered a certain book, he would have ordered the latest, corrected edition of a text, just as his friend Rockox was inclined to do.[376] This would be in keeping with what is known about seventeenth-century bibliophiles: even the rarity of a first edition could not keep a collector like Samuel Pepys or one of his friends from throwing it away or exchanging it for a newer, more accurate and updated version.[377] Indeed, even Naudé recommended buying a wide range of books in their current editions or with the best commentators.[378] Rockox seem to have enjoyed a unique cash-back system with the Officina Plantiniana that would take his old books and replace them with new editions.[379] It seems reasonable to suppose that

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[371] Fabri et al. 2004, p. 34.

[372] Baudouin 2001, p. 54, esp. fn. 28.

[373] Doc. of June 5, 1614, SAA, Parochieregister Sint-Andries, PR 102: Doppregister 1613–18, fol. 22r: "Albert Rubens, gedoopt in St. Andrieskerk, den 5" Juni 1614; peter: St Johan de Silva, nomine Serenissimi Principis Alberti Ducis Brabantiae; meter: Clara Brant." Büttner 2006b, esp. p. 47, fn. 55. On Albert Rubens in general, see M. Rooses, "Rubens (Albert)", *Biographie Nationale. Academic royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, 20, Brussels, 1908, cols. 309–313; idem, "Staet ende inventaris van den sterffhuyse van Mynheer Albertus Rubens en de vrouwe Clara Del Monte" , Rubens-Bulletijn—Bulletin-Rubens, 5 (1910), pp.11–17.

[374] Baudouin 2001, p. 55.

[375] Ibid., p. 55, esp. fn. 30.

[376] Cf. Fabri et al. 2004, p. 35.

[377] Loveman 2015, p. 251.

[378] H.-J. Martin 1993, p. 327.

[379] On 23 November 1599 Rockox bought four new volumes with nine works of Justus Lipsius from the Officina Plantiniana for 10 guilders and 14 stuivers. He already possessed four of the nine works bound into these four volumes, and gave the old edition back to Plantin for which he received 7 guilders and 2 stuivers. So far no other customer has been found to have enjoyed these financial advantages. Fabri et al. 2004, p. 35.

Rubens also held this same view. Even though Rubens might not have enjoyed such a service, it is very probable that he also exchanged old editions for newer, corrected ones.

Even though Rubens might not have had the typical artists' library, he would have needed some of his books for his work. The canon for artists' libraries can be sketched from the lists often found in art-theoretical treatises. Peacham, in his instruction-book for the aspiring gentleman, suggests that a specific kind of knowledge is necessary both for the gentleman and the artist: that is a knowledge of history and poetry, of coins, and of antique statues. Peacham is here referring indirectly to the concept of the educated artist, the *pictor doctus*, a notion that first came up in the sixteenth century and was later propagated by art theorists.[380] Roger de Piles (1635–1709), for instance, in his prose translation of Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy's didactic poem *De arte graphica* (1667), listed the books necessary for the artist. Apart from the Bible, artists should posses the Josephus,[381] a Roman History or even two,[382] Homer,[383] and also Ovid, Philostratus, and Plutarch. De Piles also recommends the vernacular and abridged version of Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici*, treatises about the religion of the Romans, about the Trajan Column, books about medals, Horace, and other similar works that spark the imagination. He then adds *La Mythologie des Dieux*,[384] *Les Images des Dieux*,[385] *L'iconologie*,[386] *Les Fables d'Hyginus* and the *Practical Perspective*.[387] It is a similar curriculum of history and poetry, as well as antiquarian studies, as that suggested by Peacham.[388]

Indeed most artists had several of the above-mentioned books, mostly in the vernacular, if not in Latin or Greek, like Rubens and some of the members of his workshop, then in a vernacular version.[389] Rubens bought most of his works in the original Latin, and later also in Greek, including a Greek-Latin dictionary and with this alone distinguishes himself from artists in general.[390] Some book orders can be directly linked to specific projects and pictures, as McGrath has repeatedly shown.[391] Rooses already surmised that Rubens bought his books on architecture just at the time when he himself was involved in architectural projects, such as his own house.[392]

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[380] Cf. Damm 2013, p. 3, for a good overview on the literature pertaining to the concept of the learned artist.

[381] *Histoire des Juifs et l'Antiquité judaique* by Flavius Josephus, Published in French in 1569.

[382] *Histoire romaine depuis Auguste jusqu'à Constantin* by Nicolas Coeffeteau, 1621; De Piles also suggests *Les Decades* by Livy with the very practical comments by Vigénere, in French from 1583.

[383] Translated into French from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards: Pettegree et al. 2007.

[384] The French version of Natale Conti's *Mythologie of the Gods*, Venice 1551 and from 1599 in French.

[385] Possibly *Imagini delli dei antichi* by Vincenzo Cartari, first trsl. into French in 1581.

[386] The French translation of Ripa's *Iconologia* appeared in 1637 with plates cut by Jaques de Bie.

[387] Piles and Dufresnoy 1668, p. 80.

[388] A very similar canon was found by Bialostocki in his study of Dutch artists' inventories. Cf. Bialostocki 1984, p. 17.

[389] McGrath 2009b. For a key study on artists as readers see Duhem 1906–1913, 3 vols. Cf. also Golahny 2003 and Damm 2013.

[390] Baudouin 2001; McGrath 1997; Bialostocki 1984.

[391] McGrath 2009b, McGrath 1997.

[392] Cf. Rooses 1903; Delen, *Het Huis van Pieter Pauwel Rubens*, 1933. Baudouin 2001, pp. 62–63.

It stands to reason that books were also present in a painter's workshop. Some parts on the title page for Aguilonius's *Opticorum libri sex*, for instance, are not depicted on the drawing and were later added by Galle by reversing the model from Valerianus (Figs. 6 and 5).[393] Thus, this book must have been known to both Rubens and Galle in order for the communication to work properly. It is conceivable that such an important book was kept close-by within the workshop instead of in the library, that would have been located in the house. As most of the books that an artist should have, many of which Rubens most surely had possessed, were not to be found in Albert Rubens's catalogue. He either gave them away, or they stayed with the drawings that were to be kept after Rubens's death until his youngest child turned eighteen, and it would be clear that no artist would follow in the family. These drawings were considered to be valuable stock for a workshop and were preserved for the family in case one of his sons or daughters' husbands were artists.[394] However, as McGrath rightly points out, artists were mostly influenced by the visual examples of other artists, the many prints that were available at the time, or images and sculptures they had seen on their travels, mostly to Italy.[395] In order to be understood visually, artists had to use the established and available visual language. This could be communicated via books, but more often it would have been communicated in the studio or in the images the artists saw and used. For the title pages this also meant that Rubens would orientate himself on the already existing title pages, as these formed a well-used framework.

2.6 Conclusion

The contextualisation of Rubens in the world of books and the world of producing books reveals that the production of title pages relied heavily on the cooperation of several people: the author, the engraver, Rubens as a designer, and the publisher—especially in those cases in which Balthasar Moretus produced a book. These instances make it possible to observe the making of a title page in detail, and to observe the influence each of the parties had on the design of the first image in a book. Certainly the most influence in the production process was wielded by Balthasar Moretus. He communicated with all the parties involved, and it was he who decided if a book was to be given an engraved title page in the first place. As the case studies in the last chapter show in detail, there always was a good reason to involve Rubens in the book projects: be it an important author, an author from Rubens's social network, royal or papal dedicatees, or political or religious reasons. That Rubens was used for more important works is supported by the fact that he designed most title pages for books in folio, a format that alone raised expectations. For Moretus, Rubens's title pages were a special distinction for books and authors that were already significant, socially or politically.

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[393] Cf. Bertram 2016.

[394] Büttner 2012, p. 134, fn. 23: SAA, notariaatsarchif N 1894: notaris Toussain Guyot: Protocollen, staten en rekeningen, 1645, no. CVII.

[395] McGrath 2009b, p. 307.

For Rubens, more was at stake than a leisurely drawing on a Sunday afternoon. His large library and the significance of libraries for (aspiring) gentlemen as a social marker, and also as a means to foster social contact, point to a profound understanding of the need of a good library. The way in which his fame always rested on the epithet of the *pictor doctus* suggests that Rubens gladly took the chance to participate in various intellectual discourses. These would not only have displayed his erudition and wit, while providing interesting allegorical puzzles for audiences who could well afford a painting by Rubens. All the correspondence between Moretus and authors and engravers shows that the production process was a routine process for all the workshops involved, although there does not seem to have a been a standardised way in which a title page was produced (occasionally Rubens provided oil sketches instead of drawings). Because the product was costly and was often for eminent dedicatees, various checks were used in the process, most notably the opinion of the author or intermediary on the finished drawing and then the opinion of the designer (and occasionally the author or intermediary) on the first proof of the engraving. In his usual manner, Rubens later used his workshop assistants for the actual drawing while he himself probably only sketched a rough outline of the image.

For authors and intermediaries, the title pages were especially important when they affected their relationship to the (mostly noble or eminent) dedicatees, so that in their cases, too, more was at stake than merely the decoration of their text. But, although the authors were asked to provide a short summary in the form of the title and first ideas, it was Rubens who provided the design, and he was accepted as the authority on allegorical inventions. All in all, the production of title pages was situated in an international market in which the marketing choices influenced not only the size of the book but also the print run, and, last but not least, the social network of which all the agents were an active part.