

Tot Delf, Gedruckt by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot

Local influences on the book trade in seventeenth-century Delft demonstrated by the case of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot



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Delft demonstrated by the case of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot

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Introduction

Around 1668, Delft painter Johannes Vermeer completed *The Astronomer*. This painting shows an astronomer at work, bent over a table, and looking at a globe which depicts the heavenly constellations. As a learned man, the astronomer also has an opened book in front of him, in addition to the books that are stacked on top of a cabinet on the left side of the figure.¹ This work is one of several by Vermeer that contains references to reading and writing. Besides books, Vermeer painted sheets of music and people engrossed in reading letters.² Interestingly, *The Astronomer* depicts the interior of Vermeer's own house in Delft, which served as the background of quite a few of his paintings, as similar attributes and furniture reappear several times.³ Vermeer, therefore, must have owned these books and used them in his paintings. Where did the painter get these books from?

The seventeenth century Dutch Republic saw an enormous increase in the production and ownership of books.⁴ Many more Dutch people, including painters such as Vermeer, were the owners of a (small) collection of books than was ever the case before.⁵ Delft, a large and important town, was home to a significant number of printers, booksellers and bookbinders, actively producing books for the local, national and, sometimes, international market.⁶ Vermeer, as a citizen of Delft, must have had books readily available to him through these printers and booksellers, and may have bought his featured books in one of the many local bookshops.

Several factors within the local environment of Delft made it an attractive city for book trade entrepreneurs to settle.⁷ As Paul Valkema Blouw states, the environment was an important prerequisite for a successful printing business.⁸ Therefore, local circumstances must have played a role in the book trade in Delft and likely influenced the printers and booksellers active in this city. It is

¹ Johannes Vermeer, *The Astronomer*, ca. 1668, oil on canvas, 50 cm x 45 cm (Paris, Department of Paintings of the Louvre, RA 1983-28), <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Johannes_Vermeer_-_The_Astronomer_-_WGA24685.jpg> (28 June 2020).

² R.D. Huerta, *Giants of Delft. Johannes Vermeer and the Natural Philosophers. The Parallel Search for Knowledge during the Age of Discovery* (Lewisburg/London: Bucknell University Press/Associated University Presses, 2003), p. 72.

³ H. Koning, *The World of Vermeer 1632-1675* (Alexandria: Time-Life Books, 1967) [Time-Life Library of Art], p. 14.

⁴ A. Pettegree and A. der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World. Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2019), pp. 1-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

⁶ J.G.P.C. van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', in R.A. Leeuw and I.V.T. Spaander (eds.), *De stad Delft: Cultuur en maatschappij van 1572 tot 1667* (Delft: Stedelijk Museum 'Het Prinsenhof', 1981), pp. 161-166; J.M. Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 112.

⁷ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', in T. Croiset van Uchelen and P. Dijstelberge (eds.), *Dutch Typography in the Sixteenth Century: The Collected Works of Paul Valkema Blouw* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2013) [Library of the Written Word, 18], pp. 3-4; H.L. Houtzager, 'Vader en zoon Lettersnijder, veelzijdige drukkers in het zestiende-eeuwse Delft', *Jaarboek Delfia Batavorum*, 17 (2007), p. 65.

⁸ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', pp. 3-4.

precisely this influence, that will give more insight into the printing and book trade activities in Delft, as subjects, genres and alike may be explained through the environment in which they were produced.

Delft, as the fourth largest city in the Republic, does not have as large a book production as might be expected.⁹ In the period between 1600-1700, around 974 publications are known, compared to cities such as Amsterdam, with 23,207 publications, and Rotterdam, with 2727 publications.¹⁰ However, other major cities as Gouda (488) and Deventer (345), are even smaller in their output, making Delft a town not without significance in the Dutch world of the book.¹¹ However, little light has been shed on the role of Delft as a printing city. As the city where the first book in the Dutch language was printed, and where the official printers of the States of Holland were active for a long time, its importance should not be underestimated.¹² Furthermore, Delft geographically played an important role, as it is located near The Hague, Leiden and Rotterdam, all important book trade centres, from which printers presumably were in contact with each other.¹³ However, as Jan van Tiggelen states, in order to better understand the printing environment in seventeenth-century Delft, far more research is needed.¹⁴ This thesis indeed aims to gain more knowledge on printing and publishing in Delft.

Through analysing the business and publishing activities of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, arguably one of the most important printers of seventeenth-century Delft, a more clear picture of the printing environment of Delft will be created. Although little research on this printer has yet been done, he is mentioned as the most important by several studies.¹⁵ After having worked as a typesetter in Dordrecht, he moved to Delft, where he married. He eventually bought his own business, and consequently became one of the wealthiest citizens of Delft. As an outsider, he managed to gain a dominant position within the printing trade of the city. His son, Abraham, followed in his father's footsteps and became a printer in Delft, and later in Leiden.¹⁶ To do justice to the publishing activities and life of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, it is important to study his business in the context of the local environment, as this likely influenced his trade.

How did local circumstances influence the book trade in Delft in the case of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot? To gain insight into the local circumstances of Delft in the seventeenth century, the history

⁹ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 112.

¹⁰ For this count see the *Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (STCN).

¹¹ J.C. Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', *Jaarboek Delfia Batavorum*, 17 (2007), pp. 47-48.

¹² Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', pp. 3-4; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 73.

¹³ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 286.

¹⁴ Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 163.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162; J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630. Een bijdrage tot de kennis van de geschiedenis van het boek*. (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1974) [Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica, 6], p. 39; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 131.

¹⁶ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 524; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 131.

of printing in Delft will be discussed. The first part of the thesis, therefore, will focus on the position of Delft as a printing city up to the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the printers living in Delft around the same time as Waelpot will be explored, as they were part of the same network. Through this, the significance of Delft as a printing city, and the professional environment of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot will become clear. In the main part of the thesis, the focus will be on Waelpot and his family. Firstly, his life and business, as well as that of his children will be discussed. The aim is to reconstruct his business and life as accurately as possible, through the available archival material, in order to demonstrate his influence as a printer, as well as his connections to other printers, families and cities. Also, his publishing activities will be analysed, as well as their connection to Delft, thus illuminating Waelpot's identity as a printer and the way he positioned himself in the Delft market. Lastly, the business of his son, Abraham, will be discussed, to gain insight into the changing printing environment in Delft.

Chapter 1. 't Marctvelt: Printing and publishing in seventeenth-century Delft

Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, as a printer and publisher in the seventeenth century, operated in a period in which the Dutch Republic was the centre of the European book trade. Cities such as Amsterdam, The Hague and Leiden played a leading role in the international book industry.¹⁷ Delft, perhaps, does not immediately come to mind when important printing cities of the Republic are discussed.¹⁸ However, as a part of the book trade network of the Republic, its importance should not be underestimated. Printers in Delft had contacts with printers in Leiden, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and other cities, where they also bought type and paper.¹⁹ Furthermore, Delft itself was an important city within the Republic, as one of the six cities that housed a chamber of the V.O.C. (Dutch East India Company), of which delegates were sent to the *Heeren XVII*, the ruling board of the company.²⁰

Early on, Delft was at the forefront of printing and publishing in the Netherlands. The 'Delft Bible', printed in 1477, was the first Dutch Bible, indeed the first Dutch book printed in the vernacular.²¹ Moreover, the following centuries saw printers and publishers with a far-reaching influence on the book trade active in Delft. The city, thus, has a rich history of printing and publishing.

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the environment in which Jan Pietersz. Waelpot was active. To see in what way the local political, intellectual, cultural and socio-economic influences played a part in the publishing activities of printers in Delft, it is important to show in what way this group engaged with each other, what their sales market was and the restrictions they had placed upon their business. Firstly, printing and publishing in Delft from its beginning up to the seventeenth century will be discussed. The start of the book trade and its network in Delft will become clear this way, as well as the history of families and printing shops still active in the seventeenth century. Secondly, the shift of the centre of the book trade from the Southern to the Northern Netherlands and its effect on the Delft book trade will be analysed. Lastly, the work environment of printers and publishers, their organisation and their market will be addressed, as well as the place of printers and publishers within the society of Delft. This will lead to a better understanding of Delft and the book trade in the seventeenth century.

¹⁷ P.G. Hoftijzer, 'The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century', *European history online*, 23 November 2015, <<http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/backgrounds/the-book-market/paul-g-hoftijzer-the-dutch-republic-centre-of-the-european-book-trade-in-the-17th-century#PrintingandBooksellingintheDutchRepublic>>, n. pag. (20 April 2020).

¹⁸ Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 161.

¹⁹ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 286.

²⁰ L.L.M. Eekhout, 'De Delftse kamer van de V.O.C.', in Leeuw and Spaander (eds.), *De stad Delft: Cultuur en maatschappij van 1572 tot 1667*, p. 90.

²¹ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', pp. 3-4; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 14; H. De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel. Een Delftse boekdrukker van de 16^e eeuw* (Rotterdam/The Hague: Nijgh en Van Ditmar, 1963) [Oud Delft, 3], p. 5.

1.1 Printing and publishing in Delft from the introduction of printing up to the seventeenth century

The first Dutch Bible was printed in Delft. On the 10th of January 1477 Jacob Jacobsz. van der Meer and Mauritius Iemandtsz. van Middelborch completed printing the Old Testament (excluding the psalms), the text of which they had based on a manuscript Bible from 1360.²² Delft was among the first places where a printing press was established in the Northern Netherlands. As to why Delft was chosen, little evidence has been found. Valkema Blouw states that there is no historically traceable reason for Delft to be chosen as the location for this new enterprise, as local conditions did not necessarily have an influence. Instead, personal requirements were of a greater importance.²³ A printer had to have knowledge of the trade equipment, as well as an education. But, most importantly, he had to have enough capital to invest in the business. The technical equipment used in the printing houses, as well as paper, were expensive. Moreover, due to the slow turnover of printed books, a printer had to have a means of bridging the time between printing and selling. It was, therefore, first and foremost the personal situation of the printer that was important in order to set up a printing business.²⁴

However, Valkema Blouw also states that certain local market conditions had to be met for a new printing business to be a success. In order to guarantee a good turnover worthy of the investment, a town had to have enough inhabitants who were reasonably wealthy and educated as well. This may have been the reason why Delft was chosen. Additionally, there was no guild in place for this trade, which meant there was little restriction on the printing activities.²⁵

Hans. L. Houtzager suggests another reason to why Delft was suitable for setting up a printing business. Although he agrees that the personal situation of the printer is most important, he states that Delft had long been a town in which book production took place, and thus had a climate which would suit a new printing enterprise.²⁶ From 1450 onwards, Delft had flourished as an artistic centre, with illuminated manuscripts as its main product.²⁷ The Brethren of the Common Life, a community established within the *Devotio Moderna* movement, had a monastery in Delft, which was active in the production of manuscripts. Houtzager adds that places where the printing presses were first established in the Netherlands, namely Delft, Deventer and Gouda, were all places where monasteries of the Brethren of the Common Life had long since been active.²⁸

The printing shop of Van der Meer and Van Middelborch was the first to be established in Delft. After only a few years, their partnership ended, and Van der Meer continued on his own. His business

²² De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 5.

²³ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', pp. 3-4.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 3-4.

²⁶ Houtzager, 'Vader en zoon Lettersnijder', p. 65.

²⁷ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 14.

²⁸ Houtzager, 'Vader en zoon Lettersnijder', p. 65.

was a success, as he printed around fifty publications, most of them in Dutch. Religious texts, fictional stories, historic texts and, interestingly, a book about chess entitled *Scaecspul*, are among his output. The last work is especially interesting as it contains original woodcuts by the Master of the Virgo inter Virgines.²⁹

When after 1487 Van der Meer quit as a printer, Christiaen Snellaert took over. He bought new typographical material, modernising Van der Meer's printing shop. Hendrick Eckert van Homberch took over from Snellaert in 1497, but later moved to Antwerp after having been active in Delft for thirteen years.³⁰ Van Homberch followed the example of other book entrepreneurs in the Northern Netherlands. At the end of the fifteenth century, Antwerp was becoming the centre of the book trade in the Low Countries, as the city prospered. There were good financial opportunities, and a transportation network of which booksellers could make use as well.³¹

According to Briels, who studied printers and publishers from the Southern Netherlands, the South was the centre of the sixteenth-century book trade, centred around Flanders and Brabant.³² Interestingly, this area was also the centre of manuscript production a century earlier.³³ The success of the book trade in the South was connected to that of the university of Leuven, in addition to Latin and French schools found throughout the Southern Netherlands and the humanistic communities present in Bruges, Ghent, Mechelen, Brussels, Liège and other cities. Moreover, the rise of Protestantism in the South gave rise to a growing demand of printed material. Many printers converted to Lutheranism or, later, Calvinism.³⁴ Briels counts the largest number of printers in Antwerp (322), with Leuven (60) and Ghent (40) in second and third place, respectively.³⁵

The shift of the book trade to the Southern Netherlands did not mean that no printers and publishers were active any more in the North. In the sixteenth century several entrepreneurs of importance were living and working in Delft. In 1508, at the start of the century, Henrick Pietersz. Lettersnijder, originally from Rotterdam, moved his business from Antwerp to Delft, settling near the *Nieuwe Kerk*. Houtzager, who studied Lettersnijder and his son Cornelis, states that both had a great influence on printing and publishing in the Netherlands. Although he was a printer as well, the main source of income for Lettersnijder was, as his name indicates, punchcutting.³⁶ Turning punchcutting

²⁹ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', pp. 4, 7-9; De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 6.

³⁰ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', p. 7.

³¹ De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 6.

³² J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 4-7.

³³ E. Morrison and Z. Stahuljak, *The Adventures of Gillion de Trazegnies: Chivalry and Romance in the Medieval East* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2015), pp. 1-2.

³⁴ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 4-7; Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 161.

³⁵ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 4.

³⁶ Houtzager, 'Vader en zoon Lettersnijder', pp. 65-67.

into an independent profession, he provided printers with type for different book sizes, of which octavo was the most innovative. Printers who wanted to cut down on their costs began printing books in this smaller format, for which smaller type was needed. Lettersnijder supplied this demand, and consequently had a great influence on Netherlandish typography in the sixteenth century.³⁷ According to Houtzager, the type produced by Lettersnijder is traceable in Delft, Deventer, Schoonhoven, Leiden and Zwolle and was used by around seventy printing shops.³⁸ It was modelled after the *textura*, a manuscript black letter, used by the Brethren of the Common Life.³⁹

When Cornelis Henricksz. Lettersnijder took over his father's business in Delft, he moved to premises on the *Vismarkt*. Like his father, he also designed new type besides printing and publishing.⁴⁰ His most notable printed work is a translation of the new edition of the Greek New Testament by Desiderius Erasmus, printed in a newly designed type. It was the first time a scholarly translation was published in the Northern Netherlands.⁴¹ Although the work contradicted the tenets of the Catholic church, he was seemingly never prosecuted.⁴² Simon Jansz. continued the business after Cornelis up to 1570, printing prognostications, almanacs and the like.⁴³ In contrast to Cornelis Lettersnijder, he seems to have stayed away from controversial publishing, as he was granted a privilege to print books by the *Hof van Holland*.⁴⁴

However, the trade in heretical books kept growing in Delft, as is demonstrated by the many Protestant schoolteachers who were arrested for using these books.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the turmoil in the Netherlands saw the printing press being used in order to distribute political and religious propaganda in the form of pamphlets and books. The lack of a central government made it possible for printers to supply the demand of the rising number of Protestants. However, stricter control was soon exercised on the majority of printers and booksellers.⁴⁶ Adriaen van Berghen from Antwerp, for example, was arrested in Delft in 1542, as a house in his possession was found to be full of forbidden books. He had

³⁷ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', p. 11.

³⁸ Houtzager, 'Vader en zoon Lettersnijder', pp. 65-67. His letters can be found in the works of Hendrik Eckert in Delft, Pieter van Os in Zwolle and Hugo Jansz. van Woerden in Leiden.

³⁹ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', p. 9.

⁴⁰ 'Lettersnijders', Stadsarchief Delft, 28 August 2019, n.pag., <<https://www.stadsarchiefdelft.nl/delft365/lettersnijders/>> (20 April, 2020). The title page of the New Testament says he lived 'by die vismarckt'. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', p. 11.

⁴¹ Houtzager, 'Vader en zoon Lettersnijder', p. 67; De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 6; 'Lettersnijders', <<https://www.stadsarchiefdelft.nl/delft365/lettersnijders/>> (20 April, 2020).

⁴² Lettersnijders', <<https://www.stadsarchiefdelft.nl/delft365/lettersnijders/>> (20 April, 2020).

⁴³ V.A. de La Montagne, 'Simon Jansz., boekdrukker te Delft in de 16e eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen*, 4 (1906), p. 219; Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', p. 13.

⁴⁴ De La Montagne, 'Simon Jansz., boekdrukker te Delft in de 16e eeuw', pp. 218-220. De La Montagne transcribed the surviving archival material on Simon Jansz. in his article.

⁴⁵ De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 7.

⁴⁶ Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 161; Hoftijzer, 'The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century', n. pag.

already been arrested several times in Antwerp for the sale of heretical books, but the magistrates of Delft were less favourable to him and sentenced him to death in the same year.⁴⁷ Moreover, in 1558, Philips II of Spain ordered a new *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* that was to be enacted in his governmental district.⁴⁸

Delft, in the sixteenth century, witnessed another printer being prosecuted for selling heretical books. Mr. Harman Schinckel, whose sad story has been narrated by Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, is the most famous printer connected to the sale of forbidden books in Delft.⁴⁹ His printing business was to become the largest in the sixteenth-century Northern Netherlands, and the one Jan Pietersz. Waelpot took over in the seventeenth century.⁵⁰

Born around 1535 in Montfoort, Harman Schinckel can be found in Delft in 1559 as a teacher at the local Latin School and rector of the *Fraterhuis* (*domus pauperum*), an institution founded by the Brethren of the Common Life, where boys enjoyed a free education in order to prepare themselves for a life in service of the Christian faith.⁵¹ Schinckel married Agniesgen in 1561, with whom he had three children, all born in Delft. As he also taught music at the Latin School, he was asked to compile a new song book intended for use in the *Oude Kerk* in Delft, that was to be printed in Leuven by Anthonis Maria Bergange. However, Schinckel borrowed equipment from Bergange in order to set up a printing business and print the work himself.⁵² Following this assignment, he established himself as a printer and publisher in Delft from 1566 onwards.⁵³ He opened his business in a house on the corner of the *Schoolstraat* and the *Oude Delft*.⁵⁴ His printer's device, a snail with the motto 'Paulatim' (Little by little), would also be used by his successors.⁵⁵ Before his songbook, *Cantuale Novum*, he published several other works among which Catholic theological texts.⁵⁶ It was only after 1566 that he started publishing books intended for a Protestant audience. Because his song book appeared in 1566, which was a year of crisis, hence its name 'Hunger Year,' the market for such books was gone, which resulted in a

⁴⁷ Biblia Neerlandica, 'Van Berghen, Adriaen', <<https://www.biblianeerlandica.be/biografieen/van-berghen-adriaen/>> (20 April 2020); De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 7.

⁴⁸ De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 16.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁰ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 524.

⁵¹ De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 9; E.P. de Booy, 'Het onderwijs in Delft van 1572 tot het midden van de zeventiende eeuw', in Leeuw and Spaander (eds.), *De stad Delft: Cultuur en maatschappij van 1572 tot 1667*, p. 114. Verwey states that he was probably educated in Leuven, as he had contacts there.

⁵² Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', p. 13; De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, pp. 9-10.

⁵³ De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 11.

⁵⁴ Achter de gevels van Delft, 'Oude Delft 189', <<https://www.achterdegevelsvandelft.nl/huizen/Oude%20Delft%20189.htm>> (21 April 2020). Today the three houses are made into one, which serves as a Museumhotel. The house Schinckel and his family occupied used to be Oude Delft 187.

⁵⁵ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', p. 14.

⁵⁶ De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 11. Besides several books about the Mass, he also published work by Wilhelmus Lindanus, bishop of Roermond and a notorious inquisitor.

considerable loss on his investment. His decision to start publishing Protestant books, for which there was a fast-growing market, may well have been triggered in order to compensate for these losses.⁵⁷

Printers minimised the risk of publishing heretical books by removing printer's marks and other recognisable elements from their work. Harman Schinckel, however, did not take these measures, resulting in his inventory being confiscated in 1568.⁵⁸ From a letter written to his wife, in which he describes his interrogation, it becomes clear that he believed he was innocent, which was probably why he had not removed his printer's mark. As he printed many Catholic works, he characterised himself as a servant of the Catholic faith, and either did not read the Protestant material he was printing, or took up the publishing of these works in order to compensate for his losses: '...om dat ick even te vooren soo groote schade gheleden hadde aen de Kercksangh Boecken te drucken' (because, before, I have suffered great losses from printing the songbooks for the church).⁵⁹ Seven judges presided over his trial in Delft. According to a witness, six wanted to spare him, but the presence of the Duke of Alba in the country made for a less lenient punishment. He was sentenced to death at the age of thirty-two and was not given a chance to escape.⁶⁰

In 1652, almost a century after Schinckel's death, his great-grandson, Theo Verburch, wrote a book on his great-grandfather. *Den Delftsche Martelaer*, published by Abraham Waelpot, also contains the letters written by Schinckel to his wife and children after his sentencing. The story of Harman Schinckel was later taken over by the local historians Dirck Evertsz. van Bleyswijck and Reinier Boitet.⁶¹ In the twentieth century, the bridge across the *Oude Delft* canal from *Schoolstraat*, where Schinckel had his printing shop, to *Oude Kerkstraat* was named the Harman Schinckel bridge.⁶²

⁵⁷ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', p. 17; De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, pp. 14-15, 51.

⁵⁸ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', pp. 14-17.

⁵⁹ De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, pp. 23-41, 47-48, 51, 61; Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', p. 17. Verwey transcribed the letter to his wife, as well as those to his children in his *Meester Harman Schinckel*, pp. 57-62.

⁶⁰ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', p. 17; De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, pp. 23-41, 47-48, 51; Hoftijzer, 'The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century', n. pag.

⁶¹ De la Fontaine, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, pp. 7-8; Dirck van Bleyswijck Evertszoon, *Beschrijvinge der stad Delft* (Delft: Arnold Bon, 1667), pp. 428-429; Reinier Boitet, *Beschryving der stad Delft, behelzende een zeer naaukeurige en uitvoerige verhandeling van deszelfs eerste oorsprong, benaming, bevolking, aanwas, gelegenheid, prachtige en kunstige gedenkstukken en zeltzaamheden. Nevens derzelve voorregten, handvesten, privilegien, en regeeringsvorm, alles 't zamengesteld en getrokken uit oude handtschriften, memorien, en brieven, en met zeer veele echte bewysstukken (te vooren noit gedrukt) bevestigt: door verscheide liefhebbers en kenners der Nederlandsche oudheden* (Delft: Reinier Boitet, 1729), pp. 807-809; T. Verburch, *Den Delfschen martelaer, ofte Laetste afscheyd-brieven van Hermannus Schinckel [...]. Waerinne gesien kan werden syn [...] stantvastigheydt [...] in den waeren geloove* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1652).

⁶² Rijksmonumenten, 'Harman Schinckelbrug in Delft', <<http://rijksmonumenten.nl/monument/12282/harmenschinckelbrug/delft/>> (23 April 2020).

1.2 *The Fall of Antwerp (1585) and the rise of the Northern Netherlands as centre of the book industry*

The Dutch Republic of the Seven United Provinces prospered in the seventeenth century. Thanks to its economic, intellectual and cultural growth, the Republic also became the centre of the book trade in North-Western Europe. This prosperity started at the end of the sixteenth century, when many religious exiles migrated to the young country to escape Spanish persecution, while at the same time refugees from other regions arrived as well.⁶³ Among these foreigners were printers and publishers who brought with them skills and knowledge of the book trade.⁶⁴ Especially the fall of Antwerp in 1585, until then the centre of the Netherlandish book industry, was the cause of the arrival of many religious exiles, as printing presses were ordered to operate in the service of the Counter-Reformation.⁶⁵ In addition to the expertise brought by these migrants, the increase in population in the North created a larger market of readers, again contributing to the growing book trade in this area.⁶⁶

Numerous studies have been written on the migration of Southern-Netherlandish printers, publishers and booksellers to the North. Jan Briels has produced a clear overview of this migration movement. According to him, the migrants from the South were indispensable when it comes to the flourishing of the book trade in the North. Furthermore, their expertise helped the Dutch Republic reach a level of success in the book trade, that might never have happened otherwise.⁶⁷ Some of the Southern-Netherlandish printers and publishers chose Delft to start up a new business. Jan van Tiggelen, one of the few scholars who researched printers and publishers in Delft, states that of the 570 migrant printers in the Northern Netherlands, 7% were active in Delft.⁶⁸ The Delft government encouraged these tradesmen to set up their business in the city by giving them free citizenship.⁶⁹

However, the settlement in Delft took a while. At the end of the sixteenth century, almost no Southern-Netherlandish printers and publishers are known to have been active in Delft. The only exception is Jasper Tournay, but he soon left for Gouda.⁷⁰ Both Briels and Van Tiggelen state that this was caused by the dominating position of the printer Aelbrecht Hendricxz.⁷¹ After marrying the widow of Harman Schinckel, who had reopened the print shop and hired Aelbrecht, he took over the shop in

⁶³ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 12-13, 16, 21-22; Hoftijzer, 'The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century', n. pag.; Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 161.

⁶⁴ Hoftijzer, 'The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th century', n. pag.

⁶⁵ Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 161.

⁶⁶ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 22.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

⁶⁸ Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 162; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 38.

⁶⁹ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, pp. 45-53.

⁷⁰ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 38; Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 162.

⁷¹ Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 162; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 38.

1574 and made it for a while the most successful printing firm in the Northern Netherlands. Around 1578, when he moved the printshop from *Oude Delft* to a building on the market square named 'Inde Drukkerye', he already had ten people working in his business, of whom a large number came from the South.⁷²

Aelbrecht benefitted from the impact of the religious conflict on the printing industry. In 1579, he got a patent from the States of Holland for printing a Protestant Bible in the Republic.⁷³ It would seem he was favouring the new religion, but according to Briels, this is not always clear, as printers often printed material of different religious content. Aelbrecht Hendricxz., although a member of the Reformed, Calvinist church in Delft, got into trouble with the local *Kerkenraad* (church council) several times for printing non-Protestant books as well as for not showing up for the Lord's Supper.⁷⁴ In 1582, he was named as the official printer of the States of Holland and eight years later, he was made the printer of the States General, which explains why he moved his business to The Hague.⁷⁵ Furthermore, in 1591, all printing and publishing activities for the government was directed from Delft to The Hague.⁷⁶ Aelbrecht's stepson, Bruyn Harmensz. Schinckel, took over the business in Delft on the market square, probably using the money left to him by his father.⁷⁷ He was not active for very long; in 1612 his main occupation, besides running a printshop, was being a brewer. He ended up selling the business to one of his typesetters, Jan Pietersz. Waelpot.⁷⁸

⁷² M. Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad. Haagse boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), p. 30; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 38; Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 162; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 44; De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 56.

⁷³ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 41; Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 162; C.C. de Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1937), p. 245, <https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/brui007stat01_01/brui007stat01_01_0015.php> (24 June 2020).

⁷⁴ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 41-2. City Archives of Delft (CAD), Reformed Municipality of Delft, inv. nr. 445.1, Minutes of the church council, from 1846 broad or general church council 1573-1951, f. 136r: 'Alsoo van Arnolde voorghestelt is een vraghe, of men een boeckvercooper vant Avondmael des Heren houden mocht om dieswille, dat hij kettersche boecken vercoept ende niet verstaen can dattet hem onghoorloft soude zijn, is na rijper deliberatie gheresolveert, datmen sulck een wel vermanen sal dat hij vuyjt liefde der Religie ende zijns naesten sulcke boecken als voorsz. is niet te coop houde, wanneer men nochtans tselfde niet obtineren can, datmen dan omme hun vant Avontmael even soo weynich afhouden sal als yemandt die kettersche boecken coept ende leest' (30 November 1579). The transcription is taken from Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 41. Moreover, Aelbrecht had Dirk Kemp in his service, a supporter of Coornhert, who criticised the Calvinist religion, and also ran into other trouble. Later, he moved to Zierikzee. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 41-42.

⁷⁵ Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 162; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 39, 134-139; De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 56; Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', pp. 48-50. Aelbrecht let his son take over his position in The Hague, where it eventually fell into the hands of the Van Wouw family, that also used the type of Henric Lettersnijder. One of his 27 printer's marks was a snail. Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 162.

⁷⁶ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 73.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38; De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 56.

⁷⁸ Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 162.

The departure of Aelbrecht created new opportunities for other entrepreneurs. Between 1572 and 1667, Van Tiggelen counts 144 printer-publishers who were active in Delft. However, it is unclear how many of them actually owned a business or were working for others.⁷⁹ Before Aelbrecht's departure, only Cornelis Jansz. Vennecool, active from 1575, and Maritgen Simonsdr., active from 1574, were working in Delft with relatively small businesses.⁸⁰ Cornelis Jansz. Vennecool was Aelbrecht's biggest competitor. He had a printing shop at the *Wijnhaven*, called 'Inde Vette Henne'.⁸¹ His son, Jacob Cornelisz. Vennecool, had a business as well on the *Boterburg* called 'Int Vergulde Schrijfboek'.⁸² Maritgen Simonsdr. took over the print shop of her father, the previously mentioned Simon Jansz., who himself had taken over from the Lettersnijders at the *Vismarkt*.⁸³

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, these firms were joined by several other businesses. Nicolaes de Clerck was one of the first, mainly selling engravings, which he put on display in the townhall, where he rented a space. Besides De Clerck, Floris Baltensz. van Berckenrode, later succeeded by his son Balthasar Florisz., sold printed matter, although they are most famous for their maps of Delft, Schieland and Rijnland. After the death of his father in 1620, Balthasar sold his patent on the production of maps of Delft and its environment to Willem Blaeu in Amsterdam.⁸⁴

1.3 Seventeenth-century printers and publishers in Delft in the context of the local economic, political, religious, and cultural and intellectual environment

As mentioned above, the Northern Netherlands were at the centre of European book production in the seventeenth century. The English printer James Moxon, in his famous handbook on printing, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (London, 1683), called it 'the curious Printing of Holland which does indeed of all others merit the greatest Applause'.⁸⁵ Interestingly, he had lived in Delft with his father as a young boy, where he had learned the book trade.⁸⁶ Delft was among the largest Dutch towns in the seventeenth century, counting 22.769 inhabitants in 1622. Due to its

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 164-166, 162.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 162, 164-166; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 41.

⁸¹ Achter de gevels van Delft, 'Wijnhaven 17, oude situatie', <<https://www.achterdegevelsvandelft.nl/huizen/Wijnhaven%2017B.html>> (21 April 2020); Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 163. The biblical motto of his printer's mark corresponds with the name of his shop: 'O Ierusalem, ic hebbe u wille v[er]gaderen als een hinne haer kiekene, mar gy en hebt niet gewilt' (Matthew 23:37); *ibid.*, p. 163.

⁸² Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', pp. 163, 166.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁸⁴ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, pp. 275-277; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 39.

⁸⁵ Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing 1683-4* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 372; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, pp. 277-278.

⁸⁶ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 278.

economic prosperity gained by the production and export of beer, cloth, embroidery and Delftware, a fertile environment was created that was also suitable for the book industry.⁸⁷

Printers and publishers in Delft were influenced by local institutional organisations, religious movements, politics, and market conditions. In order to understand in what environment they operated, it is important to explore these influences. The American art historian John Michael Montias, who has done a thorough study of the Guild of St. Lucas in Delft, has studied the organisation of printers in Delft further.⁸⁸ Although his focus is on the painters, he also discusses what he calls the 'minor arts', of which printing is one.

The Guild of St. Lucas included booksellers from 1630 onwards. The rules the members of the guild were subjected to, are listed in the 'Guild Letter' of 1611. This regulation, transcribed by Montias, states that in order to become a guild member, an entrance fee had to be paid and Delft citizenship was required. For any additional workers hired, a fee also had to be paid. Furthermore, a membership fee of six *stuivers* had to be paid each year. Everyone who wanted to practice the trade had to register with the guild and, with the exception of the annual Free Markets (*vrijmarkten*), no foreign products could be sold in Delft.⁸⁹ The entrance fee was six guilders, except for those born in Delft, who only paid three. Moreover, sons and daughters of guildmembers only owed half the fee in order to register.⁹⁰ A period of nineteen months before the rules were enacted encouraged non-members to register.⁹¹ To be a registered master of the guild, an apprenticeship of two years was required for bookbinders, book printers and booksellers, in contrast to the other trades that required six years of apprenticeship. Furthermore, only booksellers who owned a business could sell books, unless it was at an auction.⁹²

The printers and booksellers belonged to the fourth group defined by the guild as 'verlichters ende constvercoopers ende boeckvercoopers' (illuminators, art dealers and booksellers), which included printers and binders of books.⁹³ Montias has analysed the number of booksellers and printers

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 112.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 74, 350-351, 363.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 44, 93-95.

⁹¹ J.M. Montias, 'The Guild of St. Luke in 17th-Century Delft and the economic status of artists and artisans', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 9:2 (1977), pp. 93-95.

⁹² Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, pp. 101-102, 363. The difference in the required years of apprenticeship was at the request of the booksellers, printers and binders. Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 363.

⁹³ D.O. Obreen, 'Het St. Lucas-gild te Delft', in idem (ed.), *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kunstgeschiedenis* (Rotterdam: Van Hengel & Eeltjes, 1877-1878), p. 8, < <http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-33492&lan=en#page//71/74/63/71746307074548713475966221199201387315.jpg/mode/1up> > (29 June 2020); Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, pp. 101-102. According to Montias, very few illuminators were present in Delft in the sixteenth century. They were more likely painters. Perhaps this only became a separate profession within the guild when the book trade flourished, causing them to be in a category together with the printers. Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 14.

in the seventeenth century by looking at the *meesterboecken* (master records) of the Guild. He concludes that they were stable in number, but that their presence dropped after 1670.⁹⁴

According to Montias, printers and booksellers organised themselves in a different way from the painters and other artists. They often formed partnerships to cover the high investment costs of their activities, which could last as brief as one publication. Although members of the same guild, the printers and booksellers appear to have had an organisational structure separate from the Guild of St. Lucas, as is also evident from their social life, as members of printing and bookselling families often married one another, or other merchants or tradesmen, but almost never painters or other artists.⁹⁵ This explains why Delft never had an independent guild of printers and booksellers, as can be found in other Dutch towns.⁹⁶

An early seventeenth-century contract between a group of printers in Delft, discussed by Veldhoven and Montias, illustrates this further. In 1627, several printers agreed not to sell the books prescribed by the magistrates of Delft for pupils at the local Latin School below a set price. Montias and Veldhoven both suggest that this probably had to do with the *Hollandse schoolorde* (School order of Holland), that was implemented in 1626.⁹⁷ Because of the complaints about the educational level of Latin Schools the States of Holland had set a standardised form of education, that required new books. These texts were made by professors from Leiden, resulting in a list of twenty-three books, with the price and number of editions for each town included. Only the first edition was to be printed in Leiden, by the Elzeviers, who had a patent, after which printers in the other towns were free to print these books themselves. The *Hollandse schoolorde* was not, however, adhered to by most towns in Holland, while Delft seems to have partly taken over the list. The magistrates of Delft compiled their own list in 1627, that had to be followed on penalty of a fine for those who did not.⁹⁸

This contract was signed by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, Jan Andriesz. Cloeting, Felix van Sambix Junior, Adriaen Gerritsz. van Beyeren, Cornelis Jansz. Timmer and Barbara Heyndricksdr. van Lent, widow of Joris Andriesz. Cloeting. Presumably they were the most important printers in Delft, although of some of them, only a few works are known.⁹⁹ Clearly, the Delft printers and booksellers here

⁹⁴ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, pp. 104-108.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 285-286.

⁹⁶ Such as the guild of printers and booksellers of Amsterdam, of which several guild tokens are preserved at the Rijksmuseum and Teylers Museum. Teylers, 'Gildepensing van het boekverkopers- en drukkersgilde te Amsterdam', <<https://www.teylersmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/munten-en-penningen/tmnk-05504-gildepensing-van-het-boekverkopers-en-drukkersgilde-te-amsterdam/>> (24 June 2020); Rijksmuseum, 'Boekverkopers- en -drukkersgilde van Amsterdam, gildepensing van David Volkner, anoniem, 1685', <<http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.265829>> (24 June 2020).

⁹⁷ Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', pp. 56-58, Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 278.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* For an indication of the printed output of these printers, the *Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (STCN) was consulted.

operated outside of the guild and made their own contracts and rules. Moreover, although they were among the richest members of the guild, they never appear as wardens (*hoofdlieden*) chosen by the town authorities of Delft, even though glassmakers and 'faïenciers' do.¹⁰⁰ This suggests that the guild was more of a formality for the printers and booksellers, as the Guild of St. Lucas traditionally did not include them. Printers and booksellers who wished to publish illustrations in their books, however, needed permission from the guild, which is perhaps why they were included. Moreover, many printers and booksellers were art dealers as well.¹⁰¹

Montias notes, interestingly, that also some English printers settled in Delft, who operated outside of the Guild of St. Lucas. Besides the previously mentioned James Moxon, Middleton Cooper, Joan Nutten (Newton), Thomas Cowper, Willem Lee, Arthur Woodward, Henry Hincliff, Thomas Crawford, and Jan Voet (John Foot) were active in Delft. However, they were not a separate enclave. Around ten Delft entrepreneurs worked for the English printers. According to Montias, their freedom in producing books without registering with the guild can be explained by the nature of their production. These printers worked almost exclusively for the English market, printing Puritan 'Geneva Bibles', that were prohibited by Charles I and his Anglican archbishop William Laud. Moreover, they bought their raw materials, such as paper and type, on the Dutch market.¹⁰² It was, therefore, not necessary to have them register as they did not damage the market of Delft printers and booksellers and contributed to other parts of the book industry.¹⁰³

As already mentioned, the printers and booksellers were the richest group of the Guild of St. Lucas. Montias has measured their wealth and found that they lived in houses costing over two thousand guilders, payed the highest taxes on their houses (10 to 25 guilders), likely earned more, and gifted the largest amount to the *Camer van Charitate* (Chamber of Charity) upon their death (22 guilders). Their wealth was comparable to that of surgeons and notaries.¹⁰⁴ In Delft, printers and booksellers held a high position.

According to Briels, there were few problems between the religious institutions and the government on the one hand, and printers and booksellers on the other in early seventeenth century Delft. Most of the printers and booksellers, when looking at their publications, were members of the established Dutch Reformed church.¹⁰⁵ However, Delft did have a Catholic population, that probably

¹⁰⁰ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 41.

¹⁰¹ Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', p. 51.

¹⁰² Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, pp. 86, 279-282; Montias, 'The Guild of St. Luke in 17th-Century Delft', p. 98.

¹⁰³ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 86.

¹⁰⁴ Montias, 'The Guild of St. Luke in 17th-Century Delft', pp. 94, 99, 100-104.

¹⁰⁵ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 39-42.

was supplied with printed materials from the South, sold to them by Delft printers.¹⁰⁶ Of the forbidden books, confiscated by the government in the seventeenth century, only one is from Delft, a contra-remonstrant treatise entitled *Overlegginghe van de oorsaecken der schadelicker twist in de Kercken van Hollandt ende Westvrieslant opgeresen*, written by Reynier Dontelock and printed by Jan Andriesz. Cloeting in 1612.¹⁰⁷ Reynier Dontelock was a fierce Calvinist theologian and contra-remonstrant nicknamed *Donderclock* (thunder clock) by the people.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, he was one of many Delft ministers who also wrote books. Others are Johannes Goethals, Dionysius Spranckhuysen, Guilelmus Saldenus and Petrus de Witte.¹⁰⁹

The Delft printers and booksellers did not only work for the local market. Contracts with printers in Amsterdam and Rotterdam were made, and as we have seen they supplied the English market as well.¹¹⁰ Several institutions, however, did help the city to prosper and create a bigger market for books. Delft in the seventeenth century was a successful merchant town. It accommodated chambers of both the V.O.C. and W.I.C. (Dutch West India Company), there was a department of the English Merchant Adventures, and it produced and exported Delftware, textiles and beer in large quantities.¹¹¹ The Chamber of the V.O.C., located on *Oude Delft* 39, provided merchants with new opportunities, as supplies regularly were purchased in the town; the cloth industry profited from the new dyes imported by the V.O.C.¹¹² The wealth these activities brought to Delft, worked to the advantage of the book trade, as not only more people resided in the town, they also had sufficient capital to spend on books.

Delft, furthermore, had several educational institutions that provided a market for book traders. Delft had an established Latin School, that gave its pupils access to university, normally that

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 42; M.A. de Kok, 'Het katholiek leven binnen de stad Delft in de jaren 1572-1650', in Leeuw and Spaander (eds.), *De stad Delft: Cultuur en maatschappij van 1572 tot 1667*, p. 111; CAD, Reformed Municipality of Delft, inv. nr. 445.3, Minutes of the church council, from 1846 broad or general church council 1573-1951, f. 63r. 'Men verstaet dat sowel de boeckvercopers die professie doen vande religie als de anderen, van Antwerpen ontbieden ende vercopen vele prenten ende affgodische beelden, tot ergernisse van velen. Sullen daerom alle hier ontboden ende daervan vermaent werden.' (13 April 1598). Transcription taken from Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁷ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 42-43; Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', pp. 47-50; W.P.C. Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1914), p. 37. Knuttel lists other prohibited books published in Delft, but they date from the eighteenth century. However, in more recent studies it has become clear Knuttel did mis some books in his list. See: I.M. Weekhout, *Boekencensuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. De vrijheid van drukpers in de zeventiende eeuw* (The Hague: Sdu Uitgevers, 1998), pp. 59-60.

¹⁰⁸ Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', p. 48; Knuttel, *Verboden boeken in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden*, pp. 37-38.

¹⁰⁹ C.D. Goudappel, 'Het kerkelijk leven van de gereformeerden', in Leeuw and Spaander (eds.), *De stad Delft: Cultuur en maatschappij van 1572 tot 1667*, p. 105.

¹¹⁰ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 279.

¹¹¹ K. van Berkel, 'Delft als industriestad in de 17^e eeuw', in Leeuw and Spaander (eds.), *De stad Delft: Cultuur en maatschappij van 1572 tot 1667*, p. 79.

¹¹² Eekhout, 'De Delftse kamer van de V.O.C.', pp. 90-93.

of Leiden. The Latin School in Delft had five classes from 1603 onwards (septimal to tertial). In the seventeenth century, the average number of pupils at the Latin School was between sixty and one hundred.¹¹³ In addition to the Latin School, there were private 'ABC' schools and French schools, besides primary Dutch (*Nederduitse*) schools. The ABC schools were organised mainly by women and were meant to teach young children the alphabet as well as some prayers. The *Nederduitse* schools were meant for children who had to learn a bit more. Teaching reading and writing was the priority of these schools. The French schools were for pupils who needed to learn French and calculating, with sometimes a little accounting and navigation. Often the pupils were children of merchants that needed this education in order to take up the profession of their father.¹¹⁴ These schools all needed schoolbooks, which local printers and booksellers could supply. Moreover, schools also attracted and generated literate and educated people, another group constituting a market for books.

Of all the printers and booksellers working in the seventeenth century, only the Cloeting family has been the subject of scholarly attention. Veldhoven has analysed this family and characterises them as one of the richest printer-booksellers in Delft. They started with the previously mentioned Maritgen Simonsdr. She had two sons and two daughters with her husband Andries Jansz. Cloeting. One of the two boys, Joris Andriesz., continued his mother's business at the *Vismarkt*. The other, Jan Andriesz., started a print shop in a house on the market square named 't Gulden ABC' (The Golden ABC), a house name that can still be seen on the facade today of *Markt 32*. Jan Andriesz. was one of the most active publishers of the period, with about 168 titles remaining today.¹¹⁵ His business was a success, as he was able to buy a house of more than 2000 guilders. Furthermore, he had far-reaching connections with colleagues in The Hague, Middelburg, Amsterdam, Schiedam, Gorinchem and Kampen. According to Veldhoven, most of his work is probably lost as he printed a lot of ephemera.¹¹⁶ He, for example, published his own newspaper *Courante uyt italien, duytslandt ende nederland*, originally from Amsterdam.¹¹⁷ According to Arthur der Weduwen, Cloeting used two Amsterdam newspapers, the previously mentioned *Courante* of Caspar van Hilten and *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* of Broer Jansz. to create his own newspaper for the Delft market.¹¹⁸ One of his sons, Andries started his own print shop as well in a house near the *Haverbrug* named 'In 't gelinieerde Schrijfboek', and continued

¹¹³ De Booy, 'Het onderwijs in Delft van 1572 tot het midden van de 17^e eeuw', pp. 112-113.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-119.

¹¹⁵ Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', pp. 48-50. The number of publications is based on the STCN:

<<http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/SET=1/TTL=1/CLK?IKT=8061&REC=1&TRM=cloeting,+jan+andriesz>> (23 April 2020). For the locations of printers in Delft see Appendix 1.

¹¹⁶ Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', pp. 58-59.

¹¹⁷ Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 163; A. der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century, 1618-1700*, 2 vols. (Leiden/Boston: E.J. Brill, 2017), vol. 1, pp. 418-419.

¹¹⁸ Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish Newspapers of the Seventeenth Century*, vol. 1, pp. 418-419.

publishing the newspaper as well.¹¹⁹ The shop name indicates that they probably also sold pens, paper and notebooks, as most booksellers did.¹²⁰

Maritgen's other son, Joris, of whom no work remains, had a son, Symon Jorisz. Cloeting who took over his father's business, but later moved to a house near the *Haagpoort*. He was an art-dealer as well as a bookseller. His daughter, Maria Jorisdr. Cloeting, married Abraham Dissius, who bought 't Gulden ABC' in 1651 from the widow of Andries. Besides being a printer, Abraham was a still-life painter.¹²¹ Although no known publications remain of Joris, one book published by his widow, Barbara van Lent, has survived.¹²² She also appears in the contract on the price agreement of Latin School books, indicating her importance in Delft.¹²³ Again, their output may well have been mostly ephemeral publications, the poor survival rate of which make it difficult to estimate the scope and importance of printed matter from Delft.¹²⁴

The Cloeting family were wealthy printers. Simon Jorisz. Cloeting borrowed 3000 guilders from his mother that presumably was used for his business, which means his mother was rich enough to provide her son with such a large sum of money. Indeed, according to Montias, the Cloetings were probably the largest printers in town, especially the family members working at 't Gulden ABC'. The son of Abraham Dissius, Jacobus, continued working for his father. His wealth is illustrated by his collection of a number of paintings by Johannes Vermeer.¹²⁵

Besides the Cloeting family, none of the other Delft printers and booksellers have been studied so far, in spite of their number and importance. The most important stand out, because their names are registered in the list of the Guild of St. Lucas and their appearance in other contracts between publishers in Delft. According to Van Tiggelen and Briels, several of these publishers and booksellers, who set up shops after Aelbrecht Hendricxz. had left, came from the Southern Netherlands.¹²⁶ For instance, Felix II van Sambix and Adriaen Gerritsz. van Beyeren were both from Antwerp and were in

¹¹⁹ Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', pp. 50-51; Der Weduwen, *Dutch and Flemish newspapers of the seventeenth century*, vol. 1, p. 419.

¹²⁰ R. van Vliet, 'Print and Public in Europe 1600-1800', in S. Eliot and J. Rose (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p. 247; Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', p. 59.

¹²¹ Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', pp., 50-51.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹²³ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 278.

¹²⁴ This is also stated by Pettegree and Der Weduwen, who speak of 'the lost world of ephemeral print'. See: Pettegree and Der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, p. 407.

¹²⁵ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 284. The Dissius family owned the paintings following the marriage between Magdalena and Jacobus in 1640. Pieter van Ruijven, the father of Magdalena, according to Montias was the patron of Vermeer. Furthermore, Abraham Dissius may have given the business to his son to balance the gap in wealth between the two. See: J.M. Montias, 'Vermeer's Clients and Patrons', *The Art Bulletin*, 69:1 (1987), p. 71.

¹²⁶ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 38-39; Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 162.

contact with each other.¹²⁷ Felix II van Sambix had his print shop in the *Pepersteeg*.¹²⁸ Adriaen Gerritsz. van Beyeren was situated on the *Koornmarkt* in a house named 'Den Briel'. Van Beyeren also sold paper, pens, and notebooks to the city government of Delft. His connection to Van Sambix is made clear through his last will. He died in a most unfortunate manner, after having been accidentally stabbed by a drunkard on the *Koornmarkt*.¹²⁹ However, the most important 'printer from the South', according to Briels, is Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, who, from 1620 onwards, plays a significant role in the book trade in Delft. Although he himself was born in Dordrecht, his parents came from Antwerp, which is enough for Briels to include him as a book trade entrepreneur from the South.¹³⁰ Van Tiggelen too states that he was one of 250 printers from the South.¹³¹ In the next chapters the focus will be on Jan Pietersz. Waelpot and his family.

¹²⁷ C.D. Goudappel, 'Koornmarkt 41, manslag op de koornmarkt', *Delftsche courant*, 18 September, 1984. n.pag., <https://www.achterdegevelsvandelft.nl/huizen/Koornmarkt%2041_files/doorlees%20Koornmarkt%2041.html> (23 April 2020); C.D. Goudappel, *Delftse historische sprokkelingen. Grepen uit de geschiedenis van Delft en omstreken* (Delft: Elmar B.V., 1977), pp. 26-28.

¹²⁸ D. Spranckhuysen, *Christelycke instrvctie voor de nieuw-ghehoudene N.N.* (Delft: Felix van Sambix, 1635), title page, <<http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=stcn:305732501:01>> (24 June 2019).

¹²⁹ Goudappel, 'Koornmarkt 41'.

¹³⁰ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdruckers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 39.

¹³¹ Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdruckers 1572-1667', p. 161.

Chapter 2. From Dordrecht to Delft: The life and business of Jan Pietersz.

Waelpot

As discussed in the previous chapter, Delft had a good number of important printers and booksellers, who were in contact with each other and formed the richest group of the Guild of St. Lucas.¹³² Jan Pietersz. Waelpot was among the elite of the printers and booksellers in the seventeenth century. Montias, Briels and Van Tiggelen all name him as one of the most important book trade entrepreneurs of Delft in this period.¹³³ So far, however, very little is known about his publishing and bookselling activities. How did he become one of the most prominent printers and booksellers in Delft? Evidently, most of his Delft colleagues came from a long line of entrepreneurs active in the city. Waelpot, however, was a stranger to Delft, a man who bought a business for himself and ended his career being one of the wealthiest citizens of the town.

In this chapter, the focus will be on the life and work of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot with the aim to provide a clear picture of his business, his wealth, and his connections with other printers and booksellers. Furthermore, his personal life will be explored as this can reveal other connections in his network. Firstly, his move to Delft, his family and the beginning of his business will be discussed. Secondly, an attempt to reconstruct his business and network will be made by analysing the documents in which Jan Pietersz. Waelpot appears and by looking at the inventory of his estate made upon his death. Analysing his business network and his printing establishment and book shop will help to determine his success and position in Delft. Lastly, the life and work of his children will be discussed. Marriages to prominent families bring new connections to a network, which is why the social lives of his children is important. This is demonstrated by the career of his second son Abraham, who also became active in the book trade.

2.1 The life of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot

Th.G.A. Bos has studied the origin of the family as well as Jan Pietersz. Waelpot and his offspring.¹³⁴ The article, however, leaves some family members unmentioned and is not correct in every aspect. To reconstruct the family of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, the study done by Bos will therefore be extended with the help of documents from the City Archives of Delft.

¹³² Montias, 'The Guild of St. Luke in 17th-Century Delft', pp. 94, 99, 100-104.

¹³³ Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 162; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 39; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 131.

¹³⁴ Th.G.A. Bos, 'Proeve van een studie over het uit Mechelen stammende geslacht Waelpot', *De Brabantse Leeuw, mededelingenblad van de sectie geslacht-, naam-, en wapenkunde van het Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noord-Brabant*, 4 (1955), pp. 84-92, 100-107, 113-122.

Bos traces the origins of the family back to fourteenth-century Mechelen, where he found an Arnoldus Walepoijt, deputy of the *St. Niklaaskapel* (Chapel of St. Nicholas). Sometime later, a Johannes Waelpoijt acts as the first of a long line of *schepenen* (aldermen) of Mechelen.¹³⁵ Of greater interest here, however, is Peeter Waelpot, who left his family in Mechelen to move to Antwerp, where he registered as a citizen in 1544, his occupation being that of a herring buyer. He died young, and his children were left in the care of their uncles. One of the children, Peeter (II), declared in 1580 before the aldermen of Mechelen that his uncles had helped him well.¹³⁶ He does this since his brother has left the country, according to Bos, because of the religious turmoil in the South. His presumably Protestant conviction will also have been the reason for Peeter to move to the North, to Dordrecht, where he married Adriaena Lodewycxdr., widow of one Jan Vermander, in 1587.¹³⁷ In the marriage registration, Peeter is said to be a *cleermaeker* (tailor), and both he and his wife as coming from Antwerp.¹³⁸ Of the couple's six children, all born in Dordrecht, Johannes Pietersz. Waelpot was the third, born in June 1596.¹³⁹

Unlike his father, Johannes appears to have worked as a typesetter in Dordrecht, as is stated in the registration of his marriage in Delft to Catharina Carels van Bronckhorst in 1617.¹⁴⁰ However, in 1618, when their first child, Helena, was born, he is registered as a book printer.¹⁴¹ This is interesting, as he was not a member of the Guild of St. Lucas in Delft at that time.¹⁴² He had already printed a few books before his registration to the guild, and apparently did not care about their religious content. Although Waelpot himself was a Protestant, he printed a Catholic book entitled *Hemelryck*, written by Johan Stalpart van der Wiele and published by Aryen Claesz. Vryenberch in 1621.¹⁴³ Other works by Van der Wiele were later printed by Antoni Scheffer in 's-Hertogenbosch, but Briels suspects Waelpot was the actual printer of these as well.¹⁴⁴

Following his marriage, Waelpot stayed in Delft for the rest of his life and set up a business on the market square. During his long life, he had nine children with his first wife, Catharina, of whom

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-86.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 103; City Archives of Mechelen, Mechelse Schepenregister, inv. nr. 205, f. 24v.

¹³⁷ Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', pp. 103-104, 107.

¹³⁸ Regional Archives of Dordrecht (RAD), Baptismal, Marriage and Burial books of Dordrecht (BMBD), inv. nr. 11.16, f. 72r; Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 107.

¹³⁹ RAD, BMBD, inv. nr. 11.2, f. 69r; Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 107.

¹⁴⁰ City Archives of Delft (CAD), Baptismal, marriage and burial books (BMB), inv. nr. 14.5, Baptismal books of the Old Church, f. 89r. He is registered as a 'lettersetter wonende tot Dordrecht'; Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 115.

¹⁴¹ CAD, BMB, inv. nr. 14.7, Baptismal books of the Old Church, f. 15v; Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 115; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 624.

¹⁴² Obreen, 'Het St. Lucas-gild te Delft', p. 18.

¹⁴³ Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 115; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 152, 524.

¹⁴⁴ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 152.

four remained alive.¹⁴⁵ As mentioned before, his first daughter, Helena, was born in 1618, but she did not survive.¹⁴⁶ A second child, born in 1619, was also named Helena.¹⁴⁷ In 1622, his first son, Karel, was born, who died shortly after, followed by Pieter in 1624 and Abraham in 1626, who both remained alive.¹⁴⁸ In 1629, Adriaentgen was born, who died prematurely, followed by Adriana in 1631.¹⁴⁹ In 1634, Isaack was born, followed by another child named Isaack in 1636; both did not survive.¹⁵⁰ The last child appears to have lived for about four years, as his death is registered in 1640.¹⁵¹ After Catharina's death, Waelpot remarried in 1654 with Martijntgen Ariens. van Spaendonck, the widow of Pieter Gillesz. Vermeulen.¹⁵² They lived together until Waelpot died in 1667. He was buried in the *Oude Kerk* in Delft.¹⁵³

Bos, Van Tiggelen, Briels and Montias state that the business of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot must have been a success. Upon his death, Jan Pietersz. Waelpot left an impressive 19610 guilders and 10 *stuivers* (pennies) worth of debentures (*obligaties*) to his grandchildren and surviving daughter, aside from his house, household goods and remaining money.¹⁵⁴ According to Montias, this is an enormous amount in comparison to other Delft citizens. Andries Cloeting, for example, owned about 5000 guilders worth of debentures upon his death, a value comparable to what a notary or silversmith might have owned, and Simon Cloeting around 1630 guilders.¹⁵⁵

Jan Pietersz. Waelpot eventually registered with the Guild of St. Lucas in 1622: 'Opten 3 Januari anno. 1622 is voor de Hooftmans gecompareert Jan Pietersz. Waelpot bouckbijnder ende heeft hem selven als mester doen aenteikenen als Vremdelynck ende daarvan betaelt op rekeninge 6 gl. Rest nog 6 gl'.¹⁵⁶ Because he was not a native of Delft, and therefore considered a foreigner or 'stranger'

¹⁴⁵ Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 116.

¹⁴⁶ CAD, BMB, inv. nr. 14.7, Baptismal books of the Old Church, f. 15v.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., f. 37r.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., f. 65r (Karel); f. 88v (Pieter); Ibid., inv. nr. 14.8, f. 35r (Abraham).

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., inv. nr. 14.8, f. 66v (Adriaentgen); Ibid., inv. nr. 14.55, f. 103r (Adriana).

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., inv. nr. 14.55, f. 144r (Isaack I); f. 177r (Isaack II).

¹⁵¹ CAD, BMB, inv. nr. 14.38, Burial books of the Old and New Church, f. 261v.

¹⁵² CAD, Inventory of the archives of the city government of Delft (IACD), inv. nr. 1.2574, Register for notices of marriage, f. 68v; Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', pp. 115-116.

¹⁵³ Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 115; E.A. van Beresteyn, *Grafmonumenten en grafzerken in de Oude Kerk te Delft* (Assen: Van Gorcum & comp. N.V., 1938), p. 94. Although he rests at a specific location, many deceased after him have been buried there as well. The gravestone only says: 'I. v. H. 1786'.

¹⁵⁴ Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', pp. 115-116; Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 162; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkoopers in de Republiek*, p. 524; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 131. The above mentioned sources all claim 19607 guilders and 70 *stuivers* (= 3 guilders and 10 *stuivers*), which leads me to believe that that is probably how it was written down. The total is, therefore, 19610 guilders and 10 *stuivers*; CAD, Orphan Chamber (OC), inv. nr. 72.4471, 'Inventaris van den boedel ende alle de goederen naergelaten bij Zaliger Jan Pietersz. Waelpots in zijn leven boeckvercooper gewoont hebbende en overleden aande noortsijde van het marctvelt binnen deser stadt opden xxii octob[er] xvi sevenensestich' (Inventory of the estate of Johan Pietersz. Waelpot ..., 22 October, 1667), ff. 1r, 4r, 30v-31r, 109v.

¹⁵⁵ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 131.

¹⁵⁶ Obreen, 'Het St. Lucas-gild te Delft', p. 18.

(*vremdelynck*), he had to pay twice the normal fee.¹⁵⁷ By that time Jan Pietersz. Waelpot had his print shop on the north side of the *Marctvelt* near the town hall.¹⁵⁸ This is confirmed by the fact that he appears in a document in 1667 on taxes for deepening the canals, according to which all registered citizens living on a canal had to pay taxes depending on the size of their lot. Jan Pietersz. Waelpot is registered as living on the *Voldersgraft Zuijsij* (*Voldersgracht* South-side), which are the backs of the houses having their facade on the north side of the *Marctvelt*.¹⁵⁹

According to Briels, Waelpot started as a typesetter for Bruyn Harmensz. Schinckel and probably bought the print shop from him in 1622. Elsewhere, however, Briels also suggests that he had taken over the print shop from Jacob Cornelisz. Vennecool in 1623.¹⁶⁰ It seems more likely that he took over from Schinckel, as Waelpot's print shop carried the same name, 'Inde Druckerije', and he used the same printer's mark as Schinckel.¹⁶¹ In 1624, two years after he had become a member of the guild, Jan Pietersz. Waelpot was registered as the buyer of a house on the *Marctvelt* for 2000 guilders from Wijbrandt Corij[sz.] van Overvest.¹⁶² It is possible that he first bought Bruyn Harmensz. Schinckel's shop and expanded it by buying the neighbouring house. In any case, the transactions suggest that his business was successful.

2.2 The business of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot

Little is known about the business of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot. He is discussed briefly by most studies on Delft printers and publishers, but it remains difficult to reconstruct his business, as so little research has been done on Delft and the book trade. To reconstruct the way his business operated and his position and network in Delft, it is important to look at the archival documents in which Jan Pietersz. Waelpot is mentioned. One of the most interesting of these documents is the inventory of his estate compiled upon his death, which provides an insight into his wealth and his business.

Firstly, Jan Pietersz. Waelpot appears on 15 January 1627 in the price fixing contract, mentioned in the previous chapter, in which the leading booksellers of Delft agreed not to sell certain schoolbooks for prices below those set by the printers and booksellers themselves.¹⁶³ Presumably the printers wanted to keep the trade fair and agreed to sell their product at a fixed price. This shows that

¹⁵⁷ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 350.

¹⁵⁸ Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 116.

¹⁵⁹ CAD, IACD, inv. nr. 3510, Assessment list for the costs of the deepening of the canals, with notes on the width of every plot and the scale of the taxes, with names of the contractors of the deepening and the authorisation of the lords of the Wet to collect the contributions, ff. 148r, 149v.

¹⁶⁰ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 39, 524.

¹⁶¹ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: the First Century', p. 14; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 524-527.

¹⁶² CAD, Chamber of Charitate, inv. nr. 447.367, Accounts of the disposition on the transport of immovable property, part 1, f. 007v.

¹⁶³ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 278.

Waelpot worked together with other Delft printers and that the school pupils of Delft were one group of costumers for his printing activities.

A notarial deed from 1631 shows a connection between Jan Pietersz. Waelpot and printers in The Hague. Joost Ockers, a printer from The Hague, published in that year *De Hollantse Lijs met de Brabantsche Bely*, a literary work written by G.J. Quintijn. The book was printed, however, by Folckert Jansz. in Delft. In 1631 he declared that he had printed about a thousand copies, but apparently Quintijn wasn't entirely pleased with the work. Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, therefore, reprinted three pages of the book at the request of the author.¹⁶⁴ Another book, *De verthoningen over de heerlijcke en noyt voor desen verkregen victorie van 's-Hertogen-Bosch*, written by P. Nootmans for the The Hague chamber of rhetoric *longe Batavieren*, was printed by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot in Delft as well.¹⁶⁵ It appears to show that the connection between printers in The Hague and Delft continued after the official printers of the States of Holland and States General had moved from Delft to The Hague.

On the 10th of April 1641, Waelpot appears in a document concerning an English printer. According to Montias, two Delft printers, Carel Warnaertsz. van Turenhout and Anthony Baerthoutsz. van Heusden, had begun a case against the previously mentioned James Moxon. Moxon had promised to print fifty copies of the first part of the *Principles of Art Military* by Henry Hexham (Heyndrick Hocksan), an English captain in the service of the Dutch Republic, and had yet to supply the still missing printed sheets. Van Heusden and Van Turenhout testified this 'ten huiyse van Jan Pietersz. Waelpot' (in the house of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot).¹⁶⁶ Other works by Hexham were printed in Delft by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot as well, often for Hendrick Hondius, another printer from The Hague.¹⁶⁷

In 1656, on the 7th of January, Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, together with Simon Cloeting, Anthony van Heusden, Abraham Dissius and Arnold Bon declared before a local notary at the request of Pieter van Waesberge, a bookseller in Rotterdam, that the French-Dutch dictionary of Casparaus van den Ende, titled *Le Gazophylage de la Langue Francoise et Flamande* (first published in Rotterdam by Johannes Naeranus in 1654), had an estimated value of 33 *stuivers* (or 1 guilder and 13 *stuivers*) per copy. However, they did not want to take any copies.¹⁶⁸ In addition, Jan Pietersz. Waelpot seems to have had a lasting working relationship with Waesberge, as he had already printed a book for him in

¹⁶⁴ E.F. Kossmann, *De boekhandel te 's-Gravenhage tot het eind van de 18^{de} eeuw: Biographisch woordenboek van boekverkoopers, uitgevers, boekdrukkers, boekbinders enz. Met vermelding van hun uitgaven en de veilingen door hen gehouden* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1937), p. 296; Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad*, p. 228.

¹⁶⁵ Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad*, p. 198.

¹⁶⁶ CAD, Notarial Archive (NA), inv. nr. 161.1976, Notary Govert Rota, f. 135r; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 281; Keblusek, *Boeken in de hofstad*, p. 100.

¹⁶⁷ Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad*, p. 100; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 321.

¹⁶⁸ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 284; CAD, NA, inv. nr. 161.2114, Notary Johannes Ranck, f. 16r-v.

1629.¹⁶⁹ The Waesberge family, originating from the Southern Netherlands, were important booksellers in Rotterdam.¹⁷⁰

Jan Pietersz. Waelpot furthermore appears as the 'official' printer of the *Hoogheemraadschap van Delfland* (Regional Waterboard), which resided in Delft. This important, originally medieval institution regularly published its 'approvals and ordinances'.¹⁷¹ A new collection published in 1656, the most important one to come from the board in a couple of decades, was to be published by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot. Jan Verhoeve, a printer from The Hague, however, intended to print this work as well and stated that the work of Waelpot was 'niet en synde conform de keuren, soo sij behoorden te wesen' (not being like the approvals are supposed to be).¹⁷² After he was confronted by the Waterboard he apologized to Waelpot in a letter.¹⁷³

From these scant documents, the importance of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot as a printer becomes clear. Besides working together with the most important printers of Delft, he appears in connection to important printers from The Hague, Rotterdam and even England. Furthermore, his position was of such standing that he was asked to act as mediator in conflicts among his colleagues. Lastly, he was prominent enough to be chosen as the printer for the *Hoogheemraadschap*, which published its proclamations every couple of years, securing a fixed contract. His importance is further illustrated by his publishing activities, that will be discussed in the next chapter.

When Jan Pietersz. Waelpot died on 22 October 1667, an inventory of his estate was drawn up.¹⁷⁴ His estate was to be divided by four, the first part for the children of Pieter Waelpot, the second part for Adriana Waelpot, the third part for the children of Abraham Waelpot and the fourth part for the children of Helena Waelpot. For his wife, Martijntgen, he left 1500 guilders. Furthermore, his daughter Adriana, who was not yet married, received an extra 1600 guilders, which his other children had received upon their marriage.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ J. de la Croix, *Le thresor de l'ame chrestienne* (Rotterdam, Pieter van Waesberge, 1629). Waelpot is mentioned as the printer in the colophon. See: STCN, <<http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/SET=1/TTL=11/SHW?FRST=12>> (25 June 2020).

¹⁷⁰ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 121-125.

¹⁷¹ Th.F.J.A. Dolk, *Geschiedenis van het Hoogheemraadschap Delfland* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1939), pp. 3-5, 181. Although he indeed published all the approvals and ordinances of the *Hoogheemraadschap*, there is no evidence he was ever officially appointed.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 290.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* Dolk states that this letter is still in the Archive of Delft under inv. nr 1588. However, I have not managed to find this letter.

¹⁷⁴ CAD, OC, inv. nr. 72.4471, 'Inventaris van den boedel ende alle de goederen naergelaten bij Zaliger Jan Pieters[z.] Waelpots in sijn leven boeckvercooper gewoont hebbende en overleden aande noortsijde van het marctvelt binnen deser stadt opden xxii octob[er] xvi sevenensestich' (Inventory of the estate of Johan Pietersz. Waelpot ..., 22 October, 1667), f. 1r.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, ff. 1r-v, 2v, 3v.

The house on the northside of the *Marctvelt* in which Jan Pietersz. Waelpot had died, was still inhabited by his widow and his daughter Adriana.¹⁷⁶ Presumably, his daughter stayed there until her marriage. His widow died in 1686, by then living on the *Oude Delft*.¹⁷⁷ Adriana did not take over the business from her father. In the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* from April 1668, an advert reads the following: 'Op den 24 April sullen tot Delft, op de Gilde-Camer van St. Lucas-Gildt, verkocht werden de nagelaten Boecken van zalig: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, in zijn leven Boeckverkooper' (On the 24th of April in Delft, in the guild room of the guild of St. Lucas, the books of the deceased Jan Pietersz. Waelpot shall be sold, in his life a bookseller), four months after his death.¹⁷⁸

The inventory of his estate gives a good idea about the size of his business. After a long list of people who were indebted to Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, mainly for books delivered in Delft, a long list of the books '*Int voorhuys sijnde de winckel*' (in the front house, which is also the shop) is given (Appendix 2).¹⁷⁹ These books provide information on the genres he sold, as well as about the amount of stock Jan Pietersz. Waelpot had.

The books in his print shop are divided into 'regular' books, schoolbooks, unbound books, and books '*Inde vergult kas*' (In the gilding cabinet). A total of around 880 books are stored in the print shop, divided by an unlisted format, presumably folio, quarto and octavo, of which the quarto books are the highest in number and the octavo the smallest. 139 schoolbooks of 26 different titles are in stock, and around 550 are listed as unbound books. Furthermore, 43 books apparently are in the process of being bound in more expensive bindings and gilded, as they are listed as '*inde vergult kas*'. Among them are books bound in Spanish leather as well as gilded psalm books.¹⁸⁰

Secondly, books in the front room of the first floor in the house of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot are listed.¹⁸¹ These probably served as his stock, as around 600 books are listed, together with the copper plates for illustrations, paper and '*een grote pors*', in all likelihood his binding press.¹⁸² The subjects of these books range from medicinal books and historical works to chivalric romances and emblem books. For example, *Sinnepoppen* written by Roemer Visscher and *Mariken van Nimegen* are listed, as well as

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., f. 4v.

¹⁷⁷ CAD, BMB, inv. nr. 14.44, Burial book of the Old and New Church, f. 83v.

¹⁷⁸ Apud, 'Advertenties uit de Oprechte Haerlemse Courant 1668', <<https://apud.net/index.php/oprechte-haerlemse-courant/91-advertenties-uit-de-oprechte-haerlemse-courant-1668>> (25 June 2020).

¹⁷⁹ CAD, OC, inv. nr. 72.4471, Inventory of the estate of Johan Pietersz. Waelpot ..., 22 October, 1667, f. 31r; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 131.

¹⁸⁰ CAD, OC, inv. nr. 72.4471, Inventory of the estate of Johan Pietersz. Waelpot ..., 22 October, 1667, ff. 73r-74r, 75v-76r, 79v. The total of the unbound books is difficult to determine. In the figures given, it is assumed that the list following the list of 'unbound books - in the shop', namely 'In the upper front room starting on the West side', also refers to unbound books. If this is not the case, than about 53 books are unbound. The unbound books, in contrast to the bound books, are usually described using the work 'paccet' (package), which continues in the second list, which is why it can be assumed that these are unbound as well.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., f. 79v.

¹⁸² Ibid., f. 108v. When taking in to account his publications listed on the STCN, it is not likely that he published his stock himself. Perhaps he had gotten these books through trade with others.

a history of China and multiple *chirurgieboekjes* (Surgeon booklets).¹⁸³ Moreover, there is a large number of religious books, including many reformed and pietist authors translated from the English and French.¹⁸⁴ For example, the French author Theodorus Beza is listed ten times, with 38 books, and his work *Bekentnisse des Christelicken gheloofs*, without its author, is listed seven times.¹⁸⁵ Additionally, works of English Puritan writers such as Thomas Brightman and William Perkins can be found as well.¹⁸⁶ According to Willem Jan op 't Hof, especially English pietist works were common in the Republic in the seventeenth century, resulting from Puritan refugees living in the Republic and Dutch people living in England. Moreover, few pietist works were written in Dutch in the early seventeenth century, while French and English works appeared in large numbers.¹⁸⁷ Lastly, it should be noted that many titles in the inventory are listed several times, but not necessarily together, which indicates that Waelpot's shop and stockroom were perhaps not very organized.

Interestingly, besides a binding press, no printing equipment appears in the inventory. Waelpot, therefore, may have been only a bookseller and binder at the end of his career. However, he must have been a printer before that, as he is often described as such. For example, in the book *Hemelryck*, published by Adryaen Claesz. Vryenberch, he is specifically mentioned as the printer of the book in the colophon.¹⁸⁸

The inventory also lists his other possessions, which give an idea about his material wealth. Besides the books, Jan Pietersz. Waelpot owned several paintings, as well as silver objects and porcelain. For example, six silver spoons with his initials, J:P:W:P are described in the inventory.¹⁸⁹

Of particular interest is the list of people whom Waelpot owed money, as it reveals many names connected to the book trade. The Delft printers Jacob Vencel (Vennecool), Cloeting, who is mentioned without a first name, and Pieter Oosterhout are listed, as well as Hillebrandt van Wouw in The Hague, whom he owed money for some printed papers.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, Waelpot owed money to a company called '*Inde Pampiere Molen*' (In the paper mill) for supplying him with paper, and to

¹⁸³ Ibid., ff. 49r, 63r, 69r, 83r, 107v.

¹⁸⁴ For information on Pietism and its influence on the Netherlands, see W.J. op 't Hof, *Engelsche piëtistische geschriften in het Nederlands, 1598-1622* (Rotterdam: Lindenberg, 1987) [Monografieën gereformeerd piëtisme, 1].

¹⁸⁵ CAD, OC, inv. nr. 72.4471, Inventory of the estate of Johan Pietersz. Waelpot ..., 22 October, 1667, ff. 32r, 33r, 50r, 56v, 57r, 59v, 66r, 70v, 81v, 91v, 92r, 103v; W.J. op 't Hof, *Engelsche piëtistische geschriften*, p. 41.

¹⁸⁶ CAD, OC, inv. nr. 72.4471, Inventory of the estate of Johan Pietersz. Waelpot ..., 22 October, 1667, ff. 35r, 36v, 48r, 51r, 68v, 88r, 94v; Op 't Hof, *Engelsche piëtistische geschriften*, pp. 183, 200, 205, 280-281.

¹⁸⁷ Op 't Hof, *Engelsche piëtistische geschriften*, pp. 613-617, 637-640.

¹⁸⁸ Jan Baptist Stalpart van der Wiele, *Hemelryck dat is Lof-sangh van't rijcke der hemelen 'twelck eertijds beweeght heeft Adrianum Rechter van Nicomedien tot het gheloof* (Delft: Adryaen Claesz. Vryenberch, 1621), p. 106, <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=i8J4A_8GZhcC&pg=GBS.PP128> (27 June 2020).

¹⁸⁹ CAD, OC, inv. nr. 72.4471, Inventory of the estate of Johan Pietersz. Waelpot ..., 22 October, 1667, ff. 109v-115r. The painters are not named, only the subject matter of the paintings is mentioned, among which are landscapes, a 'tronie' (portrait) and a '*boerenkermis*' (peasant festival).

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., ff. 115v-117r.

Abraham Casteleyn, a printer and publisher in Haarlem, for newspapers.¹⁹¹ Both the Van Wouw family and the Casteleyn families were prominent printers in the seventeenth century. Hillebrant Jacobsz. van Wouw eventually took over the position of printer to the States General in The Hague originally held by Aelbrecht Hendricz.¹⁹² Abraham Casteleyn was the founder of the *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* and was known to have a wide network of correspondents. Moreover, he was the official *stadsdrukker* (townprinter) of Haarlem.¹⁹³

When Jan Pietersz. Waelpot died, his business apparently was still doing well. In his house in various locations, around 1500 books were stocked, including an impressive stock. Furthermore, he marketed his wares to a well-to-do clientele, with around fifty books made of expensive materials, while also dealing in schoolbooks for the pupils of the Latin school in Delft. He did not print these books himself, but will have traded with printers whom he was in contact with. With such a wide variety of books in his shop, he could supply multiple segments of the Delft market.

2.3 The Waelpot family

Although Bos in his article mentions four surviving children of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, only three are given attention.¹⁹⁴ In order to establish the network of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot further, all his surviving children and their lives will be discussed briefly below (Appendix 3). Often, tradesmen married within their network, which makes it important to study their children and their marriages and occupations, as often these families and businesses are connected to Jan Pietersz. Waelpot and his family.¹⁹⁵

The oldest child, Helena Jansdr. Waelpot, married in 1654 in the *Nieuwe Kerk* to Louys Elsevier from Leiden.¹⁹⁶ Helena, at that point, was living with her father on the *Marctvelt*, and Louys lived in Leiden on the *Rapenburg*.¹⁹⁷ Although connected to the famous Elsevier family of printers and booksellers, Louys himself was a painter.¹⁹⁸ He was born in 1618 as the son of Aernout Elsevier and Maria van Swieten and took up his father's profession, who was a painter and a brewer.¹⁹⁹ As stated above, the printers of Delft often did not marry within the professional group of the Guild of St. Lucas.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, f. 117r.

¹⁹² Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, pp. 133-134; M. Schneider, *De voorgeschiedenis van de 'Algemeene Landsdrukkerij'* (The Hague: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1939), p. 34.

¹⁹³ P.J. Blok and P.C. Molhuysen (gen. eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 9 (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's uitgevers-maatschappij, 1933), col. 132,

<https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/molh003nieu09_01/molh003nieu09_01_0235.php> (29 June 2020).

¹⁹⁴ Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 117.

¹⁹⁵ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, pp. 285-286.

¹⁹⁶ CAD, BMB, inv. nr. 14.70, Notices of marriage books, f. 163v.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 163v; Leiden Regional Archives (LRA), Baptismal, Marriage and Burial Books of Leiden (BMBL), inv. nr. 1004.13, Dutch Reformed notice of marriage, f. 133v.

¹⁹⁸ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 285; H.W. van Leeuwen, 'De schilder Louis Elsevier en het Elsevierpoortje', *Delfia Batavorum*, 8 (1998), p. 103.

¹⁹⁹ Van Leeuwen, 'De schilder Louis Elsevier', p. 103.

According to Montias, Louys Elsevier is the only painter who managed to 'break into the exclusive circle of the rich painters and booksellers of Delft'.²⁰⁰ This can be explained by his connection to the Leiden Elseviers, which means this marriage was a dynastic alliance.²⁰¹

Louys himself was registered as a painter with the Guild of St. Lucas of Leiden before his marriage, and registered in Delft in 1646, a year after his arrival there, as a painter of landscapes.²⁰² Furthermore, he was chosen as *hoofdman* (warden) of the guild in 1669.²⁰³ According to Montias, he was not a very successful painter in Delft, partly because of the artistic decline in Delft from 1640 onwards. He did manage, however, to be successful by engaging in other occupations.²⁰⁴ He was probably an art dealer, or at least dealt in art supplies. In a document from the Delft notarial archive from 1660 he can be found dealing in *lootwit* (white lead colour), a raw material used by painters to fabricate their paint, that he obtained from Rotterdam.²⁰⁵

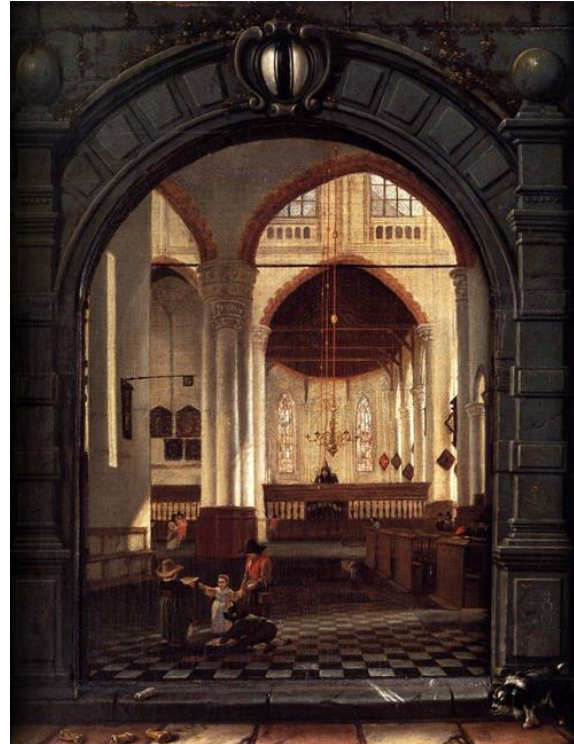


Figure 1: Louys Aernoutsz. Elsevier, *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft, seen through a stone archway*, 1653, oil on canvas, 55 cm x 45 cm (Lisbon, National Museum of Ancient Art)

Via Wikimedia Commons.

According to art historian Clara Bille, Louys was a follower of trends rather than an original painter.²⁰⁶ Only four paintings by Louys Elsevier are now known, all made in the first seven years of his career in Delft. As his registration in the guild would suggest, most of these are landscapes, which seem inspired by the work of Jan van Goyen, who possibly was his master in Leiden.²⁰⁷ Interestingly, one of the paintings by Elsevier shows a church interior of the *Oude Kerk*, seen through a stone Renaissance archway (fig. 1). Both Bille and Harry van Leeuwen suggest that he was inspired by Emmanuel de Witte, Hendrick van Vliet and Gerard Houckgeest, painters active in Delft at that time and known for church

²⁰⁰ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 285.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 342; Van Leeuwen, 'De schilder Louis Elsevier', p. 103; C. Bille, 'Een kerkinterieur van Louis Aernoutsz Elsevier', *Oud Holland*, 66 (1951), p. 123; Obreen, 'Het St. Lucas-gild te Delft', p. 40: 'Den 3 September heeft hem laeten aentekenen Louwijs Elsevijeer...'.
²⁰³ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 373.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

²⁰⁵ CAD, NA, inv. nr. 161.2135, Notary Dirck Rees, f. 265r; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 207.

²⁰⁶ Bille, 'Een kerkinterieur', p. 123.

²⁰⁷ Van Leeuwen, 'De schilder Louis Elsevier', p. 103; Bille, 'Een kerkinterieur', p. 123.

²⁰⁸ Van Leeuwen, 'De schilder Louis Elsevier', p. 103; Bille, 'Een kerkinterieur', p. 123.

interiors.²⁰⁸ Delft painters traditionally created perspective by using curtains through which interiors and other scenes could be seen. Elsevier, however, chooses a stone archway set in the dark to create more light for his interior.²⁰⁹

Van Leeuwen states that Louys will have looked at examples in Delft to paint this archway. Although the *Hammenpoort* from 1608 on the *Rotterdamse weg* is often thought to have inspired Elsevier, Van Leeuwen suggests a sandstone gate that Louys Elsevier supposedly had taken with him from Leiden. This gate has a keystone which shows the Elsevier family crest. The earliest date the gate can be traced back is to 1900 on *Koornmarkt* 48, when it was bought by the director of the local *Calvé*-factory and placed in his garden. In 1990, after a succession of owners, the gate was sold again and placed back in the city centre of Delft, in the *Bagijnestraat*, where it can still be found today (fig. 2).²¹⁰



Figure 2: The 'Elsevier Gate' in *Bagijnestraat*, Delft.

Louys Elsevier and Helena Waelpot had five children together. The first, named Johannes, was born in 1645, presumably named after Helena's father.²¹¹ In 1648 Maria was born, followed by Aernoldus (1651), named after Louys's father, Louys (1653) and Catharijna (1655).²¹² Johannes Elsevier also became a painter and is first registered with the Guild of St. Lucas in Delft in 1675.²¹³ In 1648 the family lived on *Voorstraat* 1, in a house called *de Blauwe Hont* (The Blue Dog), on the corner of *Voorstraat* and *Oude Kerkstraat* (see Appendix 1), where they lived throughout their marriage, as Helena died in this house in 1657.²¹⁴ Three years later, Louys remarried Ida Hem. He, too, died in the house on *Voorstraat* and was buried in the *Oude Kerk* in 1675, where his gravestone can still be seen today.²¹⁵

²⁰⁸ Bille, 'Een kerkinterieur', p. 123; Van Leeuwen, 'De schilder Louis Elsevier', pp. 104-105.

²⁰⁹ Van Leeuwen, 'De schilder Louis Elsevier', pp. 104-105; Bille, 'Een kerkinterieur', p. 123.

²¹⁰ Van Leeuwen, 'De schilder Louis Elsevier', pp. 106-108.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²¹² CAD, BMB, inv. nr. 14.56, Baptismal books of the New Church, f. 151r (Maria); inv. nr. 14.9m Baptismal books of the Old Church, f. 115r (Aernoldus), f. 144r (Louys), f. 163v (Catharijna).

²¹³ Obreen, 'Het St. Lucas-gild te Delft', p. 82: 'Den 3 December 1675 laet Johannes Elsevier hem als Mr. Schilder aenteijkenen, heeft het recht betaelt, sijnde Mr. soon en tot Leijden geboren'.

²¹⁴ CAD, IACD, inv. nr. 1.4620, Ledgers of the recognition fees for permits for construction and renovation of houses, use of urban land and buildings, dredging, occupations and costumes etc. in Delft, Delfshaven and Overschie, to be collected by the treasurer, f. 288v, (1648); CAD, BMB, inv. nr. 14.40, Burial books of the Old and New Church, f. 11v (death of Helena).

²¹⁵ Van Leeuwen, 'De schilder Louis Elsevier', p. 103, Beresteyn, *Grafmonumenten en grafzerken*, p. 130. Beresteyn states that the gravestone has the family crests of both Elsevier and Ida Hem. The gravestone reads: 'T graf van Lorijs Elsevier sterfft den 30 November 1675'.

Pieter Jansz. Waelpot, the oldest son, did not follow in his father's footsteps, but became a teacher at the French school of *Delfshaven*, now part of Rotterdam.²¹⁶ He is mentioned, for example, in the City Archives of Rotterdam, when, in 1660, he gave procuration to the solicitor Hartman Custer to admonish Willem Winchester to pay his school fees for half a year.²¹⁷ Pieter married twice and had twelve children. His first marriage, in 1644 in the *Nieuwe Kerk*, was to Petronella Stangerus.²¹⁸ The Stangerus family is characterized by Bos as an artistic or intellectual family.²¹⁹ With her, he had three children, named Catharina (1645), another Catharina (1646) and Helena (1648).²²⁰ In 1648, Petronella died and Pieter remarried in the *Hooglandse Kerk* in Leiden to Elijsabeth van Swieten.²²¹ According to Bos, the Van Swieten family was connected to the Leiden Elsevier family.²²² Furthermore, Elizabeth van Swieten was the granddaughter of Pieter Breugel II, meaning that the family was connected to the milieu of artists as well.²²³ The children from this marriage are Maria (1649), Petronella (1651), Susanna (1652), Cornelia (1654), Petronella (1655), Jacomina (1657), Jacomina (1658), Jacomina (1659) and Johanna (1666).²²⁴ When Pieter Waelpot died in 1666, only two daughters remained.²²⁵

Jan Pietersz. Waelpot's other daughter, Adriana Jansz. Waelpot, seems to have lived with her father on the *Marctvelt* until his death in 1667.²²⁶ In 1683, when she was 52 years old, she married Hendrick van Buijite.²²⁷ Montias discusses Hendrick van Buijite as one of Vermeer's clients. He was a baker in Delft who had acquired his wealth through a relative, Aryen Maertensz. van Rossum, who had left him 4,000 guilders and a house. He lent this money at interest, gaining more wealth, with which he acquired paintings from Delft painters, among them Johannes Vermeer with whom he was in direct contact.²²⁸ After his first wife, a baker's daughter, had died, he married Adriana. At his death, he left

²¹⁶ City Archives Rotterdam (CAR), Archives of the notaries of Rotterdam and the adjoining area, inv. nr. 18.626, Notary Adriaan van Aller, f. 217r (1 July 1660).

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 217r.

²¹⁸ CAD, BMB, inv. nr. 14.70, Notices of marriage books, f. 155r; Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 116.

²¹⁹ Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 117.

²²⁰ CAD, BMB, inv. nr. 14.9, Baptismal books of the Old Church, f. 38v (Catharina); inv. nr. 14.56, Baptismal books of the New Church, f. 129r (Catharina), f. 150r (Helena).

²²¹ Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 116; CAD, IACD, inv. nr. 1.2573, Register of banns, with marginal records of the church where the marriage was performed or the place where attestation was given, partly with other notes, f. 36r; LRA, BMBL, inv. nr. 1004.14, Dutch Reformed notice of marriage, f. 69v.

²²² Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 117.

²²³ The Frick Collection: The Montias Database of 17th Century Dutch Art Inventories, 'Godelet, Maycken', <<https://research.frick.org/montias/details/1247>> (16 May 2020).

²²⁴ CAD, BMB, inv. nr. 14.9, Baptismal books of the Old Church, f. 98v (Maria); f. 134r (Susanna); f. 153r (Cornelia); inv. nr. 14.57, Baptismal books of the New Church, f. 18r (Petronella); CAR, Archives of the local governments of Rotterdam and Schoonderloo, inv. nr. 3.1140, Baptismal Register of the Reformed Church in Delfshaven (Petronella, Jacomina, Jacomina, Jacomina); inv. nr. 3.1141 (Johanna).

²²⁵ Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 116.

²²⁶ CAD, OC, inv. nr. 72.4471, Inventory of the estate of Johan Pietersz. Waelpot ..., 22 October, 1667, f. 4v.

²²⁷ CAD, BMB, inv. nr. 14.76, Notice of marriage books of the New Church, f. 44v.

²²⁸ J.M. Montias, 'Vermeer's Clients and Patrons', *The Art Bulletin*, 69:1 (1987), pp. 73-75.

24,829 guilders worth of goods.²²⁹ Perhaps his acquired wealth was enough to gain him entrance into the circle of the rich printers and booksellers of Delft. It should be noted, however, that Adriana and Hendrick married while keeping their possessions separate.²³⁰ Perhaps they both wanted their money to go back to their families, as they both died without having any children.

Abraham Jansz. Waelpot married Lijsbeth Crucius from Leiden in 1650, according to Bos again an intellectual family.²³¹ Moreover, members of the Crucius family in Delft were involved with the Delft Latin School.²³² Abraham had seven children, of whom two daughters survived.²³³ They are Nicolaes (1650), Nicolaes (1651), Maria (1652), Catharina (1654), Cornelia (1655) and Johannes (1656), all born in Delft, and Cornelia (1660) who was born in Leiden and baptized in the *Hooglandse Kerk*.²³⁴ In 1662, he himself died in Leiden.²³⁵

Abraham is the one who took over his father's trade. Besides printing some books together with him, Abraham started his own business on the *Watersloot*, near the *Haver-brugge*, as is stated in his imprints.²³⁶ In his *Beschryvinghe der stad Delft*, city historian Dirck van Bleyswijck describes the *Haver-brugge* as a bridge on the *Oude Delft*, where a corn market is held.²³⁷ This bridge crosses the canal of the *Binnenwatersloot* on the east side, which means that Abraham probably lived on that side of the *Watersloot*. Huib Zuidervaart and Marlise Rijks add that Abraham was the neighbour of Jacob Spoor, which means he lived on what today is *Oude Delft* 105, at the corner of the *Oude Delft* and the *Binnenwatersloot*.²³⁸

Abraham was registered with the guild on the 25th of June 1650: 'Bouckdrucker. Den 25 Juny 1650 heeft Abram Waelpot hem laten aenteikenen als meester bouckbinder int Jaer 1650 betaelt het recht, sijnde een meesters soon drie gulden'.²³⁹ As the previously mentioned guild ordinance demanded, a master's son only had to pay half the entrance fee, which is why Abraham only payed

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ CAD, IACD, inv. nr. 1.2574, Register for notices of marriage, f. 3r; Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 117.

²³² De Booy, 'Het onderwijs in Delft van 1572 tot het midden van de 17^e eeuw', p. 114.

²³³ Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 117.

²³⁴ CAD, BMB, inv. nr. 14.9, Baptismal books of the Old Church, f. 121v (Nicolaes); f. 136r (Maria); f. 166v (Cornelia); inv. nr. 14.57, Baptismal books of the New Church, f. 11r, f. 59r (Catharina); f. 86r (Johannes); LRA, BMBL, inv. nr. 1004.327, Baptizing Hooglandse Kerk, f. 45r (Cornelia).

²³⁵ Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', pp. 116-117.

²³⁶ T. Verbruch, *Den Delfschen martelaer, ofte Laetste afscheyd-brieven van Hermannus Schinckel [...]. Waerinne gesien kan werden syn [...] stantvastigheyt [...] in den waeren geloove* (Delft: A. Waelpot, 1652), title page; V. van Oosterwijck, *Keur van H. stoffen uyt Gods Woordt; [...] op de alder-bekendste psalm-wysen gestelt* (Delft: A. Waelpot, 1656), title page, <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=Q9yr66yVnfc&hl=nl&pg=GBS.PP13>> (29 June 2020).

²³⁷ Dirck van Bleyswijck Evertszoon, *Beschrijvinge der stad Delft* (Delft: Arnold Bon, 1667), pp. 661-662.

²³⁸ H.J. Zuidervaart and M. Rijks, 'Most Rare Workmen': Optical Practitioners in Early Seventeenth-Century Delft', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 48:1 (2015), p. 77.

²³⁹ Obreen, 'Het St. Lucas-gild te Delft', p. 50.

three guilders.²⁴⁰ Why or when he moved to Leiden is unclear, but as his wife was from this city, Leiden would seem a logical choice. The birth of his last child, in 1660, was in Leiden, which means he was a printer in Delft for about ten years.²⁴¹ He registered with the Guild of Printers and Booksellers in Leiden on 23 June 1660, but no printed matter of his time in Leiden survived, if there ever was any.²⁴² He died a short time after the birth of his daughter, sometime before 16 December 1663, when his wife is mentioned as a widow in a document about a debenture.²⁴³

Jan Pietersz. Waelpot survived almost all his children apart from Adriana, who remained unmarried and lived with her father until his death. His four other children all married into intellectual or artistic families from outside of Delft. Furthermore, some of their spouses came from the same network as both Louys Elsevier's mother and Pieter Waelpot's second wife were members of the Van Swieten family. As suggested by Bos, this family had a connection to the Leiden Elsevier dynasty of printers and booksellers and were connected to successful painters.²⁴⁴ Perhaps these marriages were meant to create a connection between two powerful printing families. Montias states that Delft printers had close ties with Rotterdam and Leiden. This seems to have been the case for Jan Pietersz. Waelpot as well, as all his children married into families from both towns.²⁴⁵ His family ties seem mostly focussed on Leiden, the city his son Abraham eventually moved to.

²⁴⁰ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 350.

²⁴¹ LRA, BMBL, inv. nr. 1004.327, Baptizing Hooglandse Kerk, f. 45r.

²⁴² LRA, Archives of the Guild of Printers and Booksellers, inv. nr. 83a, f. 103.

²⁴³ LRA, Notarial Archives (NA), inv. nr. 457.298.

²⁴⁴ Bos, 'Proeve van een studie', p. 117.

²⁴⁵ Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 285.

Chapter 3. ‘Inde Druckerye’: The publishing activities of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot

Jan Pietersz. Waelpot was active as a printer, publisher, and bookseller in Delft from 1621 to his death in 1667. During these 46 years he published a substantial number of works, printed in the period between 1621 and 1658.²⁴⁶ Virtually no research on the publishing activities of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot has been done. This is strange, as he was one of the most prominent printers in Delft and played an important role in the book trade of the city. Furthermore, as one of the most important printers in Delft in the first half of the seventeenth century, he must have played an influential role outside of Delft as well.

It is the aim of this chapter to analyse the publishing activities of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot. Moreover, by looking at the publications of his son, Abraham, similarities, and differences between the two will become visible, which may provide information on the changing publishing environment in Delft. Important questions of this chapter are: In what way did local influences shape the publishing activities of Waelpot? And how did his son, Abraham, manage his business? Firstly, a broad overview of the material printed by Waelpot will be given. Secondly, the illustrations in his books will be discussed, as well as his printer’s marks through which he expressed his identity as a printer. Thirdly, the connections between Delft and the publishing activities of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot will be analysed, by looking at institutions, subjects and authors directly involved with Delft. Lastly, the publishing activities of Abraham Waelpot and his connection to Delft will be examined.

To analyse the publishing activities of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, the *Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (STCN) will be used. It should be noted, however, that analysing the output of Waelpot and his son as listed on the STCN, can only say so much about both printers. Certainly, not all printed material by Jan Pietersz. and Abraham has survived, and their repertoire must have been larger. Furthermore, the STCN database has its limitations in terms of what is included and excluded.²⁴⁷ Looking at what remains is still of value, as an estimation can be made on what kind of subjects were published, as well as the market they catered to.

3.1 The publishing activities of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot

Veldhoven, who has compared the publishing activities of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot to that of Jan Andriesz. Cloeting, is the only one thus far to have paid attention to the publications of Waelpot. According to

²⁴⁶ For a numbered list of his publications, see the *Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (STCN), <<http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/SET=1/TTL=61/NXT?FRST=1>>.

²⁴⁷ For an overview of these limitations see: A. Pettegree and A. der Weduwen, ‘What was Published in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic?’, *Livre. Revue historique*, 1 (2018), n.pag. <<http://livre.societebibliographique.fr/2018-01/>> (7 June 2020).

him, both printers engaged in similar publishing activities and were of equal importance in Delft.²⁴⁸ It should be noted, however, that Waelpot and Jan Andriesz. Cloeting were active in different periods, the latter ending his activities in 1634, and Waelpot only starting in 1621. Waelpot may well have succeeded in taking over Cloeting's dominant position in the book trade in Delft. Of Cloeting's son and successor, Andries, only 22 publications are known, compared to 68 publications printed by Waelpot.²⁴⁹

Of the 68 publications by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot listed in the STCN, 67 entries show up under the name 'Waelpot, Jan Pietersz.', and one other under 'Waelpot, Johannis Petrus'.²⁵⁰ This is, of course, the same person, although he is not listed as such. Using the STCN, a clear overview of the subjects printed by Waelpot, as well as the formats and the languages he printed will be discussed.

According to Veldhoven, both Jan Andriesz. Cloeting and Jan Pietersz. Waelpot primarily printed works on historical subjects, with works on theology and governmental publications coming second and third respectively.²⁵¹ Interestingly, Briels and Veldhoven both state that Delft was mostly known for historical texts and devotional literature.²⁵² Both Cloeting and Waelpot fit in this description. Although, Waelpot published works in many fields, ranging from medicine to fables (Appendix 4), historical works take up almost a third of his publishing list (32%). Additionally, he published dictionaries, works on law, and literary texts (Table 1).²⁵³ However, Waelpot can be characterised as a typical 'Delft-printer' as the amount of his works with historical and theological subjects stand out, constituting almost half of his printed matter (48%).

²⁴⁸ Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', pp. 48, 53, 59.

²⁴⁹ STCN, 'Andries Cloeting',

<http://picarta.nl/xslt/DB=3.11/SET=1/TTL=6/CLK?IKT=8061&REC=* &TRM=cloeting,+andries> (6 June 2020); Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', pp. 51-52.

²⁵⁰ Information on the names of printers, their publications and the subjects they published on is based on the STCN, occasionally updated with new information.

²⁵¹ Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', pp. 51-52.

²⁵² Ibid., p. 53; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 39.

²⁵³ The percentages do not add up to 100%. It was chosen to stick with even numbers for this analysis. The 'Other' categories include works on philosophy, economics, medicine, as well as almanacs and auction catalogues.

Subject (STCN)	Number of printed works	Percentage (%)
History	22	32
Theology	11	16
State publications	9	13
Dictionaries/Dialogues	5	7
Literature (Dutch/Greek/French)	6	9
Law	4	6
Education	3	4
Other	5	7
Uncategorized	3	4
<i>Total</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 1: Publications of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot by subject (source: STCN).

Interestingly, there are many pamphlets among the works printed by Waelpot. As Craig Harline points out, the term ‘pamphlet’ was not used in the seventeenth century, but contemporary terms for these printed works vary and are often too broad. Pamphlets, as defined by Harline, ‘were writings of immediate and direct or indirect political significance and [...] were printed’.²⁵⁴ Additional prerequisites of what constitutes a pamphlet are that they were cheap, short and written in the vernacular. Even so, most of these aspects can be countered, leading Femke Deen, David Onnekink and Michel Reinders to the definition of a pamphlet as a ‘topical publication’.²⁵⁵ In the seventeenth century, pamphlets played a major part in political debate in the Dutch Republic.²⁵⁶ Their presence in the publishing lists of many seventeenth-century printers, including Waelpot, is therefore not surprising.

Harline states that Jan Pietersz. Waelpot ‘printed few, if any, pamphlets’.²⁵⁷ This is not correct.²⁵⁸ A count of the number of pamphlets in Waelpot’s publishing list, including items categorized as such by the libraries that hold them (but not by the STCN), brings the total to 24, which is a third of his total number of publications.²⁵⁹ Pamphlets were definitely in his repertoire, and their number may well have been larger than is listed here because of their ephemeral nature.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the book shop of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot predominantly held books in quarto format.²⁶⁰ This seems to be the case for his own publications as well, where quarto dominates with 57%, followed by almost similar numbers of publications in octavo

²⁵⁴ C.E. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht/Boston/Lancaster: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987) [Archives Internationales d’Histoire des Idées, 116], p. 3.

²⁵⁵ F. Deen, D. Onnekink and M. Reinders, ‘Pamphlets and Politics: Introduction’, in Idem, *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 9-12.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

²⁵⁷ Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture*, p. 100.

²⁵⁸ Veldhoven, ‘De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw’, p. 52.

²⁵⁹ Based on the STCN database.

²⁶⁰ CAD, OC, inv. nr. 72.4471, Inventory of the estate of Johan Pietersz. Waelpot ..., 22 October, 1667.

and duodecimo (Table 2).²⁶¹ This is, again, similar to Jan Andriesz. Cloeting, who also mainly published in quarto, followed by octavo.²⁶²

Format (STCN)	Number of printed works	Percentage (%)
2° (Folio)	2	3
4° (Quarto)	39	57
8° (Octavo)	15	22
12° (Duodecimo)	11	16
16° (Sextodecimo)	1	1,5
<i>Total</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 2. Publications of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot by format (source: STCN).

As to languages, Briels and Veldhoven both state that Delft printers published almost solely in Dutch.²⁶³ This is not entirely the case for Waelpot. Although Dutch-language works do take up the largest part of his publications (75%), other languages such as French, Latin and English are present as well (Table 3).²⁶⁴

Language (STCN)	Number of printed works	Percentage (%)
Dutch	51	75
French	4	6
Latin	4	6
English	3	4
Dictionaries		
French-Dutch	4	6
Latin-Dutch	1	1,5
French-Latin-Dutch	1	1,5
<i>Total</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 3. Publications by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot by language (source: STCN).

The Republic was the largest supplier of books internationally at that time, reason why publishers were bringing out books in different languages.²⁶⁵ Waelpot, however, did not necessarily supply these foreign markets. His publishing activities in different languages may rather be explained by the environment he worked in. As mentioned before, the presence of certain trades, institutions, companies and schools in Delft made it a suitable city for a book entrepreneur. The presence of a Latin

²⁶¹ The percentages do not add up to a full 100%; it was decided to stick with even numbers for this analysis.

²⁶² Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', p. 52.

²⁶³ Ibid., pp. 51-54; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkoopers in de Republiek*, p. 39.

²⁶⁴ The percentages do not add up to a full 100%.

²⁶⁵ Van Vliet, 'Print and Public in Europe 1600-1800', p. 248.

and French school, as well as a chamber of the V.O.C., stimulated the demand for educational material, among which dictionaries and books in different languages.

The chamber of the V.O.C. was engrained in everyday Delft life and had a large economic influence on the city. Besides the products imported by the V.O.C., businesses were set up that took part in the V.O.C. trade.²⁶⁶ Some of the books published by Waelpot, clearly allude to this market. For example, *Colloquia et dictionariolum octo lingvarum; Latinæ, Gallicæ, Belgicæ, Teutonicæ, Hispanicæ, Italicæ, Anglicæ, et Portugallicæ*, published by Waelpot in 1631, was aimed at tradesmen working in fields where they would encounter different languages. On the title page is stated: ‘profijtelijck tot Coopmanschapsreyse en ander handelinge’ (profitable for merchant’s travels and other actions).²⁶⁷ A similar sentence can be found in the title of the *Dialogves flamen-françoys, traictants du fait de la merchandise: Tsamen-sprekinghen in Duytsch ende Fransoys, tracterende van den handel* (1642).²⁶⁸ Such mercantile considerations were one of the reasons for Waelpot to publish texts in other languages, in addition to Dutch.

Another reason for the foreign language books in Waelpot’s publications is the presence of several schools in Delft. In 1575, the Latin school was re-established in the city, an institution attracting numerous male pupils from the upper layers of Delft society. Additionally, *Duytsche* (Dutch) and *Franschoysche* (French) schools were established in the city.²⁶⁹ Clearly, these schools needed educational material. Several of the foreign language dictionaries printed by Waelpot were aimed at the French schools.²⁷⁰ Furthermore, in addition to foreign languages, Robrecht van Heusden’s *Rekenboecxken by verscheyden ghelde, om met penninghen te leeren rekenen ende legghen*, aimed at teaching children elementary mathematics to count money was published by Waelpot.²⁷¹

Gerardus Dibbets discusses two editions of Vossius’ *Latina Grammatica* published by Waelpot for the Latin School in Delft, in 1643.²⁷² These are *Latina grammatica in usum [...] scholæ Delphensis*, and the Dutch equivalent *De Latijnsche grammatica in Latijn tot dienst vande scholen toegesteld [...]*

²⁶⁶ Eekhout, ‘De Delftse kamer van de V.O.C.’, pp. 93-94.

²⁶⁷ Noël de Barlamont, *Colloquia et dictionariolum octo lingvarum; Latinæ, Gallicæ, Belgicæ, Teutonicæ, Hispanicæ, Italicæ, Anglicæ, et Portugallicæ*. = *Colloques ou Dialogues*. = *Colloquien oft t’samen sprekinghen* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1631), <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=wjH-TLgPVK4C&pg=GBS.PP5>> (29 June 2020).

²⁶⁸ Gérard Du Vivier, *Dialogves flamen-françoys, traictants du fait de la marchandise*. = *Tsamen-sprekinghen in Duytsch ende Fransoys, tracterende van den handel* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1642). <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=8mI-AAAACAAJ&pg=GBS.PP3>> (29 June 2020).

²⁶⁹ L. van Klinken, *Opkomst en ontwikkeling van het schoolwezen binnen Delft (tot ± 1700): Bijdrage tot de kennis van ons schoolwezen uit de 16^e en 17^e eeuw* (Delft: C.J. van Doorne, 1930), pp. 21-25.

²⁷⁰ G.R.W. Dibbets, ‘Vossius’ *Latina Grammatica*, Twee onopgemerkte uitgaven uit 1643’, *De zeventiende eeuw*, 5 (1989), p. 51, <https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_zev001198901_01/_zev001198901_01_0028.php> (29 June 2020).

²⁷¹ Robrecht van Heusden, *Rekenboecxken by verscheyden ghelde, om met penninghen te leeren rekenen ende legghen* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1636).

²⁷² Dibbets, ‘Vossius’ *Latina Grammatica*, pp. 50-64.

ten dienste van de Delfsche schole.²⁷³ These books were probably a part of the provision of school books prescribed by the *Hollandse Schoolorde*, on which Waelpot had signed a contract regarding fixed prices.²⁷⁴ Dibbets suggests that this standardisation process was, in part, the result of complications in Leiden, as students entering the university had varying levels of Latin due to the use of different methods and books.²⁷⁵ The publication of the *Latina Grammatica* aimed at standardising the teaching methods. It was compiled by the Leiden professor Gerardus Joannes Vossius, who had revised the Latin grammar of Lithocomus. The book stood at the centre of Latin school education in Delft and continued to be printed well into the nineteenth century.²⁷⁶

According to Dibbets, the edition printed by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot differs from the original work. Vossius' book contained four parts, starting with the main text, and followed by passages for more advanced students, passages for the highest classes of the Latin school, and passages with explanations. Only the (incomplete) main text can be found in Waelpot's edition. Moreover, elements were added that specifically suited Delft students and the surrounding region. Dibbets gives the additions of *Naldvico* (Naaldwijk) and *Vorburgom* (Voorburg) as examples.²⁷⁷ These books were clearly aimed at Delft pupils. However, it remains unclear why Waelpot did not print the entire work. Dibbets suggests the possibility of Vossius having stopped a further publication of the unauthorized copy.²⁷⁸ It may also be the case that the Delft Latin school had purposely decided to differ from the original, as the *Hollandse schoolorde* was not entirely taken over by most cities, including Delft.²⁷⁹ In this case that would mean that the grammar would only have been suited for the Latin school in Delft.

Lastly, the number of English books present in the list of books published by Waelpot is noteworthy. Two of them are by the same author, Henry Hexham, who appears as the author or translator of eight more works published by Waelpot. As an English soldier living in the Netherlands, he first resided in Dordrecht, and later moved to Delft, where he stayed until his death. He started his career around 1600 in the service of Francis de Vere, who at that time was the commander of the English troops stationed in the Republic.²⁸⁰ Perhaps Hexham resided in Delft due to its military

²⁷³ Gerardus Johannes Vossius, *De Latijnsche grammatica in Latijn tot dienst vande scholen toegesteld [...] ten dienste van de Delfsche schole* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1643); Gerardus Johannes Vossius, *Latina grammatica in usum [...] scholæ Delphensis* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1643).

²⁷⁴ Dibbets, 'Vossius' *Latina Grammatica*', pp. 52-54; Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', pp. 56-58; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 278.

²⁷⁵ Dibbets, 'Vossius' *Latina Grammatica*', pp. 54-55; Van Klinken, *Opkomst en ontwikkeling van het schoolwezen binnen Delft*, p. 23.

²⁷⁶ Dibbets, 'Vossius' *Latina Grammatica*', pp. 55-56.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁷⁹ Veldhoven, 'De Cloetings: een Delftse drukkersfamilie in de zeventiende eeuw', p. 58.

²⁸⁰ P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Henry Hexham (c. 1585-1650), English Soldier, Author, Translator, Lexicographer, and Cultural Mediator in the Low Countries', in B.M. Hosington and S.K. Barker (eds.), *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1437-1640* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 212-213.

importance. In 1572, the States General had selected the town as the storage of gunpowder and weaponry.²⁸¹

Henry Hexham published translations as well as his own work. Through his own work, he aimed to bring the Dutch knowledge and experience on warfare to an English audience.²⁸² His most famous book is *The principles of the art militarie; practised in the vvarres of the Vnited Netherlands*, of which all but the title page and dedication were printed by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot for the London publisher Matthew Simmons.²⁸³ As we have seen, Waelpot acted as mediator in a conflict concerning this book between James Moxon, who had promised to print fifty copies, and two other Delft printers, who held him accountable.²⁸⁴ Clearly, in the case of Hexham, Waelpot's choice to print in a foreign language was not for the purpose of education.

According to Paul Hoftijzer, Hexham might have worked as a translator to increase his income. Although writers were not paid, they could earn money through dedicating their books to wealthy patrons. This certainly seems to be the case for Hexham. As Hoftijzer points out, his works are dedicated to important family members or high officials of his regiment.²⁸⁵ Interestingly, very little of the work printed by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot has a dedication. The dedications are either taken over when translated, or are addressed to governing bodies, with the exception of the books written by Hexham, who dedicated his works to specific persons, such as Francis Morrice Clarcke, who had married the widow of Hexham's uncle.²⁸⁶

For whom did Waelpot print these English works? Just for the English community in the Netherlands and Delft, or directly for the English market? Another work written by Hexham, *A Iovrnall, of the Taking in of Venlo, Roermont, Strale [...] vnder the Able, and Wise Conduct of His Excie: the Prince of Orange, Anno 1632*, would suggest Waelpot often acted solely as the printer of these books, and not as the publisher. The imprint on the title page of this work – 'Printed by Iohn Pietersz. Walpote for Nathaniell Butter and are to be sold at Henry Hondius, his house in the Hagh' – suggests for the English community in the Netherlands.²⁸⁷ This cannot be said for Hexham's *Art Militarie*, which was clearly meant for an English audience. But here, again, Waelpot seems to have merely acted as the printer as

²⁸¹ Zuidervaart and Rijks, 'Most Rare Workmen', p. 57.

²⁸² Hoftijzer, 'Henry Hexham (c. 1585-1650)', p. 217.

²⁸³ Henry Hexham, *The Principles of the Art Militarie; Practised in the VVarres of the Vnited Netherlands* (London: printed by Matthew Parsons for Matthew Simmons, 1637).

²⁸⁴ CAD, Notarial Archive (NA), inv. nr. 161.1976, Notary Govert Rota, f. 135r; Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, p. 281; Keblusek, *Boeken in de hofstad*, p. 100.

²⁸⁵ Hoftijzer, 'Henry Hexham (c. 1585-1650)', pp. 215, 220-221.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

²⁸⁷ Henry Hexham, *A Iovrnall, of the Taking in of Venlo, Roermont, Strale, the Memorable Siege of Mastricht, the Towne and Castle of Limburch vnder the Able, and Wise Conduct of His Excie: the Prince of Orange, anno 1632* (Delft: Nathaniel Butter, 1633), title page, <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=plw5-WjBwIMC&pg=GBS.PP5>> (29 June 2020).

he printed the book, excluding the title page and the dedication, for the London bookseller Matthew Simmons. The title page and dedication were printed in London by Matthew Parsons.²⁸⁸ Waelpot, therefore, may have printed in the English language only because he was selected as the printer as he was living in the same town as the author.

When looking at the decades in which Jan Pietersz. Waelpot was active, a steady decline is visible after 1640. Between 1620-1630, he printed seventeen books. The following decade, arguably his most active, he printed almost double the amount of the previous decade with 28 books. After 1640, however, his production declines: fifteen titles in the period 1640-1650, and only eleven between 1650 and 1660. Although it is clear that his shop was active until his death in 1667, his last known printed work is from 1658.²⁸⁹ Possibly, he continued as a bookseller in his later years and sold his press, or handed it to his son Abraham. This broad view of the publishing activities of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot fits with the picture of Delft printers and publishers sketched by Briels and Veldhoven.

3.2 Illustrations and printer's marks

Jan Pietersz. Waelpot often included illustrations in his books. He appears to have printed these himself, in view of the presence of copperplates in the inventory of his estate.²⁹⁰ But he also printed woodcuts. In fact, he used the same woodcut twice in different works. The *Conivgaisons flamen-françoises: Coniugatien in Neder-duytsch ende Fransoys*, printed in 1639, and the *Dialogves flamen-françoys, traictants du fait de la merchandise: Tsamen-sprekinghen in Duytsch ende Fransoys, tracterende van den handel* printed in 1642, both show a woman in a dress, standing with her arms wide open, while the sharp end of a sword is pressed against her chest, its hilt resting on the ground. In the first work this woodcut appears at the beginning of the book, and in the second at the end.²⁹¹ Although the authors differ, both books deal with the same subject, learning the French language, which perhaps explains why the illustration was chosen.²⁹² Furthermore, several decorative elements in the books printed by Waelpot appear frequently, such as a fleuron with a bear holding leaves that form a triangle-shape, which can be found in four of his books.²⁹³ Clearly, Jan Pietersz. Waelpot had woodcuts and engravings in his possession that he could re-use for different works.

²⁸⁸ Hexham, *The Principles of the Art Militarie*, title page, title page of Appendix, p. 65. According to the STCN, he printed everything, excluding the title page and dedications. Waelpot's name is indeed not on the title page. His name does appear, however, on the title page of the appendix.

²⁸⁹ Based on the STCN database.

²⁹⁰ CAD, OC, inv. nr. 72.4471, Inventory of the estate of Johan Pietersz. Waelpot ..., 22 October, 1667, f. 108v.

²⁹¹ Gabriel Meurier, *Conivgaisons flamen-françoises. = Coniugatien in Neder-duytsch ende Fransoys* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1639), <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=R_REfDFjUjEC&pg=GBS.PP1> (29 June 2020); Gérard Du Vivier, *Dialogves flamen-françoys* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1642), p. 218.

²⁹² As both subjects are similar, the illustration most probably had an emblematic meaning.

²⁹³ The bear can be found in: Du Vivier, *Dialogves flamen-françoys*, p. 4; Dirck Heymansz. van der Mast, *Practique des notarischaps*, vol. 3 (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1649), p. 336,

In addition to these illustrations, Waelpot used various printer's marks (Appendix 5). From the end of the fifteenth century onwards, printer's marks became a common feature on the title pages of books. Hubert Meeus argues that this attests to the increasing awareness of the role a printer played. Using these marks, they created a business card for themselves, as well as a form of protection against piracy. Furthermore, printer's marks could be used to convey an ideological message to readers.²⁹⁴

In the books published by Waelpot, several printer's marks can be found. As mentioned before, one of these was originally the mark of Harman Schinckel.²⁹⁵ This mark depicts a snail within an oval frame, surrounded by architectural elements, including two leaning figures. Written in the oval frame is the Latin *Paulatim*, meaning 'Little by little' (fig. 4).²⁹⁶ Some of his publications have a printer's mark with the coat of arms of Delft, held by two lions (fig. 5). Surrounding this depiction is a wreath, the two ends of which are joined by a crown. The coat of arms is surrounded by the text *Delfs goet* (product of Delft). A third printer's mark used by Waelpot has the text *Literae immortalitatem pariunt*, which can be translated as 'Letters blossom into immortality'.²⁹⁷ This mark depicts a man extinguishing a candle on a chandelier. On the upper left side of the picture, the coat of arms of Delft is visible (fig. 6).²⁹⁸ Beneath the figure is written *Mattei 5*, alluding to *Matthew* 5:14-16, which reads: 'Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven'.²⁹⁹ There is a Dutch proverb that is derived from this Bible text: 'zijn licht niet onder een koornmaat zetten' (not to hide one's light under a bushel), which means that one should not hold one's knowledge for oneself, but should share it with the world.³⁰⁰ This allusion is appropriate for the profession of a printer, as this is precisely what books do.

<<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=G7NmAAAAcAAJ&pg=GBS.PA253>> (29 June 2020) and vol. 4 (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1656), p. xxii, <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=aS2yKA3-D7YC&pg=GBS.PP9>> (29 June 2020); Petrus de Witte, *Wederlegginge der sociniaensche dwaelingen* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1655), p.689, <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=oxppAAAAcAAJ&pg=GBS.PP5>> (29 June 2020).

²⁹⁴ H. Meeus, 'From Nameplate to Emblem. The Evolution of the Printer's Device in the Southern Low Countries up to 1600', in A. Wolkenhauer and B.F. Scholz (eds.), *Typographorum Emblemata: The Printer's Mark in the Context of Early Modern Culture* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Saur, 2018), p. 77.

²⁹⁵ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: The First Century', p. 14.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.; Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkoopers in de Republiek*, p. 524, gives an overview of Waelpot's printer's marks.

²⁹⁷ Translation based on Devr, 'Latijn Woordenboek', <<https://devr.nl/latijn/woordenboek>> (11 June 2020); Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkoopers in de Republiek*, pp. 525-526.

²⁹⁸ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkoopers in de Republiek*, pp. 148, 525-526.

²⁹⁹ BibleGateway, 'Matthew 5:14-16 (King James Version)', <<https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Matthew+5%3A14-16&version=KJV>> (14 June 2020).

³⁰⁰ F.A. Stoett, *Nederlandsche spreekwoorden, spreekwijzen, uitdrukkingen en gezegden* (Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie, 1923-1925), vol. 2, p. 554; *Onze taal*, 'Zijn licht niet onder de korenmaat zetten', <<https://onzetaal.nl/taaladvies/zijn-licht-niet-onder-de-korenmaat-zetten/>> (14 June 2020).

However, these are not the only printer's marks used by Waelpot.³⁰¹ In one of his books, published in 1656, a mark with the text *Qui duos insectatur lepores neutrum capit* can be found, which can be translated as: 'If you run after two hares, you will catch neither' (fig. 7).³⁰² On this device a hunter is pictured in the centre, surrounded by three animals. According to Hubert Meeus the sixteenth-century Leuven printer Hieronymus Welleus used the same text on his printer's device.³⁰³ Indeed it appears that Waelpot exactly copied Welleus's printer's mark.³⁰⁴ According to Meeus, the meaning of the mark is to show how to overcome *Fortuna*. The accompanying text is meant to explain that intelligence is needed to work efficiently.³⁰⁵

Three other printer's marks can be found in Waelpot's works. Firstly, a medallion depicting a lion holding a sword and arrows, standing on a banner with the text 'Delff' on it (fig. 8). Secondly, a flying angel with a trumpet and a banner with an unreadable text, flying over what seems to be a graveyard (fig. 9). Lastly, a plant surrounded by the text 'Dum stabant Pisae sic viguere fabae', which can be translated as 'While the beans stood in Pisa, they had grown vigorously' (fig. 10).³⁰⁶ It is this last one that seems to have been favoured by Waelpot's son Abraham, as it is found in most of his publications.

What do these printer's marks say about Waelpot and his business? It is clear that he favoured hard work and intelligence. By using texts such as *Paulatim* and *Qui duos insectatur lepores neutrum capit*, he made it clear that these two characteristics were important for his business. Furthermore, it is clear he valued his trade and books in general, through his allusions to the immortality of books and the sharing of knowledge. These printer's marks, therefore, give an idea about the way Jan Pietersz. Waelpot wanted to position himself and his printshop. Evidently, he also saw fit to position himself as a Delft printer. Three of his printer's marks show a direct connection to the city, and therefore his environment, either by depicting the Delft coat of arms, or by an accompanying text, stating the place of origin of the printed work. Moreover, it can be argued that the snail also is somewhat connected to

³⁰¹ It should be noted that Briels does point to another printer's device of Waelpot, depicting an angel standing on a decayed body. Unfortunately, I was not able to find this mark in any of the books published by Waelpot that I have consulted. See Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 525. The mark can, however, be found in several books printed by Bruyn Harmensz. Schinckel, whose print shop Waelpot took over.

³⁰² Translation taken from Meeus, 'From Nameplate to Emblem', p. 91.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Adriaen Adriaensens, *Tgebedt des heeren, dwelck men ghemeynlijck noemt, den pater noster* (Leuven: Hieronymus Welleus, 1568), title page, <<http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=stcn:400815311:01>> (12 June 2020). How did he come by this printer's mark? It is possible that he simply copied it. Another possibility is that he came by it through Harman Schinckel, of whom he also used the printer's mark with the snail. According to Verwey, Schinckel probably studied in Leuven and had contacts there. De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, p. 9.

³⁰⁵ Meeus, 'From Nameplate to Emblem', pp. 89-91.

³⁰⁶ Translated based on Devr, 'Latijn Woordenboek'.

Delft, as it was used by two generations of Delft printers, namely Harman Schinckel and Aelbrecht Hendricxz., before it was used by Waelpot.³⁰⁷

3.3 The publishing activities of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot in the context of the local environment of Delft

Did the environment of Delft shape the publishing activities of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot? As is clear from his use of various printer's marks, he at least alluded to a Delft connection. Furthermore, the subjects and languages used in his printed works characterise Waelpot as a 'Delft-printer', who fitted in with other printers and who catered the market close at hand. But did Delft have any further influence? When analysing the list of publications, remarkable connections can be found between Delft and the institutions, authors and subjects related to Waelpot's printed output.

3.3.1 Institutions

According to Harline, to survive as a printer-publisher was an economic challenge. 'Official printers', who had been appointed as city or state printer, and 'semi-official printers', without appointment but still printing for an institution or government, were often better off, as these governing bodies assured them with work.³⁰⁸ As mentioned before, when discussing the educational texts printed by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, he clearly was involved with the institutions of Delft. The books he printed for the Latin, Dutch and French schools provided him with a secure market and steady income.

Apart from texts for these institutions, Waelpot also printed governmental texts. For example, he printed an ordinance of the city of Delft concerning praying at funerals.³⁰⁹ Furthermore, the ordinance on the fishing of herring issued by the States of Holland appears several times in Waelpot's publications.³¹⁰ Additionally, he printed the 'approvals and ordinances' of the Delfland *Hoogheemraadschap*, which resided in Delft.³¹¹ Waelpot, therefore, can be characterised as a 'semi-official' printer. Although never officially appointed, he did print for the governmental bodies in Delft, and had connections to the Delft schools and their pupils. This allowed him an income, but also shows how this Delft environment influenced his publishing activity.

³⁰⁷ Valkema Blouw, 'Printers and Publishers in Delft: The First Century', p. 14; Van Tiggelen, 'Boekdrukkers 1572-1667', p. 162.

³⁰⁸ Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture*, pp. 98-99.

³⁰⁹ *Ordonnantie by mijn heeren de magistraten der stad Delff, ghemaect op't bidden ter begraeffenisse* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1641).

³¹⁰ *Placcaet ende ordonnantie beroerende het vanghen, souden, havenen, keuren, packen op-hoogen ende leggen vanden haringh* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1631),

<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=Kk9ytN_UvKMC&pg=GBS.PP3> (29 June 2020). Also printed in 1633, 1643, 1651 and 1656, sometimes with slight changes.

³¹¹ Dolk, *Geschiedenis van het Hoogheemraadschap Delfland*, pp. 3-5, 181.

3.3.2 Authors

The first work printed by Waelpot, Jean Baptist Stalpart van der Wiele's *Hemelryck dat is Lof-sangh van't rijcke der hemelen 'twelck eertijds beweeght heeft Adrianum Rechter van Nicomedien tot het gheloof*, published in 1621, shows a connection to Delft through its author. As mentioned before, this work was for Catholic readers, even though the Catholic faith was prohibited at the time it was published.³¹² Delft had a Protestant community as early as 1520, which greatly expanded after the city had officially turned Protestant in 1572.³¹³ However, according to Christine Kooi, Delft was one of the cities in the Dutch Republic that did not pursue the expulsion of Catholics from the city. In fact, the Delft magistrates even opted for tolerance for the Catholics, who were mainly living in the Catholic neighbourhood called the *Papenhoek* (Papal Corner).³¹⁴ Catholics thus were tolerated in Delft, but they did not have their own printing press. According to Briels, they relied on Catholic printers in the Southern Netherlands, but also found non-Catholic printers willing to supply their demand for Catholic works. *Hemelryck* is such a work, and he may well have printed the other volumes under a pseudonym.³¹⁵

Jean Stalpart van der Wiele was living in Delft at the time.³¹⁶ M.A. Kok describes him as the most important figure in the struggle to keep the Catholic faith alive within Delft.³¹⁷ He counted on the support of many prominent families that had a seat in the local government. Although the Catholic faith was formally forbidden, Stalpart van der Wiele had no difficulty practicing this faith, as long as he paid the sanctions on this practice.³¹⁸ Born in The Hague, he studied in Leiden, Orléans and Rome. From 1612 onwards, he was the pastor of the *St. Hippolytuskerk* in Delft, and became the rector of the convent of St. Agatha and the beguines three years later. His staunch Catholic faith helped him in bringing back almost the whole of the *Westland* (the region south of Delft) population into the Catholic church.³¹⁹ He remained in Delft as a rector until his death.³²⁰ Logically, Stalpart van der Wiele would seek a printer within his own environment. Waelpot, who had just started his business at the time,

³¹² Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 152; De Kok, 'Het katholiek leven', p. 109.

³¹³ Van Klinken, *Opkomst en ontwikkeling van het schoolwezen binnen Delft*, p. 19; De Kok, 'Het katholiek leven', p. 108.

³¹⁴ C. Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's Golden Age: Heretics and Idolaters* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 121, 124. The other towns opting for tolerance regarding Catholics mentioned by Kooi are Amsterdam and Haarlem.

³¹⁵ Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek*, p. 152.

³¹⁶ Dibbets, 'Vossius' *Latina Grammatica*', p. 51.

³¹⁷ De Kok, 'Het katholiek leven', p. 108.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

³¹⁹ F.C. van Boheemen and T.C.J. van der Heijden, 'Literatuur en toneel te Delft (1572-1667)', in Leeuw and Spaander, *De stad Delft: Cultuur en maatschappij van 1572 tot 1667*, p. 242.

³²⁰ G. Kalf, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde. Deel 4* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1909), pp. 338-339, <https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/kalf003gesc04_01/kalf003gesc04_01_0013.php> (29 June 2020).

must have considered printing this work for economic gain.³²¹ Another explanation may be that the Catholic faith was controlled less strictly during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621), which may have made this book an appealing undertaking.³²²

Jan Pietersz. Waelpot printed many more works on theology, albeit of a Protestant nature. He published the writings of six Calvinist ministers from Delft and its neighbouring villages: Gedeon van Sonneveld, Johannes Taurinus, Petrus Montanus, Dionysius Spranckhuysen, Hermannus Tegularius and Petrus de Witte.³²³ Especially Dionysius Spranckhuysen's *Geestelijke bataille tegens den laetsten vyandt den doot, ofte Heylsame onderrichtinghe om salich te sterven*, published in 1648, stands out, as it is clearly targeted towards the Delft market, as Spranckhuysen dedicated the book to the 'Kercke Christi in Neder-landt, en sonderlingh binnen de stadt Delfff' (The Church of Christ in the Netherlands, and especially that of Delft).³²⁴ Other authors contributing praise for the book and its author were notable Delft citizens, such as Jacobus Crucius, rector of the Latin School, and the ministers Hermannus Tegularius and Volkerus van Oosterwijck.³²⁵

Lastly, Dirck Heymansz. Van der Mast, who was a notary in Schiedam from 1629 to 1671, deserves to be mentioned.³²⁶ He wrote *Practique des notarischaps*, which was published in two editions by Waelpot.³²⁷ Adriaan Pitlo states that the book was the first of its kind written in the

³²¹ C. Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics*, p. 124.

³²² De Kok, 'Het katholiek leven', p. 109.

³²³ F.S. Knipsheer, 'Sonnevelt (Gideon van)', in P.C. Molhuysen and F.K.H. Kossmann, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's uitgevers-maatschappij N.V., 1937) [vol. 10], p. 951. <<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/nnbw/#source=10&page=483&view=imagePane>> (19 June 2020); A.J. van der Aa, *Biografisch woordenboek der Nederlanden* (Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, 1874) [vol.18], p. 30, <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/vdaa/#source=aa__001biog22_01.xml&page=32&view=imagePane> (19 June 2020); K. ter Laan, *Letterkundig woordenboek voor Noord en Zuid* (Den Haag/Jakarta: G.B. van Goor Zonen's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1952), p. 356, <https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/laan005lett01_01/laan005lett01_01_4974.php> (19 June 2020); F.S. Knipsheer, 'Spranckhuysen (Dionysius)', in P.C. Molhuysen, F.K.H. Kossmann and L. Knappert, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's uitgevers-maatschappij N.V., 1921) [vol.5], pp. 789-790. <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/nnbw/#source=5&page=4&accessor=accessor_index> (19 June 2020); Van der Aa, *Biografisch woordenboek*, p. 46, <https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/aa__001biog22_01/aa__001biog22_01_0099.php> (19 June 2020); Ter Laan, *Letterkundig Woordenboek*, p. 615, <https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/laan005lett01_01/laan005lett01_01_8492.php> (19 June 2020). For the books printed by Waelpot written by these pastors see Appendix 4.

³²⁴ Dionysius Spranckhuysen, *Geestelijke bataille tegens den laetsten vyandt den doot, ofte Heylsame onderrichtinghe om salich te sterven* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1648). [second edition], p. (*2). <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=OFRkAAAAcAAJ&pg=GBS.PP3>> (29 June 2020).

³²⁵ Ibid., following the dedications; Ter Laan, *Letterkundig woordenboek*, p. 385; De Booy, 'Het onderwijs in Delft van 1572 tot het midden van de 17^e eeuw', p. 114; Van der Aa, *Biografisch woordenboek*, p. 46.

³²⁶ A. Pitlo, *De zeventiende en achttiende eeuwsche notarisboeken en wat zij ons omtrent ons oude notariaat leeren* (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1948), p. 44, <https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/pitl002zeve01_01/pitl002zeve01_01_0002.php> (29 June 2020).

³²⁷ Van der Mast, *Practique des notarischaps*, published in 1649 and 1656.

Northern Netherlands, aiming to teach aspiring notaries about their work.³²⁸ The engraved title page shows a notary sitting behind a writing table, on which lies an opened book, and a client opposite him. Sitting at the table are two other figures, probably acting as witnesses. Beneath it, on the left side of the title of the book is a figure in the robe of a bishop with a long white beard, according to Pitlo a Merovingian Bishop. On the right a clerk can be seen writing. Van der Mast, with his book, created the start of many more notary books to be published in the Northern Netherlands.³²⁹

3.3.3 Delft subjects

Besides a clear connection with the institutions and notable inhabitants of Delft, some distinctly 'Delft subjects' of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot's publishing activities can be observed as well. Firstly, there is a work written by Jacob Spoor, *Oratie ... van de nievvve vvonderen des wereldts, de nuttigheyd, de waerdigheyd, der wis ende meet-konsten*, published in 1638.³³⁰ According to Huib Zuidervaart and Marlise Rijks, who discuss this volume, there was a clear interest in optics among painters in Delft in the seventeenth century. Jacob Spoor, a surgeon, surveyor and notary, together with Delft citizens Johan van der Wyck and Evert Harmansz. Steenwijck shared this interest. At the request of Isaac Beeckman, rector of the Latin School in Dordrecht, he conducted an experiment on light passing through air, using a candle to simulate a star.³³¹

There was a growing interest among the lay public in natural philosophy in the seventeenth century. According to Zuidervaart and Rijks, cities like Delft, Rotterdam and Dordrecht especially stand out as places where the study and practice of optics was popular. Delft had been a centre of scientific research since the beginning of the seventeenth century, in part because of the presence of the V.O.C. and the gunpowder and weaponry that were stocked in Delft, which all required the presence of mathematical knowledge.³³² The publication by Waelpot in 1638 of an oration by Jacob Spoor (*Oratie ... van de nievvve vvonderen des wereldts, de nuttigheyd, de waerdigheyd, der wis ende meet-konsten*), shows this interest in natural philosophy among interested citizens of Delft. Spoor makes clear that he valued optics, as light makes all of God's creations visible. Furthermore, he dedicates the book to the magistrates of Delft, asking them to shine their light on the citizens. Spoor, according to Zuidervaart and Rijks, was the key figure in the network of practitioners and artisans concerned with

³²⁸ Pitlo, *De zeventiende en achttiende eeuwsche notarisboeken*, p. 44.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 54.

³³⁰ Jacob Spoor, *Oratie Jacob Spoor, van de nievvve vvonderen des wereldts, de nuttigheyd, de waerdigheyd, der wis ende meet-konsten* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1638), <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=h6piAAAACAAJ&pg=GBS.PP1>> (29 June 2020).

³³¹ Zuidervaart and Rijks, 'Most rare workmen', pp. 53-54, 61.

³³² *Ibid.*, pp. 55-57.

optics.³³³ Although Spoor's text probably found interested readers elsewhere as well, it is clear this book was intended for this particular network of Delft citizens.

Lastly, the book *Delfschen donder-slag*, written by Petrus de Witte and published in 1654, must be mentioned here.³³⁴ Its subject, the Delft gunpowder explosion of 1654, happened on the morning of 12 October. The *kruithuis* (powder house), located in a former convent on what today is the *Paardenmarkt* exploded, causing five thunderclaps, heard as far away as Texel. The disaster killed about a hundred people and wounded many more, while 200 houses were flattened. Almost no building in Delft was left unscathed, as 300 houses lost their roof and everyone had broken windows, pottery and furniture.³³⁵ The *Oude kerk* and *Nieuwe kerk* saw their stained glass destroyed.³³⁶ Entire households, particularly of textile workers, who lived in that part of the city, were killed, as was a class of 28 children in a nearby school.³³⁷

In response, doctors from The Hague and Rotterdam made their way to the city to help the survivors and 100.000 guilders was collected by the States of Holland as a relief fund.³³⁸ Pieter Waelpot, Jan Pietersz.'s eldest son, is listed for having received 600 guilders to compensate for his damage.³³⁹

The event caused quite a ruckus among people in Delft and the Dutch Republic. Soon, printed accounts of this event appeared. According to Marijke Meijer Drees, the *donder-slag* was explained as a punishment for the sinful ways in which the people lived. Petrus de Witte's sermon, published by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, is one of the first publications on the event. But besides regarding the disaster as a punishment of God, he also gave hope and a sense of community by emphasising the collective suffering of the people of Delft.³⁴⁰ Hendrick Bruno, a minister's son who worked as a teacher in Hoorn, added a poem to De Witte's text, blaming the sins of the city council, which gave rise to many reactions. In one of them it was argued that it was rather the ministry of Delft that had behaved badly, and that only the return of the Catholic faith would help Delft and its citizens through this difficult time.³⁴¹

Clearly, Waelpot immediately had set himself to printing a work on the disaster, which demonstrates that he was quick to respond in finding a suitable text and knew his market quite well.

³³³ Ibid., pp. 62-63, 67, 74; Spoor, *Oratie*, p. 43.

³³⁴ Petrus de Witte, *Delfschen donder-slag: ofte Korte aenspraecke aen de bedroefde gemeynte van Delf* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1654), <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=KJGrZbPeUBwC&pg=GBS.PP1>> (29 June 2020).

³³⁵ P.C. Visser, *Delft: bladzijden uit zijn geschiedenis* (Delft: Elmar N.V., 1969), p. 108; M. Meijer Drees, "'Providential Discourse' Reconsidered: The Case of the Delft Thunderclap (1654)", *Dutch Crossing*, 40:2 (2016), pp. 109-111.

³³⁶ Meijer Drees, "'Providential Discourse' Reconsidered", p. 110.

³³⁷ Visser, *Delft: bladzijden uit zijn geschiedenis*, pp. 110-112.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ CAD, Inventory of the archive of the city council of Delft (1222) 1246 - 1813 (1835), inv. nr. 1.2066, Register of persons who have received compensation from the States of Holland for damage to their homes, with a table of contents on street name 1654, f. 182v.

³⁴⁰ Meijer Drees, "'Providential Discourse' Reconsidered", pp. 109, 111, 115-116.

³⁴¹ Ibid., p. 111.

3.4 Abraham Waelpot

Jan Pietersz. Waelpot's son Abraham was a printer in Delft only for a short time, before moving his business to Leiden. Very little of what he published remains, only eight works, which are categorized by the STCN as History, Dutch Language and Literature (2), Theology, Education (2), Law and one uncategorized respectively.³⁴² Five publications were in Dutch and three in Latin (Appendix 6). All of these were printed in Delft, since nothing has survived from his Leiden production, if any.

As stated previously, Abraham took over one of the printer's marks used by his father (fig. 10). This mark, with the text 'Dum stabant pisae sic viguere fabae', is the only one he used and can be found in four of his publications.³⁴³ He sometimes included engraved illustrations on the title pages of his publications, which means he must have been in the possession of copper plates.³⁴⁴ He worked together with his father in publishing a translation of a French text against the Catholic church by Charles Drelincourt in 1657.³⁴⁵

Similar to his father, the Delft environment was a major influence on Abraham's publishing activities. Several of his authors came from Delft, as do the patrons to whom he dedicated his books. For example, *Keur van H. stoffen uyt Gods Woordt; mitsgaders eenige andere gebeden ende zangen, op de alder-bekendste psalm-wysen gestelt* was written by the Delft minister Volckerus van Oosterwijck (active 1640-1670).³⁴⁶ He published several books with devotional poems and songs, of which this is one.³⁴⁷ Living in a house (*domineeshuis*) accessed through a gate on *Oude Delft* 147 he was a notable Delft figure, who had married a mayor's daughter, Helena Meerman.³⁴⁸ A group portrait by Delft painter Pieter de Hooch is sometimes connected to Volckerus and his family.³⁴⁹ Abraham

³⁴² Based on the STCN database.

³⁴³ These are: Verburch, *Den Delfschen martelaer*, p. 47; Noachus Vranck, *Penia, Oratio scholastica* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1658), title page; Jacobus Hooghenhoeck, *Oratio in temeritatem* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1658), title page; Carolus Looten, *in laudem venationis, carmen scholasticvm* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1659), title page, <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=86OGbwgErkYC&pg=GBS.PP12>> (29 June 2020). In the work of Verburch, the printer's mark only appears on page 47. This is because the book continues with another publication written by Th. Beza entitled *Korte bekentnisse des christelijke geloofs*. However, it should be seen as a single publication, as the pagination is unbroken.

³⁴⁴ This can be found, for example, on the title page of Verburch's *Den Delfschen martelaer*.

³⁴⁵ Charles Drelincourt and Cornelis van Berckel (trans.), *Kort begryp der verschillen, ofte bondigh verhael vande dwalingen der roomscher kercke* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot and Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1657), <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=F3S9IUNkP9gC&pg=GBS.PA2>> (29 June 2020).

³⁴⁶ Volckerus van Oosterwijck, *Keur van H. stoffen uyt Gods Woordt; [...] op de alder-bekendste psalm-wysen gestelt* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1656), <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=Q9yr66yVnfcC&pg=GBS.PP13>> (29 June 2020).

³⁴⁷ K. ter Laan, *Letterkundig woordenboek*, p. 385,

<https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/laan005lett01_01/laan005lett01_01_5417.php> (18 June 2020).

³⁴⁸ Achter de gevels van Delft, 'Het huis achter Oude Delft 147',

<https://www.achterdegevelsvandelft.nl/huizen/Oude%20Delft%20achter%20147-161_files/lees%20meer%20Oude%20Delft%20147.html> (18 June 2020).

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

Waelpot, who had his shop on *Oude Delft* 105, lived close to Volckerus and would have been a logical choice for the writer to publish his work.

The *Corpus juris, ofte Kort begryp van alle titulen van de 50. boecken Digestorum Justiniani*, published by Abraham in 1658, was compiled by the previously mentioned Jacob Spoors, who was his neighbour.³⁵⁰ It seems, therefore, that Abraham was a part of this network of people in Delft, and that they knew to approach him in order to get their work printed. Spoors, by the way, dedicated his book to notary François Bogaert, who in 1667 had been Jan Pietersz. Waelpot's neighbour on the westside of the *Marctvelt*.³⁵¹

Finally, in 1652 Abraham printed a work on a subject closely related to Delft. In that year, he published *Den Delfschen martelaer*, written by Theodorus Verburch, on the life of his great-grandfather Harman Schinckel. The letters Schinckel had written to his wife and children after his sentencing, were handed down through his daughter Catharina Schinckel, and published in this book. Only two copies of the book have survived, which leads Verwey to believe not many were printed in the first place. Nevertheless, it would be an important source for later writers researching Schinckel and his life.³⁵²

Clearly, Abraham Waelpot, like his father, was part of the network of Delft writers and scholars, who came to him to publish their work. He does not, however, appear to have been very successful. Although it is likely that not all printed work by Abraham Waelpot has come down to us, his unsuccessful business may explain his move to Leiden. Another possibility is that this move had been the plan of both son and father all along, the more so since they had so many family connections in Leiden. Anyway, unlike his father Abraham did not manage to make a name for himself in Delft. He died too young to do so in Leiden.

³⁵⁰ Zuidervaart and Rijks, 'Most Rare Workmen', pp. 74, 77; Hero van Schingen and Jacob Spoors, *Corpus juris, ofte Kort begryp van alle titulen van de 50. boecken Digestorum Justiniani* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1658), p. *3, <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=_-OetAQgkUIC&pg=GBS.PP10> (29 June 2020).

³⁵¹ Ibid.; CAD, OC, inv. nr. 72.4471, Inventory of the estate of Johan Pietersz. Waelpot ..., 22 October, 1667, f. 4r.

³⁵² De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*, pp. 7-8; Verburch, *Den Delfschen martelaer*, (letters on pp. 29-44).

Conclusion: A clearer picture of the Delft book trade

In this thesis, the influence of the local environment on the publishing activities of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot has been explored through a survey of the history of printing in Delft and particularly its condition in the seventeenth century, a study of the life of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot and his family, his book shop, and connections, and, finally, through an analysis of his remaining publications and their connection to Delft. The main question was: How did local circumstances influence the book trade in Delft in the case of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot?

Clearly, Delft as a city had an interesting book history well before the seventeenth century. The city had a substantial population and a rich history in late medieval book production through the activities of the monastery of the Brothers of the Common Life, which in the last decades of the fifteenth century provided a fertile soil for entrepreneurs in the new art of printing. Besides the first Dutch Bible, printed by Jacob Jacobsz. van der Meer and Mauritius Ymantszoon van Middelborch, other noteworthy printers settled in Delft, such as father and son Lettersnijder, whose typefaces were used throughout the Northern Netherlands, and Aelbrecht Hendricxz., one of the more prominent printers of the Northern Netherlands in the sixteenth century and the official printer of the States of Holland and the States General. Another figure of note is the printer Harman Schinckel, who got himself involved in the production and trade of forbidden Protestant books in Delft; his death execution on the market square made him a martyr of Protestantism, and he was remembered as such by the Delft population.

Many of these early printers came from the Southern Netherlands. Although Antwerp had been the centre of the book trade in the sixteenth century, its fall into Spanish hands in 1585 caused an emigration of religious and economic exiles to the Northern Netherlands, among them many printers and booksellers who brought with them their knowledge of the book trade. As a result, the Northern Netherlands developed into the centre of the international book trade in the seventeenth century. Only a few of these migrants settled in Delft, as the dominant position of Aelbrecht Hendricxz. made it difficult to establish a successful business in the city. This may also explain why Delft, although the fourth largest city in the Republic, had a relatively modest output of printed matter in the seventeenth century.

Nevertheless, after Aelbrecht had moved to The Hague, several Southern printers did set up a business in Delft, next to established entrepreneurs who often came from a long line of local printers. Several English printers also settled in Delft, but they appear to have formed a separate community. The Delft printers and booksellers belonged to the Guild of St. Lucas, but operated outside of its sphere. Remarkably as well, the printers and booksellers, although being the wealthiest members, hardly ever

served as *hoofdman* (warden) of the guild, illustrating their lack of engagement. Marriages and alliances were often made between families active in the book trade or other economic spheres, almost never with painters, sculptors, or any of the other professions within the guild. It appears that the Delft printers were able to operate within their own sphere and as they did well economically and socially, they constituted a respected group within the city.

Among the elite of wealthy printers in Delft, Jan Pietersz. Waelpot held a prominent place. Although an outsider, his business turned out to be among the most successful. His parents, who were both from Antwerp, had settled as religious exiles in Dordrecht without any connection to the book trade. Their son Jan Pietersz. first worked as a typesetter in Dordrecht, before moving to Delft. In 1622, he took over from Bruyn Harmensz. Schinckel on 't *Marctvelt* and may have bought the neighbouring house as well to expand his shop. Together with his wife, he had ten children, of whom four survived. As is clear from the business contracts in which he was involved, he was one of the most important printers and booksellers of Delft. Besides working together with other printers, he acted as a mediator when conflicts arose among his colleagues. He furthermore had connections to printers in The Hague, Rotterdam, and even London.

The inventory of his estate from 1667 gives a good idea of his business. Having a significant number of books in his shop and in storage, he catered to different markets. He sold books in various forms and formats and dealt with prominent printers and booksellers in Haarlem and Rotterdam. The significant amount of money he left to his grandchildren and only surviving daughter together with his rich household goods, among which silverware and paintings, are further proof of his wealth. It seems that even at the end of his career, his business was doing well, but it appears that he concentrated on the book trade, as there is no mention of a printing press in the inventory.

Besides in Rotterdam, The Hague, and Haarlem, Waelpot appears to have created a network in Leiden as well, through marital alliances. His oldest daughter, Helena, married the Leiden painter Louys Elsevier, who was connected to the famous Leiden Elsevier family of printers and booksellers. His oldest son, Pieter, a schoolteacher, first married Petronella Stangerus, from an intellectual family. His second marriage, to Elijsabeth van Swieten from Leiden, again, was connected to the Elsevier family and to an artistic milieu, as she was the granddaughter of Pieter Breugel II. Abraham Waelpot married into an intellectual Leiden family, namely that of Lijsbeth Crucius. The Crucius family were active in Delft as well, as teachers and rectors of the local Latin School. Only Adriana, who married after the death of her father, did not marry into a Leiden family, but became the wife of the baker Hendrik van Buijte, who was a prominent art collector. Abraham himself moved to Leiden after having worked as a printer in Delft, registering with the Leiden Guild of Printers and Booksellers in 1660. It appears that Waelpot encouraged his offspring into these Leiden connections, hoping to create favourable relations for his business and, perhaps, that of his son.

As became clear from the analysis of the publishing activities of Waelpot, he can be characterized as a 'Delft printer', in terms of subjects, languages, formats and authors. Besides printing historical works, his output was mainly theological. Furthermore, almost all his publications are in Dutch. Not surprising for a seventeenth-century printer, Waelpot also printed pamphlets, the number of which presumably was even larger than is recorded by the STCN. Although he printed mainly in Dutch, his foreign language works should not be ignored. Besides works in Latin and French, there are publications in English as well. The occurrence of these languages may again be explained by his environment. Delft housed a chamber of the V.O.C. and was home to internationally oriented merchants who needed dictionaries and grammars to keep up their trade. Some of the foreign language works printed by Waelpot were clearly aimed at this group. His Latin and French publications were probably aimed at the pupils of the French and Latin schools present in Delft. Besides, Waelpot published educational material and sometimes adapted existing works to cater for the Delft students specifically. Lastly, his English publications are of note. Working regularly with the English military author Henry Hexham, who lived in Delft, he provided material for printers in London, as well as in The Hague, for the English community living in the Dutch Republic. However, Waelpot seemingly only acted as a printer for these projects, and had little to do with their distribution and sale.

His strong connection to Delft is also demonstrated by his printer's marks. He alluded to his identity as a 'Delft printer' several times by including the coat of arms of the city or an accompanying text, stating the work is from Delft, in his printer's marks. These make it clear that Waelpot wished to identify his business and his publications with the city.

The content of the publications of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot show a clear connection to his local environment as well, in which three aspects can be discerned, namely the institutions, the authors, and the subjects. By publishing for the schools in Delft, he was certain of a clientele. Moreover, as a semi-official publisher for both the *Hoogheemraadschap* and the city magistrates he assured himself of a steady flow of work. He also printed ordinances of the States of Holland. It seems he was partly able to become successful by printing for these Delft institutions. Various Delft authors also had their work published by Waelpot. Prominent local Calvinist ministers, as well as scientists and notaries, asked him to print their texts, aimed at a Delft, but also Dutch readership. These authors found him, through which his publications gained a distinct Delft character. Ministers often commented on each other's works, and the example of the work by Jacob Spoor appears to be specific to the lively interest in optics in Delft at the time. Lastly, the subjects of quite a few of his publications are specific to Delft, for instance the Delft 'thunderclap' and the interest in optics. His son Abraham appears to have continued the existing connections of his father, as he too published work which is quite specific to Delft and his own environment.

Of course, all these considerations do not mean that Waelpot published books exclusively for the Delft market, or only on subjects relevant to the city, or written by local authors. But the strong 'Delft' connection present him as an entrepreneur who was aware of his surroundings and knew how to reach certain groups of the Delft population as a strategy to make his business a success. Delft, as a relatively large town, indeed had enough inhabitants to provide a substantial market. The local book trade may have been less developed than that of other Dutch cities, it was certainly capable of being successful by making use of local communities and institutions. The life and work of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot provides a fine example of just that.

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List of Illustrations

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Figure 1: Wikimedia Commons, 'File:Louys Aernoutsz Elsevier, Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft, Seen through a Stone Archway - WGA07487.jpg', <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Louys_Aernoutsz_Elsevier_-_Interior_of_the_Oude_Kerk,_Delft,_Seen_through_a_Stone_Archway_-_WGA07487.jpg> (14 May 2020).

Figure 2: Photo taken by author.

Appendix 1:

Figure 3: Map from the City Archives Delft, inv. nr. 108599. Wikicommons <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kaart_Figuratief_Delft_Eerste_staet_inv.nr.108599.jpg> (23 April 2020).

Appendix 5:

Figure 4: Printer's mark with snail. Dirck Heymansz van der Mast, *Practique des notarischaps, seer nut, profijtelick ende noodigh alle jonckheyt die haer willen oeffenen in dese konst* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1649), p. 253. Available via Google Books, <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=G7NmAAAaAAJ&pg=GBS.PA253>> (9 June 2020).

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Figure 8: Printer's mark with a lion. Dirck Heymansz van der Mast, *Practique des notarischaps, seer nut, profijtelick ende noodigh alle jonckheyt die haer willen oeffenen in dese konst* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1656) [vol.4], title page. Available via Google Books, <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=aS2yKA3-D7YC&pg=GBS.PP9>> (9 June 2020).

Figure 9: Printer's mark with an angel. Dionysius Spranckhuysen, *Geestelijcke triumphe, over den laetsten vyandt, den doot: ofte Een heylsame onderrechtinge om ghetroot en blymoedich te sterven* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1648), title page. Available via Google Books, <<https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=2xqaUUL5qyEC&pg=GBS.PP5>> (9 June 2020).

Figure 10: Printer's mark with the text 'dum stabant pisae sic viguere fabae'. T. Verburch, *Den Delfschen martelaer, ofte Laetste afscheyd-brieven van Hermannus Schinckel [...]. Waerinne gesien kan werden syn [...] stantvastigheydt [...] in den waeren geloove* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1652), p. 47.

Appendix 1. Locations of the most important printer and booksellers in Delft

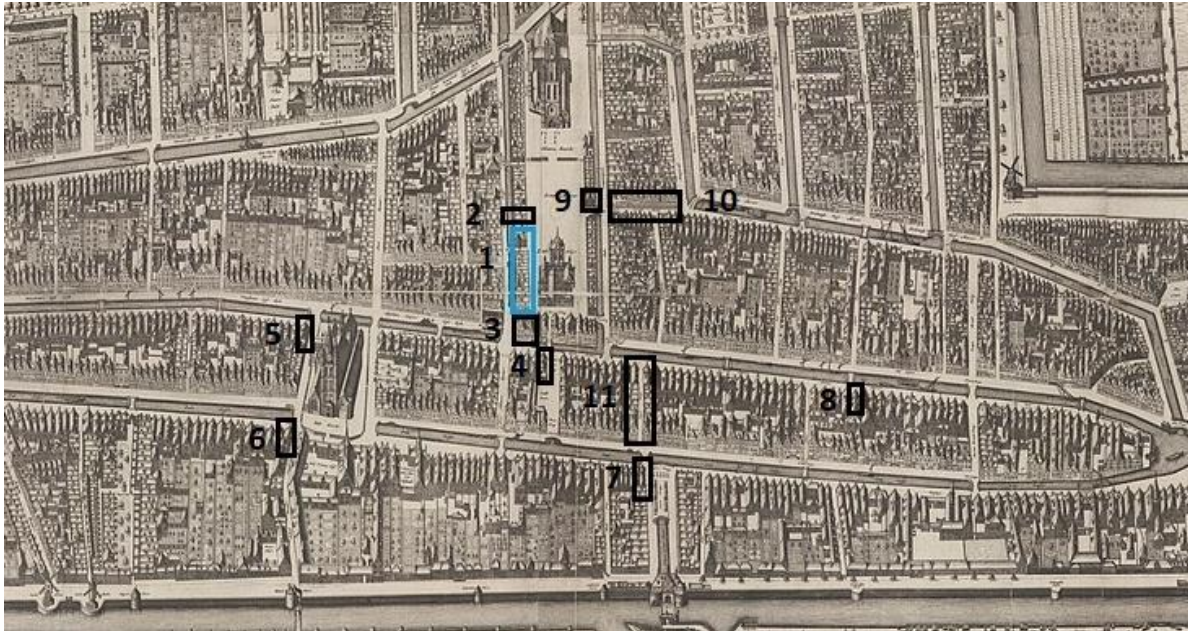


Figure 3. Locations of the most important printers and booksellers in Delft.

Map from the Delft City Archive, inv. nr. 108599. Wikicommons

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kaart_Figuratief_Delft_Eerste_staet_inv.nr.108599.jpg> (23 April 2020).

1. Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, Marctvelt, 'Inde Drukkerye'.
2. Jan Andriesz. Cloeting and Abraham Dissius, Marctvelt, "t Gulden ABC'.
3. Maritgen Simonsdr. and Joris Andriesz. Cloeting, Vismarkt.
4. Cornelis Jansz. Vennecool, Wijnhaven, 'Inde Vette Henne'.
5. Helena Waelpot and Louis Elsevier, Voorstraat 1.
6. Harman Schinckel, Oude Delft 189.
7. Abraham Waelpot, Watersloot, 'Inde Nieuwe Drukkerye'.
8. Adriaen Gerritsz. Van Beyerens, Koornmarkt 41, 'Den Briel'.
9. Cornelis Jansz. Timmer, Marctvelt, 'In den beslagen Bijbel'.
10. Anthony van Heusden, Brabantse Turfmarkt.
11. Felix van Sambix Jr., Pepersteeg.

Appendix 2. Transcription of the list of books in the inventory of the estate of Jan Pietersz. Waelpot³⁵³

[fol. 31r] <i>Boecken</i> <i>Int voorhuys sijnde de winckel</i> Een Bijbel van Ravesteyn xvic. vierensestich Institutio Johannijs Calvinij schrijfpapier	Chirurgie door Jaques Guillemeau en door Carolus Battum getranslarteert
[fol. 31v] Emanuel van Meteren Amsterdam xvic drieensestich Alle de wercken van Coornhert in drie voll: Twee voll: Cronica Carionis door Pr. Bordt Coupers [= Cowper] Opera A[m]brosius Paree Chirurgie twee mael Calvinus over de brieven Paulii [!] Ambrosius Calepini Undecim ling. Flavius Josephus Cruls Papiere werelt Contemplationis Sionis Josephi Halii	[fol. 33r] Medicijn boeck en Chirurgie Johannes de Vigo Johannis Tagaultij Chirurgie Vesalii Anathomij Theodorus Besa [= Beza] vande Weth Godts Veltbouw oft lantuijninge [= landtwinninghe] Coutrels [= Coutereels] Boeckhoudinck Frans
[fol. 32r] Paraphrasis Erasmi over t Nieuwen Testament Historie der martelaren Petrus Winsemius Histori[a]e rerum Fricicarum Titus Livius Cronijck van Reyt Christophorus Wyrtsingh Medicijnboeck Sleijdanij Historien Molaeus [Molinaeus?] over de Psalmen	<i>In Quarto</i> Alle de wercken van Cats
[fol. 32v] Titus Livius Romeynse historien H. Bullingerus Sermon[es] Latin[ae] Reyt vande Nederlantsch oorloge De arcke van Sebastiaen Franck Rivii Loci cammunines [= communes] Instructie om opde luyt te leeren spelen Vesalii Anatomie met schone figuree	[fol. 33v] Hildersham Over den li ^e psalm Acta Synodi van Dordrecht Bijbel van Bies[t]kens Staet der kercken door Jan Crispijn Bullingerus Over de openbaringe Johannis Acta Sinodi Apianus Historien der Romeynen Ryperti Sicxtii [= Rippertus Sixtus] Vande kinderen Gods Wickenburchs Jacob en Esau
	[fol. 34r] Roeloff Pietersz Den evangelischen arent Wagenaer Vande ware religie Schultenus De portie en deel der heijligen Faukeel Bruijloff liet Melen [?] Vant recht der kercken Deckers Telkunst Roelofs Pietersz Evangelishen arent 't iii deel Maria Heyns Bloemhoff
	[fol. 34v] Couper over Romeynen acht Bullingerus tegen de Weder Doopers Johannus La Mai[...] Levendich toneel

³⁵³ Fol. 45r-v are missing, as these folios are not numbered in the original document as well.

M: Luter Vande knechtelycke wil
Z. de Decker Nieuwe telkunst
Emblemata Sacra door Heyns
Protocol van Leeuwaerde
H. Faukeel Bruyloffliet

[fol. 35r]

Riperty Sickxti Troosttrycke fonteyne
Abr: Kems [= Abraham Kemp] Leven der
doorluchtige heeren van Arckel en
Jaerbeschryvingh van Gorinchem
Gespreck tussen Lansbergen en pater Gouda
Roeloffs Pieters Loff des H: Geest
Holkeel [?] Vanden verloren soon
Tomas Teylor Christij strijt en overwinninge
Brighman over d'Openbaringe Johannis

[fol. 35v]

Becius van Abrahams Vreemdelingschap
Idem van Sodoma en Gomorra
Den selven Van de suntvloet
Kems Besschryvingh van Gorinchem en leven
vande doorluchtige heeren van Arckel
Wagenaer Vande ware religie
Bucannus Christelycke institutie
Taffijn vande Boetvaerdichijt des levens

[fol. 36r]

Reysboeck der H. Schrifture
Amama Bybelsche conferentie
Focco Proeffpredicatie
Dycx [= Dyke] Bedriechelyckheyde des
mensen herten
Abraham Dooreslaer tegen de Weder Doopers
Starkius [= Strackius] Kerckelijcke basuyne
Apianus Romeynse historien
Baudartius Gedenckwaerdige spreucke

[fol. 36v]

Ridderus Mense Godts
Proceduuren der stadt Rotterdam
Riperti Sicxtij Geestelycke spoor
Poppey [= Poppius] Sieckentroost
Bruningh Evangelisch waerheyde
Udemans Coopmans roer

Wilhem Perkins Urim en Tummin
Molyn [= Du Moulin] vande nieuwichheyde des
pausdoms

[fol. 37r]

Amesij dissertationes theologiae
Bruylofs liedt
Velt chirurgi Huldani
Oecolompadius Exposition[es]
Haselbeeck Christelycke metamorphosis
Johan Varcharson [translator; the author is
Hugh Broughton] Algemeyne vertoning der H.
Schrifturen
Couper [= Cowper] over de openbarinck
Haselbeeck Metamorphosis

[fol. 37v]

Poliander Spiegel der bekeeringe
Eenige tractaten aengaende de religie
Huttenus Gemene vragen vande catholycke
Cor: Dunganus Pacificatie der ongeruster
gemoederen
Luterus Vande knechtelycke wil
Dijck [= Dyke] Vande bekeeringe
Kruls Minne spiegel

[fol. 38r]

Baccus Wonderwercken
Sebastiaen Francken Werelts spiegel
Deductie vande Staten van Holland en andere
tractaten
Jan Sems Cijfferbouck
De belegeringh van Bergen op Zoon int Frans
Reijs boeck der H. Schriftuer
Fabritius Aquapendente

[fol. 38v]

Voetii [=Voetius] Oratio
Jan Barthout van Loo Beschryvingh van
Vlaenderen
Hortensius Beschrijvingh van Wtrecht
De weecke der scheppinge door Bartas
Keur vande stadt Leyden
Boots Vermakelycke uieren [er moet staan
uyren]

Reygersbergen Cronijck van Zeelandt

[fol. 39r]

Boccatii Historien

Beschryvingh van Suythollandt

Pacht tafel

Beschryvingh van Wtrecht door Hortensiu[.]

Beschryvingh van s Hartogenbosch

Wassenaers Inleydingh tot de practyck van
procedeeren

Boots Vermackelijcke ure

[fol. 39v]

Terentius cum notis variorum

Voyagie van Purgas [= Purchas]

Spincx Wetsteen des deuchts

Decisien [?] van Jacob Coorn

Kems [= Kemp] t Leven vande h[ee]ren van
Arckel

Spincx Wetsteen des deughts

Aitzema Historis verhael 1e deel

Den selven Verhael vanden vredehandelingh

[fol. 40r]

Peckius van arresten en besittingen

Dicisien vanden Hogen Raet door Coorn

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Hantvesten en prevelegien der graven van
Holland

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rechtsgeleertheyt schrijfpapier

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Guido de Gaulia[k?] Heelkonst

Kort begriip der medecine

De chirurgie van Gauliac

Forrestus Van't oordeel der wateren

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Scheelhans [= Scheel-Hans] Chirurgie

Phelix Worts [= Wirtz] Chirurgie

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Balette a tres vocis

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Een Testament en psalm boeck met note

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La Philosophie des esprits

Sintaxis Posselij

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Colloquia familiaria

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Sinomina Greca

Idem

Florus Salamasii [= Salmasius]

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Georgius Fabricius De re poetica

Mauctenne [?] des princes

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Epistolae Crucii
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Prosodia Sinetu[m] [?]

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't Leven der pausen Platina twee volumen
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Leven en bedryf vand Princen van Orangien

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Beverwijck Wtnementheyt der vrouwen
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Guevara]
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Lust tot wysheijt, Urania en gesangh der
zeeden [auteur D.P. Pers]
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Alle de werken van Jan Bruyn
Beverwyck Schat der gesontheit
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Apologia vande koninck Jacob van Engelant
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Lipsius vande regeeringe der landen
De christelycke regie [?] [...]
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Croninge Maria de Medicis
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Historien van Schultetus
Sanderus Wereltsche godtsdienst
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De Witte Catechisatie
't Heylichdom der benauden sielen door
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Voetius en Pouderoyen Catechisatie
Riperti Sixti Schetsmatige belydenis
Hasius Koninklycke lyster [= leyd-ster]
Schultetus Nieu rooms s[um]b[o]lum
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Luytersen Bedelaers mantel
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Richardon t Berou van Petrus en Judas
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Westersbaens Psalmboeck
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Erasmus van der Tonge
De thien boucken van Heliodorus
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Tongen
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De nieticheyt vande kinderdoop
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Carel van Aller Regulen van rechten
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Chyfferboeck vander Schuur
iii^c [= 300] Genesinge
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Wielant Practijcq cyvyl
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Leytsman der medecine
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Rosinus Erasmus opde seven propositien van episcopi[us]
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Coeterelus [= Couttreels] Taeffel van intrest
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Besa [= Beza] van't christel. gelooff
Menno Symons Groote lietboek
Taeffereel vande doot
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Aurelius in 't Engels
Corvinus over d'evangelisten

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Alkoran van Mahomet
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Geestelycke vergesicht
Spranckhuysen Kleyne en groote werelt
De Mey Hantboek der spreuken Salomons

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Beroerden oceaen
Sentbrieff Schrijver
Appologie van Prins Willem
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Symonides Vuerbacken
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Donne]
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mensch in Christo
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Baeckoer [= Baker] over 't Vader onse
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Slinger Davits
Geestelycke bruylofts banket door Lidium
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Idem
Duyfken en Willemijnken
Taylor een mensch in Christo
Dansfeest der Dochteren te Silo [auteur:
Petrus Wassenburgh]

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Catholijken montstopper
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Gereformeert graetboeck
Marcelis van scherm en schilt
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Ovidius Fasti
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Arijstophani Commedia
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Problemata Aristotelis
De Bruyn Spreekwoorden
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Testamentum Besae [= Beza]
Testamentum Grecum
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Officia Ciceronis
Idem

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La Louange de la sotise [= Erasmus]
Lingua Erasmi
Tubula [Tabula] Sinis
Poemata Barlei [=Barlaeus]
Marcelli Pallangeni
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Fermentatione
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Poemata Heynsii [= Heinsius]
Galenus in aphorismos Hypocratis
Caroli Passchali legatus
Historie van Lysander en Caliste frans
Amesii [= William Ames] Medulla Theologica
Ausonius
Theophrasti [= Theophrastus] Ethica
Secretaire de la mode, twee
Les Complimens de la langue franchoise vyf
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Julius Cesar
Idem
Testamentum Besa [= Beza]
Apuleus
Erasmus de Copia verborum
Erasmus de Principis Christ.
Spranckhuysen Balsem der sielen
Virgilius door Vondel in prosa
Waerborgh bouck
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Tafereel der Fonteyne
Beverwijcx [= Beverwyck] steenstück
Idem Van de wonde vijf mael
Herstelde leeuw
Corpus juris
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Spiegel der geschiedenis onses tijts
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bedryff

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Seneca vande Weldaden
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Keyserlijcken gesant
Constspiegel der wereltlijcke vermaken
Legende der dieven
D'Africaense Sophanisba
Zedige wercken van Plutarchus

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Grieksen Venus
Historie van China
liii^e [= 400] Gedenckwaerdige geschiedenissen
Spranckhuysen Batalie tegen de doot
Battus Secretboek
Dolinge van Ulissis [= Odysseus]
Apuleus
Cronyck van Sanden

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Batavische arcade
Persiaense rosingaert
Montanus Wonderen des werelts
Naerder minne a^o [= anno] 1651
Corpus juris
Gereformeerde bloumhof
Perkins vanden berch Cristi
Waerborgh
Romeijnsen adelaer

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justus lipsius Staetkunstige vermaningen twee
mael
Luteris Psalmboek
Leytsman der hovelinge
Seneca vande weldaden
Christelycken wandelwegh
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Ordonnantie vande Staten van Vrieslant

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Vander Veens Overseesche sangen
Navolginge Christi
Onnosele bloetschanden
Zeeuwse nachtegael ii mael
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Emblemata Cats
Haerlemse meybloum
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Wtrechts sanghprieel
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Specificatie Boeckjes 7
Den waren aenbidder
Le faceciencx revelje matin
Ongestadigen Hilas
Spaense dromen
Bogertman Troostbrieff
Le Combat 2 mael
Le letteres de monsr. de Votuir [= Voiture]
Republicq der seve vrije Nederlande

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Maresius Scherm en schilt
Hemelsche philosophie
Onnosele bloetschande
Vier Boecken vande achterklap
Prieel der gebeden twee mael
Bekentenis des geloofs
Vier en wolck calomme
L'exercice de l'ame fidele
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Kort begriip van Diogenes Laertius
Michael en den draeck
Havermans [= Haberman] gebetsboekjes 4
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Consolation de la consiense
Complainte de Jesu Christi
Dialogus rustiques
Wttenbogaert over 't vader onse

iii^e Deel Tragedische historien
T leven van Claes Nar
Eerlycke uren

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Tractaet van een Christenmensch
Geestel[ijck] vergesicht
Nederlantse secr[e]taris twee
Gulden hantboeck
Gulden gebede bouck
wee silvere poortklocken
Vlasman vande Sendinge des H: Geestes
Vier en wolck calomme
De Bruyns Spreekwoorden

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Schat der soberheyt viermael
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Spiegels des gelooffs
Toetssteen der liefde
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Konincklycken wech ten hemel
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Vier tractaten vande Concientie
Gerustheit des gemoets

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Lietboeck de Basuyn
Geerstelycke liedekens
Schat der liefde
Gebeden en meditatie van t avontmael
Gerustheyt des gemoets
Breviarum Romanum
De gulde harpe twee mael
Testamentum Bieskens [= Biestkens]
Navolginge Christi Hoogduits

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Nieuw Testament, twee mael out
Een out psalm boeck
Sesentwintich Franse psalmboeckjes
Seve Duijtsche testamentges en psalm
boeckjes
Noch een psalmboek

Inde ve[r]gult kas

Vijff ve[r]gulde bijbeltges in octavo in segrijn

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Drie vergulde in segrijn gebonden
testamente in groot octavo
Twee cleyen octavo testamenten in sigrijn
Een out in Spaens leer
Twee testamentgens in sigrijn Romeynsche
letter
Negen testamenten in chigrein daer onder
een in Spaens leer
Een testamentge in chigrein in 24

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Een augustijn letter psalm boeckje
Seventhien vergulde psalmboeckjes in 32
Drie onvergulde dittos
Een testamentge sonder psalmboeckje

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*Duytsche, Franse en Latijnse gebonde
schoolboecken te weten in quarto*

vi Fabulen Esophi
viii Hestorien van Salentijn en Ourson
ii groote vocabulaers
v Historyen van Jan Mandevil
v van Jason en Harcules
xi Verscheijde historien
Een pack geschreve Historien Davits

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iii Historie ges. Tobie
Wterste willen Louijs Porqum [= Porquin]
iiii 's Menschen elende
ii Uren vande doot
i pacet Historien van Tobias gedruckt
i pacet Historien Davits
i pacet gemene sentbrieven
i pacet verscheyde commedien
i pacetge Keuren en ordonnan-

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tie van Delfflant

i pacet met verscheyde journalen
i paccettge cluchten
i paccetge t Onset van Leijden
v Tragedische commedien

In Octavo

i pacet catechismus
i pacet Geuse[...]

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xl paccetges schoolboekjes van alderhande
soorten
Noch x Latijnse paccettges
xxx paccetges historien en discoursen

Ongebonde boecken

Inde Winckel

Een pacet Den leytsman voordien verdoolden
buurman door Spranckhuysen

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Een pacet Den christelycken scholier
Een paccettgen Den breijdel der tonge door
Erasmus
Een pacet Leytsman der medecine, epostolae
Crusii en anders
Een pacet Tractaet van Bartram aenden
coninck van Vranckrijck
Een pacet Mennist lietboek
Een pacet Practijck der bekeeringe

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Een pacet Wederlegginge der pauselijcke
verschillen door Charles Drelincourt
Een pacet Molerij Uytlegginge over de
Psalmen Davits
Een pacet van Hugo de Groot van 't rechts des
oorlogs en des vredes
Een paccettge d'Effecte van de geestelycke
triumphe

[fol. 77v]

Een pacet d'Effecte vanden geestelycke
verlatinch

Een pacet steeckboekjes oft Vermaeck der
jeughdiger herten
Een paccet figuren de libellis
Seven paccetten Ravesteijn van de pest
Een pacet Coupers [= Cowper] Patmos
Een pacet Spiegel der barmherticheyt en
twee proffitelijcke tractaten door Couper

[vol. 78r]

Een paccettge Flavisse poetae
Een pacet Les lettres de monsr. de Voiture
Een paccettge Maerlant over den ciii^e psalm,
Amesii Medulla, Drelucourt voort Avontmael
en Latijns Testament
Een pacet Herstelde leeuw
Een pacet Vertoningen van 's Hartogenbosch
nootmans en anders

[fol. 78v]

Een paccettge Cleijn Harpken met het
trompettge
Een paccette Practijck der notarissen door Van
Leeuwen
Een pacet Eenvoudich antw[oord]: door
Nabels
Twee paccetten Historien van Helenen
Een pacet Cyfferboucken
Twee paccetten Franse psalmboecken

[fol. 79r]

Een pacet Geestelycke batalien
Een pacet Morus Voorbereydingh ter doot
Vier paccetten Batalien en triumphen door
Spranhuysen [= Spranckhuysen]
Een pacet Johannis Taurinus Samaritaens
vrouthe
Vijff paccetten Keuren van Delfflant
Een pacet Dix huict sermons sur Job 19 par E.
Marmet
Twee paccetten Joh: Taurinus Samaritaens
vrouthe

[fol. 79v]

Twee paccetten Medulla logica

Een packet Oorspronck der Nederlantse
beroerten
xxiiii sijffer leyen gelijst

*Op de boven voorcamer beginnende aen de
Westsyde*

Twaelf testamenten met volkomen annotatien
in octavo

Twee Ovidi Metamorphosis

[fol. 80r]

Een journael vande princen van Orangie
Sesthien Prieel der gebeden

Praissac

Een Weecke van Bartus [= Du Bartas]

Drie Luters psalmboecken

Een Postilla Schulteti Hoogduits

Drie huispostillen Bulleus [= Bullaeus]

Vierentsestich sermoenen Joh: Starkius

[fol. 80v]

Twee Apianus Alexandrinis [= Appianus
Alexandrinus]

Drie Out Batavia

Een d'Ongeluckigen maechden druk

Twee Lusthoff der maechden

Ses Handels der amouresushey

Drie Cats Huywelycken in quarto

Smijters Toenamen vijff

Seve Julius Cesar

Vier Historie der Romeynen door Tacitum

[fol. 81r]

Een Spae[n]se tijrannie

Drie Nederlantse krychsjournalen

Vier Nieuwe telconst

Twee Emblemata Sach: Heijns

Een pack testamenten en psalmboecken vol
noten grooten druck

Een pacet Catechismus Voetii [= Voetius]

Cronyck Carions twee deelen

[fol. 81v]

Twee Besa [=Beza] Vande wet Godts

Twee Veltboeck oft lantwinnige

Een Historien van Reyt

Vijff Augustinus vande stadt Godts

Een Winsimij [=Winsemius] Historiarum ab
excussu Caroli V cesaris

Cronyck Carions twee voll.

Derthien Reysboucken der H: Schriftuur

[fol. 82r]

Seven Medecijn boecken Joh: de Vigo

Een Plempi [= Plempius] Ontleding des
menschen lichaem

Een Medecijnboeck door Battum

Twee Clesus Cort begrip der medecinen

Vijff Chirurgia Herlis

Een Sleydani Historien

Vijff Historije van Tammerlanus

[fol. 82v]

Vier Cronijck van Zeelant

Beyma Commentaria in varios titulus juris

Vijfthien Monsorsius Wtrechtse

geschiedenisse

Acht Beschrijvinge van Vlaenderen

Twee Beverwijcx Heelkonst

Thien Beverwijcx Schat der gesontheit

[fol. 83r]

xxii Hantboeck der chirurgie Coets

Thien Chirurgie Herls

Een Bericht vande pest

Derthien Beschrijvinge van Bergen op Zoom

Vijff Bor: Beschrijvingh van 's Hartogenbosch

xxxi Wilde eende jacht en vogelkoij

Derthien Segen teeckens vanden

Nederlantschen Mars

[fol. 83v]

Een paccet Tractaet tegen de pest

xxvii Les Pseumes de Davit in 12

Een Testament Frans en Duyts

Een Testament hors de pseumes

xxv Arons roede en Biliams eselinne

ix Geschiedenisse van Europpa

Een Emblema sacrum

Een Livius Narratio hestorica

[fol. 84r]

Een pacje Jan vander Veens Segesange
xviii Cats Mannelijcke achtbaerheyt
Vier Spiegel vanden ouden en nieuwen tijt
Drie Emblemata Cats
xxv Cats Sinnebeelden
Drie Cats Wercken
Een Oudenhoven Out, nu Suyt Hollant
Vier Keyserlijcken statuijten
Vier Damhouder Practijck in civile saken

[fol. 84v]

iiii Sutpheen Nederlantse practijcq
Vijff Historien van Polibius
Drie Adoni besecx lex talionis
Acht Ars testandi door J. Verwey
Een Willem de Groot Inleydingh tot de
practijcq
Vijff Lispii [= Lipsii] Politica
Plinius vande Dieren
Historie off jaerlijcx verhael door de Laet

[fol. 85r]

Drie Werelts spiegel Sebastiaen Francken
Een pacetge Decisien van Coren en Vande
Sande
Verlaet vande vredehandelingh Aitsma
Westerbaens Gedichten
Lansbergen Vande globe
Vier 't eerste deel van Astrea
Thien Vermakelycke uren
Drie Strada Nederlantse oorloge

[fol. 85v]

Ses Bijcorven van Aldegonde
Brachelius Historien nostri temporis
Drie Winterse avonde
Vijff Verhandelingen vande toversiekte
xvi Erasmus vande Tonge
Twee Le grand dictionaire Frans en Duyts
Drie Coloquia Erasmi
xii Treurige geschiedenis

[fol.86r]

Ses Curcius Duyts
Vier Apuleus Vanden gulden ezel
Een pack Secretare d'a la mode
iii paccetten La nouvelle guillande des jeunes
filles
iii Velt chirurgie voor Hildanum [= Fabricius
Hildanus]
ii Franschoise chirurgie door Battum
Hantboeck der chirurgie
i paccet tSamenspraken Frans en Duits
Drie Coloquia familiaris

[fol. 86v]

Een Sibrandis in Catechesis
Vier Achterclap door Bogaert
Horatius cum notis Heinsi
Institutiones rethoricae
Twee [...]yma nominum
Acht Franse psalmboeckjes in 32
Twee Ausonius
Iuvenalus
Een paccetge met Latijnse tractaetges

[fol. 87r]

Speele van sinnen
Een paccetge t Samaritaense vrouetge
Vier journalen in Latijn van Schouten
Vijff in Duits
Vijffentwint[ich] Journalen vande voijagie vant
schip Batavia
Ses Ar[i]tmetica Vander Schuur
Een paccetge Oratie Jacob Spoors Vande
nieuwe wonderen des werelts

[fol. 87v]

ii Bouckhouden door Cock
iii Cijferboecken door Cock
xlii Oratie van Willem Laud bisschop van
Cantelberch
vi Ontledingh vanden geestel[ijcke] mensch
door de Vrij
Een Roeloff Pieters Loff des H: Geest
Een Scherm en schilt
Holbeeck Vande verloren soon

[fol. 88r]

Tajllor Christi stryt en overwinninge
Focco Proeffpredicatie twee
Vier Christelijcke verclaringe
Tweehondert brieven van Coornhert
Seven Tractaet van 't gelooff
iii Urim et Tummin door Perkinx [= Perkins]
Drie Bestieringe der gedachten Omius
Drie Ontledinghe der misse door Molijn [= Du
Moulin]

[fol. 88v]

iii 't Oogwater van Dooreslaer [= Dooreslaar]
ii Becius Noachs arcke
i Abrahams vromdelingschap
Geesel der sonden
ii Bellerophum compleet
vii Hasii Conincklijcke lijst
Ripperti Sicxti Troostelijcke fonteijn
Geestelijcke spoore

[fol. 89r]

Geestelycke triumphe
iiii Wagenaer Vande kennisse Godts
vi Leecken weghwijser
iii Testamenten Bies[t]kens
Hemelse troostborne van Griethuisen [= Van
Griethuysen]
Couper [= Cowper] Drie hemels tractaten
Vier Heerlijckheijts des hemels door Loven [=
Love]
Een yverigen christen

[fol. 89v]

x Plutarchus Vande ruste des gemoets
Drie Oeffeningen der godtsalich[eyt] in 8
Drie idem in 12
Vier Lasarus van Tormus
vi idem in 12
v Den roeckeloosen dieff
vii Hemelse weghwijser
iiii Historien der Jesuwijten

[fol. 90r]

iiii Bruijningh Evangelisen waerheit

ix Geestelycke verklicker
vi Lavaterum vande spoocken
D: Dyck [= Daniel Dyke] vi Vande
bedrieghelycken
x Vande bekeeringh
Evangelise historien
Een pacet Dialogue Frans en Duyts
Drie pacetten dittos
Een pacet Baulme pour l'ame afliger

[fol. 90v]

Een pacetge Propos familiaires
Een pacettge Frans en Duijts schoolgoet
Een pacetge Letterkonst der Franse tale
Een pacettge Cleyen vocabelaer
Corderii [= Corderius] Colloquia Frans en Duyts
ix De spreucken Sirachs in rijm
iii Velvano Onderrichtinge des gelooffs

[fol. 91r]

Zeven Hermonie der evangelisten
iii Proefsteen van Teelingh
ii Poederoij
v Ondeckinge des pausdoms door Focanum
iii Vliet uijt Babel
ii Ontledinghe vande geestel[ycken] mensch
door Couper [= Cowper]
Drie Corte institutie door Calvinus
Twee Streeso Vande gesonde woorden

[fol. 91v]

ii Lex talionis Adonj Beseck
i Tractaet vande wille Godts
Tractaet des gelooffs
Hemels cieraet twee
x Besa [= Beza] Van 't ketter dooden
ii Udemans Salich nieuwejaer
ix Coopmans jacht
Een geestelyck compas

[fol. 92r]

xvii Christelycke vragen door Besa [= Beza]
iiii Davits boetvaerdicheijt
iii Sonneveldt over den 38^e psalm
iiii Oorloghs toerust aen ziel en lichaem

x 't Suyverlyck boeckje
iiii Medecinen der zielen
Twee Bedelaers mantel der lutheranen
Grootius testament

[fol. 92v]
Twee Nieticheyt van der kinderen doop
Catechismus Lansbergen
v Toetsteen en der concientie door Boulton [= Bolton]
iii Den wech der godtsalicheijt
iiii P: Baine [= Bayn] Geeste[ycke] wapenen
Een Gespreck van Lansbergen en pater Gouda
Schulteti 't Verbont der heijligen

[fol. 93r]
Twee Schole der Joden
Grotius Vande ware godtsdienst
xlii Catechismus Spiljardus
Een Voorlichter voorde Texelaer
iii Godtsalige gebeden
De stem Joh: des Doopers door R: Stock
iiii Bericht van des paus bullen
Een paccetge Het peereken der theologiser
afdeijlinge door Polanum

[fol. 93v]
Een pacet Schat der kenisse
ii Spiegel der waerheijt
ii Christelijcke wandelwech
iiii Lansbergen Overdenckigh des doots
xxii Geestelijcke medecine
xxvii Geestelijcke kintschap
x Wttenbogaert over 't Vader Onse
xiii De slinger Davits

[fol. 94r]
iiii Gereformeert bloumhoff
vi Bloumhoff der geeste[ijcke] gelijckenisse
xii Wtnementheyt van een christen mensch
Drie Wijngaerden Verbont des levens
iii Wittevrongels Christe[ijcke] huijshoudingh
ii Hasii Geestelijcke alarm

[fol. 94v]
v Spiegel van Davits val
ii Perkinsii [= Perkins] Stant een christens
i Boccatii [= Boccatius] Historien compleet
iiii Vier uijterste van Bolton
iiii Goudewijn [= Goodwin] Vrucht des gebets
ii Gedenckwaerdige spreucken Baudartij [= Baudartius]
Een paccetge Belijdenis des gelooffs vande
princesse Maria
Een paccet Instructions familiars

[fol. 95r]
Een pacet Franse catechismen
Een pacetge Sleutels vande Franse tael en
andere tractaetges
Een pacetge De arme twijffelende christen en
anders
Vier pacetten Letteris communs et familiars
Thien Hantvesten en prevelegien vande
Graven van Hollant
Twee Nieuwe bereijde werelt

[fol. 95v]
Ses Beschrijvinge van Japan door Caron
Een pacet Flores seu formulae loquendi
Een pacet Franse caetechismen
Een pacet Loff en plicht des huijwelijcx voor
Spranckhuijsen
Een pacet ditos
Een pacet Havermans [= Haberman]
gebetboeckjes
Vier Notarius publicq door van Leeuwen

[fol. 96r]
Salomons sweert twee
Scherm en schild der gereformeerde door
Maresius een pacet
Een pacet Cleijne vocabelaris Frans en Duyts
Twee pacetten Gulden spreucken van Pub:
Serus [= Publius Syrus]
Een pacet Purelis loquandi
Een pacet Partes orationes
Een pacet Le Saint Evangelie de Jesu Christi

[fol. 96v]

Een pacet Historien van Tobias
Een pacettge Historie Davits
Een pack Geschreve sentbrieven
Een pacet Dialogue de conjungasons
Twee pacette lietges
Twee paccettge speci boeckjes
Een pacet De wech der salich[eijt]
Een packettje Uure vande doot
Een packettje Wterste wille

[fol. 97r]

Een pacetge Historie van Tobias geschreven
Een pacettge Manierlijcke seden
Een pacetge Balsem voor een siecke ziele
Een testament Abigael Gerbrants
Een pacetge Historien van Jerusalems
destructie
Een pacetge Uure vande doot

[fol. 97v]

Acht Seneca Vande weldaden
Twee Nader unie vande Staten van Hollant
Drie Nieuwe vaeck verdrijver
Drie Romeijnsen adelaer
Ses Nieuwe wijn in oude leersacken
Een Leijtsman der hovelingen
Twee Beschrijvinge van Sina
iii Out en nieuw Dordrecht

[fol. 98r]

iiii Den keyserlycken gesant
iii Bondi Epistolarium
ii Bouderijci Advocatus
vii Steenstucken
ii Politijcke dijck
iii De deegelijckheijt van onsen tijt
Een d'Onnosele bloetschande
Twee Den jaloersen Carisale
Toetsteen der liefde

[fol. 98v]

xi S^{te} Nicolaes gift
iiii Versmadinge van 's werelts idelheijt ii^e deel
iii Boetius Vande vertroostinch

Een 't Leven van koninck Emanuel Van
Meteren
Twee Batavise arcadia
Drie Tragedise historien 9 deelen
xx Cats Huijwelijck
vii Lijsander en Caliste

[fol. 99r]

Een paccet Balsem der zielen groot form[aat]
Seven a Kempis [= Thomas a Kempis]
Navolginge Christy en Schat der zielen
iiii Daniel Dijcx [= Dyke] Bedriechlijckheit
iii Vande bekeeringe
iiii Hallius [=Joseph Hall] Drie stichtelycke
tractaetges
Twee Registers der historien
Elff Rogers [=Timothy Rogers]
Merckteecken en der zalicheijt

[fol. 99v]

Drie pacettges Kinderlycke zeden
ii Heermans Annotatien
viii Spiegel des aertbodems
ix Practijck der dieven
iii Winterse avonden
Een Deuchdelijcke vrouw
Een Secreetboeck door Battum
Vijff Toneel der gedenckwaerdighste
wonderen
Twee 't Leven van Claes Nar

[fol. 100r]

Tweede deel Vrolijck Fransje
ii Konincklijck memoriael
ii Eerste boecken vande huijwel[ijck]
viii De verliefde Mercurius
iii 't Leven van Clement Marot
iiii Eerlijke uuren
iiii De Bruijn Grontsteen vande vaste
regeeringh
Een Register der historien
Thien Kluchtige tijt verdrijver

[fol. 100v]

iiii Minne spiegel der deuchden

xii Voorbeelden der oude wysen
iiii Joncktijts De pijnbanck
vii Deductie vande Staten van Hollant
ii Discours Machiavel [= Machiavelli]
Drie Miltons Engelant verdedeging
Een Wechwyser door Italien
viii Nederlantse secretaris
xiii Roepende stemme door Spranckhuijsen

[fol. 101r]

Kleyne, en grote werelt
vii Joh: Preston [= Preston] Dagelijckse
oeffeningen
vii Aendachtige bedenckinge door Joh:
Donn[e]
x Joh. Hal Den hemel op aerde
vi Schrevelius Vande lijtsaemheijt
xviii Teelingh Lusthoff der gebeden
Vijff Amesius Vande concientie

[fol. 101v]

Twee Loff der geduldicheijt
Vijff Mornay [= Philippe Du Plessis-Mornay]
Tractaet vande kercke
Vier Festus Hommius xxvi Predicatie over 't
gebet Ons Heeren
Een Molen [= Du Moulin] Vande
voorbereydingh ter doot
Een Gereformeert graetboeckje
Vier Renes [= Ludovicus Gerardus van
Renesse] Vant ouderlingschap
Vier Richtsnoer des godtsaligen wandels door
Martinus Johannus

[fol. 102r]

Een Spiegel des eeuwigen levens
Twee Maccovius Godtsgeleerde
onderschijdingh
viii Daniel Dijck [= Dyke] Michaels & den
draeck
ii Worstelende Christus
ii Den throon der genade en der heerlijkheijt
Een Spanheijn [= Spanheim] Drie heerlycke
tractaten

[fol. 102v]

Des heeren heijligingh drie mael
iiii Christelijcke bereijtswillicheijt om te
sterven
Vier Overdenckinge opde boet psalmen
ii Spiegel der barmherticheijt
ii Uijtstortingh des H: Geestes
vii Kruysschole, off merckteekenen des
Christendoms
iii Psalmboecken door Westerbaen met noten

[fol. 103r]

Ses De heylige sondaresse
Drie Meditatie over den li psalm
ii Feylingius De christelijcke swanesangh
ii De geeste[ijcke] bouwerij
iiii 't Padt der vromen
xvi Getuijgenisse der waerheijt
iiii Sijmonides Vierbaecken
v Heijlichdom der benaude zielen
iiii Bruyloffs banket door Lidium

[fol. 103v]

Drie Davits tranen
iiii Leijtsman der christenen
Vier Anti Barboenis
iii Overdenckinge en gelofte
iii Dansfeesten
Een christelijcken ridder door Erasmus
v Bekentenis des geloofs
x Goudewijn [= Goodwin] Merckteekenen
x Marmet Vier predicatien

[fol. 104r]

iii Baleus [=Barlaeus] Vande kribbe Christi
ii Van ende tegen de doot
xviii Silvere poortklock
Vijff Navolginge Christi
Vijff Geldorpius psalmen
Een Van Lare[n] 't lijde Christii
Vijf Teelingh Nieuw Jerusalem
Een De leere des Bijbels
Drie Den konincklijcken wech ten hemel

[fol. 104v]

xii Teelinghs Practijck des H: Avontmaels
Vijff Voorbereijdinge en onderwijsinge des H:
Avontmael
Drie Voorbereijdingh des Avontmaels
Bradschaw [= Bradshaw]
v Gilles van Breen Voorbereijdingh
vi Udemans Christel[ijcke] bedenckinge en
ladder Jacobs
ii Toneel des aertbodems
iii Lusthoff des gemoets

[fol. 105r]

Drie Griecxsen adelaer i^e en ii^e deel
vi Le Throne de grace
vi Le Throne de jugemens
vi Lettere de consulation
ii Appologien van prins Willem
ii Be[...]mae [= Gellius de Bouma?]
Catechismus
i pacet Onderwijs van siecken te besoecke en
andere tractaeten
Een pacet Voorbereij-

[fol. 105v]

dingh ter doot door Teelinck
ix Wing Voorbeelt der heijligen
vii Hofferus Gespreck van Daniel Heijns
vi Geestelijck vergesicht
ix De schat der soberheijt
vi Molineus vier tractaten
vi Middelhoven over Job 2 vers 10
Een Sibeli Gebeden

[fol. 106r]

Vier Bifeilt [= Byfield] Formulier der gesonde
woorde
x Het Nieuwe Testament en psalmboek vol
noten 12^o
Vijff Vermeedert politijcq hantboek
ii Perkins Over de predicatien Christi opden
berch
iii Geestelijcken opwecker
ii packen Practijck des notarisschap

[fol. 106v]

xxv Fables animaux
iiii Boerhaven Nodige vernederingh des
menschen
ii Dictionarium Teutonicum
vii Dictionarum buegelottum
ii paccetten Corpus juris
viii packen Keuren en ordonnantien van
Delfflant
Drie packen Vande natuure en complexie der
vrouwe

[fol. 107r]

xi pack Boerse theologia door Moncij
Een packet Taeffelspel van mr. Cakedorus en
andere tafelspelen
Een pacetge Constboeckjes
Een pacetge Ulespiegel en Reijnaert de Vos
Een packe Kleijne cronijcken
Een paccet Historien van Helena

[fol. 107v]

Een pacet Historyen van Mariken van
Nimmegen en de graeff van Zonnen
mitsgaders de Gravinne van Vergi
Een pacetge Zangen van Galathe
Een paccet Geeste[ijck] lietboek, Den
bloumpot ende Basuinen
Een pacet lietboekjes, 't Cha[...]en Cuijpdoos
vreughde school
Een paccet Albertus Redevivus door
Oosterwijck

[fol. 108r]

Een pacet Historien van Helenen, Fredrick van
Genua en Marijken van Nimmegen
Een pacet Erasmus Vande suiijverheyt des
tabernakels, Voorbereijdingh des avontmaels
door Baers en Reijse der nederlantse soldaten,
mitsgaders Medecijn boeck voor een igelijck
Een pacet Ween over Hollandt, Mattheus
Evangelien

[fol. 108v]

Boet predicatien en Materijboekjen

Een koperen gesnede plaet vant uijlenbort
Noch een copere plaet van t gansebort
Item een copere plaet van Spisbergen
Verscheyde slechte houte plaetges
Een grote pors int voorhuijs

[fol. 109r]

iii^m [= 3000] gemene schaften

viii riemen papier

Appendix 3. Waelpot family tree

Peeter Waelpot (Antwerpen) x Adriaena Lodewijxdr. (Dordrecht)

- Jan Pietersz. Waelpot x Catherina Carels van Bronckhorst (Delft)
 - 1618 – Helena Waelpot
 - 1619 – Helena Jansdr. Waelpot x Louys Elsevier (Painter) (1645)
 - 1645 – Johannes
 - 1648 – Maria
 - 1651 – Aernoldus
 - 1653 – Louijs
 - 1655 – Catharijna
 - 1622 – Karel Waelpot
 - 1624 – Pieter Jansz. Waelpot (School teacher) x Petronella Stangerus (1644)
 - 1645 – Catharina Waelpot
 - 1646 – Catharina Waelpot
 - 1646 – Helena Waelpot
 - Pieter Jansz. Waelpot x Elijsabeth van Swieten (1648) (second marriage)
 - 1649 – Maria
 - 1651 – Petronella
 - 1652 – Susanna
 - 1654 – Cornelia
 - 1655 – Petronella
 - 1657 – Jacomina
 - 1658 – Jacomina
 - 1659 – Jacomina
 - 1666 – Johanna
 - 1626 – Abraham Waelpot (Printer) x Lijsbeth Crucius (1650)
 - 1650 – Nicolas
 - 1651 – Nicolaes
 - 1654 – Catarina
 - 1655 – Cornelia
 - 1656 – Johannes
 - 1652 – Maria
 - 1660 – Cornelia (baptized in Leiden, Hooglandse Kerk)
 - 1629 – Adriaentgen Waelpot
 - 1631 – Adriana Waelpot x Hendrick Van Buijte (Baker) (1638)
 - 1634 – Isaack Waelpot
 - 1636 – Isaack Waelpot

Consulted sources for this Family Tree: ECARTICO, City Archives Delft (*Doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken Delft, 1367-1811*), Regional Archives of Leiden, Regional Archives of Dordrecht, and City Archives Rotterdam.

Appendix 4. Books printed/published by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot (taken from the STCN)

Petrus Peckius, *Propositie ghedaen vanden ambassadeur Peckivs, inde vergaderinge vande [...] Staten Generael. Met het antwoordt der hooch-ghemelte heeren* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1621).

Jan Baptist Stalpart van der Wiele, *Hemelryck dat is Lof-sangh van't rijcke der hemelen 'twelck eertijds beweeght heeft Adrianum Rechter van Nicomedien tot het gheloof* (Delft: Adryaen Claesz. Vryenberch, 1621) [Colophon on p. 106 mentions this book is printed by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot].

Petrus Peckius, *Propositie ghedaen vanden ambassadeur Peckivs, inde vergaderinge vande [...] Staten Generael. Met het antwoordt der hooch-ghemelte heeren* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1621).

1622

Nicolaas Rothamel, *Trivmphvs canens epinicion. I. Carmen victoriale. Ob Bergopzomam hostili obsidione liberatam* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1622).

David Beck, *De tropheen off zeghe-teeckenzen vanden Nederlandschen Mars* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1622) [vol.2].

1623

Cornelis Adriaensz. Boomgaert, *Brylof-dicht, ter eeren den [...] iongh-man, Iacobo Oosterwyck, met de [...] ionck-vrouwe Adriana Lambrechts van Linschoten* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1623) [ascribed to this author].

1624

Cædimus, inque vicem præbemus crura sagittis. Medice cura te ipsum, ofte, Spotters ontbreeckt gheen rijm. Ghestelt [...] teghen het Nootsaeckelick-mal van Iacob VVesterbaen (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1624).

1626

Gideon van Sonneveld, *Verklaringhe over den XXXVIII. Psalm* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1626).

1627

Jacob Liefs, *Niev-iaer-vvenschinghe tot geheugenisse op de blyde gewenschte geboorte ende continuatie van het heylsaem leven des eerste geboren sone van haere excelentien, den prince ende prinsesse van Orangie* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1627).

1628

De propositie des coninghs van Groot Brittagnien in ende aen het Parlament ghedaen op den xxvij. martij, stylo novo. / Translated from the English into Dutch (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1628).

1629

Placcaet ende ordonnantie beroerende de groote visscherye ende haringhvaert deser landen (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1629).

Jacques de La Croix, *Le thresor de l'ame chrestienne* (Rotterdam: Pieter van Waesberge, 1629) [Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, printer].

Pieter Nootmans, *Verthoningen, over de heerlijcke, en noyt voor desen verkrege victorie van 'sHertogen-bosch* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1629).

1630

Johannes Taurinus, *Bedenckingen op d'histoire van't Samaritaensche vroutjen* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1630). [vol.2]

De faem-luydende, ende triumpherende echo. Op het veroveren van [...] 'sHertogen-bosch [...]. Onder t'beleydt vanden [...] vorst Frederick Henderick [...] in den jare 1629 (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1630).

Jacob Liefs, *Den lof van de geoctroyeerde Oost ende West-Indische Compagnye* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1630).

Henrick van Nassau, *Translaet eens brieffs gheschreven vanden wel edelen ionck-heer Cr: Henrick van Nassau* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1630).

Henry Hexham, *Een cort historisch relaes, ofte: Eenvoudich verhael van de belegheringe ende veroveringhe der vermaerde stadt s'Hertoghen-bosch* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1630).

1631

Noël de Barlamont, *Colloquia et dictionariolum octo lingvarvm; Latinæ, Gallicæ, Belgicæ, Teutonicæ, Hispanicæ, Italicæ, Anglicæ, et Portugallicæ. = Colloques ou Dialogues. = Colloquien oft t'samen sprekinghen* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1631) [adaptation].

Placcaet ende ordonnantie beroerende het vanghen, souten, havenen, keuren, packen op-hoogen ende leggen vanden haringh (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1631).

G. Loquefier van Rijsburgh, *Fama ofte basuyne der victorien, des doorluchtigen [...] prince van Orangien: over de groote machtighe vloote des conincx van Hispanien* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1631).

1633

Placcaet ende ordonnantie beroerende het vanghen, souten, havenen, keuren, packen op-hoogen ende leggen vanden haringh (Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1633).

Publius Syrus and Adrianus Ravesteyn (trans.), *Gulde spreuken* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1633).

Henry Hexham, *A iovrnall, of the taking in of Venlo, Roermont, Strale, the memorable siege of Mastricht, the towne and castle of Limburch vnder the able, and wise conduct of his excie: the prince of Orange, anno 1632* (Delft: Nathaniel Butter, 1633) [printed by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot in Delft and sold in The Hague by Henricus Hondius].

1635

Petrus Montanus, *Bericht van een nieuwe konst, genaemt de spreekkonst [...]. VVaer in verhandelt [...] wort, den rechten en tot nuu toe verborgen aert van alle uitspraec* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1635).

John Taylor and Henry Hexham (trans.), *Beschrijvinge van den ouden, ouden, heel ouden man: ofte Den ouderdom ende 't leven van Thomas Parr* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1635).

1636

Robrecht van Heusden, *Rekenboecxken by verscheyden ghelde, om met penninghen te leeren rekenen ende legghen* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1636).

John Taylor and Henry Hexham (trans.), *Beschrijving van den ouden, ouden, heel ouden man: ofte Den ouderdom ende 't leven van Thomas Parr* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1636). [2nd edition].

John Taylor and Henry Hexham (trans.), *Beschrijving van den ouden, ouden, heel ouden man: ofte Den ouderdom ende 't leven van Thomas Parr* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1636).

Catalogvs vande boucken des zal: D. Wilhelmi Merwy [...]. Met de welcke koop-dach sal gehouden worden binnen Delff (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1636).

John Taylor and Henry Hexham (trans.), *Beschrijving van den ouden, ouden, heel ouden man: ofte Den ouderdom ende 't leven van Thomas Parr* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1636). [3rd impression]

Giovanni Antonio Magini, *Den oprechten Italiaenschen vvaer-segger, ofte een ware prognosticatie op dit tegenwoordige schrickel-iaer ons Heeren, 1636* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1636).

1637

Henry Hexham, *The principles of the art militarie; practised in the vvarres of the Vnited Netherlands* (London: Matthew Simmons, 1637) [printed by Jan Pietersz. Waelpot in Delft, title page and dedication printed by Marmaduke Parsons].

Gisbertus Voetius, *Van de santeen, dat is, Droncken van ghesondtheydt* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1637).

An appendix, of the Quarter for the ransoming of officers [...] concluded betweene the king of of Spayne [...] and [...] the States Generall, of the vnitied Netherlands (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1637).

Andreas Rivetus and Adrianus Ravesteyn (trans.), *Van de peste verscheyde, seer uytnemende onder-richten* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1637).

1638

Jean Francoys, *Petit vocabulaire francoys et flamen* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1638). [corrected edition]

Jacob Spoor, *Oratie Iacob Spoors, van de nievvve vvonderen des wereldts, de nuttigheyd, de waerdigheyd, der wis ende meet-konsten* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1638).

William Laud and Henry Hexham (trans.), *Een oratie, die onlangs ghedaen is in de ster-camer, op de censure van Johan Bastwick, Henrick Burton, en VVillem Prin* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1638).

Veld-slagh, gheschiedt tusschen den hertogh Bernhardt van Wymeren, ende de keyzersche, onder't beleyd van den generael Jan de Weert (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1638).

1639

Gabriel Meurier, *Conivgaisons flamen-françoises. = Coniugatien in Neder-duytsch ende Fransoys* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1639).

Jacob Cats and Jacques de La Croix (rhymed version), *Virgo Batava. Siue Encomia clarissimæ doctissimæque Annæ Mariæ Schurmans* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1639).

1641

Ordonnantie by mijn heeren de magistraten der stadt Delff, ghemaect op't bidden ter begraeffenisse (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1641).

1642

Gérard Du Vivier, *Dialogves flamen-françoys, traictants du fait de la marchandise. = Tsamen-sprekinghen in Duytsch ende Fransoys, tracterende van den handel* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1642).

Aesopus, *Het wonderlijck ende geneuchlijck leven van Esopus [...] met zommige fabulen [...]. = La merveilleuse et ioyevse vie d'Esope* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1642). [corrected edition].

Hero van Schingen, *Corpus iuris, ofte Kort begryp van alle titulen van de 48 boecken Digestorum Iustiniani* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1642). [Enlarged edition]

1643

Gerardus Johannes Vossius, *De Latijnsche grammatica in Latijn tot dienst vande scholen toegesteld [...] ten dienste van de Delfsche schole* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1643).

Gerardus Johannes Vossius, *Latina grammatica in usum [...] scholæ Delphensis* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1643).

Placcaet ende ordonnantie beroerende het vanghen, souten, havenen, keuren, packen op-hoogen ende leggen vanden haringh (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1643).

1644

Zacharias Heyns, *La nouvelle guirlande des ieunes filles [...] pour bien apprendre à parler la langue Françoise. = Het nieuwe cransken* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1644).

1645

Noël de Barlamont, *Den kleynen vocabulaer, van Noël van Barlamont, inDuytsch en Francoys. = Le petit vocabulaire* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1645). [corrected edition].

1647

Dionysius Spranckhuysen, *Geestelijcke bataille tegens den laetsten vyandt den doot, ofte Heylsame onderrichtinghe om salich te sterven* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1647).

1648

Dionysius Spranckhuysen, *Geestelijcke triumphe, over den laetsten vyandt, den doot: ofte Een heylsame onderrechtinge om ghetroot en blymoedich te sterven* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1648).

Dionysius Spranckhuysen, *Geestelijcke bataille tegens den laetsten vyandt den doot, ofte Heylsame onderrichtinghe om salich te sterven* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1648). [2nd edition].

1649

Jan Jansz Starter, *Klucht van Jan Soetekauw. Mitsgaders de Klucht van Melis Thijssen* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1649).

Dirck Heymansz. van der Mast, *Practique des notarischaps, seer nut, profijtelick ende noodigh alle jonckheyt die haer willen oeffenen in dese konst* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1649). [3rd corrected enlarged impression].

1650

Hermannus Tegularius, *Schrift-matige proeven van een oprecht christen* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1650).

1651

Placcaet ende ordonnantie beroerende het vanghen, souten, havenen, keuren, packen op-hoogen ende leggen vanden haringh (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1651).

1652

Jean Puget de La Serre, *Le secretaire a la mode, ou methode facile d'escrire, selon le temps, diverses lettres de compliment, amoureuses & morales* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1652). [3rd enlarged impression].

1654

Isaac Louis Le Maistre de Sacy and Antoine Le Maistre (translators), *Le saint evangile de Jesu Christ, selon Saint Luc* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1654).

Petrus de Witte, *Delfschen donder-slag: ofte Korte aenspraecke aen de bedroefde gemeynte van Delf* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1654).

1655

Petrus de Witte, *Wederlegginge der sociniaensche dwaelingen* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1655).

1656

Placcaet ende ordonnantie beroerende het vanghen, souten, havenen, keuren, packen op-hoogen ende leggen vanden haringh (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1656).

Keuren ende ordonnantien van't hooge-heemraetschap van Delff-landt (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1656).

Dirck Heymansz. van der Mast, *Practique des notarischaps, seer nut, profijtelick ende noodigh alle jonckheyt die haer willen oeffenen in dese konst* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1656). [4th corrected enlarged edition].

1657

Charles Drelincourt and Cornelis van Berckel (trans.), *Kort begryp der verschillen, ofte bondigh verhael vande dwalingen der roomscher kercke* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot and Abraham Waelpot, 1657).

1658

Hero van Schingen, *Corpus juris, ofte Kort begryp van alle titulen van de 50. boecken Digestorum Justiniani* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1658). [enlarged by Jacob Spoor].

1665

Jacobus Meerman, *Dissidium virtutis & voluptatis, Oratio scholastica* (Delft: Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1665).

Appendix 5. Printer's Marks



Figure 4. Printer's mark with a snail and the text 'Paulatim'.



Figure 5: Printer's mark with the text 'Delfs Goet'.



Figure 6: Printer's mark with the text 'Literae immortalitatem pariunt'.

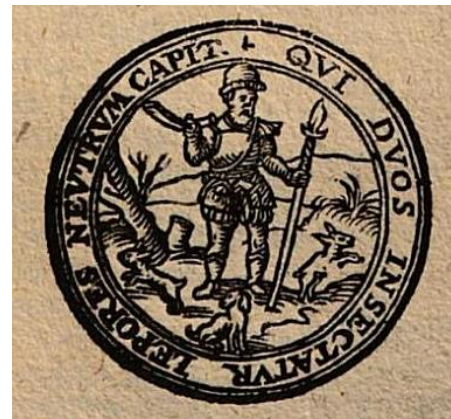


Figure 7: Printer's mark with the text 'qui duos insectatur lepores neutrum capit'.



Figure 8: Printer's mark with a lion and the text 'Delfff'.



Figure 9: Printer's mark with an angel and the text '[...] waect ghy [...]'].



Figure 10: Printer's mark with the text 'Dum stabant pisae sic vigere fabae'.

Appendix 6. Book printed/published by Abraham Waelpot (taken from the STCN)

1652

T. Verburch, *Den Delfschen martelaer, ofte Laetste afscheyd-brieven van Hermannus Schinckel [...]. Waerinne gesien kan werden syn [...] stantvastigheydt [...] in den waeren geloove* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1652).

1654

H.G., *Nieuwe-jaers-ghedicht, int iaer ons Heeren seshien-hondert vier-en-vijftich* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1654).

1656

Volckerus van Oosterwijck, *Keur van H. stoffen uyt Gods Woordt; [...] op de alder-bekendste psalm-wysen gestelt* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1656).

1657

Charles Drelincourt and Cornelis van Berckel (trans.), *Kort begryp der verschillen, ofte bondigh verhael vande dwalingen der roomscher kercke* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot and Jan Pietersz. Waelpot, 1657).

1658

Noachus Vranck, *Penia, Oratio scholastica* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1658).

Jacobus Hooghenhoeck, *Oratio in temeritatem* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1658).

Hero van Schingen and Jacob Spoors (enlarged edition), *Corpus juris, ofte Kort begryp van alle titulen van de 50. boecken Digestorum Justiniani* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1658).

1659

Carolus Looten, *in laudem venationis, carmen scholasticvm* (Delft: Abraham Waelpot, 1659).

