Christophe Plantin started printing classical texts early in his career in Antwerp.¹ They were printed in a variety of formats but there were two small-format series. First of all he launched editions of classical texts in 16° (sextodecimo) format. This series started with an edition of Vergil in 1558.² In a preliminary letter addressed to Nicolaus Nicolai Grudius, Clerk of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Theodoor Poelman,³ the editor of the text, explains the genesis of the series: the text of Vergil has suffered from the negligentia typographorum, qui sordido quaestui magis student, quam commodo rei literariae;⁴ when Plantin ‘by far the most skilful of printers’ decided to produce a series of editions of the classical poets, starting with Vergil, Poelman showed him the revised text of Vergil which he had prepared from ancient commentators and modern critics; Plantin saw the merits of the work and agreed to publish it as the first in his new series:

Sed cum insigniores plerosque Poetas Christophorus Plantinus typographus longe solertissimus suis typis, quam possit emaculatissime publicare decreuerit, & a poeta prince Virgilio auspiciari maluerit, quod omnium manibus merito teratur, huic mean castigationem tum ex veterum Grammaticorum commentarijis, tum ex neotericum hominum doctissimorum adnotationibus conlectam benigne exhibui, quo emendantior aliquantum, quam antea fuerat, in publicum prodiret: quod ad ascediti simus, is, qui non omnino naris est obesae, aut prorsus inuidus, conlatis aliquot exemplis, statim persentiscet.⁵

But since Christophe Plantin, by far the most skilful printer, decided to publish most of the better known poets as flawless as possible with his own types, and wished to make a favourable start with Vergil, the prince of poets, which might deservedly be put into the hands of everyone, I willingly showed him the text which I had edited both from the commentaries of the ancient grammarians and from the annotations of the most learned men of our own day in order to publish a text which was somewhat more correct than it had been before; anyone who is not completely slow on the

¹ The material of this article originally formed part of the conclusion of a lecture entitled ‘Poelman and Plantin: Publishing the classics in sixteenth-century Antwerp’ given at the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp in April 2011 in the series of Miraeus Lectures organised by the Vlaamse Werkgroep Boekgehechhec. The author intends to prepare a version of the main lecture for publication in De Gulden Passer.
³ Biographical information about Poelman (Theodorus Pulmannus or Dierck Poelman) can be found in the article by Max Rooses in the Biographie nationale, 17 (1903) 874–884; there is a more up-to-date account in a recent article by Dirk Imhof, ‘A Chest full of manuscripts between Antwerp and Nijmegen: The Library of the sixteenth-century textile merchant and philologist Theodorus Pulmannus’, in D. Sacré and J. Papy (eds), Syntagmatia: Essays on neo-Latin literature in honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 26 (2009), 401–414.
⁴ ‘The carelessness of printers who care more for sordid gain than for the good of the world of letters’, in: Pub. Virgilius Maro, vna cum opusculis, quae eius nomine circumferuntur, omnibus. Addita sunt Scholia & Index. ANTWERPA, Ex officina Christophori Plantini, sub vnicorni aureo. 1558. 16mo. Voet, pp., no. 2249; only recorded copy: British Library (shelf mark 1068.b.18), Asv.
⁵ Cf. ibid.
uptake or in any way hostile will immediately be able to see whether I have been successful on
checking through some examples.

This was the start of a long collaboration between Plantin and Poelman which lasted until
Poelman’s death in 1581. The series of 16° texts continued with editions of Paulinus de Nola
and of Terence (1560), Boethius (1562), Lucan and Horace (1564), and in 1566 an edition of
Juvenal and Persius based on a larger octavo edition which Poelman had prepared for Plan-
tin the year before. A further eight or nine editions of classical texts followed, as well as
several editions of works in the larger octavo format.6

Towards the end of his own career, Plantin launched a new series of miniature editions
of the classics in the much smaller 24° format, several of them based on Poelman’s earlier
texts. The typical size of one of these books is 11.5 × 7.0 cm printed on median paper.7 The
page size was even smaller for 24° books printed on chancery paper.8

Plantin was not the first printer to issue a series of classical texts in this very small format.
The earliest were produced by Alexander Paganinus in Venice in 1515.9 The Parisian printer
Pierre Vidoue produced a series of classical texts in 24° format between 1522 and 1532.10 With
books as small as this, it is not always easy to determine whether the format is 16°, 24° or
even 32° as the resultant size depends on the dimensions of the sheets of paper used and on
the system of folding used by the printer. Tables of foldings and dimensions can be found in
Gaskell’s New Introduction to Bibliography.11 It is often impossible to trust the information
given in library catalogues concerning the format of these small books because of the lack
of experience of cataloguers in dealing with these questions.

Plantin seems to have launched his 24° series of classical texts in November 1585, the date
of his dedicatory letter to Charles de Tisnacq in an edition of Juvenal and Persius with the
imprint ANTVERPIÆ, APUD CHRISTOPHORUM PLANTINUM, M.D.LXXXV.12 In his letter to Tisnacq,
Plantin explains that the purpose of the series was to provide suitable texts for travellers
(because of their small size) and for students (no doubt because of their lower cost): ‘Ecce
nunc ... poetas meliores omnes forma hac minuta excudi iussi, in usum peregrinantium (qui
hodie multi) & scholasticae iuventutis.’13 Voet’s bibliography of the Plantin press lists further
texts in the series, all with the same Antwerp imprint.14 The survival rate of these very small
format editions is poor, so there may be further examples still to be discovered or else lost
forever.

6 See Voet, pp for further details of these editions.
7 This is the size of the copy of the 1585 Juvenal and
Persius in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (shelfmark
A.247(2)). It can only have been lightly trimmed. The
British Library copy is smaller, 10.5 × 6 cm (shelf mark
11385.a.3(3)).
8 For these paper sizes, see P. Needham, ‘istc as a tool
for analytical bibliography’, in Bibliography and the
study of 15th-century civilisation, 1987, p. 41 ; also P.
Gaskell, New Introduction to Bibliography, Oxford:
9 D.F. Foxon, ‘Some notes on Agenda Format’, The
Library, 5, viii (1953), 163–173.
10 D.J. Shaw, ‘Books printed by Pierre Vidoue in 24° for-
12 Voet, p. 1496. The text of the letter is reproduced
in Max Rooses and Jan Denucé, Correspondance de
Chr. Plantin, 9 vols, Antwerp–The Hague, 1883–1918,
7, 203–204, no. 1042 [henceforward abbreviated as
ccr].
13 ‘Here you are then; I have ordered the printing of all
the best poets in this tiny format, for the use of travel-
ers (of whom there are many nowadays) and for
youths in colleges’.
14 These include editions of Horace (1586, Voet, p. 1387),
Vergil (1586, Voet 2455), Catullus, Tibullus and
Propertius (1587, Voet, p. 935), Terence, Comoe-
diae (1588, Voet, p. 2282), Lucan (1589, Voet, p. 1586),
Lucretius (1589, Voet, p. 1591), Ovid, Fasti
The publication of this 24th edition of Juvenal and Persius in late 1585 came at an interesting point in the history of the Plantin press. As a result of the dangerous political situation, Plantin had left Antwerp and established himself in Leiden in 1583, becoming Printer to the University of Leiden in May 1584. His two sons-in-law Jan Moretus and Frans Raphelengius were left behind to manage the Antwerp branch.15 Voet notes that the device used on the title page of the 1585 24th Juvenal and Persius was one that was only used by the Leiden branch of the Officina Plantiniana; additionally, he notes that the address Antuerpiae, Apud Christophorum Plantinum was regularly used in editions which had been printed in Leiden, instead of Plantin’s usual Ex officina Christophori Plantini found in editions produced by the Antwerp office.16 After the capitulation of Antwerp to the Spaniards in August 1585, Plantin ended his self-imposed exile in Leiden, returning to Antwerp at the end of October, leaving his wife Jeanne Rivière behind to look after the Leiden office in his absence.17

The dedicatory letter of the Juvenal and Persius is dated November; it does not have a year date but must have been written in 1585, the year of publication. This suggests that the 24th series was planned earlier, while Plantin was still working in Leiden, and was left as a task to be completed on the Leiden presses after his return to Antwerp. The text for this edition was the one which had been prepared by Theodoor Poelman for the editions printed by Plantin’s Antwerp office in 1565 and 1566, omitting the notes which could hardly have been accommodated in such a small page size. In addition to this Leiden 24th edition, the Antwerp office had produced a reprint of the 1566 16th edition of Juvenal and Persius in 1585 (Voet, pp, no. 1495), complete with Poelman’s notes and commentary; it seems that this 16th edition was produced by Plantin’s son-in-law Jan Moretus at the Antwerp office while Plantin was still away in Leiden.18

A recent discovery shows that the timetable for the production of the 24th Juvenal and Persius had extra complications. As stated above, Leon Voet knew that the 1585 edition had been printed in Leiden even though the title-page imprint says Antuerpiae. He mentions the possibility of the existence of an issue with the Leiden address but did not know of any surviving copies of it and thought that the dedication to Charles de Tisnacq would possibly not be welcomed in Calvinist Leiden.19 However, a 24th Juvenal and Persius with a Leiden imprint has recently been found in the Robert Patterson Collection at Princeton University Library.20 This new copy has the imprint LVGD. BATAVORVM, EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA,
Apud Franciscum Raphelengium. M.D.L.XXXVI. It is otherwise identical to the 1585 ‘Antwerp’ edition except for the dedicatory letter, which is still addressed to Tisnaq but has no date.21 In order to determine whether the Princeton copy was a new edition (i.e. printed from a new setting of type) or a reissue of existing sheets from the 1585 edition with a new title page, a record was made of the position of the signature beneath the last line of text on a leaf from each sheet in the British Library copy (‘Antwerp’, 1585);22 this list was sent to Princeton with a request to check it against their copy (Leiden, 1586). The comparison showed that all the sheets in both copies had the same pattern. This makes it highly probable that the sheets in both copies were printed from the same setting of type – the probability of the position of the signatures with respect to the text above being identical in the case of a resetting of the type is extremely small.23 It seems that only the title pages differ; the title page of the Leiden copy is presumably a cancel leaf or perhaps a cancel fold (A1 and its conjugate A8) replacing the equivalent pages in the sheets from the original printing.

A possible reconstruction of the sequence of events involved in 1585 and 1586 is that Plantin, while still in Leiden in 1585, planned the launch of a new plain-text series of classical texts in the miniature 24° format. The first text to be produced was a Juvenal and Persius based on the text prepared for Plantin by Theodoor Poelman twenty years previously. Plantin returned to the Antwerp office in the autumn of 1585. The new book was produced on the Leiden presses with a device which was only used on Leiden books24 and with a wording of the imprint indicating the Antwerp connection and presumably borrowing the cachet of Plantin’s name. The date of November in the preliminary letter indicates that the book was seen through the press in Leiden in the period between Plantin’s return to Antwerp and Frans Raphelengius’s arrival in Leiden in the early months of 1586. The property and business in Leiden were formally made over to Raphelengius on 26 November 1585 but he did not take over until March 1586 when he was officially appointed printer of the University of Leiden.25 The discovery of this variant Leiden imprint seems to be a rare survival in the series of 24° classics produced during Plantin’s lifetime.

The discovery of the variant issue dated 1586 suggests that Raphelengius found a stock of sheets of the 1585 edition in his storeroom on taking over the Leiden office. He then personalised these sheets by replacing the title page with a very similar one giving a Leiden imprint with his own name (but retaining the valuable designation of Officina Plantiniana). The omission of the November date at the end of Plantin’s dedicatory letter (A2v) in the Princeton copy does not appear to be a deliberate feature of this second issue, as the setting of type seems to be identical with that of these pages in the 1585 issue. It would appear simply to be a press variant, though it is not possible to guess which state is earlier.

Although the preliminary letter in the 1585 Juvenal and Persius shows that the initiative to

21 A more extensive bibliographical description of these two issues is given in the Appendix.
22 British Library (shelf mark 11385.a.3(2)).
25 Clair, Plantin, 159; Voet, Golden Compasses, 1, 116.
26 See note 16 above.
27 ccr, 7, 342–343, no. 1109. The dedicatory letter printed in the edition of Vergil (Voet, m, no. 2455) is in fact dated 1 January 1586 (ccr, 252–253, no. 1062).
28 ccr, 7, 327–328, no. 1075. The dedicatory letter printed in the edition of Vergil (Voet, m, no. 2455) is in fact dated 1 January 1586 (ccr, 252–253, no. 1062).
29 Voet, m, nos 2455 and 1496.
30 ccr, 8, 29–30, no. 1133.
start a series of classical poets in 24° format was Plantin’s, production seems always to have taken place in Leiden. Raphelengius clearly took responsibility for the production of the series after Plantin’s return to Antwerp but the correspondence recorded below suggests that the publishing initiative remained Plantin’s. All the remaining editions of classical texts in 24° format printed during Plantin’s lifetime have a Leiden version of the Officina Plantiniana device and an imprint stating that they were printed for Plantin for sale at the Antwerp office (but perhaps intended to imply production in Antwerp).26 The Princeton 1586 copy of Juvenal and Persius reported above appears to be the only survivor with a Leiden imprint.

Following the printing of the Juvenal and Persius by the Leiden office, Plantin’s correspondence shows that he continued to watch over the progress of this venture into miniature editions of the classics. In February 1586 he wrote to ask permission from Laevinus Torrentius to dedicate a 24° Vergil to him.27 In June 1586 he sent Tisnacq a copy of a Psalterium Graecum and an Officium B. Mariae about which he said ‘j’ay entreprins au despends d’autruy d’imprimer tous les poètes anciens en petite lectre tel que ledict Officium B. Mariae et desja commencement par le Virgile’.28 This statement led Voet to comment that this edition of Vergil ‘inaugurates Plantin’s series of pocket editions in 24mo of classical authors’ but he had already previously stated that the 1585 Juvenal and Persius ‘was the first in the series of “super-pocket” editions’.29 Plantin’s assertion that these editions were printed ‘au despends d’autruy’ indicates just how difficult his financial situation was at this time; one wonders whom he had found to finance these small undertakings. He mentions the Vergil and his intention to print a 24° Horace in a letter to Nicolas Oudaert in September 1586.30 Also in September, he wrote again to Tisnacq and reported that the printing of the Vergil was finished and that work had started on a 24° Horace.31 Plantin appears in these letters of 1586 to have lost sight entirely of the Juvenal and Persius which the Leiden office had printed for him in late 1585, even to the extent of stating that the 1586 Vergil was the first of the series of 24° classics.

The Juvenal is not mentioned again in the surviving correspondence until a letter of 15 January 1587 to Gabriel de Çayas in which Plantin wrote ‘j’ay depuis le petit Virgile, achevé Horace et Juvenal avec Perse de mesmes desquels j’ay aussi envoyé.32 This is a rather strange statement which implies a different chronology for the production of the 24° texts than the one offered by the dates on the title pages; it suggests that the Juvenal and Persius had been printed after the Vergil and Horace in late 1587 and not in late 1585. This ordering is repeated in a letter written three days later to Tisnacq in which Plantin asked for confirmation that Tisnacq had received the Juvenal which he had sent.33 At the end of March, he asked again if Tisnacq had received the Juvenal.34 Earlier in March 1587 Plantin wrote to express his pleasure that Arias Montanus liked the ‘Horatiolus’ which he had sent him; he mentions the printing of the three 24° editions which are again listed in the order Vergil, Horace, Juvenal.35

31 CCR, 8, 36–37, no. 1137. Plantin echoes the wording of the preface to the 1585 Juvenal in expressing the hope that these tiny editions ‘servent aux pauvres escholi-ers et a ceux qui voyageants veulent porter avec soy beaucoup de livres en peu de masse’ (p. 37).
32 ‘i have, since [the completion of] the little Vergil, fin-ished the Horace and the Juvenal and Persius of the same sort, of which I have sent you copies’, cf. CCR, 8, 127, no. 1197.
33 ‘au reste j’espère qu’aurés receu le petit Juvenal et Perse que j’ay imprimé naguères et adresse a vous comme au paravant j’avois faict le Virgile a mons’ Laevinus Torrentius et peu après l’Horace a mon autre Patron Ben. A. Montanus.’ (CCR, 8, 128, no. 1198).
34 CCR, 8, 196, no. 1237.
35 CCR, 8, 193, no. 1236.
How are we to account for this discrepancy between the dates in the imprints of the two issues of the 24° Juvenal and Persius (1585 and 1586) and Plantin's apparent statement that the Juvenal was newly printed in early 1587? There is no reason to doubt that the Leiden office produced the book in 1585: It is recorded in the Museum's Ms. 321 under 1585 as 2½ sheets printed in 24° 'A Leyden'. It seems in any case improbable that Plantin printed the '1585' edition in 1587 (or even in late 1586). The date 1585 is unlikely to be a typographical error: at least five copies of the Antwerp issue survive with the 1585 date. It would be difficult to imagine any commercial reason why Plantin should want to have antedated the work in this way; publishers are much more likely to want to postdate editions printed late in the year so that they appear to have been newly issued in the following year.

A further possibility is that Plantin did in fact print an edition in 1586/1587 which has failed to survive. Voet records such an edition (pp. no. 1497) which is reported from Ruelens and de Backer: 'D. Junii Juvenalis satirarum libri V. A. Persii Flacci satyrarum lib. I. Th. Pulmanni, etc. Antverpiae, ex off. Christ. Plantini, 1587. 1 vol. In-24. Voet notes that 'No other traces can be found of such a publication. Its existence may be doubted. Very likely a confusion with the 1585 in 24mo edition.' To this, one might add that the transcription given by Ruelens and de Backer appears to follow the wording of title and imprint of the 1585 16° edition (Voet no. 1495) rather than the 24° one. It seems unlikely that a new edition would be needed just a year or so after the first printing, especially at a time when Plantin makes constant complaints about his difficult financial circumstances; he even says that he had to get the series of 24° classics funded by someone else.

The key to understanding what can only be described as a confusion on Plantin's part is the fact that these 24° editions were printed in Leiden and not in Antwerp where Plantin would oversee their progress on a daily basis. Plantin must have been doing all of this business at a distance and relying on shipments of cargo to deliver his share of the finished edition to the Antwerp office. Plantin's own journey from Leiden to Antwerp in 1585 was a protracted affair. It is likely that the same would applied to shipments of printed books. The difficulties and slowness of international correspondence at this time are shown in three letters of September and October 1587 in which Plantin again asks if Arias Montanus has received his copies of Vergil, Horace and Juvenal, eventually offering to send new copies, which he did in February 1588.

Plantin's silence about the Juvenal during 1586 could be explained by delays in receiving copies of it in Antwerp. It seems that Raphelengius refreshed the title page of the 1585 Antwerp issue on taking over the Leiden office in the spring of 1586. It is quite likely that copies were not shipped to Antwerp until at least that date, which could account for Plantin's silence in 1586 if the shipment took a long time to reach Antwerp. During this time Plantin was taking steps to get the Vergil and then the Horace printed (in Leiden) and these were no doubt in his mind as he composed letters to his correspondents. When he stated that the Vergil was the first of his miniature classics, it may be that it was the first to reach him from Leiden.

36 Voet, m. 1296, no. 1498, note 6.
38 CCP, 8, 238, no. 1307 (16 September 1587); 320, no. 1320 (19 November 1587); 329, no. 1328 (27 November 1587); 359, no. 1349 (18 February 1588). See also letter no. 1263, June 1587, in which Plantin complains about the non-delivery of letters from Arias Montanus (pp. 231–235, esp. p. 233).
The Raphelengius family in Leiden continued to issue reprints of the 24° classics after Plantin’s death with their own Leiden imprint. None seem to have been produced by Moretus in Antwerp. It is possible that this represents part of the allocation of spheres of activity which Plantin sought to introduce for the future activity of his two sons-in-law. The Leiden branch of the Officina Plantiniana continued to produce these small-format classics until about 1612, with an imprint stating ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii or similar. After that, the Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands (STCN) lists 24° editions of authors such as Horace, Juvenal and Persius, Terence, and Vergil produced by the Amsterdam firms of Guilielmus Jansonius Caesius (Blaeu; 1619–1624), Johannes Jansonius (1626–1656), Daniel and Ludovicus Elzevier (1651–1676), and finally Henricus Wetstenius (1685–post-1700).

39 This was recently discussed by Dirk Imhof at a lecture to the Cambridge Bibliographical Society in May 2011 entitled ‘The Plantin Presses of Catholic Antwerp and Calvinist Leiden around 1600: working together or separately’; see also Voet, Golden Compasses, i, 162–165.
Appendix  Bibliographical description  of the 1585/1586 24° edition of Juvenal and Persius

Issue A: [Leiden, Officina Plantiniana], for Christophe Plantin in Antwerp, 1585
Issue B: Leiden, Officina Plantiniana, for Franciscus Raphelengius, 1586


Title page of issue B: ... | LVGD. BATAVORVM, | EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA. | Apud Franciscum Raphelengium. | M. D. LXXXVI.

Colophon: none.


Typography: 64It; 40R; 40Gk; type capitals; 44 lines; type area: 90(93) × 42(46) mm; line numbers in margin; sententiae are marked with the first word in uppercase; signed $–$5; page catchwords; running titles: ‘IVVENALIS || LIBER I.’ (etc.; G6v and G7v ‘IVVENALIS’ instead of ‘AVL. PERSII’); median paper: page size 10.5 × 6 cm (British Library), 11 × 6 cm (Princeton), 11.5 × 7.0 cm (Antwerp mpm, leaf B2 with turned-in corner).

The first of a planned series of small-format classical texts. A Horace of 1586 is bound with the Juvenal and Persius in the mpm copy.

The format appears to be long 24° gathered in eights: the chain lines are vertical but no watermarks are visible. The Harvard catalogue wrongly gives the format as 32°.

The text is that of Theodoor Poelman, prepared for earlier editions printed by Plantin (1565 and 1566), omitting the notes and commentaries.

There are two issues, both printed in the Leiden Officina Plantiniana. The first is dated 1585 with the imprint ‘for Christophe Plantin in Antwerp’; the second issue, dated 1586 consists of sheets from the 1585 edition with a new title page with the imprint ‘Leiden, from the Officina Plantiniana by Franciscus Raphelengius’ and possibly with a new setting of the preliminary letter.

The 1586 issue is described from digital photographs and other information supplied by Princeton University Library. Jennifer Meyer is thanked for her help in verifying that the position of the signatures on the first leaf of each sheet was identical in the British Library (1585) and Princeton (1586) issues.


Issue B: Princeton: University Library, Robert Patterson Collection (‘12865.1586s’).

*C* copy described in person.

† copy described from photographs.

40  Cf. Van Havre, Marques typographiques, no. 42.
In 1558 Plantin started to produce a series of classical texts in 16mo format. At the end of his career in 1585 he launched a new series in the miniature 24mo format. These books appeared with an imprint which implied that they were published in Antwerp by Christophe Plantin, although they were in fact printed at the Officina Plantiniana in Leiden. A copy of the 1585 Juvenal and Persius has recently come to light with a variant title page dated 1586 and with the Leiden imprint of Frans Raphelengius, justifying Leon Voet’s suspicion that some copies might have been printed for sale at the Leiden office.

Plantin’s correspondence appears to state that the 24mo series started with an edition of Vergil issued in 1586. This discrepancy between the bibliographical and the archival evidence is discussed and an explanation is proposed.

David J. Shaw  Editions of the classics printed by the Officina Plantiniana in 24° format